

# INSPIRE: SEVEN STRATEGIES FOR ENDING VIOLENCE AGAINST CHILDREN TRAINING SERIES

## *Income and Economic strengthening*




# CASH TRANSFERS & VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN LMICs

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# INSPIRE

## Seven Strategies for Ending Violence Against Children

| Strategy                                                                                                                   | Approach                                                                                                                                                                                         | Sectors            |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------|
|  <b>Income and economic strengthening</b> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Cash transfers</li><li>• Group saving and loans combined with gender equity training</li><li>• Microfinance combined with gender norm training</li></ul> | Finance,<br>Labour |

Within these approaches, most available rigorous evidence comes from [cash transfers](#)

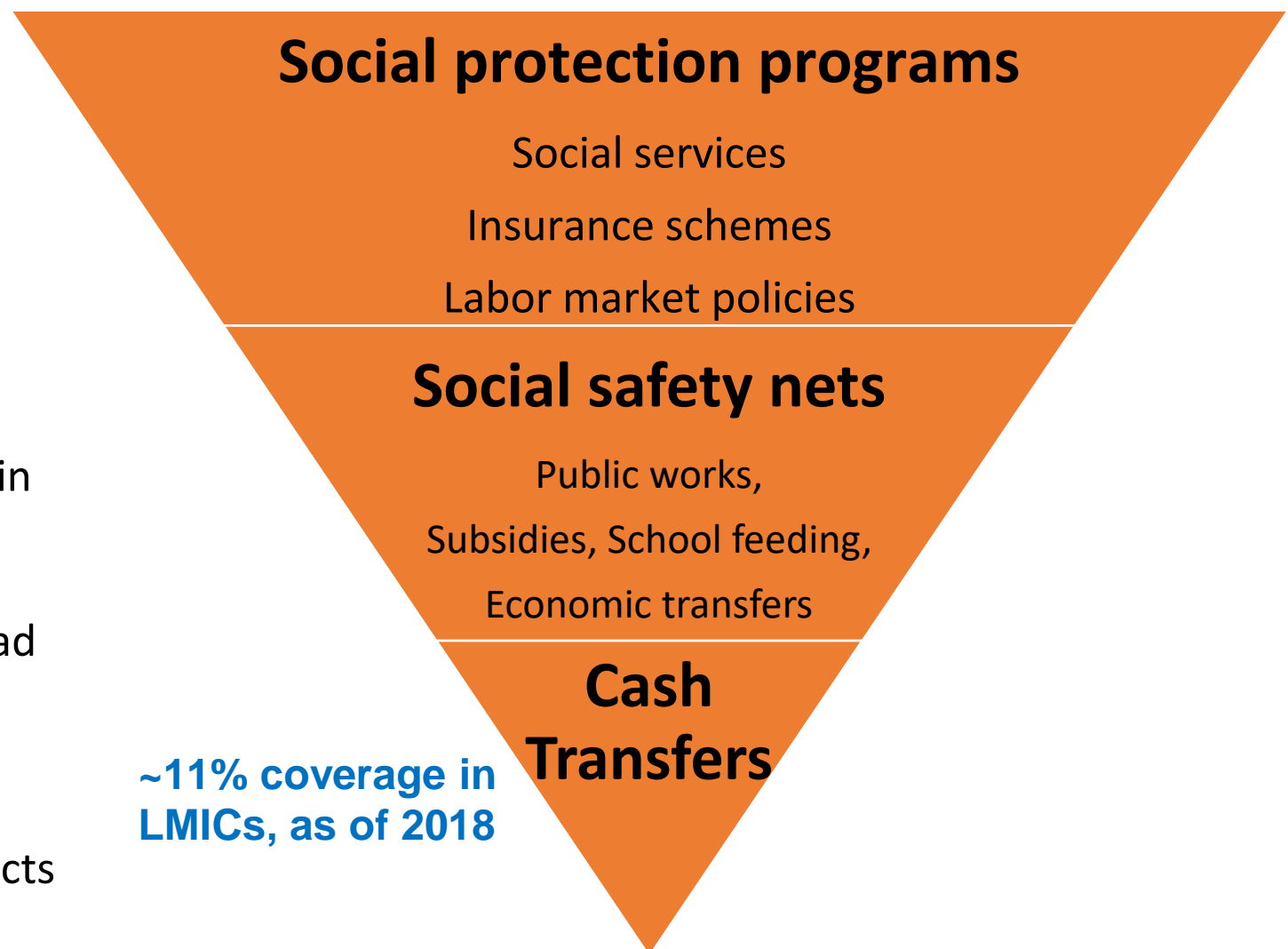
# What we will discuss

- How global coverage of cash transfers makes them a promising platform
- What the evidence shows about cash and violence prevention
  - Relationship between VAW and VAC
  - Cash transfers and IPV
  - Social safety nets (particularly cash transfers) and VAC
- What programming recommendations these findings imply

