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Getting it Right: Strengthening Gender Outcomes in South Sudan

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Abstract

As in most conflicts, in South Sudan, women and girls have been the most vulnerable. Not only do they face many challenges, including extreme poverty and lack of access to basic services and productive assets, but many of the risks they face, such as gender-based violence (GBV), are heightened during times of conflict. The implementation of well-designed and inclusive poverty reduction programs can contribute to empowering women and addressing persistent gender gaps. Yet, until now, there have been few assessments undertaken to better understand how successfully these goals have been achieved. This paper examines how social protection and other poverty reduction programs targeting the most vulnerable have addressed the needs of women and girls in South Sudan. Based on a portfolio review of World Bank operations and a review of impact evaluation evidence, it provides guidance to practitioners to integrate gender equality in the design and implementation of social protection and poverty reduction programs in fragile situations.

Key words: South Sudan, Poverty, International Organizations.

JEL codes: I30, P46, O19

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Executive Summary

Women and girls, men and boys experience and respond differently to conflict. Women and girls are among the groups most vulnerable to conflict, and are often most exposed to its effects, such as poverty, disease, violence, and a lack of access to public services. Men and boys, on the other hand, represent most fatalities in conflicts. They experience mental health consequences and issues related to accessing labor–market opportunities and even reintegrating into society after having engaged in conflict (World Bank, 2018). Understanding the different needs and vulnerabilities of women and men in fragile situations provides insights to the impact of conflict on communities, households and individuals.

As in most conflicts, in South Sudan, women and girls have been the most vulnerable. Not only do they face many challenges, including lack of access to basic services and productive assets, but many of the risks they face, such as gender–based violence (GBV), have been heightened during times of conflict. Furthermore, gender norms limit women’s mobility and hinder their escape from violence.

Investment lending of the World Bank Group to South Sudan over the last 10 years has been substantial. This includes US\$538 million in donor contributions through the Multi Donor Trust Fund, US\$75 million from the South Sudan Transition Trust Fund and US\$294 million in International Development Association (IDA) commitments. The Country Engagement Note emphasizes the importance of contending with power relations and promoting agency and voice in operations. It recognizes that closing gender gaps and promoting female empowerment can contribute to the twin goals of eliminating extreme poverty and fostering shared prosperity.

Social protection programs are important policy tools to rebuild the social fabric of fragile and conflict–affected countries because they target the poorest and the underserved, with the aims of minimizing the specific risks they face and assisting them to better cope with shocks. Social protection programs also help avoid the resurgence of new conflicts caused by frustrations over inequality. Furthermore, well–designed programs can contribute to empowering women and addressing persistent gender gaps. Yet, until now, there have been few assessments undertaken to better understand how successfully these goals have been achieved in fragile countries and distill key lessons learned.

The objectives of this paper are twofold. First, it assesses how social protection and other poverty reduction programs targeting the most vulnerable have addressed the needs of women and girls in World Bank operations in South Sudan. Second, it distills lessons learned and provides guidance to World Bank task teams designing and implementing operations in the country. Although the paper focuses primarily on the context of South Sudan, we believe the lessons are applicable across many fragile and conflict–affected countries. The primary audience for this paper is task teams working in fragile situations.

This report is based on a portfolio review of 24 projects as well as 16 impact evaluations. Fourteen of the projects included in the portfolio review were being implemented in South Sudan whereas the remaining 10 are in similar fragile and conflict-affected countries. Of the 16 impact evaluations that are covered, 11 were financed by, or involved, World Bank teams.

Emerging lessons from the review point to the complexities of addressing gender equality in social protection and poverty-focused operations and provide guidance on how we can do better. Below are some of the key findings:

- The design of social protection and other poverty focused operations in fragile and conflict-affected countries is rarely informed by rigorous gender assessments.
- Most projects aspire to target women beneficiaries, but few use appropriate targeting methods to ensure greater uptake by women.
- Most income support projects (for example, conditional cash transfers, labor-intensive public works) lack innovations to make conditionalities or work requirements conducive to women's participation. Indeed, some of the requirements may even exacerbate gender inequalities.
- Though there is evidence around the positive effect of cash-transfer programs on gender equality outcomes across lower-middle income countries, there is little rigorous research undertaken to better understand if the programs in fragile and conflict-affected countries are contributing to gender equality and women's empowerment, and how.
- The capacity constraints of implementation agencies in fragile countries can be a significant barrier to implement, monitor, and evaluate the effectiveness of interventions on gender equality outcomes.
- Few projects establish a dedicated system to address GBV complaints. Although grievance redress mechanisms (GRMs) can be an effective tool for early identification and resolution of GBV complaints, few include adequate protocols for addressing this type of complaint in the GRM.
- Most projects monitor sex-disaggregated indicators, but none keep track of intra-household dynamics or examine whether the interventions increased or decreased intimate partner violence.

The report also presents good-practices and recommendations on how to design and implement interventions that address gender disparities throughout the project cycle in fragile situations. Key recommendations include:

- Investing in gender assessments and rigorous research to inform the design and implementation of programs. In fragile situations, social and political economy analyses play an important role in understanding the constraints when adopting gender-transformative programming.
- Including gender equality outcomes in project objectives as well as explicit targeting criteria in the monitoring framework to promote inclusive development.

- Considering stand-alone components to support gender equality outcomes.
- Using quotas for female participation (for example, workers in labor-intensive public works, community committees, and so on) to ensure that implementing agencies make an active effort to target female beneficiaries.
- Exploring ways in which participation can be made convenient for female beneficiaries by providing safe community-based childcare, flexible working hours, or transport arrangements.
- Involving United Nations (UN) and other partners that are active locally in the design and implementation of projects to better understand local contexts.
- Leveraging appropriate transfer modalities based on the context. Programs may consider the use of electronic payment systems which are deemed more discreet and safe for women beneficiaries.
- Providing information that is easy to understand and targets key stakeholders through outreach campaigns. Discuss the merits of women's participation with male members of the community to build consensus about the benefits of female participation.

The below checklist provides guidance as to what measures can be put in place throughout the project cycle to improve gender outcomes:

Program design

- Does the program design include a gender assessment to understand gender-specific vulnerabilities of the target communities?
- Do program objectives address gender equality and female empowerment? To what extent do program activities address existing gender gaps or constraints to women's empowerment? Does the program target specific gender outcomes? If yes, which one(s)?
- Does the design of program benefit modalities integrate gender equality?
 - Are there specific provisions to facilitate women's access to benefits?
 - Do the requirements or conditionalities of the program create barriers for female participation? Do women have to rely on male family members for accessing program benefits?
 - Does the program design allow women to control access to their benefits?
 - How flexible is the process of accessing benefits? How predictable are benefits?
 - Do benefits factor in vulnerabilities specific to males and females?
- Does the program design aim to prevent different forms of gender-based violence or sexual exploitation and abuse?
 - Do conditionalities consider gender-specific safety concerns?
 - Are service centers conveniently located?
- Have potential advantages or disadvantages caused by the program been factored in?

- Public works programs: Does the program design favor female participation? Does it consider flexible working hours? Are there quotas on women' participation? Are there complementary activities that encourages female participation (for example, less strenuous works for women)?
- Is childcare available to program beneficiaries?
- Does the program accommodate lower levels of literacy of participants?
- Does the program allow flexibility in the requirements for official documents, such as birth and marriage certificates? Does the program consider potential illiteracy of program participants (thumbprints in lieu of signatures, for example)?

Program Implementation

- Are there specific provisions to inform women about the program requirements, eligibility criteria, benefits or other relevant information? Are outreach activities adequate to inform potential female beneficiaries of the program?
- What implementation measures are undertaken to promote women's participation in the program?
- Are there provisions for female-headed households or single caregivers? Are there provisions for women living in nontraditional household structures such as polygamous families?
- Are there any provisions to prevent domestic violence or other forms of GBV?

Monitoring

- Does the program collect and report sex-disaggregated data or gender-specific indicators?
 - Are sex-disaggregated indicators and specific indicators for men and women included in the results framework? Does the results framework capture the impact of the program separately for female and male beneficiaries?
- Does the program monitor indicators on intra-household bargaining power?
- Is the grievance redress mechanism easily accessible to women and marginalized groups?
 - Do features account for women's specific needs and constraints?
 - Is there a safe or confidential system to report cases of GBV or sexual exploitation and abuse?

In conclusion, our findings indicate that many of the World Bank social protection and poverty reduction programs in South Sudan and in other fragile countries target women among their beneficiaries. However, only a few of them integrate gender equality in a systematic manner—that is, from design to implementation and evaluation. There is also a need for further research and systematic evidence to better understand the impact of these programs on gender-based violence. The discussion about gender equality, and particularly GBV, is a critical yet sensitive issue in fragile and conflict-affected countries. Although the World Bank is increasingly recognizing the risk of different forms of GBV in operation, it is important to acknowledge

that this might not be the case for governments. Therefore, carefully considering potential risks and focusing discussions on practical measures provide an entry point for dialogue.

1. Introduction

As in most conflicts, in South Sudan, women and girls have been the most vulnerable. Not only do they face many challenges, including extreme poverty and lack of access to basic services and productive assets, but many of the risks they face, such as gender-based violence (GBV), are heightened during times of conflict. Furthermore, gendered roles and traditional norms limit women's mobility and hinder their escape from violence. During the civil war, forced and early marriage appears to have increased and procreation has been regarded as a patriotic duty. When men are killed or flee for fear of forced mobilization, women and children are left alone, making them vulnerable even within their own community.

Social protection and poverty-reduction programs are increasingly emerging as important policy tools to rebuild the social fabric of fragile and conflict-affected countries. The inclusion of women and groups with low bargaining power and with low access to productive resources in poverty-reduction programs can tackle specific vulnerabilities and solidify efforts to promote gender equality. On the other hand, failing to recognize existing gaps can exacerbate inequality to the detriment of vulnerable subgroups and further exacerbate the country's overall fragility (Caprioli, 2005). Yet, until now, there have been few assessments undertaken to better understand how successfully these goals have been achieved in South Sudan and distil key lessons learned. There is even less evidence that demonstrates the effect of programs on gender-based violence.

This paper aims to answer two questions for which there is limited evidence. First, how do social protection and other poverty reduction programs address the needs of women and girls in South Sudan? For the purpose of this report social protection or safety net programs are defined as noncontributory economic support to households and individuals including transfers of cash, vouchers, in-kind support, school-feeding, fee waivers, cash-for-work, or public works programs. Second, how can social protection and other poverty-reduction programs promote gender equality in the design and implementation of operations in South Sudan? Even though the paper focuses primarily on the context of South Sudan, we believe the lessons are applicable across many fragile and conflict-affected countries. The analysis in this paper focuses on women and girls, as very few operations and impact evaluations were found that identified the needs of men and boys or aimed to close reverse gender gaps. Importantly, in situations of conflict, women and girls are most exposed to adversity, and many of the risks they face, such as gender-based violence, are intensified (Buvinic *et al.*, 2013). However, where there is evidence, the analysis refers to specific challenges faced by other vulnerable groups, such as young men. The intended audience for this paper is World Bank task teams and development practitioners working in fragile situations.

The evidence presented in this paper is based on a portfolio review of 24 World Bank projects and an examination of results stemming from 16 impact evaluations conducted in fragile and conflict-affected countries or comparable low-income settings. Fourteen of the projects included in the portfolio review were implemented in South Sudan whereas the remaining 10 were in similar fragile and conflict-affected countries. Of the 16 impact evaluations that are covered, 11 were financed by, or involved, World Bank teams. The outcomes reviewed are mainly organized according to the four pillars of the World Bank Group's Gender Strategy (World Bank, 2015). Specifically, these outcomes relate to: (1) improving human endowments—education, health; (2) removing constraints for more and better jobs—employment, entrepreneurship, wages; (3) removing barriers to women's ownership and control physical and financial assets; and (4) enhancing voice and agency of traditionally disempowered groups, namely women, children, and youth.

This paper is organized in seven sections, including this introduction. Section 2 presents the methodology. Section 3 describes poverty and vulnerability in South Sudan. Section 4 discusses the status of gender equality in the country. Section 5 presents a brief description of the integration of gender equality in social protection and poverty-reduction programs in South Sudan. Section 6 presents the findings of the impact evaluation and portfolio reviews and provides recommendations to address gender gaps and vulnerabilities in countries facing similar challenges. Section 7 concludes the paper.

