

Effects of Cash Transfers on Protection & Wellbeing outcomes for Women and Children

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UNICEF Office of Research – Innocenti & Transfer Project

October 24, 2018: CPC, WB Gender, Alliance CPHA webinar

Transfer Project: Partners & motivation

- Created 2009 as an Institutional Partnership between **UNICEF, FAO, UNC**
- Working in close collaboration with **national counterparts**, including national governments & research institutions
- **Objectives:**
 1. Provide rigorous **evidence** on the effectiveness of large-scale national cash transfer programs
 2. Use evidence to inform the development & design of programs/policies via **dialogue & learning**



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"From Evidence to Action"



CASH TRANSFERS MYTHS vs. REALITY

Cash transfers are regular money payments to poor households.

MYTHS	REALITY
Cash will be wasted on alcohol and tobacco	In Lesotho, alcohol expenditure almost decreased
Transfers are just a 'hand-out' and do not contribute to development	In Zambia, transfers that cash transfers increased harvest
Cash causes dependency, laziness	In Kenya, transfers that cash transfers increased productivity
Transfers lead to price inflation and disrupt local economy	In Ethiopia, for every dollar transferred to the programme, about \$1.50 was generated by the local economy
Child forced growth increase fertility	No impact on fertility in Kenya, Zambia

Additional facts from the infographic:

- Alcohol and tobacco represent 1.2% of food expenditures
- Across 4 countries, an increase of 1.2% of food expenditures
- As many agricultural inputs were used, overall production increased by 36%
- Majority of programmes that significant increase in secondary school enrollment and in spending in child welfare and diets
- In several countries, including Malawi and Zambia, transfers that cash transfers increased wage labour, shift to on-farm and more productive activities
- There is little evidence transfers lead to increase in work effort
- In Lesotho, cash transfers lead to positive multiplier effects on growth and significantly boost growth and development in rural areas
- Beneficiaries are a small share of country's population
- There are few poor households, with few poor people, who can benefit from cash transfers
- Local economies can use the increased demand
- Early pregnancy reduced by 34% in Kenya, 10.5% in South Africa

SEP 16, 2016 @ 07:46 PM 5:39P VIEWS

Cash For Free: Who's In The Driver's Seat?

Capital Flows, CONTRIBUTOR

Guest Commentary Curated by Forbes Opinion Ask, Royce Editor FULL BIO

Opinions expressed by Forbes Contributors are their own.

GUEST POST WRITTEN BY
Amber Peterman and Sudhanshu Handa

Ms. Peterman is a specialist at the UNICEF Office of Research. Mr. Handa is a Professor in Public Policy.

Journal of Development Economics

Can unconditional cash transfers raise long-term living standards? Evidence from Zambia

by Amber Peterman, Sudhanshu Handa, Robert Todd, and Robert Todd

ABSTRACT

Unconditional cash transfers (UCTs) have become a prominent policy response to poverty in low-income countries. However, the long-term effects of UCTs on living standards remain unclear. This paper uses data from the Zambia Cash Transfer Evaluation Study to examine the impact of UCTs on long-term living standards. We find that UCTs have a positive impact on long-term living standards, particularly in terms of improved health and education outcomes. These findings suggest that UCTs can be an effective policy response to poverty in low-income countries.



Innocenti Research Brief

How Much Do Programmes Pay?

Transfer size in selected national cash transfer programmes in sub-Saharan Africa

Benjamin Davis and Sudhanshu Handa

Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations unicef OXFORD

From Evidence to Action

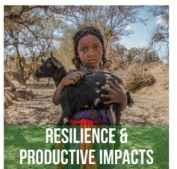
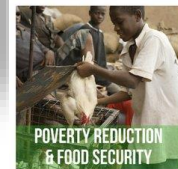
The Story of Cash Transfers and Impact Evaluation in Sub-Saharan Africa

Edited by Benjamin Davis, Sudhanshu Handa, Nicola Hypher, Natalia Winder Rossi, Paul Winters, and Jennifer Yablonski



Table 1: Transfer size and coverage of national cash transfer programmes as of January 2016

Programme	Transfer size and coverage
Kenya CCT	Transfer: ~\$100 2 million + 100%
Zambia CCT	Transfer: ~\$100 2 million + 100%
Malawi CCT	Transfer: ~\$100 2 million + 100%
South Africa CCT	Transfer: ~\$100 2 million + 100%
Kenya CCT (2015)	Transfer: ~\$100 2 million + 100%
Zambia CCT (2015)	Transfer: ~\$100 2 million + 100%
Malawi CCT (2015)	Transfer: ~\$100 2 million + 100%
South Africa CCT (2015)	Transfer: ~\$100 2 million + 100%



Open access book
<http://www.fao.org/3/a-i5157e.pdf>

COMING SOON!

COMING SOON!

COMING SOON!

