Social protection pathways:
shaping social justice outcomes for the most marginalised, now and post-2015

Nicola Jones and Thea Shahrokh

Box 1: Key points

- The potential of social protection to promote social justice outcomes for diverse marginalised social groups is increasingly being recognised.

- This Background Note provides a theory of change framework for understanding macro- to micro-impact pathways for transformative social protection.

- The Note highlights that in order to tackle multidimensional vulnerability in a sustainable way, it is vital for social protection programmes to be designed and governed so as to promote social inclusion and accountability.

Demands for social justice are increasingly part of mainstream development debates, including post-2015 policy dialogues that highlight the importance of striving towards 'resilience for all'. Although the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) have galvanised a global consensus to improve human development, the mixed and modest inroads achieved thus far in tackling major development challenges – including the ongoing global financial crisis, rising food prices, and political insecurity underscored by the dynamics of the post-Arab Spring – highlight the need for a stronger policy and programming focus on addressing inequality and social exclusion (Kabeer, 2010; OECD, 2010; ECA et al., 2012). Within this

context, social protection is increasingly seen as essential, not just in tackling risk and vulnerability but also in promoting broader social inclusion and social justice (ibid) (see also Box 2).

Social injustice arises from structural inequalities and abuses of power in relationships, rights, opportunities and resources, leading to unequal capabilities and achievements or outcomes among excluded and marginalised groups (Nussbaum, 2003: 33). Given this context, there is growing consensus that social protection must address not just income deficits but also structural vulnerabilities and power hierarchies at all levels of society if it is to be an effective means of tackling social exclusion and marginalisation. However, learning and analysis about how different groups are included in or impacted by social protection (including key groups such as children and young people, women, older people, people with disabilities or chronic illness, those who are stateless, and those with ethnic minority or refugee status) are still mired in organisational silos. To help overcome these divisions and contribute to more joined-up policy dialogues, we have developed a grounded conceptual framework informed by a synthesis of different strands of the literature to provide a theory of change for social justice-oriented social protection programming. [1] Given the breadth of the literature, we focus here on social transfer programmes – non-contributory social assistance provided by public and civic actors to those living in poverty or at risk of falling into poverty – although we are of the view that the frame-

---

Shaping policy for development

Box 2: The multiple and overlapping forms of disadvantage facing socially excluded groups

- More than 100 million girls aged between 5 and 17 are involved in child labour, most of them in hazardous work (ILO, 2009).

- In Bolivia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Peru and Brazil, children of indigenous origin are up to 2.5 times more likely to be undernourished (Kabeer, 2010).

- Ethnic groups in China (numbering more than 50) account for less than 9% of the population but around 40% of those living in poverty (CPRC, 2004).

- The World Health Survey 2011 shows that 50.6% of men with a disability have completed primary school compared with 61.3% of men without a disability (Kabeer, 2010).

- Globally, those aged 70 and over are at greater risk of poverty than any other age group, and poverty rates are up to 29% higher in households headed by older people (Schwarz, 2003).

work could be applied to a broader array of social protection programmes including social insurance.

The framework traces the linkages between macro-level, structural sources of risk through to micro-level experiences of multidimensional vulnerability.[2] To ensure that the framework is informed by the current realities of social protection programming, we draw on **theory** as well as **empirical examples** of the role transformative social protection can play in promoting empowerment and citizen rights among marginalised social groups, and in supporting approaches to more inclusive programme governance and accountability (e.g. Devereux et al., 2011; Babajanian, 2012). We also consider the politics behind social protection policy and programming choices, drawing on emerging work on the political economy of social protection.

Multidimensional risk and vulnerability contexts

For the most marginalised people, the nature of their poverty and vulnerability is complex, multidimensional and highly contextual, manifested in a denial of rights and equality often in many areas of life (see Figure 1). Social protection – whether provided formally by the state or informally through community and family networks – is a potentially powerful means of tackling the underlying drivers of social exclusion. But it is increasingly clear that a nuanced understanding of the differential experiences of poverty and vulnerability is vital in order to design effective social

protection and complementary programmes that support pathways out of poverty.

Vulnerability can be understood as a product of being exposed to risk, and an individual, household or community's resilience to that risk. In other words, people have divergent capacities to cope with the same risk and this, in turn, links to people's experience of chronic versus transitory forms of poverty (Sabates-Wheeler and Devereux, 2008: 66). Poor households face a range of highly interconnected risks across macro, meso and micro levels, including economic, socio-political, environmental and health-related shocks and stresses (see Table 1).

To date, social protection programming has largely been a response to shocks and chronic income poverty. While still limited, attention is increasingly being paid to addressing the underlying socio-political drivers of poverty and vulnerability, including discrimination and exclusion on the basis of gender inequalities, ethnic minority or refugee status (Holmes and Jones, 2009; Molyneux, 2007; Baulch et al., 2010; Sabates-Wheeler and Waite, 2003). Proponents of a social exclusion perspective see structural inequalities of opportunity and outcome as stemming from two sources:

- **Group-based disadvantages**: Social hierarchies and relations that define certain groups as inferior to others on the basis of their identity are a key source of disadvantage, denying them full participation in the economic, social and political life of their society (Kabeer, 2010; Stewart, 2002).

- **Lifelong discrimination**: Chronic poverty results not only from having fewer assets to fall back on in times of crisis, but also from the cumulative impact of discrimination, risk, vulnerability and exclusion across an individual's life cycle and between generations (Cain, 2009; see also Table 2).

Reflecting this, social transfer programming is increasingly not only targeting specific groups, e.g. disadvantaged ethnic minorities or people living with disabilities, but also specific lifecycle vulnerabilities in order to stem the inter-generational transmission of poverty and inequality, although important gaps remain, as highlighted in Table 2.

Nonetheless, it is important to balance a consideration of vulnerability and risk among marginalised groups with their potential for positive change, resilience, and broader capabilities. Sen's capability approach (1999) was pivotal in moving discussions of human well-being beyond material deprivation to a focus on people's capabilities and how they relate to others to promote collective agency (McGregor and

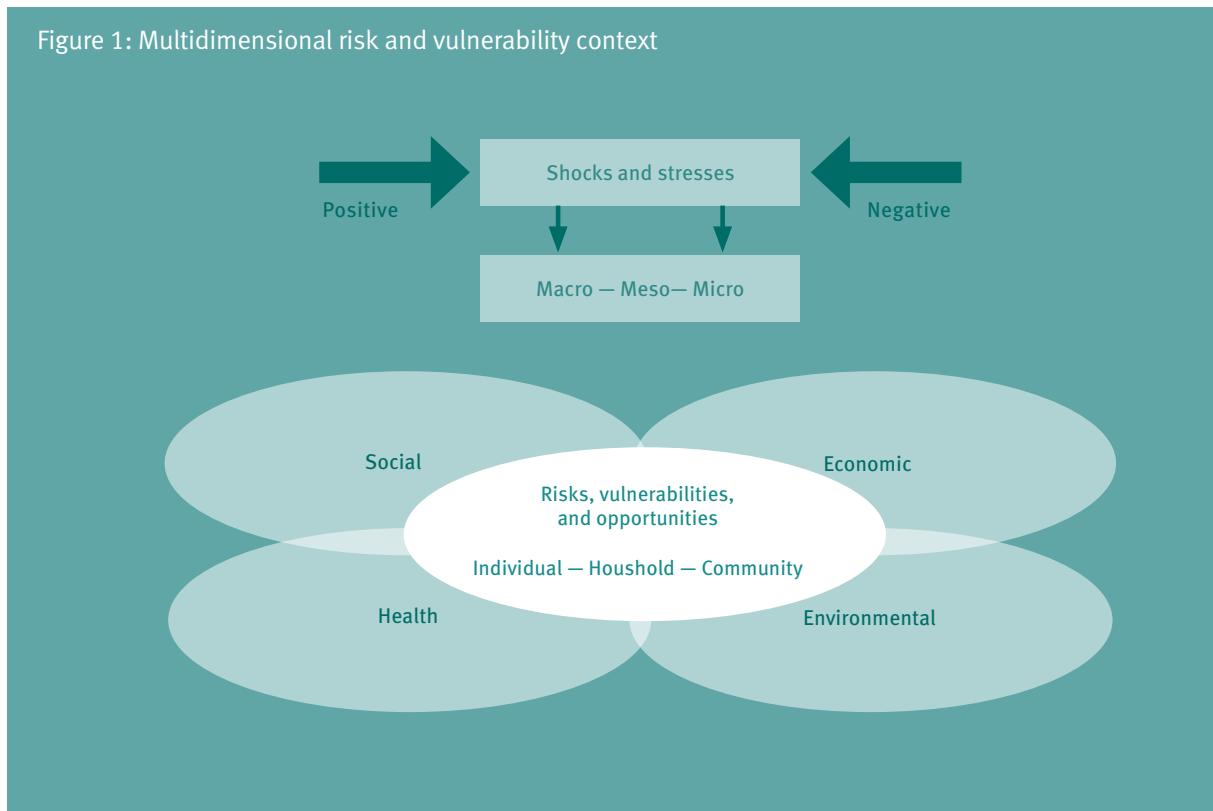Figure 1: Multidimensional risk and vulnerability context

