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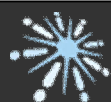


**WOMEN'S  
REFUGEE  
COMMISSION**

**What Cash Transfer Programming can do  
to protect children from  
violence, abuse and exploitation**

**REVIEW AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

**February 2012**



**Child Protection in Crisis**

Network for Research, Learning & Action

## **Acknowledgments**

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# What cash transfer programming can do to protect children from violence, abuse and exploitation

## 1. Introduction

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This discussion paper examines the links between cash transfers and the positive and negative outcomes for children, in particular the role cash transfers have played in protecting children from harm, exploitation, abuse and violence. The objective of this paper is to identify ways in which cash transfer activities could support the protection of children affected by emergencies.

Though it is often perceived as a new and innovative way of delivering assistance in emergencies, Cash Transfer Programming (CTP), in its various forms, has been used since the Franco-Prussian war of 1870. On the other hand, child protection is a relative new sector, with the first stand-alone Child Protection in Emergencies (CPiE) programmes being family tracing and reunification activities during the Rwandan genocide. The frequent assumption that CTP benefits primarily livelihoods, food, nutrition and/ or early recovery programmes<sup>1</sup> means use in other sectors has been relatively limited to date. Research into the potential impact in other sectors is thus under-explored. The use of cash transfers in the range of child protection activities is a relatively new area of work. Therefore, through a review of the literature on CTP, the following discussion paper seeks to document the existing evidence on the use of cash transfers, both conditional and unconditional, to achieve child protection outcomes.

This paper will look at outcomes achieved due to the intentional use of CTP to achieve benefits with regards to the protection of children in emergencies, such as cash grants to foster carers in Indonesia, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Liberia, and cash as a way of preventing child labour in post floods Pakistan. Field research was carried out in Pakistan to gather primary data on the impact of cash transfers used in post 2011 floods education and protection programmes. Key Informant Interviews with child protection programme staff in Liberia and DRC also contributed case study examples of how CTP can be used in child protection responses.

Also included in the literature review are examples where positive results in other sectors, such as education, nutrition and food security and livelihoods, indicate positive shifts in overall wellbeing of children. For example in Ethiopia where cash transfer projects have increased breastfeeding and thus led to improved early childhood care practices.

Overall, it was found that, as noted by Harvey and Jaspar (2007) “there is little information on the impact of cash transfers on protection of both adults and children,” and even less on outcomes in emergency contexts. Given the limited data on impact of cash transfers on the protection situation of children in emergencies, this paper will also draw on lessons learnt from research carried out in developing country contexts.

Drawing on this review of research, recommendations are made on CTP design to achieve child protection outcomes and areas for further research.

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<sup>1</sup> See for example Brady, Carol, *Walking the Talk: Cash Transfers and Gender Dynamics*, Concern Worldwide and Oxfam, May 2011 which states that all cash programmes aim to “increase the purchasing power of disaster-affected people to enable them to meet their minimum needs for food and non-food items; or to assist in the recovery of people’s livelihoods”.

## 2. Definition of key terms<sup>2</sup>

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### Cash Transfer Programming terminology

**Cash Transfer Programming:** The use of cash or vouchers as a means of enabling households to have access to their basic needs for food and non-food items or services, or to buy assets essential for recovery. CTP includes cash transfers, CfW and vouchers.

**Cash Transfers:** Cash transfers are sums of money provided to beneficiaries (individuals or households) by government or non-government agencies. This may be either as emergency relief intended to meet their basic needs for food, non-food items or services or to buy assets essential for the recovery of livelihoods.

**Cash for Work:** CfW is work that is paid for with either cash or vouchers. Some feel this needs to be work that benefits the community, is part of a public project, contributes to early recovery efforts post emergency, or results in the creation of public or community assets (e.g. irrigation works, or grass cutting respectively).

**Cash Vouchers:** A voucher is a paper, token or electronic card that can be exchanged for a set quantity or value of goods, denominated with either a cash value or as a pre-determined set of commodities or services (e.g. a household kit, 5 kilos of maize). Vouchers are redeemable with vendors pre-selected by the agency involved.

**Cash grants:** Are sums of money that can be either conditional or unconditional in nature.

**Conditional Cash Transfers:** “The distinguishing feature of a conditional cash transfer (CCT) is that it imposes “a behavioural condition on transfer recipients. The condition typically sets minimum requirements on beneficiaries’ attention to the education, health, and nutrition of their children” (de Janvry & Sadoulet, 2005, p. 1), thus, a conditional cash transfer can potentially deliver a double impact.”<sup>3</sup>

Alternatively, cash might be given after recipients have met a condition, such as enrolling children in school or having them vaccinated. Typically the “conditionality” in conditional CTP refers not to the eligibility criteria that determine which households could enter the programme as beneficiaries, but to commitments the beneficiary households would have to fulfil to remain in the programme for the duration. Given the difficulty in carrying out regular monitoring activities in humanitarian settings, this form of conditionality is rare in immediate emergency response. CfW can also be referred to as a conditional cash transfer.

**Unconditional Cash Transfers:** Individuals or households identified as highly vulnerable are given money as a direct grant with no conditions or work requirements. There is no requirement to repay any money and people are entitled to use the money however they wish.

**Vouchers:** A paper, token or electronic card that can be exchanged for a set quantity or value of goods, denominated either as a cash value (e.g. \$15) or predetermined commodities or services (e.g. 5 kg maize; milling of 5kg of maize). The terms vouchers, stamps, or coupons can be used interchangeably.

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<sup>2</sup> Definitions used here are taken from Save the Children *Cash Transfer programming Emergency Standard Operating Procedures: Annex 11: Glossary* and Harvey and Bailey, *Cash Transfer Programming in Emergencies*, June 2011

<sup>3</sup> Gore, Radhika, *A review drawing upon the tsunami and other experiences*, UNICEF, 2006

## Child protection terminology

**Abuse:** A deliberate act of ill treatment that can harm or is likely to cause harm to a child's safety, wellbeing, dignity and development. Abuse includes all forms of physical, sexual, psychological or emotional ill treatment.<sup>4</sup>

**Release and Reintegration<sup>5</sup>:** Refers to programmes supporting the release of children from association with armed groups and armed forces and the subsequent support they are given to reintegrate into the community. Release includes the process of formal and controlled disarmament and demobilisation of children from an armed force or armed group as well as the informal ways in which children leave by escaping. Reintegration is the process through which children transition into civil society and enter meaningful roles and identities as civilians.

**Children associated with armed forces and armed groups:** refers to any person below 18 years of age who is or who has been recruited or used by an armed force or armed group in any capacity, including but not limited to children, boys and girls, used as fighters, cooks, porters, messengers, spies or for sexual purposes. It does not only refer to a child who is taking or has taken a direct part in hostilities.

**Violence:** There are a number of definitions of violence used depending on the focus and approach taken to it. The UN Study on Violence Against Children (2006) definition of violence draws on Article 19 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child: "all forms of physical or mental violence, injury and abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation, including sexual abuse" as well as the definition used by WHO in the World Report on Violence and Health (2002): "the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against a child, by an individual or group, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in actual or potential harm to the child's health, survival, development or dignity." Violence can be committed by individuals or by the State as well as groups and organisations through their members and their policies. It results not only in fear of/ or actual injury but also in fundamental interference with personal freedom.

**Hazardous Labour:** Is work that, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children<sup>6</sup>

**Sexual exploitation:** The abuse of a position of vulnerability, differential power, or trust for sexual purposes; this includes profiting monetarily, socially or politically from the exploitation of another as well as personal sexual gratification. Examples include: Child prostitution, trafficking of children for sexual abuse and exploitation, child pornography, sexual slavery.

**Gender based violence:** An umbrella term for any harmful act that is perpetrated against a person's will, and that is based on socially ascribed (gender) differences between males and females. The nature and extent of specific types of GBV vary. Examples include: sexual violence, including sexual exploitation/abuse and forced prostitution; domestic violence; trafficking; forced/early marriage; harmful traditional practices such as female genital mutilation, honour killings, widow inheritance, and others. While around the world GBV has a greater impact on women and girls than on men and boys, men and boys may also be victims.<sup>7</sup>

**Family tracing and reunification:** Family Tracing, in the case of children, is the process of searching for family members or primary legal or customary care-givers. The term also refers

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<sup>4</sup> *Save the Children and Child Protection*, Save the Children, 2007

<sup>5</sup> *The Paris Principles*, UNICEF, 2007

<sup>6</sup> Article 3 (d) of ILO Convention No. 182 concerning the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour, 1999

<sup>7</sup> *Guidelines for Gender-based Violence Interventions in Humanitarian Settings: Focusing on Prevention and Response to Sexual Violence*, IASC, 2005

to the search for children whose parents are looking for them. The objective of tracing is reunification with parents or other close relatives, where reunification is the process of bringing together the child and family or previous care-provider for the purpose of establishing or re-establishing long-term care.<sup>8</sup>

**Economic Exploitation:** The use of the child in work or other activities for the benefit of others. This includes, but is not limited to, child labour. Economic exploitation implies the idea of a certain gain or profit through the production, distribution and consumption of goods and services. This material interest has an impact on the economy of a certain unit, be it the State, the community or the family.

**Exploitation:** Child exploitation refers to the use of children for someone else's advantage, gratification or profit, often resulting in unjust, cruel and harmful treatment of the child. These activities are to the detriment of the child's physical or mental health, education, moral or social-emotional development. It covers situations of manipulation, misuse, abuse, victimization, oppression or ill treatment.

**Alternative Care:** Alternative care can take the form of informal or formal care, kinship care, foster care or other forms of family-based or family-like care placements, residential care, or supervised independent living arrangements for children<sup>9</sup>.

**Child Protection in Emergencies (CPiE):** The Global Child Protection Working Group has defined CPiE as the prevention of and response to abuse, neglect, exploitation of and violence against children in emergencies. An emergency is defined as 'a situation where lives, physical and mental wellbeing, or development opportunities for children are threatened as a result of armed conflict, disaster or the breakdown of social or legal order, and where local capacity to cope is exceeded or inadequate.'<sup>10</sup>

**Orphans:** are children, both of whose parents are known to be dead. In some countries, however, a child who has lost one parent is called an orphan.

**Separated children:** those separated from both parents, or from their previous legal or customary primary care-giver, but not necessarily from other relatives. These may, therefore, include children accompanied by other adult family members.

Primary separation is separation of the child from its family that occurs as a direct and immediate result of an emergency, for example, the parents are killed or the children become separated from their caregivers during displacement.

Secondary separation occurs when a child has been united with a carer (a relative, friend of the family, respected community member) as a result of secondary effects of an emergency, for example, impoverishment caused by loss of livelihoods. This leads parents or caregivers to place their children in institutional care or send children to live with relatives, friends or others who they hope will be better able to meet the child's needs.

**Unaccompanied children** (also called unaccompanied minors): are children who have been separated from both parents and other relatives and are not being cared for by an adult who, by law or custom, is responsible for doing so.

**Worst Forms of Child Labour:** Slavery, prostitution and pornography, the use, of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs; and work which, by its

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<sup>8</sup> *Inter-agency Guiding Principles on Unaccompanied and Separated Children*, International Committee of the Red Cross, January 2004

<sup>9</sup> Louise Melville Fulford, *Alternative Care in Emergencies: Extended Guidance*, Interagency Working Group for Separated and Unaccompanied Children, 2010

<sup>10</sup> <http://resourcecentre.savethechildren.se/cpi/march-newsletter/minimum-standards-cpie/child-protection-working-group-aims-set-minimum-standard>

nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children.

### Monitoring and evaluation terms<sup>11</sup>

**Baseline survey:** carried out as part of an assessment, before work begins on the programme itself, enables examination of the characteristics of the population that the programme hopes to change.

**Impact:** Project impact is the change in status or behaviour related to stated project objectives that can be said to be a direct result of the project or intervention.

**Outcomes:** Project outcome is what can be measured or observed with respect to stated project objectives following implementation of the project.