Overview of the webinar

- **Presentation 1 (Amber):** Review of impacts of cash transfers on Intimate Partner Violence (IPV), Social Safety Nets and Childhood Violence
- **Presentation 2 (Tia):** Impacts of integrated social protection on IPV: The case of Ghana's LEAP
- **Presentation 3 (Jacob):** Cash transfers for education of displaced children
- Questions & discussion

Mixed method review of cash transfers on IPV: Overall Aims

- 1) Review **quantitative** and **qualitative** evidence linking cash transfers (CT) & IPV, focusing on **mechanisms** underlying impacts
- 2) Build a **program theory** linking CT and IPV
- 3) Propose promising **program design** features and **research gaps** needed to further understand linkages/leverage potential of CTs

A Mixed-Method Review of Cash Transfers and Intimate Partner Violence in Low- and Middle-Income Countries

Ana Maria Buller, Amber Peterman, Meghna Ranganathan, Alexandra Bleile, Melissa Hidrobo, and Lori Heise

There is increasing evidence that cash transfer (CT) programs decrease intimate partner violence (IPV). However, little is known about how CTs achieve this impact. We conducted a mixed-method review of studies in low- and middle-income countries (LMICs). Fourteen quantitative and eight qualitative studies met our inclusion criteria, of which eleven and five, respectively, demonstrated evidence that CTs decrease IPV. We found little support for increases in IPV, with only two studies showing overall mixed or adverse impacts. Drawing on these studies, as well as related bodies of evidence, we developed a program theory proposing three pathways through which CT could impact IPV: (a) economic security and emotional well-being, (b) intra-household conflict, and (c) women's empowerment. The economic security and well-being pathway hypothesizes decreases in IPV, while the other two pathways have ambiguous effects depending on program design features and behavioral responses to program components. Future studies should improve IPV measurement, empirical analysis of program mechanisms, and fill regional gaps. Program framing and complementary activities, including those with the ability to shift intra-household power relations are likely to be important design features for understanding how to maximize and leverage the impact of CTs for reducing IPV, and mitigating potential adverse impacts. Intimate partner violence. Domestic violence. Cash transfers. Women's empowerment. JEL codes: J10, J13, J38, J10, J12, J16.

There is increasing interest among social epidemiologists and development economists in exploring the role that cash transfers (CTs) have on intimate partner violence (IPV). Social epidemiologists have demonstrated the pervasiveness of IPV globally, with one in three women estimated to experience at least one act

The World Bank Research Observer
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doi:10.1093/wbro/lky002 33:218–258

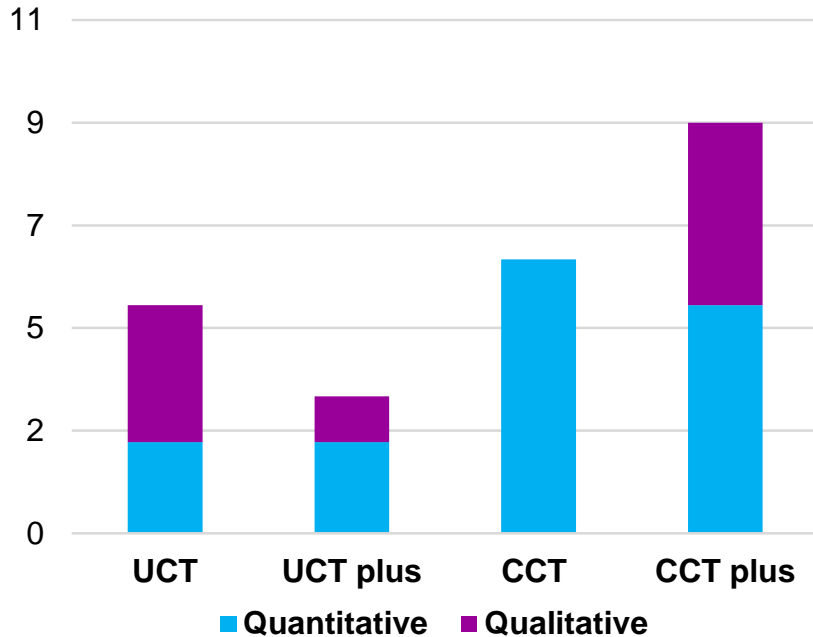
World Bank Research Observer 33(2):
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Study Design

