



Building the blocks of gender-sensitive
social protection and natural resources

Building the blocks of gender-sensitive social protection and natural resources management systems

by
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Preface

Land and natural resources management remain a fundamental part of cultural and social identity as well as an economic well-being necessity in many developing countries and FAO is fully committed in implementing the various populations social protection through agriculture and food focused programs, mainly in rural areas.

Land should be considered not only as a production factor but also as a mean for improving livelihoods, social status and economic empowerment of people.

Development must focus on achieving real change over the longer term. The fact is that land is an important component in many household livelihoods strategies. Land policy and land governance are clear reflections of underlying forces that determine the access to resources.

However, rules of access to natural resources and control of their benefits very often remain unequal and women are frequently exposed to socioeconomic discrimination.

In order to remove these various inequalities and improve livelihoods in developing countries, a gender-sensitive approach is needed and in order to promote equitable territorial development, priority should be given to strategies that protect the greatest part of the population, not only the poorest and most vulnerable .

The transformative social protection framework (TPF) here under developed presents the social protection, gender, rural development and natural resources management as a comprehensive strategy conceived for poverty reduction and food security able to improve gender protection in the context of local livelihood and territorial development.

It is hoped that these FAO technical and strategic proposals may contribute to an equitable and gender-balanced territorial management.

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Abbreviations/acronyms

ASP	Adaptive Social Protection
CEDAW	Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CCT	Conditional Cash Transfer
CT	Cash Transfer
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
IGETI	Improving Gender Equality in Territorial Issues
ILO	International Labour Organization
MEGS	Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Scheme
PNTD	Participatory and Negotiated Territorial Development
PW	Public Works
RBA	Rights Based Approach
RVA	Risk and Vulnerability Assessment
SP	Social Protection
SPF	Social Protection Floor
SRM	Social Risk Management
TSP	Transformative Social Protection
UCT	Unconditional Cash Transfers
WB	World Bank

1. Introduction

Sustainable Land (considered here as a proxy of natural resources) tenure and management in many developing countries continue to remain a fundamental part and parcel of people's cultural identity, social relations, livelihood strategies and economic (income/wealth) well-being.

Land, not only as a production factor but also as a resource in many instances, serves as an entry point for improving rural livelihoods, social status and economic empowerment for people (men and women, girls and boys). At the same time, land provides a "safety net" in times of financial hardships for the unemployed (men and women) migrating from urban to rural and within areas. However, gender disparities are evident in existing patterns of land distribution, especially across the developing world. Due to those inequalities in the access to and control over resources, women and girls are more vulnerable to external shocks induced by natural disasters, gender-based violence, unemployment, income variance, etc.

Since 1995, the Beijing Platform for Action¹ recognized that "poverty has various manifestations, including lack of income and productive resources sufficient to ensure sustainable livelihoods; hunger and malnutrition; ill health; limited or lack of access to education and other basic services; increased morbidity and mortality from illness; homelessness and inadequate housing; unsafe environments; and social discrimination and exclusion. It is also characterized by a lack of participation in decision-making and in civil, social and cultural life". Thus, while the economic dimension remains central, other factors such as lack of opportunities, vulnerabilities and social exclusion are recognized as important in defining poverty. The use of a broad concept of poverty is considered essential for integrating gender into countries' poverty reduction strategies.

According to available data on poverty, the share of women living in poor and vulnerable conditions is higher than men's in European countries, but it equals to men's in most of the Latin American African and most developed countries. As said above, in order to take into consideration the global poverty dimension, some considerations about intra-household redistribution of income and responsibilities should be made. Women suffer from social and economic risks that are exacerbated in rural areas.

¹ The Beijing Platform for Action is an agenda for women's empowerment. It aims at accelerating the implementation of the Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women and at removing all the obstacles to women's active participation in all spheres of public and private life through a full and equal share in economic, social, cultural and political decision-making

Vulnerable women face several economic and social risks during their life-cycles. In rural areas, economic risks include²:

- ‘invisibilisation’ of women’s work³;
- Vulnerable employments (unpaid, casual, temporary and/or seasonal);
- Unequal distribution of care and domestic responsibilities;
- Sexual division of labour or occupational segregation (women are often responsible for low skilled tasks such as collecting wood and water, unlike men which are assigned to high skilled tasks).

And social risks include:

- Difficulties to balance family and professional life;
- Unequal access to and control over assets and resources (such as land, physical capital, credit, etc.).
- Limited opportunities for meaningful participation in formal and informal community institutions;
- Gender based violence, including domestic violence.

To address those vulnerabilities and improve sustainable and equitable livelihoods, a broad gender-sensitive approach is needed. Transformative Social Protection (TSP) framework seeks to enhance socioeconomic rights, addressing concerns of social equity and exclusion through social inclusion and empowerment.

This paper explores the impact of Social Protection’s transformative element on territorial development and gender equality by analysing the linkages between these dimensions:

- Social Protection;
- Gender;
- Territorial Development and Natural Resource Management;
- Poverty reduction and Food Security.

2 For a thorough analysis of the statistics on poverty from a gender perspective see UN, 2010. The review shows that simple disaggregation of poverty by sex results in small gender gaps; however, the gender gap may be underestimated by not taking into account intra-household inequality.

3 By the term ‘invisibilisation’ we refer to the fact that rural women’s work is not accounted in the GDP because they are considered as family members assisting their husbands.

This paper aims at understanding: i) how gender-sensitive and transformative instruments promote territorial development through women's empowerment and ii) how these instruments can contribute to food security, rural development and poverty reduction. But first, it should be borne in mind that, usually, resources accorded to development programs are limited. For this reason it is crucial to analyse the affordability of such SP schemes according to country specificities and priorities.

The paper will also evaluate to which extent the gender-sensitive Transformative Social Protection framework has wide-ranging benefits for improving rural livelihoods. The Participatory and Negotiated Territorial Development (PNTD) and its updated version Improving Gender Equality in Territorial Issues (IGETI) approaches foster bottom-up participatory decision-making processes, enhances consensus building, addresses asymmetries of power and encourages social dialogue and partnerships among a wide range of actors within a territory towards promoting gender equality in land access and territorial development.

The focus of these FAO approaches is to promote a more inclusive governance of natural resources through equitable territorial development. FAO's participative approach attempts to stimulate social changes and dialogue so that rural populations are assured access to land and adequate livelihoods. Social Protection schemes can be integrated into a wider rights-based approach and operational instruments allowing also vulnerable actors, such as women, to be active negotiators to claim their rights. Transformative SP instruments should be considered here as a means of support to the existing FAO territorial development strategies.

When dealing with low and constrained national budgets, in order to promote equitable territorial development, the priority should still be given to strategies that offer the most cost-effective mechanisms to protect the greatest part of the population, not only the poorest and most vulnerable. In fact, several studies (ILO 2008, Hagemejer et al., 2009) have evaluated the cost of basic social security schemes in low-income countries showing that Social Protection floors are affordable only on condition that the SP package is implemented through a joint effort of the country's government (by reallocating existing resources to Social Protection) and of the international donor community.

Therefore, a comprehensive strategy that combines both a gender equitable territorial development and a Transformative SP approach would need less additional funding to be effectively implemented than separately.

2. Conceptual framework: the pieces of the puzzle

Social protection

During the last decade, Social Protection (SP) has moved up on the development agenda. Dismissed as ineffective, expensive or even detrimental to development in developing countries for a long time, it is now increasingly understood that assisting individuals, households and communities in dealing with diverse risks is needed for accelerated poverty reduction, and sustained economic and social development. This revamped interest has been called by some scholars as the *quiet revolution* (Barrientos and Hulme, 2008), a term used to describe the rapid increase of the Cash Transfer (CT) programmes around the world.

Social Protection is nonetheless a much broader concept than mere cash transfers. Some consider SP (and even use it interchangeably) only as ‘Social Assistance’ (i.e. non-contributory ‘Safety Nets’ which include CTs, amongst other programmes) targeted to those who are vulnerable to idiosyncratic and covariant risks and shocks; others, consider it as a ‘Social Welfare’ scheme (i.e. contributory ‘Social Insurance’); and many others as ‘labour market’ programmes, as the only way to step out of poverty in a sustainable way.

In fact, Social Protection is a combination of all these elements: “*SP systems, programmes and policies buffer individuals from shocks and equip them to improve their livelihoods and create opportunities to build a better life for themselves and their families*” (World Bank, 2011a). Similarly, Social Protection “*describes all public and private initiatives that provide income or consumption transfers to the poor, protect the vulnerable against livelihood risks, and enhance the social status and rights of the marginalised; with the overall objective of reducing the economic and social vulnerability of poor, vulnerable and marginalised groups*” (Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler, 2004).

To resume, Social Protection provides:

- Social Assistance: such as cash transfers, school feeding and targeted food assistance;
- Social Insurance: such as old-age and disability pensions, and unemployment insurance;
- Labour Market and Livelihood programmes: such as skills-building programmes, job-search and matching programmes, and labour market activation (aimed at the waged labour and jobs) and graduation (aimed at the entrepreneurs, mostly working in the informal sector) programmes.