# USE OF CASH TRANSFERS AROUND THE GLOBE

## Cash transfers operate at large scale – and have potential for continued scale-up

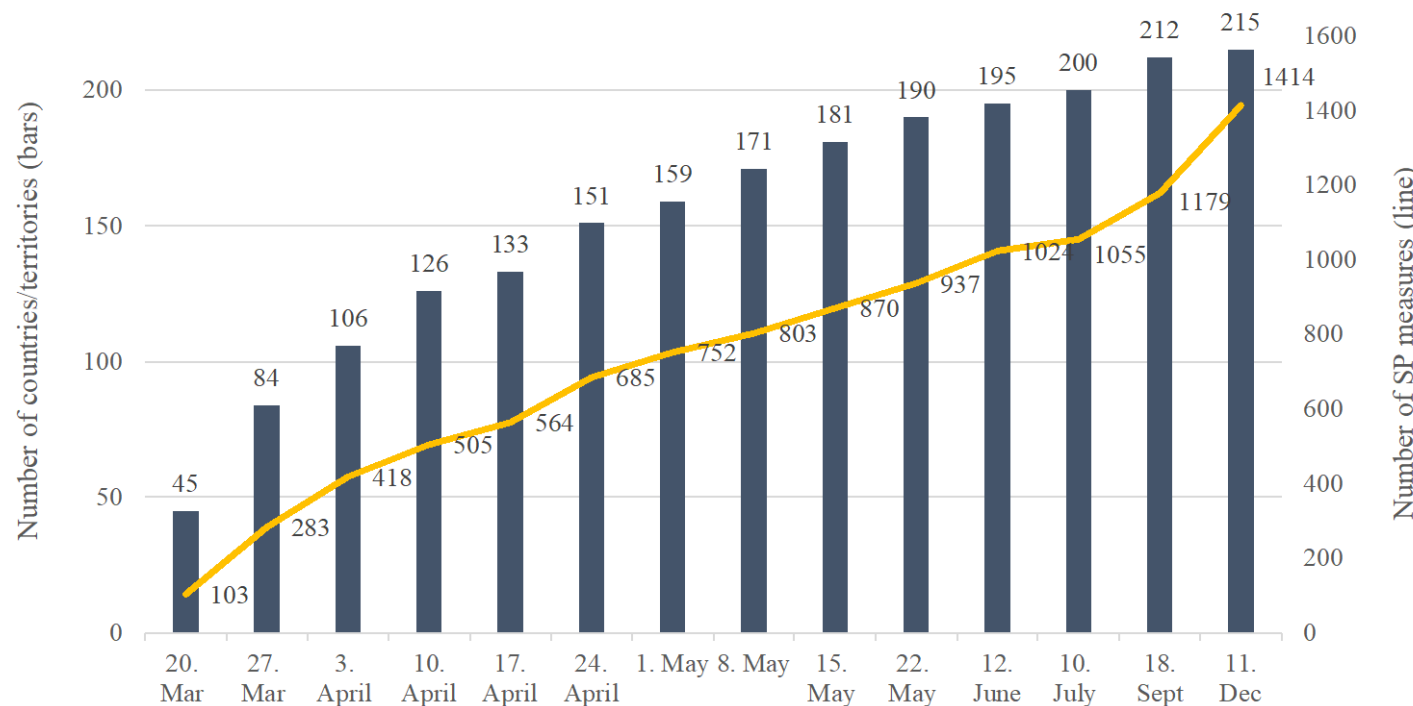
- As of 2018, CTs are a substantial and growing share of SSNs globally (including in LMICs)
- Reach a large share of poor populations within countries
- Robust interest from stakeholders, given broad impacts and cost-effectiveness for reducing poverty and food insecurity
- Scale makes it important to understand impacts on violence





# COVID-19 has increased concerns about VAW and VAC – and dramatically increased social protection measures

## Number of social protection measures and countries/territories, March-December 2020



About a third of these social protection measures are cash transfers

Adds to motivation for understanding how CTs affect violence

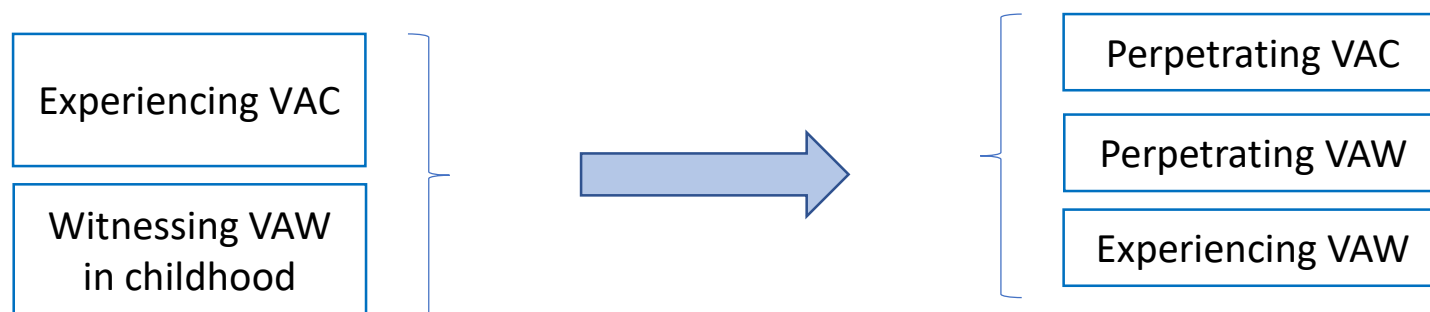
Gentilini et al. (December, 2020). Social Protection and Jobs Responses to COVID-19: A Real-Time Review of Country Measures. World Bank and ILO.

# RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN VAW AND VAC



# Why look at VAW and VAC together?

- Overlap in many underlying **risk factors** – including economic insecurity
  - Often occur in the same households
- Each increases risk of the other:



- Common and **compounding consequences** across the lifespan
- **Consolidating efforts** to address shared risk factors may help prevent both forms of violence and halt intergenerational effects

# CASH TRANSFERS AND VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

# How do cash transfers affect VAW – in particular, intimate partner violence?

A review of 22 quantitative and qualitative studies: (Buller et al, 2018)

- more than 70% of studies showed decreases in IPV
- rest largely showed no significant impacts
- no evidence of average increases in IPV

Newer meta-analysis of quantitative CT & IPV studies confirms average decreases in IPV (Baranov et al, 2021)

## 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: I10, I30, I38, 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

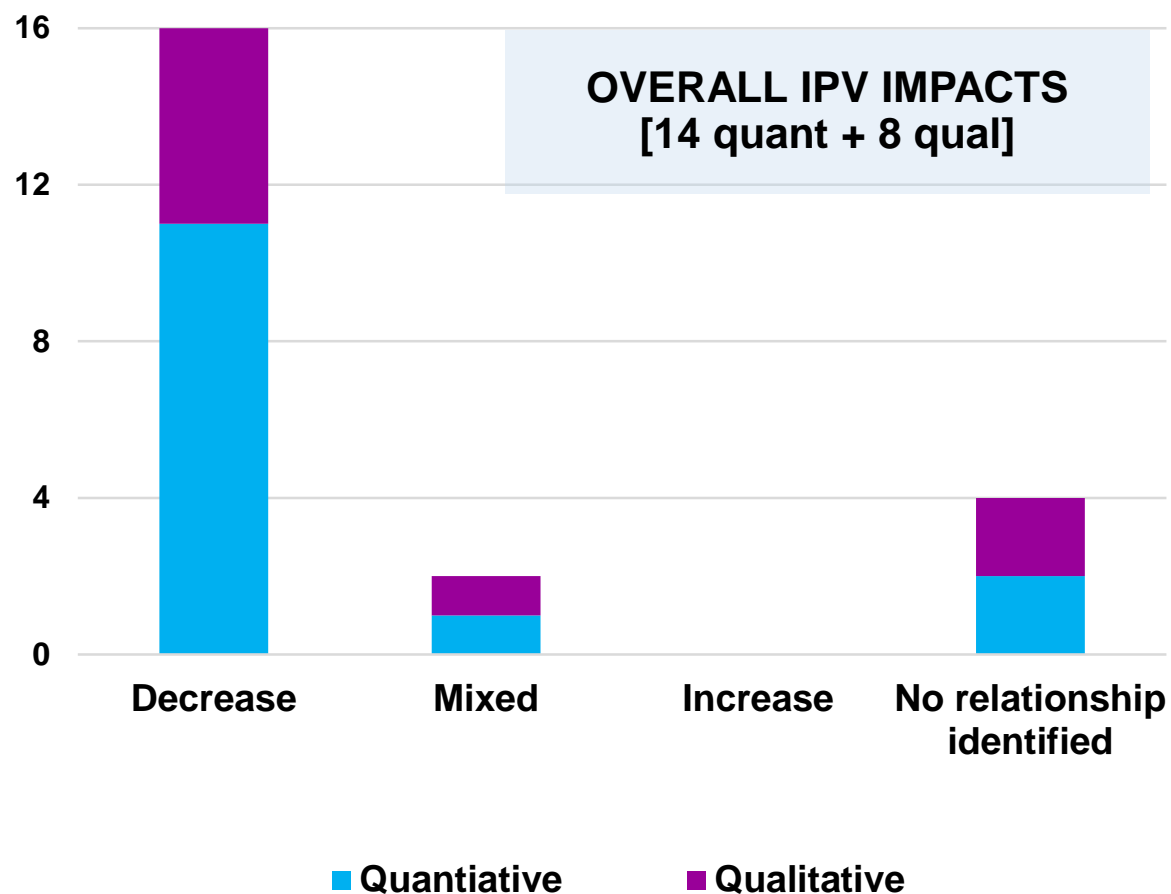
The World Bank Research Observer  
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33:218–258

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<https://doi.org/10.1093/wbro/lky002>

## Buller et al. review: Impacts of CTs on IPV



- None of the reviewed CT programs explicitly targeted IPV
- Of quantitative studies, 11 of 14 showed decreases
- 2 studies with mixed results by type of IPV
- Impacts ranged from **11%-66% reductions** in IPV outcomes
- **More consistent impacts on physical and/or sexual** than for emotional abuse and controlling behaviors

## Why do CTs affect IPV?

Three main pathways supported by evidence in Buller et al. (2018)



