

CASH TRANSFER PROGRAMMING IN THE EDUCATION AND CHILD PROTECTION SECTORS: LITERATURE REVIEW AND EVIDENCE MAPS



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Literature review and evidence maps

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This report was outlined by students of the London School of Economics (LSE) on behalf of the Cash Learning Partnership (CaLP).

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ALNAP	Active Learning Network for Accountability and Performance
AoR	Area of Responsibility
CaLP	Cash Learning Partnership
CCT	Conditional Cash Transfer
CfW	Cash-for-Work
CP	Child Protection
CPMS	Child Protection Minimum Standards
CPWG	Child Protection Working Group
CTP	Cash Transfer Programming
CV	Conditional Voucher
DRC	The Democratic Republic of the Congo
DFID	Department for International Development
ECHO	European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations
GEC	Global Education Cluster
GFA	Global Framework for Action
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
INEE	Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies
LSE	London School of Economics and Political Science
ME	Middle East
MPG	Multipurpose Cash Grant
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
RT	Restricted Transfer
UN	The United Nations
UNHCR	The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	The United Nations Children's Fund
UV	Unconditional Voucher

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The use of **cash transfer programming (CTP)** in humanitarian response continues to increase in scale and quality, as evidenced by the State of the World's Cash Report.¹ This report examines the body of research that provides evidence of the impact of CTP on education and child protection outcomes and provides a comprehensive synthesis and analysis of existing evidence and identifies gaps in the knowledge base for future research prioritisation.

The interventions used for this project include different modalities of CTP. The sectoral outcomes were determined through a process of deliberation with the **Global Education and Protection Clusters**, and are based on broader sectoral outcomes, regardless of whether they had previously been delivered using CTP. As such, only studies containing these interventions and outcomes were considered. The number of studies included in this report is relatively small, a total of 35. However, given the high quality of the studies, the diversity of contexts and the consistency of findings, the body of literature is assessed to be of medium quality.

The most common intervention in the sample is **multipurpose cash grants (MPGs)**, within which education and child protection outcomes were two of many outcomes tracked. Limited evidence was found for other interventions, such as **mixed-modalities, conditional cash transfers, conditional vouchers, restricted transfers** and **cash-for-work** programmes.

The interventions in education show a strong tendency towards positive results, with 74% having a positive impact. **No education studies reviewed had an explicit negative impact.** Evidence was only found for CTP impact on the outcome 'access to education'. However, the evidence allows for a nuanced analysis of the impact of CTP across changes in enrolment, attendance and spending. In general, the mechanism behind the positive impact on access seems to be the ability of CTP to address financial barriers to education.

Child protection outcomes have more mixed results, 50% positive and 45% neutral, and span a broader range of outcomes. Only one intervention with a child protection outcome was found to have a direct negative impact, which was an MPG on risk or exposure to violence. Of the interventions studied, **child labour and exposure to risk and violence** were found to be the most common outcomes. There is potential for CTP to be effective in preventing child labour in the short term in as far as CTP helps to keep children in school and reduces exposure to risk and violence that result from a lack of income. Evidence of long-term impacts on child labour and practices that may enable risk and violence are lacking. Similarly, there is limited evidence of positive impacts of CTP on child marriage. Most of the studies are inconclusive, suggesting that child marriage is a complex issue, and the potential for CTP to reduce its incidence is still unclear.

The evidence on whether **conditionality** schemes translate into greater impact on education and child protection in humanitarian settings is inconclusive, given the absence of evidence directly comparing conditional and unconditional schemes. The rationale behind conditionalities is that conditional CTP can enable households to enrol their children in school and prevent them from relying on negative coping strategies that adversely affect children. As such, education-related conditionalities could encourage children to attend school, and have further beneficial child protection effects, as schools can provide a protective environment for children. However, there is not conclusive evidence, even in the development literature, on whether conditionality leads to a higher magnitude of impact or more sustained behaviour change.

Supply-side limitations appear to be crucial. In humanitarian contexts, lack of physical security and safety concerns can be a significant barrier that CTP alone would not address. In addition, the potential of CTP to have a positive impact on education levels in an emergency context is limited by the level and quality of service provision, the state of the economy (e.g., dependency on extra labour from children; ability to pay for other school-related expenses and fees), the prioritisation by recipients of how a transfer is spent and their ability to meet other essential needs. A multifaceted and coordinated approach to humanitarian response, considering needs and outcomes holistically, is required to address both the demand and supply-side barriers to education and child protection.

¹ CaLP, 'The State of the World's Cash Report: Cash Transfer Programming in Humanitarian Aid' (CaLP, February 2018).

Much of the report highlights the **positive spillover effects**² related to education and child protection; however, **negative spillover effects** were also identified. Overall, more rigorous studies must be done to explore the potential for both positive and negative spillover effects on education and child protection.

This report concludes by identifying **key gaps** that have emerged from the analysis of existing evidence. The following areas should be prioritised for future research: (1) comparative research and robust evaluations across a broader range of CTP modality interventions and contexts; (2) greater emphasis on monitoring sectoral outcomes of MPGs; (3) comparative evaluation of conditionality; (4) comprehensive programming, particularly the interaction of CTP modalities with interventions aimed at reducing non-financial barriers to education; (5) differential impact on primary versus secondary education; (6) how CTP can be leveraged to achieve education or child protection outcomes for those with disabilities. Awareness of the limitations of CTP to impact education and child protection outcomes can better inform interventions in these sectors.

² The term 'spillover' is used to describe the positive or negative unintended consequences of a particular intervention.

PART I

I INTRODUCTION

I.1 BACKGROUND AND RATIONALE

In recent years, cash transfer programming (CTP) has significantly increased as a proportion of humanitarian assistance.³ In the right circumstances, CTP can facilitate better use of scarce resources, stimulate local economies to assist recovery, and respect the dignity of people in crisis. While much research has been done on the use of CTP in development contexts, the humanitarian body of evidence is not as extensive.

