







The definition of social protection (SP) programs varies widely, as do the types of interventions included and the specific outcomes sought. These programs can be implemented through public and/or private sectors, with the involvement of single or multiple government sectors, or by some combination of these actors. This brief will specifically focus on four types of social protection interventions: social assistance, social insurance, labor market programs, and early childhood development. It will offer suggestions for integrating violence against women and girls (VAWG) prevention efforts within these interventions. These areas of focus are meant to be illustrative of different social protection programs, rather than to reflect the full breadth of SP programs.

In general, SP programs are public interventions that support the poorest populations and assist individuals, households, and communities to better overcome social and economic risks. Examples of programs include a) social assistance (social safety nets): cash transfers, school feeding, and targeted food assistance; b) social insurance: old-age and disability pensions and unemployment insurance; c) labor market programs: skills-building programs, job-search and matching programs, and improved labor regulations; and d) early childhood development. Other program interventions, which fall under what is referred to as social protection, aim to strengthen families' abilities to respond to hardships by promoting gender equality. Examples include early childhood development, projects that focus on at-risk youth, or targeted poverty alleviation programs.

Sources:

World Bank. (2012). The World Bank 2012-2022 Social Protection and Labor Strategy: Resilience, equity, and opportunity. Washington, DC: World Bank.

World Bank. (2001). Social Protection Sector Strategy Paper: From Safety Net to Springboard. Washington, DC: World Bank.

Inter-American Development Bank (2014). <u>Social protection and the IDB</u>. Washington, DC: Inter-American Development Bank.

KEY POINTS

- Women and girls, particularly those in situations of violence, are more vulnerable to social and economic risks. They are also disproportionately affected by poverty, inadequate health care, and lack of access to high quality education. In addition, women face greater challenges in recovering from shocks due to disasters, crime, unemployment, old age, and widowhood.¹
- Poverty, limited choices, and harmful gender norms can have a greater negative impact on women and girls compared to men and boys; the contrast is starkest for women and girls living in poverty. In addition to the myriad of social and economic obstacles faced by women and girls in poorer households, girls living in poor households are also almost twice as likely to be married before the age of 18.² Marrying before age 18 has harmful effects on a girl's sexual and reproductive health and increases her odds of experiencing intimate partner violence (IPV) by 22%.³
- Women traditionally have more limited access to resources like land, finance, and training opportunities than men. Social norms often restrict women's mobility and decision-making, as well

as their access to education, employment, and means of livelihood.⁴ These limitations increase women's vulnerability and create greater barriers to social protection benefits. This cycle of deprivation exacerbates women's risk of IPV and can also hinder their ability to access available services for survivors of violence.

 Due to intersecting forms of discrimination and disadvantage, certain groups of women (ethnic/racial minorities, for example) are even less likely to benefit from social protection programs if these programs fail to consider specific needs/circumstances. Similarly, it is difficult for said women to access social services, support systems, and other benefits even though they are more likely to require them.^{5,6}

INTERSECTION BETWEEN SOCIAL PROTECTION AND VAWG

While numerous social protection programs have shown significantly positive impacts on poverty, equity, and human development outcomes,⁷ there is a continued need to adapt these programs to better accommodate the specific needs of women and girls. The purpose and breadth of social protection programs mean they are uniquely positioned to reach the most vulnerable of populations, including women and girls in situations of violence.⁸

Nonetheless, adapting the design and implementation of social protection programs first requires an understanding of some of the persistent challenges related to gender and violence against women and girls:

Social safety nets:

 Safety net interventions, including cash/in-kind transfers, and income-generating schemes, among others, can affect

What is Economic Violence?

Economic violence can include acts perpetrated by systems and structures, as well as by individuals. At the interpersonal level, economic abuse is defined as making or attempting to make an individual financially dependent by maintaining total control over financial resources, withholding one's access to money, or forbidding one's attendance at school or employment. At the structural and institutional level, women might experience economic violence as limited access to funds and credit; controlling access to health care, employment, or education; discriminatory traditional laws on inheritance and property rights; and unequal remuneration for work.

