

Examples from practice and international discussion A contribution by Barbara Rohregger

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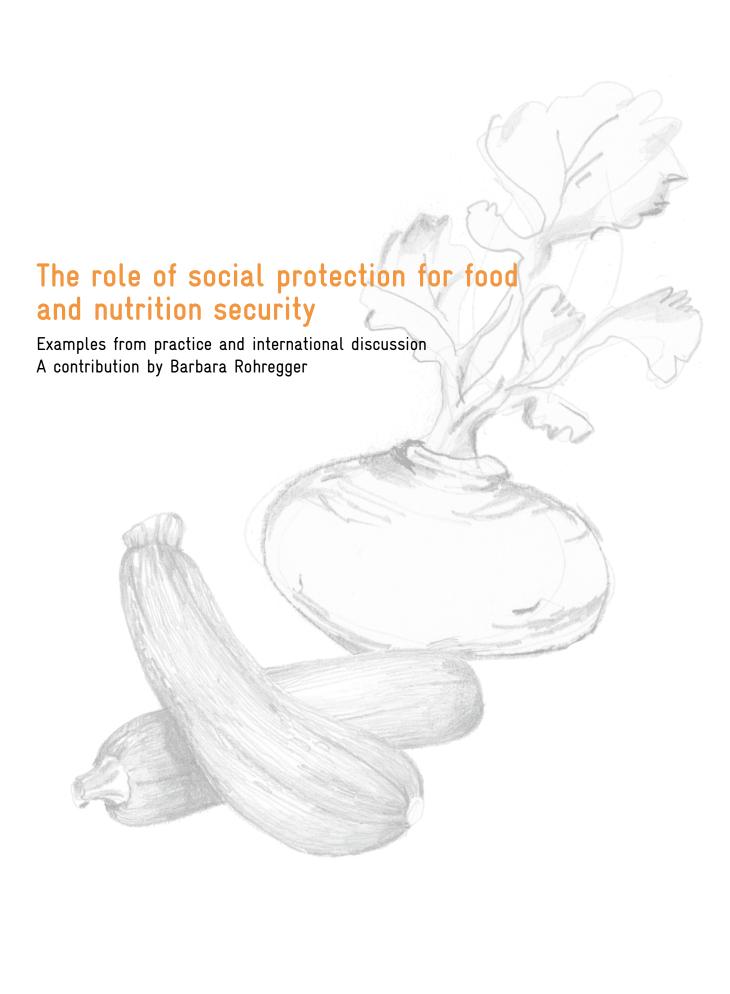




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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFSI L'Aquila Food Security Initiative (of the G8)

ARC African Risk Capacity (of the African Union)

BMZ Federal Ministry for Economic Development and Cooperation, Germany (Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche

Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung)

CHF Community Health Fund (Tanzania)

DFID Department for International Development (United Kingdom)

FAO Food and Agriculture Organization

GDP Gross Domestic Product

GIZ Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit GmbH

HARITA Horn of Africa Risk Transfer for Adaptation

HGSF Homegrown School Feeding
HLPE High Level Panel of Experts

HLTF High Level Task Force

ID-Poor Identification of Poor Households Programme (Cambodia)

IFAD International Fund for Agricultural Development
IFPRI International Food Policy Research Institute

ILO International Labour Organization

KfW KfW Development Bank (KfW Entwicklungsbank)
LRRD Linking Relief, Rehabilitation and Development

MGNREGA Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act

ODI Overseas Development Institute

OECD Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development

OVC Orphans and Vulnerable Children

PKH Program Keluarga Harapan (Indonesia)

PSNP Productive Safety Net Programme (in Ethiopia)

PtoP From Protection to Production
SDG Sustainable Development Goals

SEWOH Special Initiative 'One WORLD - No Hunger' (Sonderinitiative EINEWELT ohne Hunger)

SOFA State of Food and Agriculture

SUN Scaling Up Nutrition
UN United Nations

WASH Water, Sanitation and Hygiene
WDR World Development Report
WFP World Food Programme
WHO World Health Organization

FOREWORD

Social protection measures support rural households in crisis situations. They improve food and nutrition security and enable households to better deal with risks and invest in more profitable livelihoods. But they do a great deal more.

The importance of social protection for rural development is increasingly reflected in the international debate.

Linking ecological, economic and social dimensions is essential for the implementation of the United Nations' Agenda 2030 and its 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDG). To address the complex challenges called for under SDG 2 – end hunger and attain food security and better nutrition for all – multisectoral solutions will be required. In addition to the sufficient and sustainable production of healthy food for a growing world population, people need access to health care, clean water and education. They need employment opportunities to earn a decent income. Chronically poor people and those in acute emergency situations need a social safety net if they are to have access to balanced nutrition.

The leading multilateral organisations in the field of food and nutrition security have given social protection visibility in their concepts and approaches. Brazil and Ethiopia, as well as other developing and emerging countries, have established important social protection programmes as part of their agricultural and food and nutrition policies. In German Development Cooperation, however, the link between social protection and food and nutrition security has until recently received limited attention.

A first effort was made in 2013 with an expert workshop commissioned by the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ). The two sector programmes 'Systems of Social Protection and 'Agricultural Policy and Food Security', through which the Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit GmbH (GIZ) provides expert advice to the BMZ, agreed in early 2015 to deepen the discussion on linking food and nutrition security and social protection.

The present desk study is the first product of this cooperation. It is intended as a working document to support country interventions and professional meetings planned in the course of this cooperation.

This document aims to:

- Provide an overview of potential effects and corresponding evidence and studies
- Present examples of good practice
- Identify success factors and critical contextual conditions.
 These include linking agricultural with social policies and programmes, as well as design and implementation aspects.

Most of the world's inhabitants who suffer from hunger or food and nutrition insecurity live in rural areas (HLPE 2012). Some 750 million people – nearly two-thirds of the extremely poor – depend on agriculture for their livelihoods. This makes them particularly vulnerable to the negative effects of climate change because their income and their food and nutrition security depend directly on the weather (FAO 2016). With urbanisation, increasing numbers of poor people in cities are also affected by food and nutrition insecurity.

Social protection systems have grown significantly over the past five years and about a quarter of the world's poorest people have some form of coverage. However, most poor people, especially in low-income countries, continue to live without any form of social protection.

Countries' interest in investing in social protection is growing – in part as a result of scientific recognition of its effectiveness for poverty reduction and food and nutrition security, for human productivity, and for investment in agricultural and off-farm production (World Bank 2015).

This study focuses on rural areas and inhabitants. Its objective is to encourage better use of social protection's potential for food and nutrition security, and to integrate appropriate social protection measures into rural development concepts to improve the lives of the rural poor.

I would like to thank **Elke Kasmann**, **Annette Roth**, **Ingo Melchers**, **Wolf Berdel**, as well as the participants in the Food and Nutrition Security Workshop in Eschborn in July 2015, for their valuable comments and discussions. They have significantly contributed to the quality of this desk study.

Barbara Rohregger, Venice, 2017

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY: ENSURING FOOD AND NUTRITION SECURITY AND DEVELOPING RURAL AREAS

Social protection instruments ensure adequate food for all and enable even the poorest and most vulnerable segments of the population to acquire the essentials. If they are well designed, these instruments can do much more. They can improve the quality of diet, contribute to better education for women and girls, develop the productive and social infrastructure, conserve resources and galvanise the rural economy.

This comprehensive role of social protection is becoming increasingly important in the development context. Over the last decade many states have experienced rapid economic growth. However, development and prosperity have often remained limited to a very small, mostly urban elite. Poor populations in rural areas benefit little from this growth. This endangers internal cohesion and political stability in these societies, some of which are threatened with collapse of the state or struggling with mass migrations. For economic development to be broadly effective and sustainable, social redistribution and participation of all citizens in development and prosperity are necessary. Without inclusion through social protection instruments, growth remains fragile, including in regard to peace and security.

Climate change, rapid population growth and the accompanying increase in resource shortages, as well as the consequences of HIV/AIDS, generate additional pressure on the countries of the South. The hardest hit are the poorest populations. The economic dynamism of many countries exacerbates inequalities and creates social and political tensions, which are reflected in a strong urban-rural divide.

Furthermore, there is an increasing number of countries with long-standing armed conflicts. In such fragile contexts, social protection instruments are particularly relevant, as they defuse political conflicts and strengthen peace processes. Stable political conditions are a prerequisite for economic development, growth and innovation as well as for sustainable food and nutrition security. Social protection measures stabilise growth and development, and prevent people in vulnerable situations from becoming further impoverished or passing on poverty to the next generation. When external influences such as price shocks or crises on the world market threaten to jeopardise development gains, social protection measures also help keep the less poor from falling back below the poverty threshold.

A clear political commitment by partner countries to invest specifically in social protection measures is a prerequisite for success. These should be increasingly linked to measures for health care, education for balanced nutrition and hygiene, rural development and other economic and employment policies – with the explicit goal of ensuring and maintaining access to healthy nutritional food for all. Such measures require reinforced cross-sectoral dialogue and cooperation with civil society, the private sector and research institutions. Furthermore, policy dialogue must also involve the local actors and institutions that will implement projects in rural areas.

A clear political commitment to sustainable food and nutrition security and a 'Zero Hunger' goal must also come from the donor community. Cross-sectoral cooperation linking social protection with rural development strategies should also be strengthened in German Development Cooperation.

In 2015, in the context of its G7 presidency, Germany committed to a comprehensive concept of food security which applies an integrated and cross-sectoral approach. The special initiative 'One World – No Hunger' (SEWOH – acronym of 'Sonderinitiative EINEWELT ohne Hunger') of the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) implements this approach. SEWOH's focus is to strengthen agricultural production of smallholder farms and sustainable management of soils through innovation and knowledge transfer, and to promote knowledge about healthy diets, storage and preparation of food, as well as hygiene measures. Access to land, clean drinking water, health care and social protection are also essential to reach the goal set in Elmau in 2015 of freeing 500 million people from hunger and malnutrition.



Background

All people are exposed to social and economic risks in the course of their lifetime. Due to their weak economic, social, political and cultural position, children, people with disabilities, female-headed households, orphans, the chronically ill, the elderly and ethnic minorities are more strongly and violently affected by these hazards than other population groups. They have few resources to counter these risks on their own. For this reason, social protection, like the right to food, is a human right, defined as such in Article 22 of the 1948 Declaration of Universal Human Rights.

The world's growing population and accelerated structural changes in the rural environment have again focused the development policy debate on the importance of rural areas for food and nutrition security, sustainable economic growth and the fight against poverty. Both population growth and the restructuring of the rural environment are exacerbating the situation. Over the next 20 years, several hundred million people will migrate to the world's big cities and medium-sized urban centres. In rural areas, the economic and social differentiation process is becoming increasingly evident.

The different rural population groups have varying needs for public support programmes and policies. Public commodities such as electricity, infrastructure, education and health, as well as information and communication technology, are required by all. Millions of family farms also require specific policies to make their enterprises competitive and hence viable for the future, as well as to meet the soaring demand for agricultural products. Other, more vulnerable groups will depend temporarily or permanently on specific social protection measures, in order to survive at all.

In addition to these profound demographic and social changes, further causes play a role in the increasing importance of social protection for food and nutrition security. The rising number of food crises in southern and eastern Africa at the beginning of the millennium have led to a radical rethinking of humanitarian aid. Many of these seemingly unpredictable hunger crises are the consequence of structural causes, which can be foreseen and therefore influenced. As a result, medium- and long-term approaches to food and nutrition security that go beyond emergency and transitional aid and which include social protection are being developed. Hunger is no longer discussed solely as a problem of food production but as a problem of structural poverty. Often, it is not the lack of food but the difficulty in getting access to it that causes hunger and malnutrition.

In this way the international debate attributes an increasingly important role to social protection in ensuring food and nutrition security. The leading multilateral organisations in this thematic area, particularly the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), the World Food Programme (WFP) and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) have prominently integrated social protection into their concepts and approaches. Likewise, certain developing and emerging countries – notably Brazil and Ethiopia – have established major social protection programmes as part of their agricultural and food and nutrition security policies.

Social protection for food and nutrition security

Social protection combats poverty and hunger in various ways. It covers the most fundamental needs, prevents risks, transforms these and promotes growth. In practice, it is not always possible to separate these different functions of social protection.

Social transfers are an important social protection measure that have an immediate poverty-reducing effect by providing people in crisis situations with immediate access to food and other essential consumer goods (security dimension). At the same time, they support long-term structural changes. Regular cash transfers increase productivity and diversify the income portfolio. This allows households and individuals to better deal with future crises (preventive and productive dimension). Cash transfers allow marginalised population groups, who had not benefited from government measures and had no claim to state support, to participate in social goods such as health services and education (transformative effect).

While rural development instruments and approaches are aimed primarily at households with able-bodied members, social protection in rural areas is also aimed at households with little or no productivity. These households are particularly affected by food insecurity, poverty and hunger. They include not only female-and child-headed households, but also those of ethnic minorities and older people, the chronically ill or people with disabilities.

With regard to food security, German Development Cooperation aligns its definition with that of the FAO. It distinguishes four dimensions:

- 1. Sufficient availability of food
- 2. Safe access to food
- 3. Appropriate, needs-based use and utilisation of food
- 4. Stability.

Social protection measures make a specific contribution to all four dimensions. Through the transfer of food and money or corresponding vouchers, people can improve and stabilise their food and nutrition security. Social transfers allow households to consume more food. They also contribute to dietary diversification, as people can obtain higher-quality and more varied food with the additional money.

Regular cash transfers for the purchase of food help households stabilise their food consumption, especially in crisis situations. The investment of cash transfers in agricultural production or the direct transfer of agricultural inputs such as seeds or fertiliser increases production and thus sufficient availability of food. Transfers have positive effects on the long-term stability of food security.

Better access to health services, adapted health insurance systems, or making social transfers conditional on the use of health services improve the general health of the population. Good health is an important prerequisite for the effective utilisation of nutrients by the body.