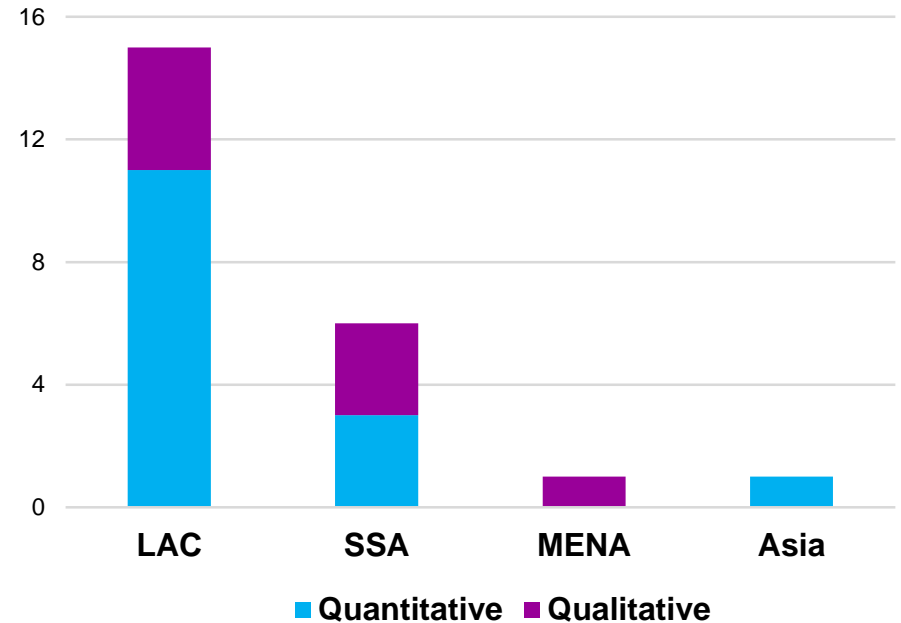
- **Studies identified via:** scoping, expert interviews, electronic databases, forward and backward citation
- Inclusion criteria (**14 quantitative & 8 qualitative**):
 - Published or grey literature completed before June 2017
 - **IPV:** Physical, sexual, emotional, psychological, controlling behaviors between marital/cohabiting/dating partners
 - **CT:** CCTs, UCTs, one-time lump transfers, bundled
 - **Quantitative** if utilized an experimental or quasi-experimental design, including a rigorously defined counterfactual
 - **Qualitative** if methodology sufficiently rigorous to be assessed as credible using the COREQ assessment tool

Program characteristics (22 studies)

Program type



Geographic Region

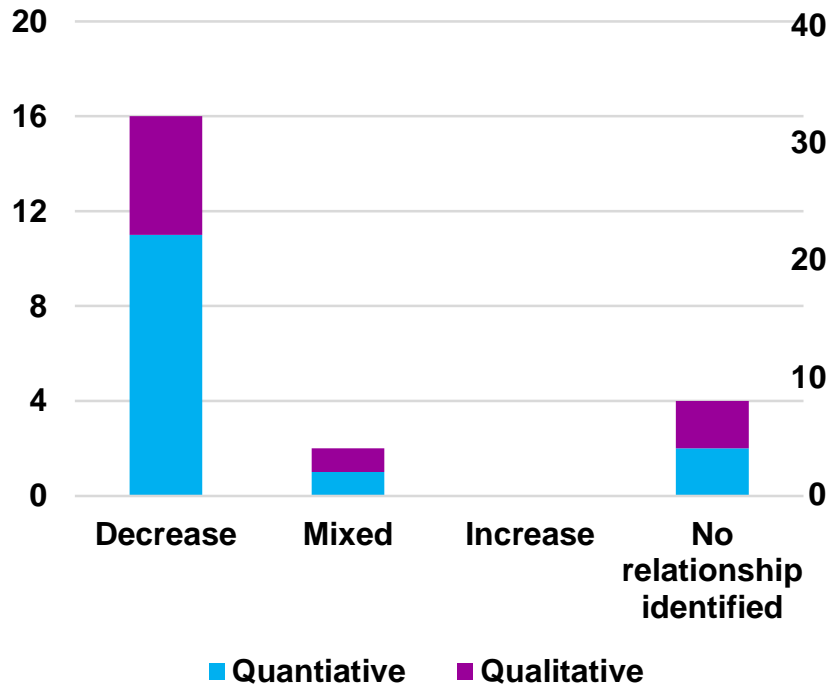


- Nearly all programs targeted women (*Kenya, South Africa)
- 10 quantitative & 3 qualitative Govt run

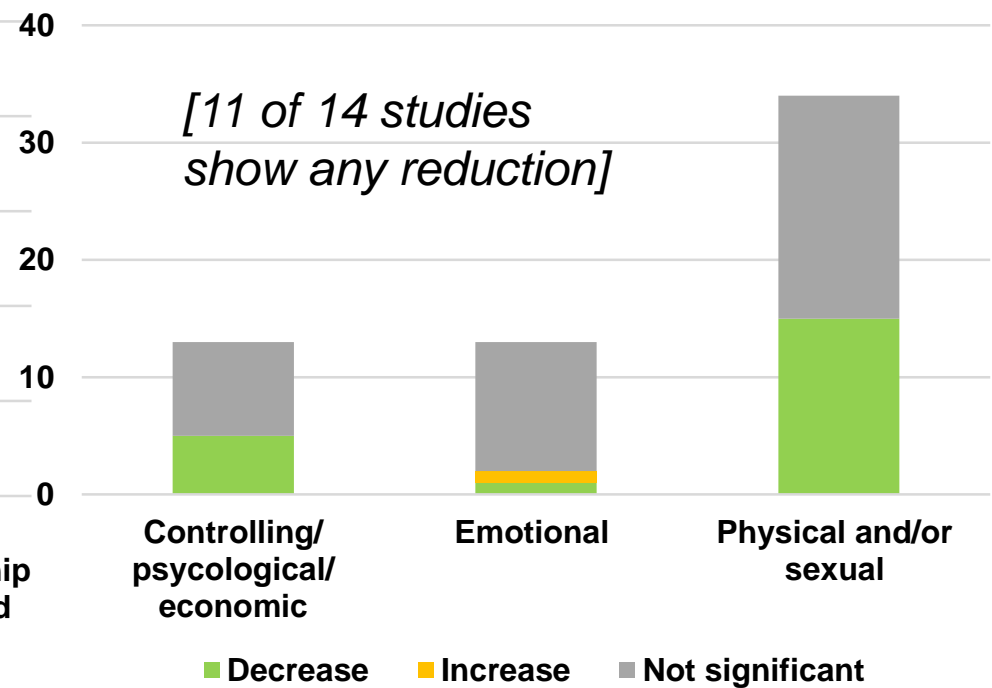
- 'Plus': In-kind transfer; Education, health sector linkages; trainings; behavior change communication
- Multiple in Mexico, Ecuador, Peru, Uganda

