

Lund University

Department of Sociology

BIDS

Conditional Cash Transfers in the African Context:

An Explorative Study on the Impacts of CCTs in Burkina Faso

**Report from Minor Field Study in Burkina Faso
January- March 2012**

Author: Anna Malmi

Bachelor Thesis: UTVK03 15hp

Spring Term 2012

Supervisor: Olle Frödin

Author: Anna Malmi

Title: Conditional Cash Transfers in the African Context: An Explorative Study on the Impacts of CCTs in Burkina Faso

Bachelor Thesis: UTKVO3, 15 hp

Tutor: Olle Frödin

Department of Sociology/BIDS ST 12

The proliferation of poverty and global inequality between and within the countries has resulted in an emerging consensus among the actors in the field of international development on the importance of social policies in the process of development. One type of social policy measures employed to tackle poverty is Conditional Cash Transfers (CCT). These have been formed within the World Bank Group and extensively implemented in Latin American and Caribbean countries. The idea of CCTs is to break down the intergenerational transmission of poverty by attacking both demand and supply side of social services. Despite the seemingly positive findings on the impacts of CCTs in Latin America and the Caribbean they are also widely criticized. CCTs have fairly recently been adopted by some African countries and more specifically by Burkina Faso. However questions arise on the suitability of CCTs in a very different contextual setting. Thus this study is an explorative study on the impacts of CCT program Orphans and Vulnerable Children in Burkina Faso with the aim to provide insights to the realities lived by the people and their experiences participating in the OEV program. More specifically this study endeavors to shed light on the ways the cash was used by the beneficiary households, on its gender implications and on the perceptions of the participants regarding the implementation and execution of the program. The analysis is based on empirical data collected by employing qualitative methods in the province of Nahouri in Burkina Faso. The data is analyzed through three main theoretical frameworks that of social policy and development, social policy and gender and women's empowerment. The study concludes that CCTs despite having positive short term effects on poverty in the context of the study are unlikely to bring long term sustainable changes. It is suggested that the role of men in CCTs should be further investigated and that targeting in contexts where poverty is widespread might have adverse impacts in terms of social cohesion, inequality and poverty.

Key Words: Conditional Cash Transfers, Social Policies, Poverty, Gender division of labor, Women's empowerment

This thesis is dedicated to my beloved grandmother Kerttu Malmi, an admirably strong woman who passed away while I was doing my field study in Burkina Faso.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank all the professors involved in the BIDS program during the past three years who have taught us, believed in us and motivated us to develop our own ideas. I would like to show my gratitude also to Johan Sandberg and Axel Fredholm for the support and guidance during the process of Minor Field Study scholarship application. I am obliged to Swedish International Development and Cooperation Agency for entitling me to the scholarship that enabled me to do my field study in Burkina Faso. I owe sincere and earnest thankfulness to Göran Björkdahl, Victorine Yameogo, Seydou Kabre and all the staff at CNLS-IST as well as to my assistant Olivie in the field. I am sincerely thankful for all the persons who assisted me in Burkina Faso and made it possible for me to conduct the field study. I would also like to show my thankfulness to my supervisor Olle Frödin who has been patient and guided me through the process of thesis writing. I am truly indebted and thankful for all my respondents who took their time and talked to me giving me an unforgettable experience. I would also like to thank all my fellow students in the BIDS program, my friends, Polina Alet and my family without whom this thesis would not have been possible to realize.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

1. INTRODUCTION	6
2. METHODOLOGY	7
2.1 Data Collection	8
2.1.1 Semi-Structured Interviews	8
2.1.2 Ethnographic Approach and Participant Observation	8
2.1.3 Sampling.....	8
2.1.4 Limitations of the methods	9
2.2 Analysis of the data: Thematic Analysis.....	9
3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	10
3.1 Social policy and Development	10
3.2 Social Policy and Gender.....	12
3.3 Empowerment: Binding strategic and practical gender interests together.....	13
4. BACKGROUND.....	15
4.1 The Latin American and Caribbean Experience	15
4.2 Conditional Cash Transfers in the African Context.....	17
4.3 Burkina Faso	17
4.3.1 Gender in Burkina Faso: Some General Features.....	18
4.4 Characteristics of the Conditional Cash Transfer Program Orphans and Vulnerable Children ..	20
4.4.1 Introduction to the program.....	20
4.4.2 Beneficiaries of the project.....	20
4.4.3 The type of cash transfers: Conditional and Unconditional	21
5. DATA ANALYSIS:	21
5.1 The use of the cash transfer and its impacts on beneficiaries lives.....	21
5.2 Impacts on gender relations, gender division of labor and women’s empowerment.....	25
5.2.1 Access to resources and gender division of labor.....	25
5.2.2 Decision making.....	28
5.2.3 Gender interests	29

5.3 Beneficiaries perceptions regarding the implementation and execution of the program..... 31

5.4 Concluding discussion 34

6. CONCLUSION..... 35

7. REFERENCES.....37

1. INTRODUCTION

Social policies have come to gain increasingly more prominence in the development discourse actively advocated by stakeholders in the field of international development cooperation and academia. This change in approach to development could be attributed to the proliferation of poverty and global inequality within and between countries. There is also a growing consensus that poverty and inequality cannot be tackled only by economic growth through market liberalization but has to be confronted through redistributive measures. One type of such measures employed and favored by development institutions, especially by the World Bank, is social protection programs based on targeted social income cash transfers. These often comprise conditional and unconditional assistance to families living in extreme poverty; conditional cash transfers being more and more favored over the unconditional ones. The purpose of Conditional Cash Transfers (CCT) is to provide a sustainable solution to poverty alleviation by encouraging human capability building that is to break down the intergenerational cycle of poverty (Fizbein & Schady 2009). Health and education measures are prioritized as means to achieve poverty alleviation (Fizbein & Schady 2009). CCT programs diverge from other cash transfer programs since they entail conditions to be met by the beneficiary household or person. These conditions usually include school enrolment requirements and health requirements such as frequent checkups, vaccinations, growth monitoring and prenatal care and training for mothers (Fizbein & Schady 2009). Conditional Cash Transfer programs are based on an idea of “co responsibility” or joint responsibility meaning that human development is not only a matter of state but a task that should be performed and facilitated by all people and communities themselves (Cecchini & Madariaga 2011).

CCT programs have seen a huge increase across the world. The first programs were implemented in Mexico (PROGRESA), Brazil (BOLSA FAMILIA) and Bangladesh in 1997 and by 2008 there were CCT programs in almost every country in South America and the Caribbean, several in South and East Asia and could also be found in Yemen and Turkey (Fizbein & Schady 2009). CCTs have been awarded as being successful in terms of efficient targeting, poverty alleviation, increased levels of education and women’s empowerment (Cecchini & Madariaga 2011, Fizbein & Schady 2009). Africa has quite recently adopted some CCT programs in Burkina Faso, Nigeria and Kenya (Fizbein & Schady 2009). The focus of this thesis is on Conditional Cash Transfers in the African context more specifically in Burkina Faso being one of the first African countries to have adopted a CCT program.

Despite the strong foothold Conditional Cash Transfers are starting to gain in the field of international development practice due to the positive outcomes mentioned above, there are still some ambiguities (Mkandawire 2004, Ortiz 2007). There are two main criticisms toward the current poverty alleviation agenda pursued through targeted cash transfers. The first one focuses on questioning the ability of these to challenge

the underlying unequal power structures entrenched to the current political and economic model. The latter is seen to produce inequality, vulnerability and poverty in the first place hence should be questioned and addressed (Mkandawire 2004, Ortiz 2007, and Wheeler & Keetie 2011). The second stream of criticism put forward especially by Molyneux (2006) concentrates on illuminating the inadequate inclusion of gender concerns into the programs. It is claimed that social cash transfer programs instead of being gender neutral, as claimed by the promoters of the new social protection agenda, are rather gender blind (Razavi & Hassim 2006, Razavi 2007, Wheeler & Keetie 2011, Jones & Holmes 2011).

Specific Aims, Statement of Purpose and Research Questions

This study is an explorative study to the impacts of the Conditional Cash Transfer program “Orphans and Vulnerable Children” (OEV) in Burkina Faso. This study could be considered to be rather unique given that no or very little published information exists on the program due to the novelty of the program and the ongoing process of large scale quantitative evaluations. It is also considered important to explore the impacts of CCTs in a context which is very different from that where the programs originally emerged and have developed. Thus the aim of this study is to give some insights firstly to the ways the cash transfer was used in the beneficiary households and how it impacted the lives of the participants. Secondly it aims to illuminate how participation in the program might have impacted on gender relations and the gender division of labor as well as to what extent it might have contributed to women’s empowerment. Thirdly the ambition is to discuss the perceptions the participants had regarding the implementation and execution of the program.

The data collected through qualitative interviews will be analyzed through three main theoretical frameworks, that of social policy and development and that of social policy and gender and that of women’s empowerment. In the concluding part the arguments presented throughout the thesis will be summarized and suggestions for future research on social cash transfer programs will be given.

This thesis will begin by discussing the methodology employed to carry out the study and then continues to present the theoretical framework. Thereafter the study goes on summarizing the main features of the earlier studies conducted on CCT programs in the Latin American and Caribbean countries and gives an overview of the Burkinabe context in which this study took place in. In the last section the empirical data collected is analyzed and conclusions presented.

2. METHODOLOGY

In this part the methodology used for the study will be presented. Firstly the methods used to collect data will be outlined. Thereafter the limitations of the methods employed will be discussed and the method used for

analyzing the data presented. Qualitative approach to the data collection was employed since the aim was to interpret the experiences, opinions and subjective understandings the beneficiaries had regarding the CCT program as well as regarding their own situation in the household or in the community. The interviews were conducted in 10 different villages and in three different communes and included 20 interviews. Both men and women that had received conditional or unconditional cash transfers were interviewed.

2.1 Data Collection

2.1.1 Semi-Structured Interviews

The data collection was carried out through qualitative interviews and more precisely by using semi-structured interviews. The method was chosen since it allowed, given the time constraints, to acquire the maximum of knowledge on the topic (Bryman 2008, pp.436) taking into account the absence of any (at least official or published) information concerning my topic.