A small 'ABC' of social protection

Instruments in the context of food and nutrition security

Unconditional cash transfers are transfer payments which are mainly aimed at very poor and marginalised population groups with little production potential, to bridge temporary income or food shortages, or to fight poverty in the long term.

Conditional cash transfers link receipt of transfer payments to conditions such as participation in health or education measures.

Public works programmes are widely used in rural areas for short- and medium-term bridging of crises. They associate the productive and the protective dimensions.

Transfers of production inputs can include, for instance, fertiliser, seeds, animals and agricultural training measures.

School feeding programmes provide schoolchildren with foodstuffs, which increasingly are produced by local farmers.

Vouchers for agricultural production or food can give access to foodstuffs, production inputs or services.

Subsidies can be provided for food, consumer goods and means of production.

Social insurance systems are contribution-financed insurance schemes such as pension funds, unemployment and health insurance.

Micro-insurance schemes are solidarity-funded local or regional group insurance, mainly for workers in the informal sector.

National food reserves are food storage centres that ensure a basic supply of staple foods for the population during food shortages.

Success factors and contextual conditions

Focused targeting: Social protection measures in rural areas can have complementary effects, since they involve population groups that benefit little from rural development measures.

Multisectoral and multi-stakeholder approaches: Poverty and malnutrition have multiple causes that cannot be effectively addressed by a single sector or stakeholder. Multisectoral approaches go beyond the production-enhancing approaches of agricultural economics and rural development and involve a variety of policy areas.

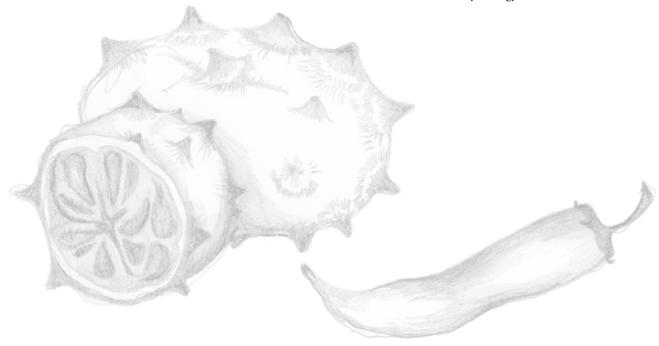
Nutrition-sensitive approaches: These reinforce the positive effects of existing social protection programmes on food and nutrition security through targeted linking to measures that improve the nutritional quality of diets and the health of beneficiaries. These measures include nutrition and hygiene education.

Financial sustainability / affordability: Social protection programmes are also affordable for medium- and low-income countries. The International Labour Organization (ILO) estimates that a basic social protection package (old-age pension, family support and support for people with disabilities) would cost between 2.2 and 5.7 % of gross domestic product in most low-income countries of Africa and Asia (ILO 2011). Development cooperation can initiate social protection measures, but in the long term, countries must be able to finance their own programmes.

Expandability of social protection mechanisms: Programmes are only effective on a macroeconomic level if they are large enough, can quickly integrate new poverty groups, and react flexibly and rapidly to new poverty situations and risks.

Local governance: A functioning management organisation requires strong institutional and administrative structures, especially at the local level.

Political dimension of social protection: Political will and commitment to change are prerequisites for any successful development intervention. This applies in particular to long-term interventions such as social protection measures or a comprehensive food and nutrition security strategy.



1. 'LEAVE NO ONE BEHIND'2 - INTRODUCTION AND HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

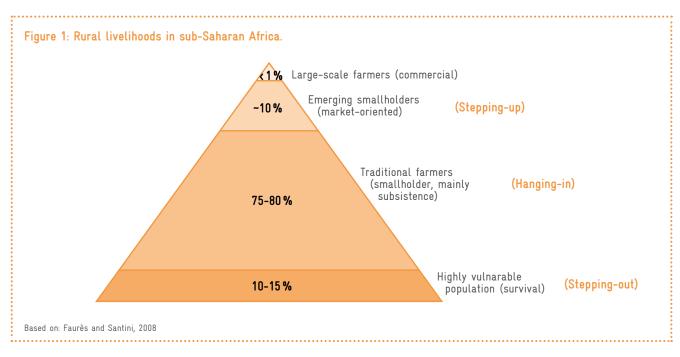
The world's growing population and accelerated structural change in rural areas have once again focused the development policy debate on the importance of rural development for food and nutrition security, poverty reduction and sustainable economic growth.³

Over the next 20 years, several hundred million people in Africa and Asia will migrate to metropolises and mid-sized cities. Meantime, the economic gap in rural areas is widening. Although average worldwide poverty rates are falling, the number of extremely poor people in sub-Saharan Africa is rising despite economic growth. The poor are predominantly young (14 years old or younger), live in rural areas (80% of the world's poor), have little formal education and work in agriculture (World Bank 2016).

Dorward et al. (2009) were the first to describe these 'different rural worlds' in the form of a pyramid (see also OECD 2006, Faurès and Santini 2008, Michael Brüntrup 2016). Figure 1 shows that a small number of large, commercial, internationally competitive enterprises sit at the top of this pyramid. In sub-Saharan Africa, these account for less than one per cent of the rural population (Faurès and Santini 2008). Next come small and medium-sized family farms as well as entrepreneurs whose access to certain markets and inputs gives them an opportunity to climb the rural hierarchy. These are followed by many smaller and very small-scale farms, most living on subsistence agriculture and with limited access to markets and inputs. In sub-Saharan Africa these very small farms represent on average 75-80% of the rural population. Most will remain in this situation.

People without land, also described as the 'chronically poor', constitute the base of the pyramid and represent 10-15% of the population in sub-Saharan Africa. To ensure their economic survival, they will opt out of the agricultural development process. In the coming decade, a significant portion of the landless will either migrate away from rural areas or try to find non-agricultural employment (Ibid.) Low income from agriculture, lack of jobs in other sectors and negative climatic influences accelerate decisions to migrate (GIZ 2014).

The various rural population groups have different needs for public support programmes and policies. All need public goods such as electricity, infrastructure, social protection, education, health and information and communication technology. Millions of family farms urgently need specific policies to make their businesses competitive and sustainable, and to satisfy the soaring demand for agricultural products. Other, more vulnerable groups cannot secure their nutrition or even survive without temporary or permanent social protection. These groups are targeted by the BMZ with the basic maxim 'Leave no one behind!'.³



² Leave no one behind' is a key concept of the post-2015 Development Agenda and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) which aim at attaining a more balanced and equitable development for all. The principle that none of the targets can be considered achieved so long as this is not the case for all, underlines the need for inclusion of the poorest people and the most vulnerable groups (Melamed 2015).

³ See also: BMZ 2015, FAO 2008, WDR 2008, SUN 2011, HLPE 2013.

Social protection, like the right to food, is a human right. It is defined in Article 22 of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights. All people face social and economic risks during their lifetimes, and these can be mitigated by instruments of social protection. Vulnerable groups are particularly dependent on these instruments because, due to their weak economic, social, political and cultural position, they are less resilient than other population groups and cannot adequately absorb risks on their own. In addition, traditional safety nets are increasingly overburdened due to severe weather events, climate change-induced droughts, food price fluctuations and the increasing number of people in need due to strong population growth. The poorest inhabitants of rural areas are also the most dependent on traditional safety nets for their survival.

In addition to helping adjust to these profound demographic and social changes, social protection for food and nutrition security is becoming increasingly important for other reasons. The growing number of food crises in southern and eastern Africa at the beginning of the millennium has led to a radical rethinking of humanitarian aid. Many of these seemingly unpredictable hunger crises are in fact the consequence of structural – and therefore predictable and influenceable – causes. As a result, emergency and transitional aid now incorporate medium- and long-term approaches for food and nutrition security. These include social protection measures (FAO 2010, 2010a). Hunger is no longer discussed exclusively as a problem of food production, but as a problem of structural poverty. It is not the lack of food but people's lack of access to it that often generates hunger and malnutrition (Ibid.; BMZ 2015; World Development Report 2014).

In 2012, about 70% of the 793 million people affected by hunger worldwide lived in rural areas (HLPE 2012), which is where food is produced. Yet research in 56 countries showed that rural children have a 1.37 times higher chance of diet-related stunting than children growing up in urban areas (Save the Children 2016). In certain countries, for instance Peru, children in rural areas experience a diet-related growth delay three times higher than children in cities (prevalence of respectively 33% and 11%, Ibid.).

Rural areas are often more economically and socially disadvantaged than urban areas, and their populations exposed to greater risks, particularly weather-related ones (IFAD 2016). Ensuring available and accessible public services is a challenge in many rural areas because of their lower population densities. As a result, rural populations have fewer mechanisms they can turn to in the event of a shock (Ibid., Save the Children 2016).

The aim of a broader approach to food and nutrition security is to directly combat the causes of poverty, in order to reduce poor people's vulnerability in crisis situations and to enhance their resilience. The need for a comprehensive approach to food and nutrition security is emphasised by numerous international initiatives, in particular SUN (Scaling Up Nutrition)⁴, the Comprehensive Framework for Action and the UN High Level Task Force on Global Food and Nutrition Security – an association of 22 organisations active in this domain such as IFAD, FAO and WFP (FAO 2004; FAO 2014; FAO et al. 2015).⁵ They consider social protection systems key to combating the structural causes of food and nutrition insecurity – along with better access to markets, professionalisation of smallholder farms, the promotion of non-agricultural employment in rural areas and better public infrastructure (HLTF 2010).

⁴ The SUN initiative of more than 100 actors, including governments, NGOs, the EU Commission, bilateral and multilateral organisations and UN agencies, calls for a stronger focus of development programmes on food security. This is to be pursued, among others, by: 1) advocacy for food security and benchmarking of national initiatives to achieve food security, 2) focusing development on food security: nutritional security as a goal of national development in agriculture, food provision, social protection, health and education, 3) specific nutritional interventions with improvement of the food situation as their primary goal. These should be accessible to all at all times, but especially during pregnancy, in the first two years of life and in emergency situations (SUN Road Map 2011).

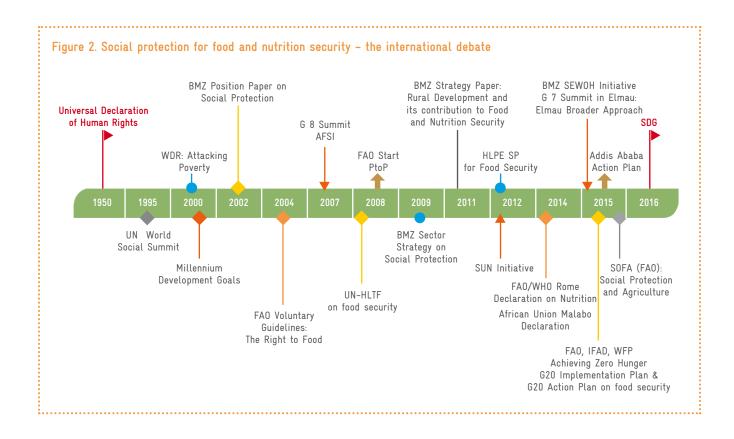
FAO's Voluntary Guidelines for the progressive realisation of the right to adequate food in the context of national food security underline in Guideline No. 14 the importance of social safety nets for the realisation of the right to food: States should consider, to the extent that resources permit, establishing and maintaining social safety and food safety nets to protect those who are unable to provide for themselves.' (FAO 2004: p.25). In 2014, member states of FAO and WHO adopted the Rome Declaration on Nutrition and Framework for Action with recommendations for policies and programmes on nutrition. The framework for action underlines the importance of social protection through two recommendations (FAO 2014; 2015). The Zero Hunger strategy of the main UN agencies in the field of agriculture and food security emphasises the importance of a combined approach, which includes on the one hand investments in social protection programmes, particularly cash transfers, and on the other hand investments in rural development and rural infrastructure (FAO et al. 2015).

The importance of multisectoral approaches for food and nutrition security is also emphasised by the High Level Panel of Experts (HLPE), the scientific advisory board of the UN Committee on World Food Security (2012). An important target group for the HLPE includes potential mothers, pregnant women, lactating mothers and young children (SUN 2011; HLPE 2012; HLTF 2010).

The rural environment requires an adapted and targeted approach. Rural areas are often particularly exposed to climate- and weather-related shocks, with far-reaching consequences for a population that depends on agriculture and therefore the weather. Because poverty and hunger are often concentrated in rural areas (IFAD 2016; FAO 2016), the need for programmes geared specifically to vulnerable people in rural areas appears evident. However, to date few programmes explicitly address this important target group (IFAD 2016).

To better understand the effects of social protection on agriculture and rural development and to strengthen coordination between the two sectors, in 2008 the FAO, together with UNICEF, DFID and a number of African states, launched a research programme called 'From Protection to Production' (PtoP) . It is part of the global learning programme 'The Transfer Project' and its objective is to investigate cash transfer programmes in sub-Saharan Africa and their productive impacts on households (agricultural production, employment, fitness for work, investments) and local economic cycles (The Transfer Project n.d.). The findings from this research should help strengthen South-South dialogue on social protection for food security among African countries⁶.

Under the G8's 'L'Aquila Food Security Initiative' (AFSI), Germany has committed to additional financial support and a more strategic focus of its development policy on rural development and food and nutrition security. In 2015, Germany assumed the presidency of the G7 and committed itself to a comprehen-



sive concept of food and nutrition security. This builds on a wide range of measures, applies an integrated and cross-sectoral approach to food and nutrition security, and aims to strengthen the rural population's productive potential (Annex to the Final Declaration of the G7 Summit, 07-08 June 2015). These measures specifically include poor segments of the population and smallholder farms and focus on measures to safeguard soil and land use rights. Nutrition-sensitive measures are to be intensified in key sectors – agriculture, social protection, water, sanitation and hygiene, health, education and improved food systems. Furthermore, diversified food production is to be strengthened to ensure a balanced diet and improved nutrition (Ibid.).