Theory and practice make similar underlying arguments for the use of CTP in emergency contexts. The use of CTP finds support in Amartya Sen's entitlement approach to humanitarian emergencies, which views them as socio-political phenomena which income support measures could help ameliorate (de Waal, 2006; Sen, 1999). There is strong evidence that CTP is an effective means of meeting the population's needs, both in terms of increasing access to basic goods and services and integrating humanitarian response within the local economy (Gaidner et al., 2011). However, supply-side barriers, such as the lack of pre-existing commodities and services, as well as poorly functioning markets, can dampen the potential benefits of CTP and make its implementation more difficult.⁴

As part of the 2016 World Humanitarian Summit, major donors and agencies signed the Grand Bargain, which included public commitments to increase the use of CTP in humanitarian interventions and was a significant step in solidifying the global commitment to the role of CTP in improving the effectiveness and efficiency of humanitarian action (IASC, 2016). The Global Framework for Action (GFA),⁵ compiled by CaLP, summarises this and other commitments.

CaLP, the global partnership of humanitarian actors engaged in policy, practice and research within CTP, has used the GFA to inform its strategy.⁶ Given the increased use of CTP across sectors, CaLP is keen to build evidence to support the commitments. This report aims to identify and analyse evidence gaps in CTP to inform future research agendas. More specifically, it will include an overview of the current state of knowledge on the use of CTP modalities (i.e. multipurpose cash grants, conditional cash transfers)⁷ in education and child protection through a critical review of the evidence and an evidence map that visualises the impact of CTP in emergencies on predefined outcomes.

Because of the nature of the humanitarian field and its particular challenges, more robust evidence is needed on when and how CTP can deliver desired outcomes. This paper accepts that cash and vouchers as a modality can be a useful tool that efficiently meets beneficiary needs and leads to improved choice and dignity (Arnold et al., 2011; Creti and Jaspars, 2006; Gaidner et al., 2011; Venton et al., 2015). Education and child protection were chosen as the pilot sectors, thanks to the technical support offered by the Global Clusters,⁸ as well as for their complementarity.

I.2 EDUCATION IN EMERGENCIES

Education remains imperative for children and their families in crises as they try to rebuild their lives. The Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE) Minimum Standards state that access to education should not be thwarted by minimal state capacity in a humanitarian crisis. Education can provide safe spaces for learning as well as minimise the effects of psychosocial stress in emergency settings. Furthermore, education is crucial to

³ CaLP, 'The State of the World's Cash Report: Cash Transfer Programming in Humanitarian Aid' (CaLP, February 2018).

⁴ Cash Transfer Programming (CTP) refers to all programmes where cash (or vouchers for goods and services) are directly provided to beneficiaries (individuals, households, communities). The term can be used interchangeably with Cash Based Interventions, Cash Based Assistance, and Cash and Voucher Programming.

⁵ CaLP, 'Global Framework for Action' (CaLP, 2017).

⁶ CaLP, 'Cash Learning Partnership Strategy 2017–2020' (CaLP, 2017).

⁷ CaLP, 'Glossary of Cash Transfer Programming' (CaLP, 2017).

⁸ The Global Clusters are groups of practitioner agencies that work within a specific sector of emergency response. For more information see: <https://www.humanitarianresponse.info/en/coordination/clusters/global>

the success of other interventions, such as water and health, and vital for peace, stability and economic growth of conflict-affected communities (Anderson et al. 2011; Nicolai et al. 2015). Finally, it is frequently cited by the affected populations themselves as a high priority need (Save the Children and NRC, 2014).

Education in emergencies has historically received low priority in humanitarian funding, since resources are primarily directed at acute relief measures, such as food security and shelter. Given the increasing persistence of protracted crises, the importance of guaranteeing the right to education in these contexts is gaining increased attention (Anderson et al., 2011). INEE's 2012 publication of the Minimum Standards was an important step toward the incorporation and institutionalisation of education in humanitarian assistance. The Minimum Standards are derived from human rights and refugee law and documentation and highlight the importance of access to early childhood education, learning programmes for all people, and enhancement of the quality of education programmes. Education not only provides people with the skills they need to fulfil their potential, but to exercise their other rights (INEE, 2012).

1.3 CHILD PROTECTION IN EMERGENCIES

Protection comprises all activities that ensure the full respect for the rights of all individuals, without discrimination and in accordance with international human rights, relevant bodies of law, and humanitarian law. Protection is central to and must be mainstreamed in all humanitarian action.⁹ Direct protection action is the legal and primary responsibility of the state; however, humanitarian organisations may play a role in ensuring these obligations are met, when the state is unable (Kemp, 2016).

Child protection is one of the main Areas of Responsibility (AoR) within the Global Protection Cluster. It refers to the prevention of and response to abuse, neglect, exploitation and violence against children. In 2012, the Child Protection Working Group led the development of the Minimum Standards for Child Protection in Humanitarian Action that established common principles for action with the goal of improving the quality and accountability of child protection programming and enabling better advocacy and communication on child protection risks, needs and responses (CPWG, 2012).

This report will focus its analysis on the nexus between education and child protection, exploring potential linkages in the use of CTP to achieve desired outcomes in both domains. The next section will present the objectives and research questions. The third section will discuss the methodology, including protocol, inclusion criteria, definition of interventions and outcomes, metrics for quality and analytical framework. The fourth section will include the evidence maps. The fifth will give a descriptive overview of the CTP interventions in the literature. The sixth will analyse the impact of these CTP interventions on the selected outcomes and themes, such as positive and negative spillover effects¹⁰ and limitations.¹¹ The seventh will discuss key gaps and recommendations for priority areas of research. Section eight concludes.