Operating at different but interrelated levels⁴:

1. *Protection (Equity), for the poor*: measures that aim at relieving from poverty and deprivation. They include social assistance measures for the ‘chronically poor’, to protect them against destitution and contributing to equality of opportunity (e.g. disability benefits, single-parent allowances, food aid, food-for-work).
2. *Prevention (Resilience), for the vulnerable*: measures that minimize the negative impact of economic shocks. They include poverty alleviation measures, providing social insurance for economical vulnerable groups and insuring them against drops in wellbeing from a range of shocks (e.g. pensions, health insurance, maternity and unemployment benefits, crop and weather insurance).
3. *Promotion (Opportunity), for all*: measures that aim at increasing real income and capabilities of individuals and households through extensive programmes. They include measures that promote investment in human capital and sustainable livelihoods (e.g. micro-credit, public works, and skills development).
4. *Transformative (Social Justice)*: measures that address social inequalities by promoting changes in the regulatory framework, in order to enhance social inclusion and enhance socioeconomic rights (e.g. anti-discrimination laws, labour market regulations, awareness-raising campaigns).

At present, four policy frameworks and analytical approaches to Social Protection have been conceptualized. They reflect the important evolution suffered by the sector in the last two decades. In fact, defining the scope of Social Protection is not neutral. It means to limit or open up the framework of political negotiation:

1. Social Risk Management;
2. Transformative Social Protection;
3. Social Protection Floor;
4. Adaptive Social Protection;

⁴ Social Protection as a framework has been elaborated in different models. In this section and for the purposes of this paper, the authors combine Sanjivi Guhan’s model (from as early as 1994) with Holzmann and Jørgensen’s SRM, Sabates-Wheeler and Deveraux’s Transformative SP and the World Bank’s newest SP strategy (2012-22).

Social Risk Management (SRM)

This conceptual framework emerged in the late 1990s, fostered by the World Bank (WB). It consists of a collection of “*public measures aimed at assisting individuals, households and communities in managing risks in order to reduce vulnerability, improve consumption smoothing, and enhance equity while contributing to economic development in a participatory manner*” (Holzmann and Jørgensen, 1999). It combines three purposes in a non-hierarchical order with overlap: prevention, coping and mitigation.

The World Bank operationalizes the SRM framework through a series of Risk and Vulnerability Assessments (RVAs). An RVA is a complementary analytical product that enhances static poverty analysis by adopting an ex-ante perspective on household welfare, based on the concept of vulnerability and analysing explicitly the sources of household vulnerability as a combined effect of exposure to shocks and lower resilience to withstand these shocks (Holzmann et al., 2003).

This framework has dominated the 1990s and 2000s literature on Social Protection. Despite the SRM approach being horizontally much broader than the first ILO’s Social Security approach⁵; it is however vertically more limited, as it centres on risk management, not human rights. Indeed, some authors have underlined the presence of other limitations. According to Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler (2004), SRM does not reflect a full conceptualization of vulnerability. Acknowledging these limitations, the WB has introduced three new overarching goals on its SP strategy for the period 2012-22: resilience, equity and opportunity. To overcome those limits, a fourth element, the transformative one, was included into the concept of Social Protection.

Transformative Social Protection (TSP)

The newer transformative element addresses social vulnerabilities and inequalities by broadening the initial scope of Social Protection as a safety net or a risk management strategy. A wider range, including non-market based, of Social Protection interventions is indicated by TSP than by SRM, including formal and informal social assistance transfers, social insurance mechanisms, access to social services and social equity initiatives to protect all people against discrimination or abuse.

Transformative means that, when thinking of Social Protection, one should “*no longer be focused on how to design a policy so that various groups face less risk in a given context but on how to transform this context to minimize risk for a range of vulnerable groups*” (Sabates-Wheeler and Devereux, 2007). This is seen by many as the most progressive framework currently available.

⁵ The Social Security (not Social Protection) was defined in the ILO Convention 102 of 1952 in nine minimum standards: medical care, sickness benefits, unemployment benefits, old age benefits, employment injury benefits, family benefits, maternity benefits, invalidity benefits and survivor’s benefits.

Social Protection Floor (SPF)

The SPF is a framework conceptualized by the International Labour Organization (ILO) through the ILO Recommendation 202 of 2012. It is an attempt to effectively implement the universal right of being covered by Social Protection. A national Social Protection Floor (SPF) has two components⁶:

- Universal access to essential services (such as health, education, housing, water and sanitation and other services, as nationally defined);
- Social transfers in cash or in kind, to ensure income security, food security, adequate nutrition, and access to essential services.

The SPF approach aims at extending the coverage of Social Protection through the implementation of a non-contributory government funded scheme that would at least ensure to everyone the access to basic health services, and a basic income security throughout the life course (Tessier et al., 2013). As such, a floor is only a beginning or first step on the Social Protection staircase. Recommendation 202 explicitly stipulates that states are to progressively expand SP vertically by adding further benefits, after ensuring horizontal extension of the floor, by covering the entire population.

Adaptive Social Protection (ASP)

The ASP is a specific application of Social Protection to environmental shocks and stresses, especially those related to climate change (Davies et al., 2013). ASP links Social Protection, climate change adaptation and disaster risk reduction, combining interventions that mitigate shocks and stresses in the short term with adaptive strategies that build resilient livelihoods in the longer term, reducing dependence on climate-sensitive livelihood activities.

FAO and social protection: a consolidated conceptual framework

FAO has historically worked in Social Protection although in a fragmented way and without a consolidated framework. The UN agency has nevertheless repositioned itself and its work within a new conceptual configuration. In fact, FAO's reviewed Strategic Framework, endorsed by the FAO Conference of 15 to 22 June 2013, "*recognizes the key importance of Social Protection for improving food security and nutrition and reducing rural poverty. Social Protection interventions are an essential element of both aspects of FAO's "twin track" approach to reducing hunger and poverty*" (FAO, 2013a).

More precisely, 'twin track' measures combine food or cash transfers with investments in physical assets (e.g. public works programmes) or in human capital (e.g. conditional cash transfers), with the objective of simultaneously protecting and promoting the livelihoods of poor people.

⁶ www.socialprotectionfloor-gateway.org/

Therefore, based on this new framework the agency has reviewed and updated all the policies and guidelines from its flagship SP programmes: Cash Transfers, Public Works and Agricultural Inputs and Vouchers (FAO, 2012; FAO, 2013b; FAO, 2013c). As part of this effort, this paper draws from the new consolidated conceptual framework for Social Protection to present a new approach linking SP, gender and territorial development as follows:

FAO's gender-sensitive and land-related Social Protection is designed to promote livelihoods, of both women and men, to reduce poverty (programming objective); grounded in the dual principle of gender sensitivity and social inclusion; and aims at a behavioural change rather than income support.

Gender

The concept of Gender refers to the social attributes and opportunities associated with being men and women. Those attributes and behaviours are socially constructed and determine the existing social relations between men and women (Delphy, 1978). Gender determines what is expected, allowed and valued in a woman or a man in a given context, thus creating power asymmetries and inequalities. It is also important to emphasize that the concept of gender is not interchangeable with women.

Gender refers to both women and men, and the relations between them. For this reason the terms 'Sex' and 'Gender' should be differentiated. 'Sex' refers to the biological distinctions between men and women. By contrast, 'gender' refers to social behaviours and relations between men and women. Therefore, if the biological distinction between men and women is (or at least, used to be) unalterable, social relations can be rebalanced in order to promote gender equality in social, political and economic sectors. Gender equality refers to the equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities of women and men and girls and boys. Equality does not mean that women and men will become the same but that women's and men's rights, responsibilities and opportunities will not depend on whether they are born male or female. Gender equality implies that the interests, needs and priorities of both women and men are taken into consideration, recognizing the diversity of different groups of women and men. Gender equality is not a women's issue but should concern and fully engage men as well as women (OSAGI, 2002).

Territorial development

According to FAO, "*the Participatory and Negotiated Territorial Development (PNTD) is a territorial development strategy that begins with a systemic, bottom-up and negotiated vision. It promotes consensual decision-making in the quest for rural development solutions involving territorial actors and considering socio-political aspects as much as technical and economic aspects. Based on dialogue and participation, the PNTD attempts to stimulate social changes and dialogue so that rural populations are assured access to land and adequate livelihoods. The strategy stimulates the strengthening of local actors so that they may use their own, available resources for the development of their visions of the territory*" (FAO, 2009).

In the aftermath of PNTD and SEAGA⁷ processes FAO has developed in 2012 a renewed framework focusing on Gender imbalances within territorial development.

This approach called Improving Gender Equality in Territorial Issues (IGETI) aims at better understanding the issues at stake regarding the unequal access to, management and control over natural resources between men and women, and taking those inequalities into account when promoting participatory territorial negotiations.

The aim of the territorial development/natural resource management approach is to re-establish dialogue between all involved actors and promote an equitable distribution of resources among them, thus reducing existing asymmetries of power and maintaining a permanent social dialogue.

⁷ The SEAGA (Socio-Economic and Gender Analysis) approach SEAGA focuses on understanding gender roles, responsibilities and relations, and how these are managed in different communities. The approach also analyses the influence exerted on people's economic and social opportunities by factors such as age, ethnicity, religion etc. all of which are fundamental in understanding livelihood strategies. SEAGA considers the active participation of all actors essential for sustainable development, because it recognizes asymmetries of power within households and structures of power/including institutions and how they influence people's capacity to play an active role in development and be assured that they are heard.

3. Gender and social protection: a question of linkages, mainstream or common sense?

Following FAO's Consolidated Conceptual Framework, in order to understand how Gender, Social Protection programmes and Natural Resource Management (i.e. Territorial Development) are linked to one another, this chapter will provide the reader with a brief overview of the existing connections between the three concepts. It will further analyse the main issues concerning gender equality in SP, followed by analysis of how gender-sensitive Social Protection programmes can effectively promote gender equality among the poorest.