High-level results: Impacts

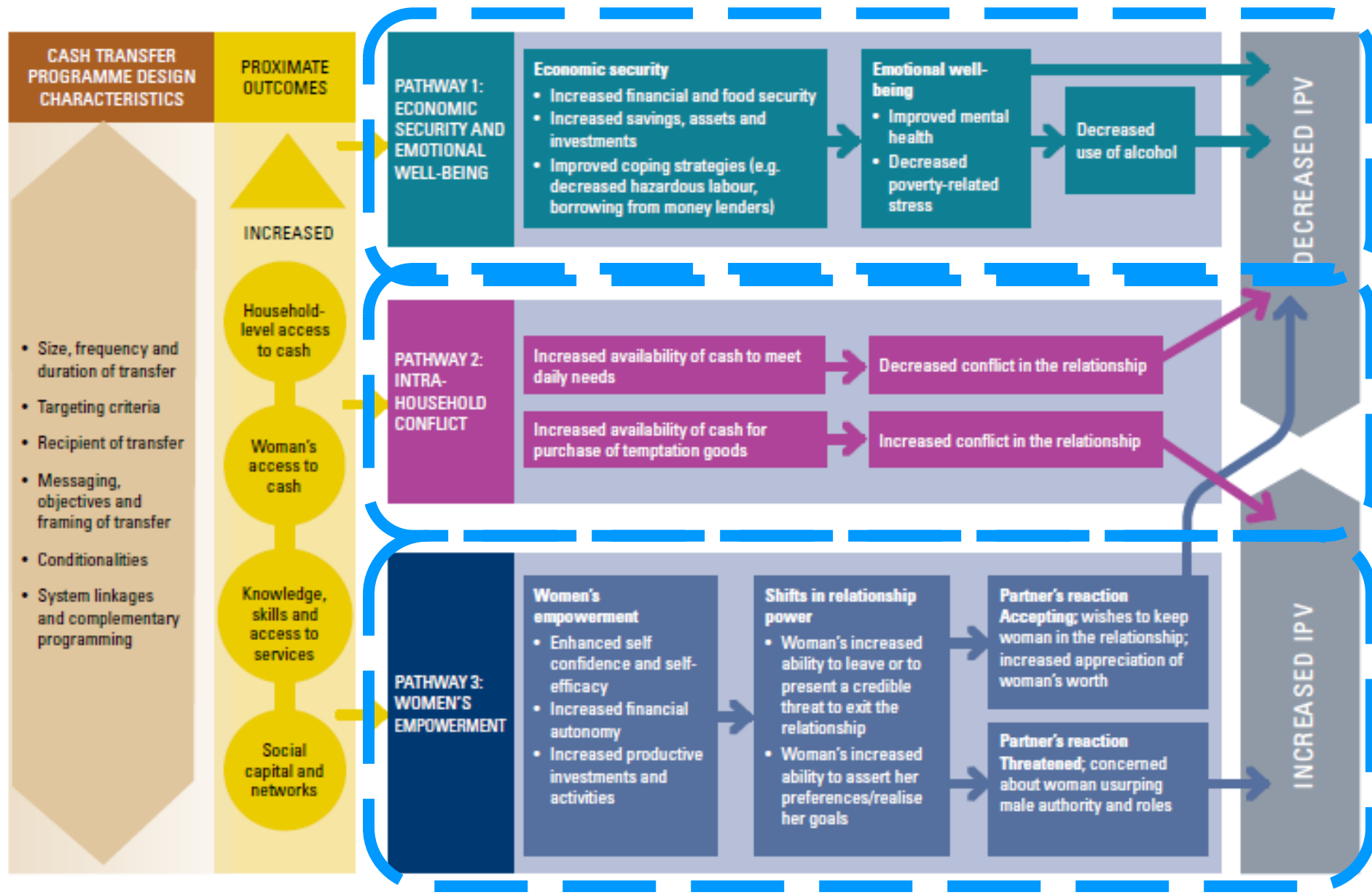
Overall impacts on IPV [22 studies]



Quantitative indicators [56 total by IPV type]



- Majority of studies (73%) showed decreases, impacts stronger for physical/sexual
- Overall 36% of quant indicators significant & negative; 2% significant & positive



CONTEXT: Gender regimes, social norms, laws and policy



1

ECONOMIC SECURITY
AND EMOTIONAL
WELL-BEING

“Well, I think that it [relationship with partner] improved a lot, because as we were saying, the way to a man’s heart is his stomach, so the basic food improves the relationship, and the family gets integrated...”