I found semi structured interviews to be suitable to for my research due to the specificity and clear focus of my research area (Bryman 2008, pp. 439) on the impacts and problems related to the implementation of the social cash transfer program Orphans and Vulnerable Children. In the same time semi-structured interviews allowed flexibility (Bryman 2008, pp.438) to also ask questions outside the actual focus that however appeared to be important for exploring the topic and indeed guided me to discover what actually was important to concentrate on regarding the OEV program (Bryman 2008, pp.437).

2.1.2 Ethnographic Approach and Participant Observation

During my field study I was immersed in the Burkinabe society, thus tried to be attentive to the behavior of people as well as to the informal discussions held and activities carried out by my interviewees and other people. Along the scheme of Gold (Gold 1958 cited in Bryman 2008, pp.410) this would categorize my role to have been “observer-as-participant” which is a common approach among researcher using primarily qualitative interviews as their source of data. However it should be taken into account also that being an observer-as-participant entails the risk of misunderstanding or making false interpretations of the phenomena observed (Bryman 2008, pp.411).

2.1.3 Sampling

Taken into consideration the focus of my research to examine the impacts of the respective poverty alleviation program, I used purposive non-probability sampling (Bryman 2008, pp.414). The selection of the household was done randomly choosing from the official list of participant households including both women and men that had received cash transfers. In order to get a more comprehensive picture of the topic

the study didn't limit itself only to interview households within one specific village but included 10 villages (out of 60) into the study.

2.1.4 Limitations of the methods

Eventually no method is without problems and there are also various problems associated with qualitative interviews allowing large amount of open ended questions. As argued in Bryman (2008, pp.443) and as I experienced while using semi structured interviews during the data collection, carefulness was needed in order to avoid leading the interviewee to answer in a certain way. This problem seemed to appear especially when probing was needed in case the respondent did not fully understand the question (Bryman 2008, pp.206) thus was avoided as much as possible by using i.e. vignette questions or by reformulating and/or returning to the question later on. It should be acknowledged also that remaining fully objective and avoiding the influence of subjective biases (Bryman 2008, pp 444) is often impossible. The interviews were conducted with the help of an assistant who also worked as the interpreter given that most of the households didn't speak French, the official language but spoke local languages mastered by my assistant. However it should be acknowledged that this might have impacted the data, given the translation process and the fact that I couldn't understand what exact words and sentences the interviewees actually used. Moreover it should not be denied that many possibly fruitful informal discussions between the assistant and the interviewees as well as between the interviewees and other members of their family who sometimes were present were not translated hence not accessible for me. Even though the aim was to interview the respondents without the presence of other persons, this was often impossible given the cultural factors and would have been disrespectful toward the interviewee. Furthermore it should not be left without attention that even though my study in the beginning was reluctant to make any rigid hypotheses regarding the outcomes of the study yet I have been influenced by the literature studied prior to the experience on the field and this might have impacted the interview questions asked.

2.2 Analysis of the data: Thematic Analysis

A thematic data analysis (Bryman 2008) approach was employed to analyze the interviews collected. During all the interviews field notes were taken and almost all of the interviews were recorded but due to technical problems a few of the interviews remained unrecorded. Also all the interviews were transcribed and translated from French to English. Afterwards the transcriptions were read through several times and the recurring ideas, motifs and themes were identified and organized as well as presented in different cells according to the guidelines for thematic analysis presented in Bryman (2008, pp.555). Thematic analysis was considered as an natural way of organizing the data given that the interview guide used for the interviews was also organized in a thematic way comprising three dimensions that of the use of the cash transfer, that of gender relations and women's empowerment and that of problems regarding the implementation of the

program. However it should be noticed that these dimensions were overlapping and that answers to one set of questions could also give insights to the other dimensions of the interview guide.

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Social policy and Development

Social policies have for a long time been neglected in the development discourse and practice. This has been most likely because of the assumed dichotomy (Mkandawire 2004, Ortiz 2007,) between the “*economic*” and the “*social*” as well as due to the supposed tradeoff between *efficiency* and *equality*. Along the western experiences, social policies have seen to be an autonomous institutional sphere from the markets which contains values and norms that can challenge the capitalistic economic order (Wood and Gough 2004). Social welfare has been, during the domination of liberal and neo-liberal ideologies, considered, if it has been considered at all, more as an end stage, a form of luxury that comes after “development” rather than an instrument to achieve economic development, albeit it being an important one. This is the case especially in the South where economic development is needed but which cannot be achieved without improvements in peoples’ wellbeing (Wood and Gough 2004, Mkandawire 2004, Ortiz 2007,).

Social policies in today’s development discourse are perhaps more present than in past decades not least because of the poverty alleviation agenda that has come to define development as merely poverty alleviation (Mkandawire 2004, Ortiz 2007). Therefore one of the central questions of the poverty alleviation discourse is, how it should be done through redistribution or through economic growth, though it could be suggested that most likely it is a twin function of the two (Dagdeviren et al 2001, Ortiz 2007).

Social development in developing context is to a large extent pursued through the “safety net” paradigm that produces targeted programs for targeted people (Tendler 2004, Mkandawire 2004). The latter still reflects the tendency to treat social schemes as a remedy to the disease instead of attacking that what caused the problem in the first place, the structural inequalities and unequal power relationships created and sustained by the prevailing liberal economic model. Indeed the conditionality attached to the cash transfer in CCT programs could be argued to still reflect the underlying liberal assumption that poverty is primarily a consequence of individual failure and irresponsibility and not a matter of structural constraints (Schubert & Slater 2006). Thus “poor people’s” behavior should be somehow supervised and influenced (Schubert & Slater 2006).

It could be questioned though whether absolute poverty can be eradicated and inequality reduced through targeting and “safety nets” given the many problems associated with targeted interventions. These include the administrative complexity and high administrative costs that might outweigh the benefits (Ortiz 2007). The quality of targeted assistance is often rather poor and there might be a risk of reducing social cohesion and dismantling solidarity between and within different groups of people in a society (Ortiz 2007). However other authors claim that targeting is necessary for more efficient, real and just redistribution to take place and

for political economy reasons. Wood and Gough (2006) argue for a right based universal social protection system as the best way to erode absolute poverty and to create a process of inclusive human development that satisfies the basic needs of people and the need for livelihood security. However the latter mentioned authors also point out that social policies need to be derived from and adjusted to different contexts rather than adopting one agenda to be implemented everywhere. The authors, through their typology of welfare regimes (divided in welfare state regimes, informal security regimes and insecurity regimes) argue that social policy being borne and developed in the western capitalist societies with legitimate strong states and pervasive formal labor markets as the base for people's livelihoods can't take the same form everywhere. In the west the purpose of social policies has largely been the de-commodification of people through different set of income maintenance measures that would reduce people's dependency on market forces. However Wood and Gough (2004) argue that these set of measures are unlikely to be relevant in economic and political contexts which are very different from the industrialized and capitalistic ones with autonomous states. Social policies cannot take the same form in contexts with distant and partial states serving the dominant classes, where people to ensure their livelihood security rely principally on agriculture and on informal networks rather than on wages and formal labor (Wood and Gough 2004). Human well being, it is argued by the authors, has other dimensions than only those related to income maintenance and by focusing on income maintenance and labor market practices other critical social policy measures might be left unacknowledged (Wood and Gough 2004). In the informal security regimes for example kinship, family and community relationships entitle people to informal rights and duties. These can be hierarchical, exploitative, exclusive and dependency creative in the long term but provide people some level of social security in the short term. Thus the authors suggest that social policies in such contexts should focus more to strengthen not only the individual agency to exit poverty but also the collective agency. The latter is seen to be essential to induce a process of collective struggle by which policies themselves would be formulated. Social action and struggle is seen fundamental for the achievement of structural changes that would formalize people's informal rights and bring about necessary institutional reforms. This is vital if poverty ought to be eradicated as claimed by the authors:

“ In other words, poverty eradication is about cohorts confronting power and inequality whereas poverty alleviation is about reducing the incidence of poverty via individual processes of graduation and successful individual incorporation into existing social arrangements and patterns of distribution. “ (Wood and Gough 2004, pp.62)

Social protection (which is a tool of social policies) and poverty can be understood in different ways, narrowly or more broadly. This eventually influences the policy implications formulated to tackle poverty and the extent that poverty can be alleviated or eradicated. Poverty in this study is understood as something that goes beyond only economic aspects of life. Poverty should be understood as being contextual, situational and relational thus as stated by Narayan et al. in Hagberg (2008)

“Poverty is experienced locally in a specific context, in a specific place and in a specific interaction, while those that plan poverty are far away” (Hagberg 2008 pp.105).

On the other hand social protection can be defined narrowly as merely short term assistance to smoothen the possible income fluctuations and deficits helping people to cope with prevailing socioeconomic conditions. On the contrary a broader viewpoint would see social protection as a twin function of short term and long term efforts that would tackle vulnerability, poverty and social exclusion (Barrientos & Hulme 2005, Wheeler & Keetie 2011). CCTs are based on this latter understanding of social protection having its focus on social protection’s developmental role rather than on only social assistance (Barrientos 2011). This is given that they aim to help maintaining basic levels of consumption among those living in poverty or facing the risk to fall into poverty, to facilitate the investment in human capital or in other assets breaking this way the intergenerational transmission of poverty and to strengthen the agency of those in poverty so that they could exit poverty (Barrientos 2011, Wheeler & Keetie 2011). This latter is an essential point if poverty is to be understood not only in economic terms but also in terms of lack of agency, the inability to act to change one’s situation (Hagberg 2008). Thus the role of broader notion of social protection in terms of poverty reduction is to protect people, to prevent and to promote the transformation of the structural mechanisms that result in poverty, vulnerability and social exclusion of groups of people. Given the aim of this study to explore the gender dimensions of the CCTs the following section will provide a discussion on social policies and gender as well as women’s empowerment.