2. Methodology

The recommendations presented in this paper are primarily based on a review of the World Bank portfolio in South Sudan and an analysis of impact evaluation evidence. The portfolio review analyzes the integration of gender equality in World Bank projects,ⁱ whereas the review of evidence from impact evaluations focuses on interventions in fragile and conflict-affected or comparable low-income countries.ⁱⁱ

The initial focus of the portfolio review was social protection programs in South Sudan but, given the small size of the portfolio and interest in the topic from other teams, it was expanded to include operations in health, agriculture, transport, and rural and urban infrastructure. Fourteen of the 24 projects analyzed were implemented in South Sudan and the remaining 10 in similar fragile situations. The latter were identified based on concrete actions taken by the project to promote gender equality or women empowerment or based on the inclusion of indicators focused on female beneficiaries.

The World Bank-funded projects in South Sudan were approved between fiscal years (FY) 2008 and 2019 (Table 1) and cover various sectors: agriculture, social protection and jobs, health, transport, and social, development. Nine of the 14 projects included activities focused on improving access to economic opportunities for the poor and vulnerable. The development objectives of these projects include the

enhancement of human capital, institutional capacity–building, and infrastructure development. More than half of the projects cover the sectors of agriculture or health. This is to be expected, given that a large share of the population living in the countries covered by the review, particularly in South Sudan, live in rural areas and depend on agriculture. At the same time, even though the provision of health care is a fundamental need, people living in fragile countries have a higher probability of being undernourished while mortality rates for children under the age of five are twice as high compared to stable states (PLoS Medicine Editors, 2011). The health–sector projects included in the review focus on improving access to primary health care (PHC) services for the vulnerable population. All projects reviewed included a safety net or economic opportunities component. Most projects had an explicit goal related to gender equality.

Table 1: Distribution of projects by type of intervention and sector

| | Agriculture | Social Protection | Health | Transport | Urban Development |
|-------------------------|-------------|-------------------|--------|-----------|-------------------|
| Total projects | 5 | 1 | 5 | 2 | 1 |
| Public works | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Cash transfer | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Food or in–kind support | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Other | 1 | 0 | 5 | 2 | 1 |

Note: The category “other” includes institutional capacity building, construction of facilities, among others.

The portfolio review takes a project cycle approach and focuses on analyzing project objectives, components, indicators, and results using information from project documents including Project Appraisal Documents (PADs) and Implementation Status and Results reports (ISRs). Implementation Completion Reports (ICRs) served as a source of information for completed projects.ⁱⁱⁱ In–depth unstructured interviews were conducted with task team leaders for five of the projects being implemented in South Sudan. Key questions posed included: Does the program objective address gender equality and female empowerment? Does the program integrate gender equality in determining benefits modalities (and to what extent)? What are the relative advantages or disadvantages caused by the program? What specific measures are undertaken to promote women’s participation? Does the program acknowledge and address gender gaps or gender discrimination? Does the program capture and report sex–disaggregated data as well as intra–household effects? How gender–sensitive is the Grievance Readdress Mechanism? Annex 1 presents a detailed list of questions used for the portfolio review.

Impact evaluation studies were identified based on four factors. First, intervention countries were primarily in fragile contexts.^{iv} Second, interventions were related to social safety nets (including conditional and unconditional cash transfers as well as in–kind food transfers), subsidies, and public works programs. Third, the impact evaluations reviewed included both experimental and nonexperimental designs, but all had valid

control groups in which causality could be established. Fourth, effects were disaggregated by sex or referred to gender-specific outcomes. Studies included in the analysis are papers published between 2013 and 2018 for interventions implemented between 2008 and 2016. This time frame was chosen to avoid duplication of reviews already covered in previous reports. The review covered 16 impact evaluation studies grouped in five thematic areas: (1) Conditional Cash Transfers (CCTs) and Unconditional Cash Transfers (UCTs), (2) Labor Intensive Public Works (LIPW), (3) Community Driven Development (CDD), (4) Agriculture, and (5) Information.^v The 16 impact evaluation studies included 10 peer-reviewed journal articles, five working papers, and one white paper by the World Bank.^{vi} The list of studies and a brief description of the intervention are provided in Annex 2.

Outcomes reviewed are organized according to the four pillars of the World Bank's Gender Strategy. These outcomes relate to: (1) improving human endowments—education, health; (2) removing constraints for more and better jobs—employment, entrepreneurship, wages; (3) removing barriers to women's ownership and control of assets—physical assets and financial assets, and (4) enhancing voice and agency and engaging men and boys to change social norms about masculinity and femininity.

Given the lack of data and rigorous evidence for South Sudan, the review of impact evaluations included a subset of fragile states or low-income countries that could be considered comparators for South Sudan. Two sources were used to identify a country's fragility, namely the Country Policy and Institutional Assessment (CPIA) score of the International Development Association (IDA) and Fund for Peace's Fragile State Index (FSI). Almost all included intervention countries are both fragile and low-income countries except for five lower middle-income countries (Côte d'Ivoire, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Kenya, and Cambodia). These countries were included in the review because of their high state fragility index. The inclusion of these lower middle-income countries was also deemed necessary given that most of the existing impact evaluations on Social Protection (SP) that clearly establish causality between interventions and outcomes with sex-disaggregated results and those on gender-based violence, in particular, are concentrated in Latin America. As a result, there is only a limited number of studies carried out elsewhere that meet the selection criteria of papers for this review.

3. Poverty and Vulnerability in South Sudan^{vii}

On July 9, 2011, the Republic of South Sudan became the world's newest nation and Africa's 55th country. Unfortunately, independence from Sudan did not translate into peace for her citizens. Renewed conflicts in December 2013 and July 2016 have worsened the humanitarian situation and dented the progress that South Sudan was making following its independence. According to the World Bank, the conflict is estimated to have led to nearly 400,000 deaths since 2013. More than 4.3 million people have been displaced internally and to neighboring countries. Hunger is at historically high levels. Almost 7 million people (60

percent of the population) will be food–insecure at the height of the lean season, which runs from May to July.

Poverty has increased in South Sudan in recent years, mainly because of protracted conflict and the decline in oil prices. Even though between 2009–2011, the share of poor declined from 51 percent to 47 percent^{viii} (South Sudan Poverty Profile, 2016), estimates indicate that poverty reached 82 percent in 2016 (World Bank, 2018). This deterioration can be attributed to the fresh breakout of conflict between the government and the parties supported by the former vice president in 2013 as well as the decline in the price of oil in late 2014. The conflict led to displacement as well as the loss of livelihoods for many people across the country. The sharp decline in oil prices destabilized the macroeconomic situation of the country while heavy reliance on oil revenues led to depreciation of the South Sudanese pound and resulted in very high inflation. This severely affected the purchasing power of the poor population, resulting in one of the highest concentrations of poverty in the world.

Poverty rates are higher among households headed by a woman than those headed by a man (83 percent and 73 percent, respectively). Female–headed households are more prevalent in rural than in urban areas where the male members of the household have left in search of economic opportunities or to join armed groups.

The state of poverty has worsened across regions; in particular, the northern states experienced high prevalence of poverty primarily because of the pre–independence civil war and subsequent lack of development. In 2009, poverty rates in the northern states were higher than in the south. But, since 2009, with the ongoing civil war and the collapse of the economic order, poverty has spread southward too. Between 2009 and 2016, income inequality declined across the country largely because of the consumption loss suffered by wealthier households. The Gini^{ix} index has declined from 0.47 in 2009 to 0.41 in 2016 (World Bank, 2018). However, the improvement in equality can be attributed to the consumption loss in wealthier regions rather than greater prosperity in less privileged areas.

Hunger is highly prevalent among South Sudanese households. Even though the number of households who “often” or “sometimes”^x go hungry is relatively low in urban areas, the hunger prevalence scenario is much worse among the rural population. About three quarters of rural households face hunger “sometimes” and 35 percent “often.”^{xi} South Sudanese households adopt several strategies to cope with hunger. One–third of them resort to inferior options such as eating wild foods, whereas 14 percent reduce consumption and 13 percent go hungry altogether. Even households in the richest quintile (about 3 percent of households) report having suffered hunger more than 10 times in a month (South Sudan Poverty Profile, 2016).

A large body of evidence suggests that women and girls, men and boys experience and respond differently to conflict (see Buvinic *et al.* [2013] for a comprehensive review of the evidence). Women and girls are among the groups most vulnerable to conflict, and often most exposed to its indirect effects, such as poverty, malnutrition, disease, and a lack of access to public services. Men and boys, on the other hand, represent most fatalities in conflicts. They experience mental health consequences and issues related to accessing labor–market opportunities and even reintegrating into society after having engaged in conflict (World Bank, 2018). Understanding the different needs and vulnerabilities of women and men in fragile situations provides insights to the effect of conflict on communities, households, and individuals.

One of the most critical forms of vulnerabilities that threaten women’s wellbeing is gender–based violence (GBV). About 65 percent of women and girls in South Sudan have been the victim of physical and sexual violence at some point in their lives, with the majority of them experiencing it for the first time before age 18 (UNICEF, 2018). In 33 percent of the cases, the violence was experienced during military raids from a nonpartner whereas in 51 percent of cases it was from an intimate partner. The economic downturn and loss of livelihoods caused by the conflict forced many women and girls to engage in sex for a living. Even many female members of the armed groups reported physical abuse or rape by fellow group members. The culture of violence and impunity that has emerged from decades of conflict continues to provoke violent behavior toward women inside and outside their home (UNICEF, 2018).

Conflict has serious negative effects on human development outcomes, and these are gender–differentiated. The destruction of schools, the loss of teachers to violence and intimidation, the recruitment of child soldiers, as well as forced displacement are some of the direct effects of conflict. Children also get pulled out of school to work and replace lost family income. Reduced school attendance might affect human capital, both at the individual and aggregate levels (Khan and Seltzer, 2016). Children exposed to the Rwandan genocide experienced a drop in completed schooling of almost half a year and were 15 percent less likely to complete 3rd or 4th grade (Akresh and de Walque, 2008). The effects are differentiated for boys and girls because of the risk of violence, abduction or even reallocation of family resources. In Pakistan, the exposure to high levels of terrorism stemming from the Taliban’s campaign reduced school enrolment among boys by 5.5 percent, compared to 10.5 percent for girls (Khan and Seltzer, 2016).

Notwithstanding, conflict can provide opportunities for women to play an active role in rebuilding communities. Evidence has shown that, in some countries, women have been able to renegotiate traditional gender roles and play a more active role in the economic and political spheres in the aftermath of conflict. Women can also contribute to reconstructing economies and communities (Buvinic *et al.*, 2012; World Bank, 2018). Furthermore, women’s participation in negotiation and peace processes is highly correlated with the likelihood of agreements being reached and implemented (UN Women, 2015).

Conflict-induced displacement is also widespread in South Sudan. More than 4.5 million people—a third of the population—have been forced to flee their homes. Some of them have fled to neighboring countries, although a significant share remains within the country's borders. Almost 90 percent of the displaced are women and children. Displacement affects women and men differently because of existing gender disparities. In contexts where women have traditionally been excluded from land ownership and inheritance, displacement makes women vulnerable, dependent, and at a greater risk of exclusion.

Conflict-induced displacement has altered family structures and affected the livelihoods of South Sudanese households. With very limited or no access to livelihood or productive assets and isolation from their kinship network, women face even higher level of insecurity and marginalization. At the same time, depending on the nature of displacement, women may struggle to fulfill both traditional male and female roles within the family in the absence of male relatives.

Displacement further exacerbates the vulnerability of women, girls, and young men as many of them become victims of violence. Domestic violence tends to increase, as people experience trauma and as displaced males struggle with feeling a loss of control within the family. In fact, prolonged war has resulted in a culture of impunity and violence that is also responsible for high levels of domestic violence (UNICEF, 2018). Young men are another sub-group that is extremely vulnerable to violent acts of crime in rural and urban areas (Republic of South Sudan Systematic Country Diagnostic, 2015). At least 25 percent of reported conflict-related cases of sexual violence involve children (UNICEF, 2018).

4. Status of Women and Girls, and Men and Boys in South Sudan

In order to set the stage for the review of interventions, this section describes the status of women and girls, or men and boys in South Sudan based on available statistics and research that define the problems that these interventions seek to resolve. The analysis is organized along the pillars of the WBG Gender Strategy, namely: (1) human endowments, (2) jobs and access to economic opportunities, and (3) voice and agency.