⁹ Inter-Agency Standing Committee, 'The Centrality of Protection in Humanitarian Action', <https://interagencystandingcommittee.org/principals/content/centrality-protection-humanitarian-action>

¹⁰ The term 'spillover' is used to describe the positive or negative unintended consequences of a particular intervention.

¹¹ The sections on conditionality, location and delivery mechanism are reflective of the studies that fit this report's inclusion criteria and not necessarily representative of the array of interventions that have been employed.

2 OBJECTIVES AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This report provides a synthesis and analysis of existing evidence on CTP in the education and child protection sectors and identifies gaps in the knowledge base for future research prioritisation. The evidence mapping draws from available documents, including, but not limited to programme evaluations, case studies, monitoring studies, and reviews. Specifically, this report has the following objectives:

- Create evidence maps that detail the types of intervention and associated outcomes, quality of studies, and direction of impact;
- Conduct a literature review and assessment of CTP use in education and child protection;
- Synthesise and analyse results and recommendations from literature;
- Identify priority areas for further research.

To achieve the above-mentioned objectives and to conduct a sound and comprehensive assessment, this report addresses the following research questions:

- What modalities have been used in CTP for education and child protection? What evidence is there on the impact of different modalities to achieve specific outcomes? What role has conditionality played in achieving selected outcomes?
- To what extent has CTP been successfully implemented to achieve education and child protection outcomes? For which outcomes has CTP been used? How effectively?
- What is the evidence of non-direct benefits/risks of CTP in education and child protection?
- What are the major limitations of CTP in these sectors and what considerations should be made alongside CTP?
- What are the main evidence gaps and what further research is required to determine the applicability of CTP in these sectors?

3 METHODOLOGY

The methodological approach began with defining a search protocol, specifically the CTP interventions and sectoral outcomes that would constitute the axes of the map and delimit what types of programming and intended outcomes would be considered. This was followed by data collection, organisation and cleaning, determination of the quality of each piece of evidence, and analysis of the evidence. Details follow.

3.1 DEFINING A SEARCH PROTOCOL

3.1.1 Definition of Interventions and Outcomes¹²

The interventions used for this project include the different modalities of CTP, as defined by CaLP. The focus is household-level interventions; supply-side cash grants (i.e., grants to schools) are excluded.

The sectoral outcomes were determined through a process of deliberation with the Global Education and Protection Clusters. They are based on broader sectoral outcomes, regardless of whether they had been previously delivered using CTP.

The education outcomes are drawn from the **INEE Minimum Standards for Education**, from which 12 foundational standards were selected to serve as the outcomes for this analysis (see Table 1).¹³

Child protection outcomes, informed by the **Minimum Standards for Child Protection in Humanitarian Action (CPMS)**, were elaborated with input from members of the Task Team on Cash for Protection of the Protection Cluster and reflect the child protection outcomes, utilised in Mishra (2017).

¹² Outcome is defined as 'the likely or achieved short-term and medium-term effects of an intervention's outputs' (HPG, 2004).

¹³ Domain One: Foundational Standards is not included as an outcome because it provides the foundation for implementing and monitoring the other standards.

Table 1: Interventions and Outcomes

Interventions	Education Outcomes	Child Protection Outcomes
	Access and Learning Environment	
1 Multipurpose Cash Grant (MPG)	1 Equal Acces	
2 Restricted Transfer (RT)	2 Protection and well-being	
3 Unconditional Voucher (UV): Commodity	3 Facilities and services	
	Teaching and Learning	
4 Unconditional Voucher (UV): Value	4 Curricula	1 Child Labour
5 Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT)	5 Training, professional development and support	2 Child Marriage
6 Conditional Voucher (CV)	6 Instruction and learning process	3 Exposure to Violence and Risk
7 Cash-for-Work (CfW)	7 Assessment and learning outcomes	4 Alternative Care
8 Voucher-for-Work (VfW)		5 Access to Services
9 Cash-for-Assets (CfA)	Teachers and Other Personnel	6 Reintegration
10 Voucher-for-Assets (VfA)	8 Recruitment and selection	7 Reduced Parental Neglect
11 Shock-responsive social protection	9 Conditions of work	
12 Mixed Modality	10 Support and Supervision	
	Education Policy	
	11 Law and policy formulation	
	12 Planning and implementation	

3.1.2 Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

This project aims to capture the body of research that provides evidence of the impact of CTP on education and child protection outcomes. As such, inclusion was based on the type of intervention and sectoral outcome but did not exclude evidence based on research method or rigour of study. Delivery mechanism or targeting were not grounds for exclusion. Table 2 provides the exclusion criteria as well as the outcomes and interventions that were mapped and analysed.

Table 2: Exclusion Criteria and Categories of Interest

Exclusion Criteria	
Criteria	Description
Types of document	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Guidelines • Tools (design, monitoring, implementation, evaluation) • Best practices
'Safe Programming' Protection Outcome	Safe programming is considered in humanitarian interventions with the objective of 'do no harm'. This will not be considered as an explicit protection outcome.
Date of Study	Prior to 2005
Language	All non-english documents
Categories of Interest	
Only studies and evaluations containing interventions and outcomes defined in Table 1 will be considered.	

3.1.3 Sources and Data Retrieval

A comprehensive set of academic databases were used to identify peer-reviewed literature (those available through the LSE library). Following this, the CaLP and ALNAP libraries were searched for relevant publications. Third, reports were reviewed from relevant practitioner and thinktank databases. Fourth, input was collected from Global Cluster representatives on additional evidence that was not picked up from the above sources. The references of each report were also reviewed for further evidence.

3.2 EVIDENCE CODING AND MAPPING

3.2.1 Evidence Selection

Studies were identified based on title and abstract and marked for full reading. Those that were fully read were marked for final inclusion or exclusion and coded for information such as intervention, direction of impact, outcome and quality.