Positive → Shocks and stresses ← Negative

Macro — Meso— Micro

Social

Economic

Risks, vulnerabilities, and opportunities

Individual — Houshold — Community

Health

Environmental

Table 1: Examples of sources of risk and levels of vulnerability

	Macro	**Meso**	**Micro**
Economic	Global financial crisis	Social malaise as a result of high levels of unemployment	Job insecurity for low-skilled workers Intra-household tensions due to lack of income and income-generating prospects Engagement in risky and addictive behaviours as a coping strategy Intra-household inequality in access to productive assets such as land and credit
Socio-political	Demographic change and migration Violent conflict	Erosion of community social capital and informal forms of social protection, with particular consequences for older people who are highly reliant on social ties for their well-being (ILO, 2011)	Family composition (high dependency, intra-household inequality, family violence, family break-up), with particularly acute impacts on people with disabilities who are often more reliant on familial care and support (Marriott and Gooding, 2007)
Environmental	Climate change Environmental degradation	Climate-related migration can put economic, social and infrastructure-related pressure on host communities (Sabates-Wheeler and Waite, 2003)	Exacerbating household economic fragility as a result of falling agricultural yields and exposure to natural disasters (Farrington et al., 2007)
Health	Rapidly ageing populations are increasing the prevalence of chronic disease and disabilities	Status-related hierarchies within communities can limit access to healthcare and public health information for marginalised groups, e.g. ethnic minorities, people with disabilities, women	Breadwinner loss of productive capacity; ongoing costs of care in terms of resources, time

Table 2: Social transfer programmes tackling specific lifecycle vulnerabilities: strengths and gaps

Lifecycle vulnerabilities	Social transfer programming strengths	Social transfer programming gaps
Childhood	Cash transfers have strengthened human capital development among school-age children, especially in Latin America	More needs to be done to address nutritional deficits fundamental to infant survival at the crucial period between conception and 36 months (Save the Children, 2012), as well as to link children who are vulnerable to violence and abuse to specialist child protection services
Youth		Few programmes target young people, despite their disproportionate representation among the unemployed, and growing numbers of child-headed households in HIV/AIDS affected communities
Reproductive maturity	The potential of cash transfers to support women's access to reproductive and maternal health services is gaining traction, either as one strand of bundled conditionalities (e.g. in Brazil and the Philippines) or as the sole focus of cash transfer programmes (in India and Nepal)	There is limited evaluation evidence on outcomes due to a disconnect between programme objectives and M&E indicators (Jones et al., 2011)
Older age	A number of cash transfer programmes (e.g. in South Africa, Uganda and Zambia) target older people to support their heightened care needs (as chronic ill-health and disabilities disproportionately affect older people), as well as their increasing role as care-givers, particularly in the context of skipped generation households	There is a significant risk of exploitation of older people, especially older women, given the potential value of the pension to other household members and their relative social isolation and vulnerability (Wietler, 2007)

Sumner, 2010). Change-inducing shocks therefore are not solely related to negative life-cycle events. They can also encompass positive external influences, such as girls' education stipend programmes, which help to delay marriage and motherhood and promote young women's longer-term economic empowerment (Sabates-Wheeler and Devereux, 2008; Drimie and Casale, 2009).

In this regard, Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler's emphasis (2004) on 'transformative' social protection and programming is critical, highlighting the need to go beyond protective, preventive and promotive interventions and include measures aimed at transforming broader structural discriminatory influences. Such transformation may be promoted through the design of core social protection programmes (e.g. cash transfer programmes where beneficiaries receive help to obtain birth registration certificates essential for accessing other social services, as in Ghana's Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP) programme). Or they may entail explicit linkages to complementary interventions, including rights awareness campaigns and behavioural change communication efforts (e.g. to promote a more equitable intra-household division of labour in the case of Peru's *Juntos* cash transfer programme), legal aid (e.g. to support land inheritance rights in the case of Viet Nam's targeted subsidy and fee waiver National Programme for Poverty Reduction), and/or social equity measures (such as the introduction of non-discrimination legislation) (see Box 3).

Structural influences

The transformative potential of social protection to achieve social justice outcomes is influenced by an array of structural factors, including fiscal space, labour market structure, the care economy, social institutions, and international laws and norms (see Figure 2). Social protection programming needs to engage with these influences if it is to achieve more lasting positive outcomes for the poor and most marginalised.

First, the available **fiscal space** for investing in social protection has an obvious impact on the parameters of debate. Low-income countries simply have less fiscal space than their middle-income counterparts, although as we emphasise below, expenditure

Box 3: Social equity measures as an entry point to address ethnic minority exclusion in Nepal

Discrimination against minority groups through exclusionary laws, norms and practices can determine access to state entitlements and citizen rights. The 1854 Muluki Ain (Country Code) in Nepal, for instance, formalised the caste system into law, granting different social groups differential privileges and obligations according to their position in the caste hierarchy. The characteristics associated with each group signalled the respect they were accorded by their society (Kabeer, 2010: 30).

While Nepal's 1990 Constitution declared that all citizens are equal 'irrespective of religion, race, gender, caste or ideology', inherited inequalities continue to affect the lives and life chances of those at the lower end of the hierarchy. Accordingly, since 2006, the government has authorised a number of new laws promoting the rights of indigenous and minority groups. This includes a new Citizenship Act, which provides 2.6 million Madhesis (a marginalised ethnic group) with Nepali citizenship, and an amendment to the Civil Service Act 1993, which has set new targets for ethnic minorities in public service recruitment.

decisions are heavily influenced by political factors, whatever the fiscal landscape (Handley, 2009).

Second, the **labour market structure** is an important variable. Linking social protection programmes to complementary income-generating opportunities is likely to be more feasible in contexts where there is considerable potential for growth within labour-intensive economic sectors. Where economic growth is severely constrained – as in the Palestinian context, for example – there are limited options for exit strategies from social transfer programmes (World Bank, 2011).