Human Endowments

Life expectancy in South Sudan is one of the lowest in the Sub-Saharan Africa region and in the world. Women's life expectancy is 58 years compared to 56 years for men (UNDP, 2017). Conflict is estimated to be one of five primary causes of premature adult death in South Sudan, and it accounts for eight-times more deaths than it did 10 years ago (IHME, 2018). Conflict and violence, alongside the struggling health system, contribute to higher mortality rates among men (335 per 1,000 people versus 309 per 1,000 people for women). Since the beginning of the conflict in 2013, there have been nearly 400,000 excess deaths in

the country. Violence is responsible for 50 percent of the lives lost (London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, 2018).

The maternal mortality ratio—one of the highest in the world—stands at 789 per 100,000 live births, which is significantly higher than the Sub-Saharan Africa average rate of 547 deaths per 100,000 live births (WHO 2015). Only 10 percent of births are attended by skilled health personnel and 81 percent of births take place at home (2010 SSHS). In addition to persistent food insecurity, inadequate resources to support critical health services are a major obstacle for the country in addressing maternal health issues. The prevalence of HIV is also significantly higher among women than men. In 2016, women constituted 59 percent of the population aged above 15 living with HIV (WHO, 2016). This is a common pattern seen across most countries in the region, caused by both biological and social vulnerabilities of women, such as their weaker bargaining position within relationships (de Walque *et al.*, 2014).

South Sudan performs worse than other African countries in most education indicators. As of 2015, the net enrolment rate for primary education is 36 percent and 28 percent for boys and girls, respectively. Secondary net enrollment rates are the lowest in the region at 6 percent for boys and 4 percent for girls. Similarly, only 18 percent of girls and 33 percent of boys complete primary education (UNESCO, 2019). The civil conflict makes improvement of education outcomes more difficult. Almost 31 percent of schools have suffered attacks since 2013 and a quarter became nonfunctional by 2016.

Girls' participation in education is hindered by the social expectation to perform domestic chores and the practice of child marriage. The prevalence of crime, particularly sexual violence, forces girls to restrict their movement beyond their neighborhood. As a result, a high percentage of children, especially girls, are forced to discontinue their primary education before acquiring basic numeracy and literacy skills. Poor academic facilities, including lack of competency of teachers and lack of instruction in their mother tongue and English, are partly to blame for compounding the problem.

Box 1: The Status of Human Capital in South Sudan (The World Bank, 2018)

The Human Capital Index (HCI) offers a measurement of human capital that a child born today will potentially be able to achieve by age 18. It reflects the productivity of the next generation of workforce weighed against a benchmark of complete education and full health, signified by a value between zero and one. The HCI combines five indicators across education and health sectors: the probability of a child surviving to age five; proportion of not-stunted children; expected years of schooling a child could receive; quality of learning measured through harmonized test scores; and the proportion of 15-year-olds that will survive to age 60. Globally, 56 percent of children born today will grow up to be half as productive as they could be.

What is the status of human capital in South Sudan?

Human Capital Index: The HCI score of South Sudan is 0.3. This means a child born today will be able to attain only 30 percent of the productivity she could have achieved if she had received complete education and full health. South Sudan scores second lowest among 157 countries with data.

Probability of survival to age 5: 90 percent of South Sudanese children are expected to survive to age 5. The survival rate is slightly higher for girls than for boys.

Expected years of school: A child in South Sudan who starts school is expected to receive 4.2 years of schooling by the time she turns 18. Boys are expected to receive about 1.4 more years of schooling than girls.

Harmonized test scores: Students in South Sudan score 336 on a scale in which 300 represents minimum attainment and 625 represents advanced attainment.

Learning-adjusted years of school: Adjusted for quality of learning, children in South Sudan receive only 2.3 years of school.

Adult survival rate: 68 percent of 15-year-olds in South Sudan are expected to survive to age 60. Survival rates are slightly higher for girls (70 percent) than for boys (67 percent).

Not-stunted rate: 69 percent of children are not stunted. This means that the physical and cognitive development of 31 percent of children can be impaired for a generation. The probability of stunting is slightly higher for boys (71 percent) than for girls (67 percent).

The table below summarizes the state of human capital in South Sudan. The HCI could not be sex-disaggregated because data was not available for some of the indicators.

| Component | Boys | Girls | Overall |
|-----------------------------------|------|-------|---------|
| HCI | - | - | 0.3 |
| Survival to Age 5 | 0.9 | 0.91 | 0.9 |
| Expected Years of School | 4.9 | 3.5 | 4.2 |
| Harmonized Test Scores | - | - | 336 |
| Learning-Adjusted Years of School | - | - | 2.3 |
| Adult Survival Rate | 0.67 | 0.7 | 0.68 |
| Not Stunted Rate | 0.67 | 0.71 | 0.69 |

Jobs and Access to Economic Opportunities

Labor-force participation rates are similar for men and women (75 percent and 73 percent, respectively).

Almost two-thirds of the population is employed in the agriculture sector, with no differences in the share

of female and male employment (International Labour Organization, 2018). In urban areas, the female share of own-account workers is higher than that for men (73 percent for women vs. 62 percent for men). This pattern reflects their predominant role as unpaid family workers. Also, of the employed population, more women than men work in low-paying, low-skill elementary occupations (55 percent for women vs. 24 percent for men) (World Bank, 2018). Among youths, labor-force participation tends to be slightly higher for women than for men (63 percent vs. 58 percent) (ILOSTAT database, 2018).

In agriculture, the roles performed by women are different and at times more time-consuming than those performed by men. The type of engagement of women in agricultural work varies across regions and communities, but in all cases they perform these roles in addition to domestic and care duties. Yet, women tend to be excluded from decision-making processes, especially from those related to use of income. The proceeds from the sale of surplus agricultural output in most cases are controlled by men, despite women's critical contribution in the production process (World Bank, 2015).

Within the household, women bear a disproportionately heavy burden with very limited scope of childcare and support. The proportion of women working as contributing family workers is 48 percent, compared to 17 percent of men. At the same time, they are less likely than men to be employed as waged and salaried workers (38 percent vs. 46 percent).

Few women consider venturing outside the household to initiate business ventures and they face considerable obstacles in registering their businesses and accessing finance. According to *Women, Business and Law* (2018), South Sudan does not have legislation protecting women from discrimination in accessing credit or facing sexual violence in education or in the workplace. Their scope of self-employment is also constrained by the lack of formal education and skills-development opportunities. In case a marriage is dissolved, the law does not allow for valuation of nonmonetary contributions, making it unlikely for women to secure a fair division of assets (World Bank, 2018). Moreover, the conventional social expectation is that women should take up "white collar" jobs rather than starting a venture of their own (World Bank, 2015).

Furthermore, there is a disparity in terms of women's right to inherit, acquire and own land or other property. The customary courts for determination of right to property limit women's right to own land independently. Although the Land Act (2009) acknowledges women's equal right to inherit land, it also retains the existing right to land held by individuals or communities under the customary law. As a result, women remain significantly marginalized economically (International Alert, 2012). In the years following the conflict, a few tribal chiefs have been observed adapting to the changing social dynamics and granting land rights to returnee widows and single women. These efforts make little difference to overcome the shortcomings of the customary law that traditionally favors men when it concerns granting land rights (Mennen, 2012). This apparent gender bias in customary courts leaves women with very limited access to

land or productive assets as well as to finance or other factors of production. This compounds their vulnerability, especially in the rural areas where livelihood opportunities for women are scarce beyond household farm activities. Because women are not allowed access to property independent of their male relatives, in the absence of a husband or other male family member, they are left with no on-farm work opportunities (Republic of South Sudan Systematic Country Diagnostic, 2015).

Voice and Agency

Patriarchal norms compounded by poverty and unequal power relationships within the home remain some of the primary drivers of violence against women and girls. Gaia (2015) argues that, in situations of domestic violence, women and girls often stay because of economic dependence on their abusers and such dependence compromises their safety, health, well-being, and personal agency. More recent studies (Murphy *et al.* 2019) note that in conflict settings intimate partner violence is even more prevalent than nonpartner sexual violence, and women are more likely than men to be victims of sexual exploitation during conflict. Research also highlights that exposure to conflict not only affects women and men during incidents of conflict (for example, as combatants, targets of attack, and so on) but also in their homes and communities, where rape and other acts of violence become normalized (Ager *et. al.*, 2018; Mootz, Stabb, & Mollen, 2017).

These findings were particularly strong in a study by the Global Women's Institute and the International Rescue Committee (2017) in South Sudan, where normalization of violence, breakdown of the rule of law and proliferation of guns were feeding cycles of inter-communal and community-level violence targeting women and girls. According to the study, the perspectives of young women have started to change, and adolescent women are reported to be less accepting of GBV. However, patriarchal norms and practices are still deeply rooted. In fact, GBV is prevalent in South Sudan. About 65 percent of women and girls have been victims of physical and sexual violence by an intimate partner at some point in their life and most of them experience it for the first time before age 18. At least 25 percent of reported conflict-related cases of sexual violence involve children (UNICEF, 2018).

Domestic violence is more prevalent in a household with inequitable gender attitudes. According to the Global Women's Institute (GWI, 2018), gender norms that consolidate all household power with the husband may also contribute to domestic tensions that can trigger incidents of physical violence. About 79 percent of South Sudanese women think that a husband is justified in beating his wife for reasons that range from burning dinner to neglecting their children (The World Bank, 2019).^{xii} The majority of male respondents (77 percent in Rumberk), and female respondents (from 73 percent in Juba City to 93 percent in Rumbek), agree that violence was justified in at least one of the following circumstances: if a woman

goes out without telling her husband, neglects the children, argues with her husband, or refuses to have sex.

The prevalence of early and forced marriage is an expression of biased gender norms. About 52 percent of girls get married before reaching age 18. In South Sudanese culture, the transition from a girl to a woman is marked by menarche, and hence forced early marriage is justified. This practice is also linked with poverty and ongoing conflict. Many families receive a bride price, especially when a young girl is married off to an older, wealthier groom (GWI, 2018). Traditionally, the brides' families are paid "the bride price" in the form of cattle or money. The custom of paying the bride price makes men think of their wives as commodities and thus wives lose the right to speak up for themselves (GWI, 2018).

Greater attention to reconciliation initiatives and inclusion of women and young people are all opportunities for constructive engagement. Although there is a quota for women's representation in the legislature, there are few female leaders as ministers, senior civil servants, or governors. Women's voices are largely excluded from the household due to customary laws and party politics (International Alert, 2012).

5. Gender Equality in Social Protection and Poverty Reduction Programs

Gender equality refers to equality of sexes in terms of access to participation in economic opportunities, decision-making as well as the condition of valuing different behaviors, actions, and needs equally, regardless of gender. Empowerment, on the other hand, can be defined as "the process by which those who have been denied the right to make strategic life choices acquire such skills" (Kabeer, 1999). Alkire (2005) defines empowerment as a sub-set of agency, which is what an individual can freely pursue and consider important for their well-being. Control over personal decisions, power over household decision-making, domain-specific autonomy, and power to change aspects of an individual's own and communal life are some of the indicators that can guide measurement of empowerment (Alkire & Ibrahim, 2007). Alsop and Heinsohn (2005) described individuals and groups as empowered when "they possess the capacity to make effective choices: That is, to translate these choices into desired actions and outcomes". The World Development Report (WDR) of 2012 took a broader approach. The notion of agency, according to the WDR, should include control over resources, decision-making, freedom of movement, freedom from the risk of violence, and a voice and influence in collective decision-making processes.

Gender equality has been widely accepted as an essential component of effective development. Gender equality has progressively taken center stage in the international development community over the past two decades (World Bank, 2014). The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) underscore gender equality and women's empowerment as an important development objective, in and of itself (Goal 5), and highlight the relevance of gender equality to achieve a wide range of objectives related to sustainable development. For

example, in the agriculture sector in which most of the poor are employed, it is estimated that reducing gender inequality in access to productive resources could increase yields on women’s farms by 20 percent to 30 percent and raise total agricultural output by 2.5 percent to 4 percent (World Bank and One Campaign, 2014).

In 2016, the World Bank Group (WBG) approved a new corporate gender strategy that aims to shift the focus from gender mainstreaming to generating transformational change toward gender equality and women’s empowerment. The strategy builds on the conceptual framework of the World Development Report (WDR) 2012 on Gender Equality and Development (World Bank, 2011), which posits that households, markets, and institutions, and the interaction between them, influence gender equality and economic development. The strategy recognizes that gender equality is instrumental to the WBG’s twin goals of ending extreme poverty and boosting shared prosperity and focuses on pillars: (1) Improving Human Capital Endowments; (2) Removing Constraints for More and Better Jobs; (3) Removing Barriers to Women’s Ownership and Control of Assets; and (4) Enhancing Women’s Voice and Agency and Engaging Men and Boys (Box 2).