3.2.2 Quality Evaluation

Uniquely, this report evaluates research quality in addition to availability of intervention- and outcome-based evidence. The indicators used to determine the quality of each piece of evidence as well as the body of literature were adapted from DFID (2014). The studies were classified into high, medium and low quality as per the number of quality indicators met. Each study was evaluated by two researchers.

Table 3: Quality Indicators and Classification

Quality Indicator	Criteria
Conceptual framing	Do the authors address existing research and how the current study fits into this context?
Transparency	Is there a clear explanation of the research design and methodology? Does the author state how, when, and from where/whom the data is collected? Does the author provide and justify framework for their analysis?
Redundancy	Is there triangulation of data? From how many different types of sources does the author collect data?
Validity	Is the study internally valid? Externally valid? When looking at the analysis, is there room for confounding variable or reverse causality bias? Is the measurement valid? Or does the indicator not represent a good measurement of the outcome?
Reliability	Are the indicators being measured correctly? Is there an incentive to misreport data from either the respondent or surveyor side? If so, does the author address this concern?
Cogency	Is there a clear logical threat that runs through the study from conceptual framework to data and analysis to conclusion? Do the authors discuss the caveats of the study?
Classification The studies were classified into high, medium, and low quality as per the following: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High: studies meet 4–6 of the above categories, or otherwise the equivalent (i.e. partially meet the equivalent across all fields, but not to the fullest extent across 2–3) • Medium: Studies meet 3-4 of the above categories, or otherwise the equivalent • Low: Studies meet fewer than 3 of the above categories 	

3.2.3 Body of Literature Quality

The overall body of literature was evaluated based on the number and aggregate quality of studies. The assessment was also based on the depth and breadth of studies across the indicator-outcome possibilities, spread of contexts and consistency of findings across different interventions. We then ranked the body of literature as strong, moderate or limited. A detailed description of the criteria used can be found in Annex A.

3.2.4 Data Mapping

Included studies were placed in an evidence map that depicts the intervention, outcome, direction of impact and quality of available evidence. The objective of this exercise was to provide a visual representation of existing evidence, signalling the amount and quality of evidence per outcome.

3.3 ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

The foundation of analysis is the evidence map that focuses on the impact that various CTP modalities have on education and child protection outcomes. The analytical narrative unpacks this relationship between intervention and outcome. The analysis, guided by the research questions, constructs a picture of the state of evidence, delineating the existing gaps, principal debates within the literature and future research priorities.

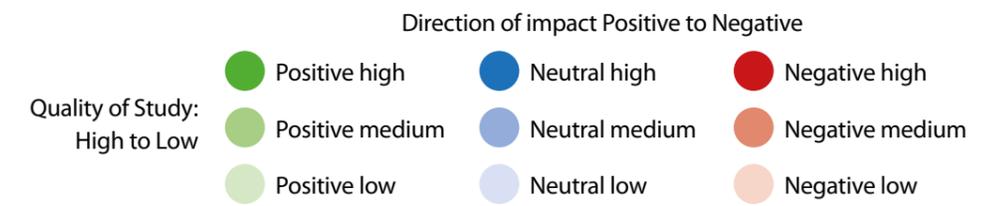
3.4 Limitations and Challenges

We recognise that in a field as diverse and dynamic as the humanitarian sector with short programme cycles and limited ability to establish a baseline, it becomes extremely hard to measure the impact of programmes in a way that attributes a causal relationship between intervention and outcome. Many of the included studies relied on focus group discussions, key informant interviews and other qualitative research methodologies. For this reason, limited evidence can be considered to be statistically significant. While some studies were considered to be of high quality, and demonstrating robust evidence, owing to efforts to triangulate data and interview larger sample sizes, there was ultimately some evidence included that was more anecdotal and relied on non-representative samples. We have tried to make clear when this is the case. Because studies that did not have a clear discussion of the impact of a CTP intervention on one of the predefined outcomes (i.e., best practice documents, studies looking at related but not included outcomes) were excluded, there is an abundance of valuable insight about design, implementation, efficiency and value of programming that is not analysed here. Further, the collection primarily identified MPG interventions, which imposes clear limitations on the findings, which should be taken into consideration throughout the analysis and recommendations. Finally, due to time constraints, we were unable to fully engage with protection specialists, which may have led to inconsistency in language use around protection outcomes.

PART 2

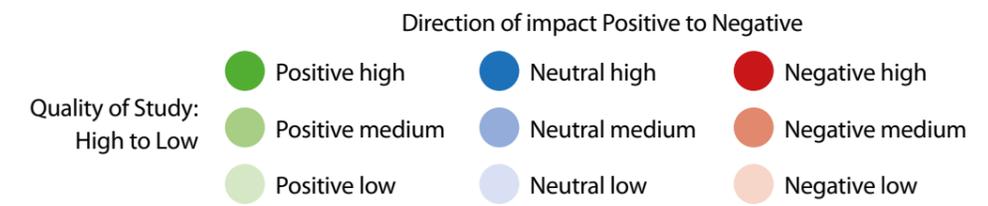
4 EVIDENCE MAP

4.1 EDUCATION



		EDUCATION OUTCOMES												
		ACCESS AND LEARNING ENVIRONMENT			TEACHING AND LEARNING				TEACHERS AND OTHER EDUCATION PERSONNEL			EDUCATION POLICY		
		Equal Access	Protection and Well-being	Facilities and Services	Curricula	Training, Professional Development and Support	Instruction and Learning Processes	Assessment of Learning Outcomes	Recruitment and Selection	Conditions of Work	Support and Supervision	Law and Policy Formulation	Planning and Implementation	
INTERVENTIONS	Multi-Purpose Grant (MPG)	8, 4, 2, 3, 2												
	Mixed Modality	2, 1												
	Restricted Transfer	3, 1												
	Unconditional Voucher (commodity)													
	Unconditional Voucher (value)	1, 1												
	Conditional Voucher (General)	2												
	Conditional Cash Transfer	1, 1												
	Cash for Work	1												
	Voucher for Work													
	Cash for Assets													
	Voucher for Assets													
	Cash for Training													
	Voucher for Training													
	Complementary Programming													
	Shock Responsive Social Protection													