Third, the **care economy** – the country-specific mix of family, state and private sector (non-profit and for-profit) providers of paid and unpaid care work, how the care burden is borne across gender and class lines, and related state regulations – plays an important role in shaping the feasibility, demand and desirability of particular forms of social protection (UNRISD, 2010). South Africa is considered a leader in this field, supporting households through old age pensions, which enable older women to care for their grandchildren while freeing up mothers to enter the labour market (Bunlender and Lund, 2011). In China, however, privatisation has 'led to a substantial decline in state and employer support for care provision... shifting care responsibilities predominantly to the family' (Cook and Dong, 2011: 949).
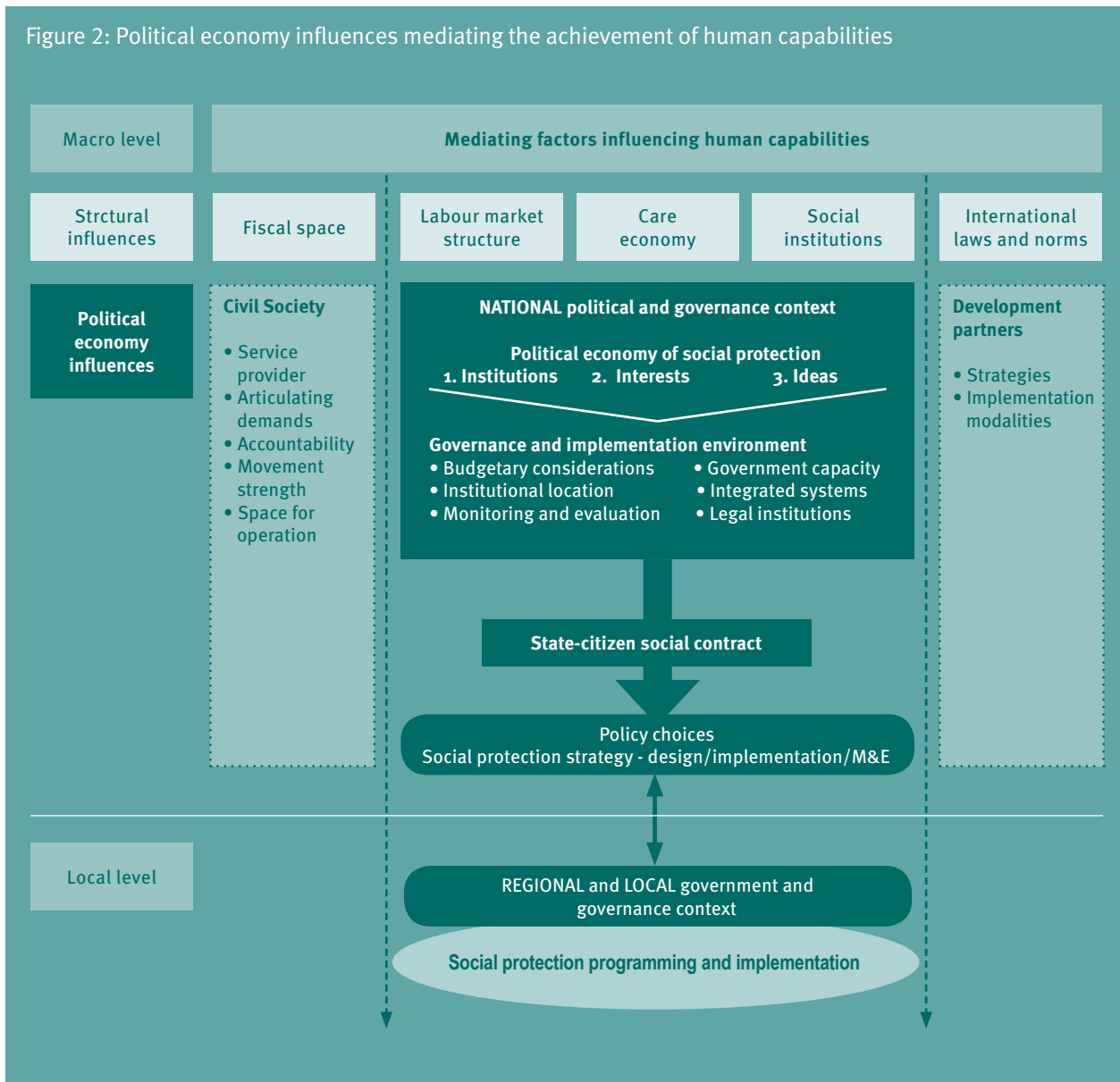
Fourth, **social institutions** – the collection of formal and informal laws, norms and practices that shape

social behaviour – have a less obvious but nonetheless important influence (Jones et al., 2010a). They can be empowering, enabling individual and collective action to improve well-being, or they can limit outcomes, particularly when they result in processes that lead to inequality, discrimination and exclusion (Rao and Walton, 2004, in Jones et al., 2010a). People with disabilities, for instance, are often systematically marginalised by established laws (e.g. in many countries children with disabilities are not required to go to school), norms (e.g. rationalisation of exclusion and marginalisation on the basis of persisting beliefs that disability is associated with evil and witchcraft or infidelity) and practices (e.g. expectations that women with disabilities will not marry and have children). Discriminatory laws, norms and practices also affect divorced women or women who have been abandoned by their spouse. These women often have to return to their family home as they lose their rights to land, and then experience social discrimination because of their status; despite their vulnerability, they may be ineligible for social protection if the extended household does not meet poverty targeting criteria (Holmes and Jones, 2013).

Finally, **international laws and norms** on anti-discrimination and equality have a significant influence. Frameworks such as the UN Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities (1992) and the UN Convention on the Rights of People with Disabilities (2006) provide clear commitments to social assistance and social protection, to guarantee a basic minimum standard of well-being. State ratification of these legal frameworks makes social protection an obligation rather than simply a 'policy option' (Barrientos and Hulme, 2008b: 6). In the case of Uganda's Social Assistance Grants for Empowerment (SAGE) cash transfer, for instance, which targets older people, the policy framework underpinning it explicitly cites 'the rights to social security and an adequate standard of living – as well as security in old age – [as] encapsulated within the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948' (Republic of Uganda, 2011).

Collectively, these structural factors determine the country-specific parameters for transformative social protection policy and programming. However, even countries with broadly similar structural characteristics may have very different social protection systems due to political economy dynamics which mediate people's experiences of vulnerability and risk, the wider structural environment, and human well-being and social justice outcomes (see also Figure 2 on page 6). It is to this discussion that we now turn.

Figure 2: Political economy influences mediating the achievement of human capabilities

Macro level	**Mediating factors influencing human capabilities**				
Strctural influences	Fiscal space	Labour market structure	Care economy	Social institutions	International laws and norms

| Political economy influences | **Civil Society**

• Service provider
• Articulating demands
• Accountability
• Movement strength
• Space for operation | **NATIONAL political and governance context**

Political economy of social protection
1. **Institutions** 2. **Interests** 3. **Ideas**

Governance and implementation environment
• Budgetary considerations • Government capacity
• Institutional location • Integrated systems
• Monitoring and evaluation • Legal institutions | | | **Development partners**

• Strategies
• Implementation modalities |

State-citizen social contract

Policy choices
Social protection strategy - design/implementation/M&E

Local level	REGIONAL and LOCAL government and governance context

Social protection programming and implementation

Political economy influences

Poverty and vulnerability are inherently political in nature, in terms of their underlying drivers and approaches to tackling entrenched poverty and marginalisation (Hickey and Bracking, 2005). For the chronically poor and most vulnerable, who are least likely to benefit from economic growth, politics and political change are the key routes for challenging poverty (ibid: 851). However, until quite recently, international donors have failed to engage with the political economy factors that underpin poverty (Li, 2007). In the case of decision-making on social protection, Hickey (2007) emphasises that politics has not been afforded a significant role – particularly in sub-Saharan Africa. The dominant economic approach has encouraged a more technocratic focus to the detriment of more context-appropriate approaches.

But clearly, engaging with political economy dynamics is essential, given that social protection in low- and middle-income countries must be negotiated within significant affordability constraints. The smaller the fiscal space available, the more likely it is that governments will be influenced by political attitudes about who deserves support, and in what form (Graham, 2002: 25, cited in Hickey, 2007: 1). The challenge, though, is not simply to place greater emphasis on the role of politics in shaping social protection, but to develop a more systematic understanding of how it does so (Hickey, 2007: 1).

Political economists typically focus their analysis on institutional dynamics, political motivations and competing power relations between different economic, political and social actors in a given policy arena. Development policy and programme outcomes are therefore viewed as the result of a bar-

gaining process between state and society actors and interactions between formal and informal institutions (Helmke and Levitsky, 2004). Applying a gender lens to the political economy of social protection, Jones and Holmes (2011) established a framework that also draws on historical institutionalism; this enhances the above approach by focusing on the interactions between institutions and ideas in shaping policy and programming outcomes, which, they argue, are especially important in unpacking the dynamics between social protection and social exclusion. They cite Hossain's (2007) work, which highlights how the Bangladeshi state has been strongly supportive of social programmes targeting poor women on account of a deeply embedded ideology of 'political mother-hood' whereby 'destitute mothers' are viewed as the 'deserving poor'. Accordingly, we focus here on the political institutions, interests and ideas that shape social protection decision-making and programming.

Institutions

Institutional dynamics are fundamental to a political economy approach. Analysts are just as interested in the informal dimensions characterising key institutional arenas as in the more formal political arrangements (such as elections and party politics, the legislature and policy frameworks on decentralisation), and the incentive structures (positive and negative) they present for negotiations around policy and programme development (e.g. Grindle, 2011). But it is important to consider the general governance context as well as institutional dynamics specific to social protection.

First, a state's ability to introduce or scale up social assistance is dependent on its budgetary and resource mobilisation capacities and commitments (Barrientos and Niño Zarazúa, 2011). In assessing the affordability of cash transfers, DFID (2011) notes that where a government decides to invest in cash transfers, spending is typically within an overall budget for a wide range of sectors; the decision also tends to reflect political judgements on the comparative advantages (e.g. value for money or greater state legitimacy) of achieving broader economic and social goals.