**1**

ECONOMIC SECURITY  
AND EMOTIONAL  
WELL-BEING

**Household level  
impact**



**2**

INTRA-HOUSEHOLD  
CONFLICT

**Marital dynamic  
impact**



**3**

WOMEN'S  
EMPOWERMENT

**Woman specific  
impact**

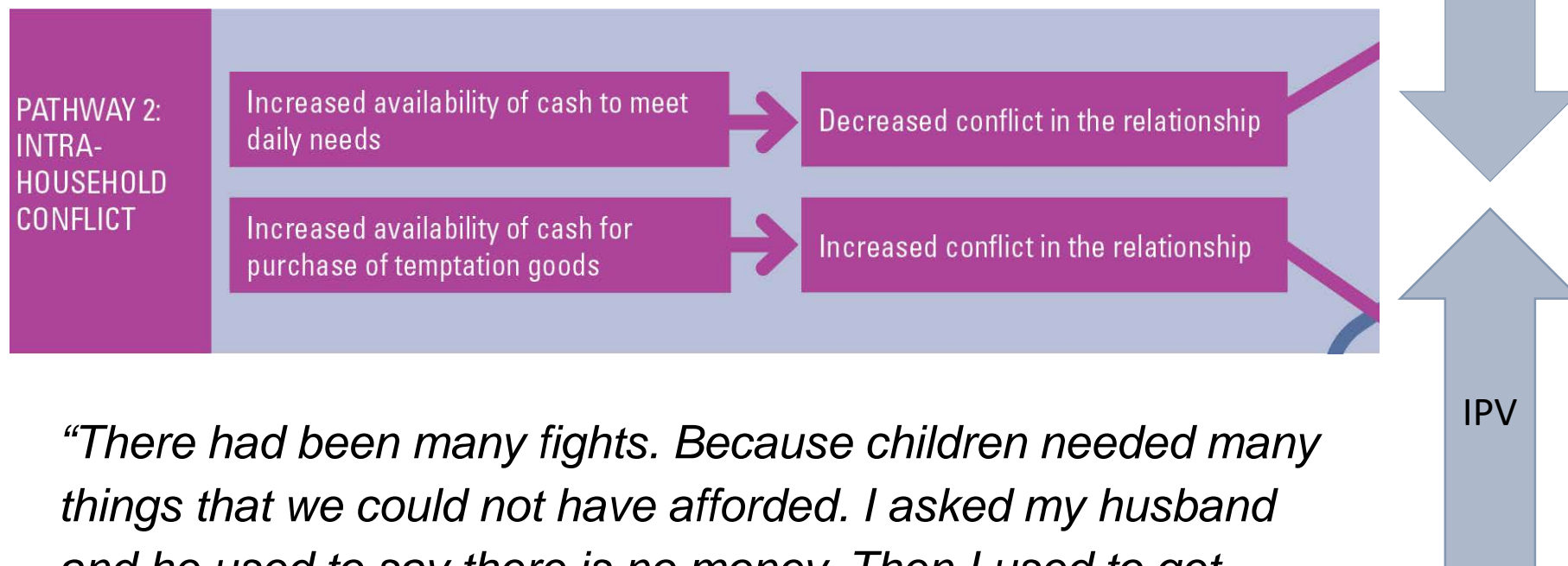
## Pathway 1: Economic security & emotional wellbeing



*“In my household **it was like happiness**, we all got along, with my children, with my husband [...] in my house we were happy [...] because before we did not have enough money for those things [food].”*



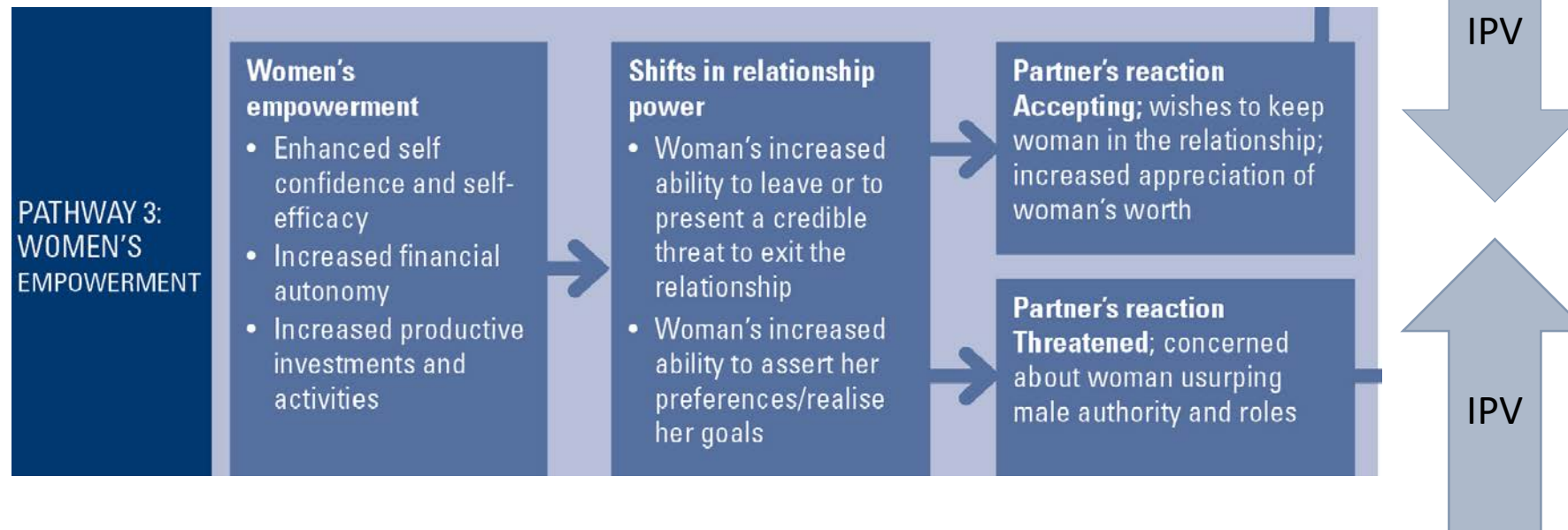
## Pathway 2: Intra-household conflict



*“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)

## Pathway 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.”*

# New evidence: Examples of knowledge gaps addressed and case studies

- **How do IPV impacts of cash transfers depend on program design features and initial household characteristics?**

Two examples of similar programs in the same region, which both disaggregate impacts by whether relationship is polygamous – with different target recipient

- **Ghana:** Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP) 1000 (Peterman et al., forthcoming)
- **Mali:** *Programme de Filets Sociaux (Jigisemejiri)* (Heath et al., 2020; Lees et al., 2020)

- **What happens to IPV after cash transfers end?**

- **Bangladesh:** Transfer Modality Research Initiative (TMRI) program (Roy et al., 2019a, b)