The Special Initiative 'One WORLD – No Hunger' (SEWOH), launched by the BMZ in 2014, promotes an integrated approach to food and nutrition security. In 'green innovation' centres, training, research and advisory services will improve the income of smallholder farms, raise productivity and increase employment in the context of the agricultural value chain. The global initiative 'Food security and enhancing resilience' focuses on improved quality and diversity of food for pregnant women, mothers, infants and others suffering from malnutrition, as well as better access to and long-term availability of food. This can be achieved by promoting local know-how on hygiene measures and on use, storage and preparation of food, as well as better access to drinking water, health care and social protection (BMZ 2015).

'One WORLD – No Hunger' is being implemented by German executing agencies in 16 countries in Africa and Asia.⁷ It is accompanied by a comprehensive research component, which also sheds light on the role of social protection for effective food and nutrition security.

⁷ The SEWOH Special Initiative ('Sonderinitiative EINEWELT ohne Hunger') has as focus areas Benin, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Kenya, Mali, Malawi, Nigeria, Togo, Tunisia, Yemen and Zambia (see also Annex 1).



2. SOCIAL PROTECTION FOR FOOD AND NUTRITION SECURITY: CONCEPTS AND DEFINITIONS

Social protection measures combat poverty and hunger and thus support a key objective of rural development and food and nutrition security.

Four functions of social protection can be distinguished by their effects:

- 1. Safeguarding: Social protection is designed to help people overcome social and economic risks and to alleviate their consequences. Social protection ensures a socio-economic minimum for all. In addition to life-cycle risks such as illness, unemployment, maternity, childhood, old age, death or migration, social protection helps people confront economic risks due to crop failure, famine or armed conflict. In this context, social protection contributes above all to stabilising consumption and protecting livelihoods.
- 2. Preventing risk: These measures prevent people in crisis situations from sacrificing essential elements of their livelihood and sliding into deeper poverty, for instance by selling their means of production or removing their children from school. Risk prevention strengthens resilience and diversifies livelihoods.
- **3. Promoting growth:** Social protection plays a significant role in growth and development. By raising household incomes, social protection sets local economic cycles in motion. This productive potential of social protection can be enhanced through agricultural and other training programmes, making important contributions to livelihoods.⁸
- **4. Transforming risk:** This aspect includes social protection measures which reduce the vulnerability of households and individuals caused by economic, social or political exclusion. These measures make an important contribution to inclusion of marginalised communities (Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler 2004).

In practice, it is not always possible to separate these different functions of social protection. Individual social protection mechanisms can also combine several functions and produce varying results depending on the context and situation. Social transfers have a direct poverty-reducing effect, since they provide people in crisis situations with immediate access to food and other essential consumer goods (safeguarding dimension).

They also support long-term structural changes. Regular cash transfers can increase productivity and diversify the income portfolio. This allows families and individuals to better deal with future crises (preventive and productive dimensions). By enabling marginalised population groups that have been excluded from government measures to participate in social goods such as health services or schools, cash transfers also have a transformative effect.

Linking protective and productive functions highlights the multisectoral character of social protection. Rather than a clear separation between social protection measures and measures for rural development and food and nutrition security, there are multiple overlaps among the implementing policies and sectors. Ministries of agriculture or economy apply many instruments for rural development and food security which, due to their social protection function and focus on vulnerable groups, are also instruments of social protection. These include market-based and production-based approaches such as subsidising food and means of production like fertiliser, seed, transfer of production inputs or national food reserves.

Complementarities and overlaps can also be seen in the target groups for social protection and rural development measures. While rural development is mainly aimed at households whose members are able to work, social protection also targets households in rural areas that are less productive and suffer from food and nutrition insecurity, poverty and hunger. These include households headed by women or children, families of ethnic minorities and households with elderly people, the chronically ill or people with disabilities.

German Development Cooperation has adopted the FAO's definition of food security. This distinguishes four dimensions:

- 1. Sufficient availability of food
- 2. Secure access to food
- 3. Appropriate, needs-based use and utilisation of food
- 4. Stability.

⁸ Devereux and Guenther 2007; Devereux, Sabates-Wheeler and Guenther 2008; Slater and McCord 2009; Dorward et al. 2008.

⁹ Devereux 2007; HLPE 2012; ODI 2013

The transfer of vouchers, food or money enables people to stabilise their food and nutrition security. Because they allow households to consume more food, social transfers improve access to food. They ensure dietary diversity, since beneficiaries are able to acquire varied and higher quality foods. Recent studies have shown that in many countries the prices of high-quality – i.e. micronutrient-rich – foods such as vegetables, legumes and fruit have risen relatively faster than those of staple foods (Wiggins et al. 2015).

Cash transfers that enable households to buy foodstuffs stabilise food and nutrition security in crisis situations. Investing cash transfers or the direct transfer of production inputs such as seed or fertiliser into agricultural production increases production and the sufficient availability of food. This has positive impacts for the long-term stability of food and nutrition security (see Figure 3).

Box 1: What is social protection?

Social protection measures support households in coping with social and economic risks. These include: 1) life-cycle risks such as old age, childhood, maternity, disability or incapacity to work, 2) health risks such as illness, accidents or epidemics, 3) economic risks such as unemployment and price shocks, and 4) natural and ecological risks such as drought, floods, storms and earthquakes.

Social protection systems help (i) to ensure an absolute socio-economic minimum level for all, (ii) to prevent households from sliding into poverty, (iii) to encourage people to invest in education, health and productive physical capital and to improve their socio-economic situation through their own efforts and (iv) to integrate poor and marginalised populations socially, economically and politically (BMZ 2009).

Another field where social protection intervenes is health care. Adapted health insurance systems and conditional social transfers improve the health status of a population. Where public works programmes and cash transfers ensure continuous access to food, those affected can bridge crisis situations. If transfer programmes provide access to health care or clean drinking water, especially in times of crisis such as seasonal food insecurity, the body can utilise the food that is eaten more effectively.

An important prerequisite for sustainable and stable food and nutrition security is the sequential and coherent association of short-, medium- and long-term measures. In the LRRD approach (Linking Relief, Rehabilitation and Development), humanitarian and transitional aid play a key role. Humanitarian aid intervenes in the aftermath of disasters and conflicts in cooperation with the international community and provides immediate emergency aid. Its goal is to save human lives and alleviate suffering. Transitional aid, depending on the situation, can intervene either during or after humanitarian aid. Transitional aid should facilitate the transitions between short-, medium- and long-term measures and create the initial, viable bases for sustainable development.

Box 2: What is food security?

'Food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life.' (FAO 2004)

Food security is ensured when the following four dimensions are realised:

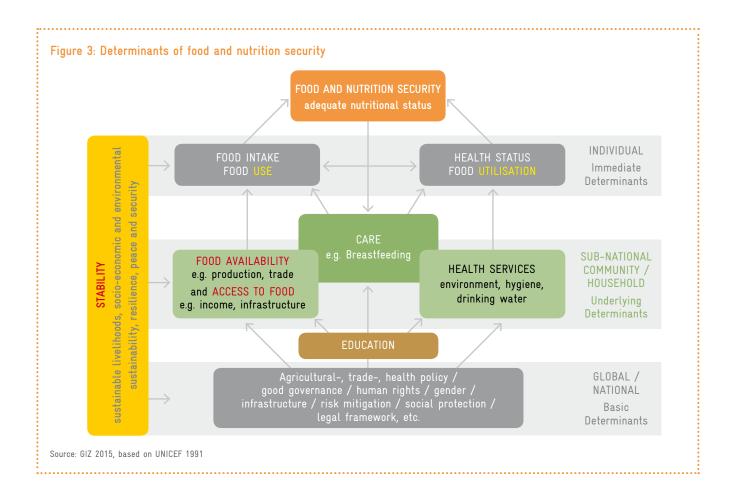
- (i) Sufficient food of appropriate quality
- (ii) Secure access to food: If all households have access to production resources and have enough manpower, knowledge, capital and income to be able themselves to produce, exchange, acquire or obtain food (see Figure 3).
- (iii) Appropriate use and utilisation of food in function of need: Both in the household, with adequate food quality, preparation of healthful meals, processing and storage, and in the individual, with effective utilisation of the nutrients by the organism. Here the person's state of health, which is defined by the environment (clean drinking water, hygiene and sanitation), and access to health-care services play a decisive role.
- (iv) 'Stability' describes the durability of the food security and refers to the time dimension of all three preceding aspects. A distinction is made between chronic insecurity and temporary insecurity in the wake of short-term external shocks or recurring bottlenecks, for example, shortly before the upcoming harvest (Welthungerhilfe 2014).



Based on three coordinated intervention packages that provide short-, medium- and long-term support, food supply for the affected population should be stabilised and improved, and their consumption of adequate, safe and nutritious foods guaranteed. The objective is to restore people's autonomy relatively quickly. Time-bound social transfers include conditional and unconditional transfers of cash, vouchers and food. They improve access to food and, through special nutrition programmes, reduce malnutrition in infants, young children, pregnant and lactating women.

Interventions to boost agricultural production include roads, markets and irrigation systems, erosion control and reforestation, transfer of knowledge and skills in production technology, and the distribution of seeds. Their purpose is to increase food availability and to restore the livelihood of the population. Transitional aid can also include health, water, sanitation, hygiene (WASH) and education measures.

While transitional aid with its time-bound measures establishes the foundation for durable reconstruction and development, long-term rural development measures are aimed at creating sustainable structures. In this way, food and nutrition security should be maintained in the long term, averting food crises following disasters and conflicts and reducing the scale of emergency aid measures. Long-term rural development measures include long-term social protection programmes such as cash transfer programmes, health insurance or public works programmes. These long-term measures are additional to agricultural measures that increase production, technical innovations and land reforms. They are designed to interrupt and prevent cyclical and one-time crises. This also makes sense financially: aid after disasters and conflicts is far more expensive than long-term, preventive support.



2.1 Instruments of social protection for food and nutrition security

Figure 4 presents a series of social protection instruments that have particular significance for rural development and food and nutrition security. This section provides a brief overview of the most important mechanisms, how they function and their effects on food and nutrition security.

Public works programmes are a special form of social protection. They link productive and protective dimensions. Especially in rural areas, they are widely used for short- and medium-term bridging of crises. These programmes offer temporary jobs to poor people on public infrastructure projects such as building roads, schools, hospitals, water basins or dams, or measures for soil conservation and rehabilitation of soil fertility (Guenther 2007). In return, workers are paid a fixed hourly wage in cash, in kind or as food vouchers. There are also long-term programmes that offer guaranteed minimum employment to people in need. These include the Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP) in Ethiopia or the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA) in India. In the short term, public works programmes aim to increase household income to enable access to and consumption of food. The medium- and longterm aim is to improve agricultural infrastructure and productive assets, and create sustainable income opportunities for food-insecure households.

Cash transfers are direct money transfers for very poor and marginalised communities with low production potential. They bridge temporary income or food shortages, increase household income, improve access to food and therefore increase consumption (Bastagli, F. et al. 2016). Longer-term cash transfers protect and strengthen productive livelihoods, making an important contribution to structurally combating poverty. People who regularly receive transfer payments are more productive and willing to invest in riskier activities. This broadens their income portfolio and protects them against future crises. This is especially true for those poor who can work - in households where grandparents live with their grandchildren, for example, this is not the case. Cash transfers galvanise local economic cycles and have an economic multiplier effect (Thome, K. et al. 2016). Higher purchasing power attracts demand for certain products and services and has positive effects on local production and new employment opportunities. This is especially true for poor communities (Hailu and Soares, 2009 for Brazil).

Conditional cash transfers are linked to participation in health or education measures, and thereby strengthen the positive effects of the transfer on food and nutrition security. The healthier and more educated the population, the better the appropriate, needs-oriented use and utilisation of food. In rural development, transfer payments can also be conditional on participating in agricultural training measures. This approach aims to strengthen synergies between social protection mechanisms and the objectives of rural development.

Direct transfers in kind include classic food aid, other measures for food and nutrition security, direct inputs for production, or services. These include fertilisers, seeds, animals and agricultural training programmes. The aim in the short term is improved food availability, and in the long term an increase in productivity (Dorward et al. 2008). Target groups are the rural poor who can work, but have little or no means of production. Production inputs can go beyond classical agricultural products. For instance, the Household Extension Packages Service in Ethiopia, in addition to agricultural transfers such as seed, fertiliser or animals, also offers benefit packages for keeping bees or raising silkworms (Devereux and Guenther 2007). Introduction of such 'niche' products seeks to tap into alternative sources of income in rural areas to help diversify livelihoods and strengthen resilience (Ibid.).

School feeding programmes make food available to schoolchildren. There are two types of programmes:

- 1) School feeding programmes which take place in school, and
- 2) Food rations for schoolchildren to take home. In this approach, the children's families receive food if they send their children to school (WFP 2013). A specific type is the so-called Home-Grown School Feeding programme. These programmes provide meals using foodstuffs locally produced by small farmers. This approach has positive impacts on education, health and nutrition of schoolchildren, develops local markets for small farmers and promotes local development (World Food Programme n.d.).

Figure 4: Overview of social protection instruments for food and nutrition security

| Orientation of food and nutrition security | Instruments of social protection | |
|---|--|---|
| Food and nutrition security through transfers | Cash transfers | Conditional cash transfers |
| | | Regular, general or needs-based money transfers |
| | Food transfers | • School feeding |
| | | Supplementary feeding |
| | | Food vouchers |
| | Social insurance systems | Contributory social protection systems at national level, e.g. health and old age insurance |
| | Micro insurance systems | Mutual insurance companies (community- based and cooperative approaches), e.g. health insurance |
| | | Commercial microinsurance, e.g. life insurance |
| | Provision of social services | • Education |
| | | • Health |
| | | Social work, etc. |
| Food and nutrition security through access to work | Cash- or Food-for-Work Programmes | Intensive short-term public works programmes |
| | | Public works programmes with a guaran- teed minimum employment duration |
| Food and nutrition security through reinforcement of production | Input subsidies (fertiliser, seed, fuel) | |
| | Transfer of means of production | |
| | Agricultural and weather insurance | Index-based insurance (see Chapter 6.2) as a special form of risk protection, particu- larly agricultural and weather insurance |
| Food and nutrition security through trade / market access | Food subsidies | |
| | Price stabilisation | |
| | • National food reserves | |

Based on: HLPE 2012

Vouchers for agricultural production means, services or food are a specific form of social transfers. They are available as cash transfers, direct inputs in kind (foodstuffs, production inputs), services (basic reproductive health services, education and agricultural training programmes) or vouchers. Vouchers improve access to food and, if food with more micronutrients is distributed, can influence the quality of diet (see Chapter 3).