Second, institutional capacity limitations are a major challenge to the roll-out of social protection in most low-income countries. These limitations are evident at several junctures in the policy cycle, from undertaking poverty and vulnerability assessments to designing and implementing tailored policies, and carrying out effective monitoring and evaluation (M&E) (Barrientos and Hulme, 2008a). The successful roll-out of social protection requires negotiating a complex set of institutional dynamics among multiple

government, donor and non-government actors (ibid).

In many cases, decentralisation has hindered rather than helped the roll-out of social protection programmes and policies. While decentralisation in poverty reduction strategies is commonly proposed as a way of closing the gap between citizens and government (local and central) and strengthening accountability, decentralisation initiatives often delegate functions to weak institutions with low human resource capacities and limited knowledge of anti-discrimination legislation and related programme provisions (CPRC, 2008). This undermines progressive programme design and opportunities for a strengthened social contract (Holmes and Jones, 2013). However, social protection programmes could enhance government commitment to the decentralisation process by contributing to local government capacity building, better coordination, and systems development (Mwalima, 2008).

Similarly, in fragile and conflict-affected contexts where it is often difficult to engage with central government due to lack of capacity or political will, it may be possible for donors to work with local governments directly (Harvey et al., 2007) and strengthen state-citizen relations through social protection interventions that tackle priority community needs (Babajanian, 2012). In Zimbabwe, the DFID-funded Protracted Relief Programme, for instance, works closely with government agencies at provincial, district and village levels. Such approaches may also be explicitly linked to the peace process: for example, in Nepal, cash transfer programming was decentralised so as to promote social cohesion and strengthen the state-citizen contract at local level (Holmes and Uphadya, 2009: 3).

Finally, robust M&E is integral to programme performance, institutional accountability and political sustainability. Holmes and Jones (2013) emphasise that gender-responsive social protection programming has been particularly hampered by a lack of robust and disaggregated data, especially on intra-household and intra-community dynamics. Conversely, the rapid spread of social transfers in middle-income countries in recent years has been underpinned by high-quality and widely disseminated evaluation evidence (e.g. Behrman, 2007). There is a marked divide, however, between Latin American social protection programmes and those in more resource-deprived contexts with weaker governance infrastructure, especially sub-Saharan Africa but also parts of Asia (DFID, 2011). Although each region's different history of social protection is a factor, this divergence raises questions about how M&E is embedded in social protection programming and whether M&E requirements are nationally owned or donor driven.

Interests

There are many diverse actors involved in social protection policy and programming, all with varying capacities and degrees of influence; some are more concerned than others with shifting the policy agenda to promote greater social inclusion. They include: political elites; government bureaucrats (typically spanning a wide range of ministries); bilateral donors and multilateral agencies; and civil society actors (nationally and internationally). To illustrate their diversity, here we focus on three sets of actors: governments, development partners and civil society.

Government agencies: Multi-country evidence suggests that competing interests among government agencies is a common characteristic in social protection programming, with important implications for sustainability and ability to scale up (Hagen-Zanker and Holmes, 2012). Programmes are often housed within social development ministries which, although offering a natural home, tend to lack political weight and budget influence. The resulting 'departmentalism' limits their ability to effectively integrate social protection within broader poverty reduction strategies as well as with related sector priorities. In this vein, the *Chronic Poverty Report 2008-09* highlights that having buy-in from finance and planning ministries is vital, suggesting that long-term institutional partnerships (e.g. in the case of Lesotho, housing the Department of Pensions within the Ministry of Finance) could offer promising ways forward (CPRC, 2008: 47).

Development partners: Similar 'departmentalist tensions' are frequently mirrored in development partners' approaches to social protection. UN agencies such as the International Labour Organization (ILO) and international non-governmental organisations (NGOs) have been strong proponents of a rights-based approach, advocating that every human being has a right to a basic minimum standard of living. However, the majority of development partners' strategies are increasingly underpinned by an emphasis on the 'effective use of resources' and broader links to economic growth. This is reflected not only in growing interest in the links between social protection, labour force productivity and growth, but also in a more profound paradigm shift towards results-based aid to demonstrate greater accountability to donor-country taxpayers. The latter has led to a preoccupation with proving impact, often at the expense of engaging in more complex social change endeavours, and especially in those areas where it is more difficult to measure and evaluate outcomes (Guijt, 2008; Rogers, 2008; Eyben, 2011).

Civil society: The interests of civil society in advancing social protection and how those interests

---

Box 4: Challenges and opportunities for civil society engagement in social protection policy development: the case of disabled people's organisations

Given growing evidence that people with disabilities are more likely to live below the poverty line and be excluded from basic services (Marriott and Gooding, 2007), it is clear that social protection policies and programmes need to urgently address the specific vulnerabilities facing people with disabilities. However, some within the disability movement are cautious about engaging with a social assistance paradigm, taking the view that inadequate linkages to complementary social equity measures (such as non-discrimination legislation) may undermine the efforts of disabled people's organisations to promote broader recognition of the capabilities of disabled people (Marriott and Gooding, 2007).

Opportunities for such organisations to participate in social protection decision-making have also been limited to date. In the case of Ghana, Marriott and Gooding (2007) noted that disability advocates were hampered by lack of access to information (e.g. for those with visual impairments), limited understanding of opportunities for engagement, as well as lack of familiarity with key technical terms and current policy debates (ibid).

However, in some contexts, there is increasing recognition among disabled people's organisations of the potential of social assistance to facilitate greater empowerment. In India, a growing network of organisations representing disabled people and other community members is advocating that disabled people should have equal access to jobs within the National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (Marriott and Gooding, 2007). Elsewhere, disabled people's organisations in Zambia have been campaigning for a disability allowance that would be equal to the tax exemption threshold (320,000 kwachas or about £41 per month), targeting those living below the poverty line. But this has limited political support, highlighting the need to strengthen the advocacy capacity of disabled people's organisations and increase their access to decision-makers. In this regard, a key role for disabled people's organisations, and civil society groups more broadly, is to educate the public about their rights, the types of social protection available in their setting, and how to apply for them (Guthrie, 2005, in Dube, 2005: 77).

---

are articulated represent another critical dimension. Given the isolation faced by socially excluded groups, their mobilisation around self-identified interests – often supported by NGO intermediaries – is a precondition for their participation in the construction of the social contract (Kabeer, 2010). In India, for example, civil society coalitions, in collaboration with progressive political parties, have succeeded in getting the government to recognise every citizen's rights

to information, food and work. Their efforts have led to improvements in the implementation of public policy on social protection, most notably through the Mahatma Ghandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGS), the world's largest and only rights-based public works scheme.

However, most governments and development partners continue to treat civil society organisations as junior partners or subcontracted service providers, and there are few success stories of effective mobilisation around social protection at the national level (Devereux, 2010: 2) (see also Box 4). Holmes and Jones (2013), for example, note that while women's groups are visibly active in many development arenas, they have played only a limited role in social protection debates. This may be partly due to their organisational focus and capacities, which may hamper cross-sectoral engagement, but it also reflects the narrow focus of most social protection programmes on material gains rather than addressing wider social vulnerabilities and gender inequalities.

Perhaps reflecting their strong investment in advocacy capacity, international NGOs have been more successful in influencing the social protection discourse, buttressed by various human rights conventions and agreements (Sepúlveda and Nyst, 2011) as well as relevant global and regional initiatives, including the ILO's Social Protection Floor and the Livingstone Accord (March 2006), which represented a significant landmark for social protection in eastern and southern Africa (McCord, 2009). Development partner-funded social protection programmes often reflect the primary focus of the international NGOs involved in implementation; for example, in Africa and Asia, the focus has often been on age-based exclusion and vulnerability, reflecting the main target groups of implementation partners such as Save the Children, HelpAge International and UNICEF (Jones, 2012).

Ideas

Political economy influences are not just related to institutional capacity and interests; they also encompass the ideas that drive decision-making. This is certainly the case with social protection, where divergent national systems reflect a wide range of ideas about poverty and vulnerability and their underlying causes, as well as the purpose of social protection and the role of the state vis-à-vis its citizens. The Zambian government, for example, has begun to move away from a strong focus on production (central to its 2005 social protection strategy, largely based on safety nets) to a more nuanced approach, defined in its 2011 strategy as a 'poverty reduction strategy that promotes human development, social equity and human rights', and

promotes multifaceted measures for empowerment. These include the 'enhancement of vulnerable people's access to justice' as a key objective alongside the social transfer scheme (Government of Zambia, 2011).