### 3. Acronyms and Abbreviations

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Abbreviation	Meaning
AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
BDH	<i>Bono de Desarrollo Humano</i> - Human Development Bond
BRCS	British Red Cross Society
CCT	Conditional Cash Transfers
CfW	Cash-for-Work
CP	Child Protection
CPiE	Child Protection in Emergencies
CTP	Cash Transfer Programming
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EGS	Employment generation schemes
FAT	<i>Famille d'Accueil Transitoire</i> – Foster Family
FTR	Family Tracing and Reunification
GBV	Gender Based Violence
GoI	Government of Indonesia
IGA	Income Generating Activity
IRC	International Rescue Committee
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
PETI	<i>Programa de Erradicação do Trabalho Infantil</i> - Programme to Eradicate Child Labour
USD	United States Dollar

### 4. Methodology

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This discussion paper is based on information from a variety of sources. An analysis of the existing literature was conducted, project information was reviewed and key informant interviews with programme management teams were carried out. In addition a field visit to Pakistan was conducted during January 2011 to explore the impact of CTP on child protection outcomes during an emergency. The findings from this research have informed the development of two tools for practitioners: “Designing Cash Transfer Programming to achieve Child Protection in Emergencies Outcomes” and “Child Safeguarding in Cash Transfer Programming: A Checklist for Practitioners”. More detail on the methodology is outlined below.

<sup>11</sup> Save the Children, *Toolkits: A practical guide to planning, monitoring, evaluation and impact assessment*, April 2003

### **Literature review**

A literature review of reports and guidance tools from the fields of CTP, child protection and food security livelihoods was carried out. This review identified limited documentation of the use of cash transfers in child protection programming, and that that which exists is not founded on rigorous data analyses processes, most especially in emergency settings. Given the limited amount of statistically viable and rigorous data available on the use of CTP to achieve child protection outcomes, conclusions and parallels have been drawn from related areas of work. Information on the impact of using income-generating activities, savings and loans, as well as micro-credit programmes on the incidence of child protection concerns in emergencies has fed into the analysis. The impact of cash grants on education, nutrition and health indicators for children has also been integrated into the literature review and analysis.

### **Project information**

A selection of country programmes that had implemented CTP benefitting children and their families shared project information, including proposals, monitoring and evaluation tools, donor reports and evaluations, which were reviewed.

### **Key informant interviews**

Interviews were carried out with staff from country programmes that had already been implementing CTP in the hope of addressing child protection concerns. Interviews covered questions on why CTP was chosen as a tool for the child protection programme, preparation prior to the implementation of the CTP, evaluations and assessments carried out, staffing or the programme, staff training and guidance tools referred to, monitoring and evaluation tools developed and used, beneficiaries, community engagement, the design of the CTP, impact of programme to date and key recommendations for other child protection staff seeking to set up CTP to achieve child protection outcomes in emergencies.

### **Field visit for Pakistan Case Study**

A field visit was carried out in January 2012, including a literature review, focus group discussions (FGD) with beneficiaries and community members and key informant interviews with Save the Children staff. However, the researcher was unable to speak directly to beneficiaries because of security constraints. Child protection and livelihoods programme staff therefore carried out FGDs. As the author then had limited time to prepare the staff fully on the aims and process of the research, a degree of bias may have been introduced to the research process.

## **5. The evidence so far**

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As Child Protection has only existed as an official part of humanitarian responses since the Rwandan genocide in the 1990s, the field of CPiE programming is still relatively young. As a result it suffers from the lack of an extensive body of guidance, standards and tools, and thus evidence on programme impact is often weaker than in other sectors of emergency response. Furthermore, to date very little CTP has been implemented with the overt intention of achieving child protection outcomes established from the outset.

The evidence is discussed below in two parts. Firstly, evidence is reviewed from programmes where cash injections into households are explicitly intended to achieve child protection outcomes. In this section lessons learnt are drawn from various forms of cash transfers used in emergencies and in development programming. Economic strengthening interventions, such as savings and loan schemes, are also looked at to glean transferable lessons learnt. The section covers a range of child protection concerns including exploitation, family separation and alternative care in emergencies, gender-based violence, mental health and psychosocial wellbeing, and children associated with armed forces and armed groups. Second, evidence of indirect impact on child protection concerns is identified, for example, programming aimed at improving education, nutrition, or food security and livelihoods that has led to an unintended outcome on the protection of children.



## **Direct outcomes: Cash Transfer Programming with intentional Child Protection outcomes**

In looking at the direct outcomes of cash support on child protection, the review will start by discussing Exploited Children, and Family Separation and Alternative Care in Emergencies, as there is a greater body of research outlining the possible impact of CTP on these issues. The more detailed treatment of these two issues is neither a reflection of the priority given to them nor a belief that these are the only areas in which cash transfers can have an impact in emergencies. Other aspects of children's wellbeing affected by families' economic situation, including Gender-Based Violence, Mental Health and Psychosocial Wellbeing, and Children Associated with Armed Forces and Armed Groups, are then also discussed, despite less data on these aspects of child protection. Although the discrete categorisation of child protection concerns ignores the fact that children are often susceptible to many forms of abuse, exploitation and violence at the same time, it has been used for ease of analysis.

### **Exploited children**

Child exploitation is a broad term that includes forced or dangerous labour, child trafficking, and child prostitution (see 2: Definition of Key Terms). Many children who suffer from exploitation do so because they have no other choice: they or their family members need the extra income in order to survive. They may also have been trafficked or forced into slave labour, the likelihood of which increases in emergencies due to the vulnerability of separated and unaccompanied children and the poverty of their caregivers.

Historically, overt activities to prevent child labour in emergencies have been confined to combating the Worst Forms of Child Labour, focusing on release and reintegration of children associated with armed forces and groups, and the prevention and response to sexual exploitation. More detailed discussions regarding the use of CTP in these two realms of protection is given in sections below. While little work has been documented that specifically addresses other forms of hazardous work in emergency settings, a large body of work has been documented that focuses on CTP and child labour in non-emergency settings. Some of these programmes have reduced the levels of child exploitation reported, but overall, evidence of the impact on child labour is mixed.

In Cambodia, a recent study of a scholarship programme involving modest transfers conditional on school enrolment of children of middle-school age found that recipients were over 20% more likely to be enrolled in school and 10% less likely to work for pay. A separate survey of CTP in Latin America and the Caribbean likewise concludes they are "effective in reducing child labour."<sup>12</sup> One study on the *Bono de Desarrollo Humano (BDH, Human Development Bond or Voucher)* conditional CTP in Ecuador looks at changes in child time allocation resulting from cash transfers. Students reduced their involvement in paid employment by 78% and reduced their unpaid economic activity inside the home by 32%. These declines were accompanied by an increase in time spent on unpaid household services, but overall time spent working was shown to decline. The simplest explanation for these observations would be that the additional income allows families to feel that they can afford to continue schooling. In addition paid employment is difficult to combine with schooling because of constraints in the minimum number of hours required to work. Continuing in school induces families to choose unpaid economic activities over paid employment.<sup>13</sup> This is in part due to a high proportion of labour in Ecuador being in more formal fixed employment forms.

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<sup>12</sup> Rawlings quoted in Tabatabal, Hamid, *Conditional cash transfers and child labour: Experiences and opportunities*, IPEC, 2010

<sup>13</sup> Edmonds, Eric V. and Schady, Norbert, *Poverty Alleviation and Child Labor*, American Economic Journal: Economic Policy, 2011

In Brazil, the *Programa de Erradicação do Trabalho Infantil (PETI*, Program to Eradicate Child Labour) was set-up in 1996 for families with children between the ages of 7 and 15 years old who were working (or at risk of being sent to work) in activities considered to be harmful. The value of the programme's conditional cash transfers were monthly amounts of R\$25 (US\$37) per child in rural areas and R\$40 (US\$59) per child in urban areas. Half of the *bolsa* (literally translated as purse or exchange) went to the school to pay for an after-school educational activity, and half went to the household as an income transfer. The programme required that children under 16 years of age did not work and maintained at least 75% school attendance.<sup>14</sup> PETI led to a 26% reduction in the likelihood of child labour observed. In a CCT programme in Nicaragua, Del Carpio found that girls required much less of an increase in total household income to experience a decrease in labour than did boys. Also that the reduced incidence of child work, was accompanied by a shift in the nature of work being done, most notably less physical labour, with a move toward, for example, minding a family store or doing calculations.<sup>15</sup>

Both the Ecuador and Brazil examples indicate the potential for CTP to achieve significant outcomes not just in response, but also in prevention of child labour. The target groups in both instances included children who were vulnerable to work, and the evidence shows that the grants supported to keep them in schools. Measurable and tangible prevention activities in child protection, especially in emergencies, are hard to identify, thus putting in place CTP accompanied by rigorous Monitoring and Evaluation systems with the use of control groups to show the impact of CTP could enable a greater quantification of the impact of child protection prevention activities.

Despite these positive findings, in certain forms and under certain circumstances, CTP can cause an increase in child labour. By its nature, involving children in CfW programmes increases their workloads in ways that have potential negative outcomes. The use of CfW should therefore be exercised with caution. Careful screening needs to take place to ensure children do not take part in work that could be dangerous or that prevents them from attending educational opportunities.

Child labour can also increase when CTPs lead to increased agricultural productivity as a result of investment in livelihoods assets (e.g. livestock). Children may end up providing child-care for their younger siblings or carrying out chores normally done by their parents whilst parents work longer hours. CfW programmes may attract children to engage in the work activities themselves.<sup>16</sup> Research in the Meket Woreda in Ethiopia<sup>17</sup> showed the possible negative effects of cash transfers on rates of child labour. Targeted payments of 25 birr (about USD \$4) per beneficiary (women who were more than 6 months pregnant and mothers who were lactating with a child up to 10 months) were paid per month in return for five days work in employment generation schemes. Research in neighbouring areas had suggested that poor women were forced to leave their children at home shortly after birth because they needed to work to raise income for the household. The impact of the programme was positive in that women reported less migration, increased breast-feeding and time spent with children. However, the asset creation associated with the cash transfers created the necessity to draw on family members including children for labour support<sup>18</sup>, such as working the fields or rearing cattle.

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<sup>14</sup> Further details of the PETI scheme can be found in Foguel and Barros, 2010, Yap, Sedacek and Orazem, 2002

<sup>15</sup> Cited in Chaffin, Josh, *The Impacts of Economic Strengthening Programs on Children: A review of the evidence*. CPC Livelihoods and Economic Strengthening Task Force, August 2011

<sup>16</sup> Yablonski, Jennifer and O'Donnell, Michael, *Lasting Benefits: The Role of Cash Transfers in Tackling Child Mortality*, Save the Children 2009

<sup>17</sup> Arabella Duffield, Asfaw and Matebe, "Impact of a cash for relief programme on child caring practices in Meket Woreda" unpublished report for Save the Children, 2005

<sup>18</sup> Positive outcomes of this same programme are detailed in the Indirect Outcomes section, under Nutrition

Overall it is concluded that, based upon an analysis of context, the various forms of CTP available can potentially be highly effective, in the short term, at preventing and responding to the issue of child labour in emergencies.

The main strength of the use of Conditional Cash Transfers (CCTs) in child labour programmes is that they address the roots of the problem: chronic poverty, vulnerability to economic shocks, difficulties in access to education, labour market conditions and cultural attitudes. However it is important to note that many of the successful examples are in contexts where alternative activities, in particular education services, were sufficient in quantity, of adequate quality and were free at point of access. Additionally, cash transfers are likely to be least effective against some of the worst forms of child labour, such as slavery, sexual exploitation, and engagement in armed forces or groups, due to the root causes of these forms of exploitation. In such situations children may not be living with their parents or guardians, or it may be their parent or guardian who is exploiting them, their earnings may be so attractive that the cash incentive of a CTP would not be sufficient to induce them to abandon such activities, or other driving factors may attract them to the work. These issues are discussed below in the sections on children associated with armed forces and armed groups, and gender-based violence. Additionally, if communities learn that cash support is being given to families sending their children to work, this may create the incentive for families to send more children to work in order to qualify for the grants.