Indirect social transfers are subsidies for food, consumer goods and means of production. By reducing food prices they ensure access to food, which is of particular importance to the poorest of the poor. Stabilising and reducing prices for the means of production is particularly important for resource-poor households in marginal areas with low soil fertility, where these subsidies contribute significantly to promoting productivity and enhancing the availability of and access to food.

Social insurance systems are contributory insurance schemes that can cover the cost of such services as age, health, and unemployment insurance for their members. They are based on the solidarity principle and have an obligatory character. This aims to ensure an adequate sharing of risk among individual members (sick / not sick, old / young, unemployed / employed, etc.), which guarantees the system's long-term financial viability (ILO, n.d.).

Micro-insurance systems are local or regional mutual group insurance schemes financed on the basis of solidarity, sometimes for specific professional groups. 'Micro' refers to a reduced package of services that offers basic coverage for certain risks for a limited contribution. They are designed for poorer workers, mostly in the informal sector. Private sector agencies also offer micro-insurance coverage, such as individual micro life insurance policies.

Index-based micro-insurance is a special form of insurance for the agricultural sector and is used to hedge against droughts, floods or crop failures.

National food reserves are decentralised food storage facilities that are opened during food shortages or when food prices rise. This ensures availability of and access to staple foods for the population. Due to high costs and inefficiency, their importance has sharply declined over the last decades. But in light of increasing food shortages and the associated rise in food prices, national food reserves have in recent years experienced a 'renaissance' as a complementary mechanism to reinforce food security. They remain a complex instrument that requires robust planning and reliable management in the areas of purchase, storage and distribution of foodstuffs (HLPE 2012).

The following chapters of this study look at the various instruments that ensure access to foodstuffs and food and nutrition security at household level. These include cash transfers, conditional cash transfers, public works programmes, health, agricultural and weather insurance, school feeding programmes, take-home food rations and school feeding programmes based on locally produced foodstuffs.

3. SOCIAL PROTECTION RAISES INCOMES OF HOUSEHOLDS AND INDIVIDUALS

Transfers in cash or kind improve access to food. Since a large portion of the cash transfers are used by recipients to buy food, transfers play a key role in reducing hunger and poverty (Adato and Bassett 2012).^{10, 11}

Despite their positive effects, there are reservations about transfers. One concern is beneficiaries' potential for dependency on the programmes. In reality, many programmes are limited in time and offer support measures to increase income and restore self-sufficiency. These 'graduation' approaches (Box 3) aim to put people back on their feet. However, for households with limited labour potential, transfers remain a permanent solution.

Box 3: What is 'graduation'?

The primary goal of social protection programmes is to protect people from impoverishment. Many programmes aim to go beyond this goal: To empower people to improve their living conditions in a way that guarantees their livelihood without external support and allows them to master minor economic and social risks on their own (strengthening resilience). These people have reached an income or asset threshold at which they are no longer dependent on support measures (Sabates-Wheeler and Devereux 2011).

Such programmes follow a 'graduation' approach with specific social and economic measures acting as a springboard to help people move out of poverty towards independence. Graduation approaches combine social protection instruments, health services, financial inclusion, labour market policies and vocational training.

Critics worry that target groups might not use the funds as planned by the programme. There are concerns the transfer payments might be used for alcohol, tobacco or other temptations rather than education, health or food. Impact studies demonstrate, however, that these fears are largely unfounded: The great majority of beneficiaries use transfer payments according to their planned objective, namely for food (Miller et al. 2008; Gertler 2005.). A comparative study on cash transfer programmes in Latin America, Asia and Africa shows this is true across geographic regions (Evans and Popova 2014).

The debate about the form transfers should take – food, money or vouchers – is of central importance to food and nutrition security. Though cash transfers tend to be far cheaper to administer, food transfers, for instance, are required in cases of collective crisis situations such as droughts, floods or wars, or an absence of food or food markets. If the focus of a food and nutrition security programme is to improve food diversity, vouchers are an ideal means to influence access to and quality of foodstuffs (Hidrobo et al. 2012).

¹⁰ The titles of chapters 3-8 are based on a series of core arguments which FAO has developed concerning the relationship between social protection and food security from the perspective of rural development and agriculture (FAO, n.d.).

¹¹ Beneficiaries of the Namibian social pension spent fully 27% of transfers to feed their families and 10.6% for their own food. In the Ethiopian PSNP programme about 90% of mansfers are spent on food. In Kenya's OVC-cash transfer programme, the participants spent around 25% on food. The beneficiaries of Malawi's cash transfer programme spend between 60% and 90% of transfers for food, depending on seasonal fluctuations (Adato and Bassett, 2012). An impact study on the Mexican social transfer programme shows that on average 60% to 70% of transfers were spent on food (Gertler 2005). Maluccio and Flores (2005) show in their impact study in Nicaragua that the social transfer programme resulted in significantly increased annual spending on food and increased the proportion of total income used for food.

Box 4: The social cash transfer programme in Malawi

Better nutrition is the primary goal of this social transfer programme, which targets the poorest ten per cent of the country. In addition to low income, many of these rural households are characterised by a high dependency ratio. This means that a small number of able-bodied household members are counterbalanced by a relatively large number of household members who cannot work and depend on the former for their survival: the elderly, the chronically ill or children (GIZ 2014a).

German Development Cooperation has supported social protection in Malawi since 2012. GIZ's work is focused on reinforcing the system as a whole: in addition to the Social Cash Transfer programme, GIZ supports coordination among programmes on public employment, school feeding, and microcredits, making their implementation more efficient. KfW Development Bank concentrates on the social transfer programme. In Malawi, the focus is on modernising administrative structure. Germany also finances part of the transfers.

The Social Cash Transfer Programme aims to reach 120,000 people in 37,000 households (GIZ 2014a; BMZ 2014). The amount paid varies by household size and the number of children enrolled in school. In 2013, each family received an average of 2,700 Malawian Kwachas per month – somewhere under five Euros. This is above the average household income of extremely poor families of about 2,000 Kwachas per month (GIZ 2014a) and represents approximately 60% of per capita consumption (Miller et al. 2011).

The programme has a very positive impact on access to food: 93% of households indicate that their food consumption significantly increased during the first year. As a result of the cash transfers, 50% of households were able to increase their number of daily meals to three. They also felt full longer, which points to a greater quantity and improved quality of the consumed food. They survived seasonal food variations better and were able to stabilise their food consumption. In contrast to the control group, which had to survive 5.2 days per month without adequate food, intervention households averaged only 1.2 days per month without adequate food. This shows that cash transfers made a significant contribution to stabilising food security at household level (Covarrubida et al. 2011).

An important yardstick when measuring access to food is the expenditure pattern of households. In general, this social programme has improved the economic situation of intervention households. Their spending on food, in comparison with the control group, was significantly higher and more stable, with only minor seasonal fluctuations. Between 2007 and 2008, weekly expenditures for food increased by 83% in intervention households.

Overall, recipient households spent nearly 93% of their transfers on food (Miller et al. 2011). The programme shows very positive impacts on the diversity of foodstuffs consumed. The menus of intervention households contain almost twice as much food as those of the control group. In particular, consumption of meat, dairy products, cereals, pulses, sugar and oil increased significantly in intervention households. This higher consumption was the result of both direct purchase of food and increased domestic production due to cultivation of legumes, green corn, potatoes or peanuts and the purchase of farm animals such as chickens or goats (Covarrubida et al. 2011). The increase in agricultural activities is also reflected in the greater volume of food stocks in intervention households. At the end of the harvest season, 96% of recipient households and 65% of the control group still had enough food supplies for over a month; at the end of the period of scarcity just before the next harvest, this figure was 88% versus 57% in the control group (Miller et al. 2011).

4. SOCIAL PROTECTION HELPS PEOPLE DEVELOP AND IMPROVE THEIR LIVING CONDITIONS

Social protection mechanisms improve living conditions and, in the long run, food and nutrition security as well. Nutrition-sensitive measures include not only health services, but also education measures.

Better access to health services strengthens a population's health and food and nutrition security, especially for pregnant and lactating women, infants and young children. A higher level of education also improves nutrition. Here the priority is on knowledge about an adequate, healthy diet and appropriate, needs-based use of food. In addition to learning modules provided through formal education, nutrition information is increasingly transmitted to community members through training sessions on nutrition and health issues at the local level.

Education is also of value on its own. Education has a long-term social protection dimension that benefits food and nutrition security. People with a higher education level are generally more productive and have the prospect of a better income – be it through migration to the city, developing their own businesses or increasing their own agricultural production. As people become better educated, they become increasingly able to overcome structural barriers and interrupt the transmission of poverty and food and nutrition insecurity to the next generation.

Box 5: Prospera in Mexiko

The Mexican social assistance programme Prospera was founded in 1997 and originally called 'PROGRESA', an acronym for 'Health, Education and Nutrition Programme'. The programme aims to create incentives for investment in education and health, so that people can help themselves out of poverty. In the longer term, investment in education and health can lead to better-paying jobs and an interruption of the intergenerational poverty trap.

This programme, like Brazil's 'Bolsa Familia', is well known as an original, pioneering programme. Prospera is the world's second largest cash transfer programme and reaches 5.8 million families, or approximately 25% of the Mexican population. Seven in ten beneficiaries live in rural households, which highlights the programme's importance for rural areas. The transfers are between USD 15 and USD 135 per household and are composed of a food and a school transfer. The food transfer is equal for all household members, and commits them to regularly attend preventive health check-ups. Young children receive supplementary food. The money is paid out to the women of the household. They are required to participate in community-level awareness workshops on health and nutrition issues. The school tuition transfer varies from child to child. It increases with education level and in secondary schools it is higher for girls than for boys. The children must attend class at least 85% of each month or the tuition transfer is cancelled. Compliance is closely monitored. The exclusion from one of the components does not affect the family's transfer for the other component (Farfán et al. 2011).

The programme has positive impacts on the rural population's social development. More people are using health services, with improvements in overall health, lower infant mortality rates and less obesity and hypertension. In addition, the programme reduced morbidity in children by over 25% (Gertler 2004). Anthropometric studies also show young children in beneficiary households grow on average one centimetre more per year than children in the control group and suffer less from stunting (Farfán et al 2011; Gertler 2004).



A number of social protection measures influence social indicators by directly linking transfers with education, for example, converting them into conditional social transfers.

4.1 Conditional social transfers

Conditional social transfers are transfers for which beneficiaries must meet certain conditions. The most frequent conditions are compulsory school attendance, pre- and post-natal health checks, vaccinations, growth monitoring and regular preventive check-ups for preschool children. Mothers tend to be the central target group for conditional transfers because of their special role in the care and feeding of children. It is assumed that because of their reproductive role, mothers will comply better with the conditions.

Conditional social transfers have two objectives:

- 1) in the short term, to reduce poverty and malnutrition and
- 2) in the long term, to remove structural causes of poverty, especially by focusing on children and adolescents.

In Latin America, conditional social transfers have existed since the mid-1990s. A number of African and Asian countries have also launched conditional social transfer programmes, often with support from the World Bank. These include Niger, Nigeria, Mozambique, Indonesia, Mongolia and the Philippines.

Linking social transfers to conditions is controversial. Supporters believe these are more effective than unconditional transfers, since they provide additional incentives to invest in health and education.

Critics of conditional social transfers, on the other hand, raise the political argument that these are incompatible with a universal development approach. They feel that poor population groups, already living under difficult economic and social conditions, should not be burdened with additional conditions. They also feel households should have the flexibility to decide, depending on their needs, how the money should be used. Beyond these political considerations, most concerns around conditional transfers centre on financial and administrative aspects. The administrative effort involved in reviewing the conditions is in many countries an additional burden on the already very limited social budget. A further problem is a weak administrative capacity in many countries where the mere distribution of social transfers would already be a great challenge.

How social transfers are ultimately organised is heavily dependent on the economic, social, administrative and political context. An important consideration is the influence of international development partners on social transfer programmes. A major challenge in low-income countries, especially in rural areas, is the scarcity of good-quality education and health facilities. These are crucial for the success of conditional programmes (Lagarde et al. 2009; IED 2011).

4.2 School feeding

School feeding programmes have two objectives:

1) Reducing hunger and ensuring food and nutrition security, particularly for children, and 2) improving access to education. School meals aim to create an incentive for parents to enrol their children and maintain them in school for a relatively long time. The long-term objective is to raise the level of education and create the basis for sustainable poverty reduction.

Box 6: School feeding programme in Kenya

Over the last ten years, Kenya has registered high economic growth and has been classified as a lower middle-income country since 2012. Despite this growth, food insecurity remains high and droughts – and their negative consequences – are increasingly frequent in arid and semi-arid regions.

Since the 1980s, Kenya has had a school feeding programme supported by the World Food Programme. The programme expanded most between 2004 and 2007, reaching a high of 1.85 million preschool and elementary students. It was later cut drastically due to rising food prices and now counts 750,000 beneficiaries, mostly from schools in poor districts with high levels of food insecurity. These include not only the arid and semi-arid areas in the north and northwest, but also the informal urban settlements of Mombasa and Nairobi. Elementary school students receive a free lunch; pre-schoolers get an additional morning snack enriched with micronutrients.