Sources:

The United States Department of Justice: http://www.justice.gov/ovw/domestic-violence

Fawole, O.I. (2008). "Economic Violence To Women and Girls: Is It Receiving the Necessary Attention?" *Trauma Violence Abuse* 9, 167-177.

household power dynamics, which can exacerbate incidents of violence. ⁹ It is also true that IPV and unequal gender dynamics can limit women's ability to access these interventions.

Pension reforms:

Broader pension reforms may fail to reach women in abusive relationships, as these

women may be forbidden from engaging in formal employment. Similarly, older women and women facing illness or disabilities may not be reached as they are more likely to earn their incomes from the informal sector or unpaid home care, if at all. Older women are also more likely to experience high levels of exclusion and discrimination in their access to markets, assets, and other economic resources, amounting to economic violence.¹⁰

In developing countries, in addition to the low coverage of state pensions financed by pay-roll taxes, there is often an extreme gender imbalance in accessing these pensions. For example, in Kenya, in 1994, only 3.1 percent of individuals over the age of 55 received a pension and 90 percent were male. Similarly, a survey in Bangladesh, conducted in 2004, found that men comprised 88 percent of the recipients of employment-related pension schemes.

· Labor market policies:

- Women are overrepresented in the informal job sector and are frequently subjected to sexual harassment, poor working conditions, and other forms of discrimination, often without access to formal grievance mechanisms.
- Promoting employment of women in underrepresented sectors (infrastructure, road maintenance, construction, among others) through job subsidies or job creation programs should be done with the awareness that these women may be at an increased risk for facing discrimination, harassment, and physical violence by their male counterparts, as well as unequal access to resources and opportunities.

Early childhood development:

Early childhood development interventions are increasingly recognized as a key factor in poverty alleviation and increased human capital, as it is during childhood that maximum human development potential can be actualized.¹³ More specifically, evidence suggests that witnessing or experiencing violence during childhood increases the risk of perpetration (for boys) and victimization (for girls) in adulthood.^{14,15}

ETHICAL AND SAFETY RECOMMENDATIONS FOR VAWG INTERVENTIONS¹⁶

Any intervention that aims to prevent or address VAWG should include precautions above and beyond routine risk assessment to guarantee no harm is caused. This includes following ethical guidelines related to: **respect for persons**, **non-maleficence** (minimizing harm), **beneficence** (maximizing benefits), and **justice** to protect the safety of both service providers and the survivors. The sensitive nature of collecting information about VAWG demands additional precautions above and beyond routine risk assessments to guarantee no harm is caused. Interventions should:

- Assess whether the intervention may increase VAWG
- · Minimize harm to women and girls
- Prevent revictimization of VAWG
- Consider the implications of mandatory reporting of suspected VAW cases
- · Be aware of the co-occurrence of child abuse
- Minimize harm to staff working with survivors
- Provide referrals for care and support for survivors

For further details on these Ethical and Safety Recommendations, visit the Ethics section of our website.

RAPID SITUATION ANALYSIS

Integrating VAWG prevention and response into social protection projects requires an understanding of the legal, social, and epidemiological context of VAWG as it relates to the key activities in this sector. Teams should work with governments, private sector partners, non-governmental organizations, local experts, and other counterparts in the country to answer some or all following questions:

For general questions to undertake a Rapid Situation Analysis visit the Integrate section of our website.

KEY AREAS FOR INTEGRATING VAWG INTO SOCIAL **DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS**

Policy Level

Ensuring survivors of VAWG benefit from social protection programs requires careful consideration of their unique needs and circumstances. Further, adapting social protection programs can help avoid potential harmful consequences, such as increased violence, which can result from SP interventions. While some of the points below may not seem directly related to VAWG prevention or response, they are important for empowering women and reducing their vulnerability to violence.¹⁷ There are many opportunities for transforming gender norms and reducing violence against women within social protection programs. Some of the most promising entry points are discussed in the following points:

- Work to ensure that gender issues and VAWG are carefully considered in the design, implementation, and monitoring and evaluation social of protection/assistance programs. When evaluating a cash transfer program, Bono de Desarrollo Humano (BDH), conducted Ecuador, researchers found that transfers had varying effects on IPV. Women with higher levels of education, who were enrolled in BDH, were more likely to face a reduced risk of psychological IPV. This was not necessarily the case for women with less than primary school education, of which many women faced a significant increase emotional violence. 18 For other examples, see Box 1.
- Support the implementation of universal pension plans financed from general taxation, as opposed to pay roll taxes, as these provide men and women with an equal pension, regardless of their record in the labor market. A guaranteed pension not only recognizes women's contribution as caregivers, but can be transformative for older women suffering from exclusion discrimination or in situations of violence. 19
- Formally recognize and include informal work, such as domestic work, in the pension system. As mentioned earlier, women can experience institutional or structural economic violence by being

Box 1. *Promising practices...* Juntos Program, Peru

A review conducted by the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) found that of 9 programs reviewed, the Juntos Program was the only social protection project that showed progress in transforming gender dynamics. The primary factor behind this change was the integration of cash transfers with other programs and services, rather than cash transfers alone. For example, Juntos facilitators directly addressed violence against women and men's negative attitudes regarding the participation of their wives in the project during group meetings. One man, who was interviewed by ODI as part of the review, described how the program and the discussions around violence against women during the meetings changed his views:

"Before, it was different, there were no training sessions. We didn't know, so when we argued with our wives, we even kicked them, or punched them. But with *Juntos* they always tell us we must live in harmony. Before, women were not aware of their rights, even men weren't, which is why there was violence. Now it has diminished, we talk more." (Male, focus group discussion, Motoy, Peru).

The Juntos Program also offers other benefits, such as strengthening women's leadership and participation at the community level by having them serve as elected liaisons between the program and its beneficiaries.

Source: Heise, L. (2011). What works to prevent partner violence: An evidence overview. London, UK: STRIVE.

excluded from benefits and opportunities more readily available to men. Women comprise a large portion of workers in unpaid care or in the informal sector, where in addition to being excluded from the pension system, they are often subjected to poor working conditions and sexual harassment. Formally recognizing informal work, including domestic work, can provide women with better job security and access to important benefits. See Box 2.

Work to develop a gender-aware national employment plan that includes women in its
planning and implementation. Increasing women's livelihood opportunities can lead to greater
financial independence, which may improve their ability to leave situations of violence. It is
important to note, however, that the impact of providing women with employment opportunities may

effects have differing on risks/experiences of violence. depending on the socio-economic, cultural, and country context. The WHO multi-country study found that women who worked and had unemployed partners were at a greater risk of violence in 6 of 14 settings (2 settings had statistically significant findings). Couples in which only the man worked seemed to be at a marginally lower risk of partner violence than couples in which both partners worked in 8 of 14 sites (2 sites had statistically significant findings).²⁰ A North American study, on the other hand, had more positive findings: two randomized controlled trials of welfare-to-work programs demonstrated a reduction in reports of VAWG among low-income women, who were employed through the project.²¹

Box 2. Promising practices... Social security benefits for domestic workers, Colombia

To address the issue of institutional/structural economic violence against domestic workers and to ensure that they are able to equally benefit from pensions, a new Colombian government mandate now requires employers to make mandatory social security contributions, an important step toward labor equality for domestic workers. The mandate stipulates that employers pay a contribution of four percent of the employee's monthly salary - which must not be below the minimum wage - to the Family Compensation System. The Colombian social security system requires most formal workers in the country to affiliate with private benefits providers, such as "Comfenalco," which offers reduced rates on health care, credit, and recreation. In signing a decree obligating the affiliation of all domestic workers, they now receive the same benefits as those in the formal sector.

Source: Hansen-Bundy, B. (2013, April 18). Colombian govt mandate bolsters domestic workers' rights. Colombia Reports. Retrieved from: http://colombiareports.co/colombian-govt- mandate-bolsters-domestic-workers-rights/#.