Given the short-term nature of emergency interventions, it appears that, as child labour is so entrenched in nature, it may be hard to have a long-term impact on forms of child exploitation that already existed prior to an emergency without linking CTP to long-term social protection programmes. Emergency CTPs are likely to be more effective where children previously attended school, and parents pulled them out of school to overcome the economic shock resulting from the emergency. Child labour concerns can also be addressed through CTPs that pursue other goals (i.e. livelihoods protection / promotion). For example, a conditionality requiring parents to keep their children out of child labour may be helpful if coupled with regular visits by a caseworker, engagement of teachers or community-based structures for monitoring purposes.

### **Family Separation and Alternative Care in Emergencies**

In the mass population movements associated with many emergencies, some children become separated from their regular caregivers and need interim care whilst agents try to reunify them with their families. Research on outcomes for children in institutional care shows that alternative community based care is better for children's development than institutional support.<sup>19</sup> Humanitarian agencies are increasingly working to include set-up and support to foster-care systems as part of their response. Support to foster-carers takes a range of forms, from food and non-food items (including regular food rations, household kits, and clothes for children), to training and guidance. Cash transfers are a relatively new intervention in the support of foster care, but have proven popular. CTPs have been used in Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Liberia, Indonesia and Haiti to support caregivers who have taken in separated or unaccompanied children. Two cases in particular are discussed here, Indonesia and DRC.

#### **Case Study: Institutional Care in Indonesia<sup>20</sup>**

##### **Context**

In Indonesia after the Indian Ocean Tsunami and Earthquake of 2004 great attention was

<sup>19</sup> For further information on the impact of institutional care on the wellbeing and development of children see Doyle, Joanne, *Misguided Kindness: Making the right decisions for children in emergencies*, Save the Children, 2010 and Dunn with Jareg and Webb, *A Last Resort: The growing concern about children in residential care*, Save the Children, 2003

<sup>20</sup> Information for this case study came from a variety of secondary sources, detailed below

given to the issue of institutional care as the number of *Panti Asuhan*, homes for children, grew exponentially. Whilst international agencies addressing child protection needs in Aceh responded by giving cash grants to households to try to ensure families stayed together<sup>21</sup> some overseas donors, individual givers and the government were sending support to institutional care.

By the end of 2005, 2,494 cases of separated, unaccompanied and single parent households had been registered with the interagency group. There was also an increase in the number of orphanages and children's homes. An issue of concern for the groups was secondary separation of children due to both the financial strains placed on families fostering children and the poor economic conditions in the aftermath of the tsunami. As a result the Ministry of Social Affairs, with support from Save the Children, embarked upon a major research and policy review. The research project found that the overwhelming majority of children in institutions had parents, guardians or family members who could provide care and only 6% of them were genuinely orphans. Shockingly, research found that 97.5% of the children placed in residential care in the aftermath of the December 2004 tsunami in Aceh had been placed there, by their families, so that they could receive an education<sup>22</sup>. The research found that government, donors and individual givers exacerbated this by supporting children who were in institutions.

#### **Cash Transfer Programming design and modalities**

In 2006 UNICEF started implementing a CTP targeting 1,700 separated/unaccompanied children in the care of 1,300 caregivers<sup>23</sup>. This provided USD \$44 per month for 3 months, based on average child care costs in Aceh (including cost of food, health, hygiene, clothing, education, transport, games and recreation). Caregivers had one month to spend the money in accordance with objectives. The expenditures were then checked during bi-monthly household monitoring visits. The following payments would be made only if the first month's funds had been spent appropriately.

At the same time, the British Red Cross Society (BRCS) ran a programme of cash transfers targeted at orphans who were heads of households. They received livelihoods recovery activities (\$1,000), a house, a single person's carer allowance (\$500), and \$250 per year for education. In 2005 Save the Children implemented a cash-for-work project in Aceh, providing over 18,000 short-term placements to single parents with children, able grandparents, families looking after vulnerable children, and families with no other income options. Children under 18 years were allowed to work only in cases where they desperately needed money, only for two or three hours per day, but still received the full CfW rate. Also in 2005 the Government of Indonesia's Department of Social Welfare set-up a cash-allowance programme for purchase of non-staple foods to supplement food relief. Each received approx. US\$10 per month per person.

#### **Outcomes**

The research study found that if funding had been directed at helping families and communities rather than institutions, the majority of girls and boys placed in institutional care could have remained at home. It also highlighted the costs of supporting institutional care, which were far greater than support to families. Although the outcomes identified in the Indonesia case study cannot be attributed directly and purely to the cash transfers due to the lack of a control group, it has been found that child wellbeing, development and school performance was significantly better for those living in a family environment than those in institutional care. Following successful lobbying, the Ministry of Social Affairs (MOSA)

<sup>21</sup> Harvey and Jaspars, *A Review of UNICEF's Role In Cash Transfers To Emergency Affected Populations* 2007

<sup>22</sup> Doyle, *Misguided Kindness*, Save the Children, 2010

<sup>23</sup> Lesley Adams and Retno Winahyu, *Learning from cash responses to the tsunami: Case Studies*, Humanitarian Policy Group, October 2006. There was concern that the beneficiaries of UNICEF's cash grants project did not include single parent households

mandated that 60% of the 2011 subsidy for each institution should be delivered to children out of institutions and living/reunited with their families.<sup>24</sup>

#### **Lessons learnt and areas for improvement**

- The research findings indicating better outcomes for children at reduced cost to the state, led to a change in legislation and policy at a national level and long-term investment by the government in family-based care
- Use of cash transfers in the Indonesia case reduced family recourse to institutional care and thus reduced secondary separation
- UNICEF's cash assistance activity in Aceh required considerable follow-up conducted by teams of social workers. Each social worker had to fill a detailed monitoring sheet based on house-visits. The monitoring sheets recorded information on how much of the monthly transfer was spent and on what items. The conditionality of such grants required greater investment but enabled closer monitoring of outcomes
- UNICEF cash transfers started a full year after the tsunami in order to avoid creating a pull-factor. One evaluation highlighted that earlier intervention would have prevented some of the trafficking cases that occurred.
- Partner staff expressed concern about the phase-out process for cash transfers as children did not understand why support was stopped. An exit strategy had not been clarified by UNICEF or partner staff at the outset.
- The lack of consistency in CTP approach between agencies may have caused confusion amongst the beneficiary population as to their entitlements
- A lack of significant outreach and the limited numbers benefitting from the cash transfers means that many children were still being sent to institutional care

The impact this evidence had on government policy and legislation demonstrates that short-term cash transfers can lead to sustainable programming if they are accompanied by systematic monitoring, and then followed-up with advocacy. It should be noted that this outcome is more likely to be successful in nations with better-established child protection systems with state-supported social service mechanisms.

The use of conditional cash transfers for foster carers (*Famille d'Accueil Transitoire, FAT*) in a conflict setting in the Democratic Republic of Congo also points to the possible positive results conditionality can bring.

#### **Case Study: Foster Care in the Democratic Republic of Congo<sup>25</sup>**

##### **Cash Transfer Programming with Conditionality as one form of Support to Family-based Care**

In the DRC, different degrees of support and conditionality were used in relation to supporting family based care at different times. CTPs with written obligations were used to support foster families caring for unaccompanied children as part of the release and reintegration of children associated with armed groups as well as for other children who were identified as unaccompanied or separated. Families with "good values" were identified by community members. They received training and signed codes of conduct on how they would treat children. Children were then placed in these family homes and given clothing and mattresses, both for the beneficiary of the programme, and also for the biological children of the host family. Each family was given USD \$3 per night per child hosted; a maximum of 3 children were hosted by a family at any given time, though the preference was for only two at a time. Field officers monitored the care and registered the number of nights of hosting per month, and the families collected the relevant amount at the end of each month.

<sup>24</sup> Save the Children in Indonesia, *Key Achievements of CP and care program in moving towards Family Based Care 2005 – 2011*, Updated September 2011

<sup>25</sup> Information given in the DRC case study is based on discussions with a child protection staff member and a review of some key programme documents.

In 2008 in Goma under exceptional circumstances, due to the high number of separated and unaccompanied children identified and needing care arrangements rapidly, Save the Children set up FATs in camps on a voluntary basis. These FATs did not receive any money for the children in their care, though they benefitted from non-food items (NFIs) and food distributions given to the fostered children, which could be used by the whole family.

#### **Outcomes**

In the first programming example, programme staff reported the programme as highly successful and very few cases of abuse were reported. As the money given covered more than the actual cost of living of the child, it can be assumed that this alleviated economic stress on the households and gave the foster families an incentive to treat the children well. However, staff attributed some of the success to the training in child care and code of conduct that was signed, indicating that this form of conditionality may promote the protection of children in alternative care. Programme staff say that the fostering scheme in the camps was much more problematic. Most children placed with families were used for labour/household chores, more so than biological children. When receiving food and NFI distributions, foster families often took the food to feed their own children first. Although some of this can be attributed to the disruption of livelihoods opportunities and comparative lack of financial support given to the carers, it also indicates that the lack of conditionality through a written a code of conduct undermined adequate care.

#### **Lessons learnt and areas for improvement**

Though there is no control group for comparison purposes and other factors may have caused the difference in treatment of the children, the cash transfers and Save the Children monitoring procedures may have played a role in ensuring fostered children were well cared for. It also suggests that cash transfers may be a more appropriate form of support to foster families than in-kind aid as the funds can be used more flexibly to support the entire household. This is not based on rigorous data collection methods, but it does demonstrate that further research should be done to explore the potential of these ways of working with foster carers.

*From the DRC case study it can be concluded that cash transfers, when delivered after a delay of one to two months, broken down into tranches and with a tight monitoring system, can lead to positive outcomes on the temporary care arrangements for separated and unaccompanied children in an emergency context. However, care should always be taken to ensue that support given does not undermine the care arrangement by creating unsustainable dependency on cash transfers. Cash Transfers should be seen as a way to get the carers through a short-term economic shock. If the family has longer term needs, livelihoods support and wider social protection programming could be more suitable,*

When determining the form of assistance to be given to foster carers, a number of dynamics need to be considered. For all forms of foster care, assistance should aim to build on, rather than replace existing support mechanisms. It must also ensure the sustainability of the care arrangement for as long as it is needed and avoid undermining care by creating dependence on material assistance provided through short-term programming. You need to take into account the context and whether foster carers have been proactively recruited or have spontaneously taken children into their care. When supporting spontaneous foster care arrangements, you ensure that assistance does not create a pull factor for households to claim that their own child is fostered or to pass 'fostered' children from one household to another. To achieve this, support given to households should be based on transparent vulnerability criteria of which caring for a fostered child may be one amongst many.

## Gender-based violence

- **Sexual exploitation and transactional sex**

Increased incidence of transactional sex in emergency settings can be in part attributed to poverty and economic shocks.<sup>26</sup> Given that the drivers are not purely economic there is mixed evidence regarding the possible outcomes of using cash transfers to reduce transactional sex and other forms of GBV.

Evidence from Uganda, based on randomised controlled trials, found significant positive effects of a multi-faceted economic empowerment intervention (which included asset building opportunities, job counselling, mentoring, financial education, Child Savings Account with 2:1 matched funding) on reducing participants' self-reported sexual risk-taking.<sup>27</sup> In Kenya, Oxfam staff believed that transactional sex had declined as a result of cash-transfers aimed at improving food security<sup>28</sup>. In FGDs in Swaziland, adults also reported a reduction in young girls engaging in transactional sex as a result of a CTP aiming to improve food security after droughts.<sup>29</sup> On the other hand, during research carried out by this author in Eastern DRC on the causes of GBV against children, girls stated that the sums of money given as part of a programme of income-generating activities for survivors of sexual exploitation were not significant enough to deter the girls from engaging in more lucrative sex work<sup>30</sup>, which highlights the importance of a joint approach between Child Protection and FSL throughout the project cycle.

Cash transfers, micro-credit schemes and income generating activities often form part of economic reintegration packages for survivors of sexual violence, yet rarely do vulnerable adolescents receive cash to prevent them from engaging in sexually exploitative activities in the first instance. Even less is done to adequately monitor and assess the impact and risks of such prevention activities, especially in emergency contexts. However, the World Bank-funded Zomba Cash Transfer Program in southern Malawi showed impressive results in reducing HIV and other sexually transmitted infections as well as changes in high-risk sexual behaviour.<sup>31</sup> The program gave girls and young women aged 13-22 and their parents up to \$15 a month if the girls attended school regularly. A second group received payments without conditions, and a control group received no cash payments. After 18 months the program showed increases in school attendance for both dropouts and in-school girls without a significant difference between conditional and unconditional cash transfer recipients. Girls were also less sexually active and tended to choose safer (and younger) partners. In addition cash transfers may have led to a reduction in transactional sex - an exciting result that has seen a reduction by 60% of HIV prevalence rate and lowered Herpes Simplex Virus 2 infection, even among girls who received unconditional cash transfers.