The school lunch is the main meal of the day for most children. It is also more nutritious than what they eat outside of school, especially in terms of protein, iron, vitamin A and salt.

Evaluations of this programme have not yet collected anthropometric data. However, comparative studies of school feeding programmes in other parts of the country show that participating children suffer less from stunting and underweight and are less malnourished (WFP 2010).

School meals contribute four per cent to household income on average and nine per cent in the poorest households. This is a significant saving for the household budget and 80% of households recognise they spend less on food because of the programme.

The school meal plays an important role in access and availability of food in crisis situations. The purpose of school meals is to overcome short-term food shortages. Many nomadic goat herders, due to increasing drought and political violence, settle on the edge of villages so their children can attend school daily and benefit from school meals. It has been observed that children take part of their school meals home to share with other members of the household or to eat later. Many children also brought their younger siblings to school to participate in meals offered at preschool level (Ibid.).

The programme has an important productive dimension: the fact that school meals keep children in school half a day or all day was a significant time-saver for parents. The evaluation showed that fully 30% of households put this time to use for income-generating activities. Furthermore, the programme contributed to the creation of local jobs. Nearly six per cent of the members of rural and very poor households worked in the programmes as cooks or support staff, five per cent sold firewood to the programme, while others sold water (Ibid.).

School meal programmes meet the nutritional needs of children and also contribute to improved education. Children who are not hungry are more successful in school, socially disadvantaged children and adolescents develop better, and social and gender inequalities are mitigated (Espejo et al. 2009). Children from poor, marginalised populations and girls, who in many countries have a lower education level than boys, benefit from the programmes. School feeding programmes also show positive effects on provision of micronutrients, particularly for girls. An impact study has found positive effects on the reduction of anaemia in adolescent girls (Alderman et al. 2012).

School feeding programmes have a long-term social protection dimension. Many children who once participated in school feeding programmes are now adults and have migrated to the city, or built up their own small business or a herd of cattle. Their improved education status played a key role in this success. Many of those young adults with a regular income support their original household or community – an important social protection function in times of crisis. Moreover, older siblings who have attained higher levels of education because of school feeding programmes finance schooling for their younger sisters and brothers once they themselves are professionally established (WFP 2010).

Finally, school meals also play a significant role in reducing child labour. More parents are willing to send their children to school and have fewer children at home to help with household chores if this means parents do not have to spend more money or even benefit from it in regard to finances and time.

The positive effects of school meals, however, are only realised when educational establishments demonstrate a minimum level of quality standards. This is often not the case, especially in remote rural areas. Overcrowded classrooms, poorly trained teachers, lack of teaching materials, inadequate infrastructure and insufficient schools offering all education levels, are too often the norm in rural zones. Furthermore, parents' educational level is a decisive factor in ensuring that children go to school and benefit from school feeding (WFP 2010).

School meals are very expensive to organise. The average administrative costs of school feeding programmes are estimated at 21% of the total budget as opposed to nine per cent for cash transfers (Bundy et al. 2009). Furthermore, school feeding programmes are often criticised for inequitable targeting of beneficiaries, because they are usually provided only in regions of food insecurity (geographical targeting). As a result, children from food-secure households living in these regions may benefit from these programmes while children from poor, food-insecure households do not, since they do not go to school (HLPE 2012).

Nonetheless, in many countries school feeding programmes are an integral part of social protection systems. The high costs seem justified by the programmes' multiple objectives, which in addition to improving food and nutrition security and education, also include reducing gender inequality and increasing productivity.

School feeding programmes are also useful as existing, locally available delivery mechanisms that can be used for additional food security interventions in the aftermath of natural disasters or armed conflicts. School feeding programmes are an important protection mechanism during food shortages: the guarantee that children will be fed regularly encourages parents to keep them in school even in times of crisis; without a school feeding programme, withdrawing children from school would be more common (Ibid., see Box 6).

5. SOCIAL PROTECTION STRENGTHENS THE FOOD SECURITY OF WOMEN AND GIRLS

The first thousand days in the life of a child – from conception to the age of two – are critical to proper growth and good mental development and to interrupting the intergenerational transmission of malnutrition and poverty (SUN 2011; FAO 2015). For this reason, potential mothers play a central role as a target group for nutrition programmes. As producers and processors of food, they also play a key role in food and nutrition security. Education is an important factor in food and nutrition security as it enables girls and women to better provide for themselves and their families and to lead healthier lives. Education also promotes their productivity.

Poverty, hunger and malnutrition affect women and girls disproportionately. In societies where their social status is inferior to that of men, they often have insufficient access to food. It is therefore particularly important to strengthen their position and to create mechanisms that allow them to escape from poverty. This requires a long-term basis for improved food and nutrition security that spans generations. In addition to providing specific nutrition programmes for pregnant and lactating women, many social protection programmes strive to improve gender equality. These

programmes include scholarships for girls and conditional social transfers that are higher for girls, encouraging their enrolment and continued presence in school, especially in secondary education.

School feeding programmes have a similar objective and evaluations show they particularly benefit girls. While these programmes help girls attain higher education, they also encourage girls to marry later, have fewer children and live healthier and more economically productive lives (Edström et al. 2008).

Box 7: Food rations to take home in Cambodia

The joint school feeding programme of the World Food Programme and the Cambodian government is based on two mechanisms: 1) school feeding programmes with a morning meal and 2) food rations the poorest students aged between six and 11 can take home. While most schools benefit from only one form of transfer, some schools combine both mechanisms. The programme exists in 12 of Cambodia's 24 provinces and is limited to the most food-insecure communities. In 2010, the programme reached one in five Cambodian schoolchildren at a total of 1,665 schools.

While the morning meal particularly affects the enrolment rate, the take-home food rations have a significant impact on maintaining children in school. This is especially true for girls. Whereas many girls typically leave school in the upper grades, food rations have made it possible to keep them in school to complete their primary schooling.

Food rations were an important source of additional income for poor households, representing up to 26% of the average household income in the lowest income category (WFP 2010).

Food rations have an important food and nutrition security function for families. They provide access to food and stabilise the food supply. Households receiving regular food rations are less vulnerable to food shortages in the dry season. Transfers helped them reduce their expenditures for rice, and invest most of the money saved in other productive activities. Transfers also had a positive impact on food diversity: Households could enhance their diet with fish, vegetables and eggs because rice was available through the food rations (WFP, 2011).

5.1 Food rations to take home

In many countries, take-home food rations are integrated into general school feeding programmes and reinforce their effects on education, especially for girls. They motivate parents to send their children to school and to keep them there longer. This particularly benefits older children and girls, whose education is at greatest risk of interruption. Take-home food rations also have special significance in the context of HIV/AIDS. This is because children affected by HIV/AIDS are often taken out of school and kept at home for work purposes. This also applies to children living in child-headed households (Ibid.).

A number of studies indicate that take-home food rations have a positive impact on keeping girls in school. However, in contrast to ordinary school meals, they have no significant effect on girls' health and nutrition indicators (increase in height, weight, lower susceptibility to disease). Food rations are usually shared within the family but because of girls' lower social status, girls benefit less from both the take-home rations and the diversity of the foodstuffs consumed. Therefore, the most effective way of improving both nutrition and education for girls appears to be through integrated programmes that combine school meals with take-home food rations. This ensures that girls are sent to school and have adequate access to nutritious food (WFP 2010).

6. SOCIAL PROTECTION SUPPORTS RURAL HOUSEHOLDS IN THE MANAGEMENT OF FINANCIAL AND LIFE-CYCLE RISKS

German Development Cooperation supports small farmers and marginalised groups in rural areas. Many of these households live close to the poverty line. Even the everyday risks of a longer illness or crop failure can profoundly affect food production.

Social protection helps smallholder farming households deal with these risks. Stabilising their productivity prevents them for sliding further into poverty. Because they have direct access to social services and such in-kind benefits as drugs, health services or food, they can survive short-term crisis situations without jeopardising their own livelihoods. It is crucial that they avoid negative risk management strategies, such as consuming their seeds, selling their animals or agricultural tools, taking children out of school, or forgoing necessary medical care. The transfer of production inputs such as seeds, fertiliser or equipment has positive effects on the production outcomes of households and consequently on the availability of food. This impact often extends beyond household level,

for instance when excess production is sold, making more food available at regional and national levels.

In a time of increasing climate change, agricultural and climate insurance schemes can also protect against production losses. Only when small farming households close to the poverty line are no longer in constant danger of falling into deeper poverty due to the minor or major risks of daily life can sustainable growth and development take place.

Box 8: The Basic Security Project in Kalomo District in Zambia

In 2003, the Zambian government launched four different models of social protection programmes to reach vulnerable target groups in different regions. These programmes were aimed at extremely poor people with low self-help potential due mainly to illness, old age or other difficult temporary family situations.

The initial partners were German Development Cooperation, UNICEF, Care International and DFID. Between 2003 and 2007 in Kalomo District, GIZ implemented the sub-project 'The 10% Kalomo Model' which regularly paid small amounts of money to 10,000 poor households with no earned income.

More than half the households were headed by seniors, mostly women. Many were raising their grandchildren – the children of sons and daughters who had died of AIDS. Evaluations show that they were able to significantly improve their diet, health care and education. The number of households eating only one meal a day dropped from 19% to 13%.

The school enrolment rate improved, rising to 79.2% after the introduction of social transfers. The number of households investing money into means of production and productive activities quadrupled, from 14% to 50%. The average amount of local investments doubled.

Since then, the Social Cash Transfer programme has continued expanding, covering 19 districts by 2013. A significant cash injection by the Zambian government increased that number to 50 districts in 2014, benefiting 89,171 female-headed households and 56,527 households led by men. Evaluation results from 2014 show a higher degree of food and nutrition security and better living conditions in these households (latrines, use of mosquito nets, provision of lighting). This had positive impacts, particularly on the well-being and health of children (reduction of diarrheal diseases, better nutrition, clothing, shoes, blankets and more schooling). Agricultural production increased, as did possession of goods and means of production. In 2016, the Zambian government planned to roll out the programme nationwide.

Sources: https://www.giz.de/fachexpertise/html/3865.html

http://www.zambian-economist.com/2015/04/social-cash-transfer-progress-update.html

6.1 Old-age and health insurance in rural areas

Rural households are affected by risks related to agricultural production and by life-cycle risks. This is especially true for smallholder producers. Illness, migration or death of a household member are often associated with heavy losses in productivity and income for rural households. The World Health Organization estimates that each year, about 100 million people sink into poverty because they have to pay for necessary medical services. Even more people simply forgo health services because of high costs (WHO n.d.). Informal networks such as families, neighbours or community-based organisations could in the past at least partially cushion these risks. These networks can no longer afford to or no longer exist, often eroded by migration, HIV/AIDS and demographic changes. Old-age and health insurance can bridge and mitigate such risks.

A major challenge of community-based health systems is the quality of health services in rural areas, which often lack staff and medicines. In addition, transport costs are high because of the great distances patients often have to travel to reach the nearest health facility. These conditions discourage many households from subscribing to insurance. Rural households are often too poor, or have incomes that are too unreliable, to pay even a small, regular amount for insurance.

These challenges are counterbalanced by positive effects: people who have taken out insurance use health services more often than non-insured households. Insured families, especially the poorest, have a lower risk of sinking into poverty as a result of extremely high health expenditures (Abebe 2010; Saksena et al. 2010). Insurance can prevent the adoption of negative risk management strategies such as the sale of production inputs to pay for health-care costs and possible negative effects on food production.

Box 9: Community-based health insurance in Tanzania

Although several particularly vulnerable population groups have a legal right to free basic health services, reality is different in many parts of Tanzania. The private share of total health expenditure is very high, almost 40%. It is therefore not surprising that health expenditures are among the greatest risks and the most important factors in the impoverishment of Tanzanian households (URT 2005). In rural areas, health centres are far apart and many poor people cannot afford transport costs. Things are made worse by the poor quality of health services, mostly due to the lack of qualified personnel and medicines.

Against this background, in 2001 the Tanzanian government introduced a voluntary community-based health insurance scheme for people in the informal sector. It was designed to improve access to quality health services for poor, particularly rural populations. For a small premium – up to €.50 per year – this micro health insurance gives households access to free basic health services in a facility of their choice (waivers of the premium can be granted on a case-by-case basis to poor households). The premium is matched by the Tanzanian government. The money is paid directly to health centres. This aims to create an incentive for health centres to recruit members to the community-based health insurance scheme and to improve the quality of their own services (GIZ 2014a).

While the public's initial acceptance of the Community Health Fund (CHF) was low, membership grew as a result of improved insurance and health services, as well as education and awareness campaigns. Some hospitals have even begun to provide CHF members with dedicated medical personnel and a separate drug supply (Ibid.).

An important aspect of this scheme is to give the insured a say in how things are run. Although the district manages the money, members are consulted about spending priorities. This guarantees better quality health services and takes into account members' wishes.

Both of these aspects have had a significant positive impact on CHF membership. So far, between ten and fifteen per cent of the population have adhered to the Community Health Fund. A first impact study shows that around 33% of the member households are poor. Members used health services more often than non-members, an indication that health insurance schemes improve access to health services. They are an important prerequisite for preserving workers' fitness and for the risk management of smallholder producers (Msuya et al. 2004).



6.2 Agricultural and weather insurance

Farmers whose income and food and nutrition security depend on a single rainy season per year are extremely vulnerable during dry seasons. The same applies to pastoralists whose cattle live on pastures and scarce water sources in semi-arid areas. For them, agricultural or climate insurance schemes are particularly important. While humanitarian aid is a major but uncertain and unpredictable answer to natural disasters, insurance schemes can hedge against risks preventively and stabilise the income and productivity of households.