Box 2: WBG Gender Strategy

Building on a large body of evidence, the WBG Gender Strategy recognizes that concerted efforts are required to tackle gender gaps in accessing more and better jobs as well as control and ownership over assets. These are key levers of change for women, their families and communities, and drivers of economic growth and poverty reduction for countries. Closing these gaps entails addressing gender differences in access to health and quality education, as well as enhancing women’s voice and agency.



Source: World Bank Group Gender Strategy (2015).

First-generation social protection programs focused on economically vulnerable households and poverty reduction. Although the assumption was gender neutrality, poorly designed programs often led to a widening of existing gender inequalities in society (Luttrell and Moser, 2004). Labor-intensive workfare projects with an emphasis on the formal sector were more favorable for men than women. Holmes and Jones (2013) also argue that interventions have tended to be more preoccupied with addressing the conditions of poor women (that is, their material circumstances), than their position (that is, place and power within the home and society)—without which poverty cannot be addressed in a sustainable manner.

The idea, objective and scope of social protection programs have evolved and broadened over recent years. A broad set of social protection and poverty-reduction interventions are now being adopted to address risk and vulnerabilities generating from widespread gender inequality. There is a large body of evidence from Africa and other developing regions that suggests that households use cash and in-kind transfers to benefit children, empower women, and for living better lives (for example, Aker *et al.*, 2016; Haushofer and Shapiro, 2013).

Box 3: Gender in The World Bank Social Protection and Labor Strategy

The Social Protection and Labor Strategy (SPL) of the World Bank for 2012-22 aims to support individuals and societies to overcome risk and volatility by making progress on three key fronts: resilience, equity, and opportunity. Better economic opportunity is key to achieving gender equality and women's empowerment. The promotion of opportunity is also strongly integrated with achievement of resilience and equity. Therefore, programs such as cash transfers, that create economic opportunity for women, also promote gender equality by investing in women's human capital.

Creating inclusive social protection systems can address multiple gender gaps and lead to economic empowerment for women. Women face numerous obstacles accessing education and labor–market opportunities. This means that they have less capacity to cope in the event of a shock. Furthermore, impacts of shocks on women and men are often different. The SPL strategy suggests safety–net programs are made inclusive by addressing women's specific vulnerabilities, for example, by using cash–plus approaches (that is, cash transfers with complementary services), which offer avenues for addressing women's specific vulnerabilities and multiple constraints, for example, lack of childcare, time constraints, restrictions on mobility.

The strategy also suggests that social norms regarding gender–appropriate behavior as well as gender–specific responsibilities relating to household and market work are considered when designing public workfare programs. For example, social protection interventions are increasingly experimenting with ways to address underlying social norms, for example, involving men and boys in parenting, shared decision–making, and so on. These measures are expected to enable more women to access public works and similar economic opportunities. Although most developing countries struggle to find a balance between coverage and fiscal resources required for social–protection programs, the SPL strategy suggests vulnerability of women should be factored in while deepening coverage of social insurance. Because of their limited access to formal employment as well as pension systems and better life expectancy, they should receive adequate coverage from the social protection systems.

Source: The World Bank Social 2012-2022 Protection and Labor Strategy

Interventions that focus on reducing gender–related vulnerabilities and promoting women's empowerment have several benefits. Research on the impact of cash transfers shows positive effects on school enrolment, attendance, completion, and transition for girls in many Latin American and African countries (Gaia, 2015). Evidence on the impact of social protection on HIV/AIDS prevention has also shown that women and girls who receive cash transfers are less likely to resort to harmful coping strategies such as having sex with older partners, or having sex in exchange for food, shelter, transport, or money (Gaia, 2015). Social

protection also strengthens these prevention gains by increasing girls' school enrolment and attendance rates as well as their use of critical health and counselling services.

Impact evaluations of both conditional and unconditional cash transfers have confirmed in some contexts that giving the transfer to women translates into greater household spending on children's needs (World Bank, 2014). However, the differential impact of giving cash to a woman or to a man may vary with gender roles. For instance, Akresh *et al.* (2016) find that giving cash transfers to fathers led to significantly better nutritional outcomes in years with low rainfall in addition to higher household investment in livestock and cash crops. The findings may result partly from the central role that men in rural Burkina Faso play in feeding their families. Cash transfers can also support investments in productive assets even if they were not designed for this purpose and do not include explicit incentives to invest. Women and female heads of households were also found to invest in livestock and agricultural tools as much as or more than men. They also invest in different types of assets.

The Social Protection and Jobs Follow-Up Note (FUN) to the implementation of the WBG Gender Strategy builds on existing achievements but also goes deeper to align with the vision of the strategy. It lays out three principles: maintain achievements on activities that have proven to yield successful results; extend good-practices to new settings where they will be transformational toward closing gender inequalities; and go deeper by innovating and testing new project design features and delivery modes in projects to lift constraints to gender equality. Applying this vision in the context of South Sudan highlights the need to work on first-generation problems of adequate coverage of female beneficiaries as well as going deeper into specific topics, such as GBV.

Social-protection interventions that address the needs of women and girls can play a transformative role in conflict-affected countries and in response to the heightened risk of gender-based violence. Women's economic empowerment programs, when designed and developed together with wider programming focused on changing gender inequitable norms and power dynamics within the household, can have an effect on GBV. "Cash-plus" programs—for example, community-based programming targeting attitudes, behaviors and social norms—have shown promise in Fragility Conflict and Violence (FCV) situations (Murphy *et al.*, 2019).

Recent studies note that cash transfers targeting female beneficiaries can alleviate households' budgetary constraints and thus may reduce domestic violence. Buller *et al.* (2019) propose three pathways through which cash transfers could affect intimate partner violence: (1) economic security and emotional wellbeing; (2) intra-household conflict; and (3) women's empowerment. Moreover, integrated social-protection programs that detect situations of vulnerability and abuse within the household can connect girls and their parents to benefits and services aimed at preventing and responding to violence and abuse, parenting

support, and education. However, evidence has also shown that activities that are likely to shift intra-household power dynamics may also increase the risk of domestic violence if not designed properly—(Heise, 2011; Hjort and Villanger, 2011). Thus, it is important to consider design features that can mitigate the potential adverse effects for women, including the engagement of men and communities in program activities.

Social Protection and Gender Equality in Poverty Reduction Interventions in South Sudan

The social protection system in South Sudan takes the form of non-contributory safety-net support and is almost exclusively financed by donors as humanitarian assistance. A greater share of safety net resources is increasingly provided by external partners and the country is nowadays one of the largest recipients of humanitarian aid (11.3 percent of GDP) (Beegle *et al.*, 2018). Spending on safety nets in 2012 was estimated at US\$345 million, US\$342 million of which was provided by the World Food Programme (WFP) (World Bank, 2015). However, developing a robust safety-net system that goes beyond humanitarian assistance requires a long-term focus and significant investment, particularly in a country that suffered decades of conflict and socioeconomic decline.

Safety nets in South Sudan often take the form of food assistance programs. With the looming fear of famine and virtually no agricultural activity in most parts of the country, food assistance becomes critical. In these situations, women and children are the most vulnerable. Most of them face food insecurity either because of loss of their subsistence farm activities or loss of the earning member of the family. Box 3 summarizes some of the programs financed by external partners, including the WFP and UNICEF.

Box 3: Projects financed by external partners in South Sudan

The School Feeding Program (World Food Programme): The UN’s World Food Programme (WFP) encourages boys and girls in South Sudan to attend school by providing meals there. In addition to ensuring education, the intervention addresses short-term hunger, malnutrition, and cognitive development of children. WFP also supports girls’ attendance at school through cash or rations. This incentive is particularly effective in incentivizing families to send their daughters to schools instead of engaging them in household chores. As a result of the intervention, enrolment and attendance rate for girls improved from 30 percent to 86 percent in areas using the program. (World Food Program, 2015).

Nutrition support to pregnant and lactating mothers: In partnership with UNICEF, WFP provides nutritious food as well as nutrition counselling to pregnant women and children aged between 6 and 11 months. Nutrition volunteers were trained and mobilized as part of outreach initiatives. This has helped address severe short-term malnutrition problems particularly prevalent among internally-displaced

women. In some cases, programs last only for a few months, which leaves the vulnerable women exposed to food insecurity (World Food Programme, 2018).

Food Assistance for Asset (FFA): The World Food Programme provides food assistance to households to improve their resilience and reduce dependence on humanitarian assistance. Households receive food or cash as they build assets by restoring productivity of arable land and constructing community-level infrastructure. Although supporting productive activities and building infrastructure is likely to help women cope with vulnerability and food insecurity, the project does not include any intervention methods to promote female empowerment or their participation in productive activities (reliefweb, 2018).

UNICEF's Nutrition Program: In addition to treating children affected by severe acute malnutrition, UNICEF extends nutrition support and counselling to lactating and pregnant women. It also provides psychosocial services to children and women who have suffered GBV. The counselling and mental support services are primarily targeted at the children and women who are most vulnerable to violent activities. These interventions, complementary to food-based humanitarian assistance, offer critical support to women and children at risk (UNICEF, 2019).

Food-transfer programs account for approximately 98 percent of total safety-net expenditures. Nearly 70 percent of beneficiaries are being reached through emergency food distribution, 14 percent through school feeding programs, and a further 15 percent through cash-for-work and food-for-work interventions (Alternative Social Safety Nets in South Sudan, 2015). Although the benefits of food-based programs cannot be questioned in such fragile economic situations, it is also most often criticized for being inefficient and prone to leakage (Grosh, Ninno, Tesliuc, & Ouerghi, 2008). On the other hand, productive safety-nets have proven effective at tackling economic vulnerability in the medium and long term. Public works, conditional or unconditional cash-transfer programs, and skill development interventions can reactivate economic activities in rural areas by infusing critical productive assets.

Safety-net interventions continue to be fragmented and do not exist at a significant scale or as longer-term interventions. In the cash-transfer sector alone for humanitarian aid in 2018, there were 58 actors engaged in 77 different projects. There are significant challenges to deepening and widening safety-nets beyond the existing humanitarian assistance activities. The conflict has left infrastructure as well as capacity of the government in dire condition.

The government possesses very limited capacity to implement an effective safety-net program at a national level, thus leading the international aid providers to rely on UN agencies, international NGOs, and humanitarian organizations for program implementation. Although this might help overcome the logistical problem in the short term, the engagement of government agencies in safety-net programs is crucial for

long-term capacity building and sustainability of the projects. Another major challenge in implementation is the identification of beneficiaries for social safety-net programs as many of them have been displaced from their original location. There are also concerns about quality of implementation because of the lack of a robust monitoring and evaluation system.

Government Policies, Institutions and Programs

In 2009, in its National Security Policy, the government of South Sudan set a goal to put in place universal social welfare programs by as early as 2012. This included pensions, unemployment benefits, and maternity allowance, among others. The maternity benefit was expected to cover pregnant women's medical expenditure and compensate for any subsequent income loss caused by the pregnancy. Due to the protracted conflict, few of these have been implemented so far.

The government, as laid out in the South Sudan Development Plan (SSDP), envisions an inclusive safety-net system as well as “work[ing] progressively to reduce risk, vulnerability, poverty, and economic and social exclusion throughout South Sudan” (SSDP 2011). The plan proposes the creation of a Social Protection Core Team under the leadership of the Ministry of Gender, Child and Social Welfare, with representation from other government institutions and development partners, including the World Bank, World Food Programme (WFP), United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Save the Children, and the Department for International Development (DFID). The plan also identified five intervention areas to achieve its vision: the development of safety net systems; an early-warning system; targeted programs for children; people at risk including widows; and people in need of special care.

The draft National Disability and Inclusion Policy acknowledges the higher level of vulnerability experienced by women with disability and recommends a safety-net program for them (South Sudan National Disability and Inclusion Policy, 2013). The draft National Social Protection Policy Framework produced by the Ministry of Gender, Child and Social Welfare and the Ministry of Humanitarian Affairs and Disaster Management sets out its vision to “respond to and address the multiple vulnerabilities faced by South Sudanese citizens, with a particular focus on the poorest and most excluded sectors” (GoSS 2014). Although the commitment is there, there is a long way to translate all these plans into actions through smart design and implementation of social safety-net and poverty-reduction programs.