*The cases mentioned above lead us to believe that in order for cash transfers to have a significant impact on sexual confidence and behaviour, and thus reduce the incidence of sexual exploitation in the form of transactional sex, programmes should last for an extended*

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<sup>26</sup> See for example *From Camp to Community: Liberia study on exploitation of children*, Save the Children in Liberia, May 2006; Thompson, Hannah, *Bearing the Burden*, unpublished report written for Save the Children in DRC, 2010; Shearer, Lindsay, *Initial Report on 'Sex for Services' in Nimba county border towns*, Save the Children in Liberia, July 2011

<sup>27</sup> Ssewamala, Fred M. et al. Effects of Economic Assets on Sexual Risk-Taking Intentions Among Orphaned Adolescents in Uganda, *American Journal of Public Health*, 2010 cited in Josh Chaffin August 2011

<sup>28</sup> Brady, Carol, *Walking the Talk: Cash Transfers and Gender Dynamics*, Concern Worldwide and Oxfam, May 2011

<sup>29</sup> Devereux and Jere, "Choice, Dignity and Empowerment?" *Cash and Food Transfers in Swaziland: An Evaluation of Save the Children's Emergency Drought Response, 2007/08*, Save the Children Swaziland, June 2008

<sup>30</sup> Hannah Thompson, *Bearing the Burden*, unpublished report written for Save the Children in DRC, 2010

<sup>31</sup> Results announced by the World Bank cited in Kim Ashburn and Ann Warner, *Can economic empowerment reduce vulnerability of girls and young women to HIV?* Emerging Insights, ICRW, 2010

period and be coupled with behavioural change and educational activities, including sexual and reproductive health courses, as well as long-term support for alternative livelihoods activities through, for example, skills building.

- **Forced/early marriage**

Similarly to transactional sex, forced/early marriage increases as poverty increases. UNFPA lists the primary causes of child marriage as high poverty, death and birth rates, increasing in incidence in countries with greater levels of conflict and civil strife and with lower levels of overall development, including schooling, employment and health care.<sup>32</sup> For example, in Côte d'Ivoire, girls in the poorest 20% of households are three times as likely to be married as girls in the richest 20% of households. In addition, the change in child marriage rates over time shows fluctuations in line with times of economic crisis and conflict. In 1994 the rate in Côte d'Ivoire was 44%, reducing to 33% in 1998-99, following the global trend of increased awareness and education for girls but then rising again to a rate of 35% in 2005, after conflict had broken out in 2002 and there was a protracted state of "no peace, no war".

More than half of the girls in Bangladesh, Mali, Mozambique and Niger are married before age 18. In these same countries, more than 75% of people live on less than USD \$2 a day.<sup>33</sup> The Democratic Republic of Congo, DRC, has seen an increase in early child marriage from 31% in 2005 to 39% in 2007. This may be due to better reporting methods and greater awareness, but research indicates that families are using early child marriage as a coping strategy to deal with loss of livelihoods, as well as to protect their children<sup>34</sup>. The countries that have succeeded in eradicating the practice are those that have experienced economic growth, declines in birth and death rate and increase in education and employment for girls.<sup>35</sup>

*These findings suggest that cash transfers can help to reduce the incidence rates of forced/early marriage, especially if conditionality is linked to girls' education and employment opportunities. Micro-credit programmes provide women and girls with the economic opportunities they often lack and a social support network that promotes changes in attitudes and behaviour. Improved economic status gives them more control over decisions such as who and when they marry.<sup>36</sup> This would infer Cash Transfer Programmes can have the same potential benefits.*

However, potential outcomes in emergency contexts are mixed as the drivers for forced early marriage are not always purely economically driven. In wars and civil conflicts, parents or carers sometimes resort to child marriage as a protective mechanism or survival strategy. Displaced populations living in refugee camps in Rwanda, unable to protect their daughters from rape, married them to warlords or other authority figures to provide improved protection.<sup>37</sup> Girls in Afghanistan<sup>38</sup> or DRC<sup>39</sup> are often forced to marry men who raped them in order to protect their honour. Young girls who are orphaned or separated from their parents or relatives may see marriage as the only way to survive and to get protection.

### **Mental Health and Psychosocial wellbeing**

CTPs can promote psychosocial wellbeing indirectly by supporting the implementation of psychosocial programming for children. In post-Tsunami Aceh, NGOs provided CfW

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<sup>32</sup> UNFPA Webiste, [http://www.unfpa.org/swp/2005/presskit/factsheets/facts\\_child\\_marriage.htm](http://www.unfpa.org/swp/2005/presskit/factsheets/facts_child_marriage.htm), visited on 6 December 2011

<sup>33</sup> ICRW, *Child Marriage and Poverty*, 2006

<sup>34</sup> Thompson, H. (2011) *Bearing the Burden*

<sup>35</sup> UNFPA Webiste, [http://www.unfpa.org/swp/2005/presskit/factsheets/facts\\_child\\_marriage.htm](http://www.unfpa.org/swp/2005/presskit/factsheets/facts_child_marriage.htm), visited on 6 December 2011

<sup>36</sup> Kabeer 2005 and Umashankar 2006 cited in Jeannette Bayisenge, *Early Marriage as a Barrier to Girl's Education: A Developmental Challenge in Africa*, National University of Rwanda, date unknown

<sup>37</sup> reports De Smedt, 1998, cited in Jeannette Bayisenge, *ibid*

<sup>38</sup> See media reports on the subject, [http://www.nytimes.com/2011/12/02/world/asia/for-afghan-woman-justice-runs-into-the-static-wall-of-custom.html?\\_r=1&pagewanted=all&smid=fb-share](http://www.nytimes.com/2011/12/02/world/asia/for-afghan-woman-justice-runs-into-the-static-wall-of-custom.html?_r=1&pagewanted=all&smid=fb-share)

<sup>39</sup> Thompson, Hannah, *Bearing the Burden*, Save the Children in DRC, 2010



payments to female supervisors children in child-friendly spaces. This enabled the elderly and women to access CfW in line with their abilities. In Liberia in mid-2011, a number of 15-25-year-old youth were paid cash to clear areas that would be used to set-up child-friendly spaces. In Angola, mothers were paid to run crèches, enabling them to earn a living and ensuring their children's early childhood development.<sup>40</sup>

Unconditional cash grants to carers could also lead to an improvement in children's reported sense of wellbeing. A baseline survey for a savings and family-based intervention programme looking at household assets and children's education, health and psychosocial wellbeing in Burundi carried out for the International Rescue Committee<sup>41</sup> indicated that poverty and stress about economic survival among adults has negative repercussions on distress levels among children. From this they surmised that children in poor households suffer more from mental health problems than children in better-off households. There was a clear positive relationship between the ways in which parents disciplined their children and the score on the depression scale; children who were frequently punished (both verbally and physically) showed more signs of depression.

*CTP has the potential to reduce the stress caregivers feel in meeting survival needs, thereby reducing the physical and verbal punishment of children and improving their wellbeing.*

### **Children associated with armed forces and armed groups**

In Liberia, cash sums of USD\$300 were provided upon release of children as part of the disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration process. In line with concerns raised by agencies such as UNICEF, there were many problems with the payment, including intimidation, theft and community resentment of children receiving the money, as well reports of commanders who took large cuts. Some children referred to it as 'blood money', and saw it as bad luck, spending it quickly in order to get rid of it.

In Sierra Leone, the programme for the release and reintegration of children deliberately avoided cash, but adults received a payment on demobilisation. Cash was not given to the former child combatants because of the risk of misuse. There were also concerns that if money was given to the guardians into whose home they have been reintegrated, this could lead to claims by adults to be hosting ex-associated children in order to be eligible for the grants. Foster parents were instead given materials for income generating activities.

Best practice<sup>42</sup> promotes the provision of assistance to whole communities to which children return, indicating that community cash grants could form a valuable component to release and reintegration programmes. Community grants can be issued for projects submitted by community groups. Conditions could include training, awareness raising activities, investment in community level income generating activities as well as benefits for the children of the households engaged. It is noted that, though there are risks in giving cash to CAAFAG, the possibility of using vouchers is not yet adequately researched.<sup>43</sup> Vouchers could be for education or training, and may involve less risk of re-recruitment, or abuse of the child.

*Given that the reasons children become associated with armed forces and armed groups are multiple and variable, including revenge, affiliation, seeking power and protection as well as*

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<sup>40</sup> Yablonski, Jennifer, *Children and Social Protection: Towards a package that works*, Save the Children, 2007

<sup>41</sup> Jeannie Annan, Tom Bundervoet and Miranda, *An evaluation of the impact of a savings program and family-based intervention on household assets and children's education, health and psychosocial well-being in Burundi: a randomized control: Baseline Survey: Design and Findings*, The International Rescue Committee, May 2010

<sup>42</sup> The Paris Principles: Principles and Guidelines on Children Associated with Armed Forces or Armed Groups (2007)

<sup>43</sup> Harvey, Paul, *Cash-Based Responses in Emergencies*, HPG Report 24, January 2004

financial benefits, it seems clear that a cash transfer activity alone is unlikely to greatly reduce recruitment or increase auto-demobilisation<sup>44</sup> of children.

## Case Study: Pakistan Floods 2010

### Methodology:

As part of the research for this report the author visited Pakistan in January 2012. Key informant interviews were carried out with Save the Children staff, including those representing the Food Security and Livelihoods, Child Protection and Education Programmes as well as the Monitoring, Evaluation, Accountability and Learning (MEAL) Team. In addition FGDs were designed for children, parents, child protection committees and teachers. A total of three in-depth Key Informant Interviews were done with staff based in Islamabad, and three were done remotely with staff based in Swat and Lower Dir. A total of 36 children (20 boys, 16 girls), and 42 adult men (30 fathers, 6 male teachers and 6 child protection committee members) were engaged in FGD in Talash in Lower Dir and Barthana and Gwaleray in Swat. These locations are all in the North-West of the country, some of areas worst affected both by previous conflict and the flooding during 2010.

### Background:

In July 2012 unprecedented flooding in Pakistan ploughed a swathe of destruction more than 1,000 kilometres long, from north-western Pakistan through Punjab farmlands all the way to Sindh Province. The floods affected 20 million people – one-tenth of Pakistan's population – in 84 of the 121 districts in Pakistan<sup>45</sup>. More than 1,700 men, women and children lost their lives, and at least 1.8 million homes were damaged or destroyed<sup>46</sup>. According to UNICEF, children under 5 represented 15% of the affected population (3,000,000). Over 1.8 million people were displaced in to 5,200 displacement sites, mainly in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK), Sindh and Punjab.

**Child protection needs:** Children from these provinces suffer from a long-term lack of physical security. For some this is exacerbated by family separation. As a result of the floods, children were at heightened risk of exploitation and abuse, and many risked being removed from school or forced into early marriages as a result of livelihood pressures and displacement. Save the Children identified several forms of harmful child labour during the emergency assessment including growing numbers of children working in agriculture, as domestic labour, in mechanics workshops and in hotels and restaurants. This was especially high in northern areas of KPK province, which had suffered massive infrastructure damage to roads and bridges. Hundreds of children were being used to transport goods and equipment, carrying extremely heavy loads. These activities posed an immediate danger to children's health and wellbeing, and also posed a longer-term risk to development as children were less likely to return to school after a prolonged period of work.

A detailed Child Protection Needs Assessment<sup>47</sup> carried out by Save the Children, in Swat, found that more than 55% of the 8-12 years old boys and 100% of the 12-18 year old boys were involved in some form of labour. Fifteen per cent of 8-12 year old girls reported working, mostly as domestic labour, while 43% of 12-18 year old girls were involved in labour. In Muzaffargarh, more than 40% of 8-12 year old boys and 55% of girls were involved in labour, while 40% of 12-18 year old boys, and 63% of girls were involved in labour. These statistics were accompanied by reports of sexual and physical violence against both boys and girls.