Innovative insurance approaches for low-income beneficiaries have recently appeared on the market. Index-based weather insurance schemes avoid classic insurance problems such as the risk of negligent behaviour or a negative risk selection¹² by linking payment of benefits to an index such as the correlation between the amount of local rainfall and local crop yields. If local rainfall remains below a certain level, all insured farmers will automatically receive the agreed-upon insurance payment regardless of actual damages. This cost-effective approach aims to make insurance affordable for low-income clients. However, experience has shown that even this form of insurance, despite a potentially

Box 10: 'Horn of Africa Risk Transfer for Adaptation' (HARITA) / R4 'Rural Resilience Initiative' in Ethiopia

Initiated by the World Food Programme and Oxfam, HARITA combines agricultural insurance with risk management strategies. R4 stands for:

- 1. Risk reduction through prevention. Preventing agricultural risks through soil improvement and small infrastructure projects such as water retention basins
- 2. Risk transfer through formal insurance products
- 3. Risk reserves through savings
- 4. Responsible investments with rural credits to increase production.

HARITA is part of the Ethiopian Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP, see box 13). Under the Food- and Cash-for-Work component, farmers work on soil erosion control, on preparation of compost or participate in the construction of infrastructure projects to improve agricultural production. In this way, even poor smallholder producers can afford insurance premiums. The producers earn the money for their insurance coverage through public works programmes that improve their climate resilience and increase crop yields. They then benefit from these measures regardless of whether an insurance premium is paid. There are plans to replicate the programme in Senegal and two other African countries (Müller et al. 2014).

Box 11: 'Garantia Safra' in Brazil

Brazil's Ministry of Agricultural Development established the Harvest Guarantee Fund 'Garantia Safra' in 2002 under the National Programme for reinforcing smallholder farming enterprises. The fund's objective is to ensure a minimum protection for the survival of smallholder farms in Brazil's Northeast. The Fund insures smallholder farmers against crop losses due to drought or flooding if their gross family income per month is no higher than 1.5 times the minimum wage and if they cultivate a surface between 0.6 and 5 hectares. The crops that are insured are cotton, rice, beans, cassava and maize. The Guarantee Fund enters into force as soon as crop losses exceed 50% of production (MDA n.d.). The insurance policy can be purchased directly in the communities.

The cost of membership is very low at €.50 a year. The programme is financed partly by smallholder farmers and partly by communities and participating states, with the major share paid by the central government. The 2015-2016 fund expected a government contribution of at least 40%, a 12% contribution from participating states, 6% from municipalities and 2% from the farmers (Ibid.)

The number of members has grown considerably. In 2009-2010, Garantia Safra supported 661,000 small farmers in 860 municipalities of the Northeast (McKay 2012). For the 2015-2016 season, the Ministry expected 1.3 million smallholder farms to benefit from the fund. Based on the number of members, a pay-out of 850 reales, or about €26 per farm was expected. The contributions are paid in five instalments distributed over the year (MDA n.d.).

¹² The risk of negligent or opportunistic behaviour refers to the particularly risky behaviour of people who aim to dishonestly benefit from the insurance. Adverse selection describes the circumstance that insurance attracts above all those population groups that are more likely to reap its benefits because of their higher health or mortality risk. This is especially the case if the insurance is voluntary (in a compulsory insurance system, this can be better compensated for by the higher risk distribution). For insurance companies, this can mean a high financial risk (ILO GESS 2015).

large demand from poor smallholder producers, usually remains unaffordable (Binswanger-Mkhize 2012).

Alternative concepts attempt to integrate index-based weather insurance schemes in a comprehensive approach to mitigate the effects of climate change. In this case, a state or region can act as insurer (see Box 11) or intermediary by taking out climate insurance for its smallholder producers. This enables them to pass on the costs to commercial insurers in emergency situations.

A special form of insurance is the African Risk Capacity. This approach tries to link disaster prevention measures at country level with an insurance mechanism (see Box 12).

Box 12: The African Risk Capacity (ARC) of the African Union

The African Risk Capacity is a special unit of the African Union that helps Member States prepare for extreme weather events and natural disasters. They can then respond more quickly in case of crisis to ensure the food and nutrition security of vulnerable populations. ARC hopes to achieve this through timely interventions for climate adaptation and disaster protection as well as an insurance-based regional emergency fund.

Each component is handled separately. The special unit has a major management and coordination function and offers capacity-building measures for individual countries in climate change adaptation and disaster preparedness. It also approves emergency plans drawn up by the countries and monitors their implementation.

The emergency fund is managed by the ARC Insurance Company Limited, founded specifically for this purpose. ARC insures countries rather than individual households. The policyholder is the government. The advantage of this insurance fund over traditional calls for international aid is that countries know exactly how much money they can expect, and that it will be paid quickly and without bureaucratic complications. This should improve planning and allow countries to more effectively deploy their own resources during the agricultural cycle (African Risk Capacity website, n.d.). This should also reduce negative coping strategies in the wake of a disaster, such as the sale of livestock and means of production or reduced food intake by the affected population.

Countries pay a one-time contribution plus their insurance premium, established in cooperation with the countries and based on a risk assessment tool specially designed for this purpose. Countries can choose between different premiums and corresponding insurance coverage. Currently, only droughts are insured. Other climate risks such as floods will be added later. As a prerequisite for participation in the Fund, countries must submit contingency plans to the ARC, clearly stating how funds will be used in the event of a disaster and how the affected population will be reached quickly and efficiently. Existing cash transfer programmes are seen as a promising mechanism for rapid distribution of aid funds to the affected population. The fund itself is reinsured in order to fulfil its functions and objectives (Ibid.). KfW is one of the two major capital backers of the insurance enterprise.

7. SOCIAL PROTECTION IMPROVES MANAGEMENT OF NATURAL RESOURCES AND PROMOTES MAINTENANCE OF MORE RESILIENT LIVELIHOODS

Social protection improves livelihoods in rural areas by developing local infrastructure, sustainable resource management, public works programmes for soil rehabilitation, and measures for water and soil conservation.

Public works programmes create temporary employment opportunities in situations of general un- or underemployment. They serve as short-term emergency and transitional aid to restore and stabilise livelihoods in the aftermath of acute collective crisis situations such as drought, famine or war. In situations of chronic poverty, food and nutrition insecurity or recurrent underemployment, public works programmes can also be introduced as long-term protection mechanisms, for instance in the agricultural off season. In contrast to transitional aid, long-term public works programmes are permanent measures that support people by alleviating recurrent temporary income gaps and individual situations of poverty and hunger.

Public works programmes affect food and nutrition security in three ways: 1) They allow those involved a direct access to food; 2) they improve infrastructure in rural areas; 3) they improve livelihoods and means of production by protecting against soil erosion, water conservation measures, reforestation and terracing.

Critics believe public works programmes, due to their generally short duration, are not appropriate instruments for overcoming chronic poverty. Furthermore, the poorest and most marginalised population groups such as women, the elderly or people with disabilities are the ones excluded from public works programmes, since they usually have little or no work potential and therefore cannot carry out heavy labour. Participants are usually those households with a larger pool of able-bodied members — but excluding the very poor, who could not afford to pursue an additional economic activity outside of agriculture (McCord 2010; HLPE 2012).

For these reasons, careful design, implementation and monitoring are essential to avoid negative consequences. Programme designs incorporating quotas for women and tasks that can be carried out by less physically powerful persons are just two examples. In addition, it is important to ensure their poverty-reducing effect. Access to public works programmes should be reliable and guaranteed, allowing people to fall back on these programmes in times of crisis and in this way preserve the viability of their economic activities.



Box 13: 'Productive Safety Net' in Ethiopia

The Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP), which reaches around eight million people, is one of the largest social protection interventions in Africa. The programme has two components: (1) public works programmes for households with workforce potential and (2) direct transfers of cash and food products for households with low work potential. Chronically food-insecure households are supported with food or cash for six months during the off season to help them get through the period of food shortages. Households should not be forced to sell their means of production to meet their food needs. (HLPE 2012).

The overall objective of the programme, launched in 2005, is to reduce Ethiopia's dependence on the emergency food aid it requires almost yearly. PSNP builds public infrastructure with public works measures and provides direct transfer payments like cash and food over several years - associated with services that increase people's incomes. The objective is that households create a self-sufficient basis for ensuring their food supply.

The public works programmes focus on rehabilitation and conservation measures for water and soil, required for production, as well as the construction of necessary municipal infrastructure. The main objectives of the programme are to improve food security for households chronically affected by food insecurity through cash or food transfers, the protection of their assets and the development of communal infrastructures. Going a step further, PSNP promotes households' agricultural and non-agricultural activities so that in future they will be able to feed themselves autonomously.

The programme targets chronically food-insecure households in provinces that required food assistance in the three years prior to introducing the programme.

A number of studies have shown that the programme has a very positive impact on household food security – the food-insecure period has on average been halved. The employment programmes have significantly improved rural infrastructure, with better access to markets through road construction, new health centres and classrooms. Moreover, watersheds have been rehabilitated, soil fertility enhanced and the water infrastructure improved.

Public works programmes also helped stabilise food security and resilience during crises: Households were able to maintain their normal food consumption including during drought periods without having to sell their assets. This strengthened production and created additional assets. The design of the follow-up phase is nutrition-sensitive and plans a full set of activity packages as well as a link with the health sector.



8. SOCIAL PROTECTION IS A MAJOR CATALYST FOR AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION AND EMPLOYMENT

Agricultural production is at the heart of food and nutrition security. It ensures the long-term availability of and access to food. This involves supply-side measures that enhance production along the value chain as well as instruments to boost demand. Social protection strengthens both of these measures: They contribute to the increase in agricultural production and generate demand for agricultural products.

Social transfer programmes have a positive impact on rural production and employment. Evaluations of cash transfer programmes in southern Africa show that social transfers stimulate the purchase of production inputs such as fertiliser and seed, which affects agricultural production positively (The Transfer Project 2014).

A development in many countries is the reallocation of work. Social transfers allow people to focus more on their own agricultural production rather than working as day labourers in someone else's fields. As a result, in some countries farmers were able to work more land than before (Ibid., Covarrubias et al. 2011).

Social transfers have enabled many households to purchase farm animals such as goats and chicks, resulting in an additional source of food and income. Certain households invest in alternative, non-agricultural sources of income, including consumer staples such as soap, clothing, household utensils or further processing of agricultural products. This is especially true of female-headed households. By diversifying their income portfolios, households can better cope with minor crises.

Cash transfers allow households to reactivate their informal networks or to join new ones such as savings groups or funeral associations. These networks are important informal protection mechanisms at the community and household level. Beneficiaries of social transfers also have easier access to credit, since their regular income makes them more creditworthy.

Social transfers have a demand-boosting effect and play a key role in local markets and the local employment structure. People spend their social transfers locally, creating additional demand for local production, trade and employment. The multiplier effect becomes stronger when local markets are more efficient and trade can

respond to growing demand (Ibid.). Other forms of social protection such as school feeding programmes also have a positive impact on the local economy. Through the preparation and distribution of food, these programmes create jobs and promote local trade, for instance through the purchase of water and wood. Many schools buy food locally – and this has positive repercussions on local food production.¹³

To enhance demand, many countries have in recent years introduced a special form of school feeding: Home Grown School Feeding (HGSF). HGSF associates two objectives: It links a social protection goal such as nutrition security to enhanced local production invigorated through market stimulation. In this approach, local producers conclude guaranteed purchase agreements with public institutions such as schools. The purchase guarantee provides security to small rural producers and encourages them to increase production and enter the market. The secured sales volumes reduce the smallholders' investment risk and provide an incentive to invest in the purchase and use of new technology (Sumberg and Sabates-Wheeler 2010).

The HGSF mechanism has great potential for reinforcing local production but its implementation presents countries with significant challenges. For example, many local producers lack the inputs, the know-how and often the additional manpower to take advantage of these new market opportunities and to satisfy increased demand. Typically, they are also unable to guarantee high sales volumes in the long term. This is particularly true in food-insecure regions where school feeding programmes are implemented.

¹³ This multiplier effect of social transfers varies from country to country and from region to region. One study calculated for Ethiopia an average multiplier effect of 2.52 Birr (0.10 euros); in Kenya it is rather at 1.34. This means that each Birr received as a social transfer by the target group has generated an added value of 2.52 Birr (The Transfer Project 2014).



Lack of quality standards and controls, which are important for procurement of food on this scale, and a government procurement system which in many countries is still aligned on wholesalers, further complicate the direct purchase of food from small producers (USDA 2009; Sumberg and Sabates-Wheeler 2010, Karisa and Orodho 2014).

Several pre-requisites may be needed for Home Grown School Feeding to work: the transfer of know-how for increasing production by the Ministry of Agriculture to local farmers, awareness of the programme in communities and schools, and simplified tender procedures to allow schools to purchase their food directly from local producers (Karisa and Orodho 2014).

Box 14: Home Grown School Feeding (HGSF) in Mali

In 2011, Mali's Ministry of Education launched the school canteen programme Cantines Scolaires. The introduction of the HGSF component in Mali's school feeding programme marked greater involvement by the Malian government in a programme that has to date been mainly carried out by international actors such as the World Food Programme. The school feeding programme in Mali is strongly decentralised. While the National Centre for School Canteens has a coordinating role, primary responsibility for the programme lies with the local administration. This administration supervises schools and distributes the money provided by the Finance Ministry for the HGSF, which is implemented by the local School Management Committees

The school feeding policy is part of the national food security strategy: It is coordinated by the Ministry of Education and is based on a multisectoral approach involving other ministries and sectors such as health, agriculture, social protection and women's issues.

The school feeding programme primarily serves schools in the most food-insecure areas of the country, where 26.1% of the schools have an HGSF component (1,313 of 5,047 schools), or 15.4% of all Malian schools. The programme's first evaluation showed that up to 87% of the food was locally bought. The level of local procurement varies greatly between regions, and is particularly low where food cannot be produced in sufficient quantity to meet demand.

(Mali HGSF 2015; USDA 2009; SNV 2015).

9. SUCCESS FACTORS AND CONTEXTUAL CONDITIONS

For social protection measures to achieve their intended impacts on food and nutrition security and poverty reduction effectively, all aspects – technical, financial, political and institutional – must all be aligned.