3.2 Social Policy and Gender

Through the analysis of different welfare regimes, though mainly western ones, Sainsbury (1999) suggests that the *principles of entitlement to social benefits* play an important role in terms of gender equality. The way entitlements to social benefits are allocated, whether being on the basis of citizenship, employment, marital status or motherhood seem to strongly influence the regulatory and emancipator potential of different social policies (Sainsbury 1999). Sainsbury (1999) illuminates how social policies are grounded on diverse assumptions about gender and gender roles. This could be illustrated through the organization of care in a society which is one of the most important dimensions of human, social as well as economic development (Razavi & Hassim 2006, Razavi 2007). The way care is, or is not, institutionalized between the state, markets, family and non-profit organizations clearly reflects how ideologies concerning the role of a woman as the care giver and man as the bread winner affect the policy outcomes (Razavi 2007). This could then be seen to eventually have implications to which degree women as well as men are able to engage in economic, political, cultural or other social activities (Razavi 2007). This could also be seen to influence the extent one is able to exercise *autonomy of agency* and *critical autonomy* sometimes impaired by blocked opportunities to social participation (Wood & Gough 2004). The aforementioned refer to the ability to make informed

choices about what should be done and how to go about it as well as to question the life one grows up in and possibly act to change it. These two forms of agency together with physical health are identified by Wood and Gough (2004) to be universal basic needs of human beings to be able to pursue what they perceive as good.

As indicated, CCT programs in most of the cases direct the cash transfer to the mothers presupposing that by giving the money to women it would be better used for the benefit of the child and that this might have empowering spillover effects on women (Fizbein & Schady 2009, Cecchini & Madariaga 2011). Hence the principle of entitlement to these benefits is confined to the role of women as mothers and care givers. It could be suggested thus that this risks to further naturalize the *gendered division of labor* that is seen to produce and reproduce gender inequalities and to affirm women's role to be only that of a mother, wife and care giver (Molyneux 2007, Molyneux & Thomson 2011). Hence could be seen to reduce women's possibilities for social participation beyond the domestic sphere (Razavi 2007, Molyneux 2007). The gendered division of labor it is argued by Molyneux (2006) results not only in the double burden of work for women but also translates to women's double poverty. By double poverty it is referred not only to economic poverty and dependency on men but also to *time poverty*. The concept of time poverty denotes the gender related shortage of time as exemplified in the following quote:

“Gender-related “time poverty” refers to the lack of time for all the tasks imposed on women, for rest and for economic, social and political activities. It is an important additional burden which in many societies is due to structural gender inequality—a disparity which has different meanings for women and men” (Molyneux 2006, pp.19).

Time poverty clearly restricts one's ability to engage in different forms of social participation and to exercise different forms of agencies. Thus if poverty is seen also in the light of lack of agency this should be considered in the work made for poverty reduction.

The discussion presented above on the underlying assumptions of gender roles guiding the formulation of social policies is also related to the discourse on empowerment and how it ought to be done. In the following section empowerment will be defined and strategies for transformative empowerment agendas will be discussed.

3.3 Empowerment: Binding strategic and practical gender interests together

In order to discuss the possibilities for CCT programs to bring empowering changes in women's lives it is necessary to define the term. Authors such as Wheeler & Keetie (2011) argue that empowerment should be seen in a multidimensional manner rather than relying to a rather simplistic view that economic resources alone can bring changes (Wheeler & Keetie 2011). Disempowerment does not take place only due to the lack of economic resources but is also linked to the social norms, practices, and rules that allocate social,

economic and human resources and define the terms by which one gains access to these resources (Sen 1978, Kabeer 1994, Kabeer 2001). The distribution of different set of resources then influence the agency of a person and his/her capability to make practical as well as strategic choices regarding his/her life in a given context. Thus empowerment could be seen to refer to a *process* by which people deprived from the ability to make practical and strategic choices regarding their lives and put those choices into action acquire such ability (Kabeer 1994, Kabeer 2001, Molyneux and Thomson 2011). Thus it denotes an understanding of empowerment that implies change in the social norms, rules and practices that control the allocation and use of different set of resources.

It is argued by authors such as Moser (1993) Kabeer (1994) and Molyneux (2006) that transformative empowerment agenda should recognize women's various *gender interests*. The conceptual division of *gender interests* to two, distinct but interrelated, categories namely to those of *strategic and practical gender interests* is based on the premise that in order to formulate transformative politics it is necessary to recognize the different levels of women's subordination as well as the various roles women perform in their daily lives (Moser 1993, Kabeer 1994, Kabeer 2001). By *strategic interests* it is referred to those prioritized concerns of women that arise from the analysis of their own subordination to men and have as their goal to change their position (Moser 1993, Kabeer 1994, Kabeer 2001). Such interests can relate for example to the gendered division of labor, sexual violence, legal rights, power and control. On the other hand by *practical interests* it is referred to those interests of women that are linked directly to their daily lives, concrete conditions and arise from their socially accepted and defined roles in a given social setting (Moser 1993). These don't attempt to change the position of women but rather improve the concrete conditions where women live in. (Moser 1993, Kabeer 1994, Kabeer 2001). Both set of interests depend on the particular cultural and socio-economic contexts which determinate the nature and structure of the relationships between men and women (Moser 1993).

Rather than treating these two set of interests in a dichotomous manner the practical gender interests should be considered as the starting point for achieving more strategic interests for example by combining traditional activities with something non- traditional or supporting women in their productive activities (Moser 1993). It is argued that spaces should be created from which women have the possibility to look at alternative ways of being and doing (Kabeer 1994, Kabeer 2001, Sen 1978) rather than distribute resources along the traditional gender divisions (Moser 1993, Molyneux 2006). This is since until the power entrenched in social norms, practices and rules, that reproduce women's subordinate position, remain unquestioned it is not experienced as a form of power and no changes will take place (Moser 1993, Kabeer 1994, Kabeer 2001).

Before moving into the data analysis a background for the study will be outlined in the following section. This is regarded as essential regarding CCTs given the importance of contextual differences between Latin America and Caribbean context and the African context.

4. BACKGROUND

4.1 The Latin American and Caribbean Experience

In this section the main findings on the impacts of CCTs in Latin America and the Caribbean will be due to the space limitations only shortly outlined. The statements presented are largely based on the report by Cecchini and Madariaga (2011) which summarizes quite comprehensively the experiences with CCTs on the continent. These findings should however be treated carefully bearing in mind that they are generalizations derived out of several cases within Latin American and Caribbean countries thus should be read acknowledging the heterogeneity of cases and impacts.

The authors of the report mentioned above argued that Conditional Cash Transfers have had a tendency to increase the level of enrolment in education and even remarkably reduced the gender gaps due to the active promotion and in some cases subsidy for girls' education. It has also been observed that dropout rates in so to say "transitory grades" meaning education after primary education have been especially reduced. CCTs influence seems to be rather in keeping adolescents in schools rather than increasing enrolment in primary education. In low income and small countries where the level of education is low from the beginning, CCTs seem to have had the most influence on the incentives to put and keep the children in schools (Cecchini and Madariaga 2011). It is argued also that CCTs have been somehow successful in reducing the opportunity cost of not using children as labor force.

Cecchini and Madariaga (2011) show that when it comes to poverty reduction, the additional income has increased household consumption. Thus CCTs have indeed helped people to cope with poverty and vulnerability to poverty at least in short term. On a national level it seems that CCTs have had a significant impact on poverty reduction only in countries where the coverage of households has been large and the amount of money transferred to the beneficiaries has been high. Such countries include Brazil, Argentina, Ecuador, Mexico and Jamaica. In terms of reductions in inequality there are variations among cases but it seems that in those cases where the amount of transfer represents a higher proportion of the household income also the impacts on inequality have been more positive (Cecchini and Madariaga 2011). However what emerges as an interesting point is according to Rawlings and Brière (2003) the possibility of CCT programs to contribute to a greater long term social inclusion of excluded people. Since CCTs involve conditionalities they also demand a good provision of services, they go beyond the demand side and strengthen the supply side (Rawlings & Brière 2006). In some countries, such as Brazil and Chile,

Conditional Cash Transfers have become strongly embedded in the larger national or sub-national social protection system and are more than isolated poverty alleviation programs (Fizbein & Schady 2009).¹

According to Cecchini and Madariaga (2011) in some cases significant improvements in women's well being that can be attributed to the participation in the program have been identified. It is stated that women have gained more bargaining power and decision making power regarding issues concerning household consumption and other domestic decisions. In the working paper prepared by Soares and Silva (2010) it is suggested that Conditional Cash Transfer programs have had positive impacts on women's access to resources that before were unavailable for them thus contributing to greater economic autonomy. It is also claimed that women's ability to decide alone on the use of the money is likely to increase over time as is their self esteem and social recognition within the community (Soares & Silva 2010, Cecchini & Madariaga 2011). However these arguments are contested by other scholars such as Molyneux (2007), Molyneux and Thomson (2006) and Tabbush (2010) who argue that that even though women indeed, at least in theory, should be incorporated to the planning of CCT programs it is more because of their centrality to the execution and achievement of program goals than because of the real willingness to promote empowerment and gender equality. As stated even though rather rigidly by Tabbush (2010) mothers are made responsible for poverty alleviation. Molyneux and Thomson's (2011) study on CCT programs in Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia and Molyneux (2006) study on Mexico's cash transfer program (PROGRESA/Oportunidades) argue that CCTs do little to transform, but rather reinforce the gendered division of labor that is seen to produce and reproduce gender inequalities causing women's double poverty of economic and time poverty. The interests of women are considered as far as they relate to the role women perform as mothers, carers and wives rather as active agents and citizens owning social, economic and political rights and who have needs related to their personal self and economic advancement (Molyneux 2006, Molyneux & Thomson 2011)

CCTs are programs that have developed mainly in the Latin American and Caribbean countries and- as stated in the introduction- have only quite recently been transmitted to the African context. Even though CCTs might have been successful in countries such as Mexico and Brazil, often cited as examples, both of these countries are large economies with rather high rate of urbanization. This raises questions regarding the possibilities of these programs to function and achieve its objectives in different contextual settings, as was argued previously social policies need to sensitive to circumstances (Wood and Gough 2004). Burkina Faso is among the poorest economies in the world most of the population residing in rural areas. The following paragraph therefore discusses the possible problems associated with implementing CCTs in Africa and goes on providing a general overview of the socioeconomic and political features of Burkina Faso.