Overview: gender, SP and territorial development

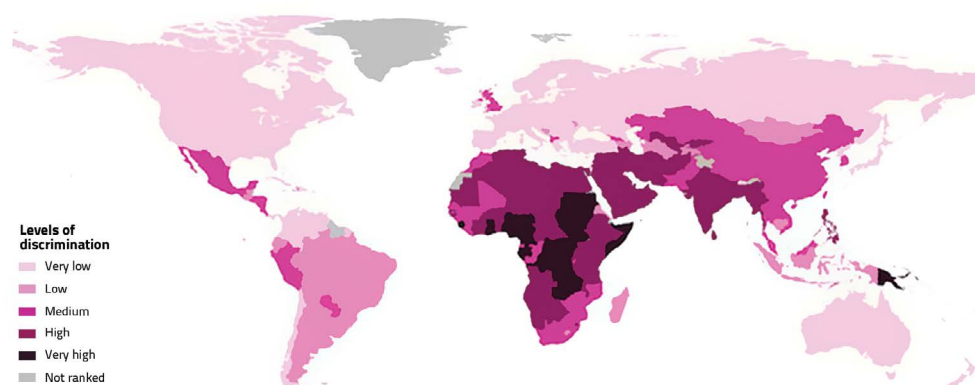
According to the definition of Norton, Cornway and Foster, Social Protection has the aim of helping the poorest through a variety of public actions⁸ in order to reduce their vulnerabilities and better cope with several risks (drought, famine, unemployment, etc.) they face through their lifetime. However, SP programmes do not always take into account that women are disproportionately represented among the extreme poor (DFID, 2005). According to the MDG Report of 2014, 70 percent of the poorest of the world are women (UN, 2014).

“Despite their contribution to food security, women's work is poorly understood, undervalued and underestimated. Work in the household is often considered part of a woman's duties as wife and mother, not an occupation to be accounted for in the national economy. Outside the house, a great deal of rural women's labor is unpaid. In most countries, women do not own the land they work on, and when they do it tends to be smaller, less valuable. They face great difficulties getting credit and often are thrown out of their homes if they are widowed or divorced. Prevailing attitudes make the plight of rural women worse by denying them political power and social representation. Gender-biased legal and social structures and illiteracy are factors that prevent women from improving their economic situation, thus increasing the feminization of poverty. Since the 1970s, the number of women living below the poverty line has increased by 50 percent, compared with 30 percent for men” (FAO press release, 8 march, 2000).

The feminization of poverty may be explained by several factors. Though low income is the major cause, other interrelated aspects should be taken into account. Firstly the unequal access to assets and natural resources. Women still face several constraints regarding land and other natural resources ownership (Figure 1).

⁸ Social protection consists of the public actions taken in response to levels of vulnerability, risk and deprivation, which are deemed socially unacceptable within a given polity or society. Social protection thus deals with both the absolute deprivation and the vulnerabilities of the poorest, and also with the need of the currently non-poor to have security in the face of shocks and life-cycle events” (Norton, Conway and Foster 2001: 7).

FIGURE 1

OECD SIGI index on Access to land, non-land and financial assets. 2014⁹

Source: OECD, SIGI Country profiles 2014

For this reason, their risk-management strategies are often insufficient to cope with the existing crisis. Widowed headed households are critical in addressing feminization of poverty and can be broadly defined as households in which there are female headships and no male headships (caused for example by HIV/AIDS or conflicts). In addition, women may be excluded from formal employment due to social and cultural norms, thus leading to social and cultural exclusion. Gender inequality often excludes women from natural resources management. In many parts of the world, women do not have equal access to natural resources, assets and opportunities they need to be more productive.

Women also face an unequal access to Social Protection mainly due to their lower participation in the formal labour market, compared to their male counterparts. This lower participation is explained by the sexual division of labour and the greater representation of women in the informal economy, resulting in lower social security coverage of women (Tessier et al, 2013).

9 SIGI measures the level of gender discrimination on the access to land, non-land and financial assets. Measures go from 0 to 1 and are calculated as follows:

Secure access to land

Whether women and men have equal and secure access to land use, control and ownership

0: The law guarantees the same rights to own, use and control land to both women and men.

0.5: The law guarantees the same rights to own, use and control land to women and men, but there are some customary, traditional or religious practices that discriminate against women.

1: The law does not guarantee the same rights to own, use and control land to women and men, or women have no legal rights to own, use and control land.

Secure access to non-land assets

Whether women and men have equal and secure access to non-land assets use, control and ownership

0: The law guarantees the same rights to own and administer property other than land to both women and men.

0.5: The law guarantees the same rights to own and administer property other than land to both women and men, but there are some customary, traditional or religious practices that discriminate against women.

1: The law does not guarantee the same rights to own and administer property other than land to women and men, or women have no legal rights to own and administer property other than land.

Access to financial services

Whether women and men have equal access to financial services

0: The law guarantees the same rights to access formal financial services (e.g. credit, bank account and bank loans) to both women and men.

0.5: The law guarantees the same rights to access formal financial services to both women and men, but there are some customary, traditional or religious practices that discriminate against women.

1: The law does not guarantee the same rights to access formal financial services to women and men, or women have no legal rights to access financial services.

Women are disproportionately represented in vulnerable (i.e. low quality) employments and in lower paid jobs, meaning that in a contributory SP scheme, women contribute less, thus receiving lower benefits in case a crisis occurs (*op. cit.* UN, 2014).

In developing countries, 60 percent of women were in vulnerable employment in 2013, compared to 54 percent of men. The largest gender gaps (all exceeding 10 percentage points) were found in Northern Africa, sub-Saharan Africa, Western Asia and Oceania. (*op. cit.* UN, 2014). This is particularly true for women working in poorly represented sectors, such as domestic work and agriculture. Moreover, women bear the overwhelming responsibility of the reproductive work (childcare, housework, taking care of the elderly), that make the conciliation between work and family life more difficult.

Informal sectors, unpaid jobs, lower productive and lower paid jobs are the main causes of an unequal access to (contributory) Social Protection for women. However, when it comes to Gender and Social Protection, it is key to introduce a gender differentiation analysis in the source of risks.

Several studies have analysed gender-specific risks faced by women throughout their life course. As it was mentioned before, women are more represented in precarious employments (part-time, informal and unpaid jobs) generally leading to lower contributions to SP schemes and, therefore, to gender gaps in SP benefits. In addition, women tend to live longer than men. A longer life expectancy means that women rely more than men on old age pensions schemes.

Unequal access to and control over assets and natural resources, including in the fields of land rights, property and inheritance, are another important explanation of women's vulnerability and higher tendency of being affected by crisis and shocks. Furthermore, employment vulnerability and uneven distribution of domestic tasks are all different facets of the existing power asymmetries within and outside the household. Quite frequently women face a lack of decision making power that lead to gender inequalities, gender based violence and their under-representation in the political, economic and social arenas.

The described gender-based inequalities and the way SP schemes are structured (contributory schemes, as described earlier, lead to lower benefits for women as compared to men's) have resulted in unequal access and coverage for women. Nevertheless, SP programmes could be designed in a way that promotes gender equality. This is particularly true for the non-contributory schemes, which most part of female (informal) workers and unemployed are subject to.

How social protection helps achieving gender equality

Social Protection programmes may affect gender equality in a positive or negative way. As it was demonstrated in the previous section, SP programmes are rarely gender-neutral. Contributory schemes, for example, exacerbate gender inequalities mainly due to the lower female formal labour market participation.

Some attempts have been made to make SP more gender-sensitive, with ambiguous effects. Social Protection may be a vector of promotion of gender equality. By integrating in these programmes a gender dimension at every stage of the policy design, implementation and monitoring it can be extended the coverage to vulnerable women, who otherwise had been excluded by Social Protection due to their precarious job conditions.

The extension of coverage affects the risk coping strategies and helps the poorest in accessing to, at least, health care and basic income security and avoiding having to withdraw children (mainly girls) from school.

Considering the goals of a SP programme, those that are directly relevant to women and the promotion of gender equality in developing countries (Lund and Srinivas, 2000) are the following:

- SP programmes enhance health care coverage and insurance to women. Access to health care has a positive impact in reducing maternal mortality, early and unwanted pregnancies, and HIV/AIDS transmission. Rwanda, for example, thoroughly reformed its health system in order to ensure effective access for more than 90 percent of its population to health services and improved the quality of health services provided; this has contributed to a rapid decrease in maternal and child mortality (Sekabaraga et al., 2011).
- SP coverage insures women during their life course and in case of disability. This type of insurance can protect widowed headed households in not being socially and culturally excluded. As an example, Chile's Personal Pension Plan allowed widows and married women to earn higher pension benefits (Barrientos, 1998).
- Financial inclusion through delivery of financial services, such as credit and saving schemes or local insurance have a high potential for taking women out of poverty. Microfinance institutions are important and some integrate banking with insurance.

BOX 1

What is Empowerment About

Although empowerment is used in different contexts with different meanings, there are some agreed concepts that are useful to recap here. Gender studies and experts have started by analyzing the concept of "power", clue term within the concept of empowerment. According to Bridge and Oxfam, power can be understood as operating in a number of different ways:

- *Power over*: This power involves an either/or relationship of domination/subordination. Ultimately, it is based on socially sanctioned threats of violence and intimidation, it requires constant vigilance to maintain, and it invites active and passive resistance. Its implications in practice are linked with conflict and direct confrontation between powerful and powerless interest groups;
- *Power to*: This power relates to having decision-making authority, power to solve problems and can be creative and enabling. In this case projects and programmes should work on capacity building and in supporting individual decision-making, leadership, etc.
- *Power with*: This power involves people organising with a common purpose or common understanding to achieve collective goals. In order to do that, it is essential to build alliances and coalitions;
- *Power within*: This power refers to self-confidence, self-awareness and assertiveness. It relates to how can individuals can recognise through analysing their experience how power operates in their lives, and gain the confidence to act to influence and change this.