Institutional/Sectoral Level

- Include VAWG prevention activities within conditional cash transfer (CCT) programs and labor market activities.
 - "Cash for school attendance" CCT programs are a promising starting point for including activities on VAWG prevention and the empowerment of women and girls. One CCT program, Berhane Hewan in Ethiopia, successfully reduced the number of child marriages (a form of VAWG that affects millions of girls each year), through community-level activities such as "community conversations" on early marriage and reproductive health, social mobilization of girls led by female mentors, provision of school supplies, and livelihood skills for out-of-school girls. At the end of the program, the girls (ages 10–14) who had received the intervention were only one-tenth as likely to have been married compared to girls in the control site. Participants were also three times more likely to be in school.²²
 - Include modules on VAWG prevention and conflict resolution strategies in labor market activities, such as skills-building workshops and employment training projects. Raise women's awareness about their rights, including the right to a life free of violence. Ensure the information is delivered in a format that is easy to understand and culturally appropriate. At project check-in sites, after checking whether it is safe for participants, provide women and girls with information on available services and resources for survivors of VAWG. See Box 3.

Box 3. *Promising practices...*The Empowerment and Livelihood for Adolescents (ELA)

This program, implemented in Uganda, delivered "Adolescent Development Clubs," which provided safe places for positive social interactions along with vocational and life skills to girls aged 14-20. The clubs were led by female mentors who taught courses on income generation with a focus on microenterprises. Life skills courses covered topics such as sexual and reproductive health, family planning, rape, conflict resolution, and leadership. The study found that the percentage of girls reporting sex against their will dropped from 21 percent to close to zero. Furthermore, the program significantly improved entrepreneurial skills and increased participation in income-generating activities, in addition to a number of positive outcomes related to condom use, teenage pregnancies rates, and knowledge about risky behaviors, HIV, and pregnancy.

Source: Bandiera, O., Buehren, N., Burgess, R., Goldstein, M., Gulesci, S., Rasul, I., and Sulaiman, M. (2014). Women's Empowerment in Action: Evidence from a Randomized Control Trial in Africa. Washington, DC: World Bank.

- Provide VAWG training and sensitization to key project staff and volunteers, particularly those who come into direct contact with project beneficiaries. Establish codes of conduct for project personnel that include prevention of all forms of VAWG in the workplace and within the project. In addition to receiving training on preventing and responding to VAWG and on the expected behavior, staff should be required to formally sign the code of conduct and abide by its rules during the course of their engagement with the project.
- Integrate VAWG prevention initiatives into early childhood development programs. Evidence has demonstrated (see Box 4) that interventions aimed at improving overall child health and development outcomes may also decrease prevalence of IPV victimization by mothers. Therefore, early childhood development programs present a unique opportunity to affect current and future generations at risk of violence.

Box 4. *Promising practices...*Hawaii's Healthy Start Program (HSP)

The Healthy Start Program (HSP) is a home visitation program implemented in Hawaii that aimed to improve overall child health and development through one-on-one training on healthy childhood development, role-modeling positive parenting and problem solving strategies, providing emotional support to mothers, and connecting high-risk families for child maltreatment with community resources and services. The potential long-term impact of this program includes reducing the risk of adverse health outcomes suffered by children of victimized women, as well as decreasing the likelihood of future perpetration and victimization of violence that children who witness IPV experience.

HSP home visitors worked to address adverse child outcomes through reducing maternal risk factors, including lack of social support, substance use, poor mental health, and intimate partner violence (IPV). Bair-Merrit et al. (2010) investigated the program's impact on the prevalence of IPV, specifically, by conducting a rigorous evaluation that compared rates of IPV among control and intervention groups during the child's first three years of life and later in life, at 7-9 years of age. For both age groups, mothers in the intervention groups had lower rates of victimization of physical partner violence as compared to those in the control group. The authors concluded that the main driving factors of HSP's success in reducing violence were the supportive and encouraging relationships formed between the mothers and home visitors. While these results should be interpreted cautiously, HSP demonstrates how healthy relationship messaging and training can have promising effects on reducing the rates of intimate partner violence within the context of early childhood development programs.

Sources:

Bair-Merrit, M. H., Jennings, J. M., Chen, R., Burrell, L., McFarlane, E., Fuddy, L., and Duggan, A. K. (2010). "Reducing Maternal Intimate Partner Violence After the Birth of a Child: A Randomized Controlled Trial of the Hawaii Healthy Start Home Visitation Program". Arch Pediatr Adolese Med 164(1), 16-23.