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<sup>44</sup> Auto-demobilisation is the process whereby children themselves choose to leave the armed groups or forces with whom they have been associated, without the need of direct intervention by agencies

<sup>45</sup> OCHA Pakistan revised Floods Emergency Response Plan; September 2010;

[http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWFiles2010.nsf/FilesByRWDocUnidFilename/VDUX-89DTJ3-full\\_report.pdf/\\$File/full\\_report.pdf](http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWFiles2010.nsf/FilesByRWDocUnidFilename/VDUX-89DTJ3-full_report.pdf/$File/full_report.pdf)

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Kasim, Faris, *Post Floods Child Protection Needs Assessment Report Districts Muzaffargarh & Swat*, Save the Children in Pakistan, October 2010

Sexual abuse was linked to the practice of open defecation, a lack of shelter, and lack of privacy for girls, as well as change in the forms of work carried out. Previously girls were more engaged in domestic work and boys in agricultural work. Since the floods they had had to travel further distances in order to find work. Physical abuse had increased, as parents were more likely to beat their children as a result of heightened stress due to loss of homes or livelihoods.

**Livelihoods needs:** The flooding had far-reaching consequences across Pakistan as 17 million acres of crops were destroyed, causing soaring food prices and exposing at least 7.8 million people to lasting food insecurity<sup>48</sup>. Eighty per cent of the population in flood-affected areas depended on agriculture – including crops, livestock, fisheries and forestry – for their livelihood<sup>49</sup>. Assessments from KPK<sup>50</sup> identified massive loss of rice crops just before the harvest, resulting in a lack of income opportunities for poor households. Additionally, many poor households were unable to repay debts built up from the purchase of agricultural inputs. In response, many men and boys from poorer households migrated to Peshawar and Karachi during the months when they would usually be working the fields in their home villages.

Across the affected provinces, hundreds of thousands also lost shops or other small businesses and faced enormous challenges in rebuilding their lives while struggling to source income to survive. Women and children were disproportionately affected, as women had limited access to income-generating opportunities and were at greater risk of being displaced and / or dispossessed of property and assets. Women farmers (73% of women in rural areas before the floods) faced some of the gravest threats, particularly in relation to land rights. Meanwhile the Agriculture Cluster only received 12% of requested funding.

***“We faced problems in finding new earning sources”  
Child during FGDs carried out for research***

**Education needs:** According to a November 2010 report by the Asia Development Bank and the World Bank (ADB/WB), total damage to the Education sector in Pakistan from the flooding is estimated at over approx. \$311 million USD. Over 75% of the overall affected population were in Sindh and Punjab provinces. The ADB/WB report shows that Sindh and Punjab suffered the largest number of damaged schools: 5,655 including 811 girls' schools in Sindh and 2,817 including 1,222 girls' schools in Punjab.<sup>51</sup> The two most heavily damaged districts in terms of schools were is Jacobabad in Sindh followed by Muzaffargarh in Punjab.<sup>52</sup> During the floods, many schools were occupied by IDPs and suffered damage as a result. In Northern Sindh, an estimated 27,000 families continue to occupy schools and other public buildings.<sup>53</sup> School attendance in Pakistan has risen slightly from 57% of children aged ten years and above attending school in 2006/7 to 59% in 2008/9. School attendance is higher in urban than rural areas. The average attendance rate in Sindh is 60% and in Punjab is 61%. These averages mask lower attendance rates identified by Save the Children in some districts, even prior to the flooding. The lowest are Rajanpur in Punjab with a 26% attendance rate, and Jacobabad in Sindh with a 40% rate<sup>54</sup>.

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<sup>48</sup> WFP Pakistan Flood Impact Assessment; September 2010; [http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/rwb.nsf/db900sid/MDCS-89JH9B/\\$File/full\\_report.pdf](http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/rwb.nsf/db900sid/MDCS-89JH9B/$File/full_report.pdf)

<sup>49</sup> Agriculture Cluster; “Preliminary Damage Assessment in the Agricultural Sector for Flood – Affected Areas of Pakistan”; 9-14 August 2010

<sup>50</sup> Save the Children Emergency Food Security and Livelihoods Rapid Assessment, KPK

<sup>51</sup> ADB & World Bank (2010). p. 28, cited in Save the Children’s programme proposal: *Integrated Early Recovery Programme for Revitalization of the Education System in Sindh and Punjab Provinces, Pakistan*

<sup>52</sup> ADB & World Bank (2010). p. 107, Ibid

<sup>53</sup> UNOCHA (2010). *Pakistan Humanitarian Bulletin*, 11 Nov 2010, p. 1, ibid

<sup>54</sup> *Pakistan Social and Living Standards Measurement Survey (PSLM) 2008-09*, Ministry of Economic Affairs and Statistics, Statistics Division. Access: [http://www.statpak.gov.pk/depts/fbs/statistics/pslm\\_prov2008-09/pslm\\_prov2008-09.html](http://www.statpak.gov.pk/depts/fbs/statistics/pslm_prov2008-09/pslm_prov2008-09.html)

***“We were not aware of education and we considered it [working] a normal life”  
Child during FGDs carried out for research***

**Save the Children response plans:** Save the Children has had a presence in Pakistan for 30 years, and has implemented a large-scale emergency response to the October 2005 earthquake in Kashmir, as well as to the 2008 and 2009 flash floods. The flood response started on August 1<sup>st</sup>, 2010. Child protection programming focused on family tracing, mobilisation of child protection forums and the establishment of child friendly spaces. Food security and livelihoods focused on CTPs (including vouchers) to meet the immediate food needs of children and their families. There was a recognition that the national crisis may lead to severe food shortages over time, forcing families to resort to negative and risky coping strategies such as pulling children out of school and sending them to work. Two months in to the response, Save the Children therefore put together a plan for integrated livelihoods and protection programming to address remaining relief needs and to start building support for early recovery in the hope of preventing child protection issues from arising.

Active integration of child protection with livelihoods and cash transfer initiatives was considered critical to protecting children and upholding their basic rights, especially to education. It was intended that the families supported through the CTP and livelihoods components of the projects would be better able to meet their families’ basic food and utility needs (such as clothing, medical expenses, shelter repair), leaving resources available to support their children’s education, and reducing the need to resort to negative coping mechanisms. Two programmes were set-up integrating CTP into child focused programmes - one with Child Protection and the other with Education.

**Protection and Livelihoods (a CIDA Grant):**

This was a 4-month grant aimed at comprehensively addressing the survival and protection needs of children and affected populations through the targeted provision of cash grants, and agriculture and livestock support within the catchment areas of 30 Child Friendly Spaces (CFS). Cash grants were provided to families that had children involved in child labour, on the condition that these families remove their children from harmful labour and mainstream them into formal education and other child-focused programming.

<b>Modalities of Pakistan Child Protection Cash Transfer Programme</b>	
Programme title	Child Protection and Agricultural Livelihoods Assistance for Flood-affected Farming Communities in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) Province, Pakistan
Types of evaluation or assessment carried out pre-CT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• General CPIE Needs assessment</li> <li>• Food Security and Livelihoods Assessment</li> <li>• Market Assessment</li> </ul>
Type of cash transfer	Conditional Cash Transfer through Order Cheques, which are able to be cashed by beneficiaries at Save the Children bank accounts when presented with another form of identification
No/Type of Beneficiaries (HH)	3,400 children involved in harmful labour <sup>55</sup> and their families (including approximately 13,200 siblings)
Programme Goal	To ensure the survival and protection needs of 280,000 flood-affected people, including approximately 235,000 children are met in Swat, Dir and DI Khan districts (KPK Province)
Purpose of CT	Mobilize families with working children to remove them from work and enrol them into school.

<sup>55</sup> An estimated 13,200 additional children (siblings) will cumulatively benefit (directly) from the emergency cash transfers (based on an average family size of 6 people).

Targeting method	<p>Identification of most vulnerable flood-affected families living within the 30 CFS catchment areas, based on the following criteria:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Flood-affected households with children involved in labour</li> <li>• Vulnerable, flood-affected, child-headed and women-headed households</li> <li>• Flood-affected households whose children are involved in child protection interventions</li> <li>• Flood-affected households whose houses have been swept away or completely destroyed</li> <li>• Flood-affected poor households with more than two children under 12</li> <li>• Flood-affected poor households caring for orphans or disabled members</li> <li>• Among these households, families were prioritised that have not yet been reached with significant assistance</li> </ul> <p>The Child Protection team identified children within CFS who were engaged in exploitative activities. Cases were referred to the FSL teams for verification. A direct connection was thereby forged relating children requiring protection to the broader livelihoods needs of their immediate families and vice versa.</p>
Amount transferred	Provision of two-time cash grants of 10 400 PKR (\$118) each (total of PKR 20 800 USD\$236). The amount transferred was based on FSL assessments, and did not differ as a result of being part of the Child Protection Programme response.
Delivery mechanism	Beneficiary caregivers were given a bankers order which they can cash at bank branches where Save the Children holds an account. Families received a second tranche of cash on the condition that their children stayed enrolled in formal schooling, attended regularly, and were not re-engaged in labour. Child Protection Committees attached to each CFS catchment area followed up individual cases to ensure that the cash transfers were having the desired outcome.
Monitoring and evaluation	Committees carried out regular monitoring of children and their families. Teams collect school attendance data regarding the children benefitting from the grants from teachers and school authorities. Monitoring continued after the second tranches of funding was given to beneficiaries.
Programme Management and Staffing	The programme was managed jointly by livelihoods and protection, with division of responsibilities based on expertise. CP staff identified vulnerable children, and livelihoods staff verified selection after socioeconomic assessment. Modalities of the cash transfers were determined by the FSL team. The CP team monitored the progress of children with support from CP committees. Budget-holding responsibility was held by the FSL team.
Programme outcomes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1000 children in Lower Dir and 977 in Swat benefitting from CT enrolled in school</li> <li>• Lower Dir: Of 1000 children initially, 44 children receiving CT dropped out of school after enrolment. All of these 44 children were attending school again by the time the second transfer was distributed.</li> <li>• Swat: A total of 23 students out of 1000 dropped out</li> <li>• Children stated they can spend more time playing</li> </ul>
Other elements of programme	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Support for critical household nutritional needs through agricultural inputs and training</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provision of emergency veterinary health care services</li> <li>• Establishment of 30 Child-Friendly Spaces</li> <li>• Identification, registration and referral of children in need of specialized support</li> <li>• Establishment of 90 child protection community groups that eventually formed 30 Child Protection Committees</li> <li>• Provision of training to all members of CP network and also to local stakeholders, on child protection issues, identification of vulnerable children with protection issues, and reporting</li> </ul>
Exit strategy	Community involvement through the committees and awareness-raising on value of education were expected to have an impact beyond the life of the grant. However, during M&E visits a number of children and their families stated that if the grants stopped they would pull out of education

### Education and Livelihoods (a DFID funded Grant)

This was a 9.5 month grant focused on restoring and improving the quality of education services for children in and around 265 government schools in flood-affected districts of Jacobabad and Shikarpur in Sindh and Muzaffargarh, Rajanpur and Dera Ghazi Khan in Punjab.