## Ghana/Mali: How impacts depend on design & initial characteristics

|                            | Ghana LEAP 1000: Design & focus of analysis                                              | Mali Jigisemejiri: Design & focus of analysis                                  |
|----------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Type of program            | Part of <b>government</b> -led, nationwide <b>unconditional</b> cash transfer program    | <b>Government</b> -led national <b>unconditional</b> cash transfer program     |
| Benefits                   | Bi-monthly <b>cash</b> transfer and <b>health insurance</b> (NHIS) <b>premium waiver</b> | <b>Cash paid every 3 months</b> + “accompanying measures” ( <b>trainings</b> ) |
| Targeting                  | Targets <b>women</b> who are pregnant or have a child <1 year                            | Targeted <b>household heads</b> (usually male)                                 |
| Disaggregation in analysis | <b>Polygamy</b> : 31% of women in study sample in polygamous marriage                    | <b>Polygamy</b> : 39% of heads in study sample in polygamous marriage          |



## Ghana/Mali: How impacts depend on design & initial characteristics

|                                | Ghana LEAP 1000: Results                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | Mali Jigisemejiri: Results                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Impacts                        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>No ↓ in experience of any IPV but small ↓ in frequency among full sample</li> <li>Among <b>monogamous sample only</b>, ↓ in any IPV experience (6 pp emotional, 5 pp physical, 8 pp combined IPV)</li> </ul>                 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Small reductions in experience of any IPV among full sample</li> <li>Driven by <b>polygamous sample</b>: large ↓ in any IPV experience (13 pp emotional, 7 pp physical, 16 pp controlling behavior)</li> </ul> |
| Pathways                       | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>↑ <b>economic security/emotional wellbeing</b></li> <li>↓ <b>intrahousehold conflict</b></li> <li>↑ <b>women's empowerment</b> – via controlling resources; aids in reducing conflict, but gender transformative?</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>↑ <b>economic security/emotional wellbeing</b></li> <li>↓ <b>intrahousehold conflict</b></li> <li>no impact on women's empowerment – may even ↑ male authority given targeting</li> </ul>                      |
| Qual insight re sustainability | Gender role strain is an ongoing source of stress – threatens impact and sustainability                                                                                                                                                                             | If emotional wellbeing impacts are not sustained after the program ends, IPV will revert                                                                                                                                                              |

- Impacts can differ by initial household characteristics – but how may depend on program design
- Impacts will only be sustained if effects on pathways are sustained after the program ends



# Bangladesh: What happens to IPV after cash transfers end

## ■ TMRI: design/context

- Pilot program providing cash (or food) transfers – **with or without intensive group-based nutrition training**
- Implemented by WFP from 2012-14, RCT design
- Targeted mothers of children 0-23 months in very poor rural households
- Patriarchal setting, female seclusion norms prevalent





# Bangladesh: What happens to IPV after cash transfers end

## ■ Impacts

**During program**, suggestive evidence that **all treatment arms** reduced IPV

**4 years after program ended:**

- Women receiving **Cash** showed **no significant difference in IPV** from Control
- Women receiving **Cash+Training** experienced **11 percentage point reduction** (42% ↓) in **physical IPV** relative to Control
- **Pathways:** hypothesize sustainability of **+Training** arm is driven by **↑social capital** (plausibly sustained in this context)
  - ↑Women's empowerment: economic, psychological, social
  - ↑Men's social costs of perpetrating: "social control"
  - ↑Economic security/emotional well-being

## Take away messages on cash transfers & IPV

- Strong evidence suggests **CTs are proven "structural" interventions to reduce IPV at scale**, across settings (even when IPV prevention is not an explicit objective)
  - To strengthen women's empowerment pathway, consider **design features** to allow women to retain control (messaging, frequency, size of transfer, transfer recipient); promote micro-changes to gender roles in the household with “buy in” of men
- Postprogram **sustainability of impacts** requires sustained impacts on pathway(s) – which **may require complementary activities**
  - Which type of complementary activity is relevant may depend on context
- **Implications for future reductions** in perpetration and experiences via reduced exposure in childhood (witnessing in the home)

# SOCIAL SAFETY NETS AND VIOLENCE AGAINST CHILDREN

# Social Safety nets and violence against children?

## ■ Challenges

- Fewer studies have investigated
- Appropriate & specific violence measures vary across age ranges
- Ethical issues more acute