Male from FGD in Cash, Food & Voucher Transfers plus nutrition training in Northern Ecuador (Buller et al. 2016)

- 4 **quantitative** and 5 **qualitative** supported pathway
- Linear linkages well supported by large body of rigorous literature



2

INTRA-HOUSEHOLD CONFLICT

“There had been many fights. Because children needed many things that we could not have afforded. I asked my husband and he used to say there is no money. Then I used to get upset and started to yell. We had many fights because of poverty. Not only for us, for all poor, fights come from suffering”

Female from IDI in CCT plus in-kind transfers in Turkey (Yidrim et al. 2014)

- 0 quantitative and 4 qualitative supported pathway
- Linear linkages supported by reviews and select studies



3

**WOMEN'S
EMPOWERMENT**

“Earlier, ... my husband would sometimes sell household items without consulting me. But now that I have my own money, I can have a say on how to spend income. ..With the money, a woman may buy seedlings for planting, and hire an ox-plough or tractor or casual labor to dig for her. In case of GBV, the man cannot complain that the woman has made-off with his money or his crops from the garden.”

Female from IDI in UCT in Northern Uganda (Nuwakora 2014)

- 11 **quantitative** and 4 **qualitative** supported pathway
- Large body of literature with mixed/inconclusive findings

Program design features

- Intra-HH relationships are key: design features to allow women to **retain control** (messaging, frequency, size of transfer) *without overtly challenging male role of breadwinner & head of household*
- Woman as **transfer recipient** appears important, but few tests of this theory
- **Plus components** potential for synergies (and driver) of reductions in IPV, however cost of implementation must be considered—no evidence on these trade offs

Conclusions & research gaps

- Strong evidence suggest CTs are proven 'structural' prevention complements to dedicated vertical programming
- Geographic and program design gaps (ability to attribute transfer recipient & plus components)
- Better measurement and analysis of mechanisms
- Need for more mixed-methods evaluations, and measurement of dynamics over the long(er)-term
- Cost-effectiveness measures needed to compare relative to other (vertical/dedicated) programming

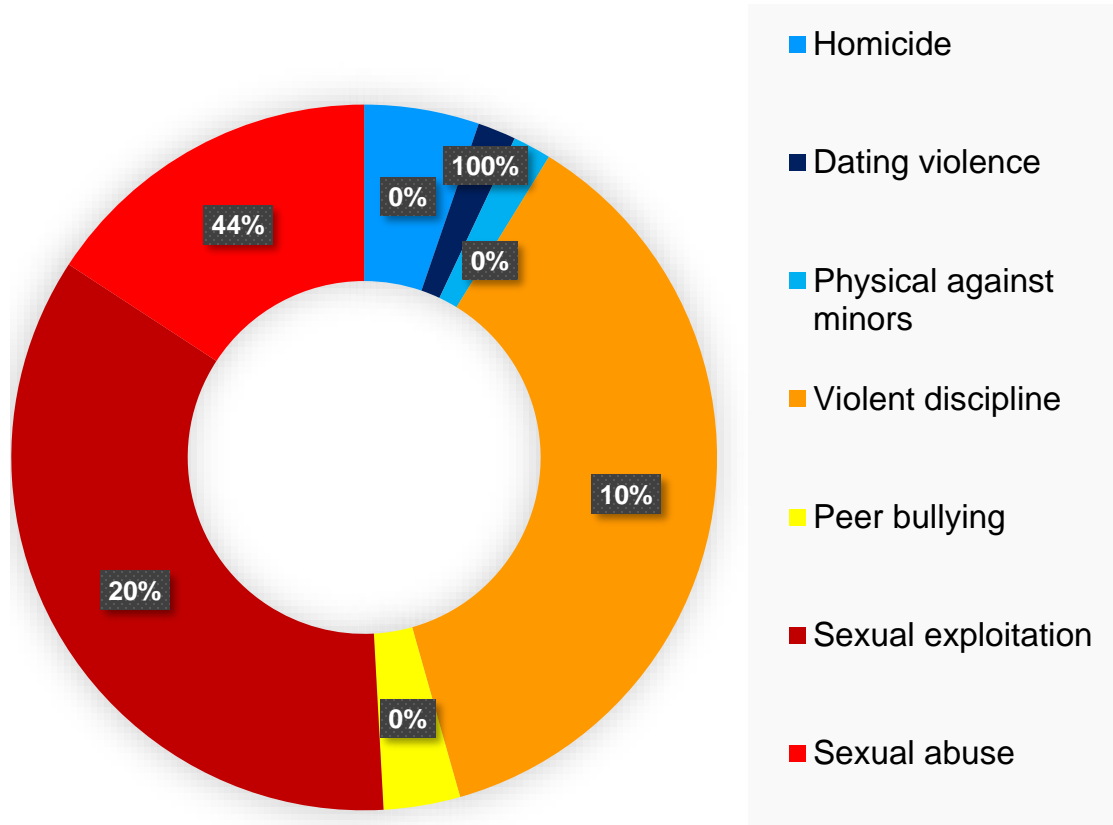
What about violence against children?