In order to more systematically understand the role of ideas in shaping social protection programmes, Hickey (2009) argues that the concept of a state-citizen contract helps to uncover the philosophical underpinnings of state support towards its citizens (especially the most vulnerable) as well as notions of citizens' rights and responsibilities towards the state and their level of trust in it. While there is a robust case for social protection to be established as a basic human right under international law, to date, only a few countries (including India, South Africa and Uruguay) have recognised it as a justiciable right. These countries are notable for making the shift from 'development as a welfare activity… to a policy that recognises basic development needs as rights of the citizens' (UNDP, 2010: 6, cited in Jones, 2012). In states affected by protracted conflicts or prone to conflict in parts of their territory, where rebuilding public trust in state institutions is essential to achieving peace and stability, the delivery of social protection – conceptualised as a basic right of all citizens – could help to restore some trust (HelpAge International, 2011: 17). Evidence on the potential for this is still limited though (Babajanian, 2012; Gelsdorf et al., 2012).

It is also critical to understand the different conceptual underpinnings of social policy frameworks advanced by global development partners, as they often determine priorities for support. The ILO, UNICEF and UN Women, for example, all adopt a rights perspective, whereby social protection is defined as an entitlement to benefits to protect against low living standards; the World Bank, however, conceptualises social protection in terms of strengthening equity and opportunities, with resilience seen as a key tool for promoting economic growth. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) puts greater emphasis on the role that social protection can play in promoting social cohesion, especially in conflict-affected contexts (OECD, 2011).

Local-level impact and outcomes

The pathways that impact social justice outcomes are interconnected at every level of society, and as Figure 3 highlights (see page 11), it is crucial to consider the transformative potential of social protection programme impacts at the local level, not only on individuals but also on intra-household and intra-community relationships. Moreover, given the cumu-

lative and intergenerational impact of socio-political vulnerability and risk, it is also vital to consider outcomes within the context of individual and household lifecycles (Moore, 2005).

In light of our emphasis on a transformative approach to social protection, Kabeer's (2011) conceptualisation of empowerment as both a process and an **outcome in achieving social justice** is useful for framing the potential impact pathways of social protection programming. Empowered individuals are able to make strategic life choices (those which represent valued ways of 'being and doing') in three interrelated dimensions of human capability:

- *Resources:* Economic, human and social resources (including relationships), which serve to enhance the ability to exercise choice.
- *Agency:* The ability to define one's goals and act on them, encompassing both 'power within' and 'power with', thus emphasising the value of individual and collective decision-making.
- *Achievements:* Resources and agency together constitute capabilities – the potential people have for realising achievements in valued ways of 'being and doing'. We frame achievements within the context of relational well-being (the extent to which people engage with others to achieve their goals) and subjective well-being (the meanings people give to the goals they achieve) (Jones and Sumner, 2011).

The following empirical cases illustrate how these dimensions of capability are interconnected, and how they are both mediated by and interact with social protection decision-making to shape the potential for social justice outcomes.

Promoting empowerment to overcome intra-household inequalities

To achieve social justice, social protection programmes must go beyond a safety net approach and seek to empower individuals and groups to tackle negative norms within the household. Programming which assumes that all family members receive an equal share of the benefits risks reinforcing the position of those who are already disadvantaged within the household such as women, children and disabled family members (Holmes and Jones, 2013; Groce et al., 2011). In South Africa, for example, the Disability Grant is reducing disabled people's reliance on unpaid family care, although some recipients regard it as rooted in "assistentialism" (the provision of assistance needed for basic survival) rather than supporting increased independence by addressing broader barriers to spatial mobility and access to

services (Hardy and Richter, 2006). Programming objectives for cash transfers need to promote greater independence and equality where possible, including opportunities for engagement in the productive economy and in community life.

Relational dimensions of well-being and social inclusion

At the community level, social protection can be designed so that it promotes the principles of reciprocity and mutual obligation that many regard as underpinning social cohesion (Norton et al., 2001). For example, Case and Deaton (1998, cited in Pelham, 2007: 30) argue that social pensions help to create horizontal social capital by reasserting older people's financial contribution to household and community activities. The pooling of pensions within the extended household can strengthen family interdependence, while transfers may also enhance trust at the community level. Recipients of the Kalomo social cash transfer in Zambia found that other community members were more willing to loan them money, for instance, suggesting a revaluation of their social position within the community (Wietler, 2007: 21). Social transfers may also promote social capital through regular interactions between local communities and authorities, including at payment points and in related information-sharing fora. For example, the Rights Committees in Kenya's Hunger Safety Net cash transfer programme mobilised local communities and successfully influenced local authorities to provide good-quality fishing equipment so that vulnerable community members could develop a more sustainable livelihood source (HelpAge International, 2011).

However, in some cases, transfers may risk perpetuating marginalisation – if, for example, family obligations block the recipient's ability to use the grant to generate income or to support independent living (Marriott and Gooding, 2007: 60). Using evidence from Malawi, Zimbabwe and Kenya, MacAuslan and Riemenschneider (2011) argue that where transfers lack transparency in targeting criteria or are means-tested, they can actually lead to stigma, which reinforces recipients' social exclusion and can have a negative impact on patterns of intra-household resource-sharing. Amid concerns about formal social protection undermining informal, community-based mechanisms of support for vulnerable individuals or families (Kabeer, 2008: 23) cautions that the relationships on which such mechanisms are built are often a source of exclusion and vulnerability. It is therefore important that targeting mechanisms consider the nuances of formal and informal community relationships, including