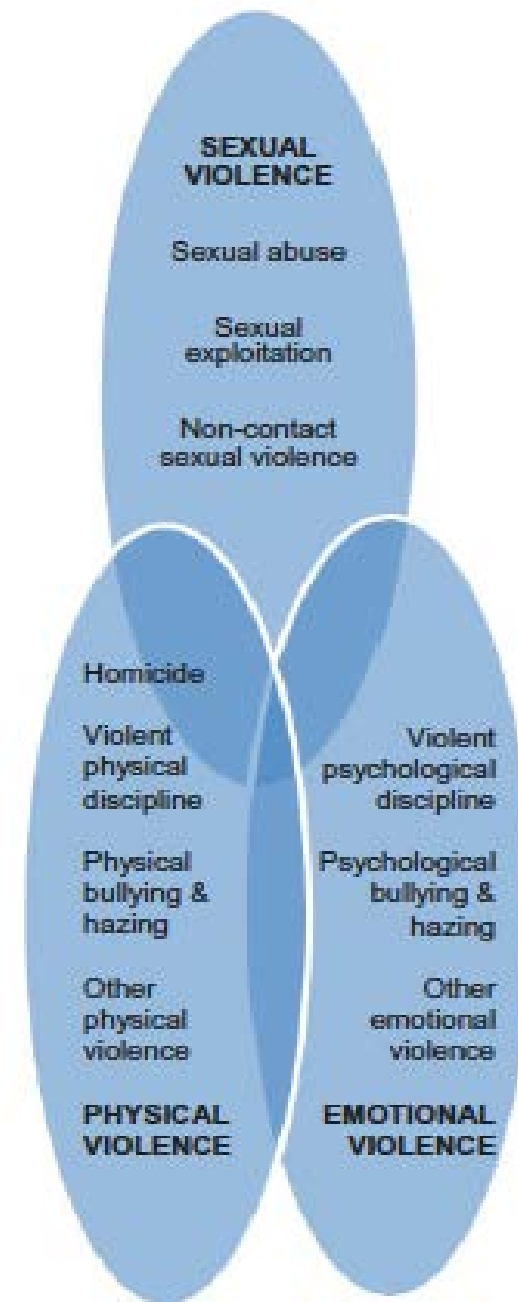
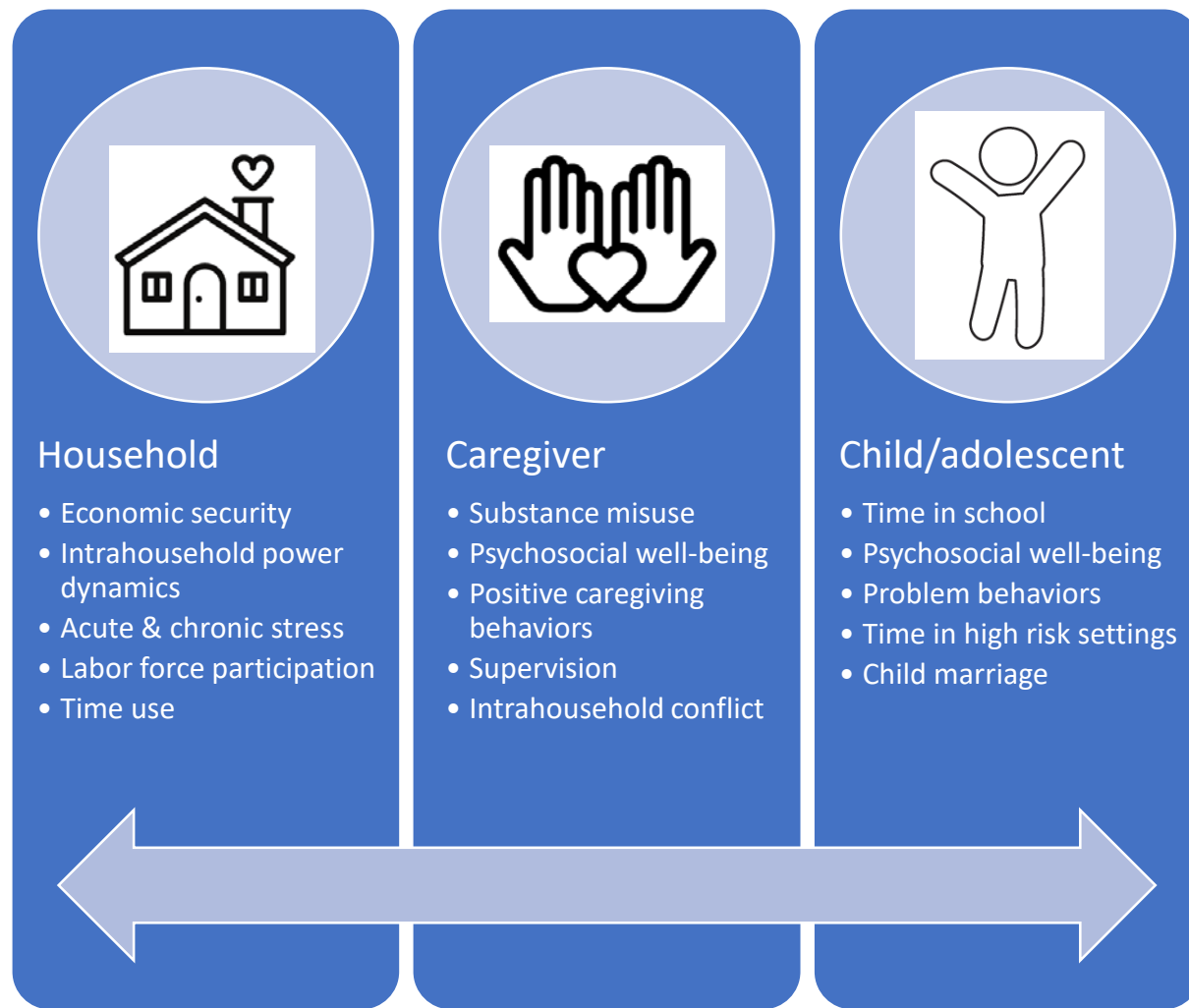
## ■ Mechanisms more complex:

- Violence in different spaces (home, school, & labor settings)
- Violence from different perpetrators (household, authorities & strangers)
- More indirect pathways