Source: Williams et al, 1994

Although microcredit fall outside the field of Social Protection, loans from microfinance institutions are usually given with the idea of helping women set up enterprises in order to enter in the labour market and then take advantage of the social benefits. Moreover, research shows that they are often used for social insurance purposes (Lund and Srinivas, 2000). Access to credit, however, does not necessarily mean that women have the control over these resources. According to studies on microcredit and empowerment, even though women are beneficiaries of microfinance development projects, they were not empowered because credit was controlled and spent by their husbands.

- Pension schemes may alleviate the overwhelming responsibility that women bear in caring the elderlies, thus alleviating the burden of the unpaid domestic work. Moreover, non-contributory pension schemes extend the coverage to women that lived in precarious job conditions, thus reducing existing benefits gap between men and women.
- Childcare and maternity benefits programmes address gender-specific constraints dealing with family and working life conciliation. According to the 2014 MDG Report, in most developing regions, the time-related underemployment rate for women is higher than that for men. Thus, meaning that women are willing to work additional hours, but because of family responsibilities they are not available. This calls for more family-friendly policies, which not only encourage a better work-family balance, but also enhance the quality of women's working conditions.

Social protection and its role in empowering women

Another indirect effect of SP programmes over gender equality is related to women's empowerment.

Taking into account the different meanings of power, the concept of empowerment can be differentiated in two ways: *intra-household* and *intra-community* empowerment. We define here *intra-household* empowerment when women increase their decision-making power over the allocation of resources within the household. Otherwise, with the term *intra-community* empowerment we refer to the increased position and consideration of women within the society and community. In other words, we consider an empowered women when her political and societal participation is accrued and when the other member of the community consider women legitimate to participate to the public actions of the community as equal members.

For the aim of the paper we will discuss briefly about the impact of SP schemes on *intra-household* empowerment. However, this paper will focus on *intra-community* empowerment and show how gender sensitive SP policies can improve this type of empowerment.

Several studies on Conditional Cash Transfer (CCTs) programmes have analysed their impact over women's *intra-household* empowerment. Results have been contrasting. If on one side the literature shows that CCTs targeted to women have increased their decision-making power on certain issues within the household (see, e.g., Adato & Roopnaraine, 2010). On the other side, Adato, de la Briere, Mindek, and Quisumbing (2000) show that for the *Progresa* CCT programme in Mexico, quantitative evidence suggested that direct effects on women's decision making are not supported. Moreover, Handa et al. (2009) found CCTs having an impact only on women's ability to spend their own resources, but not in other household decision-making spheres.

Those examples are useful to understand that, if it is widely recognized that CCTs help in eradicating poverty and promoting access to basic needs such as health and education, their impact on women's decision-making power is controversial.

Evidence from Public Works (PW) programmes (McCord, 2012) has shown that when suitable part-time employment became available in remote rural areas through the implementation of a PWs programme in South Africa, it was possible for women to respond by taking work compatible with their domestic responsibilities. Likewise, in Mozambique the Productive Safety Net (*Programa de Acção Social Productiva-PASP*) plans to incorporate the so-called 'soft' public works into the range of activities offered to its beneficiaries. These activities include the delivery of social and community services. Soft PWs have high potential for creating spill over at the community level, not only through the payment of cash transfers but also the provision of socially-oriented services. Although there is still little evidence on the impact of this type of works at the *intra-household* level, they will presumably make women's (e.g. pregnant with less capacity to work and those with children) and handicapped's participation much easier. Their participation also means an increased acceptance within the community, resulting in a presumably higher *intra-community* status and empowerment.

In the next chapter we will focus on the impact of gender sensitive SP programmes on *intra-community* women empowerment and see how they are related to territorial development and natural resource management.

4. Could women's empowerment be achieved through other gender-sensitive programmes than sp?

Although Social Protection has been gaining more attention as an empowerment strategy in the last few years, it should be remembered that social projects aiming at empowering women have been implemented in developing countries since the 1990s. Among those initiatives, micro-credit, CCTs and Rights Based Approaches (RBA) have been the most popular ones. For instance, we can mention Conditional Cash Transfer programmes such as those implemented in Peru (*Juntos*), Ecuador (*Bono de Desarrollo Humano BDH*), and Bolivia (*Bono Juana Azurduy, BJA*); vocational skill trainings, such as the Employment Fund implemented in Nepal (Carter et al., 2014) or the Indian ICRW funded project “Rights-based Development for Women: moving from theory to action; and the Empowerment Approach to Sustainable Livelihoods and Food Security” (Kapur and Duvvury, 2006).

The aim of this section is therefore, to understand to what extent, in a context of limited resources, it is more effective (and efficient) to implement SP schemes compared to other gender equality approaches. The purpose of this analysis is to find different alternatives to directly integrate them into FAO's territorial development approach, in order to promote women *intra-community* empowerment.

As stated above, transformative SP programmes seek to enhance socioeconomic rights, addressing concerns of social equity and exclusion through social inclusion and empowerment (Ganju Thakur and Arnold, 2009), like through collective action for workers' rights, building voice and authority in decision-making for women. Although other measures have been implemented with similar goals, we argue that *a comprehensive transformative and gender-sensitive SP strategy (including a combination of cash incentives and RBA tools) will allow for a behavioural change, enhancing the impacts of SP programmes on women's empowerment.*

Typically, the impact of the SP programmes is measured in terms of ‘reduction’: reduction of the *poverty gap* (i.e. the severity of poverty) in the case of social assistance programmes; and reduction in the *poverty headcount* (i.e. the number of poor people) in the case of the income generation instruments. But, how to measure behaviour? How to measure the impact of such a change? And more importantly, how to define a rational timeframe for it or even justify the long term effects of this kind of interventions instead of the immediate outcomes required by development partners and governments?

In the next section, it follows a brief description of cash transfers and RBAs trying to describe (rather than to measure) their impact on women's empowerment. But first, it is worthwhile to note a third element that comes into play when designing SP instruments that connects with FAO's previous work on livelihoods¹⁰: the *graduation model*. When incorporated into the programme, graduation links Social Protection directly to agricultural development and rural growth through the provision of sustainable livelihoods that will prevent households from falling into poverty again. Nonetheless, graduation is only an option for people who have labour capacity and can engage in productive activities. For other poor and food insecure people with no labour capacity, long-term social assistance will be needed.

Cash incentives aimed at behavioural change

Although this type of programmes is not principally aimed at poverty, the problems they are meant to solve may result in households being poor or facing a high likelihood of becoming poor. The international experience provides mixed evidence of their efficacy in reducing gender inequality.

In South Asia for example, a number of secondary school scholarship programs are targeted to girls to address issues of gender inequality through increased education and are explicitly conditioned on the girls remaining unmarried. However, CCT-like programs that aim to improve women's status in society much more broadly, such as the Our Daughters, Our Wealth Program (*Apni Beti Apna Dhan -ABAD*) in Haryana, India, are also available (Grosh et al., 2008)¹¹.

A recent assessment of this programme (Nanda et al, 2014) found that the government-led effort indeed made a difference for those who participated. Beneficiaries of the programme were more likely to stay in school (increased the probability of being in school after age 15 by 23%) and less likely to drop out than those who did not participate in ABAD. However, education for girls is fraught with contradictions. Prevailing gender roles and expectations, particularly those that prioritize girls' roles as future wives above all, limit the impact of education on girls' empowerment, suggesting that other interventions are needed to help girls fulfil their potential. Research confirmed that conditional cash transfer programmes with immediate or protracted benefits need to also interact with the attitude and aspiration space (particularly that of the parents' aspirations and expectations for their children). The evaluators warned that financial incentives alone cannot trigger effective change without shifting underlying values or aspirations. The conclusions support our proposal of a transformative SP programme combining different tools.

Hitherto, conditional cash transfer programmes, along with micro-credit schemes¹², are among the policy instruments most favoured by governments to tackle poverty. They are generally successful in increasing children's school attendance, and improving nutritional and health indicators.

10 For more information see: FAO. 2010. "Livelihood-Based Social Protection for Orphaned and Vulnerable Children in East and Southern Africa".

11 This program, Implemented from 1994 to 1998, provided a series of cash payments to girls from low-income families from the time of their birth to adulthood. Within 15 days of giving birth, the mother received Rs 500 (about US\$12) in cash to meet the baby's immediate requirements for nutrition and medical care. Within three months of giving birth, the program invested Rs 2,500 (about US\$60) in the Small Savings Scheme, an amount that increased to about Rs 25,000 (about US\$600) and given to the girl when she reaches 18 years if she had not yet married. Finally, for every two additional years that girls delay cashing out the benefit and remain unmarried, they received an additional Rs 5,000, about US\$60. (Grosh et al., 2008 p. 149).

12 Indeed, Micro-credits fall out of the Social Protection field.

For some (Molyneux and Thomson, 2011), they are innovative in giving the transfer directly to mothers, along with the responsibility for complying with the conditions. Accordingly, CCTs are innovative and effective measures that empower women through the access to and control over resources. Targeting women, in fact, seems to have a direct positive impact on resource allocation within the household. Nonetheless, available evidence on their impact over decision-making and women's empowerment is, once again, mixed.