4.2 CHILD PROTECTION



		CHILD PROTECTION (CP)						
		Exposure to Violence and Risk	Access to CP services	Reduced Parental Neglect	Reintegration	Child Labour	Child Marriage	Child Care
INTERVENTIONS	Multipurpose Grant (MPG)	1 1 2 3			1	1 1 1 3	1 1	
	Restricted Transfer							
	Unconditional Voucher (commodity)							
	Unconditional Voucher (value)		1					
	Conditional Voucher (General)							
	Conditional Cash Transfer	1	1			1	1	
	Cash for Work							
	Voucher for Work							
	Cash for Assets							
	Voucher for Assets							
	Cash for Training							
	Voucher for Training							
	Complementary Programming							
	Shock-Responsive Social Protection							
	Mixed-Modality					1		

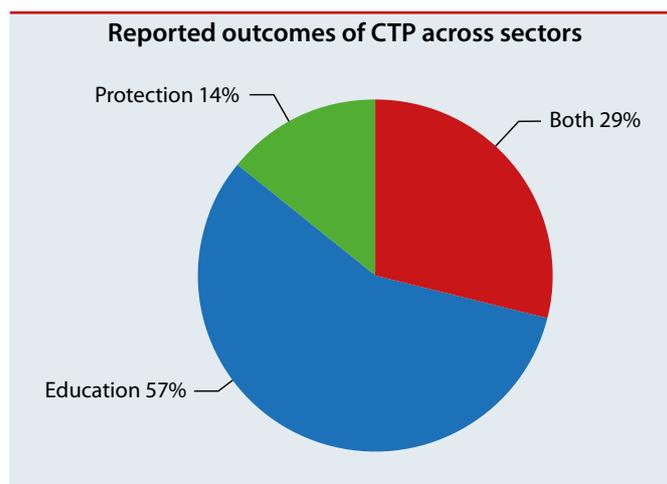
Note: Children refers to those between ages 3–18 years

5 DESCRIPTIVE OVERVIEW

The use of CTP for education in humanitarian emergencies has been growing. The rationale behind CTPs in education is that an increase in income should enable households to cover education-related and opportunity costs of sending children to school, thus increasing school enrolment and attendance. The use of CTP in child protection is relatively new and few interventions have had the explicit goal of achieving child protection outcomes (Thompson, 2012). There is a greater body of research exploring the impact of CTP on child labour (Thompson, 2012); however, less data is available for the impact of CTP on other aspects of child protection such as psychosocial well-being, child marriage and association with armed groups. This report will explore child protection outcomes as they relate to education, building on previous reports on CTP and child protection (Mishra, 2017; Berg and Seferis, 2015; Thompson, 2012).

More than 75 million children under the age of 18 living in crisis-affected countries are in need of educational support (ODI, 2016). UNHCR reported that more than 3.5 million refugee children did not attend school in the past academic year, exposing them to an increased risk of abuse, neglect, exploitation and violence (UNHCR, 2017). Conflict is not the only issue – nearly a quarter of crisis-affected contexts consist of complex emergencies with a multitude of causes, such as in Somalia, while a fifth are due to natural hazards (ODI, 2016; Nicolai et al., 2015). Further, many of these crises are protracted, such as those in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) and South Sudan – thus threatening the education and well-being of a whole generation of children (ODI, 2016).

Figure 1: Sectoral Breakdown



This analysis provides an overview of 35 studies identified as fitting our inclusion criteria. From these studies, 34 education and 23 child protection outcomes were identified. Of the 35 studies, 14% of studies have protection outcomes (five studies), 57% have education outcomes (20), and 29% have both protection and education outcomes (ten). In total, 86% of studies (30) have education outcomes, while 43% have child protection outcomes (15).¹⁴ The below sections will lay out the spread across interventions, outcomes, other features of programme design, and quality and methodology of studies.¹⁵

¹⁴ Thompson (2012) 'Cash and Child Protection' is referenced extensively. While the report didn't meet the inclusion criteria for the evidence maps, the information throughout its analysis is relevant to this report. Three case studies from the report are included as individual interventions.

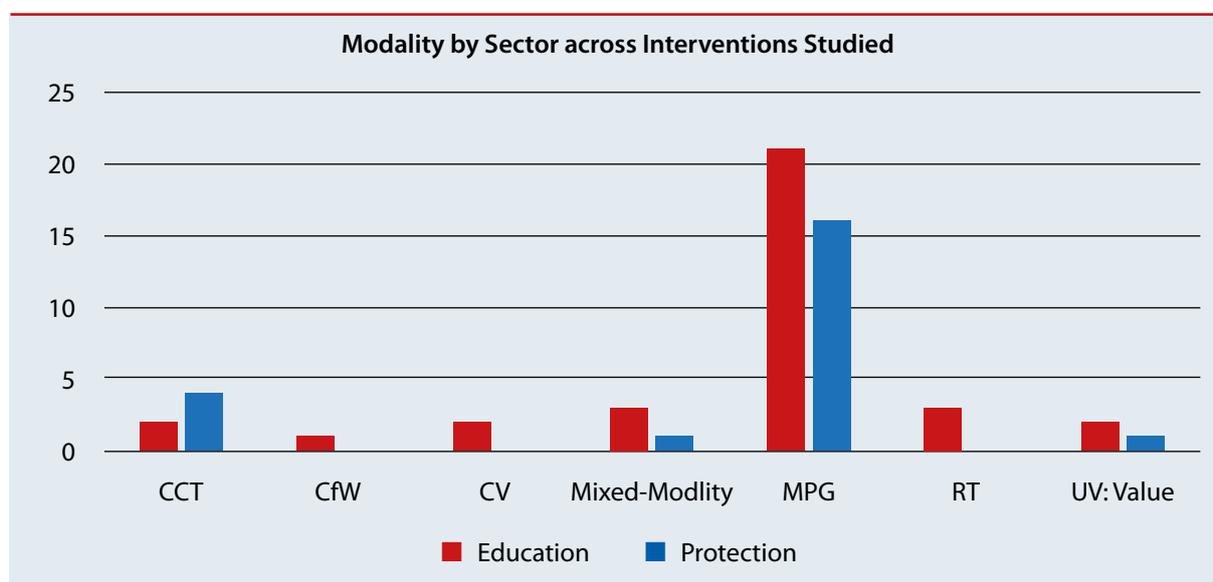
¹⁵ For information on the location and type of humanitarian context, see Annex B.