- Measurement more complex:
 - Appropriate & specific violence measures vary across age ranges
 - Ethical issues more acute
- Mechanisms more complex:
 - Violence in different spaces (home, school, & labor settings)
 - Violence from different perpetrators (household & strangers)
 - More indirect pathways



Health Policy & Planning 32(7):
<https://doi.org/10.1093/heapol/czx033>

Overall results: 57 indicators (11 studies)



- In total, 19% represent protective effects of SSNs (no adverse effects)
- Regionally grouped – sexual violence from adolescent studies in SSA, violent discipline from LAC
- Only one mixed-methods study (Palestine)

Social safety nets for childhood violence reduction?

- Results are promising for protecting adolescent girls against **sexual exploitation & abuse**, less so for other types of violence
- **Many evidence gaps**: regional, program type—lack of comprehensive studies showing how SSNs can affect multiple types of risk for children (including in different settings, witnessing IPV, frequency or severity of violence)
- **Mechanisms are diverse**: schooling, caregiver stress, adolescent risk behaviors, exposure to high-risk environments, girls empowerment.
- Lack of studies able to test **plus components**, including links to integrating child and social protection systems.

Impacts of integrated social protection on IPV: The case of Ghana's LEAP

Ghana LEAP 1000

- Examine whether a government social protection program targeted to extremely poor, rural households with pregnant and recently pregnant women in Ghana had an impact on past-year prevalence and frequency of IPV;
- Through which pathways;
- Assess if family structure matters (polygamous v. monogamous)

Peterman A, Valli E, Palermo T, On Behalf of the LEAP 1000 Evaluation Team. "Government Anti-Poverty Programming and Intimate Partner Violence in Ghana." *Under review.*

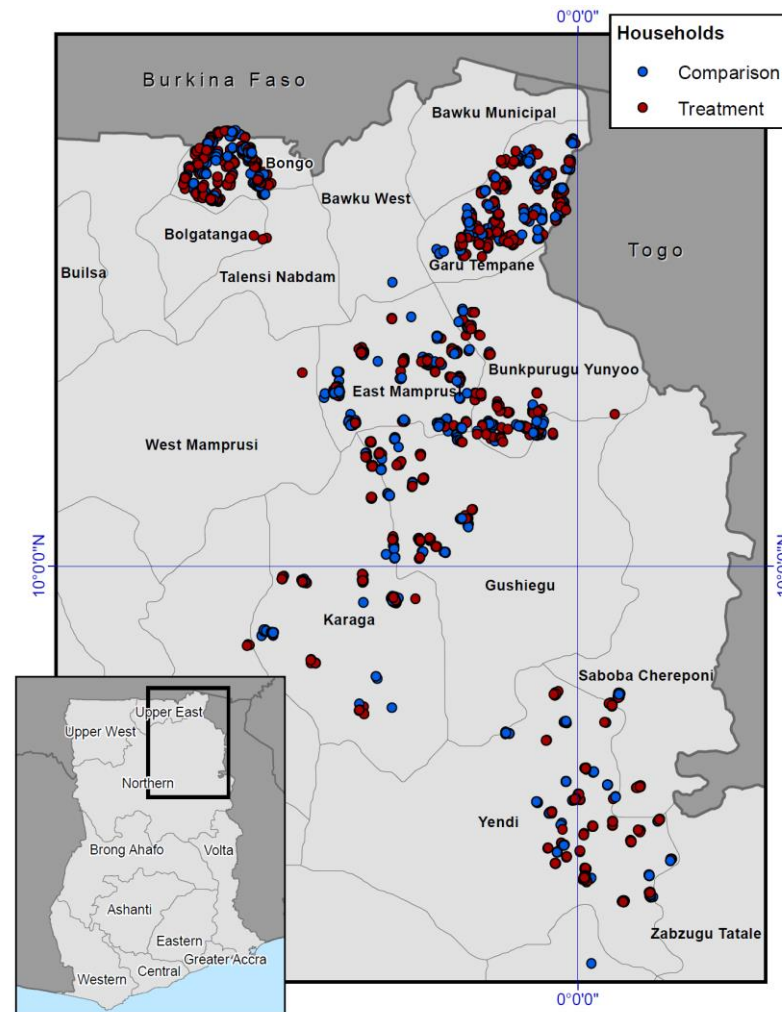


LEAP 1000 program

- Part of government-led, nationwide unconditional cash transfer program: **Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP)** program
- Program objectives: 1) Alleviate short-term poverty and 2) Encourage long-term human capital development
 - LEAP 1000 specific focus on **nutrition and stunting**
- Targets pregnant women or women with a child <1 year
- Bi-monthly cash transfer [approx. GH¢76 (EUR14)] and health insurance (NHIS) premium waiver
- Initial coverage of LEAP 1000: 6,220 households in 10 districts in Northern Ghana