6. Key Findings and Recommendations

This section presents six key findings from the portfolio and impact evaluation reviews to illustrate the extent to which gender equality objectives have been integrated into the design and implementation of

social protection and poverty–reduction interventions. This section also presents a set of recommendations on how to promote gender equality and women’s empowerment in the design and implementation of these types of interventions in fragile and conflict–affected countries.

1. Project Design Is Rarely Informed by A Rigorous Gender Analysis

The design of social–protection and poverty–reduction programs in South Sudan rarely used rigorous gender assessments. Several reasons can account for this. First, there is not enough data or a rigorous evidence base to rely on. This is partly explained by the protracted nature of the crisis in the country. Second, since the peace agreement of 2005, most projects were focused on rebuilding the country (mostly through infrastructure projects) and ensuring that people did not suffer from hunger and starvation. Although the situation showed some improvement after independence, gender equality remained less of a government priority as reintegration and rebuilding continued to take center stage.

Some of the projects reviewed in this study, however, factored in vulnerabilities of women and tailored interventions at a later stage. For example, one of the projects that provided food and nutrition support and helped farmers re–engage in agricultural production in selected drought affected areas in South Sudan recognized the different roles played by men and women in agriculture and encouraged female participation in the project accordingly. Likewise, the design of the safety–net and skills–development program in South Sudan considered the socioeconomic gaps between men and women. The health sector projects made conscious efforts to address the challenges faced by poor and vulnerable women in accessing health care services. These included the provision of maternal health care and mental and psycho–social support for victims of GBV as part of the project.

2. Most Projects Aim to Target Female Beneficiaries, Yet Few Use Direct Targeting Methods

Most projects (except for those in the transport sector) targeted women as beneficiaries. However, few of them used direct–targeting methods to ensure greater uptake by women or reserved quotas for female beneficiaries, such as the safety net program in South Sudan. Direct targeting has made this safety net project accessible to poor and vulnerable women, particularly when it comes to benefitting from labor–intensive works and skill–development components. The project also provided formal training in trades demanded by female beneficiaries, such as hairdressing or tailoring.

Many projects used community–based targeting as this process is perceived to be transparent and conscious of the local socioeconomic context. In enhancing capacity for service delivery, the South Sudan Health Rapid Results project prioritized maternal health care services or mental and psychosocial support to victims of sexual and gender–based violence, which proved to be more beneficial for women.

3. Outreach Activities Could Be More Effective in Raising Women’s Awareness About the Programs

More than half of the reviewed projects did not include targeted measures to make the projects more accessible for women. Few outreach activities were conducted to improve women’s awareness of the intervention, particularly in rural areas where entrenched social norms often curtail female participation in productive activities. Information campaigns can significantly improve women’s use of Grievance Redress Mechanisms (GRM) and reduce the risk of domestic violence stemming from changing intra-household dynamics by engaging men in program activities targeting female beneficiaries. Examples of good-practice include the Safety Net and Skills Development Project, the South Sudan Health Rapid Results Project, and the South Sudan Provision of Essential Health Services, which recorded a higher uptake of primary health care services by female beneficiaries attributable to campaigns specifically targeting women. Projects also engaged their communities to encourage female participation.

4. Most Projects Lacked Innovative Ways to Improve Female Participation

Most income support or cash-for-work programs are not easily accessible to women because of their labor-intensive nature. Indeed, some of the conditionalities or work requirements in these programs may even exacerbate gender inequalities. The South Sudan Emergency Food Crisis Response project, which offered short-term employment through public works, later included a direct food transfer to those who could not take part in public works. The transport and urban development projects were designed to improve people’s mobility and thus spur economic activities but did not have specific strategies for targeting women’s mobility constraints.

The capacity constraint of implementing agencies in South Sudan is a barrier to engaging women and for developing effective strategies to foster female participation. Furthermore, the lack of capacity compounded by the security situation does not allow for rigorous impact evaluations to fully assess the intended positive effects on women’s outcomes.

5. Half of the Projects had a GRM in Place, But Only One Considered the Risk of Experiencing GBV

Seven of the 14 projects had GRMs for the project beneficiaries. These mechanisms were established primarily to improve transparency and quality of project implementation, including beneficiary targeting, project selection, and public work implementation. In most cases, traditional community bodies were chosen as the first point for reporting. In some of the projects these community-level grievance

management units are required to maintain female representation, which could encourage women’s use of the GRM. Mobile or Internet–based grievance reporting could also be considered to improve women’s access to GRM. However, except for the safety net program, no other project established a system to address complaints related to GBV.

6. All Projects Reported Sex–Disaggregated Information in the Results Framework, But None Kept Track of Intra–Household Distributional Effects

Sex–disaggregated data are critical in understanding a project’s gender–specific effects and potential broader implications for gender gaps in society. In projects with multiple interventions, a comparison could help identify more efficient ways to address women’s socioeconomic challenges. All projects included in the review adopted at least one sex–disaggregated or gender–specific indicator in their results framework—an important good-practice recognizing that women and men not only experience different needs, but also respond differently to interventions. All the health–sector projects include gender–specific indicators in their results matrix and track the effectiveness of activities focused on maternal health.

Notwithstanding, most programs that focus on cash transfers or livelihood opportunities tend to consider the household implicitly as a single unit. Therefore, little is known about the programs’ effect on domestic violence, even in cases when benefits are assigned to specific individuals—often a woman—within the household. Most of the impact evaluation evidence in this area comes from Latin America, which is unfortunate, given the overwhelming prevalence of GBV in fragile and conflict–affected countries. Similarly, failure to consider the effectiveness of these programs on intra–household time allocation for activities such as childcare, domestic chores, and so on can have unintended negative effects on women and girls, who by default are responsible for most of these tasks in many developing countries.

Table 2: Sex–Disaggregated and Gender–Specific Indicators in Results Frameworks

| | Agriculture | Transport | Social Protection | Health | Urban Development |
|--------------------------------------------|-------------|-----------|-------------------|--------|-------------------|
| Projects reviewed | 5 | 2 | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| Projects with sex–disaggregated indicators | 4 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Projects with gender specific indicators | 1 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 0 |

Recommendations

This section draws lessons from the portfolio review and from the evidence extracted from impact evaluations to identify entry points at which teams can apply good practices to shape interventions seeking to respond to the vulnerabilities that are specific to women and girls or men and boys in fragile settings. Annex 3 provides a list of resources to help task teams put concrete recommendations into practice.

1. Conduct Assessments to Identify Gender Gaps

Gender assessments enable project teams to better understand the risks and vulnerabilities faced by women and girls, or men and boys in their projects and are often needed to identify gender gaps in access to opportunities. They are particularly relevant in fragile situations—such as South Sudan—because they unveil gender gaps that require an understanding of the complex dynamics in those countries. They can also support the argument for designing interventions that address the needs of women and men and can be used to navigate dialogue with governments. Funding and dedicated resources for gender assessments are crucial to amplify the dialogue on gender equality. A starting point is the use of existing evidence. Quality data may not be readily available, but project design can benefit from lessons learned from past projects, reviewing reports by local NGOs and donors. Qualitative data emerging from focus group discussions with communities are also relevant sources of information for project design.

This review identified one good-practice in this area. The design of the various subcomponents under the Emergency Safety Net Project (Jigisemejiri) in Mali conducted a gender assessment that helped identify income generating activities that were more likely to be taken up by poor women. This assessment helped the team ensure that project resources would have greater impact in improving women’s access to economic opportunities. Based on the constraints and specific needs identified through the assessment, the team also developed a detailed gender action plan to guide the design and implementation process.

2. Reflect Gender Outcomes in Project Development Objectives

Including gender equality outcomes in Project Development Objectives (PDOs) can make a big difference for implementation and monitoring. The integration of explicit gender outcomes (for example, increased female participation, reduced female school dropout, reduced GBV in project areas) in the PDOs incentivizes governments and other implementing agencies to focus on differences in access, needs, and opportunities between women and men during the implementation phase, and subsequent reporting of sex-disaggregated information (or gender-specific indicators).

This review identified two good-practices in this area. The Economic Opportunities for Jordanians Program-for-Results (P4R) provided economic opportunities for Jordanians and Syrian refugees and

focused explicitly on female participation in income-generating activities. This led to reforms in the Home-Based Business (HBB) regulations, making it easier for women to start home-based businesses. Because this was one of the indicators linked to funds disbursement, the government of Jordan placed extra emphasis on ensuring reforms were executed. The project also succeeded in starting a dialogue about low rates of female participation in the labor market and potential strategies to address underlying constraints. Likewise, the safety net program in South Sudan set a target that at least 30 percent of the project beneficiaries must be women. To achieve this goal, the public works component took a participatory and gender-sensitive approach that considered the target. Public works activities have been undertaken close to villages to ensure more participation of South Sudanese women. Women were also involved in the decision-making processes, including selection of the types of public works activities.

3. Use Stand-Alone Components or Subcomponents

In fragile and conflict-affected countries with large gender gaps, teams might explore the possibility of supporting gender equality through stand-alone components to address the unique barriers and vulnerabilities faced by women and girls. One such example is the Rural Development Project in Afghanistan which targets poor rural women with the objective of empowering them socially and economically. One of the project components facilitates community mobilization, trains women in income-generating activities, and supports female-owned small enterprises by providing access to microfinance.

Conditional cash transfers aimed at increasing women's economic empowerment should incorporate complementary components that address gender-based barriers to allow women to fully benefit from these interventions. An evaluation of UCTs in Uganda that aimed to promote social stability through self-employment among Ugandan youth in conflict-affected areas by Blattman *et al.* (2013 and 2018) shows that the program beneficiaries, who were randomly allocated about \$400 per person, experienced significant increases in both their business assets and earnings.^{xiii} These improvements were significantly larger among women, whose capital stock increased by more than 100 percent relative to their counterparts in the control group, whereas the corresponding increase among men was about 50 percent. However, as women start with less experience and low human capital relative to men, they experienced a delay before reaching the same level of earnings as men. These findings highlight the importance of addressing skills and knowledge barriers in cash transfer schemes to reduce gender gaps in business opportunities.

4. Consider Quotas and Activities for Female Workers in Labor-Intensive Public Works

Quotas can be used to ensure that implementing agencies make active efforts to target female beneficiaries and design programs that appeal to women. Labor-intensive public work programs that schedule when it is convenient for women to work provide a concrete example of adjusting program activities to contribute

to gender equality. The results of the Emergency Youth and Skills Development Project's (PEJEDEC) evaluation of labor-intensive public works, specifically road maintenance in Côte d'Ivoire, suggest that the weekly average number of hours worked increased by eight hours for women compared to one hour for men four to five months into the intervention (Bertrand *et al.*, 2017). These are reflected in earnings where average earnings increased by FCFA37,000 and FCFA13,000 (approximately US\$74 and US\$26) for women and men, respectively. These results persisted 12 to 15 months after the intervention. Most of these earnings originated from nonwage agricultural income, suggesting that the program encouraged self-employment. Further analysis reveals that the principal beneficiaries were women, whose earnings prior to the intervention were much lower than the national minimum wage.

Targeting strategies that set remunerations that can only attract the most vulnerable could enhance women's inclusion in public works. The impact evaluation of the project in Côte d'Ivoire indicates that the intervention, which aimed to attract workers by using the official minimum wage, failed to only attract the most vulnerable. Given that the program had a stronger impact on women, an implication from the impact evaluation is that alternative targeting strategies that can only attract the most vulnerable, rather than fixing remunerations at the national minimum wage, could enhance women's inclusion and their empowerment. Importantly, public works programs with a heavy manual labor component put women at a disadvantage, as men and women may have different physical capacities at different stages in their life cycles (Jackson and Palmer-Jones, 1998). This can be addressed by designing work that is suitable for both men and women, including "lighter" activities such as material preparation and planting trees. The aforementioned emergency safety net program in Mali made efforts to ensure that the women could participate equally in labor-intensive work programs implemented under the project. In particular, the operations manual sets out clear guidance on financing works that are suitable for women and are located near their households.

5. Address Constraints to Female Participation and Managing Risks

Women face the dual responsibility of performing household chores and income-generating activities in South Sudan. Thus, it is important for projects to explore ways in which participation can be made convenient for female beneficiaries. These could include providing safe community-based childcare facilities, flexible working hours, facilitating transport arrangements, and assigning women work close to their residences so as to minimize the risk of sexual violence.