5.1 MODALITIES

The most common intervention in the sample is **multipurpose cash grants (MPGs)**, accounting for 62% of education and 73% of child protection outcomes recorded. MPGs intentionally designed to meet multiple outcomes, of which education and child protection outcomes were two of various outcomes tracked. Conditional cash transfers are the second most common type of intervention, with two occurrences in the education literature and four in the child protection literature. **Mixed-modality** interventions, often a combination of unconditional and conditional cash/vouchers, are the third most common intervention (four occurrences). The remainder of the modalities [**conditional vouchers (CVs)**, **restricted transfers (RTs)** and **cash-for-work (CfW)**] only make up one to three interventions each in education and child protection. Instances of other interventions listed in the protocol were either not found or studies did not meet all inclusion criteria.

The available evidence allows us to break down the direction of impact across interventions and make observational analyses. Due to the nature of interventions and evaluation methodologies, it does not allow for deeper analysis of the merits of one intervention on a specific outcome with respect to another. The only studies that undertake such a comparison relate to the use of MPGs and unconditional vouchers.

Figure 2: Modality Type by Sector

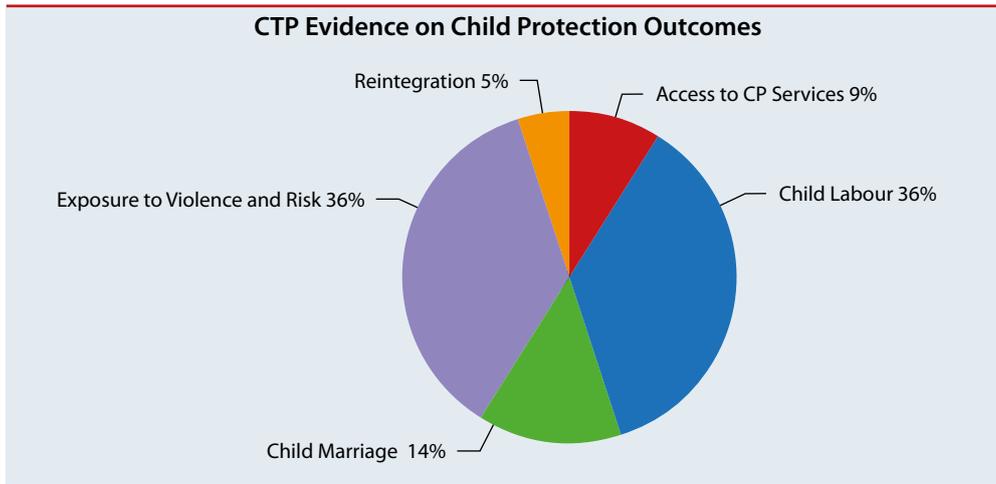


5.2 OUTCOMES

Out of 12 education outcomes considered, evidence was found only for impact on the outcome ‘access to education’. This is not surprising given the conceivable and most appropriate uses of CTP for education. Furthermore, as this study excludes CTP addressing supply-side barriers, such as grants to schools or cash incentives for teachers, it limits the breadth of education outcomes covered. While the lack of evidence precludes a generalisable conclusion on the effectiveness of CTP on outcomes relative to each other, the availability of evidence for the ‘access’ outcome allows for a more nuanced analysis of the impact of CTP across different ‘access’ metrics.

For child protection, there is evidence across a broad range of outcomes, likely because of the multipurpose nature of many of the CTP interventions that include child protection outcomes – i.e., one cash transfer impacts various child protection outcomes. Child labour and exposure to risk and violence outcomes were the most common; however, the wide range of outcomes covered indicates that cash and vouchers are being used to target protection of children more broadly (Figure 3)