Figure 3: Local-level influences, sites of impact, and social justice outcomes
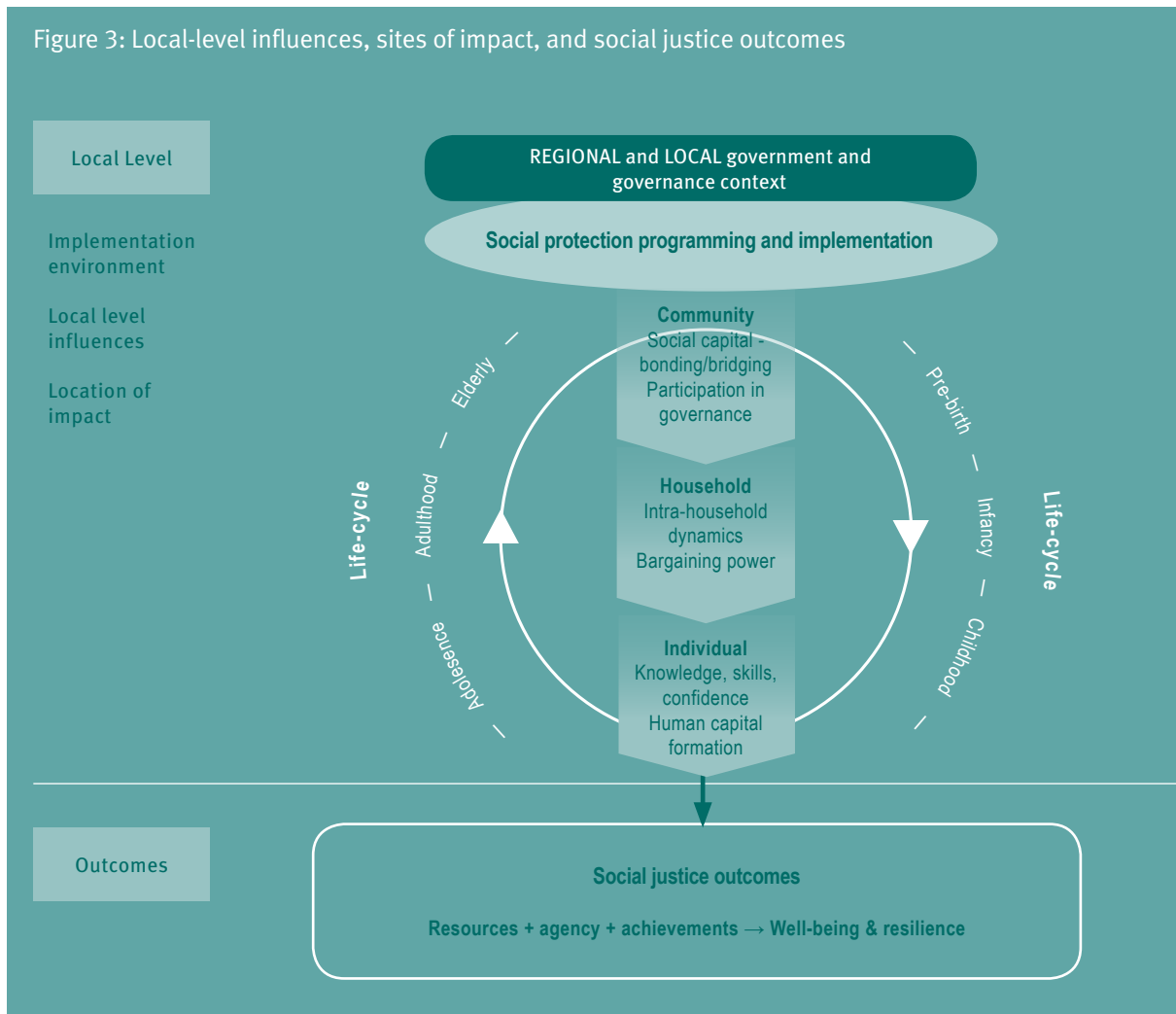
multiple vulnerability criteria to ensure inclusion of the most vulnerable groups, and taking into account pre-existing inter-group tensions (CPRC, 2008: 48).
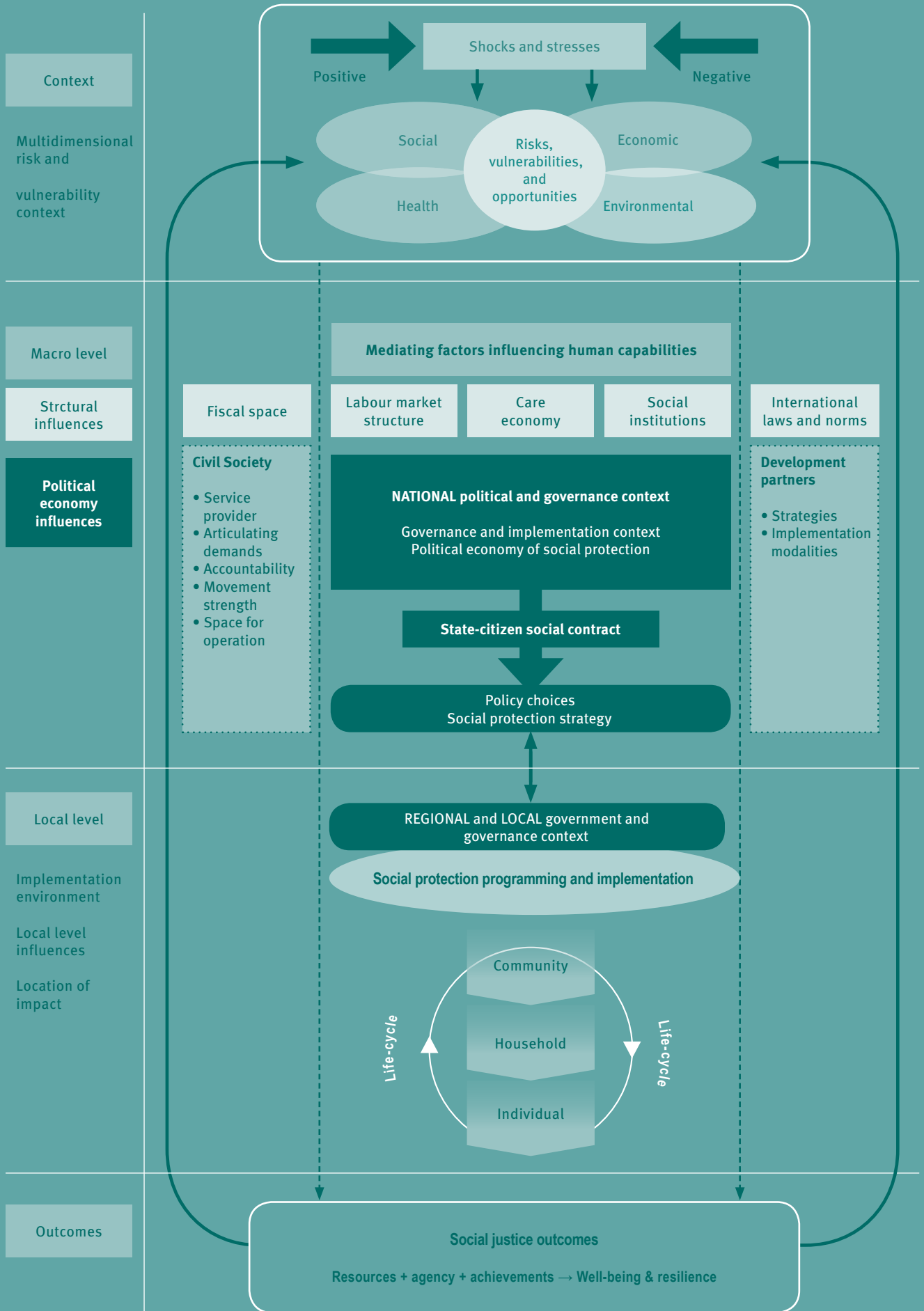
Vertical social capital and state-citizen relations

At the level of the polity, delivering regular and predictable types of social protection can be seen as buttressing a 'social contract' – a reciprocal and reliable relationship between citizens and their government (Hickey, 2007). When underpinned by legislation, social protection becomes a justiciable right, as is the case with India's MGNREGS public works scheme. However, there is often a major disconnect between national anti-discrimination legislation and local implementation capacity; yet strategies to sensitise programme implementers and recipients about their rights and responsibilities remain under-developed and under-funded.

The state-citizen social contract is also likely to be undermined if social protection programmes lack adequate provision for accountability, citizen feed-

back, and independent oversight. Participatory M&E and accountability mechanisms can give a voice to local communities to hold programme implementers accountable and potentially transform socio-political relations and structures at the community level (Marriott and Gooding, 2007: 35). India's MGNREGS is a good example: its social audit mechanism involves regular community meetings to assess programme implementation, although there has been uneven implementation to date (Centre for Good Governance, 2009). Similarly, in Peru, civil society involvement in the community committees that manage the Juntos cash transfer programme has helped build legitimacy and ensure opportunities for ongoing public scrutiny (Vargas-Valente, 2010). In Africa, initiatives to engage civil society more strategically in policy formulation have included internationally supported consultations on the African Union's Social Policy Framework and the formation of the Africa Platform for Social Protection.

In fragile and conflict-affected contexts, Carpenter et al. (2012) emphasise that state '(re)building' needs to consider how to generate citizen demand for basic

Figure 4: Complete conceptual framework diagram

Context

Multidimensional risk and

vulnerability context

Shocks and stresses

Positive

Negative

Social

Economic

Risks, vulnerabilities, and opportunities

Health

Environmental

Macro level

Strctural influences

Political economy influences

Mediating factors influencing human capabilities

Fiscal space

Labour market structure

Care economy

Social institutions

International laws and norms

Civil Society

- Service provider
- Articulating demands
- Accountability
- Movement strength
- Space for operation

NATIONAL political and governance context

Governance and implementation context
Political economy of social protection

State-citizen social contract

Policy choices
Social protection strategy

Development partners

- Strategies
- Implementation modalities

Local level

Implementation environment

Local level influences

Location of impact

REGIONAL and LOCAL government and governance context

Social protection programming and implementation

Community

Household

Individual

Life-cycle

Life-cycle

Outcomes

Social justice outcomes

Resources + agency + achievements → Well-being & resilience

services while seeking to strengthen implementation, accountability and state-citizen relations. Similarly, Oosterom (2009: 69) calls for 'citizenship building' as an alternative focus to state-building, helping citizens to understand their rights to make claims on the state. There seem to be few good practice examples here within social transfer programmes (Carpenter et al., 2012), but lessons could be learned from the health sector. In Nigeria, for example, the Partnership for Transforming Health Systems (PATHS) programme found that involving community representatives in the monitoring of service delivery not only opened up new spaces for citizens' voices to be heard but also strengthened responses to expressed needs (Green and Bennett, 2007; ibid).

Conclusions, implications for action and for future analysis

Although interest in the social justice dimensions of social protection is growing – as highlighted by the current high-profile post-2015 policy dialogues – the knowledge base surrounding the key domains we have identified in our social protection-social justice pathways framework remains rudimentary. In order to help address this gap, our Background Note has provided a conceptual framework, illustrated by empirical examples, which identifies the key pathways through which social exclusion dynamics are transmitted, from the macro to the micro level. These pathways must be taken into consideration if social protection programmes and policies are to realise their full potential for tackling multidimensional vulnerability and inequality. We hope this theory of change will be a useful tool for policy and civil society actors, and especially programme designers and implementers, when dealing with the complex set of factors that shape available entry points for social transfer programme innovations, as well as avoiding potential pitfalls (see Figure 4).