Bott, S., Guedes, A., Goodwin, M., and Mendoza, J. A. (2012). Violence Against Women in Latin America and the Caribbean: A comparative analysis of population-based data from 12 countries. Washington, DC: Pan American Health Organization.

- Set inclusion targets for the most vulnerable women relevant to the project. Even within vulnerable populations, there are women who are at heightened risk of suffering violence. Use indicators to identify female-headed households, pregnant women, women with disabilities, indigenous women, women in other disadvantaged and excluded situations, and women working in the informal sector.²³
 - Exercise caution to avoid further entrenching the role of women as caregivers and imposing demands on their time without providing opportunities for income generation. Include within programs skills-building and/or employment training activities to build women's economic independence.
- While the main drivers of violence vary by context, it is often that the time and belongings of women and girls are tightly controlled by the perpetrators of violence. To prevent projects from resulting in unintended violence, projects should acknowledge and be sensitive to potential triggers of violence. Understanding that women and girls often face a disproportionate burden of household care, limited mobility (due to controlling partners or social/cultural norms)²⁶ is important to consider when designing programs. It is possible to address these issues by:
 - o Including child care at meetings and conducting meetings in safe, nearby locations at convenient hours for women.²⁷
 - Creating schedules for program participation.
 - Designing discrete informational material that can be easily concealed if a woman should choose to do so.
 - Recognizing the time and resources women and girls spend on program activities, and where appropriate, remunerating women's participation²⁸ or creating a system of incentives for them.
- Facilitate registration and national identification cards. Such cards are often required in order to access the benefits of social protection projects. For survivors of VAWG, the need for such cards is especially critical, as they can determine whether a woman has access to important services, such as shelters and healthcare. Identity cards are also generally required to own and register property, register children in schools, and to access police stations, judicial processes, and states benefits, all of which can be crucial protective factors for experiencing violence and for leaving a violent relationship.²⁹ Where possible, social protection initiatives should assist women with registration so that they are able to benefit from the project and are also less vulnerable to VAWG.
 - A review of social protection programs found that the requirement to register children in Peru's Juntos program was positively viewed by women who were previously unable to access services due to a lack of identity papers.³⁰
- Explore secure methods of transferring cash to women. When cash transfers are involved, women may be robbed on the way home, forced to give up the cash to partners, or forced to pay bribes. Options to prevent such situations from occurring include asking women whether they prefer

in-kind or food transfers, or directly transferring funds to women's personal bank accounts. If possible, assist women with acquiring the proper identification required for opening an account and work with banks to facilitate the process.31

- The type of transfer most likely to result in gender-equitable outcomes varies widely across region, country, and even season. In Malawi, for example, one study showed that women prefer in-kind or food transfers as they have greater control over food allocation rather than cash.32
- Establish feedback and grievance mechanisms for project participants. This helps to ensure that participants have a voice in the ongoing implementation of the project, rather than just being passive beneficiaries. Such an avenue is important for learning about what works well, but is especially key for documenting any "backlash" effects resulting from SP projects and preventing repetition of harmful interventions.³³ A common approach is to provide a point of contact, such as a

social worker, who is trained to manage grievances and who can also support survivors through referrals for shelters, legal action, and other services. If these services are not available, supporting and with partners who coordinating mobilize to put said services in place is essential.

Community Level

Community behavior change and awarenessraising activities should be integrated into social protection/assistance projects whenever possible. The entire community, including individuals of different ages, gender, and diversity, should be involved in efforts to change harmful gender norms and the acceptability of VAWG.

 Work with existing community groups as entry points to achieve both social protection and VAWG prevention goals. Encourage the creation of safe spaces where both men and women can discuss healthy relationships, conflict resolution, values, and behavior, ensuring these

Box 5. Promising practices...Bolsa Familia Program and Promundo, Brazil

Brazil's Bolsa Familia Program (BFP) is heralded as one of the most successful conditional cash transfer (CCT) programs in the world. Similar to other CCT programs, BFP targets women, given the evidence that women are more likely to spend income on children and basic household needs. Qualitative evidence demonstrated that by doing so, male partners were largely excluded from taking an active role in program requirements and that traditional gender norms/roles were even further entrenched. Promundo, a Brazilian NGO, attempted to address this issue by carrying out workshops with men and women (focusing on themes such as violence prevention, women's autonomy and decision-making, maternity/paternity leave, caregiving/household chores, workers' rights for women, women's economic empowerment, etc.) that targeted both rural and urban communities in two states in Brazil. The project also focused on exploring how to engage men in the CCT program at the municipal level. Interviews, focus group discussions, and surveys revealed various positive changes in male attitudes. For example, before the intervention 13% of men said women shouldn't have a say in how money is spent within the household, this percentage dropped to 8% after the intervention.