Among the projects analyzed for this review, three stand out as notable examples for addressing constraints on female participation and for managing risks of GBV. The public works component in the Productive Safety Net Program in Ethiopia targeted poor female-headed households in rural areas. It incorporated design elements that helped increase female participation, including community day-care facilities, flexible working hours, and direct support during pregnancy. In Burkina Faso, the Youth Employment and Skills

Development Project, which supports young people with temporary work opportunities, developed a low-cost model of mobile childcare for female beneficiaries. The model encourages women's participation in project activities by following the women as they move from worksite to worksite. It also allows mothers to nurse their babies and provide meaningful care and stimulation for children.

Following a major crackdown on militancy in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), the government of Pakistan, along with the World Bank, financed the Temporarily Displaced Persons Emergency Project, which provided support in the form of unconditional cash grants and child health services to nearly 340,000 families that had become temporarily displaced. Recognizing the restrictions imposed on female movements—including on health workers and midwives—because of the security situation, the project carried out a campaign targeting male tribal elders to reduce resistance to female participation in project activities. The issue was resolved through intensive dialogue and a subsequent partnership with the Pakistani military to ensure there was a sufficient security presence for women to move and access services safely.

6. Involve External Partners in the Design and Implementation Process

The design process of a project can benefit greatly from consultation with local players and development partners who have knowledge of the local context. For the Economic Opportunities for Jordanians and Syrian Refugees P4R, the World Bank collaborated with the UK Department for International Development (DFID), International Labour Organization (ILO), United States Agency for International Development (USAID), UNHCR and the European Union (EU), and NGOs to learn about the refugee situation, issues related to female participation in the labor market, and export potential of Jordanian products. Because the World Bank did not have solid ground presence in Jordan prior to this project, relying on the information and knowledge base of development partners helped a great deal in project design. Following consultations, the project team decided to design one of its core reform components on facilitating and increasing the number of home-based businesses run by female beneficiaries. In South Sudan, the World Bank has also partnered with WFP, UNICEF, and UNHCR in many of its projects, and benefited from the local knowledge of these partners for the design and implementation of programs.

7. Leverage Appropriate Transfer Modalities

Due to the high level of vulnerability in terms of hunger and malnutrition, most of South Sudan's safety net and poverty reduction programs are food-based. This is explained by the level of vulnerability in terms of hunger and malnutrition. However, food-based safety-nets are more prone to leakage and hence many countries are gradually moving to cash-based safety-nets. Some of these transfer programs specifically target women and add conditionalities targeted to better health, education, and empowerment outcomes.

It has been found that when women receive the transfer, consumption decisions are often more pro-children (World Bank, 2014). Perova (2010) found that Peru's Juntos, a large-scale conditional cash transfer (CCT) program, significantly decreased the prevalence of physical and emotional violence. This reduction was attributed to the increase in women's discretionary income as a result of the program. Hidrobo *et al.* (2012) similarly found that the WFP food, cash, and voucher interventions decreased controlling behaviors and physical and sexual violence significantly. Evidence presented by Murphy *et al.* (2019) demonstrated that programs need to purposefully integrate gender outcomes (related to violence against women and girls, for example) into economic programs to have impact. They also support including complementary gender components into cash programs to ensure women's safety.

Given their discretionary nature, the use of electronic payment systems has been gaining acceptance as a way to increase financial inclusion and women's empowerment. Aker *et al.* (2016) investigated the effectiveness of unconditional cash transfers targeting women. The intervention consisted of three treatment arms (1) cash transfers, (2) a mobile cash transfer, and (3) electronic transfers (m-transfer) among female recipients in Niger. Although the m-transfer did not reduce leakage, results highlight several advantages attached to the program. Recipients of the m-transfer were able to save up to 20 hours (in terms of travel time and wait-time) and had more flexibility on which day to travel to get their transfers relative to their counterparts, who received cash transfers. This "extra" time translated into a higher probability of growing marginal crops by 7–13 percentage points. Furthermore, the receipt of the electronic transfer was discreet and provided more bargaining power to women on how to use these transfers compared to cash transfer recipients. The cost of implementing the m-transfer program was about US\$7.70 higher per recipient compared to traditional cash transfers but fell to \$6.78 when the cost of purchasing a phone was excluded. Given the proliferation of cell phones in rural areas in Sub-Saharan Africa, electronic transfer payments may be an alternative cost-effective way of introducing social-protection services that distribute transfers.

Unconditional cash transfers at the household level in which recipients are women have been found to have greater impact on women's empowerment through an increase in their self-esteem. An impact evaluation by Haushofer and Shapiro (2013) of the M-Pesa unconditional cash transfer intervention shows that transfer recipients experienced an increase in psychological well-being and a reduction in levels of stress, and that these changes increased slightly when transfer recipients in the households were women. Cortisol levels decreased by 2.73 nmol/l, which is substantial given that the average difference reported by depressed and nondepressed individuals is about 2.58 nmol/l. Furthermore, lower levels of worry and higher levels of self-esteem were found in households in which recipients were women, which the authors attribute to an increase in women's empowerment.

Practitioners have developed toolkits and other forms of guidance for developing payment systems that are gender-sensitive. For example, the Safer Cash Toolkit (Cash and Learning Partnership 2019) is a set of tools that: (a) generate awareness and understanding of potential risks and who is most affected by such risks through staff training; (b) ensure cash programs are systematically collecting and using data based on the potential risks to the target population to inform program design; and (c) monitor the risks and, where possible, make adjustments to the program cycle. The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (2019) advocates for the digitization of cash transfers –whereby beneficiaries receive payments electronically – to close the gender gap based on lessons from five countries (Mexico, Brazil, Mongolia, South Africa, and Iran). The foundation plans to undertake a multiyear, targeted research agenda to generate evidence on the effect of digital financial services on women’s economic empowerment outcomes, the mechanisms through which these outcomes are achieved, and the most effective ways to design and deploy digital financial services for maximum impact.

8. Increase Voice and Agency Through an Inclusive Approach to Dialogue and Information Campaigns

Information campaigns must be easy to understand and provide information about the objectives of the project and gender–related provisions. In societies with entrenched social norms and strong gender biases, such as South Sudan, it is important for project teams to discuss women’s involvement with male members of the community to build consensus about the benefits of increasing female participation in programs aimed at providing economic opportunities.

This review identified multiple examples of projects that used an inclusive approach to dialogue. In Kenya, understanding the differences between multiple savings products was crucial for women to opt for low–return individual accounts rather than highly–subsidized joint accounts with their husbands. This type of savings account stopped them from withdrawing their money for uses other than their business, which allowed them to achieve a higher savings rate and wider business expansion relative to men (O’Sullivan, 2017). The activities of the Citizen Charter Afghanistan project include training male community elders to facilitate and accommodate women’s participation in the project. Another example is the aforementioned FATA Temporarily Displaced Persons Emergency Project in Pakistan, which carried out a campaign strategically targeting male tribal elders to inform them about the benefits associated with female participation in the project. Furthermore, a mass media intervention in Liberia, which consisted of providing radios to randomly selected groups of women about five weeks prior to the October 11, 2011, general election, led to a significant decrease in the public decision-making gender gap by increasing women’s participation in voting, attending political rallies and community meetings, and speaking out at meetings (Mvukiyehe, 2017).

Good practices in terms of an inclusive approach to dialogue were also identified in projects outside the World Bank's activities. In Bangladesh, the NGO BRAC used this strategy successfully in its poverty reduction programs. In Lesotho, a pilot cash-and-food transfer program implemented by World Vision with the aim of addressing food insecurity in drought-affected households, provided support (whether cash or food) to the whole household, rather than to individual members. Sensitization activities ensured that both men and women understood how household entitlement was calculated, and, in the few cases in which men demanded a share of the cash (US\$57), they were only able to receive the allocation for one person. (Slater and Mphale, 2008).

Community-driven development (CDD) projects are more effective when communities are informed and directly engaged, as this leads to a greater accountability of service providers. The Social Mobilization for Empowerment program in Pakistan had a strong engagement with women through the promotion of women's organizations in areas with high maternal and child mortality rates and a high prevalence of malnutrition among infants and young children. The women in the treatment group were asked to identify the development priorities of health services at baseline. This assessment was led by an appointed representative in each village who had the authority to allocate village development funds to develop projects. Women had access to two types of health-service providers that existed before the intervention: Lady Health Workers (LHW), the members of which operate and live within a given village, and Basic Health Units (BHU), based in catchment areas that serve multiple villages. The midline impact of the program, evaluated three years after the intervention, showed significant and positive effects on health outcomes among treatment groups that received services from LHW members, who were based within their villages (Giné *et al.* 2018).

A recent evaluation of the FIAVOTA program, the Madagascar Social Safety Net Drought Response Project, highlights the important role played by Mère Leaders. These groups of female heads of households were trained by the project and encouraged to share their experiences and advice with their communities. Mère Leaders were found to be valued highly by program beneficiaries contributing to improved social cohesion, women's education, children's well-being, and so on. An increased uptake of positive health practices such as nutrition education, breast-feeding and so on, were also attributed to the Mère Leaders. The evaluation concluded that the Mère Leaders program showed promise of sustainability due to their popularity, dynamism and high value to the community.

9. Prevent and Raise Awareness About GBV Risk

Most of the projects in South Sudan have not been able to use outreach activities to manage the risk of GBV. This is a missed opportunity. Women are particularly vulnerable in fragile and conflict-affected situations (FCS); therefore, it is crucial that project teams consider how to manage risks posed by sexual

and gender-based violence. Whereas recognition of these risks in World Bank operations has increased in recent years, it is important to highlight that this might not be the case for governments, and that this is a gap that needs to be bridged.

Targeting men and community leaders with communication campaigns and engaging them in all stages of the program—preparation, implementation, and monitoring—can go a long way toward breaking social stereotypes and empowering women. In Burundi, the combination of the Village and Saving Loan Associations (VSLA) microfinance program with discussions on the role of women in household decision-making for beneficiary couples, improved the authority of financial decision-making for women, reduced exposure to and acceptance of violence among beneficiaries, and increased consumption of household goods relative to luxury goods such as alcohol (Iyengar and Ferrari, 2011).

Gender-transformative behavior interventions that directly engage men can be an effective way to reduce fertility and consequently reduce gender inequality in human capital. Women in low-income countries, especially in FCV settings, face multiple social constraints that impede access to family planning and maternal health care. Efforts that include engaging men directly through transformative behavior with the intent to alter social norms have achieved positive results in overcoming this issue. Findings by Doyle *et al.* (2018) on the Bandedereho program in Rwanda are consistent with this stream of evidence. In particular, the authors used a randomized control trial to evaluate an intervention at which fathers of children under age 5, or expectant fathers, underwent two weeks of meetings that consisted of engaging them in transformative behaviors to promote male engagement in reproductive and maternal health and to reduce physical violence. The intervention led to an increase in the number of antenatal care visits by 0.29 among the treated group compared to the control group. Precisely, the average number of antenatal care visits reported by women in the treatment group was 3.40 while the corresponding figure for the control group was 3.11. In terms of the number of visits accompanied by men, the figures reported by women in the treatment group and the control group were 1.71 and 1.15, respectively, which corresponds to a differential effect of 33 percent for the treatment group.

Properly-designed interventions have the potential to tackle specific issues faced by men and prevent gender-based violence. Men and young boys are often victims of violent crime in South Sudan. In Liberia, impact evaluation evidence suggests that \$200 cash grants combined with cognitive behavioral therapy (CBT) reduced men's participation in violence and crime for at least a year (Blattman *et al.*, 2016). In another program in Liberia, agricultural training, capital inputs, and counselling also steered young men away from crime and violence (Blattman and Annan, 2016).

A couples'- focused intervention to promote male engagement in reproductive and maternal health and prevent violence in Rwanda used a "gender-transformative male engagement approach" (Doyle *et al.*,

2018).^{xiv} The program was implemented by the Rwanda Men’s Resource Center as part of MenCare+, a four-country initiative led by Rutgers and Promundo and funded by the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Under this program, men met weekly with the same peer groups, from their own communities, over a period of 4–5 months; women joined their partners for approximately half of the sessions. The sessions provided the opportunity, in some cases for the first time, for men and women to talk about their expectations and fears as they became parents, to discuss important topics such as pregnancy, contraception, and violence, as well as to learn and improve their relationships with their partners, including communication, conflict resolution, and sharing caregiving responsibilities.^{xv} A randomized control trial was carried out to test the effectiveness of these male engagement interventions, particularly on how these interventions affect relationship power dynamics and women’s decision-making. Findings revealed that the interventions led to significant improvements in multiple outcomes, including a reduction in women’s experience of physical and sexual intimate partner violence (IPV) as well as an increase in women’s antenatal care visits, in the use of modern contraception, and in partner support during pregnancy. Moreover, the project demonstrated a shift in power dynamics as evidenced by improvements in women’s decision-making within the household and a more egalitarian division of labor.