Figure 3: CTP Evidence on Child Protection Outcomes



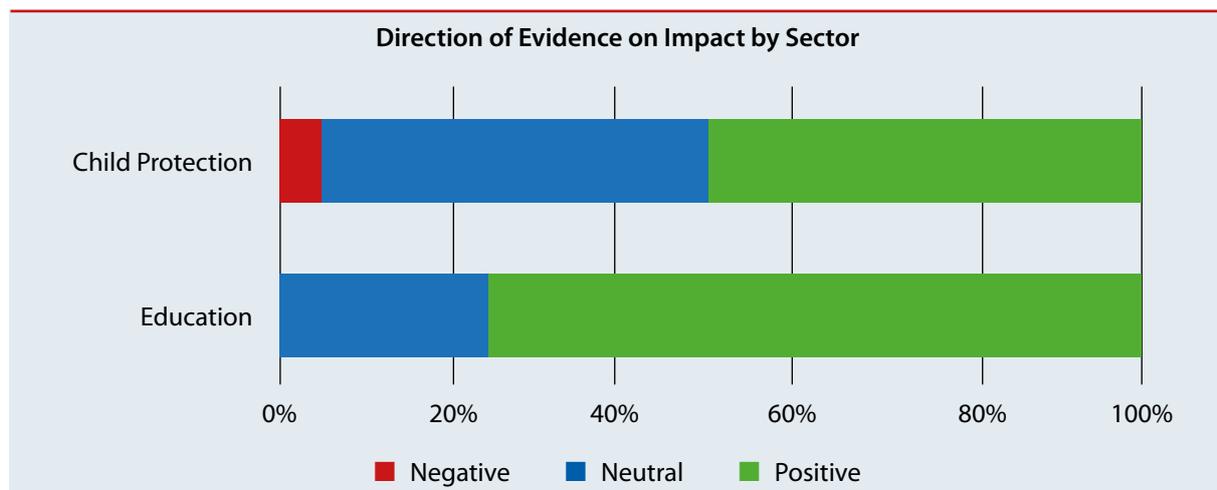
5.3 DIRECTION OF IMPACT

Overall, interventions were 64% positive and 34% neutral.¹⁶ Only one intervention was found to have a direct negative impact.¹⁷ This was an MPG response to a drought in Lesotho that increased intergenerational conflict within households. The evidence does suggest some negative spillover effects and anecdotal evidence of negative impacts, which are further discussed in the outcomes and spillover effects sections (Section 6.5).

The interventions in education show a strong tendency towards positive results, with 74% having a positive impact (Figure 4). No education studies reviewed had an explicit negative impact, though some negative spillover effects may exist. Child protection outcomes have a mix of positive (50%) and neutral outcomes (45%), along with the negative incidence cited above.

While there is limited evidence that compares the impact of different modalities, the range of impact across modality and outcome allow for observation of where CTP has resulted in more or less positive impact for education. Child protection outcomes may display more ambiguity but are more difficult to measure.

Figure 4: Direction of Evidence on Impact by Sector

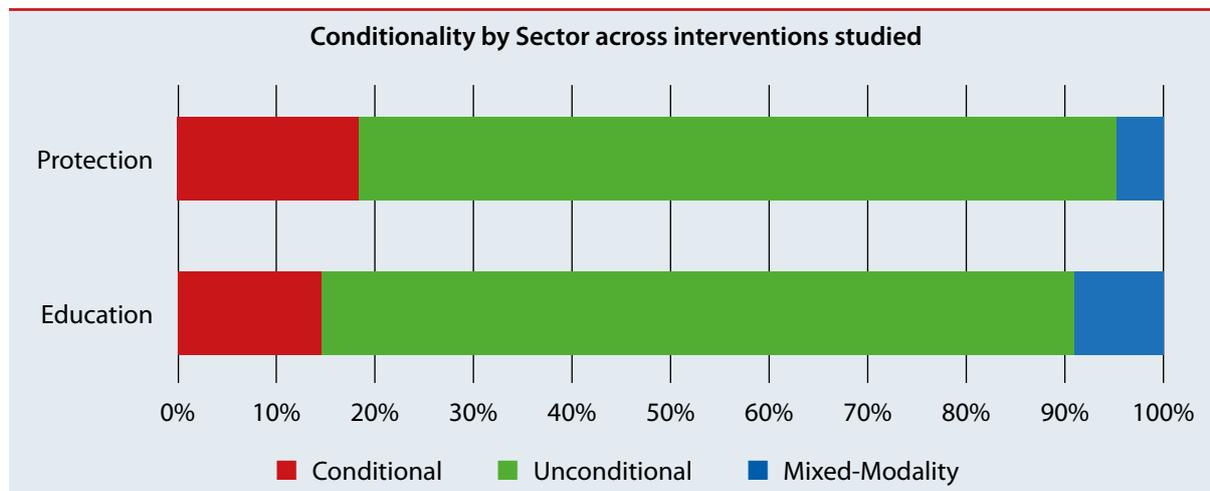


¹⁶ As much of the evidence was derived from focus group discussions and key informant interviews rather than rigorous quantitative analysis, many studies were not able to claim causal effect of an intervention on outcome.

¹⁷ Neutral refers to both no impact detected or mixed evidence that does not clearly lean in the direction of positive or negative, but does not indicate a lack of evidence in either direction.

5.4 CONDITIONALITY¹⁸

Figure 5: Conditionality by Sector across Interventions Studied



The majority (84%) of interventions in this analysis were unconditional transfers (Figure 5). The conditional transfers include CCTs, CVs, and CfW, which is considered conditional despite the condition not being based on an education-related behaviour. The mix category refers to mixed-modality interventions, which often include a conditional and an unconditional component.

15% of education interventions are conditional, while 17% of child protection interventions include conditionality.¹⁹ Because no evaluation directly compared the impact of conditional and unconditional transfers, there is limited evidence available about the merits of conditionality relative to unconditionality on the assessed outcomes. However, the literature does provide valuable feedback from beneficiaries and can be reviewed on an observational level to see where conditionality has/has not been useful.