Modalities of Pakistan Integrated Education Programme			
Programme title	Integrated Early Recovery Programme for Revitalisation of the Education System in Sindh and Punjab Provinces, Pakistan		
Types of evaluation or assessment carried out pre-CT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• General Emergency CP Needs assessment</li> <li>• Market Assessment</li> </ul>		
Programme Goal	To provide holistic and integrated response to children's education needs in flood-affected areas whilst also contributing to ensuring their protection and building local capacities for sustainable development		
Purpose of CT	To improve access to quality education of flood-affected children and their families in Rajanpur, Muzaffargarh, DG Khan districts of Punjab, and Jacobabad and Shikarpur districts in Sindh		
Type of cash transfer	Cash for Work in school rehabilitation	Enterprise grants	Conditional Cash grant
No/Type of Beneficiaries (HH)	CfW participants (39,200)	550 small business grants benefitting 3,783 children and adults in extremely vulnerable households	650 households benefitting 3996 children and adults
Amount transferred (USD)	N/A	400	400
Delivery mechanism	A total of 3,058 skilled and 3,286 unskilled labourers deployed for schools' rehabilitation and TLS construction through the 'Cash for Work' program		4 instalments of the cash grant
Monitoring and evaluation	Education teams collected school enrolment data from school authorities. MEAL team visited sites to carry out regular monitoring and Real Time Evaluations		
Programme	Under combined management of livelihoods and education teams		

Management and Staffing	
Programme outcomes	Post-distribution monitoring indicated that beneficiaries used between 10 – 15% of their wages on education. No attributable or significant difference was noted on expenditure on education depending on the form of CT used (cash grants, business grants or cash for work).
Other elements of programme	On the demand side, a comprehensive community mobilization and advocacy strategy was employed, alongside distribution of cash transfers to families whose children were involved in child labour. On the supply side, in order to address children’s education needs, the focus was on supporting the creation of conducive and protective learning environments, rehabilitation of water and sanitation facilities), and the provision of education supplies and capacity building for teachers and education authorities.
Exit Strategy	The cash transfers were accompanied by a range of economic strengthening activities, such as enterprise grants, which enabled greater sustainability

The experience of the Pakistan programme demonstrates the potential for under-funded sectors such as Protection and Education to increase their funding base through livelihoods initiatives, CTP is one way they may be able to access funding streams designated for Food, Security and Livelihoods work.

### Programme Strengths

- The complementary activities with the Child Protection programme including community mobilisation, child protection committee strengthening and work in the child friendly spaces which reached out to families, monitored the children’s wellbeing and school enrolment.
- Integration of activities, especially in the DfiD funded Education programme, show that meeting demand and supply side needs, and addressing education, protection, livelihoods and WASH needs all in one programme can be cost effective and yield greater impact.
- Programme design was agile and fast learning: Based on lessons learnt from the protection project, the education grant used a wider range of cash transfer modalities, such as enterprise grants. This enabled greater sustainability of the programme.
- The MEAL team established a comprehensive accountability mechanism with hotlines, regular field monitoring visits, focus groups with children and adults, and separate forms and systems for children to submit feedback.
- The MEAL team carried out regular “Real Time Evaluations” of the programmes, providing external independent input to programme teams for development and learning
- Initial problems with beneficiary selection, whereby the protection team did not have adequate skills in assessing wealth of households, were quickly identified and the management structure responded by changing the selection procedures and adjusting the division of responsibilities between the two teams.

***“The changes brought positive changes to our lives. The education has greatly assisted living an improved life. We feel delighted and happy.”***  
***Child during FGDs carried out for research***

### Programme Challenges

Staffing and Management:

- The inability of female staff to go to remote locations raised important question about the ability to implement the programme if risk mitigation factors cannot be put in place. It is

frequently the case that teams in remote and dangerous locations are disproportionately male.

#### Programme design:

- Age was a major factor in school drop out as older children could not adjust to being in school with younger ones.
- Cash grants were insufficient to fill the income gap of children's earnings, particularly for children who had attained more work skills and higher incomes.
- Targeting children was more challenging for those who are the primary income earner in the household, particularly when the grant does not match their previous income. In one case a female domestic worker had been the primary income earner in her family. When she received a cash grant and returned to education, her younger sister started working in people's homes in her place.
- Some children pulled out of school after a short time to return to supporting their parents or relative's small business, such as family shops or hotels.

#### Monitoring & Evaluation:

- Lack of data for a control group on either of the projects makes it hard to attribute the success of the programme to the CTP
- Baseline data on physical violence was available, but not monitored during the project, and the possible impact of the CT on this form of child abuse was not captured.
- Children who took part in FGDs for this research pointed to an increased feeling of wellbeing and more time to play with friends as a result of Save the Children's intervention. Teachers indicated an increase in attentiveness in classes. However changes in psychosocial wellbeing were not monitored over time. Staff also reported that they felt there was the possibility that there had been an impact on child marriage rates, but these were also not measured.
- Data collected from schools was not sex and age disaggregated.
- Data collected from different programme sites varied in formats and was difficult to compare.
- No funding was provided by donors to continue to monitor the programme at intervals after the cash disbursements have been completed, making it hard to ascertain the long term outcomes or sustainability of these activities.

#### **Key Recommendations based on the Pakistan Case Study**

- Whilst it was positive that child labour was used as a proxy to identifying vulnerability and referring for cash grants, other forms of abuse and exploitation could also have been used.
- When measuring the impact of CTP, staff should monitor outcomes on a broad range of CP concerns. The objective was to reduce child labour, but it would appear that there were also possible outcomes on psychosocial distress and child marriage.
- The M&E would have improved with greater collaboration between the various teams collecting data. Education teams with expertise in determining how to measure school access and retention rates should be involved in developing indicators for CP programmes.
- Putting in place a flexible management structure with scheduled reviews will facilitate a response to lessons learnt as the programme is implemented. The Pakistan team's schedule of Real Time Evaluations and monitoring visits, followed by quick adaptation in response to identified challenges increase the success of the programme.
- Whilst gender balanced teams are the ideal, in many contexts cultural and security



constraints mean this is not possible. Identifying a number of key female staff who can rotate location and fill key roles where gender is important may provide a pragmatic solution to address the lack of gender-balance within teams.

- Using a range of CT modalities and a variety of activities in the child protection programme promotes more durable solutions to child protection concerns.

## **Case Study: Liberia Response to Refugees from Côte d'Ivoire's Post Election Violence 2011**

### **Methodology**

This case study is based on a review of key programme documents (needs assessment reports, proposals, donor reports, M&E tools and set-up guidance) and key informant interviews with three programme management staff.

### **Background to the Liberia 2011 Emergency Response**

Save the Children has been present in Liberia since 1991 in response to the first Liberian Civil war. Programming focuses primarily on health, education and child protection. At the end of 2010, violence following a second round of presidential elections in Côte d'Ivoire led to massive population displacement both within Côte d'Ivoire and across its borders into neighbouring countries, mainly Liberia. Most refugees entering into Liberia opted to stay with host communities in Nimba, Grand Gedeh, Maryland and River Gee counties. As a result of the influx, Save the Children scaled up programmes and set-up bases in Nimba and Grand Gedeh counties to respond to their needs.

During the early months of the response, assessments conducted by Save the Children found that large numbers of refugees were severely stretching already limited resources in Liberia, destroying livelihoods, and leading to a loss of income for host communities. Agriculture and casual labour are the main sources of income for the population in these areas. Refugees were perceived as competitors for roles previously filled by Liberians, and pressure on the economy meant it was hard for them to find ways to make a living.

In particular, adolescent children reported a lack of livelihoods opportunities and limited access to services such as education. Girls not registered with UNHCR were not eligible for food rations. Negative coping strategies started to be employed, including the exchange of sexual favours for food, money or other goods. This most notably affected girls of ages 12 to 20 years. Perpetrators were older men within or travelling to communities or - most alarmingly - humanitarian workers from international and national aid organisations. It was found that the majority of agencies were focusing activities on either adults or younger children, whilst adolescent girls and boys had limited constructive activities to occupy their time, increasing the risk that boys and girls may engage in illegal or dangerous activities.

### **Aims of the Cash Transfer Programme**

Given this context the decision was made to set up a programme of cash transfers within the child protection emergency response. The main aims of the cash transfer activities were:

- To empower vulnerable Ivorian and Liberian youth in the camps and host communities through the provision of Cash-for-Work and unconditional cash transfers
- Provide support to foster families, single-headed and child-headed households to support children in their care, enabling them to meet their daily needs

### **Programme Design**

Modalities of Liberia Child Protection Cash Transfer Programme

in Nimba Country, 2011		
Types of evaluation or assessment carried out before CT began	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• An initial FGD with 20 children in May 2011</li> <li>• Qualitative assessment carried out in July 2011 focusing on the issue of “Food for Sex”– this included FGDs with 141 teenage girls and 10 key informant interviews</li> <li>• Livelihoods assessment carried out in August 2011</li> </ul>	
Type of cash transfer	<b>Unconditional cash transfers</b>	<b>Cash for work (CfW)</b>
No/Type of Beneficiaries (HH)	1,000: 500 each in Nimba and Grand Gedeh <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Families hosting vulnerable children under 14 years old</li> <li>• Single headed households with Ivorian dependents under 14, single-headed households with 2+ children,</li> <li>• Individuals who had not received livelihoods support from other NGOs</li> <li>• Child-headed households or children living independently, child-mothers and pregnant teenagers.</li> <li>• Beneficiaries included both Ivorians and Liberians.</li> </ul>	1,000: 500 each in Nimba and Grand Gedeh <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Vulnerable youth from host community or refugee population</li> <li>• Refugees settled at least for a month in the camps</li> <li>• Boys and girls aged 14-25 in communities and 14-18 in the camps</li> <li>• Youth should be out of school, or if in school, only involved on Saturdays</li> <li>• Able to do laborious work</li> <li>• 1 beneficiary per household</li> <li>• With parental consent</li> <li>• Able to provide own tools</li> <li>• Individuals who had not received livelihoods support from other NGOs</li> </ul>
Objective and purpose of the CT	Help beneficiaries to meet their daily needs, allow foster parents to set up small businesses to support children in their care. Allow youth (14-18 year olds) and adult carers to generate small incomes to be used for daily sustenance. Designed to act as cash injections into communities with the aim of benefiting a specific demographic that was at high risk of exploitation and risky behaviour with the intention of meeting simple basic needs	To empower youth at the community level, and to prevent youth from engaging in risky behaviours and sexual exploitation
Detail of modalities / activities	With teenage mothers and Child Headed Households, the money was given to a mentor and not to the children themselves	Community-based activities, such as cutting grass around CFS' and schools. Work decided by Child Welfare Committees and community elders. 25-45 people working on any one small area on same project in a day
Amount transferred	Initially USD\$200, later reduced to USD\$75 each	Maximum 6 days per week, earning USD\$3 per day, USD18 paid at end of week
Delivery mechanism	Cash given in distribution	Cash given at end of week

Programme Management and Staffing	Management team: The programme was managed by the Child Protection team. At the outset, none of the staff had experience in CTPs for child protection. The programme later benefitted from a three-week visit from an FSL specialist with expertise in CTP who was able to support with a livelihoods assessment, strategy development, and the definition of beneficiary targeting criteria.
Implementing Staff Team	The teams were two-thirds male, one-third female. They were ethnically diverse and thus communicate with communities and beneficiaries in their own languages. The staff received two days of training on CTPs from the FSL expert.
Monitoring and evaluation	The programme lacked a baseline assessment of the child protection situation prior to the CTP. Staff did not have access to guidance on monitoring and evaluation tools and struggled to develop suitable ones. Once the programme started they developed a tool, to be used by case workers, which looks at changes in income sources and daily food intake over time.
Programme Outcomes	At the time of writing this report it is too early in the programme implementation to be clear on the impact for children. However, staff report an impression that children are better cared for and foster parents are better able to meet the basic needs of children in their care.

### Programme Strengths

- The use of pre-existing community-based child protection committees to establish and verify selection of beneficiaries from the outset created an enhanced sense of programme ownership and avoided tension in the communities. That only one complaint was received is considered to be because of this community involvement and ownership
- The programme increased community understanding of the work that Save the Children does beyond play activities.
- The complaints mechanism established used non-CP staff as focal points, increasing the chance that management would hear about reported misconduct in programme activities.

### Programme Challenges

- The CP team did not have guidance or tools that explained how to start the process of setting up CTP.
- Lack of livelihoods staff meant that CP staff had to start programming without expert advice on Cash Transfers. After an FSL expert visited the programme, some programme modalities were adjusted.
- The team did not have M&E tools, and did not establish a baseline against which to measure progress towards objectives.
- Age criteria did not take in to account Liberian labour laws which state that 16 is the minimum age for work, and subsequently included children of 15 and above.
- Individuals within the Child Welfare Committees have now moved back to Ivory Coast or to other locations along the border and new committees have had to be established.
- Gender balance was difficult to achieve in the CP team because of the qualifications required for the roles and the remoteness of the work.
- Not all CP programme supervisors were able to attend CPT training and were therefore not able to monitor the programmes as closely as they would have liked
- A safeguarding system was set-up as part of the Cash-for-Work programme, but there were instances of children under 15 years taking part, in part because staff lacked confidence in age verification techniques.
- There were incidents of theft of beneficiary earnings from shelters in the camps .