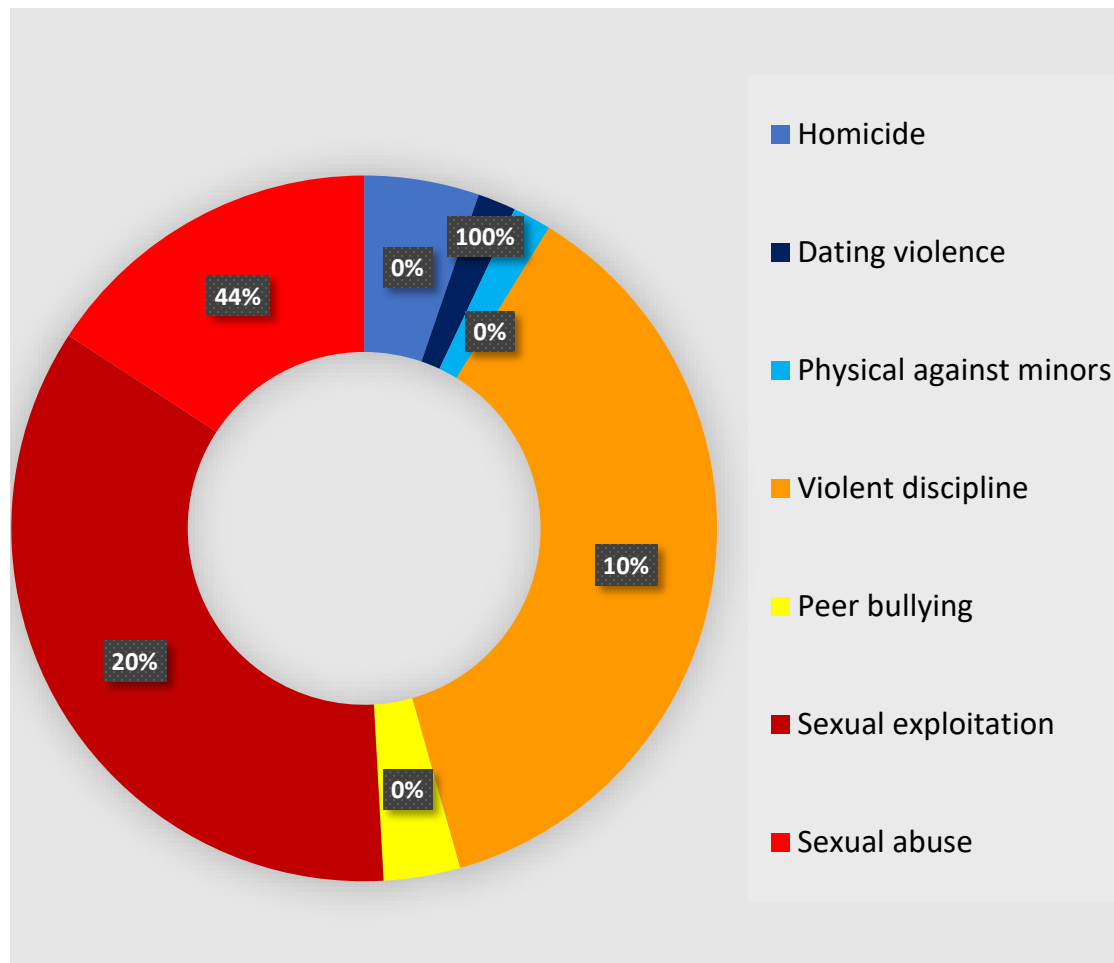


Peterman A, Neijhoft AN, Cook S, Palermo T. (2017). Understanding the linkages between social protection and childhood violence: A review of the evidence. *Health Policy and Planning* 32(7): 1049-1071. [doi:10.1093/heapol/czx033](https://doi.org/10.1093/heapol/czx033)

# Conceptual Framework



## 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)



# New evidence: Bangladesh, Haiti, Mali, Tanzania & Zimbabwe

- Two studies examining impacts of CT on IPV, also investigated impacts on VAC
  - Mali Jigisemejiri cash transfer program
  - Bangladesh Transfer Modality Research Initiative
- “Cash Plus” and “graduation models” integrate cash transfers with complementary programming or linkages to services
  - Pilot targeted to adolescents in Tanzania’s Productive Social Safety Net
  - Chemen Lavi Miyò (CLM) programme in Haiti
  - Zimbabwe’s Harmonised Social Cash Transfer Program