¹ In practice that means administrative coherence and attention to the eligibility of participants. As Fizbein and Schady (2009) explain, poverty is experienced differently by diverse groups of people so therefore the means to combat it have to be adapted to the situation. Hence other cash transfers or social assistance programs might be preferred. Coherence between different social assistance programs also facilitates unbiased and fairer redistribution.

4.2 Conditional Cash Transfers in the African Context

Based on the fairly positive perceptions regarding the success of Conditional Cash Transfer programs in Latin American and the Caribbean, African countries are now encouraged to adopt CCT programs. However there are certain main concerns that have been brought up especially by Schubert and Slater (2006) regarding the suitability of CCTs in the low income African countries.

Schubert and Slater (2006) argue based on several case studies on Social Cash Transfer schemes in different African countries that the main bottleneck for human capability building is not the unwillingness of families to encourage improvements in their children's education and health. On the contrary education seems to be highly prioritized among poor households thus the problem is not the lack of demand but rather the quantity and quality of the supply as well as the possible opportunity costs of sending children to schools (Schubert and Slater 2006, Hagberg 2008, Barrientos 2009). The authors go on arguing that social cash transfer schemes should probably be maintained as simple as possible given that in low income African countries the Ministries and/or departments of social welfare frequently are among the weakest governmental bodies. Attaching conditions without real necessity to do so might only overburden the implementation capacities of the responsible social welfare institutions. Schubert and Slater (2006) also indicate that in the absence of any comprehensive analysis on the costs and benefits of conditionality there is an urgent need for an evaluation that would appraise these in order to avoid resources being wasted. It is also argued that CCTs do not always take into account the costs of compliance with the conditionalities (Barrientos 2009). It can't be overseen either that conditions attached to objectives do reflect certain social and political preferences (Barrientos 2009). In the following paragraph the context of the study, Burkina Faso, will be described in more detail. Moreover some main characteristics of Nahouri the specific context of the OEV program will be outlined.

4.3 Burkina Faso

Burkina Faso is a landlocked country north from Ghana that gained its independency from the French rule in 1960. The independency was followed by various military coups until 1987 when the present leader Blaise Compaoré became the president. Several political reforms toward democratic rule have been undertaken including adoption of a constitution, declaring freedom of political parties and holding of presidential and parliamentary election (SIDA 2004b, Hagberg 2008). However the country remains categorized as "partly free" (Freedom House 2011). The degree of corruption is also seen to have increased within the public administration (SIDA 2004c). Even though civic awareness might have increased among rural populations due to the work of several nongovernmental organizations and held elections, the state is still perceived distant and distrust toward it is common among rural communities (SIDA 2004b). Despite the existence of political debate and several newspapers, these are all in French which is spoken only by the small educated and literate minority thus remain inaccessible for most of the population undermining the political participation of the majority of the population (Hagberg 2008). According to SIDA (2004b) people see themselves more as clients of the state rather than citizens owing rights and duties in a modern state. The

economy of Burkina Faso consists of cotton cultivation, cereal cultivation for domestic use, of cattle and husbandry and rain fed agriculture being a dominating feature (SIDA 2004c, Hagberg 2008). The country could also be said to be hugely dependent on imports and exports from the neighboring countries (SIDA 2004c, Hagberg 2008). Droughts and land degradation, partly due to the cotton cropping and peoples unsustainable ways of using resources in order to survive in the short term, expose people's livelihoods to serious uncertainties (Hagberg 2008). The informal sector is widespread and especially in the urban areas unemployment is recognized as central cause for poverty and to which the youth is particularly vulnerable. In the rural areas underemployment during the dry season is identified as a crucial feature of poverty (Hagberg 2008). About 80% of the Burkinabe population lives in rural areas, 46, 7 % population living in extreme poverty according to the national poverty line (World Bank 2012). The country is one of last ones in Human Development Index ranking (181 out of 187) (UNDP 2011). According to Hagberg (2008) poverty in Burkina Faso is represented by the people as following *"You are poor if you farm throughout the year without harvesting anything."* (Hagberg 2008, pp.89).

Access to both education and health services are established rights and efforts such as ten year plan for the development of primary education have been undertaken. However especially in the rural areas the provision and access to social services remain low, insufficient and too expensive for most of the people (SIDA 2004c, Hagberg 2008). Burkina Faso can be said to share characteristics of an informal security regime discussed previously, government spending on social policies being low and people ensuring their livelihood security through kinship networks, through village chiefs and through farming and herding (SIDA 2004c, Wood & Gough 2004).

The Social Cash Transfer program Orphans and Vulnerable Children was implemented in the province of Nahouri situated in the region Center South of Burkina Faso, a rapidly growing region with a constant demographic growth. Burkina Faso is a country of great ethnic diversity followed by vast linguistic and religious varieties (Bonkougou & Bougma 2009). The main ethnic groups in Burkina Faso are the Mossi, Gurunsi, Fulani and Bobo people. Mossi and Gurunsi are the largest ethnic groups in Nahouri. The main economic activity in the region is agriculture comprising 90, 6% of the active population. One of the most striking challenges for the region is education. The literacy rate is only 16, 4 % and is characterized by strong spatial and gender inequalities (Bonkougou & Bougma 2009).

In the following paragraph below a background of the gender context in Burkina Faso is given. This is considered necessary given the aim of the study to explore the gender implications of the OEV program and its possibilities to empower women.

4.3.1 Gender in Burkina Faso: Some General Features

This paragraph is based in large part on the report of SIDA (2004a) since it was one of the few sources that comprehensively discussed gender in Burkina Faso. According to the report despite the various religious, cultural and ethnical differences that the country comprises, there are two inequalities that persist across all the ethnicities, those of age and gender.

One of the main problems for greater gender equality identified by the report seemed to be the gendered division of labor. The tasks attributed to men and women are often perceived by the people as something natural and normal. However it is important to notice that the division of labor in rural Burkina Faso is starting to overlap beyond the traditional divisions and women take on activities that are considered as “men’s tasks”. What is interesting is that women, even when carrying out “men’s activities” take on low profit activities which maintain their concrete and symbolic inferior position. On the other hand when it comes to activities considered as women’s tasks such as caring, teaching or nursing it is the men that conduct them on the paid professional level. Thus it is important to stress the tendency of women to always occupy activities that are less appreciated and awarded even when these activities go beyond the traditional division of reproductive and productive. Women also suffer from excessive workloads having almost without exceptions income generating activities or other productive activities and the responsibility of domestic tasks, caring and reproduction. The gendered division of labor seems to cause double poverty of women reinforcing women’s inferior economic position and causing women’s time poverty.

Men in the rural areas are considered to be the heads of families who have the right to make the decisions that women are expected to obey (SIGI 2011, SIDA 2004a). Despite the positive legislation that has taken place, such as the Family Code that emphasizes the equal position of partners within a household and gives mothers and father’s equal obligations and responsibilities in relation to their children as well as equal social, economic and political rights, these don’t have much relevancy at the grassroots. As discussed earlier, women’s empowerment and the work for gender equality should be done simultaneously at various levels. Only by transforming legislation, which of course is a strategic change, improvements in women’s position and living conditions are unlikely to take place if women’s diverse interests and needs are not understood and addressed. Other gendered inequalities in Burkina Faso outlined in the SIDA (2004a) report seem to be the unequal access to resources such as land which usually is possible only through men and without any lasting rights, to health services and to education (SIDA 2004a, Hagberg 2008). Furthermore the right to physical integrity and independency are recognized as prevailing problems. Women’s lack of identity cards is also a problem that restricts their political participation.

The African Union states that the inequalities between men and women should be addressed and that all policy implication whether national or promoted by international donors should include in depth knowledge of the local gender contexts in order to combat the women’s increasing poverty. This is also one of the motivations and contributions of this study. In the line with these statements both poverty reduction and

gender equality are national priorities in Burkina Faso (SIDA 2004a). In the next section a description of the CCT program Orphans and Vulnerable Children will be given.

4.4 Characteristics of the Conditional Cash Transfer Program Orphans and Vulnerable Children

4.4.1 Introduction to the program

The Conditional Cash Transfer Program (CCT) Orphans and Vulnerable Children (Orphans et Enfants Vulnérables OEV) was implemented in 2008 and ended in 2010². The CCT program forms part of a broader framework for poverty alleviation adopted in 2004 by the Government of Burkina Faso (The World Bank & Présidence du Faso Conseil National de Lutte Contre le SIDA et les IST, Secrétariat Permanent 2008). The project is justified by its assumed probable contribution toward the fulfillment of the Millennium Development Goals (MDG). The program was executed in a decentralized manner thus operated on several levels. The project was coordinated by the central institutions, the most important being National Council for fight against HIV/AIDS (CNLS-IST) and the World Bank. The other actors involved in the implementation of the program were the diverse committees for fight against HIV/AIDS on provincial, communal and village levels. The committees on the village levels were responsible for the actual execution of the program on the grassroots (The World Bank & Présidence du Faso Conseil National de Lutte Contre le SIDA et les IST, Secrétariat Permanent 2008)

4.4.2 Beneficiaries of the project

A total of 3250 families, eligible to participate in the program were elected along a national list of durable goods which served as the criteria of poverty. Another criteria used was that of the presence of orphans and/or vulnerable children in the household. Only children which were present at initiation of the project were qualified to be part of the program hence received money (The World Bank & Présidence du Faso Conseil National de Lutte Contre le SIDA et les IST, Secrétariat Permanent 2008).

The direct beneficiaries of the OVC program are orphans and children otherwise in a vulnerable condition. The indirect beneficiaries of the program are the persons infected and affected by HIV/AIDS and vulnerable households. A child under 15 who has lost at least one of his/her biological parents is considered as an orphan and child who falls below the poverty line is considered as a vulnerable child. The aim is to provide these children with opportunities that would increase their human capital and capabilities to break down the intergenerational cycle of poverty (The World Bank & Présidence du Faso Conseil National de Lutte Contre le SIDA et les IST, Secrétariat Permanent 2008).