On the one hand, Adato and Roopnaraine (2010) argue that CCTs targeting women have positive impacts on women's decision-making power on certain issues, therefore increasing their *intra-household* empowerment. Similar findings have been presented by the evaluation of the Brazilian programme *Bolsa Familia*¹³. Likewise, gender targeting in particular CCT or scholarship programmes has contributed to reduce the gender gap in some particular areas like education. The Bangladesh Female Secondary School Assistance Program (FSSAP), a stipend for girls in secondary school, was designed as a gender-targeted education program. Given its focus on increasing girls' enrolments, it did not contemplate poverty targeting. Consequently, enrolment rates were higher among the less poor. As it has been noted (Fiszbein and Schady, 2009), without an understanding of the program and its original goals, one could consider it a failure by the standards of social assistance.

Differently, others as Molyneux (2007) and Guérin and Palier (2006) are more cautious in presenting the positive effect of CCTs on women, arguing that the main limitation of CCTs is that they reinforce a utilitarian approach to women's traditional roles within the household. Women are 'empowered' only as guardians of children and as channels for child-centred policies, rather than being the focus of interventions to ensure well-being across the lifecycle (Jenson, 2009; Molyneux, 2007). Other analysis shows that women are able to decide how to spend their own cash but not in other household decision making spheres (Handa et al. 2009). In addition, although women may be targeted as beneficiaries, it is not certain that they have the actual control over those resources.

Despite all these arguments, well designed gender-sensitive CCTs can be effective instruments to empower women within and outside the household, if integrated in a broader strategy that take into account the need to tackle gender discriminations based on social and cultural norms and legislations.

Furthermore, the impact of CCT over land ownership has shown to be rather positive. Evidence from a CCT program in Tanzania (Evans et al., 2014) showed that after receiving the transfer, some of the elderly were able to pay people to cultivate their land, which allows them to generate additional income. Several elderly beneficiaries in different villages used the money to clear land or assist with farming. Therefore, while the program may not have increased land ownership, it may serve to increase the returns beneficiaries are able to get from land they already own. Since many of the beneficiaries were women (40 percent of the sample were female-headed households), *the significance of a CCT programme for improving women's bargaining power seems promisingly high*. Similarly, it has been demonstrated (Todd et al. 2010) a significantly larger impact of the *Oportunidades* CT program in Mexico for PROCAMPO recipients on land use¹⁴. The study showed how CT impacts were more evident among land poor beneficiaries (*Oportunidades*) but with agricultural potential (PROCAMPO beneficiaries too), opening the door to the possibility of using productive CT under given conditions.

13 According to De Brauw et al. (2014), women's decision-making power over contraception has notably increased in urban areas where the programme has been implemented.

14 PROCAMPO was a decoupled cash transfer provided by the Mexican government to compensate (1993-1994) staple producers given the expected impact of NAFTA.

Rights based approaches¹⁵

Rights-based approaches (RBAs) have provided a very important reinforcement mechanism for tackling gender discrimination. RBA seeks, in fact, lasting solutions to end poverty through the establishment and enforcement of rights that entitle poor and marginalized people to a fair share of society's resources¹⁶.

The aim of RBAs objective is to enable women to be active citizens with rights, expectations and responsibilities. They focus on empowering men and women to claim their right to opportunities and services made available through pro-poor development strategies. In order to do that, it is crucial to address gender-based discriminations in legislation, policies and society through the full participation of the state and non-state actors (government, local authorities, NGOs, civil society, donors, and households).

The main objectives of a RBA are:

- Strengthen the understanding of rights, their violations; recognizing vulnerable groups and power imbalances;
- Ensure transparency and accountability by identifying rights-holders and duty-bearers;
- Build capacities for the realization of rights;
- Facilitate the active and meaningful participation to negotiation processes (by claiming for their interests);
- Encourage the expression of rights;

Its main principles are: Universality, Non-Discrimination and Equality, Indivisibility, Interdependence and Interrelatedness, Participation, The Rule of Law and Accountability.

As part of the UN system, FAO has a long record of working with RBA in many areas (e.g. the Right to Food¹⁷). A human rights-based approach to programming (in the SP sector) means for FAO that the ultimate aim of all FAO-supported activities is the realization of the rights (of women) as laid down for instance, in the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW).

There is a great deal of evidence on the benefits of linking Social Protection and Human Rights¹⁸. A RBA to Social Protection entails more than recognising the right to social security or core minimum social and economic rights obligations (Piron, 2004). Operationalization can include assessing their strengths and weaknesses from a RBA perspective, as shown in Table 1 below.

15 Those approaches were developed to promote a positive transformation of power relations among different actors within a society, distinguishing between right holders and duty bearers. However, some development agents start including also a "responsibility dimension" as the counterpart of the right. Therefore they are used to talk about Rights and Responsibilities Based Approaches (RRBAs)

16 "The Hua Hin Declaration on Rights Based Approach". ActionAid Asia, August 2000.

17 <http://www.fao.org/righttofood/about-right-to-food/en/>

18 For more information see 'Linking Social Protection and Human Rights', a UNRISD resource platform for practitioners and policy makers. Retrieved from:
[http://www.unrisd.org/unrisd/website/projects.nsf/\(httpProjects\)/954FA93204FE583AC1257CA2004478DA?OpenDocument](http://www.unrisd.org/unrisd/website/projects.nsf/(httpProjects)/954FA93204FE583AC1257CA2004478DA?OpenDocument)

In addition to the alternatives explained so far (i.e. cash transfers and RBA), there is one particular type of programme that if properly designed, may be a combination of all: the labour-intensive Public Works Programmes. PW programmes have two main objectives: first, to provide a source of income to poor workers, and second, to construct or rehabilitate public infrastructure. But most importantly, supply-driven public works projects are becoming demand-driven ‘employment guarantee’ schemes, i.e. RBAs. The flagship of its kind is India’s Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Scheme (MEGS). Introduced in 1965 and given statutory basis with the Employment Guarantee Scheme Act in 1978, MEGS guaranteed unskilled employment opportunities on a piece-rate basis to every adult in a rural area who wanted a job at a wage rate usually below the agricultural wage rate. Previously, RBAs have been insufficient in changing cultural and social norms towards the achievement of gender-equality. For this reason, it is crucial to tackle them through a comprehensive strategy including complementary programmes and services under a specific gender perspective.

TABLE 1
Applying a RBA to selected social protection instruments

SOCIAL PROTECTION INSTRUMENTS	IDIOSYNCRATIC
Cash or in-kind transfers	Cash transfers may better respect the notion of ‘freedom of choice’ and the autonomy of individuals, associated with human dignity. When asked, most people prefer these. Income transfers rather than food aid can help restore broader ‘access’ to food. In general, programmes that impart skills and enhance human development are more consistent with a view of SP as contributing to human dignity and the full development of a person capabilities, rather than humanitarian charity
Self-targeting approaches	Self-targeting may be associated with stigmatisation for being poor, which would not be compatible with equality and non-discrimination. Work requirements discriminate against female-headed households, the elderly and disabled. Lower wage rates may violate minimum wage laws. Community self-targeting may not cover those that are socially excluded and not members of well-defined communities (e.g. HIV-AIDS orphans)
Universality versus targeting	There is a presumption in favour of universal provision; at the same time, the focus on minimum standards and non-discrimination suggests that targeting the poorest and marginalised may be required in order progressively to attain universal minimum standards.
Social funds	These require community-based participation so as to be demand-driven and responsive; however, such participation can be coercive (e.g. requiring labour or cash) and not involve genuine involvement in project selection and decision-making
State provision	State provision of benefits may be better able to respect principles of universality and equality, as the state has a wider reach; however, state bureaucrats may have discretion and adopt discriminatory or stigmatising principles, and may not be able to reach remote rural areas
Informal provision	Community-based provision may be more comprehensive; however, social norms and values may lead to discrimination, such as gender bias (e.g. removing the girl child from school rather than the boy child) or denying protection to those that are not indigenous to the community

Source: Piron 2004, based on Devereux 2002.

Comprehensive transformative and gender-sensitive SP strategy

Because of the limitations that cash transfers and RBA individually have shown, we do argue that a comprehensive strategy bringing together both aspects could benefit women's empowerment even more positively. RBAs, CTs and PWs could potentially serve as complements of a broader transformative gender-sensitive development agenda: through i) RBAs such as FAO's Improving Gender Equality in Territorial Issues (IGETI), by promoting an equal distribution and management of resources, ii) through CTs and PWs by fostering households' production and economic empowerment of the most vulnerable, women and men, and iii) incorporating a graduation pillar within FAO's programmes to allow men and women increase the productivity of their land and productive assets in a sustainable way.

Hitherto, as it has been evidenced, cash transfers alone cannot tackle women's social vulnerabilities. However, RBAs may promote equal resource allocations and access, thus reducing power asymmetries within and outside rural households. Improving the manner in which credit services are offered is fundamental. Knowing the local context and constraints faced by women, particularly with regard to gender relations, is a first step. Providing gender awareness training to NGO personnel is also important. And complementing microfinance with actions that promote economic and social rights is absolutely essential.