Engaging men through gender transformative behavior in a FCS can constitute a viable way to reduce GBV (Hossain *et al.*, 2014). In Côte d’Ivoire, men who participated in a preventive program on GBV reported a significant decrease in their intention to be violent toward their partners. Participants also reported that they were more prone to act equitably, having more self-control when interacting with their partners, and were less likely to engage in sexual violence. A forthcoming World Bank paper, “Safety First: Safety Nets and Gender-based Violence”, provides policy makers and implementing agencies with detailed operational guidelines to improve social safety-net program design and implementation to maximize positive effects and minimize negative effects on gender-based violence.

Box 4: Resources for operational teams

- The report [Working Together to Prevent Sexual Exploitation and Abuse: Recommendations for World Bank Investment Projects](#) includes recommendations by the Global Gender-Based Violence Task Force to strengthen the World Bank’s capacity to identify, mitigate, and prevent risk of sexual exploitation and abuse in the projects it supports.
- The [GBV Risk Assessment and Mitigation Folder](#) is a repository of resources for project teams to prevent and respond to the risk of GBV in their operations. It includes examples of codes of conduct, terms of reference, and a roster of consultants with expertise in this area.
- The [Violence Against Women and Girls Resource Guide](#) provides basic information on the characteristics and consequences of violence against women and girls (VAWG), including the operational implications that this phenomenon can have in several priority sectors of the WBG.

It also offers guidance on how to integrate VAWG prevention and provide quality services to violence survivors across a range of development projects. Lastly, it recommends strategies for integrating VAWG prevention and response into policies and legislation, as well as sector programs and projects.

10. Invest in Human Resources

Resources designed and produced by gender experts, such as training materials and operational guidelines, can inform project design and help respond to the specific needs of women and girls or men and boys. The absence of gender specialists has been felt by some project teams, particularly those reviewed in the transport sector. Hiring female professional staff is important to ensure that there is equal opportunity in the workplace and that standards regarding gender equality and women's safety in the workplace are in place and properly applied in project implementation units.

11. Removing Barriers to Women's Ownership and Control of Assets

Increasing women's access to productive resources has the potential to strengthen their economic autonomy and therefore increase their empowerment. Unconditional cash transfers that are accompanied with features aiming to alter gender-based social norms and customs have greater potential to empower women economically. In Bangladesh, findings from both short- and long-term evaluations of an unconditional cash transfer program targeting poor women with children under 2 years of age showed that the transfer had a positive effect on women's control over productive resources (Roy *et al.* 2017).

Ensuring that project staff consist of both men and women helps to address gender gaps, especially in the agriculture sector, which employs most of those living in poverty, and in which women make up a large share of the labor force in FCV and low-income countries. One way to achieve this is increasing knowledge about agricultural practices through extension services. However, the traditional way of implementing extension services, which mainly use men as entry points to educate them about agricultural technology, can lead to increased gender inequalities in this sector (Beaman and Dillon, 2018). Furthermore, the authors found that targeting strategies based on the community's most influential people can lead to the exclusion of women from the learning process in regard to new agricultural technology. Given the role that social networks play in knowledge dissemination and the link between technological proficiency and agricultural productivity, these findings underscore the importance of using strategies that target women.

Female beneficiaries often find it more comfortable to share their challenges and personal issues with other women. Placing women in extension positions may thus help other women overcome barriers posed by inequitable access to agricultural extension services. Using a randomized control trial, Kondylis *et al.* (2016)

examined the effectiveness of the use of both female and male trainers to disseminate sustainable land management techniques in 200 rural communities in Mozambique. Two years after the intervention, awareness of the technologies among women in treatment communities increased by up to 9 percent. Findings also indicated that women in the treatment villages were more likely to adopt the technology by approximately 5 percent in the three years following the intervention. Similar results are found in Northern Uganda (Shikuku, 2019), where the use of women as “disseminating farmers” increased the probability of information exchange among men and women.

Women’s access to more secured land tenure can serve as an important path in reducing gender inequalities. The impact evaluation of Benin’s land formalization program, Plans Fonciers Ruraux (PFR), by Goldstein *et al.* (2018) revealed that fallowing—an important yield-enhancing land management technique—significantly increased on parcels in treatment villages for female-headed households whereas no differences were observed among male-headed households. However, one risk with land formalization programs is that, if not designed with due attention to gender-specific challenges, they could further entrench existing inequalities in land tenure. Evidence from Uganda suggests that subsidizing land titles conditional on a household including both the husband’s and wife’s names and providing information on the benefits of co-titling both increase the likelihood of co-titling without harming the overall demand for land titles (Cherchi *et al.*, 2019).

The evidence also indicates a shift from subsistence crop production to cash crop production among female-headed households. This shift from subsistence to cash crops constitutes an important step toward agricultural commercialization, which provides opportunities for economic autonomy for these beneficiaries.

Investing in rigorous research can inform the design and implementation of programs that have positive effects on gender outcomes. In the context of South Sudan, it is likely that social and political economic analysis will also play an important role in understanding the effectiveness and constraints on adopting gender-transformative programming. Impact evaluation studies show that the gender gap can be reduced by helping women to cross-over into male-dominated activities through mentorship and skill development (Campos *et al.*, 2017).

Box 5: Resources for Monitoring and Evaluation in Fragility Conflict and Violence Settings and for Impact Evaluation

- [The Iterative Beneficiary Monitoring \(IBM\)](#) is an inexpensive and very suitable tool for monitoring in Fragility Conflict and Violence (FCV) settings, given its minimal data requirements. The tool can be used to produce short and frequent reports that inform task teams

about the performance of their projects and make necessary adjustments when needed. The approach was introduced in Mali by researchers in Poverty and Equity Global Practice

- [The Geo-Enabling Initiative for Monitoring and Supervision \(GEMS\)](#) is highly suited for supervision in fragile states. GEMS increases the accountability of third-party monitoring while enforcing transparency and accuracy of monitoring and evaluation (M&E). The program is managed by the Fragility, Conflict and Violence Group and provides training resources for task teams.
- [The Africa Gender Innovation Lab \(GIL\)](#) is specialized in conducting rigorous impact evaluations with a focus on providing evidence-based policies through experimentations and knowledge creation to close the gender gap and increase women's empowerment in Sub-Saharan Africa. The Lab is partly funded by a multidonor trust fund—the Umbrella Facility for Gender Equality—managed by the World Bank and focuses on the following five thematic areas: agriculture, private sector development, property rights, social norms, and youth employment.

12. Leverage Credible Institutions and Relevant Stakeholders

In the context of South Sudan, physical safety and security is often the primary concern. It is important to partner with institutions that can provide security and that beneficiaries can trust. In the FATA Temporarily Displaced Persons Emergency Project in Pakistan, officials recognized the restrictions imposed on female movements attributable to security situations. This issue was resolved through dialogue and subsequent partnership with the Pakistani military. The Emergency Food and Nutrition Security Project aligned its proposed support with the Humanitarian Response Plan (HRP) for South Sudan for 2017 and built upon interventions being undertaken by UN agencies (for example, WFP, UNICEF, and FAO) and other partners, including national and international NGOs. In fact, one of its components (direct food support as well as supporting nutritional needs of the vulnerable) is being implemented with the support of the WFP and UNICEF as these are the only organizations in South Sudan with the demonstrable logistical capabilities to source and supply food to a large number of vulnerable beneficiaries and which have preferential access to areas that may not be secure.

Sensitization activities aimed at changing behavior may make violence against women socially unacceptable while removing social barriers that prevent women from accessing economic opportunities. The aforementioned unconditional cash transfer program in Bangladesh involved behavior change communication activities at household and community levels, with the objective of creating a supportive environment for mothers in both. Results of the impact evaluation (2017) reveal strong differences between receiving “only cash” and “cash combined with behavior change communication activities”. Women in communities that received the behavior change communication activities in addition to the transfers were

up to 26 percent less likely to experience physical violence and were more likely to improve their well-being. Such effects persisted in the three years following the inception of the intervention.

13. Move Beyond Outputs Toward Measuring Sex-disaggregated Outcomes

A sound results framework is the basis for reporting progress toward development and intermediate results. Most of South Sudan's projects report sex-disaggregated data on beneficiaries, but it is important to move beyond outputs toward measuring outcomes. During project implementation, evaluations of the project's impact and results (disaggregated by sex and other circumstances) are also crucial to distil lessons and inform future programming. The results framework of the largest safety-net program in the Democratic Republic of Congo, the Eastern Recovery Project (STEP), measures the success of achieving women's inclusion in project activities by using indicators that capture the quality of women's engagement in community-level governance mechanisms (for example, movement in management and decision-making) as well as the number of participants in meetings disaggregated by sex. The project's monitoring and evaluation system works particularly well because both the monitoring and the evaluation are part of the same system. The day-to-day monitoring is primarily undertaken using the data collected by the World Bank's Development Impact Evaluation (DIME). This approach enables rapid feedback to the project team, which has allowed mid-course corrections to be made.

It is crucial to have a framework that prescribes researchers to incorporate gender dimensions systematically throughout the research phase (from sampling to the reporting of the results). When it comes to impact evaluation, few studies report intervention outcomes by sex, even when sex-disaggregated data are available. Given the importance of understanding the heterogeneous impact of development interventions on women and men to inform decision-making, this calls for the need for researchers to report sex-disaggregated results more often. Furthermore, going forward, social protection and poverty reduction programs may consider assessing potential effects of their operations on intra-household dynamics.

Data collection in South Sudan can be challenging because of instability, poor infrastructure, and limited resources. As a result, projects can only be supervised with great difficulty. The Iterative Beneficiary Monitoring (IBM) is a demand-driven approach that collects data from a random sub-sample of project beneficiaries on a regular basis. This cost-effective tool facilitates communication among project teams and allows them to diagnose problems early and make appropriate corrections. IBM can be especially useful for assessing gender aspects because it collects information directly from beneficiaries. Also, because this approach relies on small samples, phone interviews, and non-conspicuous means of data collection, it is also suitable for conflict areas (Hoozeven and Taptué, 2018).

The Geo-Enabling Initiative for Monitoring and Supervision (GEMS) is another promising way to overcome accessibility constraints caused by insecurities by enabling remote supervision of operations in FCS such as South Sudan. The tool uses digitization and geocoding to facilitate information sharing and improves coordination and project planning among partners in the monitoring and supervision process leading to increased transparency and accountability in operations. As a result, GEMS is essentially useful in the monitoring and supervision of infrastructure projects in which it allows mapping of all related interventions and provides regular and accurate supervisions.

14. Put in Place Grievance Redress Mechanism with Facilities to Report GBV Incidents

The Grievance Redress Mechanism (GRM) was established primarily to improve transparency and quality of project implementation including beneficiary targeting, project selection, and implementation. In most cases, traditional community bodies were chosen as the first point for reporting. Community-level grievance management committees are often required to have female representation which increases the chance of women using the GRM. Mobile or Internet-based grievance reporting also improves women's access to GRMs. Some good practices are as follows:

- Setting multiple channels to receive complaints
- Resolving complaints at the point of service delivery to reduce information and transaction costs
- Having access to independent channels for redress is important (for example, links to audit institutions, contracting out facilitation or collection of complaints by third parties)
- Adequate staffing and representation of both male and female personnel in the team
- Continuous information campaign about the GRM
- Hiring gender specialists as the resources designed and produced by gender experts such as training and project instruments can help identify existing gender gaps and risks faced by women

Mozambique's Integrated Feeder Road Project provides an example of good practice of using the GRM to receive and manage complaints related to GBV. During project preparation, the project determined that there was a high GBV risk. In addition to establishing a code of conduct, the GRM provides multiple entry points for reporting complaints, including an online registration system. Support to survivors is provided in close coordination with Jhpiego, an international NGO with demonstrated capacity in project areas. When the GRM receives a complaint on GBV, a dedicated case manager, with the consent of the survivor, records information on: (1) the nature of the complaint (what the complainant says in her or his own words); and (2) if, to the best of their knowledge, the survivor believes the perpetrator was associated with the project. With the consent of the survivor, the system immediately reports the case to the government and to the World Bank. The GRM then refers the survivor to the NGO to ensure adequate provision of case management (always maintaining the survivor's confidentiality). If the survivor needs to be referred to

other services, the NGO provides consistent case-level support and advocacy. The NGO also sensitizes the public about GBV risks and raises public awareness about the ways in which they can record complaints in the GRM. The implementing agency also appoints a focal point for monitoring activities linked to GBV prevention and mitigation.