² Since when preliminary evaluations on the impacts of the program have been conducted.

4.4.3 The type of cash transfers: Conditional and Unconditional

The program consists of social cash transfers both conditional and unconditional distributed in 60 villages in following communities Guiaro, Pô, Tiébélé, Zecco and Ziou. Within the 60 villages four types of transfers have been accomplished, unconditional cash transfers (UCT) given to the mother (540 households), UCT given to the Father (535 households), conditional cash transfers (CCT) given to the mother (521 households) and CCTs given to the father (540 households) (The World Bank & Presidence du Faso Conseil National de Lutte Contre le SIDA et les IST, Secretariat Permanent 2008).

By including the four different types of transfers to the program it is assumed that the impact of conditionality and gender to the accomplishment of the goals can be better examined.

The conditions for children between 0-6 years old are regular visits to health center and for the children between 7-15³ years old enrollment in schools and 90% attendance of the school days. The amount of transfer is 4000 – 16 000⁴ francs CFA per children and per year (depending on the age of children), approximately 8 – 32 US dollars a year. The payment is made every trimester, being between 1000 and 4000CFA every quarter of year. In order to hold the families accountable of complying with the conditions the families were given checkbooks to be fulfilled by the school and health personal (The World Bank & Presidence du Faso Conseil National de Lutte Contre le SIDA et les IST, Secretariat Permanent 2008).

The next section will present the data gathered on the OEV program presented above and analyze it in relation to the theoretical framework employed and background given for the study.

5. DATA ANALYSIS:

This explorative study on the pilot CCT program Orphans and Vulnerable Children in Burkina Faso, one of the first CCT programs found in the continent, firstly focused on looking at the way the cash transfer had been used and how it had helped people to tackle poverty. Secondly the study aspired to view the program from a gender perspective and thirdly the study endeavored to identify problems related with the execution of the program. It should also be stated here that no significant differences in answers to the interview questions appeared between the families that had received conditional cash transfers or unconditional cash transfers.

5.1 The use of the cash transfer and its impacts on beneficiaries lives.

³ The cash transfer was given only to children that were 15 years old or younger.

⁴ Children 0 to 6 years received 4000 CFA year/ 1000 CFA trimester
Children 7 to 10 years received 8000CFA year/2000 CFA trimester
Children 11 to 15 years received 16000 CFA year/4000 CFA trimester

In all the families interviewed the cash transfer was used first of all to purchase consumption goods such as soap, clothing, shoes, medicines, tools for school and to buy ingredients needed to prepare food and to vary the usual diet as articulated by a respondent:

“The principal objective was to buy the kids clothes, buy soap, food, pencils...” - (int.12, 10.2.2012).

Hence the cash transfer was in the first place used to compensate for consumption deficits and especially to take care of the children. This did not differ between the families who received unconditional cash transfers (UCT) and those who received CCTs. Thus money received during the program helped to alleviate the immediate poverty that people lived in and which according to the interviews and observations made had been aggravated due to the changes in climate influencing the harvests. The respondents' livelihoods strategies that were strongly dependent on agriculture and subsistence farming, rather than wages or formal labor, were in the absence of irrigation systems, infrastructure and other supportive mechanisms severely affected and threatened due to the drought. Even though the local context was only partly monetized, monetary resources become indispensable when the agricultural activities were not successful. The respondents thought that the additional income had significantly transformed their quality of life extending the limits of consumption as indicated in the following quote:

“It permitted to change lifestyle.” - (int.6,14.2.2012)

In many instances the respondents thought that ever since the program had been ended it was difficult to go back to how things were prior to the beginning of the program as expressed by one of the beneficiaries who also was part of the village council for development:

“It brought a big change, when you get something it is difficult to go back, it hasn't been easy for the people, they ask for it today why there is no more money?” - (int.13, 10.2.2012)

Thus even though the amount of money was rather small it performed an important protective role identified as a basic element of social protection and to some extent slightly transformed the quality of life among the beneficiaries. It assisted the beneficiaries to mitigate against poverty and the ever depriving conditions of life caused by the losses in harvests. In this regard the cash transfer did indeed to some extent reduce the poverty people were living in. However these were not long-term improvements given that as soon as the cash transfer program had been ended, people were likely to be drawn back to the conditions they lived in prior the beginning of the program as stated in the following quote:

“It is a work effort more to have the same limits as during the program.” - (int.7, 14.2.2012)

This finding problematizes the ability of short term targeted interventions to reduce poverty in a sustainable way and indicates that the safety net approach to poverty alleviation at its best only minimally compensates the shortcomings of the prevailing social, economic and political conditions. As discussed previously poverty

is not only economic deficits but it is also about agency to be capable of changing one's situation and in these terms the program seemed to have little transformative impacts. Secondly the cash was in a few cases saved for the bad days or used to make sort of "middle term" investments such as buying animals to breed and rear them. The idea was that in case of future problem or shock families could sell or exchange the animals in order to cope with the problem rather well summarized in the following quote

"We bought a pork and started the farming, it multiplied so it helped us to satisfy the needs of the family...also we could buy food for the animals." - (int.7, 14.2.2012)

Hence the money was used to protect from risks and from vulnerability to those risks. Animals could also serve as capital; the money and other resources acquired from rearing could be used to develop production, agriculture or other income generating activities. The cash transfer permitted households to invest in assets, to take risks that without the cash transfer might not have been possible but which could have positive impacts on their vulnerability to poverty. Thus the additional cash transfer if used in this way increased household's assets possibly contributing to a better quality of life even in slightly a more sustainable way. The animals bought with the cash transfer could also be seen as a form of social insurance for families in the absence of a formal social insurance system providing future security.

Thus depending how the transfer was used, it could have an important preventive role, second dimension of social protection if understood in broader terms as identified previously. However this was not the case in all the families but only in those where some cash could be put apart and not used to satisfy the immediate needs. Thus even though the participant families seemingly were categorized as equally poor in economic terms the poverty of people and the extent they could make savings could be seen to depend on various factors. These factors might include the size and structure of the family and household, gender, the other supportive informal networks and the geographical location etc. For example a widow that sustains alone the family probably cannot save and invest to the same extent as a family with various active members engaged in economic activities. Hence poverty should be seen as a contextual, situational and relational concept and experience. Thirdly the cash transfer was used for long term investments such as to pay the tuition fees of the children; however this was sometimes only if the payment moment of the transfer coincided with the payment date of the tuition fees as pointed out by an interviewee:

"If the payment coincided with the payment of the tuition fees he took money to pay the fees." - (int.16, 13.2.2012)

In all the families children had gone to school already prior to the beginning of the OEV program thus increased schooling of children cannot necessarily be attributed to the cash transfers. This was also brought up in an informal discussion with a teacher of a school in one of the villages. Along the same lines it seemed that the supply of schools was quite strong in that particular province already before the beginning of the

program. However it must be noticed that class sizes often were rather large which eventually can have implications for the quality of the education. Nevertheless the interviewees saw the quality of education as being good. All the villages had schools nearby within a walking distance. In general investment in children's education was put great emphasis and was seen as something emancipatory as claimed by a respondent:

“It permits to educate and raise consciousness...by putting the children to school they will not suffer the same way as they suffer as present...if we would have had a chance, me and my husband would have had a better life than now.” - (int.7, 14.2.2012)

All the respondents perceived girls' education to be equally important as that of boys though the reason was often that girls were perceived to be more honest and reliable in supporting their parents if they would succeed as said by a respondent:

“It is good that girls would be educated, if a girl succeeds she will not forget her mother and her father.”- (int.14, 10.2.2012)

Indeed education seemed not to be valued always only intrinsically per se but also because once the children would succeed they were supposed to support their parents in their old age. In this way schooling of children was for the parents a premise of secured retired age given that no formal pensions are provided for people in the informal sector, in which the most of Burkinabe people find themselves. The presence of informal relationships to prevent from old age poverty becomes urgent and extremely important once a person is no longer able to perform agricultural or other activities. In this manner education was not only a long term investment for children but also for the parents themselves. When it comes to children's health being not only immediate but also a long term investment the respondents saw significant gains in terms of the ability to purchase even more expensive medicines and in terms of being able to afford medical treatment when and if a child would get sick. However it was also claimed that the amount of the transfer was too small to provide medical treatment in case more children would get sick at the same time.

Thus it did not seem that the requirements regarding schooling and health attached to the transfer would have motivated people to send their children to schools or to take their children to health centers more than previously. Rather it only helped the families to do so and the interviewed still continued to struggle to keep their children in schools. Thus it would perhaps not be accurate to see the causes of their poverty as “individual failures” or as people in need for supervision to attain behavioral changes as one of the respondents said:

“I worked a lot and I still work a lot to pay the tuition fees.”- (int 1, 7.2.2012)

This is also a view point that should be taken into account when attaching conditionalities to the cash transfers given the additional administrative burden and costs it might create in a context where the administrative capacity might not be strong enough to manage this. However the interviewees themselves, without exceptions, did not find conditionalities bothering. The respondents stated that it is always the provider of the help who has the right to claim something in return for the assistance provided and the ones helped should respect that. This seems to denote an obeying attitude toward providers of help and assets even in more general terms. It might also point toward the persistence of clientelistic and paternalistic relationship between those with more resources and those having less. As argued previously such relationships can be hierarchical and exploitative in long term even though provide livelihood security in the short term. What the respondents perceived as especially positive regarding the conditionalities were the checkbooks attached to conditional cash transfers. This was since the checkbooks permitted the parents to follow their children's education and health and to have a formal evidence of their children's education as pointed out by a woman interviewed:

"...it permits to follow the child at the school and also to follow the child at the health center, for example if you take a child to the health center and the child comes with the checkbook the nurses will put more time to take care of the child than before." – (int.6, 14.2.2012)

Thus the conditions were perceived as positive but because it provided families and children with a formal evidence of their schooling and health care. Furthermore in some cases this seemed to have impacted the quality of the health care motivating the personal to put more time and effort in taking care of the children participating in the program. This is an interesting feature since it raises questions about the motives of the staff at the health center to take better care of the children participating in the program than of those who did not have the chance to participate. Moreover it raises concerns regarding the health of the non participant children if they receive worse care. The preference of some children over others might also result in symbolic inequality and stigmatization.