Likewise, PWs, in addition to economic (transfer) gains, can encourage participation by women. MEGS, for example, was designed to encourage participation by women by providing employment within five kilometres of participants' homes, providing child care facilities, and eliminating male-female wage discrimination. As a result, women accounted for almost half of all participants, thereby promoting opportunities for women and gender equality. As it has been noted (Grosh et al. 2008), the Employment Guarantee Scheme also discouraged sexual barriers and inequality. Women are dressed better and their economic power has given them a better status in their families. In Korea, even though the public works program was initially designed primarily for male household heads, the projects still attracted many female workers, and at later stages gave explicit priority to female household heads. Similarly, in Mozambique 60 percent of the beneficiaries enrolled in the Productive Safety Net were female, without having any specific targeting criteria aimed at them.

Therefore, a human rights perspective on Social Protection needs to contextualize its mechanisms as part of a broader effort to change the way societies function. SP systems need to be more explicitly understood as transformative (Seymour, 2014). These extensive strategies are thus embedded in the idea of 'Transformative Social Protection' approaches, where 'transformative' refers to the need to pursue policies that relate to power imbalances in society that encourage, create and sustain vulnerabilities (Devereux, Sabates-Wheeler, 2004).

According to this approach a comprehensive ‘transformative’ SP programme should include:

- Policies supporting trade unions in order to empower them to claim for their rights;
- Sensitisation and awareness-raising campaigns to transform public attitudes and behaviours;
- Changes in the regulatory framework to protect minorities and vulnerable groups.

As pertinently noted by Seymour (2014), the issue of gender equality in SP systems then is not only about how well they achieve reductions in poverty for women. Seen as part of a broader system of change, the question is rather one of how a particular SP mechanism can further or hinder gender equality more broadly. It leads to questions such as how women’s agency and leadership in the design of SP systems can be leveraged to strengthen women’s voice in decisions and actions beyond issues related only to those systems. The issue is one of how to leverage the design of Social Protection systems to promote women’s rights beyond the scope of that system. The objectives of a SP system must serve the goal of gender equality, not the other way around.

Besides that, we argue that Transformative SP measures, if designed in order to integrate a gender equality dimension at an early and every stage, are also a comprehensive instrument that promotes women *intra-household* and *intra-community* empowerment. In order to deal with the difficulties faced by women in accessing and controlling over resources, and their need to be aware of their rights and to claim for them, this strategy, aside from including both CTs and RBAs, should incorporate elements from FAO’s Improving Gender Equality in Territorial Issues and Participatory and Negotiated Territorial Development (IGETI)¹⁹ approaches. These approaches provide facilitation instruments and steps that can be very useful in the design of Transformative SP measures such as i) understanding who are the stakeholders (women and men, individual and collective, public and private), what are their strategies, visions and interests and how do they interact within a given space or territory considering the different needs and roles of men and women (gender responsive territorial diagnosis); and ii) identifying priority areas along which an initial dialogue can be established and helping setting up the dialogue and identifying gender sensitive proposals.

¹⁹ As stated above, IGETI is the newest FAO’s approach to territorial development that includes a Gender dimension at every stage of the process. IGETI is a practical approach intended to promote establish an environment where all actors¹² in a given territory are listened to, sensitized and empowered to speak (and negotiate) for themselves on matters concerning equal access for men, women, youth, the poor to land and territorial development..

The impact of a transformative social protection (tsp) on women's intra-community empowerment

While there is a great body of literature on how Social Protection helps the most vulnerable in managing life-course crises, such as food or income crisis, there are fewer studies on the transformative impact of SP on people's, and more precisely, women's empowerment.

Being more specific, a Transformative SP, through cash transfers and rights-based trainings, can improve women's empowerment by reinforcing their awareness on the role they could play within the society and which are the rights they are entitled to.

The positive impact of TSP on women's intra-community empowerment is the success key to reduce power asymmetries and inequalities within territorial development negotiations. In fact, in order to be equal and effective, women should be not only attending those negotiations, but also being considered as equal negotiators with the possibility of claiming for their rights over the territory.

The TSP may suffer the lack of acceptance of women by the other stakeholders part of the negotiation. As this is a 0 sum game, fully accepting women as pair negotiators means that some others are risking their 'piece of the cake'. Until TSP is able to complete the promotion of women's intra-household empowerment, men could agree in freeing part of their decision-making power only in exchange of higher household revenues (for instance in exchange of revenues from CCTs distributed to women). This is because intra-community empowerment reaches the core of power asymmetries within a territory, and men are clearly not interested in giving part of their rights, usually obtained after several negotiations, to another incoming actor.

For this reason, the role of International Organizations such as FAO is crucial in explaining the importance of and protecting women's intra-community empowerment. The PNTD and IGETI approaches developed by FAO, use the facilitator role in order to introduce a *super partes* figure that should promote transparent dialogue within stakeholders by ensuring that all negotiators have the possibility to claim for their rights.

Using TSP to promote women's intra-community empowerment is clearly a policy to reduce gender power asymmetries during territorial development negotiations, but this means even more contrasting interests between negotiators. The figure of the "social facilitator" should be aware of these obstacles and be even more proactive in promoting the role of women within the negotiations.

5. Promoting gender sensitive transformative social protection for territorial development

Hitherto, it is clear that Social Protection is not a panacea. In the rural settings, SP is not sufficient to graduate poor and vulnerable out of poverty and food insecurity. As stated in its strategy, FAO believes in the importance of linking SP programmes to productivity-enhancing measures that can sustainably improve farm incomes and nutrition as well as provide more jobs, and to the supply of social and public services. For that, SP will need to be embedded in broader agricultural and rural development strategies for a more lasting and transformative impact.

Under this view, it is necessary to develop the right tools and guidelines for designing gender-sensitive SP programmes aiming at promoting women's empowerment. Although there are many available examples in the literature, what FAO needs is to harness its extensive experience in combating food insecurity and put it in the centre of its new SP scheme.

Linking Social Protection, Rural Employment and Food Security is often seen as the best way to support smallholder farmers (FAO, ILO 2014). Similarly, supporting SP and rural employment through small-scale agribusiness and value chain development has been also a way to promote women empowerment. In both cases, the target of the interventions is well defined: smallholder farmers (men and women, poorer and better-off) who need their agricultural land to grow (staples and/or cash) crops that will either take them out of poverty and/or keep them food secure. In the end, what all these people have in common is one thing: their land, the territory where they live, strive and interact to each other.

In this sense, both the PNTD and IGETI frameworks elaborated and implemented by FAO take the territory as the object of its work rather than the individual. When successful, they are capable of improving the living conditions not only of the poorest but also the better-off, not only of men but also women, not only farmers but also small commercial entrepreneurs. These are therefore, two important tools that really can transform the reality where they operate and may be incorporated in a wide range of programs, from pure cash transfers to agricultural productivity enhancement programs. The aim of this section is thus to provide the main elements that need to make part of the design of such multidisciplinary programs.

As we have seen, targeting women and girls as principal or unique beneficiaries is not always enough for a SP instrument to promote women's empowerment. Social and cultural norms creating gender disparities are more complex to deal with. For instance, agricultural asset transfer programmes targeting women enable them to obtain seeds and a hoe, but if women don't own or don't have the decision power over the land, the received assets will automatically be placed under the control of their husbands. Therefore, women's decision-making power will have not been improved at all.

To tackle gender inequalities, SP programmes should integrate a gender dimension at every (and early) stage of the design. The toolkit developed by ODI (Holmes R., Jones N. 2010) could be used as a guide for assessing and properly design gender-sensitive SP programmes for rural and agricultural households. In addition, this guide introduces some tracks on how to implement Transformative SP programmes aiming at promoting women's intra-community empowerment in a context of contrasting interests. Because, as stated above when we start promoting equal access and control over natural resources for women and men, this means that on one side women are gaining access and voice within the negotiation process. However, men start losing it, thus creating new sources of conflict. This is a crucial point that International Organisations should bear in mind in order to effectively implement gender sensitive SP programmes within a territorial development context.

For those reasons, this section is divided as follows:

- 1. Gender Inequalities and Vulnerabilities Assessment:** this first part aims at showing how to elaborate a preliminary diagnosis on existing gender inequalities in the access and management of natural resources;
- 2. Programme Design:** this part aims at giving some suggestions on how to integrate a gender dimension in each part of the programme (gender awareness raising of designers).
- 3. Promotion and negotiations:** as said before, it is crucial to bear in mind that Transformative SP programmes aiming at promoting women's empowerment are implemented in a context of conflicting interests. Therefore, it is necessary at this stage to build alliances with actors that potentially will be in favour of Gender sensitive SP programmes, in order to increase the chances of being effectively implemented and accepted during the negotiation process.
- 4. Monitoring and evaluation:** this part aims at introducing some useful and gender-sensitive indicators for the evaluation of the impact of TSP on women's empowerment.

Gender inequalities and vulnerabilities assessment

Evidence has shown (Ezemari et al., 2002; Antonopoulos, 2013) how women and men are differently affected by economic and social risks and their coping strategies also differ. In rural areas, economic risks include:

- ‘invisibilisation’ of women’s work;
- Lower paid or unpaid jobs;
- Unequal distribution of care and domestic responsibilities;
- Unequal distribution of tasks (women are often responsible for low skilled tasks such as collecting wood and water, unlike men which are assigned to high skilled tasks);

Social risks include:

- Difficulties to balance family and working life;
- Unequal access to and control over assets and resources (such as land, physical capital, credit, etc.);
- Limited opportunities for meaningful participation in formal and informal community institutions;
- Gender based violence, including domestic violence.

Therefore, it is crucial to previously assess gender vulnerabilities in order to understand how to tackle them through the SP programme.