For additional details, please visit the Promundo website: www.promundo.org.br.

discussions are grounded in human rights discourses.³⁴ See Box 5.

- If women's groups do not already exist, support the creation of such groups aligned with women's needs, including women's business associations, village savings/revolving funds, enterprises, etc.
- Promote mentorship and strategies to raise women's self-esteem and self-confidence through peer networks, as improved self-esteem and social support can protect against IPV. 35,36
- Engage with men to garner community support for programs targeting women. 37 Involving men, particularly community leaders, in programming can help to avoid potential negative repercussions in household dynamics. In certain patriarchal societies where women require permission from husbands or fathers, involving men will likely improve their participation.



RECOMMENDED RESOURCES FOR INTEGRATING VAWG INTO SOCIAL PROTECTION PROJECTS

Guidance/Tools

Luttrell, C. and Moser, C. (2004). Gender and Social Protection. United Kingdom: Overseas Development Institute (ODI).

Women's Refugee Commission. (2011). Preventing Gender-based Violence, Building Livelihoods Guidance and Tools for Improved Programming. New York: Women's Refugee Commission.

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Research

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Van de Walle, D. (2013). *Lasting Welfare Effects of Widowhood in Mali.* World Bank Policy Research Working Paper 5734. Washington, DC: World Bank.

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- ¹ UN Women. (2012). Handbook for National Action Plans on Violence Against Women. New York: UN Women.
- ² Klugman, J., Hanmer, L., Twigg, S., Hasan, T., McCleary-Sills, J., and Santa Maria, J. (2014). *Voice and Agency: Empowering Women and Girls for Shared Prosperity.* Washington, DC: World Bank.
- ³ Klugman et al., 2014
- ⁴ Organization (ILO), 2013 Asian Development Bank (ADB) and International Labor Organization (ILO). (2013). *Good Global Economic and Social Practices to Promote Gender Equality in the Labor Market*. Mandaluyong City, Philippines: Asian Development Bank.
- ⁵**Note:** While violence affects women across all racial, ethnic, age, and socio-cultural and ethnic lines, certain groups are more vulnerable to violence, including minority, indigenous/afro-descendant, refugee/migrant women, destitute women, women in institutions or detention, women with disabilities, lesbian/transgender, older women, and women in situations of armed conflict.
- ⁶ UN Women, 2012
- ⁷ UN Task Team on the Post-2015 UN Development Agenda. (2012). *Social protection: A development priority in the post-2015 UN development agenda: Thematic Think Piece*.
- ⁸ UN Task Team on the Post-2015 UN Development Agenda, 2012.
- ⁹ Heise, L. (2011). What works to prevent partner violence: An evidence overview. London, UK: STRIVE.
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- ¹¹ Kakwani, N., Son, H. H., and Hinz, R. (2006). 'Poverty, Old-Age and Social Pensions in Kenya', IPC Working Paper 24, International Poverty Centre, UNDP.
- ¹²Mahmood, R. A., Begum, S., and Islam, A. B. M. S. (2008). 'Bangladesh', in S. Irudaya Rajan (ed.) Social Security for the Elderly: Experiences from South Asia, New Delhi: Routledge.
- ¹³ Britto, P., Williamson, A., Snow, T., and Mankad, K. (2013). *Social Protection Programs and early childhood development: unexplored potential.* Australia: Plan International.

¹⁴ Bott, S., Guedes, A., Goodwin, M., and Mendoza, J. A. (2012). *Violence Against Women in Latin* America and the Caribbean: A comparative analysis of population-based data from 12 countries. Washington, DC: Pan American Health Organization.