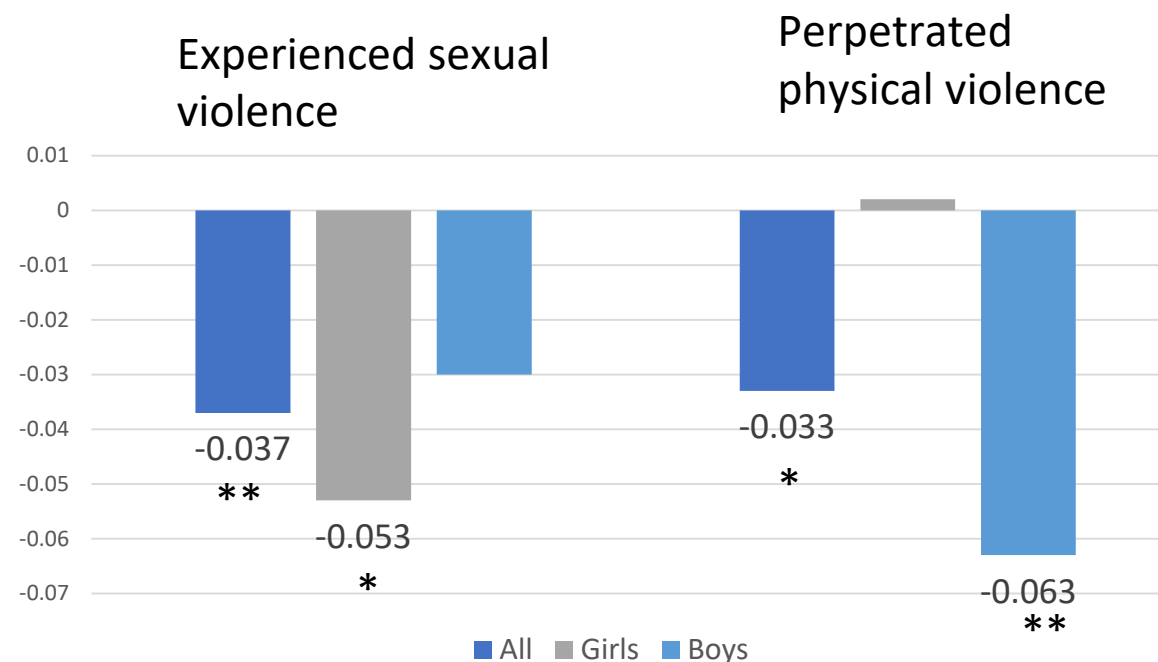
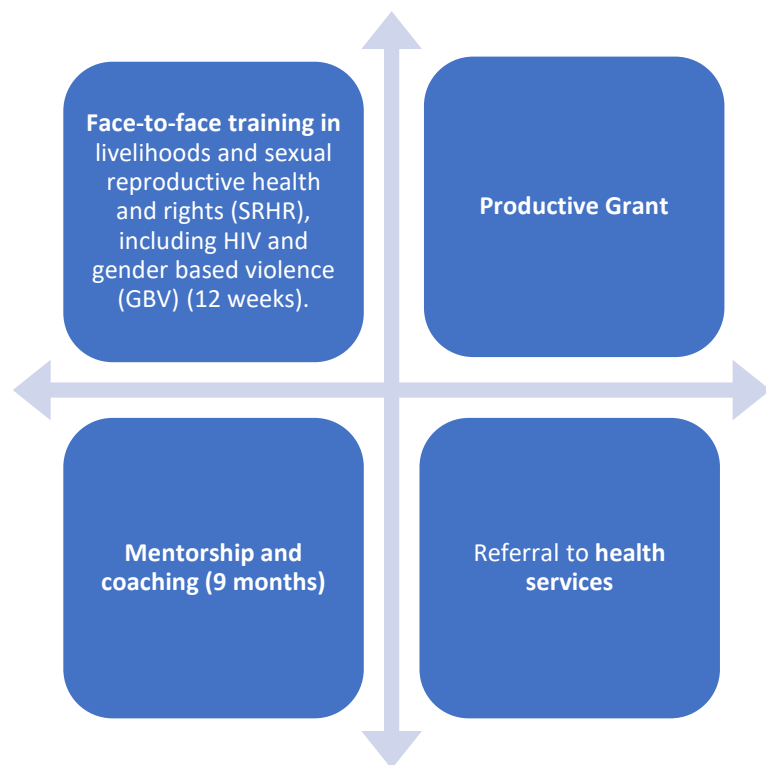
# Mali Jigisemejiri: Impacts on VAC (disaggregated by polygamy)

- Similar pattern as for IPV impacts
- In polygamous households, program led to a reduction in violence against children
  - 11 percentage point reduction in any psychological aggression toward child in the past month
  - 17 percentage point reduction in any physical punishment of child in the past month
  - 23% reduction in number of psychological and physical violent acts against child in the past month
- No impact in monogamous households

# Bangladesh TMRI: Impacts on VAC (6 months postprogram)

- Similar pattern as for IPV impacts
- At 6 months postprogram, **Transfers+Training** significantly reduce violence against children
  - **12 percentage point reduction** from Transfers+Training on measure of whether index child experienced “**harsh physical punishment last week**”
  - **8 percentage point reduction** from Transfers+Training on whether the parent reported “**hitting the child back when the child hits parents**”
- No significant impact at 6 months postprogram from Transfers only

# Tanzanian Cash Plus Model decreased violence experience and perpetration



# Cash Plus: Zimbabwe and Haiti

- Zimbabwe's Harmonised Social Cash Transfer
  - Targeted to food poor and labor-constrained households
  - Combines cash transfers with complementary services
  - 19 percentage point **reduction in physical violence** experience among youth
- Chemen Lavi Miyò (CLM) programme in Haiti
  - Adaptation of the BRAC 'graduation model' targeted to women
  - Cash transfers, asset transfer, training, access to savings and credit
  - 11.9 percentage point **reduction in harsh corporal punishment** of children

Chakrabarti, A., Handa, S., Angeles, G., & Seidenfeld, D. (2020). A cash plus program reduces youth exposure to physical violence in Zimbabwe. *World Development*, 134, 105037.

Roelen, K., & Saha, A. (2021). Pathways to stronger futures? The role of social protection in reducing psychological risk factors for child development in Haiti. *World Development*, 142, 105423.

# Social safety nets for childhood violence reduction?

- Results are promising for protecting adolescent girls against **sexual exploitation & abuse**
- New evidence also suggests CTs lead to **reductions in violence discipline**
- **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.

# Conclusion: opportunity to broaden thinking about creating safe, nurturing environments at home for children

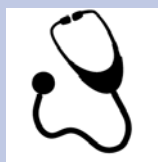
Cash transfers reduce intimate partner violence

Cash transfers can reduce sexual violence and sexual exploitation, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, and violent discipline of children

Emerging evidence that cash transfers and cash plus programming can reduce violence against children



How do intersectoral linkages boost these impacts?



What is the role of implementation of these linkages (and key cadres such as social workers) in realizing impacts?



What is cost effectiveness of cash transfers in reducing VAC and IPV? How does this compare to other violence-focused interventions?



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<https://www.ifpri.org/project/cash-transfer-and-intimate-partner-violence-research-collaborative>

# THANK YOU!