### **Key Recommendations based on the Liberia Case Study**

- There is need for step-by-step guidance on how to set up CTP for children, including targeting and how to consult with and engage children.
- Monitoring & Evaluation tools that establish baselines and assess child protection outcomes as a result of CTPs need to be developed.
- With highly mobile refugee populations such as in this case, consideration must be given from the outset to how to implement and monitor programme activities.
- Linking conditional cash transfers to a case management system facilitates frequent follow-up and close monitoring of children's situation. In this case, the child protection information management system was used to select beneficiaries and monitor progress.
- Parental consent should be given for children engaging in Cash-for-Work.

### **Conclusions on Cash Transfer Programming with intentional Child Protection outcomes**

The use of CTP to achieve child protection outcomes is a relatively new practice. In emergency settings the programmes that have most frequently benefitted from the use of CTP have been alternative care programmes for separated and unaccompanied children and the prevention of child labour.

#### **Alternative Care Programmes**

Evidence shows that CTP can support alternative care programming with some success in emergency contexts. In Indonesia research identified a positive impact on children's development and wellbeing through the use of cash transfers for family strengthening, and has led to long-term policy change by the Government. In DRC the different methods of support suggest that conditionality enables better monitoring and clarifies the responsibilities of caregivers towards children. Both case studies highlight the importance of a joint Child Protection and FSL assessments to inform the design of CTPs in support of alternative care programming. The evidence also indicates that cash transfers should be part of a larger range of programme activities, such as awareness raising and life skills training, to be effective at reducing incidence of sexual exploitation.

#### **Prevention of Child Labour**

A large body of research and work focussing on CTP and child labour in non-emergency settings exists. The evidence demonstrates mixed impacts based on context and the form of labour being addressed. The main strength of the use of conditional cash transfers in child labour programmes is that they address poverty and economic vulnerability as the roots of the problem. However, many of the successful examples are in contexts where alternative activities such as education are free and of adequate quality. In Pakistan evidence shows that children of families receiving cash transfers sent their children to school when receiving the transfers, but it is unclear how long this will continue once grants end. Cash transfers are likely to be least effective at addressing some of the worst forms of child labour such as slavery, sexual exploitation, and engagement in armed forces or groups, due to the causal complexity of these forms of exploitation. It should also be noted that children should be safeguarded from exploitation in cash-for-work programmes, and that cash transfers that boost agricultural productivity can increase child labour. Design is very important in terms of the explicit and implicit objectives of the programme, the form it takes (CfW, Conditional or Unconditional Cash Grants), the amounts involved and the conditionality included. Cash transfer amounts must be sufficiently high to allow the household to meet the direct and indirect costs involved in complying with all the conditions it entails. These costs would include not only the lost income due to the withdrawal of children from work, but also the costs of the children's schooling (including tuition fees, uniform, school books, lunch, and transport)

if they were not attending school before the programme. The limited size of many cash transfers could account for the limited results of CTP.<sup>56</sup>

In other areas of child protection the potential for using cash transfers is under-explored. Evaluations from food security and livelihoods programmes in Swaziland and Kenya indicate that CTP may reduce transactional sex among children. Evidence on CTP outcomes for early marriage in emergency contexts is mixed as the drivers for forced early marriage change and are not only economically driven. Data from IRC programmes in Bujumbura demonstrates that CTP has the potential to improve children's wellbeing by reducing the stress that caregivers feel in meeting their survival needs. CfW activities can also indirectly to children's mental and psychosocial wellbeing by supporting the set-up and running of CFS'. Given that the reasons children become associated with armed forces and armed groups are variable, it seems unlikely that cash transfers alone can reduce association with armed forces or groups. Evidence strongly suggests that the use of cash transfers to support children's demobilisation can expose children to extortion and violence, and creates public resentment that actively undermines their reintegration in to home communities.

### **Indirect outcomes: Unintended or Indirect Child Protection Outcomes resulting from the use of Cash Transfer Programming in other Sectors**

Research<sup>57</sup> indicates that cash transfers to emergency-affected populations can have an impact on many aspects of a child's life, such as expenditure on children's health and education, increased expenditure on food, fuel, water and shelter for the whole household, as well as better prospects for long-term wellbeing as the family gains from investment in livelihoods. Cash is one of the only tools that can be used in emergencies to meet such a wide range of children's needs in one intervention.<sup>58</sup> In this section, the indirect impact of CTPs on child protection outcomes achieved through education, nutrition, food security and livelihoods programming will be explored.

#### **Education**

The positive impact of CTP on school enrolment rates and the link to reductions in incidence of school dropout are well documented. Yablonski and O'Donnell report that cash transfers are consistently found to have positive impacts on girls' education, suggesting that they can contribute to women's empowerment over the long term.<sup>59</sup> Duryea and Morrison also contend that CTP "are good at promoting certain outcomes such as school attendance."<sup>60</sup> In Zambia a pilot project of unconditional cash transfers run by the government led to a reduction of school absenteeism from of 40% to 21%.<sup>61</sup> Those interviewed felt this was due to the fact that beneficiaries were able to buy the items needed for children to be able to attend school. Also in Zambia, an Oxfam-funded project was found to protect school attendance in a year where the poorest would typically have withdrawn their children from school.

Whilst it is clear that children engaging in education is a sign that they are less likely to be involved in child labour (as noted in the cases of Brazil and Ecuador discussed in the section on child labour, above) the potential for cash transfers to impact upon education levels in emergencies is constrained by the level of service provision, development of the economy

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<sup>56</sup> Tabatabai, Hamid, *Conditional cash transfers and child labour: Experiences and opportunities*, IPEC, January, 2010

<sup>57</sup> Devereux et al., 2005; Gore and Patel, 2006 cited in Jaspars and Harvey; with Hudspeth and Rumble, 2007

<sup>58</sup> Jaspars and Harvey; with Hudspeth and Rumble, 2007

<sup>59</sup> Yablonski, Jennifer and O'Donnell, Michael, *Lasting Benefits: The Role of Cash Transfers in Tackling Child Mortality, Save the Children* 2009

<sup>60</sup> Duryea and Morrison quoted in Tabatabai, Hamid, *Conditional cash transfers and child labour: Experiences and opportunities*, IPEC, January, 2010

<sup>61</sup> Yablonski, Jennifer, *Children and Social Protection: Towards a package that works*, Save the Children, 2007

and the ability to meet other prioritised needs. In Sub-Saharan Africa, where the informal economy is dominant, working hours are more flexible. Children can be expected to work in the hours before and after school, thus cutting into their leisure and rest time. This phenomenon will often affect girls and boys in different ways. In Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire, boys were likely to combine work with school whilst during times of economic difficulty, girls would be pulled from education in order to work.<sup>62</sup> Given that in many countries the school timetable is built on a shift-system, it appears that children may be able to combine income-generating activities that ensure household wellbeing whilst still gaining the education they need.

As noted above, child labour has a significant negative correlation with education. Furthermore, once children are withdrawn from child labour, they are better protected against other forms of abuse, violence and exploitation. Education programmes are known to increase protection of children in a variety of ways across emergency contexts. Four key protective aspects of education are: 1) raising communities' awareness and ability to systematically respond to threats faced by children; 2) involving teachers in delivering disaster risk reduction and protection-related information to children and their families; 3) involving teachers in monitoring protection issues and responding to individual cases; and 4) mobilising children to initiate activities to protect themselves and their communities.<sup>63</sup> Thus the increase in enrolment rates experienced in the above examples point to a high probability of child protection outcomes, even if these were not specifically identified in evaluations.

### **Nutrition**

As part of a nutrition programme in Meket, Amhara, Ethiopia, Save the Children targeted pregnant women and lactating mothers with cash transfers and CfW programmes. The aims of the programme were: to assist chronically food insecure people to meet their immediate needs, to stimulate local markets and to learn lessons about linking relief with development and child nutrition support. A 2005 evaluation found that the CfW component led to reduced migration of beneficiaries seeking work, reduced women's time collecting firewood and doing chores, and increased breastfeeding of children. It is concluded that families were more likely to stay together and more time was spent caring for children, indirectly improving children's development and wellbeing and furthering their protection.

### **Food Security and Livelihoods**

In Kenya, Oxfam implemented a CTP reaching 3000 beneficiaries, where the recipients were primarily women. The objective was to improve food security with a monthly cash transfer of USD \$20. Early evidence showed that people were able to eat better and suffered less stress. Some women had been able to start, rebuild or expand small businesses, and others got their children back into school. Children were able to return home from living on the streets or were able to stop the practice of scavenging for food.

In response to the drought and food crisis of 2007/8, Save the Children-Swaziland set up a programme of food rations and unconditional cash transfers to bank accounts. Among the 1784 households were 68 child-headed households, who also received a mix of food- and cash-aid, but the cash was given to them directly. The rigorous monitoring and evaluation system included a control group that did not open bank accounts, receiving only food aid. Much adult spending was targeted at children. Education ranked third out of seven categories of expenditure. Those receiving combined cash and food were able to spend more on education, as those receiving only food would have to sell the food to get money to cover costs of other services. Child-headed households spent their money responsibly, prioritising basic needs followed by health and education. Beneficiary adults cited a reduction in girls engaging in transactional sex, less stealing among children, and better behaviour. A negative outcome resulted from children knowing that the cash transfer amount was calculated based

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<sup>62</sup> Thompson, Hannah, *The Future is Confiscated: A Child Rights Situation Analysis of Protection Issues in Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire*, unpublished, 2007

<sup>63</sup> Nicholai, Susan, Education that Protects, date and publisher unknown, <http://www.fmreview.org/textOnlyContent/FMR/22/05.htm>

upon the number of children in the household; in some cases individual children demanded their share of the money, resulting in inter-generational friction.

### **Conclusions on Indirect Outcomes: The unintended or indirect child protection outcomes resulting from use of Cash Transfer Programming in other Sectors**

To date, CTP in emergencies has usually aimed to address food security and livelihoods objectives rather than deliver outcomes in other sectors. Monitoring of household expenditure has shown that families use substantial amounts of the extra income on children's health, education and nutrition. The subsequent impact on children's protection is not negligible, but has rarely been measured or reported. An increase in education coupled with a reduction in child labour is a key impact. Education also improves the ability of children and families to negotiate against exploitation. Reduced family movement and secondary separation are also outcomes of CTP that have been noted. The information reviewed for this report suggests that nutrition programmes may also increase care to children. Programmes that use CTP to achieve food security and livelihoods objectives increase the food security of the whole family and therefore reduce the likelihood that children will get involved in transactional sex.

However, there are also risks to children's wellbeing as a result of the use of cash in emergency responses, including an increase in hours worked as children help to manage family assets, secondary separation as children are sent to live with others in order to access cash grants, or withdrawal from school as parents push their children to engage in CfW to increase the household income.

*All staff using CTP in emergency settings should ensure safeguards are in place to protect children, and that monitoring systems exist to ascertain both the positive and negative effects that programmes may have on children's wellbeing, irrespective of the overall objective of the programmes.*

## **6. Conclusions**

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By far the majority of CTPs in emergency settings aim to have an impact on food security and livelihoods of the beneficiaries they work with. The use of CTP to achieve child protection outcomes is a relatively recent approach. The review of literature and discussions with program staff have shown that in emergency settings, the child protection programmes that have most frequently benefitted from the use of CTP have been programmes for care of separated and unaccompanied children, cash transfers being one of several ways to support temporary family-based care in the community. Examples looked at included conditional cash transfers in Indonesia, Pakistan, Liberia and DRC, as well as unconditional cash transfers in DRC. Though not rigorously tested through evaluation research, preliminary indications are that conditional cash transfers are more effective at achieving Child Protection outcomes than unconditional cash transfers.