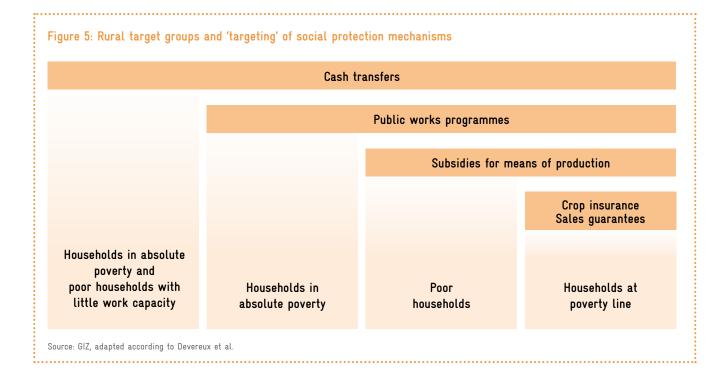
9.1 Targeting

Most rural development measures are aimed at smallholder farmers. These measures focus on the productive segment of the population, in other words, the poor rural population with some means of production such as land, livestock and labour force. They also target key producer and user organisations such as cooperatives or farm labourer organisations (BMZ 2011).

Social protection, on the other hand, targets the entire population and addresses its different target groups with specific approaches. The choice of target group will depend on which risks or needs require protection (illness, old age or death), the objectives of the interventions (short or long-term poverty alleviation) and the financial capacities of the target group. Not all approaches can reach all groups. For instance, mutual insurance schemes require a basic income to pay for regular insurance premiums. This in principle excludes the poorest of the poor.

Social protection measures in rural areas complement rural development interventions by including a part of the population that would otherwise not benefit from rural development. Social protection measures can also play a key role for target groups of rural development by enhancing their production and consumption to stimulate rural economic growth and reduce poverty.

Women receive special attention both in social protection and rural development sectors, as they show particular vulnerabilities, but also special potential: The extent to which women, and particularly mothers, are recipients of social transfer programmes can affect nutrition, education and health indicators. Women play a prominent role in agriculture and usually possess strong experience and knowledge about food and nutrition security. The greater the access of women and girls to knowledge, land, credits and other resources, the lower their risk of suffering from hunger (GIZ 2014a). Figure 5 presents a basic overview of certain social protection mechanisms and their potential target groups. In reality, the line between individual target groups is often fluid. People can belong to different target groups during their lifetime, and individual mechanisms often address several audiences at once.



Which group a programme targets is not simply a technical question of where the greatest effect can potentially be achieved. Targeting depends on the political and social context, as well as on the administrative and economic capacities of the programme. Targeting can engender high financial, social and political costs (HLPE 2012). Critics of targeting argue that it would be much more cost-effective and pro-poor to establish universal programmes, as these would benefit all and eliminate unfair exclusion of potentially eligible persons. In fact, the poor – who should be the actual target group – are often the most excluded from many programmes (Samson et al 2010).

Choosing the right targeting method(s) to implement a programme is therefore of vital importance. Efficient targeting depends on more than technical excellence, however. Preventing poor population groups from being excluded and increasing their access to social protection also requires informing potential beneficiaries about access conditions to programmes, opportunities to register and complaint and appeal mechanisms (UNDP 2014).

9.2 The importance of multisectoral and multi-stakeholder approaches

Poverty and malnutrition have multiple causes that cannot be covered by a single sector or stakeholder. Multisectoral approaches are required that go beyond the production-enhancing approaches in agriculture and rural development and involve a variety of policy areas (Burchi, F. and Strupat, C. 2016). Better integration and coordination of sector policies and strategies can be achieved at different levels:

- 1. Linking programmes at the implementation level: Where social protection measures accompany rural development measures or complement them in an integrated approach, social protection can enhance the productive effect on small rural producers and enable inclusive growth and development in rural areas, benefitting even the poorest and most marginalised population groups. In this approach, social protection also provides an indirect but important contribution to long-term food and nutrition security.
- 2. Targeting socially vulnerable and poor populations with rural development measures: If marginalised groups are not included, rural development for food and nutrition security is unsustainable. For this reason, rural development measures must also take into consideration those population groups that have low productivity and are particularly affected by food and nutrition insecurity. This can be organised through the transfer of production inputs and know-how for subsistence purposes or through non-agricultural income-generating measures.

Box 15: Regional Economic Development in Cambodia - special focus on the poor

90% of the poor in Cambodia live in rural areas. The Regional Economic Development project implemented by GIZ on behalf of BMZ is active in three provinces: Banteay Meanchey, Oddar Meanchey and Siem Reap in north-western Cambodia. Its objective is to provide the poor rural population, especially women, with new, sustainable business and employment opportunities that increase their income and reduce poverty. The project promotes selected goods such as rice, vegetables or local handicrafts.

To reach the most vulnerable with tailor-made offers, the project uses information from the identification programme for poor households. In 2006, the Cambodian government launched the 'Identification of Poor Households Programme' (ID-Poor) to align development measures, services and social protection programmes to the needs of the poor population. The development of this targeting system and its nationwide implementation are supported by BMZ and GIZ, with co-financing from Australian Development Cooperation. With its targeted approach, the Regional Economic Development project has contributed to reducing poverty in the province of Siem Reap from 50% to 20%. 17,500 smallholder farms and artisan enterprises have increased their annual income by an average of USD 200. Fifteen per cent of these farms previously lived below the poverty line. Women particularly have benefited from the promotion of small handicraft and vegetable production.

- **3. Making social protection measures nutrition-sensitive:** The previous discussion and case studies show that social protection measures, because of their focus on particularly poor and vulnerable groups and on basic protection and poverty reduction, have special importance for food and nutrition security. This effect of social protection on nutrition security can reinforce a nutrition-sensitive approach (see next section).
- 4. National food security strategies that involve all relevant sectors and decision-makers and are focused on the common goal of food and nutrition security: In the last decade, numerous countries have introduced social transfer programmes for poverty reduction and food and nutrition security. Many have developed ambitious agricultural strategies that focus on the competitiveness of smallholder agriculture. These sector strategies are not always harmonised with one another. The example of Brazil shows the positive impacts that such a harmonisation can have. Linking social policies to the promotion of smallholder agriculture through targeted incentives for demand has stimulated innovative approaches. The conditional social cash transfer programme Bolsa Família is targeted at the poorest and covers about 52 million beneficiaries. The monthly cash transfer is mainly paid to women. It is a direct contribution to poverty reduction and to satisfying basic needs. The national school feeding programme is aimed directly at integrating smallholders into the market. It buys local products from smallholder producers, which strengthens local value chains. In this way, it also provides market access to very poor farmers. At the same time, the programme makes an important contribution to the food and nutrition security of schoolgirls, schoolboys and their families in rural areas.
- **5. Sequencing short-, medium- and long-term action:** Social protection bridges the gap between the short-term approaches of transition aid and longer-term rural development measures. Social protection is an important mechanism for stabilising production. It also cushions acute emergency situations, and shortens the mechanisms of emergency aid.

These measures involve a variety of actors at different levels. In addition to interventions such as nutrition programmes, which target the individual level, it is necessary to distinguish between measures on household level, such as cash transfers, and measures on community level. The latter include reforestation and land rehabilitation activities in the framework of public works programmes.

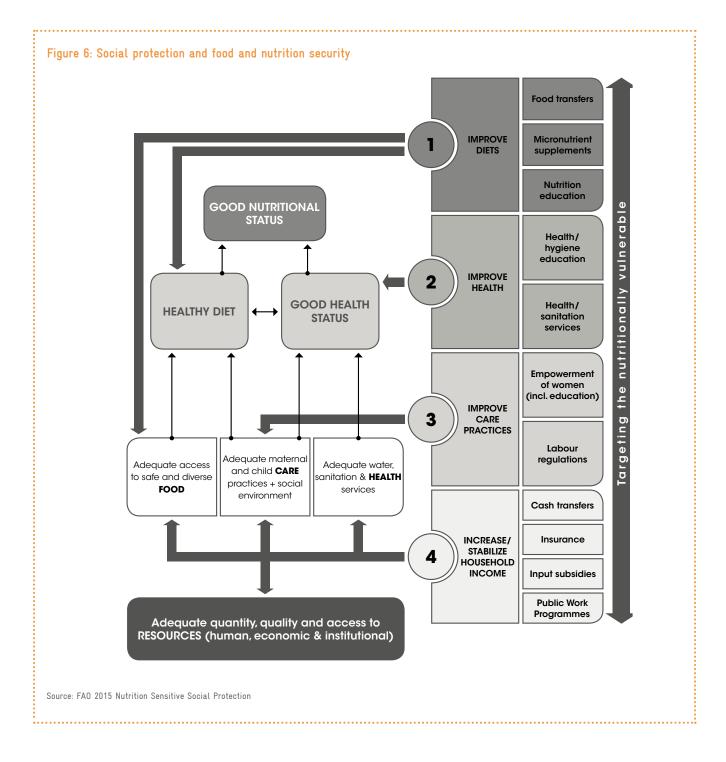
For multisectoral approaches to work, they must not be limited to the public sector. The participation of non-state actors such as civil society, the private sector and science is an important prerequisite for success. International cooperation also plays a major role by strengthening multisectoral approaches in partner countries.

9.3 Nutrition-sensitive approaches

Nutrition-sensitive approaches are measures that reinforce the positive effects of social protection programmes on nutritional status (Figure 6).

This includes focusing social protection programmes on particularly nutritionally vulnerable individuals at household level: the elderly, children, pregnant and lactating mothers, the ill, orphans or people with disabilities. Social protection programmes should also define nutrition goals and their corresponding indicators in greater detail to improve monitoring of the effects of social protection on the nutritional situation.

Since women play a central role in food and nutrition security, numerous social protection programmes are targeted at women. Social protection programmes that are more oriented to women's situation and needs are more effective for food and nutrition security. They can, for example, take particular account of women's workload and available child-care services. Through public works programmes, home gardens, water retention basins or other woman-specific offers can be set up for female-headed households, including those who are pregnant or caring for small children.



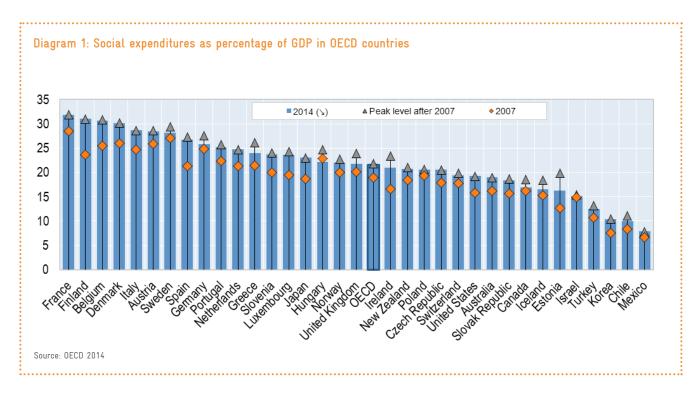
It is also important to improve the social position of women. Behaviour change measures can empower women at household level to obtain greater access to cash transfers and more control over their use. While women's responsibility for their children's nutritional situation remains high, it is also important to involve men in appropriate measures. Training on nutrition for babies and toddlers are an effective mechanism to improve nutritional habits at community level (Global Nutrition Report 2015: cf. Figure 7). Ethiopia's Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP) carries out such trainings as part of their public works programme.

Social protection programmes increase the quantity of food consumed and influence the diversity of diet and of people's nutritional status in a positive manner. Combining cash transfers or public works programmes with measures to improve nutrition, health and income opportunities shows positive results. Examples include mother-child health services, nutrition education, hygiene and child care, and advice on cultivating home gardens, nutrition-sensitive agriculture and income improvement in agricultural and non-agricultural sectors (FAO 2015). Public works programmes focused on health-promoting interventions such as the construction of health-care facilities, wells and latrines enhance this effect (Nutrition Report 2015).

Figure 7: Nutrition-sensitive approaches in Ethiopia's Productive Safety Net Programme (PNSP)

| New nutrition-sensitive feature | Nutrition determinant supported by feature | Added value |
|--|--|--|
| When a health post confirms that a woman is pregnant, she can transition from public works to direct support, which will continue for one year after birth. Co-responsibilities will link women with behavior-change communication services and additional health services available in their area. Women engaged in public works will have lighter workloads. | Maternal Health | These features encourage closer collaboration between agriculture and health sectors, create demand for health services, and help reduce maternal mortality among the most vulnerable populations. |
| A co-responsibility option for behavior- change communication about infant and young-child feeding practices can take the place of participation in public works. | Infant and child feeding practices | For better outcomes, behavior-change communication about infant and young-child feeding practices can include men as well as pregnant and lactating women. |
| Public works will be used to build home- stead and school gardens. Participants will receive food baskets that include pulses and increased cereals, or a corresponding cash transfer increase. Livelihood support will help farmers diversify crops. | Dietary diversity | These features promote harmonization of nutrition-related activities by the ministries of education and agriculture. Building homestead gardens provides livelihood support for female-headed households with labor shortages. |
| Capacity development and income-generating activities will be targeted to women, including female-headed households. Activities will be developed to enhance women's control over the use of cash or food transfers. | Women's empowerment | Targeted inclusion of women works to increase awareness of and demand for related health services; nutritional outcomes in women and children tend to improve when women have greater control over household resources. |
| Participants will have co-responsibility for attending behavior-change communication on health, nutrition sanitation and family planning. Public works will be used to construct sanitary latrines and improved wells. | Water, sanitation and hygiene | Allowing men and women with older children as well as pregnant and lactating women to attend behavioral change communication in place of public works participation may lead to change on a community level. |

Source: Global Nutrition Report 2015

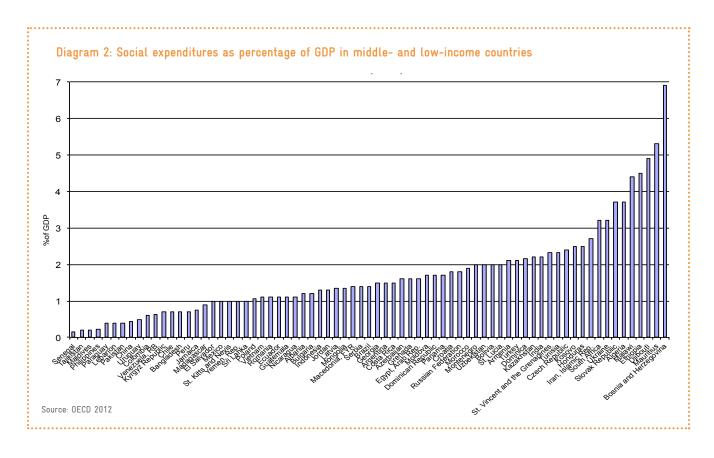


9.4 Financial sustainability

Ultimately, the discussion about social protection measures revolves mostly around their financial viability. While many political figures welcome social protection measures because of their multiple positive effects on poverty reduction, most lack the money to fund these programmes in the long term.