This preliminary stage should determine:

- Whether property and inheritance rights²⁰ allow equal access to women and men;
- Whether laws are implemented in practice or not: Do women have a real access to and control over resources? If not, it will be necessary to analyse social and cultural norms;
- How domestic tasks are allocated within the household.

Based on ODI’s recommendations, the preliminary assessment can be done through:

- Time-allocation surveys;
- Key informant interviews with households members and other stakeholders such as: relevant international and local NGOs, local authorities, government members and donors;
- Focus group discussions with communities, both mixed sex and separate in order to ensure that women’s and girls’ voices are heard;
- Life histories;
- Secondary data analysis (including census, household surveys, and other datasets)²¹.

²⁰ Importantly, by rights we consider not only the formal legal framework, but also religious and customary laws.

²¹ Unfortunately, gender indicators and gender-disaggregated data are not always available. This is particularly true in the context of rural households.

- It's worth noticing that IGETI's phase one starts with a similar diagnosis. In fact, a preliminary gender sensitive territorial assessment is necessary in order to analyse who are the actors involved "and how they access or use land and other natural resources with particular attention to gender equality, considering the actors concerned and the territory as a whole system" (FAO IGETI, page 15)

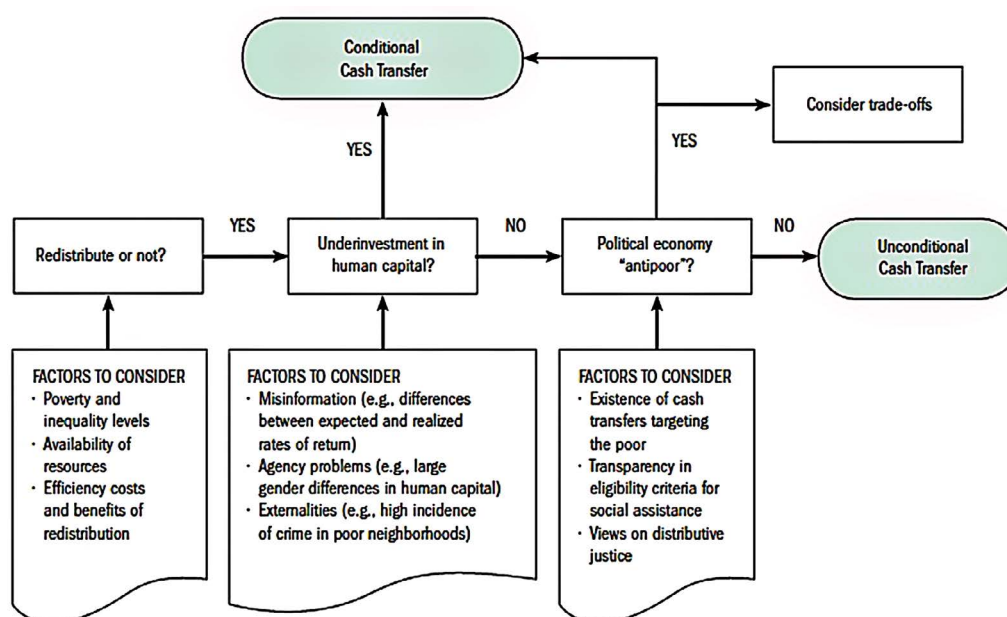
Programme design

For the purpose of the paper, we will focus on the integration of a gender dimension into Transformative SP programmes facilitating territorial development processes.

But first, one should answer to a series of preliminary questions: when a CT programme is the right policy instrument? When gender targeting should be used? Figure 2 presents a simple framework that identifies critical questions that can guide the decision to have a conditional cash transfer program and the type of information that can support such decisions. As a rule of thumb (Fiszbein and Schady, 2009), CCTs are most appropriate when under-investment in Human Capital is concentrated in a small group of socially excluded households (by ethnicity, race or even gender). Gender targeting is better suited when different opportunity costs for boys/men and girls/women exist along with a gender gap in school enrolment.

FIGURE 2

Decision Tree Approach to Identifying CCTs as the Right Policy Instrument



Source: Fiszbein and Schady, 2009

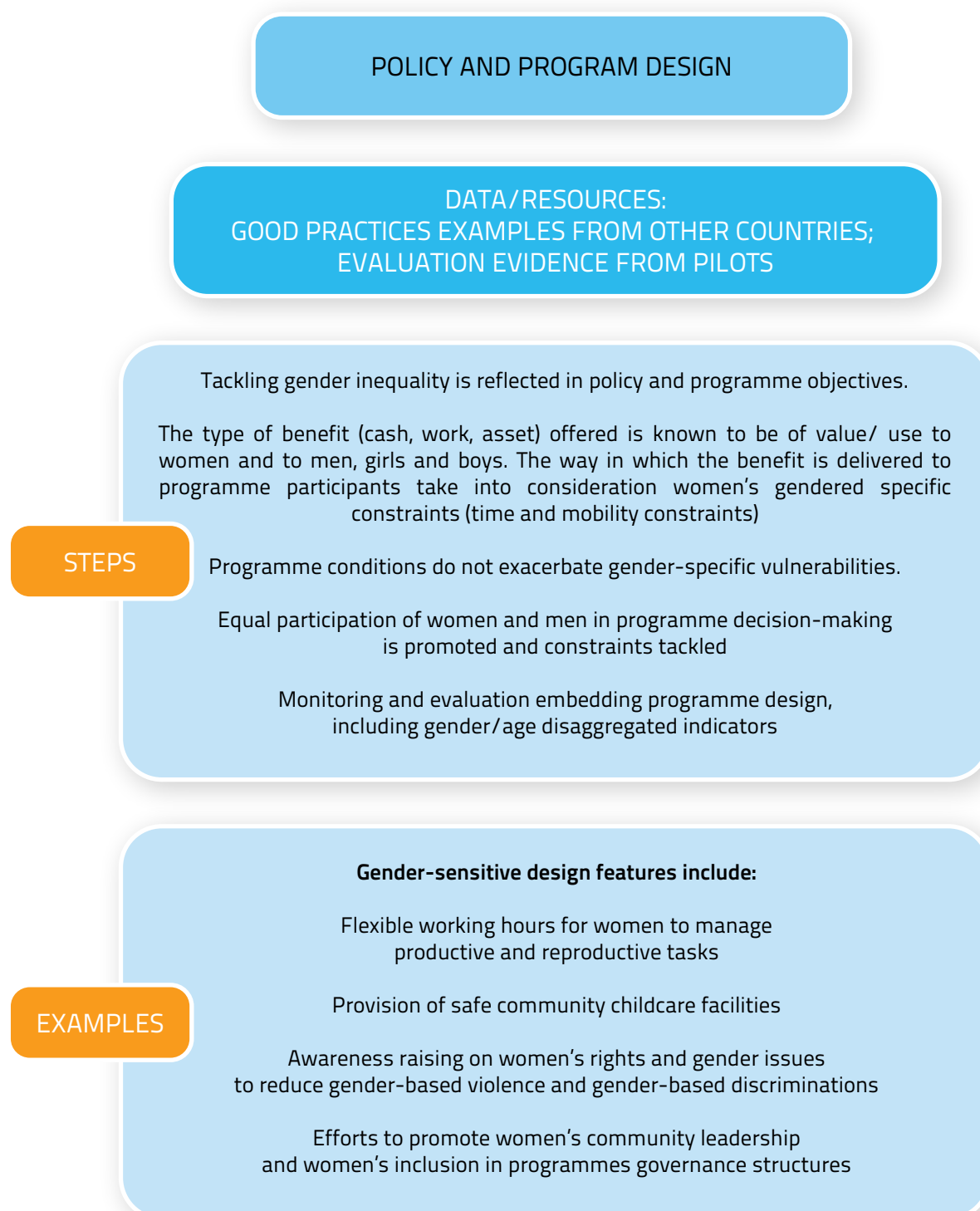
In choosing the most appropriate policy instrument, one should consider the fact that TSP programmes could improve women's position into the society by giving them resources (through skills, trainings, cash or asset transfers), enhancing their self-esteem, promoting their access to employment (either formal or informal) or providing sustainable livelihoods.

Later on, practitioners and policy makers should take the following steps to elaborate a gender-sensitive TSP scheme:

1. **Ensure that gender inequalities are addressed in programme objectives.** It may sound evident, but it is crucial to set gender-equality and women's empowerment as a key objective of the TSP programme, and this for evaluation and accountability reasons. Consider gender constraints in the choice of the type of programme as well as in the delivery mechanisms. This is a very important step because it will determine the effectiveness of the programme. Depending on the context, women could have: time or travel constraints, language barriers, constraints in the access to specific assets, etc.
2. **Design programme features/conditions/co-responsibilities which are gender-sensitive.** Programme's conditionality should take into account the "double burden" in order to accommodate domestic and working hours (this is important for public work programmes). Moreover, conditionality may improve girl's access and maintaining in primary and secondary education. *"Conditions may include preventing child protection vulnerabilities to which girls are especially vulnerable (e.g. worst forms of child labour, including hired domestic work, trafficking) (e.g. Ghana's Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty-LEAP programme); Require households to obtain civic documentation (e.g. as in Peru's Juntos and Pakistan's Benazir Bhutto Income Support Programme-BISP), which is positive for women and their offspring who may have struggled to gain access to services and public programmes owing to a lack of identity papers"* (Holmes and Jones, 2010).
3. **Promote women's quality participation into the programme's governance.** **This is the crucial point for enhancing women's intra-community empowerment.** *"While notoriously difficult to define, governance can be considered broadly as the ways in-which interests, stakeholders, and institutions interact and are managed in pursuing common good for society. Governance therefore includes the instruments and processes ranging from short-term operational activities to long-term policy development and planning and from conventional forms of administration to modern forms of participative decision-making"* (Treakle, 2014).