Cash transfers have also frequently been used in development programmes to reduce the incidence of child labour, in particular in countries in Latin America. In the case of both Ecuador and Brazil, CCTs have led to increased school enrolment and reduced child labour. Because these are middle-income countries with better services and more formal economies, it cannot be assumed that transferring these same programme models to emergency contexts will work. More rigorous study must be done on the possible impact on child labour from CCTs in emergency settings. Certain forms of child labour, such as recruitment and sex work, either have different root causes (not purely financial) or give such high financial benefits that cash transfers are not adequate to demonstrate a significant impact. In some instances CfW has been linked to negative outcomes for children, when under-aged children engage in harmful labour to access cash transfers, or when children take on the workload of carers accessing CfW schemes.

In other areas of child protection, the potential for cash transfers is under-explored, though there are reports from application of CTPs in other sectors, which lead us to believe positive outcomes are possible. Programmes in Kenya, Uganda and Swaziland saw reductions in risk-taking behaviour in sexual relationships. In Ethiopia, a nutrition-focused CTP kept families together, and in Zambia transfers have increased education retention at leaner times of the year, when children would often be pulled from classes. Poverty is known to be a key driver of child protection risks. This suggests that in emergency settings, where families have suffered significant economic shocks and loss of income, cash transfers can act as a deterrent. More research is needed to test the potential of CTPs in emergencies.

From these preliminary findings it can tentatively be concluded that conditional CTPs are the most suitable form of cash transfer to achieve child protection outcomes, as they rely on regular monitoring. However, given that some forms of conditionality require the existence of other services (schools, medical centers, etc.), the decision to impose conditions should be based on the socio-economic, political and cultural context.

A CTP does not have to target children directly to have positive impacts on their wellbeing.<sup>64</sup> Integrated programming between food security, livelihoods, protection, education, nutrition and health, more holistically addresses needs, promotes better outcomes and reduces the likelihood of recourse to negative coping mechanisms, while also making implementation more efficient.

Better monitoring and evaluation of CTPs aiming to achieve child protection outcomes is needed. Those working in sectors other than Child Protection should develop Monitoring and Evaluation systems collecting sex- and age-disaggregated data that would enable staff to better understand the unintended outcomes that are achieved and identify other ways to assist children in emergency contexts through the use of cash transfers. Evidence of the positive impact of CTPs on children within education, health, poverty and HIV in developing country contexts is encouraging. Many child protection concerns are brought about by poverty and a lack of resources, and this situation is exacerbated in chronic emergency and fragile state contexts. Therefore cash injections should be a valuable tool for preventing and responding to exploitation, abuse and violence against children. All sectors should remain conscious of the potential risks to children from CTPs and put in place mechanisms to protect them from harm.

## **7. Recommendations**

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Based upon the above findings and research some key recommendations are outlined below.

### **Areas for Further Research:**

- Monitoring and Evaluation processes for CTP in other sectors could look at child wellbeing indicators, assessing change in physical violence in the home, hours spent working, and education enrolment and retention rates, so that the impact of CTP on CP can be better understood
- Further more rigorous research should be conducted on the outcomes of CTP aimed at improving child wellbeing. In particular work should be done on those areas of CP where an evidence-base is most lacking, including psychosocial distress, sexual exploitation and physical violence
- Traditional FSL and CTP targeting is based on income categorisation of the beneficiaries, targeting those with the lowest asset wealth. However when taking into account child protection vulnerability, the Burundi and Ethiopia case studies indicate that household wealth measures may not be sufficient as families with resources such

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<sup>64</sup> Gore, Radhika, *Cash Transfers in Emergencies: A Review Drawing upon the tsunami and other experiences*, UNICEF, 2006



as cattle, land or shops could pull their children out of school to work. Additional research is needed in this area to ascertain if this is a general pattern. And if so, what questions or criteria should be included in vulnerability assessments which would identify the asset level and type of work for which this happens, and how this can be mitigated.

**Advice for All Programme Managers using CTP on how to ensure the safety of children:**

- When designing programmes ensure that children are consulted. Consider the possible negative impact your programme objectives and design can have on their wellbeing
- Collaborate with child protection staff to identify especially vulnerable children and think through ways they can be supported. Children may be direct beneficiaries of the CTP or supported by CTP conditionality
- For those programmes using cash transfers to achieve outcomes other than child protection far greater emphasis is needed on measuring the impact of their work on the lives of children. This can be promoted through the collection of sex- and age-disaggregated data and by including children in programme evaluations
- Ensure sufficient funding is committed from the outset to enable a response to child protection cases and thorough monitoring and evaluation that measures the impact on children separately from the impact on adults and other vulnerable groups
- Ensure that programming is sensitive to context-specific intra-household relations so that CTP does not lead to negative child protection outcomes, such as children being pulled from school to care for younger children whilst parents take part in CfW.
- Use the “Child Safeguarding in CTP” tool to ensure that risks to children are minimised

**Advice for Child Protection programme managers using CTP:**

- When using CTP, a rigorous M&E system must be in place from the outset, including a child protection baseline
- Monitor outcomes disaggregated by sex and age, as impact may be different for boys versus girls, and younger versus older children
- At this early stage in the development of CTP in emergencies, consider making a contribution to the global evidence-base by partnering with an external research group to conduct evaluation research, and disseminate the results widely
- Examine social and cultural patterns and behaviour and have these factors inform your programme design and objectives. For example with regards to early marriage, economic shocks caused by the emergency may not be the main driving factor and thus a CTP intervention will have limited effects. Entrenched social behaviours are harder to tackle with short-term emergency style interventions, so be realistic in programme objectives
- Coordinate with other humanitarian actors and the government to build an evidence-base specific to the context, in order to influence government, lobby donors and achieve long-term change that contributes to systems-building
- Address the holistic protection needs of children by building cash transfers into a fuller programme package, including case management, psychosocial support, non-formal education, care alternatives, advocacy and lobbying
- In order to maximise impact, integrate activities with actors in the education, FSL, health, and nutrition sectors, to holistically address the needs of children and their families. Integration of child protection CTP with FSL and education has already demonstrated success. Education-related conditionalities for CTP can be coupled with lobbying for other activities that promote a protective environment in schools

**Recommendations for Donors regarding CTP:**

- Increase investment in research on the impact of CTP on children in emergencies
- Require sex- and age-disaggregated data collection as a part of any funded project
- Where feasible, require that programmers build an independent evaluation research study into proposals, harmonizing data collection with monitoring and evaluation and

ensuring that sufficient budget is allocated to implementing a rigorous monitoring and evaluation systems

- Include child-safeguarding conditionality within contract compliance

### **Designing CTP to achieve CP outcomes:**

#### For all Cash Transfer Programming:

- Except in certain circumstances and under specified conditions, caregiver and heads of households should be beneficiaries of CTP rather than children
- Even when only targeting adults, evidence should still be gathered on the outcomes for children, as they typically make-up a large proportion of the vulnerable population
- When it is decided that child beneficiaries are appropriate, include only older children (adolescents) as beneficiaries of CfW, vouchers and grants programmes, ensuring that the approach is in line with national laws and the children's level of skill and competency.<sup>65</sup> If for example you are using a voucher scheme, is it possible that an older, more powerful trader will manipulate adolescents?
- If children are being targeted, ensure that parents or caregivers are aware of the programme and, where possible, have given written consent for the child's involvement in the programme
- Ensure child participation in all stages of the programme cycle, from assessment, programme design and implementation, and monitoring and evaluation to programme closure
- Harmonise across agencies so that entitlements are clear and transparent for beneficiaries

#### Cash for Work:

- The use of CfW should be exercised with caution due to the potential negative outcomes that can be observed on incidence of child labour. Careful screening needs to take place to ensure children do not take part in work that could be dangerous
- The minimum age for engaging children as beneficiaries is 15 years old for CfW unless the national legal working age is higher

#### Conditional cash transfers:

- Conditional cash transfers may benefit children from 11 years and above, depending on the context and their individual situation. For example for children without adult care or support, cash grants or vouchers may be suitable with close monitoring, depending on their age, level of ability and circumstances. Identifying a suitable mentor could help
- Cash transfer amounts must be high enough to allow the household to meet the direct and indirect costs involved in complying with all the conditions it entails. For example, these costs would include not only lost income due to the withdrawal of children from work, but also the costs of the children's schooling if they were not attending school before the programme

#### Adapt your CTP based on the Child Protection concerns faced by children being targeted:

- Generally it is recognised that unconditional cash transfers are more empowering for beneficiaries and are very likely to benefit children. However if the objective of your programme is to achieve child protection outcomes, using conditional cash transfers either as grants, vouchers or CfW, is more likely to be successful. Conditions such as school attendance should be attached to transfers to ensure benefits for children
- It is also helpful if the CTP is linked with social-work style interventions, so that regular monitoring of the child's progress takes place

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<sup>65</sup> It is possible for adolescents to take part in Cash-for-Work from a minimum age of 15 years old. If there is an in-country legal age limit apply this to your programme design, as long as it is not less than 15.

- Evidence suggests that different forms of CTP may be suitable for different child protection situations. Remember to make choices on the type of CTP you use based not only on the child protection concerns, but also on standards regarding CTP

For specific Child Protection interventions:

Children in foster care:

- Cash transfers should be given to foster carers in tranches with a clear code of conduct detailing expectations in relation to care and regular monitoring of the child.
- This type of cash transfer should be linked to child protection or social protection programmes that provide a range of support to carers and seek to identify and achieve long term care solutions
- The amount to be given should be based on the number of children placed with a caregiver. CTP in support for foster care has to be guaranteed for as long as foster care continues to be needed.
- Ensure the agencies harmonise responses so that treatment of foster carers and children is the same across the response

Children who were associated with armed forces and groups:

- UNICEF recommends against any form of cash transfer for ex-associated children<sup>66</sup> because of the high risks that children may be exposed to intimidation and violence, and face stigma in their communities
- Instead, consider supporting other members of the household into which the released child has been reintegrated, or include children and their families in livelihoods activities, as long as the children formally associated with armed groups and forces are part of a group with various vulnerabilities and the support is closely monitored
- Support for their reintegration may be best given as grants to the community as a whole with conditions that promote community livelihoods, awareness raising or social cohesion activities

Children who were engaged in sexually exploitative activities:

- Children in situations of sexual exploitation are best supported through conditional cash transfers and appropriate, adapted CfW activities
- Conditional cash transfers should be coupled with behavioural change and educational activities linked to vocation training, as well as long-term support for alternative livelihoods activities through, for example, skills building
- To be effective cash transfers should be longer-term, transitioning into social protection programmes where available

Severely distressed children:

- Severely distressed children may benefit from any form of CTP that would not affect the level of care the child receives. This should be given to the carers not the child and only after a careful psycho-social assessment of the child has taken place

Child-headed households:

- Conditional cash transfers and adapted CfW programmes are most suitable for child headed households

Adult able bodied carers with extremely vulnerable children who are susceptible to CP issues:

- Carers in this situation can be given any forms of CTP support in order to prevent them engaging themselves or their children in negative coping strategies
- This needs to be done carefully and linked to other programming to ensure the children's vulnerability will not be increased when the CTP is coming to an end

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<sup>66</sup> Jaspars and Harvey, A Review of UNICEF's Role in Cash Transfers to Emergency Affected Populations, UNICEF, October 2007

Child Labour:

- Short term CTPs can help prevent parents from withdrawing their children from school, because of a short-term drop in income
- Cash transfers should not be used with the explicit and sole aim to reduce child labour, as this may create the incentive for other families to send their children to work
- Child labour can be addressed in CTP that pursues other goals (i.e. livelihoods protection / promotion) that are compatible with and complementary to the objective of reducing child labour. A conditionality requiring parents to keep their children out of child labour may be helpful, even when it is not possible to monitor, as it raises awareness of the problem. If coupled with regular visits by a caseworker, and the engagement of teachers or community-based structures for monitoring purposes, the likelihood of the conditionally being effective is increased

Multiply vulnerable children:

- Where children are multiply vulnerable, meaning they have survived various forms of abuse, exploitation, violence and neglect, a case conference with several stakeholders from the child protection and food security and livelihoods team may help staff to draw conclusions on the best approach to take in order to support the individual child and their family

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- Monitoring Tools Liberia-v2
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- GANTT Chart - Workplan & Budget for Emergency Livelihoods
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