OECD countries spend on average 22% of their gross domestic product on social protection; in some countries, for example, in France, Sweden, Austria or Germany, the proportion is much higher (see Diagram 1).

The International Labour Organization (ILO) has calculated that social protection programmes are affordable even in middle-and low-income countries. The ILO estimates that in most low-income countries of Africa and Asia, a basic package of social protection consisting of old age pensions, family allowances and a pension for people with disabilities, would cost from 2.2 to 5.7 % of gross domestic product (ILO, 2011). The ILO argues that many of these measures could be financed by restructuring existing budgets.



Currently, non-OECD countries spend between almost zero and seven per cent on social protection, with most countries spending no more than three per cent (HLPE 2012; see Diagram 2).

The diagram clearly shows that the poorest countries do not spend the least on social protection, and that expenditures for social protection do not automatically increase with a rise in gross domestic product. Countries with the greatest increase in social spending include several African countries such as Ethiopia, Malawi, Mauritius and South Africa. Other developing countries such as Vietnam are on a par with EU member states such as Bulgaria, Poland or Romania (see Diagram 1). There is of course a relationship between investment in social protection and available financial resources. However, other factors such as political considerations or the need to stabilise fragile and post-conflict contexts also seem to play a significant role. The international debate on social protection, especially in the context of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG), also seems to have a positive influence on increased spending in this domain.

In addition to redeploying existing budgets, countries are seeking new sources of financing for social protection interventions. Such tax policy measures as increased taxation of primary resources or financing through debt restructuring, as well as international development cooperation, play a significant role. Aside from a very few programmes - for example, the social pension in Lesotho - most social transfer programmes show significant amounts of external donor funding. Development cooperation cannot permanently finance social protection programmes. Nevertheless, in addition to technical support, it can make an important contribution to start-up funding for development, implementation and expansion of social protection measures. In this way, German Development Cooperation co-finances transfers paid out in Malawi's cash transfer programme. In parallel, it provides technical support to strengthen the programme's administrative and implementation structures.



While it is important to identify alternative and innovative sources of funding for the longer term, financing depends on the political will of governments and donors to invest in social protection and contribute to social redistribution, including in rural areas. It remains to be hoped that such future decisions will come out in favour of social protection, as their reluctance to support social protection measures causes high economic, social and political costs.

9.5 Expanding social protection mechanisms

Programmes are only effective on a macroeconomic level if they have a minimum size, and if they can include new poverty groups and respond to new situations of poverty and risks relatively easily. Social protection must aim for programmes that can react quickly and with flexibility to the needs of target groups.

This applies to both transfer payments and to the programmes themselves. Experience shows that the value of what transfer payments can buy shifts easily in low-income countries due to inflation and price increases. Continuous adjustment of transfer amounts in response to inflation and price rises is therefore necessary.

As for the programmes themselves, risks can vary widely within a country, particularly in rural areas. Ethiopia's Productive Safety Net Programme has developed mechanisms to better respond to local crisis situations: An early warning system sets a series of mechanisms in motion that allow the local administration to respond quickly to local periods of drought. A separate budget for such crisis situations, in function of need, allows local administrations to expand public works schemes or distribute more cash transfers and foodstuffs. Community-based targeting approaches allow the programme to temporarily extend its support to other vulnerable populations (HLPE 2012; Berhane et al 2012).

This flexibility is important because of the increasing number of short-term crises resulting from climate change and volatile world market prices. Existing social protection programmes play a crucial role here, as they have the administrative capacity, range and size to respond flexibly and quickly to acute crisis situations. In this way, the Ecuadorian government had from the start integrated the possibility of additional transfers into the design of its national social transfer programme: In crisis situations, the Bono de Desarrollo Humano programme makes available additional one-time payments to affected households. Access regulations, administrative structures and management processes are similar and therefore familiar to beneficiaries. In 2008, some 90,000 households affected by disastrous flooding benefited from the Bono De Emergencia (Fleddermann et al. 2013).

9.6 Local Governance

The design of social transfer programmes is crucial to achieve positive benefit. Equally important is its institutional dimension or governance structure. The more pilot interventions are rolled out to programmes with national coverage, the more it becomes important to have strong institutional and administrative structures. This is especially true at the local administrative level, which is in large part responsible for the implementation and execution of these programmes. Targeting processes, registration of beneficiaries, checking conditions for adherence or distribution of transfers are mostly the responsibility of local administrations. Yet in most developing countries, local administrative levels have the weakest structures and resources.

Involving the local administration in social protection programmes from the beginning and strengthening these administrations is therefore essential. This is especially true for multisectoral approaches, which have a greater need for coordination (UNDP 2014).

Development cooperation can make a significant contribution through long-term capacity development. Building up functioning local administrative units is relevant for the implementation of rural development or social protection programmes but also has a positive effect on the state-building process by strengthening the relationship between the state and its citizens, creating legitimacy and contributing to political stability.

9.7 The political dimension of social protection

Political will and commitment to change are key requirements for any successful development or political intervention. This is particularly true for long-term interventions such as social protection measures or a comprehensive food and nutrition security strategy. Without the political will and the commitment of partner governments, measures that require long-term investments and involve multiple sectors and policy areas are difficult to implement.

Development cooperation must therefore understand the partner country's priorities and collaboratively work out programmes and strategies that offer not only the best possible technical and financial solutions, but that also have political support and therefore a chance for sustainable implementation.

The debate about social protection mechanisms is ideologically charged. Social transfers are called into question by arguing that they would create long-term dependency and generate high costs. This political dimension needs to be considered in the choice of social protection measures, so that strategies can succeed under real and concrete conditions (ODI 2013).

Since multisectoral approaches require particularly strong backing from all participating political sectors, intensified cross-sectoral cooperation in joint working groups or committees plays a vital role. A jointly developed national food and nutrition security strategy involving the relevant sectors is an important negotiating tool that can strengthen the obligation and responsibility of each individual sector in a common policy. Shared objectives and shared goal and impact indicators, for which each individual sector can carry part of the responsibility, are of particular importance.

10. CONCLUSIONS: SOCIAL PROTECTION AND ITS CONTRIBUTION TO SOCIAL HARMONY AND TO FAIR AND EQUITABLE DEVELOPMENT

This overview has shown that social protection is a prerequisite for the development of rural areas and for the food and nutrition security of rural populations. Social protection instruments reinforce the bases for nutrition and livelihoods in rural areas and have a positive effect on structural improvement of the population's poverty and living conditions.

Social protection systems improve the quality of nutrition, cushion immediate risks of poverty, contribute to better education of women and girls, improve the productive and social infrastructure in rural areas, conserve resources and galvanise the rural economy.

This comprehensive role of social protection is becoming increasingly important in the broader development context. While many countries have experienced rapid economic growth over the past decade, poor populations in rural areas have benefited only marginally from this growth. In many countries, growth and prosperity remain limited to a very small, mostly urban elite.

This in no way promotes the cohesion or the political stability of these societies. Some are threatened with disintegration of the state, others are struggling with migration flows from rural areas to cities and across borders. Effective and sustainable economic development requires social redistribution and the participation of all citizens in development and prosperity. Without inclusion, growth remains fragile, including with regard to peace and security.

Box 16: Learning from the financial crisis in Indonesia

Until the outbreak of the first Asian crisis of 1997-98, Indonesia had one of the highest growth and most rapidly declining poverty rates in the world. A suddenly shrinking economy, high inflation rates and sharply rising prices, especially for food-stuffs, doubled absolute poverty within a year. This had serious social and political consequences.

To mitigate and reduce the worst effects of the crisis on poor and vulnerable groups, the Indonesian government introduced a series of short-term social transfer programmes. Public works measures, scholarships and food subsidies aimed to alleviate the negative impacts of the crisis on the poor, and played a central role in food and nutrition security.

The results were impressive: Poverty decreased from 33% (1998) to 12% (2002), and social development, in terms of health and education indicators, were stabilised. Although many programmes had serious design flaws due to their hasty implementation – particularly in terms of targeting – experts agree they can be credited with a central role in the rapid recovery of the Indonesian economy. They were responsible for ensuring that social progress achieved before the crisis would not be lost. They also had an important role in maintaining political stability after the fall of the Suharto regime (Sumarto et al. 2008).

This experience led the government to continue expanding and improving the social safety net over the years – with the objective of ensuring risk management not only in the context of crisis situations, but to install long-term social protection mechanisms for the sustainable reduction of poverty.

In 2005, the government replaced the fuel subsidy with a series of social programmes to alleviate conditions for the poorest of the poor. The government introduced a health insurance, the rice subsidy programme and an unconditional social cash transfer programme applied flexibly in times of crisis. The aim was to prevent the population from slipping back into chronic poverty, and children from regressing in their development.

In 2007, a conditional social transfer programme, Program Keluarga Harapan (PKH), was launched, becoming a centrepiece of the national social protection strategy. A series of community-based programmes for infrastructure improvement and for integration into the labour market accompany the social transfer programme (Ibid.). On behalf of BMZ, GIZ has supported the Indonesian government since 2011 in the implementation and expansion of the PKH. By strengthening and unifying administrative structures, the programme could be extended from one million to six million households in just five years.



Climate change, rapid population growth and the increasing scarcity of resources place additional pressure on the countries of the South, where the poorest populations are the hardest hit. Rapid economic development in many countries increases inequality and creates social and political tensions which are also reflected in a strong rural-urban contrast. In addition, there are more countries with longstanding military conflicts. Especially in fragile contexts, social protection can show high functionality. It can defuse political conflicts and strengthen peace processes.

Political stability is a prerequisite for economic development, growth and innovation, and sustainable food and nutrition security. Social protection measures provide a significant contribution to these processes by stabilising growth and development.

They prevent people in vulnerable situations from becoming poorer, and help people who are less poor from slipping into poverty in crisis situations – even if external influences such as price shocks or crises threaten to jeopardise development gains (Ulrichs, M. and Slater, R. 2016; Ulrichs, M. 2016; see box 16).

The prerequisite for success is a clear political commitment on the part of partner countries to invest in social protection measures and to increasingly link these with measures for food and nutrition security, rural development and other economic and employment policies. The implementation of such measures requires a cross-sectoral dialogue with civil society, the private sector and research institutions. This political dialogue should include decentralised and local actors as well as the institutions responsible for implementing the measures.

A clear political commitment to sustainable food and nutrition security and a 'Zero Hunger' goal is also required on the part of the donor community. Cross-sectoral cooperation with the aim of enhanced integration and alignment of rural development and social protection should also be pursued more strongly by German Development Cooperation.

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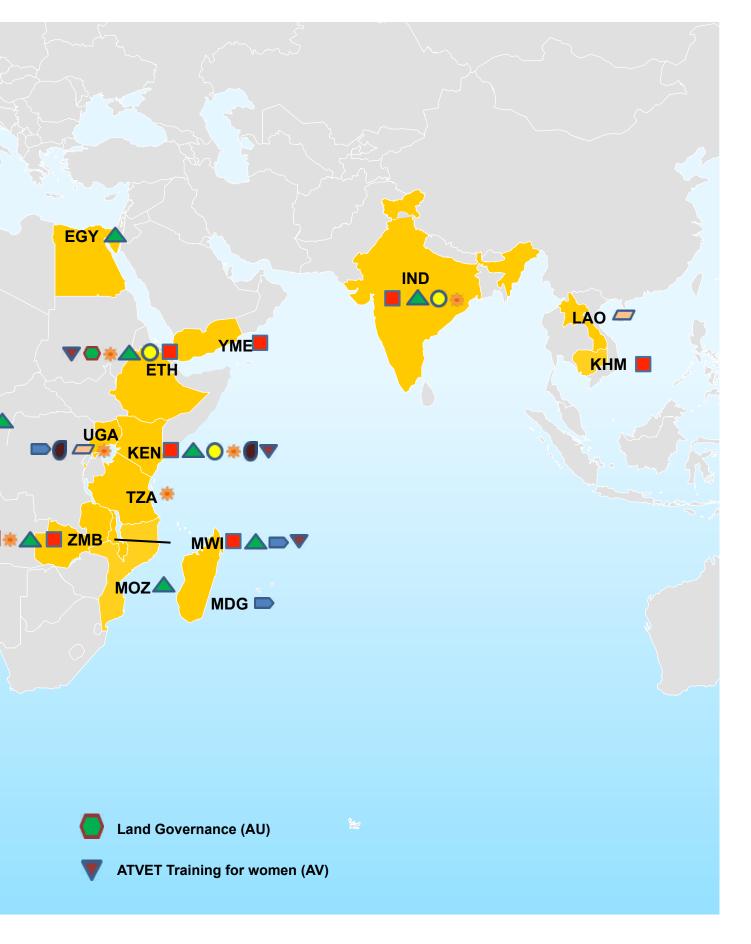
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ANNEX 1: SEWOH PRIORITY PARTNER COUNTRIES







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