LEAP 1000: Evaluation Design and sample

- 2-year mixed method, quasi-experimental, longitudinal study
- 8,058 households targeted by government and 3,619 deemed eligible
- Baseline (Jul-Sept 2015), Endline (Jul-Sept 2017)
 - Female enumerators, interviews conducted in privacy
- Final evaluation sample N=2,497 households (1,262 T and 1,235 C)
 - Final analysis sample: N=2,083 women (1,060 T & 1,023 C)



Measures: IPV Outcomes

- Based on modified Conflict Tactics Scale
- **Any** experience in prior 12 months
- **Frequency** in prior 12 months (0=never, 1=sometimes, 2=often for each item; standardized)
 - **Controlling behaviors**, 7 questions (any; frequency 0 – 7)
 - **Emotional IPV**, 4 questions (any; frequency range 0 – 8)
 - **Physical IPV**, 7 questions (any; frequency range 0 – 14)
 - **Sexual IPV**, 2 questions (any; frequency range 0 – 4)
 - **Emotional/Physical/Sexual IPV**, 13 questions (any; frequency range 0 – 26)

LEAP 1000: Impacts on IPV

- Overall IPV experience
 - No reductions in **overall experience** of IPV among full sample
 - 5-8 percentage point decreases in overall IPV experience among **monogamous** sample only (emotional, physical & combined emotional/physical/sexual)
- Frequency of IPV
 - 0.09-0.11 standard deviation decrease of IPV frequency in full sample (emotional, physical & combined emotional/physical/sexual)
 - Larger decreases among monogamous sample (0.11 – 0.12 SD emotional, physical & combined)
 - Women in polygamous union at increased risk of IPV overall

LEAP 1000: Summary of pathway impacts

■ Positive impacts on:

- Economic security (less likely to be poor and extremely poor; 3-5 pp)
- Monthly expenditures (~ 7 Cedis AE)
- Monthly food expenditures (~ 5-6 Cedis AE)
- Locus of control (monogamous women)
- Savings
- Social support
- Valid NHIS card; health seeking behavior

■ No impacts on:

- Self perceived stress
- Life satisfaction
- Partner drinking
- Expenditures on alcohol
- Women's decision-making agency



1

ECONOMIC SECURITY
AND EMOTIONAL
WELL-BEING



2

INTRA-HOUSEHOLD
CONFLICT



3

WOMEN'S
EMPOWERMENT

Discussion & conclusion

- LEAP 1000 reduced frequency of emotional, physical, any IPV measures in the full sample but not overall experience of IPV.
 - Driven by monogamous sample (also reductions in overall experience)
 - No impacts among polygamous sample, which is at highest risk of IPV
- Pathways include economic standing/emotional wellbeing and women's empowerment
- Limitations: Local average treatment effects, underreporting possible
- Results underscore that cash transfers can have improve wellbeing beyond primary program objectives
- Findings indicate that family structure matters in designing programs – yet we know little about why or how (more research needed + qualitative inquiry)

Cash transfers for education of displaced children

Cash transfers in humanitarian settings

- ODI & CGDev (2015) *Doing Cash Differently* >> Give more **unconditional cash transfers in humanitarian settings**:
 - **Costs** are relatively low
 - Expenditure in **local markets**
 - Allow recipients to **use cash flexibly**
- Grand Bargain (2016 & 2018) >> “Increase the **use and coordination of cash**-based programming”:
 - 30+ biggest donors and aid providers
 - Significant progress

Need for evidence

- Need for evidence:
 - ODI & CGDev (2015): “Systematically analyse and benchmark other humanitarian responses against cash”
 - World Bank (2016): “Develop a global research strategy to fill evidence gaps on the relative performance of transfer modalities”
- Why?
 - Limited rigorous evidence (Doocy and Tappis, 2016)
 - Effects may differ from transfers in stable settings
- UNICEF Office of Research – Innocenti aims to help fill the gap
 - Recent workshop and publications: Social protection in contexts of fragility and forced displacement
 - This presentation: Challenges encountered by refugees in use of cash