5.2 Impacts on gender relations, gender division of labor and women's empowerment

This section of the data analysis aims to illuminate the impacts participation in the OEV program might have had principally on gender relations and gender division of labor given that the latter emerged as the main gender disparity experienced among the respondents. The impacts on decision making will also be discussed given that studies carried out on other contexts have found positive impacts regarding women's decision making power. The inclusion of gender interest to the design and implementation of the program will also be debated given its importance for transformative empowerment to take place.

5.2.1 Access to resources and gender division of labor

Women interviewed for the study had access to monetary resources already prior to the program. This is due to their various productive activities such as preparing the local beer, preparing nut butter and oil, searching of firewood and selling diverse products they produced at the markets. Without exceptions women also worked on their husband's or family's fields during the rainy season and practiced gardening including the cultivation of vegetables. However women did not appear to have access to land without their relation to men. Men on the other hand frequently only cultivated during the rainy season and were often unemployed during the dry season given the underdevelopment of the formal sector. This was also because the jobs available during the dry season were considered mostly as "women's jobs". Thus women did gain money on their own but were almost without exceptions accountable of their money to their husbands and this did not alter with the cash transfer. Women were supposed to use their incomes to take care of the family and children and a woman would rarely possess money only for herself as indicated in the following two quotes:

"We would show the money to the husband and he will say that the money belongs to us."- (int.6)

"My incomes are used for the family."- (int.2, 3.2.2012)

Men would of course also give money to support and take care of the family but the amount of money was less and they could guard some money for themselves for the satisfaction of their own interests as demonstrated below:

"Well when the husband goes out like that, it is me who takes care of the family... When he works and gets money he gives a little bit for us, even though it's not much he gives"(Int.3, 4.2.2012)

"All men are cheaters because you can ask a man in the house for money and he doesn't have but once he goes out he has the money (int.6, 14.2.2012)".

These findings undoubtedly show how social norms and rules govern women's access to resources and also the use of their resources. Despite women having income generating activities and being important supporters of the family they do not own money for themselves. Women gain access to resources mainly through men, family and kinship networks and are supposed to devote all their gained incomes to the maintenance of the family. This has important implications for women's poverty and economic dependency on men as indicated by one of the respondents:

"I suffer because I am so dependent on my husband."- (int.8, 9.2.2012)

In the light of the theories employed it could be stated that even though informal networks and relationships might be fundamental for the maintenance of livelihoods it does not imply that these relationships could not be exploitative and hierarchical. The dependency relationship also restricts one's agency and ability to make choices regarding one's life. What appeared to be the most explicit problem in the context of the study in terms of gender equality and what could provide the local definition of empowerment was the unequal

gender division of labor. This was identified as a problem by the interviewed women themselves as indicated below:

“The division of the labor should change” (int.1, 7.2.2012)

This was seen to cause women huge workloads and result in women’s time poverty as stated by a respondent:

“Men don’t do anything in the household, nothing at all... a man would never work the whole day as women do, women are the first ones to go up and the last ones to go to sleep.”- (int.5, 6.2.2012)

The unequal gendered division of labor of which the women interviewed appeared to be conscious of as affirmed by one of the respondents seemed to impede women to choose otherwise as stated below:

“I don’t have a choice, one must work, if I don’t work what I do then? I just don’t have the choice.”- (int.3, 4.2.2012)

Whereas men could exercise the choice of whether taking up household tasks or not women could not refuse to do so given that these were seen as their natural responsibilities as explained by one woman interviewed:

“A man can refuse to do things if he is not interested in doing something whereas for a woman many things are obligations. A man can, if he wants, go and get water and give it to his children or he can go and get mill and feed the chickens but he might as well not to do so. A woman on the other hand, cannot wait that the man tells her to wash the kids or make the food but she has to do it by her own initiative, it is an obligation for the woman.”- (int.1, 7.2.2012)

It is here where the other feature of poverty that of time poverty discussed earlier becomes visible. While men could often be seen resting, spending time with their friends or engaging in other forms of social participation, women would rarely be seen doing other than working. Thus women seemed to suffer not only from economic poverty and economic dependency on men due to resource constraints but they also experienced time poverty which could be seen to impair their social participation. The latter could be seen indispensable for the exercise of autonomy of agency and critical agency that enable both men and women to make choices regarding their lives. In the light of empowerment if understood as the ability to make choices and put those choices into action the problem of gender division of labor, economic dependency and poverty as well as time poverty becomes crucial.

However an interesting point that emerged in the course of the interviews was that in the families in which the cash transfer had been directed to the father, this seemed to motivate men to take more care of their children as stated by one man interviewed:

“It motivated me, a lot even, it is good...my wife is happy because it influenced the management of the family... “- (int.13,10.2.2012)

However taking care of the children seemed to refer more to economic responsibility regarding the children than actually taking up the concrete activities of parenting and household tasks. Yet this is an important point in terms of women’s acquisition of greater economic autonomy and control as said by a woman whose husband had received the cash transfer:

“ Really when my husband received the money I was very well off since I could do what I wanted with my money, it was for me, now I use again all my revenues for the children...it was good that it was given to my husband, if it was given to me it could have generated difficulties, my husband could have said that he didn’t care and that the money was given for the mother to take care of the children...when he got the money whatever the situation was he would take care of it.”- (int.12, 10.2.2012)

It seems actually that the fact of “obligating” men to manage the money meant specifically to take care of the children might have resulted in more economic independence and control for women than in the cases where the money had been directed to the woman. As shown in the quote above, the woman interviewed could have more freedom to choose what to do with her own incomes and not use those fully for the family. It could be also suggested that giving money to the fathers might have had some impacts on the identity of the men as fathers with responsibilities, which seems crucial if gender division of labor ought to be transformed and/or women’s workload alleviated. By giving the money to the men the practical gender interest of income needed to take care of the family was addressed at the same time that consciously or unconsciously there might have been initiated a process of change. This change could refer to the transformation of those underlying norms that control women’s access to and/or use of their resources at the same time transforming those norms that reproduce the image of men as outsiders to the sphere of domestic activities. Hence breaking down the reproduction of certain gender roles even though most certainly this does not happen from one day to another.

5.2.2 Decision making

When it came to increased control or decision making power due to the additional income, women were entitled to; it did not seem to cause any changes. This could be seen because of two reasons. Firstly in the interviews conducted, it was articulated that decisions were always taken together in the family and men would consult their wives in issues that concerned the whole family. In the same way women were required to consult their husbands. Hence it seemed not to significantly change the way decisions were taken in the household. It should be stated that given the short scope and duration of the field study, there might be issues and conflicts that take place within the decision making arena that were not visible. This is even though the

interviewees themselves would say that the decision making process was communal and included all the parties of the household as explained by two respondents:

"I, my husband and the older children all participate in decision making concerning issues that were a matter of the whole family."- (int.2, 3.2.2012)

"I would consult my wife and then they would judge together (int.15)", "If it is me who goes and takes the money I come and ask the woman to come and then we include the child as well to the decision making because it is something we are doing for him and therefore he should be there on the side and listen while we discuss..."- (int.13, 10.2.2012)

Despite the seemingly communal and equal nature of the decision making processes it looked as if the last word still was that of a man as argued by a woman respondent:

"A woman can never oppose a man (int.5, 6.2.2012)".

Secondly given that the cash transfer was meant to take care of the children and women already before the introduction of the program had control over the domestic sphere the money did not seem to have resulted in any special way in more control and/or decision making power for women as stated in the following quote by a woman recipient interviewed:

"In any case, a part that I was able to better take care of her children, the money didn't cause any other changes."- (int.3, 4.2.2012)

Thus the cash transfer indeed did help women to better perform their role as mothers taking care of the children this way satisfying their practical needs of more resources in order to prepare food, buy medicines, clothes and paying the tuition fees. However in the same time it could be argued that the program distributed resources along the traditional division of work and resources, confirming women's role as mothers having the exclusive responsibility of reproduction. However as will be seen below the women interviewed had other gender interests that stemmed from the various roles they performed in their every day lives.

5.2.3 Gender interests

As discussed in the theoretical framework used for this study the way social policies allocate resources to different social groups in a given context influence the regulatory and emancipator potential of these policies. In the context of the study the main gender disparities according to the data gathered seemed to be related to the gendered division of labor and access to resources causing economic dependency and time poverty. These did not seem to have altered in any ways during the participation in the program. Based on the official documents studied for the study and on the responses of the interviewees it seems that the program only was concerned on women as the recipients of the cash transfer. Nothing pointed toward a

broader analysis of the gender specific interests. The money was given for women to take care of children and for example no additional training or child care support services were provided. Women's productive role seemed to remain unacknowledged and the work load women performed appeared to be disregarded. However in the course of the interviews various other types of programs that could help the women were articulated by women themselves. These did not seem to stem only from women's role and identity as mothers but as their identity as active agents with interests that go beyond that of mothers. These could be described to be more practical in their nature at the same time having the possibility to contribute to more strategic changes. The following quote is from an 18 year old girl and mother of 5 children who worked on her husband's land and had sales activities in the markets who wished for an education program for adults:

"I could learn how to count and calculate, that would help me to avoid being cheated and stolen. I would know when someone is trying to trick me; also I could learn the signs and indications." - (int.10,9.2.2012)

By knowing how to read and calculate it would not only help the person to better manage her small scale sales activities that could result in improvements in the incomes acquired- this would be a practical interest- but it could also contribute to more strategic aims. It could also enhance the person's self esteem and increase her power to oppose mechanisms of discrimination and exploitation based on the lack of skills due to the lack of education. Also two other women interviewed who were about the same age as the previous respondent said that:

"Education for adults would allow us to get information, to exit the darkness, to get new ideas and not to live in a closed world." - (int.11, 8.2.2012)

In the same line this denotes the strategic interest of these women to be able to acquire information that would help them to strengthen their agency and see alternative ways of doing and being. This could be seen crucial in terms of transformative empowerment. The following quote is from a woman, mother of three children, a widow an owner of a small drugstore:

"If there would be an assistance program which would give a larger amount of money, I could start to develop my business ideas; this would also benefit my children since I could provide them with more than now." - (int.1, 7.2.2012)

She had clear aims and bright ideas how she wanted to expand her business. Nevertheless the problem was that even though the markets and demand were there she could not access any kind of capital or credit thus was not able to develop on her commerce. Thus the support for her productive activities would not only address her practical need for income and resources but would also help her to take better care of her children in a more sustainable way as well as strengthen her agency to exit poverty.