Despite a lack of good practice models in this field, in this final section we nevertheless draw out some emerging themes from our analysis of social transfer programming as it relates to excluded social groups, and implications for policy and practice. We pay particular attention to the challenges of developing social protection policies and programmes that are context-sensitive, informed by evidence, effectively implemented, and have robust M&E processes.

First, a key cross-cutting theme concerns the need to **invest in in-depth vulnerability assessments to inform programme design and implementation**. A formulaic approach to assessing vulnerability and resilience is not sufficient to adequately capture the multidimensional experiences of risk and vulnerability of

diverse marginalised social groups. There is a strong need for in-depth, context-specific (down to the sub-national level) assessments that identify economic, socio-political, health, and environmental sources of vulnerability, and how these are interrelated. Moreover, baseline and other assessments need to capture not just heterogeneity between groups but also within groups – for example, the varied risk profiles of people living with congenital as opposed to sudden-onset disabilities or people who are disabled as a result of injuries sustained during conflict.

Gathering the evidence needed for such an approach is clearly challenging, and is likely to require **the use of more mixed methods approaches**. To date, there has been a strong emphasis on quantitative assessments of social protection impacts, driven by a growing concern within the development community (at national and international levels) to demonstrate results and value for money (DFID, 2011). This leads to another cross-cutting theme we identified during the literature review: the relative **dearth of in-depth qualitative evidence of programme impacts from the perspective of diverse marginalised social groups** – something that is critical if programme designers are to tailor programmes adequately and ensure their sustainability. Using more mixed methods approaches could include complementing findings from quantitative randomised control trials with those from participatory and in-depth qualitative or ethnographic evaluations; this would ensure that programmes are directly informed by citizens' views and would help in unpacking the complex socio-cultural dynamics that can mediate the impacts of social protection programmes. Good examples of the latter include the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI)'s participatory rural appraisal (PRA) and ethnographic assessments of cash transfer programming in Central America and Turkey (Adato, 2008), and the Overseas Development Institute (ODI)'s ongoing work, funded by DFID, on community perceptions of cash transfer programmes (http://transformingcashtransfers.org).

Third, **political economy analysis tools should be routinely embedded in social protection programme design and evaluations** in order to explore the complex dynamics and power relations underlying social protection policy choices and implementation processes. Even in low-income contexts with fledgling social protection systems (including many sub-Saharan African countries), it is important to understand pre-existing ideas about the state's role in supporting citizen well-being, institutional motivations and incentive structures, and the relative balance of power between different state and non-state actors or interest groups involved in service provision and poverty reduction interventions. As highlighted by the

Africa Power and Politics Programme's 'Going with the Grain', development initiatives that fail to take into account the specific patterning of power relations in a particular context are unlikely to bring about sustainable social and economic change (Booth, 2011). There is also little to be gained from shying away from the politics of social protection in conflict-affected and fragile states. Here, some important lessons can be learned from the Peruvian government's efforts to launch its flagship conditional cash transfer programme as an explicit mechanism to help heal divisions following decades of civil violence. The specific vulnerabilities faced by communities at the centre of the violence were recognised in programme targeting criteria, and programme governance was designed to be overseen by a high-level committee involving civil society representatives, the Catholic Church, the private sector, and diverse government agencies.

Finally, **principles of citizenship, rights and empowerment should be integral to all social protection programming.** We have identified a number of important entry points:

- Setting programme objectives that reflect social justice outcomes, including how to build capabilities related to resources, agency and achievements.

- Involving local communities in programme monitoring and evaluation in order to develop a stronger understanding of vulnerability and resilience, and to support community ownership of implementation.
- Ensuring that communities and beneficiaries have access to regular information about programme objectives and processes – appropriately tailored and provided in accessible formats – for maximum transparency.
- Facilitating a joined-up approach across all agencies concerned with tackling poverty and vulnerability in order to promote synergies and address the different but interrelated dimensions of vulnerability linked to inequality and rights. This could be through direct programme components or by creating linkages to complementary interventions (e.g. behavioural change communication, legal aid, citizen identification and registration processes, etc.). Ideally, too inter-agency coordination would be supported by a unified database of registered beneficiaries (as in Brazil and Chile, for instance) to promote information-sharing and evidence-based learning.

References

Adato, M. (2008) *Integrating Survey and Ethnographic Methods to Evaluate Conditional Cash Transfer Programs*. IFPRI Discussion Paper No. 00810. Washington DC: International Food Policy Research Institute.

Babajanian, B. (2012) *Social Protection and its Contribution to Social Cohesion and State-Building*. Deutsche Gesellschaft fuer Internationala Zusammenarbeit (GIZ).

Barrientos, A. and Hulme, D. (2008a) *Social Protection for the Poor and the Poorest: Concepts, Policies and Politics*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Barrientos, A. and Hulme, D. (2008b) *Social Protection for the Poor and Poorest in Developing Countries: Reflections on a Quiet Revolution*. Working Paper 31. Manchester: Brooks World Poverty Institute.

Barrientos, A. and Niño Zarazúa, M. (2011) 'Financing social protection for children in crisis contexts', *Development Policy Review* 29(5): 603-620.

Baulch, B., Nguyen, H., Phuong, P. and Pham, H. (2010) *Ethnic Minority Poverty in Vietnam*. Working Paper No. 169. Manchester: Chronic Poverty Research Centre.

Behrman, J. R. (2007) *Policy-Oriented Research Impact Assessment (PORIA) Case Study on the IFPRI and the Mexican PROGRESA Antipoverty and Human Resource Investment Conditional Cash Transfer Program*. Washington DC: International Food Policy Research Institute.

Booth, D. (2011) *Working with the grain and swimming against the tide: Barriers to uptake of research findings on governance and public services in low-income Africa*. Working Paper 18. Brighton: Institute of Development Studies.

Cain, E. (2009) *Social Protection and Vulnerability, Risk and Exclusion Across the Life-Cycle*. London: HelpAge International.

Carpenter, S., Slater, R. and Mallett, R. (2012) *Social Protection and Basic Services in Fragile and Conflict-Affected Situations*. SLRC Working Paper 8. London: Overseas Development Institute/Secure Livelihoods Research Consortium.

Centre for Good Governance (2009) 'Social Audit of NREGS (AP) in Andhra Pradesh'. Hyderabad, India: Centre for Good Governance.

CPRC (2008) *The Chronic Poverty Report 2008-09: Escaping Poverty Traps*. Manchester: Chronic Poverty Research Centre.

CPRC (2004) *The Chronic Poverty Report 2004-05*. Manchester: Chronic Poverty Research Centre.

Devereux, S. and Sabates-Wheeler, R. (2004) *Transformative Social Protection*. Working Paper 232. Brighton: Institute of Development Studies.

Devereux, S., Allister McGregor, J. and Sabates-Wheeler, R. (2011) 'Introduction: social protection for social justice', *IDS Bulletin* Special Issue: Social Protection for Social Justice, 42(6): 1-9.

DFID (2011) 'Feature: Systematic Reviews in International Development: An Initiative to Strengthen Evidence-Informed Policy Making'. London: UK Department for International Development.

Drimie, S. and Casale, M. (2009) 'Multiple stressors in Southern Africa: the link between HIV/AIDS, food insecurity, poverty and children's vulnerability now and in the future', *AIDS Care* 21(S1): 28-33.

Dube, A. (2005) *The role and effectiveness of disability legislation in South Africa*. Disability Knowledge and Research Programme, UK.

ECA, ILO, UNCTAD, UNDESA, UNICEF (2012) *Social Protection: A Development Priority in the post-2015 UN Development Agenda – Thematic Think Piece*. UN System Task Team on the Post-2015 UN Development Agenda.

Eyben, R. (2011) 'Relationships matter: the best kept secret of international aid?' in *Investing in the Immaterial – Practice Digest 2010/2011*. Cape Town: Community Development Resource Association (CDRA).

Farrington, J., Slater, R. and Holmes, R. (2007) *Linking Social Protection and the Productive Sectors*. ODI Briefing Paper 28. London: Overseas Development Institute.

Gelsdorf, K., Maxwell, D. and Mazurana, D. (2012) *Livelihoods, Basic Services and Social Protection in Northern Uganda and Karamoja*. Working Paper 4. London: Overseas Development Institute, Secure Livelihoods Research Consortium.