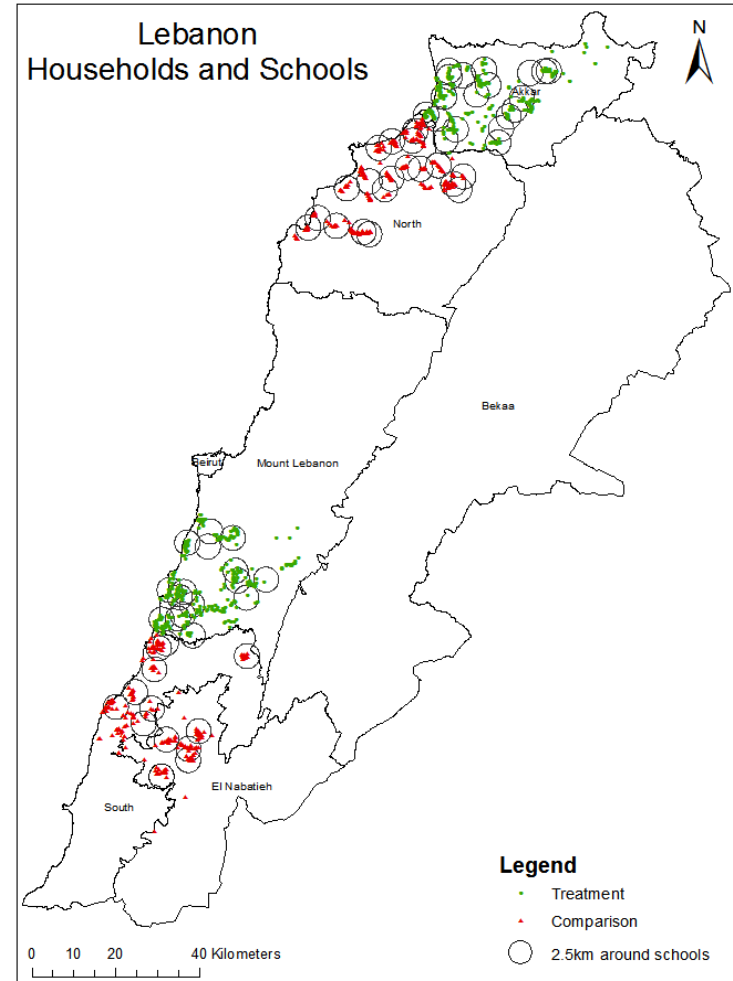
Examples: Cash response of UNICEF & partners in Syrian displacement crisis

- Lebanon: No Lost Generation program / *Min Ila*
- Jordan: *Hajati* program



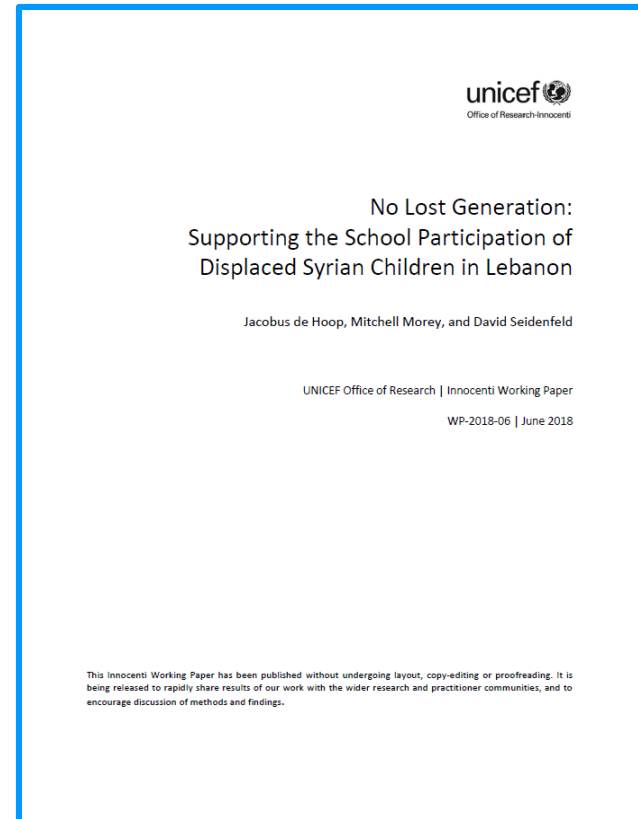
Study Lebanon NLG

- Comparison: 1500 households in governorates with and without the program (geographical RDD)
- Data collection:
 - Baseline: before start NLG
 - Midline: 16/17 schoolyear
 - Endline: 17/18 schoolyear



Positive impacts & capacity constraints

- Positive impacts on important domains, such as:
 - Education expenditure
 - Health and mental wellbeing
 - Household chores
 - Attendance
- But... rapid increase in enrollment put education system under strain
- Dampened impacts on school enrollment



UNICEF Innocenti Working Paper
2018-06

- “We won’t end up with household chores. You need to take advantage of education and time you have to study.” (school girl in Akkar)
- “The child is [now] contented and relaxed. He feels he is equal to the other kids. He has his own uniform, his bag, sometimes if his copybook finishes he can buy another one ... so the child feels more at ease and is not pressured.” (Teacher in Mt. Lebanon)
- “It’s too crowded. Between Barja, Naamah, Rmeileh regions, the surroundings, it’s full,” “There are plenty on the waiting list; the Ministry is working on that.” (Principal in Mt. Lebanon)

Study Jordan *Hajati*

- Due to **funding constraints**, the *Hajati* program is being scaled down
- Inter-Agency Standing Committee (2016): This is **not uncommon**:
 - Limited predictability of donor funding leads to “a **short-term programming focus**” and “**start-stop operations** with sub-optimal execution”
- Questions: What are the impacts of (removing):
 - cash support?
 - information on school attendance?
- Ambitious cluster-randomized study ongoing
- **Stay tuned for results!**



Meda ase
Asante
Zikomo
Shukran
Thank you
Grazie!

For more information

- Transfer Project website: www.cpc.unc.edu/projects/transfer
- UNICEF Office of Research—Innocenti: <https://www.unicef-irc.org/>
- Facebook: <https://www.facebook.com/TransferProject>
- Twitter: @TransferProjct



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