It could be argued however that one special feature or merit of the OEV program despite being a pilot program was the fact that transfers both conditional and unconditional, were directed both to men and women. This was done with the aim to explore the impacts the gender of the recipient might have on the outcomes. The interview data collected for this study showed that beneficiaries' opinions toward the preferred gender of the recipient varied. Frequently the respondents thought that it was better to give the money to the woman because she spends most of the time with the children, some men respondents thought that women were unable to manage money in a responsible manner thus it was better to give it to the men but in most of the interviews the gender of the recipient seemed to be indifferent. In the latter case it was perceived that in both cases the money would still be used for the benefit of the children. If that is the case why could not the transfers be directed to the father in this way signaling men's responsibility of parenting and domestic tasks? Of course no final and general conclusions can be made based on this evidence given that the way additional income affects gender relation is likely to be highly contextual and differ largely even between households in the same geographical context. Nevertheless this statement should not be left unacknowledged either but should be further researched given that gender is a relationship, men's role in the work made for women's empowerment and gender equality should perhaps be further investigated.

5.3 Beneficiaries perceptions regarding the implementation and execution of the program

The problems related to the program seemed to stem (i) from insufficient formation of the personal working at the schools and health centers (ii) from the lack of information about the program toward the beneficiaries (iii) from the targeting of only some households in the villages.

In many occasions in the interviews when it was asked what negative aspects the respondents could identify in the program, the respondents complained about the fact that the personal in the schools and in the health centers sometimes did not understand what they wanted when they took the checkbooks (to comply with the conditions) to be signed. This was clearly articulated by a respondent:

“There are problems with the personal because they haven't had the accurate formation, at the school it is the director who knows the things and when he is absent and you go to the teacher to ask for the signature he says he doesn't know anything.” - (int.13, 10.2.2012)

Also the respondents found it difficult at times to get the signature since in some cases only the director of the school or the head of the health center could sign the checkbooks as explained by a man interviewed:

“Conditions are difficult because there was a moment when we took the checkbooks to the school to get them signed, but the director didn't sign them but left them to the office, it coincided with the moment that the people came to give the money, so we were obligated to go and search for gas to put into the motor bicycle, go and find the director to sign the checkbooks.. At the health center it has also happened that the

director says that every time you take the cards to be signed by them but that they don't get anything in return, they don't benefit from it.”- (int.14, 10.2.2012)

Thus if the director of the school or the health center was away the parents could not get their children's checkbooks signed since teachers or nurses were not always aloud or willing to sign the checkbooks. This was especially grave in case the absence of the persons that ought to sign the checkbooks coincided with the payment of the cash transfer. In other cases where teachers were made responsible of signing and updating the checkbooks parents felt that it was unfair, given the extra work this caused for the teachers, that they did not receive anything in return as claimed in the following quote:

“I find it problematic that teachers that took extra time to do all the signing work didn't receive anything in exchange.”- (int.1, 7.2.2012)

Here is a detail that perhaps should be taken into consideration since; this might cause the emergence of petty corruption. This also points toward the perception of people as being more clients of the social services rather than owing a right, based on their citizenship, to acquire appropriate service and care. The staff at the health center was seen to deserve something in exchange for signing the checkbooks and this was not considered simply to be part of their job description. The lack of information toward the beneficiaries is also a point worth of making here. In every interview the former beneficiaries of the program were unaware and uninformed about the fact that the program would be ended and about the reasons why the program had been ended as described in the following:

“The program had been suspended like that without any information, people had gathered to get the money and nobody was there to give it anymore.”- (int.13, 10.2.2012) ”Now it has been more than one year and the money hasn't come, so why?”- (int.16, 13.2.2012)

Many of the interviewed felt that they had done something wrong and that consequently they were somehow punished as an interviewee wondered:

“Why don't you come anymore to give money? Have we done something wrong or is the money finished?”- (int.15, 13.2.2012)

This is rather disturbing finding since the beneficiaries had become used to receive the additional income every trimester thus their livelihood strategies were reformed and adapted according to the cash transfer. Hence it could be discussed what concretely happens when all of the sudden the cash is ended without the beneficiaries knowing about it. In a context where there already prevails a strong distrust toward the state as discussed in the background for the study, this is also likely to give adverse signals regarding the institutions implementing the program and regarding their rights and positions as citizens. On the other hand this also

demonstrates the problematic nature of the concept of citizenship and attributed legal rights in contexts with weak and partial states that are likely to serve the dominant classes rather than the poor majority.

The third aspect that raised concerns among the respondents was the inclusion of only some families to the program while excluding others. In the theoretical framework the problems of targeting were presented one of them being increasing social distrust, decreasing social cohesion and rise of social inequality. The data collected confirms these arguments presented. In every interview the respondents saw it extremely negative, harmful and morally inaccurate to give money to only some families while others didn't receive anything and suffered as exemplified by one of the respondents:

“The problem is that money is not given to everybody but just to certain families, people ask themselves why someone gets money and others do not. “- (int.13, 10.2.2012), “It is not good that my children can go to school clean and with proper clothes when the rest of the kids are dirty and don't have clothes.”- (int.11, 8.2.2012)

Without denying that inequalities do exist within rural communities- they are not homogenous entities (Kabeer 1994)- the possibility of targeted interventions to reinforce existing and/or produce new inequalities should be taken into consideration especially in contexts where people are dependent on each other to survive. This is also an important point if collective agency ought to be strengthened in order to create social action that would induce a process of structural transformations as argued by Wood and Gough (2004). The respondents without exceptions thought that if the program would restart it would be better to redistribute the money among all the households even though the amount of money per household would diminish as a respondent indicated:

“Here in the village we are among brothers and sisters it is the same family, it is not good that in his family they have for eat and then he goes to his brothers house and they don't have anything to eat and the children cry because of hunger... even though the money would be just a little it would be better that everybody could profit from it.”- (int.14, 10.2.2012)

It was also perceived by the majority of the respondents that if development and poverty reduction ought to be achieved, there was a need for programs that would include all the households rather than only some and excluding others as claimed in the following quote:

“It would help every family to send their kid to school, if the program would come to everybody then that would help us to develop. If it is given only to one person, one person cannot develop the villages, it should come to everybody because everybody is part of development.”- (int.6, 14.2.2012)

Indeed there is a difference between poverty alleviation or reduction and poverty eradication. The latter seemingly aims to tackle inequality and power while the former emphasizes the individual graduation from

poverty and incorporation to the existing socioeconomic and political arrangements. Previously arguments in favor of targeting were also presented. It was claimed that targeted interventions such as CCTs were necessary so that more “just” and “real” redistribution would take place. The following quote is from a respondent who explained his view on the actual process of targeting:

“In the very beginning there were people who came to make a study, then they made a lottery, every family would come and test their chance, if you got “yes” your family would be chosen to the program and then they would come and give them money”- (int.15, 13.2.2012)

The way targeting seemingly had been realized or at least how the interviewees perceived it to have happened is alarming. Based on this finding the fairness and justice of the redistribution process through targeting could be disputed. This illuminates the problems associated with targeted interventions. Despite benefiting some, many of those living in the same situation remain excluded from the targeted provision.

5.4 Concluding discussion

Before moving forward to the concluding discussion on the main findings of the study, it should be stated that these findings are particular to the specific context in which the study was carried out. Thus the findings might not be generalizable but similar findings may be found also in other contexts. Nevertheless these findings should not be neglected but treated as insights and suggestions for further research on CCTs. To sum up, the participation in the program and the cash transfer received helped people to cope with poverty, in terms of consumption deficits and in the short term. In some cases the cash transfers helped beneficiaries also to make savings and investments that would help them to sustain better life quality, to manage risks and to reduce their vulnerability to risks. However this was only in some cases depending on existent mechanisms people already had in place to combat poverty and the level of their kinship, family and community relationships. When it comes to CCTs possibilities to contribute to more long term structural transformations, it is difficult to make any rigid claims given the short scope of the program and the inexistent published information so far. However the domination of agriculture, the exposition to market price fluctuations, the penetration of foreign products to local markets, the changes in climate, the underdevelopment formal labor markets, persistent unemployment especially among youth and the underprovision of social services among other constraints are important contextual structural factors (Hagberg 2008). The aforementioned might impede CCTs possibility alone to decrease chronic poverty and to break down the intergenerational transmission of poverty. The fact that the program included only children under 15 years even though the biggest drop out rates seem to be exactly when it comes to secondary and higher education, most probably due to the higher cost of education, is also problematic in terms of human capability building. In terms of women’s empowerment the program did not seem to have caused any changes in the social norms and rules that resulted in the gendered division of labor and governed women’s access to different set of resources. The former could be seen in the context of the study to cause

women's economic poverty, dependency on men and time poverty and was identified as the main concern of women regarding their position and living conditions. Rather the program distributed resources in a way that further affirmed the existing division of labor. However in the cases where money was directed to the father, first of all men seemed become more concerned regarding their responsibility of parenting and secondly this might have caused women more economic autonomy and control over their resources. It is peculiar that CCTs advocating for joint responsibility do not seem to include men to this responsibility. Thus men's role in meeting the program goals in particular and in the work made for women's empowerment and gender equality in general should be further investigated and strengthened. However women did find it positive that the money helped them to better perform their role as mothers but they also had other practical needs that did not stem from their roles as mothers but as active agents and which could also result in more strategic changes regarding their position. Issues that should be taken into account if transformative empowerment ought to take place. The main problems regarding the program stemmed from lack of accountability toward the beneficiaries and inadequate formation of the personal at the schools and health centers as well as from targeting. While contributing to some extent to greater social inclusion of some families at the same time the program produced social exclusion of others inducing a risk of decreased social cohesion and increased social and economic inequality within the community. As Wood and Gough (2004) argue, social policy in development context might need to focus not only on strengthening the individual actors to "graduate" out of poverty but also more on strengthening the collective agency that would encourage struggle and social movements by which the appropriate instruments of policy would be defined and the institutional landscape reformed. At least if poverty is to be eradicated and not only alleviated.