7. Conclusion

To be effective, social protection and poverty reduction programs must consider the different circumstances of women and girls or men and boys as they strive to deliver benefits to those that need them most. The inclusion of women and groups with low bargaining power in the design of poverty reduction programs can address gender-specific vulnerabilities and solidify efforts to promote inclusive development. On the other hand, failing to recognize existing gaps can exacerbate inequality to the detriment of vulnerable groups and contribute to the country's overall fragility. Moreover, there are enough data to establish that the gender gap will continue to widen unless we accelerate women's financial inclusion in poverty-alleviation programs and in the overall economy. The World Bank recognizes that closing gender gaps and promoting female empowerment can better contribute to the twin goals of eliminating extreme poverty and fostering shared prosperity.

The situation of the entire South Sudanese population is dire due to economic and political circumstances. These factors affect women and girls or men and boys differently. This review analyzed how social protection and other poverty reduction programs have addressed gender equality in South Sudan and in similar countries with the aim of providing guidance for project teams operating in fragile situations to support women and girls or men and boys. Our findings indicate that many of the World Bank's operations target women among their beneficiaries. However, only a few of them integrate gender equality in a systematic manner, that is, from design to implementation and evaluation. The discussion about gender equality, and particularly GBV, is a sensitive topic in South Sudan. Whereas the World Bank is increasingly cognizant of the risk of different forms of GBV in operation, it is important to acknowledge that this might not be the case for governments. Therefore, carefully considering potential risks and focusing discussions on practical measures provide an entry point for dialogue.

To assist project teams in the delivery of social protection programs that respond to vulnerabilities specific to women and men, this review identified several good practices in promoting gender equality throughout the project cycle. We hope that this work will inform future activities in South Sudan and in other fragile and conflict-affected settings. As illustrated by the good practices, designing and implementing operations that promote gender equality is a goal that can be achieved.

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Annex 1. Checklist – How to Address Gender Equality Throughout the Project Cycle?

Program design

- Does the program design include a gender assessment to understand gender-specific vulnerabilities of the target communities?
- Do program objectives address gender equality and female empowerment? Does the program target specific gender outcomes? If yes, which one(s)? To what extent do program activities address existing gender gaps or constraints to women's empowerment?
- Does the design of program benefit modalities integrate gender equality?
 - Are there specific provisions to facilitate women's access to benefits?
 - Do the requirements or conditionalities of the program create barriers for female participation? Do women have to rely on male family members to access program benefits?
 - Does the program design allow women to control access to their benefits?
 - How flexible is the process of accessing benefits? How predictable are benefits?
 - Do benefits factor in vulnerabilities specific to males and females?
- Does the program design aim at preventing different forms of gender-based violence or sexual exploitation and abuse?
 - Do conditionalities consider gender-specific safety concerns?
 - Are service centers conveniently located?
- Have potential advantages or disadvantages caused by the program been factored in?
 - Public works programs: Does the program design favor female participation? Does it consider flexible working hours? Quotas on women's participation? complementary activities that can encourage female participation (for example, less strenuous works for women)?
 - Is childcare available to program beneficiaries?
- Does the program accommodate lower levels of literacy?
- Does the program allow flexibility in the requirements for official documents, such as birth and marriage certificates? Does the program consider potential illiteracy of program participants?

Program Implementation

- Are there specific provisions to inform women about the program requirements, eligibility criteria, benefits, or other relevant information? Are outreach activities adequate to inform potential female beneficiaries of the program?
- What implementation measures are undertaken to promote women's participation into the program?

- Are there provisions for female-headed households or single caregivers? Are there provisions for women living in nontraditional household structures such as polygamous families?
- Are there any provisions to prevent domestic violence or other forms of GBV?

Monitoring

- Does the program collect and report sex-disaggregated data or gender-specific indicators?
 - Are sex-disaggregated indicators and specific indicators for men and women included in the results framework? Does the results framework capture the impact of the programs separately for female and male beneficiaries?
- Does the program monitor indicators of intra-household bargaining power?
- Is the grievance redress mechanism easily accessible to women and marginalized groups?
 - Do features account for women's specific needs and constraints?
 - Is there a safe or confidential system to report cases of GBV and sexual exploitation and abuse?

Annex 2. Selected Impact Evaluation Studies

| Authors | Country | Type of implementation | Sample size | Main outcomes |
|-------------------------------------|------------|------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Goldstein <i>et al.</i> (2018) | Benin | Agriculture | 167 villages (control) | Agricultural investment, production |
| | | | 282 villages (treatment) | |
| Beaman & Dillon (2018) | Mali | Agriculture | Round 1: | Information diffusion, agricultural technology knowledge |
| | | | 22 villages (control) | |
| | | | 30 villages (treatment) | |
| | | | Round 2: | |
| | | | 29 villages (control) | |
| | | | 23 villages (treatment) | |
| Kondylis <i>et al.</i> (2016) | Mozambique | Agriculture | 50 communities (control) | Awareness, knowledge, and adoption of agricultural technologies |
| | | | 150 communities (treatment) | |
| Barrera-Osorio <i>et al.</i> (2018) | Cambodia | Cash transfer | 104 schools (control) | Education outcomes, poverty, cognitive and socioemotional skills |
| | | | 103 schools (treatment) | |
| Haushofer Shapiro (2013) | Kenya | Cash transfer | 63 villages – 432 households (control) | Consumption, assets, agricultural and business activities, psychological well-being |
| | | | 63 villages | |
| | | | 503 pure treatment households and 505 spillover households (treatment) | |
| Blattman <i>et al.</i> (2013) | Uganda | Cash transfer | 270 groups -5,828 individuals (control) | Capital stock, income, business profit and employment |
| | | | 265 groups – 5,460 individuals | |
| | | | (treatment) | |
| Roy <i>et al.</i> (2017) | Bangladesh | Cash transfer | 50 villages (control) | |

| | | | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| | | | 200 villages – 50 for each of the four treatment arms (treatment) | Assets, expenditures, health, nutrition, emotional and physical states |
| Kilburn <i>et al.</i> (2016) | Kenya | Cash transfer | 754 households (control) | Health indicators |
| | | | 1540 households (treatment) | |
| Laudati <i>et al.</i> (2018) | DRC | CDD | 781 villages | Citizen engagement, health and education, governance, and women's empowerment. |
| Giné <i>et al.</i> (2018) | Pakistan | CDD | 50 villages (control) | Public service delivery, health services |
| | | | 108 villages (treatment) | |
| Bertrand <i>et al.</i> (2017) | Cote d'Ivoire | LIPW | 1035 individuals (control) | Workforce participation, income, expenditures, and psychological outcomes |
| | | | 2,001 individuals (treatment) | |
| Doyle <i>et al.</i> (2018) | Rwanda | Gender transformative strategy | 624 couples (control) | Reproductive and maternal health, decision-making, IPV |
| | | | 575 couples (treatment) | |
| Hossain <i>et al.</i> (2014) | Cote d'Ivoire | Gender transformative strategy | 329 individuals | IPV indicators |
| | | | ~180 men and 149 women (control) | |
| | | | 276 individuals (170 men, 106 women) | |
| Mvukiyehe (2017) | Liberia | Mass media, voice, agency | 20 communities (control) | Political participation, women's empowerment |
| | | | 20 communities (treatment) | |
| Kondylis <i>et al.</i> (2016). | Mozambique | Information diffusion | About 3000 and 2000 female and male farmers, respectively | Knowledge diffusion |
| | | | Technology adoption | |

| | | | | |
|---------------------------|-------|---------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|
| Aker <i>et al.</i> , 2016 | Niger | Cash transfer | About 1100 in 96 villages split in three treatment arms (32 villages in each arm) | Agricultural production, consumption, women's empowerment |
|---------------------------|-------|---------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|

Annex 3. Resources for World Bank Task Teams

Evidence and Data

- [Africa Gender Innovation Lab](#)
- [East Asia and Pacific Gender Innovation Lab](#)
- [Middle East and North Africa Gender Innovation Lab](#)
- [South Asia Gender Innovation Lab](#)
- [Development Impact Evaluation \(DIME\)](#)
- [Gender Data Portal](#)

Gender-Based Violence, Sexual Exploitation and Abuse

- [GBV Risk Assessment and Mitigation Folder](#)
- [Violence Against Women and Girls Resource Guide](#)
- [Working together to prevent sexual exploitation and abuse: Recommendations for World Bank investment projects](#)

Corporate Commitments

- [World Bank Group Gender Strategy](#)
- [Gender Tag](#)
- [Gender Strategy Follow Up Notes](#)
- [Environmental and Social Framework](#)

Contacts

- [GP Gender Leads](#) and Focal Points

Endnotes

ⁱ A few interventions and emergency projects undertaken by other development organizations were included in the review. Detailed information about the design and implementation of such programs is not readily available.

ⁱⁱ The work builds on the 2014 Independent Evaluation Group's systematic review of evidence on SSNs and gender.

ⁱⁱⁱ Many of the projects are characterized by emergency, short-term responses. Monitoring and evaluation information is scant for most of the emergency response programs, which significantly narrowed the scope of the assessment.

^{iv} Two sources were used to identify a country's fragility, namely the Country Policy and Institutional Assessment (CPIA) score of the International Development Association (IDA) and Fund for Peace's Fragile State Index (FSI). Due to possible changes in a country's fragility and income classification over time, we considered these scores over the program implementation period.

^v These thematic areas were chosen to be consistent with the 2014 IEG report on Gender and Social Safety Nets. The scope of the analysis was expanded to agriculture and information as per the request of the Country Management Unit (CMU).

^{vi} Eleven out of the 16 studies covered World Bank-related work, either through World Bank-funded interventions or involvement in the research.

^{vii} This section is based on the South Sudan Poverty Profile (World Bank, 2016) and on the Republic of South Sudan Systematic Country Diagnostic (World Bank, 2015).

^{viii} The poverty rate was estimated using the international US\$2011 PPP 1.90 poverty line.

^{ix} The Gini index is calculated from the area under the Lorenz curve, which plots the cumulative percentage of consumption expenditure against the cumulative percentage of the population, with perfect equality lying along the 45-degree line.

^x "Often" refers to people who have experienced hunger more than 10 times in 30 days. "Sometimes" refers to people who have experienced hunger 3-10 times in 30 days. "Rarely" refers to 1-2 times.

^{xi} Ibid.

^{xii} Percentage of women ages 15-49 who believe a husband or partner is justified in hitting or beating his wife or partner for any of the following five reasons: argues with him; refuses to have sex; burns the food; goes out without telling him; or when she neglects the children.

^{xiii} The grants were intended to be used to hire business trainers, for start-up investments to buy materials, and for establishment as tradespersons but recipients were not compelled to do so, as these were unconditional transfers.

^{xiv} Doyle K, Levto R, Barker G, Bastian G, Bingenheimer JB, *et al.* (2018) "Gender-Transformative Bandebereho Couples' Intervention to Promote Male Engagement in Reproductive and Maternal Health and Violence Prevention in Rwanda: Findings from a Randomized Controlled Trial." *PLOS ONE* 13(4): e0192756.

^{xv} RWAMREC, "Fathers in Rwanda Use 40% Less Violence Against a Partner Nearly 2 Years After Bandebereho Program, Reveals New Study." <http://rwamrec.org/spip.php?article225>

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ABSTRACT

As in most conflicts, in South Sudan, women and girls have been the most vulnerable. Not only do they face many challenges, including extreme poverty and lack of access to basic services and productive assets, but many of the risks they face, such as gender-based violence (GBV), are heightened during times of conflict. The implementation of well-designed and inclusive poverty reduction programs can contribute to empowering women and addressing persistent gender gaps. Yet, until now, there have been few assessments undertaken to better understand how successfully these goals have been achieved. This paper examines how social protection and other poverty reduction programs targeting the most vulnerable have addressed the needs of women and girls in South Sudan. Based on a portfolio review of World Bank operations and a review of impact evaluation evidence, it provides guidance to practitioners to integrate gender equality in the design and implementation of social protection and poverty reduction programs in fragile situations.

ABOUT THIS SERIES

Social Protection & Jobs Discussion Papers are published to communicate the results of The World Bank's work to the development community with the least possible delay. This paper therefore has not been prepared in accordance with the procedures appropriate for formally edited texts.

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