¹⁵ Klugman et al., 2014

¹⁶ Adapted from Ellsberg, M., and Heise, L. (2005). Researching Violence Against Women: A Practical Guide for Researchers and Activists. Washington, DC: World Health Organization, PATH.

¹⁷ Adapted from ILO and ABD, 2013

¹⁸ Hidrobo, M. and Fernald, L. (2013) Cash transfers and domestic violence. *J Health Econ* 32(1), 304-

¹⁹ Kidd. 2009

²⁰ **Note:** For the WHO multi-country study, population-based surveys were conducted in Bangladesh, Brazil, Ethiopia, Japan, Namibia, Peru, Republic of Tanzania, Samoa, Serbia and Montenegro, and Thailand. In five countries, surveys were done in the capital or another large city and one predominantly rural province. In the other five countries, only one site was surveyed because of logistical and financial considerations. An analysis of the data revealed that women who worked for cash when their partners did not were at increased risk of violence in 6 of 14 settings (although this finding only reached statistical significance in 2 sites: the urban settings in both Brazil and in Japan). Couples in which only the man worked appeared to be at slightly lower risk of partner violence than couples in which both partners worked in 8 of 14 sites (the finding reached statistical significance, however, in only 2 sites probably due to small sample size). Please refer to: Abramsky, T., et al. (2011). "What factors are associated with recent intimate partner violence? Findings from the WHO multi-country study on women's health and domestic violence". Biomed Central Public Health, 11(109). For additional material, refer to: Garcia-Moreno C, Jansen HA, Ellsberg M, Heise L, and Watts CH. (2006) "Prevalence of intimate partner violence: findings from the WHO multi-country study on women's health and domestic violence". Lancet, 368(9543):1260-1269. Note: A systematic review of 22 studies conducted in lowand middle-income countries between 1992 and 2005 found that women's access to cash employment was protective against violence in some studies and settings but increased women's risk of violence in others. Please refer to: Vyas and Watts, 2009. Note: The studies above are also discussed in: Heise, 2011.

²¹Gibson-Davis, C. M., Magnuson, K., Gennetian, L. A., and Duncan, G. J. (2005). "Employment and the Risk of Domestic Abuse Among Low-Income Women." Journal of Marriage and Family 67, 1149-1168.

²² Erulkar, A. and Muthengi, E. (2009). "Evaluation of Berhane Hewan: A Program to Delay Marriage In Rural Ethiopia." International Perspectives on Sexual and Reproductive Health 35(1), 6–14.

²³ ADB and ILO, 2013

- ²⁴ Sholkamy, Hania. (2011). *How Can Social Protection Provide Social Justice for Women?* Pathways Policy Paper. Brighton, UK: Pathways of Women's Empowerment RPC.
- ²⁵ ECLAC. (2012). Los bonos en la mira: aporte y carga para las mujeres. Santiago, Chile: ECLAC.
- ²⁶ **Note:** Controlling behavior, such as preventing women from seeing their friends and family and forbidding or restricting their outings is considered a form of VAWG. This type of behavior often accompanies, or is a precursor to, physical violence.
- ²⁷ Chopra, D. (2014). *Towards Gender Equality with Care-sensitive Social Protection*. United Kingdom: Institute of Development Studies (IDS).
- ²⁸ Sholkamy, 2011
- ²⁹ Sholkamy, 2011
- ³⁰ Holmes, R. and Jones, N. (2010). *Rethinking social protection using a gender lens*. London, UK: Overseas Development Institute.
- 31 Sholkamy, 2011
- ³² ADB and ILO, 2013
- ³³ Chopra, 2014.
- ³⁴ Women's Refugee Commission. (2011). Preventing Gender-based Violence, Building Livelihoods Guidance and Tools for Improved Programming. New York: Women's Refugee Commission.
- ³⁵ Women's Refugee Commission, 2011
- ³⁶ Capaldi, D.M., Knoble, N. B., Shortt, J. W., and Kim, H. K.. (2012). "A Systematic Review of Risk Factors for Intimate Partner Violence." *Partner Abuse* 3(2), 231-280.
- ³⁷ Sholkamy, 2011.

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