Some innovative mechanisms may increase women's position and participation within the community. For instance, in Bangladesh, Village Poverty Reduction Committees have been created within the context of the Challenging the Frontiers of Poverty Reduction (CFPR) programme, in order to promote dialogue between women, local village elites and other key actors (Holmes and Jones, 2010 page 21). Moreover, SP programmes may include mandatory mentoring and training sessions on capacity building, gender equality and women's empowerment in order to enhance women's knowledge about their rights and their self-perception. Figure 3 illustrates the main steps in order to integrate a gender dimension into SP measures.

FIGURE 3

Gender-sensitive design decision tree

Source: Holmes and Jones, 2010.

Promotion and negotiation

After having analysed the issues at stake regarding the existing gender inequalities and having elaborated a gender sensitive TSP, it is crucial to let it be accepted by governments, local authorities and the involved actors. For this reason it is essential to foster the creation of alliances among cooperation agencies, governmental institutions, civil society and their representatives (farmers' organizations, research institutes, trade unions, etc.) that potentially are in favour of, or have something to gain from the TSP. Due to the legitimacy and *super partes* position, the role of promotion should be bear by International Organisations such as the United Nations.

This is a critical phase of the process because it needs an important effort from the promoter to let understand the importance and the impact of gender sensitive TSP on the empowerment of the most vulnerable, in this case women. As stated above, a facilitator is needed both in the promotion and in the negotiation process in order to promote women's voice within the negotiation process

Monitoring and evaluation

Sex-disaggregated data on programme participation and impacts are generally very weak or inexistent. Addressing this weakness is critical in order to determine whether or not SP schemes are effectively reaching poor and vulnerable men, women, boys and girls.

We will provide some examples of gender specific indicators that will help monitoring and evaluating progress towards gender-equality. For the purpose of the paper, we will focus on programme participation (see Table 2), receipt and use of programme benefits and intra-community impacts.

To monitor and evaluate programme participation, indicators should answer to the following questions:

- What percentage of *programme participants* are men? Women? Boys? Girls? If there are gender and age differences, what explains this?
- If programmes are targeted towards households, what percentage of beneficiary households are female headed? Male-headed?
- Are there provisions for women living in other types of households, such as polygamous households, extended family households?

TABLE 2
Gender-specific indicators on participation for SP programmes

Self-mobilization	People participate by taking initiatives independent of external institutions to change systems. Such self-initiated mobilization and collective action may or may not challenge existing inequitable distributions of wealth and power.
Interactive participation	People participate in joint analysis, which leads to action plans and the formation of new local groups or the strengthening of existing ones. It tends to involve interdisciplinary methodologies that seek multiple perspectives and make use of systematic and structured learning processes. These groups take control over local decisions, and so people have a stake in maintaining structures or practices.
Functional participation	People participate by forming groups to meet predetermined objectives related to the project, which can involve the development or promotion of externally initiated social organization. Such involvement does not tend to be at early stages of project cycles or planning, but rather after major decisions have been made. These institutions tend to be dependent on external initiators and facilitators, but may become self-dependent.
Participation for material incentives	People participate by providing resources, for example labour, in return for food, cash or other material incentives. Much in-situ research and bio-prospecting fall in this category, as rural people provide the resources but are not involved in the experimentation or the process of learning. It is very common to see this called participation, yet people have no stake in prolonging activities when the incentives end.
Participation by consultation	People participate by being consulted, and external agents listen to views. These external agents define both problems and solutions, and may modify these in the light of people's responses. Such a consultative process does not concede any share in decision-making and professionals are under no obligation to take on board people's views.
Participation in information-giving	People participate by answering questions posed by extractive researchers and project managers using questionnaire surveys or similar approaches. People do not have the opportunity to influence proceedings, as the findings of the research or project design are neither shared nor checked for accuracy
Passive participation	People participate by being told what is going to happen or what has already happened. it is unilateral announcement by an administration or by project management; people's responses are not taken into account. the information being shared belongs only to external professionals.

Source: Holmes and Jones, 2010.

Receipt and use of *programme benefits* monitor and evaluation indicators could include:

- How many men, women, boys and girls access subsidised goods and services? If there are gender differences, what are the key reasons?
- How Domestic/care work responsibilities are allocated within the household? Do women face difficulties in balancing work and family lives? Socio-cultural attitudes? Lack of interest? Lack of confidence?
- In the case of cash transfers, do women get to control the use of the income?
- In the case of asset transfers, can women sell the assets and produce and keep the profits?
- To what extent has involvement in the programme helped women meet their household food provision responsibilities? (not at all, somewhat, significantly) Healthcare uptake? Care work responsibilities?
- Have gains in children's human capital development (school enrolment and achievement, nutritional status, health status, birth registration) been equal among boys and girls or have there been gender differences? If so, were these differences intended as part of programme affirmative action (e.g. increased transfers to promote girls' secondary education) or unintended?

Community-level impacts indicators:

- Has programme participation resulted in greater participation of women in community meetings (e.g. to discuss the choice of community assets to be invested in) and do their voices influence decision making?
- Has programme participation resulted in greater interaction by women with local authorities as part of increased citizenship?
- Has programme participation resulted in an increase in collective action by women? If so, what?
- How women are perceived by male community members? Do men feel that women and men deserve equal rights and equal access to and control over resources? (perception);
- Do women have increased their access to and control over assets and resources? (in practice).

6. Conclusion

Land, not only as a production factor, but also as a way for improving rural livelihoods, social status and economic empowerment for people (men and women, girls and boys) is considered as the primary Safety Net. However, due to gender disparities in existing patterns of land distribution, access to and control over, women and girls become the most vulnerable to external shocks induced by natural disasters, gender-based violence, and unemployment and income variance.

The consolidated conceptual framework proposed here for FAO (linking SP, gender and territorial development) aims at ‘protecting’ and ‘promoting’ livelihoods, of both women and men, and reduce the existing gender inequalities within a community, as recognized in the Transformative Social Protection framework. It is also based in the double principle of ‘gender sensitivity’ and ‘social inclusion’, aiming at a ‘behavioural change’ rather than income support, as well as reducing ‘vulnerability’ as much as reducing poverty.

The selection of appropriate transformative SP instruments for women’s poverty reduction within FAO’s programmes should be driven in first place by a gender inequalities and vulnerabilities assessment as recognised in the IGETI approach. Evidence has shown how gender sensitive SP policies can improve women’s *intra-community* empowerment. Notwithstanding, in order to promote an equitable territorial development, the priority should still be given to territorial development strategies as it is the most cost-effective mechanism of protecting the greatest part of the population, not only the poorest and most vulnerable.

As it already happened in the past with the question of whether CT could be used for productive purposes or not, now is the moment to ask ourselves how gender-sensitive territorial and participatory approaches can be introduced in the current SP schemes; and which elements can be taken from them to design SP programs with built-on transformative negotiation strategies.

A word of caution should be introduced nonetheless for those SP programmes designed as gender-targeted (like those in education with focus on increasing girls’ enrolments). Since many of them do not contemplate poverty targeting but gender specific goals (e.g. behavioural change), without a thorough understanding of the programme and its original goals, one could consider it a failure by the standards of social assistance. The issue of gender equality in SP systems then is not only about how well they achieve reductions in poverty for women. The objectives of a SP system must serve the goal of gender equality, not the other way around. Well-designed gender-sensitive CCTs and PWs can be effective instruments to empower women within and outside the household, only if integrated in a broader strategy that take into account the need to tackle gender discriminations based on social and cultural norms and legislations.

Evidence has shown cases of positive impact of CT over land use and ownership. The improvement of women’s bargaining power seems promisingly high when using the existing tools for promoting territorial development (e.g. PNTD and IGETI) in combination with other SP tools (e.g. CCT, RBA). RBAs alone have been insufficient in changing cultural and social norms towards the achievement of gender-equality.

Using Transformative SP to promote women's intra-community empowerment is clearly a good policy to reduce gender power asymmetries during territorial development negotiations. In this sense, the figure of the 'social facilitator' (intervening in the PNTD) should be even more proactive in promoting the role of women within the territorial negotiations. Likewise, 'social workers' (in SP systems) should be aware of these negotiation tools as well, in order to harness the role women can play on them and use it in their daily work at the household level. Combining both levels may actually bring about changes in the power balance in a more sustained way.

Finally, the foundations of this broader transformative gender-sensitive development agenda are threefold: i) RBAs such as FAO's Improving Gender Equality in Territorial Issues (IGETI), that promote an equal distribution and management of resources; ii) CTs and PWs to foster households' production and economic empowerment of the most vulnerable, women and men; iii) a graduation pillar to allow men and women increase the productivity of their land and productive assets in a sustainable way.

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Building the blocks of gender-sensitive social protection and natural resources

Land as a production factor as well as a way for improving rural livelihoods, social status and economic empowerment is to be considered as the primary social safety net , in the context of poverty alleviation and food security in rural areas of many developing countries.

The consolidated conceptual framework linking social protection, gender and territorial development here presented aims at promoting livelihoods of women and men and reduce the existing gender inequalities within a community. It is also based on the double principle of gender sensitivity and social inclusion .