6. CONCLUSION

This thesis has discussed and provided insights to the problems and possibilities related to Conditional Cash Transfers in general and in Burkina Faso in particular. The study has been based on the empirical data collected through qualitative methods that have been presented and their limitations discussed. A background for the study has been outlined depicting the characteristics of CCTs and the existing information on the impacts of CCTs in Latin American and Caribbean countries. The contextual differences between the African context and that of Latin America have been underlined and an introduction to the Burkinabe context has been provided including a description of the CCT program Orphans and Vulnerable children in Burkina Faso. A theoretical discussion regarding the role of social policies in development has been provided. In the theoretical framework the contextuality of social policy and the need to focus on strengthening the individual and collective agency simultaneously were emphasized as well as the broad notions of social protection and poverty highlighted. Through theorizations regarding social policy and gender as well as women's empowerment three main conclusions could be derived. The terms by which a person is entitled to social benefits reflects the underlying assumptions on gender roles and influences the gender division of labor in a societal context. The latter is in turn seen to cause women's double poverty and economic dependency

constraining their social participation and ability to make choices regarding their lives. Therefore it has been argued that a transformative empowerment agenda should acknowledge the various roles women perform, and not only respond to the women's gender interests arising from their roles as mothers and care takers, reinforcing the prevailing division of labor. The empirical data has been analyzed through these theoretical viewpoints and a concluding discussion summing up the major findings and their implications regarding CCTs has been included. Thus on the basis of this study it could be suggested that CCTs provided many families with an important protection and security, compensating for the most acute consumption deficits in the short term. Nevertheless the possibilities of CCTs alone to bring any significant transformative changes regarding chronic poverty and vulnerability of people in the long term have been disputed given the prevailing other fundamental structural constraints. The study also suggests that CCTs seem to distribute resources along the existing gender division of labor however argues that men's role should be more emphasized and integrated in the policies, including CCTs that directly or indirectly aim to contribute to women's empowerment and gender equality. The study indicates moreover that targeted interventions might be inappropriate in contexts where poverty is more of a rule than an exception and in which informal networks sustain livelihoods. Thus the risk of dismantling solidarity and social cohesion by including some and excluding others might have adverse impacts in terms of poverty and inequality.

7. REFERENCES

- BARRIENTOS, ARMANDO (2009) Understanding Conditions in Income Transfer Programs, *Global Social Policy*, 9, pp.165-167
- BARRIENTOS, ARMANDO (2011) Social protection and poverty. *International Journal of Social Welfare* 20, pp.240–249
- BARRIENTOS, ARMANDO, HULME, DAVID, & SHEPHERD, ANDREW (2005) Can Social Protection Tackle Chronic Poverty?, *European Journal Of Development Research*, 17 (1), pp. 8-23
- BONKOUNGOU, ZAKALIYAT, BOUGMA, MOUSSA (2009) Recensement General de la Population et de L'habitation de 2006: Monographie De La Region Du Centre-Sud, *Ministere De L'economie et des Finances*
- BRYMAN, A (2008) *Social Research methods*. 3rd Ed. Oxford University Press
- CECCHINI, SIMONE AND MADARIAGA, ALDO (2012) Conditional Cash Transfer Programmes: The Recent Experience in Latin America and the Caribbean, *Cuadernos de la CEPAL*, 95
- DAGDEVIREN, HULUYA. ET AL.(2001) Redistribution Matters: Growth for Poverty Reduction, *Employment Paper* 2001/10, ILO.
- DEACON, B. (2005) 'From Safety Nets Back to Universal Provision: Is the global tide turning', *Global Social Policy*, 5(1), pp.19-28
- EASTERLY, WILLIAM (2007) Inequality Does Cause Underdevelopment: Insights from a New Instrument, *Journal of Development Economics*, 84.
- DE WALQUE, DAMIEN (2010) Evaluation de l'impact de transferts conditionnels et non- conditionnels dans une zone rurale du Burkina Faso, *Evidence-Based Decision Making in Education Workshop Africa Program for Education Impact Evaluation (APEIE)*. The World Bank Accra, Ghana 10-14 May 2010. Available from: siteresources.worldbank.org/.../DW_d3_4_FR.pptx (Accessed 11/10/02)
- HAGBERG, STEN (2008) *Poverty in Burkina Faso: Representations and Realities*, 2nd ed. Uppsala: Dept. of Cultural Anthropology and Ethnology,
- JONES, NICOLA AND HOLMES, REBECCA (2011) Why is Social Protection gender blind? The politics of Gender and Social Protection. *IDS Bulletin*, 42(6)
- KABEER, NAILA (2001) *Resources, Agency, Achievements*. In: *Discussing Women's Empowerment-theory and practice*. Sida Studies 3
- KABEER, NAILA (1994) *Reversed Realities: Gender Hierarchies in Development Thought*. London: Verso, New York: Verso

- MKANDAWIRE, THANKINDA (2004) *Social Policy in a Development context*. New York: Palgrave McMillan
- MOLYNEUX, MAXINE (2006), Mothers at the Service of the New Poverty Agenda: Progres/Oportunidades, Mexico's Conditional Transfer Programme. *Social Policy & Administration*, 40, pp. 425–449.
- MOLYNEUX MAXINE & THOMSON MARILYN (2011) Cash transfers, gender equity and women's empowerment in Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia, *Gender & Development*, 19(2), pp.195-212
- MOSER, CAROLINE (1993) *Gender Planning and Development: theory, practice and training*. London: Routledge
- ORTIZ, ISABEL (2007) Social Policy, National Development Strategies, *Policy Notes*, Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA)
- PRESIDENCE DU FASO CNLS-IST-SECRETARIAT PERMANENT (2008) Recherche Action sur la Prise en Charge Communautaire des Orphelins et Enfants Vulnérables du VIH/SIDA dans les Provinces du Nahouri et du Sanmantenga, *Banque Mondiale (DECRG)*
- RAWLINGS LAURA. B AND BRIÈRE BÉNÉDICTE (2006) Examining Conditional Cash Transfer Programs: A Role for Increased Social Inclusion, *Social Protection Discussion Paper No.0603 / The World Bank*
- RAZAVI, SHAHRA, HASSIM, SHIREEN (eds) (2006) *Gender and Social Policy in a Global Context: Uncovering the Gendered Structure of “the social”*. New York: Palgrave McMillan
- RAZAVI, SHAHRA (2007) The Political and Social Economy of Care: Conceptual Issues, Research Questions and Policy options. In *Gender and Development Programme 3*. Geneva: UNRISD
- SABATES-WHEELER, RACHEL AND ROELEN, KEETIE (2011) Transformative social protection programming for children and their carers: a gender perspective, *Gender and Development*, 2, pp.179-194
- SAINSBURY, DIANE (1999) *Gender and Welfare State Regimes*. New York: Oxford University Press
- SCHADY, NORBERT AND FIZBEIN, ARIEL (2009) *Conditional Cash Transfers: Reducing Present and Future Poverty*. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/ The World Bank: Washington DC
- SCHUBERT, B. AND SLATER, R. (2006), Social Cash Transfers in Low-Income African Countries: Conditional or Unconditional? *Development Policy Review*, 24, pp.571–578.
- SEN, AMARTYA (1978) Gender and Cooperative Conflicts, *Wider working Papersn.18*, World Institute for Development Economics Research, Helsinki
- SIDA (2004a) Towards Gender Equality in Burkina Faso, A Profile on Gender Relations. Available from: www.sida.se/publications

SIDA (2004b) A study of political, social and economic structures and power relationships, Burkina Faso, *Division for Democratic Governance*. Available from: www.sida.se/publications

SIDA (2004c) Strategy for Swedish Development Cooperation: West Africa, Burkina Faso, Mali. Available from: www.sida.se/publications

Social Institutions and Gender Index, SIGI (2011) Gender Equality and Social Institutions in Burkina Faso (WWW) SIGI. Available from: (<http://www.genderindex.org/country/burkina-faso> (accessed 11/10/02)

SOARES FABIO VERAS AND SILVA ELYDIA (2010) Conditional Cash Transfer Programmes and Gender Vulnerabilities: Case studies from Brazil, Chile and Colombia, *Working Paper, 69*, International Policy Center for Inclusive Growth

TABBUSH COSTANZA (2010) Latin American Women's Protection after Adjustment: A Feminist Critique of Conditional Cash Transfers in Chile and Argentina, *Oxford Development Studies*, 38(4), pp. 437-459

TENDLER, JUDITH (2004) Why Social Policy is condemned to a Residual Category of Safety Nets and What to do about it? In: Mkandawire, T (ed.) *Social Policy in Development context*. New York: Palgrave McMillan pp.119-136

UNDP (2011) Burkina Faso Country Profiles: Human Development Indicators (WWW) United Nations Development Program. Available: <http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/BFA.html>

(20.05.2012)

WOOD GEOFF AND GOUGH IAN (2006) Comparative Welfare Regime Approach to Global Social Policy, *World Development*, 34 (10), pp.1696-1712

WOOD, GEOFF AND GOUGH, IAN ET AL. (2004) *Insecurity and Welfare Regimes in Asia, Africa and Latin America: Social Policy in Development Context*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

WORLD BANK (2012) World Development Indicators: Burkina Faso (WWW) World Bank. Available From: <http://data.worldbank.org/country/burkina-faso> (20.05.2012)

,
,
,
,
,