Government of Zambia (2011) *Sustained Economic Growth and Poverty Reduction*. Sixth National Development Plan for 2011-2015.

Green, A. and Bennett, S. (2007) *Sound Choices: Enhancing Capacity for Evidence-Informed Health Policy*. Geneva: World Health Organization.

Grindle, M.S. (2011) 'Good enough governance revisited', *Development Policy Review* 29 (S1): 22351.

Groce, N., Kett, M., Lang, R. and Trani, J. (2011) 'Disability and poverty: the need for a more nuanced understanding of implications for development policy and practice', *Third World Quarterly* 32(8): 1493-1513.

Guijt, I. (2008) *Critical Readings on Assessing and Learning for Social Change: A Review*. IDS Development Bibliography 21. Brighton: Institute of Development Studies.

Hagen-Zanker, J. and Holmes, R. (2012) *Social Protection in Nigeria: Synthesis Report*. London: Overseas Development Institute and UNICEF Nigeria.

Handley, G. (2009) 'Fiscal space for strengthened social protection in West and Central Africa'. Briefing paper. Senegal/London: UNICEF West and Central Africa Regional Office/Overseas Development Institute.

Hardy, C. and Richter, M. (2006) 'Disability grants or antiretrovirals? A quandary for people with HIV/AIDS in South Africa', *African Journal of AIDS Research* 5(1): 85-96.

Harper, C. and Jones, N. (2011) 'Impacts of economic crises on child well-being'. *Development Policy Review* 29(5): 511–526.

Harvey, P., Holmes, R., Slater, R. and Martin, E. (2007) *Social Protection in Fragile States*. London: Overseas Development Institute.

Helmke, G. and Levitsky, S. (2004) 'Informal institutions and comparative politics: a research agenda', *Perspectives on Politics* 2(4): 725-740.

HelpAge International (2011) *Strengthening State-Citizen Relations in Fragile Contexts: The Role of Cash Transfers*. Pension Watch, Social Protection in Older Age. London: HelpAge International.

Hickey, S. (2009) 'The politics of protecting the poorest: moving beyond the "anti-politics machine"?' *Political Geography* 28(8): 473-483.

Hickey, S. and Bracking, S. (2005) 'Exploring the politics of chronic poverty: from representation to a politics of justice?' *World Development* 33(6): 851-865.

Holmes, R. and Jones, N. (2009) *Putting the 'Social' Back into Social Protection: A Framework for Understanding the Linkages between Economic and Social Risks for Poverty Reduction*. London: Overseas Development Institute.

Holmes, R. and Jones, N. (2013) *Beyond Mothers and Safety Nets: Why Social Protection Needs a Gender Lens*. London: Zed Books.

Holmes, R. and Uphadya, S. (2009) *The Role of Cash Transfers in Post-Conflict Nepal*. London: Overseas Development Institute.

ILO (2011) *International Labour Conference, 100th Session, 2011, Report VI: Social Security for social justice and a fair globalisation. Sixth Item on the Agenda*. Geneva: International Labour Office.

Jones, N. and Sumner, A. (2011) *Child Poverty, Evidence and Policy: Mainstreaming Children in International Development*. London: The Policy Press.

Jones, N., Samuels, F., Gisby, L. and Presler-Marshall, E. (2011)

Rethinking Cash Transfers to Promote Maternal Health: Good Practice from Developing Countries. London: Overseas Development Institute.

Jones, N., Harper, C. and Watson, C. (2010a) *Stemming Girls' Chronic Poverty: Catalysing Development Change by Building Just Social Institutions*. Manchester: Chronic Poverty Research Centre.

Jones, N., Woldehanna, T. and Tafere, Y. (2010b) *Gendered Risks, Poverty and Vulnerability in Ethiopia: To What Extent is the Productive Safety Net Programme Making a Difference?* London: Overseas Development Institute.

Kabeer, N. (2010) *Can the MDGs Provide a Pathway to Social Justice? The Challenge of Intersecting Inequalities*. Brighton: Institute of Development Studies and the MDG Achievement Fund.

Kabeer, N. (2008) *Mainstreaming Gender in Social Protection for the Informal Economy*. London: Commonwealth Secretariat.

Kelsall, T. (2008) *Going with the Grain in African Development?* Discussion Paper No. 1, June. London: Overseas Development Institute, Africa Power and Politics Programme.

Li, T.M. (2007) *The Will to Improve: Governmentality, Development and the Practice of Politics*. Durham NC: Duke University Press.

MacAuslan, I. and Riemenschneider, N. (2011) 'Richer but resented: What do cash transfers do to social relations and does it matter?' Paper presented at conference, 'Social Protection for Social Justice', 13-15 April, Brighton: Institute of Development Studies, Centre for Social Protection.

Marriott, A, and Gooding, K. (2007). *Social Assistance and Disability in Developing Countries*. West Sussex: Sightsavers International.

McCord, A. (2009) 'Cash transfers: affordability and sustainability', Project Briefing No. 30. London: Overseas Development Institute.

McGregor, A. and Sumner, A. (2010) 'Beyond business as usual: what might 3-D wellbeing contribute to MDG momentum?' *IDS Bulletin* 41(1): 104-112.

Molyneux, M. (2007) *Change and Continuity in Social Protection in Latin America: Mothers at the Service of the State*? Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.

Moore, K. (2005) *Thinking About Youth Poverty Through the Lenses of Chronic Poverty, Life-Course Poverty and Intergenerational Poverty*. CPRC Working Paper No. 57. Manchester: Chronic Poverty Research Centre.

Norton, A., Conway, T. and Foster, M. (2001) *Social Protection Concepts and Approaches: Implications for Policy and Practice in International Development*. Working Paper 143. London: Overseas Development Institute.

Nussbaum, M. (2003) 'Capabilities as fundamental entitlements: Sen and social justice', *Feminist Economics* 9(2-3): 33-59.

OECD (2011) *Perspectives on Global Development 2012: Social Cohesion in a Shifting World*. Paris: OECD Publishing.

OECD (2010) *Gender Inequality and the MDGs: What are the Missing Dimensions?* Paris: OECD Publishing

Oosterom, M. (2009) *Fragility at the Local Level: Challenges to Building Local State-Citizen Relations in Fragile Settings*. Working paper prepared for workshop on Local Governance in Fragile settings: Strengthening Local Governments, Civic Action or Both? 24 November, the Hague (www.gsdrc.org/go/display&type=Document&id=3860).

Pelham, L. (2007) *The Politics Behind the Non-Contributory Old Age Social Pensions in Lesotho, Namibia and South Africa*. CPRC Working Paper No. 83. Manchester: Chronic Poverty Research Centre.

Razavi, S., Arza, C., Braunstein, E., Cook, S. and Goulding, K. (2012) *Gendered Impacts of Globalization: Employment and Social Protection*. Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.

Rogers, P. (2008) 'Using programme theory to evaluate complicated and complex aspects of interventions', *Evaluation* 14(1): 29-48.

Sabates-Wheeler, R. and Devereux. S. (2008) '*Transformative Social Protection: The Currency of Social Justice'*, in A. Barrientos and D. Hulme (eds.) *Social Protection for the Poor and the Poorest: Concepts, Policies and Politics*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Sabates-Wheeler, R. and Waite, M. (2003) *Working Paper T2: Migration and Social Protection: A Concept Paper*. Brighton: Institute of Development Studies.

Save the Children UK (2012) *Nutrition in the First 1,000 Days: State of the World's Mothers 2012*. London: Save the Children.

Schwarz, A. (2003) *Old Age Security and Social Pensions*. Washington DC: The World Bank.

Sen, A. (1999) *Development as Freedom*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sepúlveda, M. and Nyst, C. (2011) *The Human Rights Approach to Social Protection*. Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland.

Stewart, F. (2002) *Horizontal Inequalities: A Neglected Dimension of Development*. Working Paper 81. Oxford: University of Oxford, Queen Elizabeth House.

Vargas Valente, R. (2010) *Gendered Risks, Poverty and Vulnerability in Peru: A Case Study of the Juntos Programme*. London: Overseas Development Institute.

Wietler, K. (2007) *The Impact of Social Cash Transfers on Informal Safety Nets in Kalomo District, Zambia: A Qualitative Study*. Berlin: Ministry of Community Development and Social Services (MCDSS) and German Technical Cooperation (GTZ).

World Bank (2011) *Resilience, Equity and Opportunity: The World Bank's 2012-2022 Social Protection & Labor Strategy*. Washington DC: The World Bank.