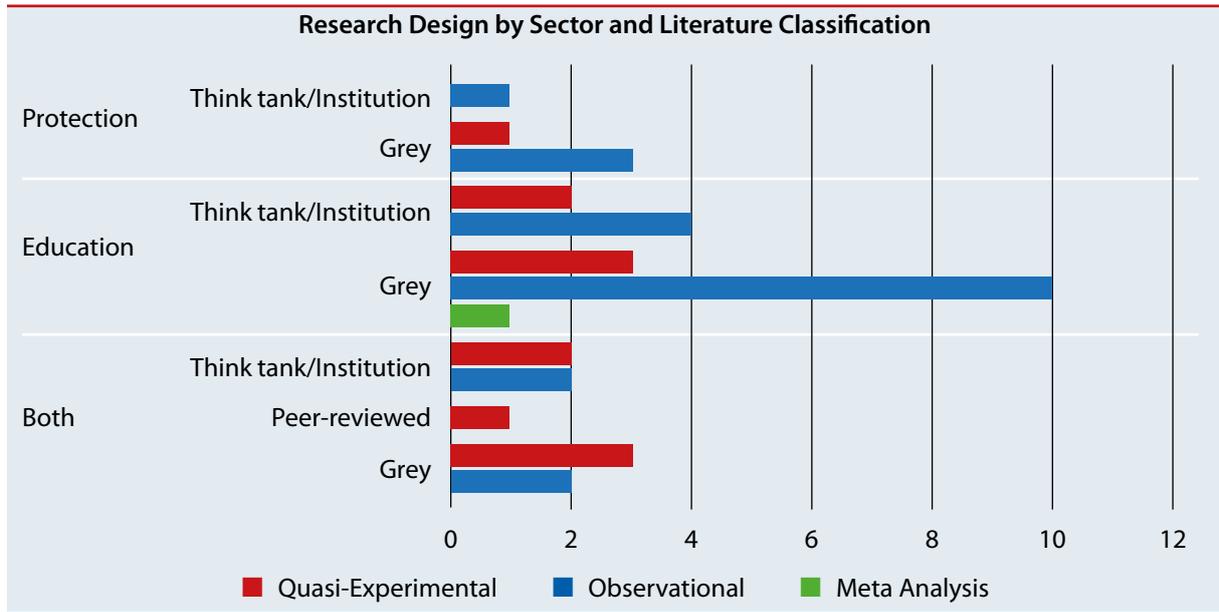
5.5 STUDY METHODOLOGY

Most of the studies in the report come from the body of grey literature, consisting of internal and contracted programme reports. Only one study appears in a peer-reviewed journal (Figure 6). About 17% are quantitative, 31% qualitative and 49% mixed-methods. There does not appear to be a systematic pattern of impact direction with a literature type or methodology. The reliance on non-peer reviewed literature, especially given that low-quality studies only appear in grey literature, indicates that greater academic attention can create a more robust evidence base and reduce the risk of bias that may be present in practitioner and practitioner-commissioned studies.

¹⁸ 'Conditionality' in this report refers to activities or obligations that must be fulfilled in order to receive assistance (i.e., minimum child attendance in school). It does not refer to targeting criteria.

¹⁹ Three out of four intervention–outcome pairings including a conditionality in child protection from the same study.

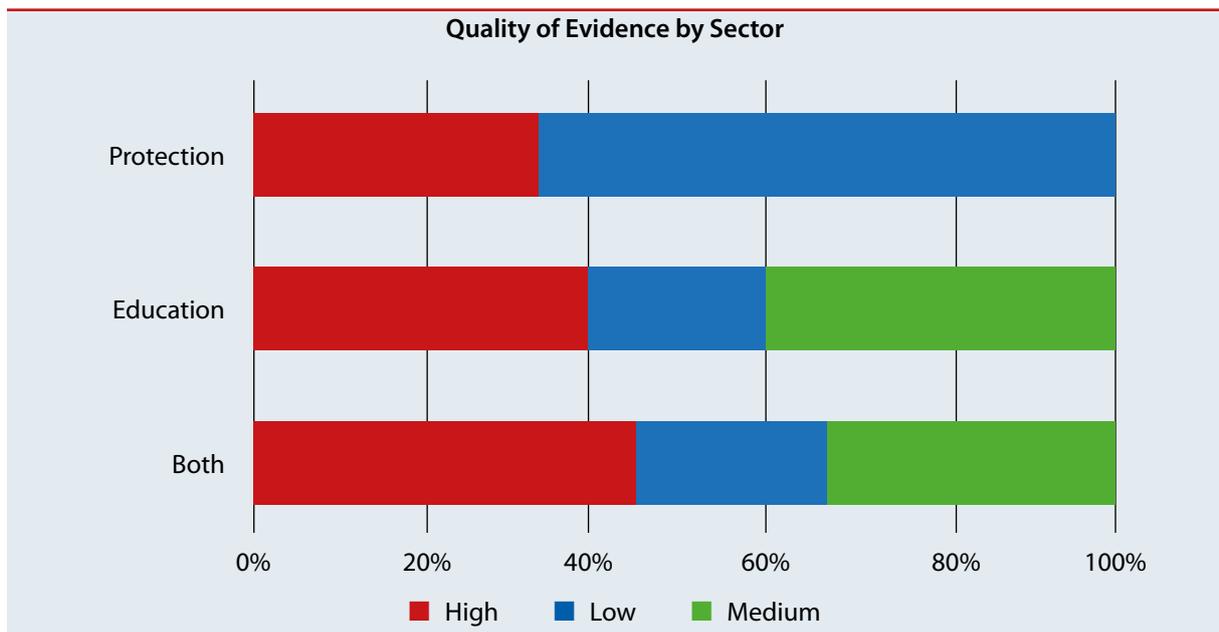
Figure 6: Research Design by Type of Literature and Sector



5.6 QUALITY OF EVIDENCE

The spread of quality of studies is about equal between high and medium (Figure 7).²⁰ Despite the challenges of evaluation in humanitarian emergencies, the finding of high level of quality may be due to the slightly relaxed criteria within this report’s quality judgement criteria – which focuses more on a holistic perspective of quantitative and qualitative rigour, clarity of approach, and triangulation of data instead of clear causality. The protracted nature of many of the crises included also provides a more conducive environment to collecting baseline data and drawing comparisons, but determining causality remains difficult in these contexts. 17% of studies designated as ‘low quality’ do not explain their methodology, rely heavily on one source of data, and are not able to disentangle the impact of a cash transfer on education outcomes. Nevertheless, they are included in the report and map as they still provide insight and context to CTP and its potential impact.

Figure 7: Quality by Sector

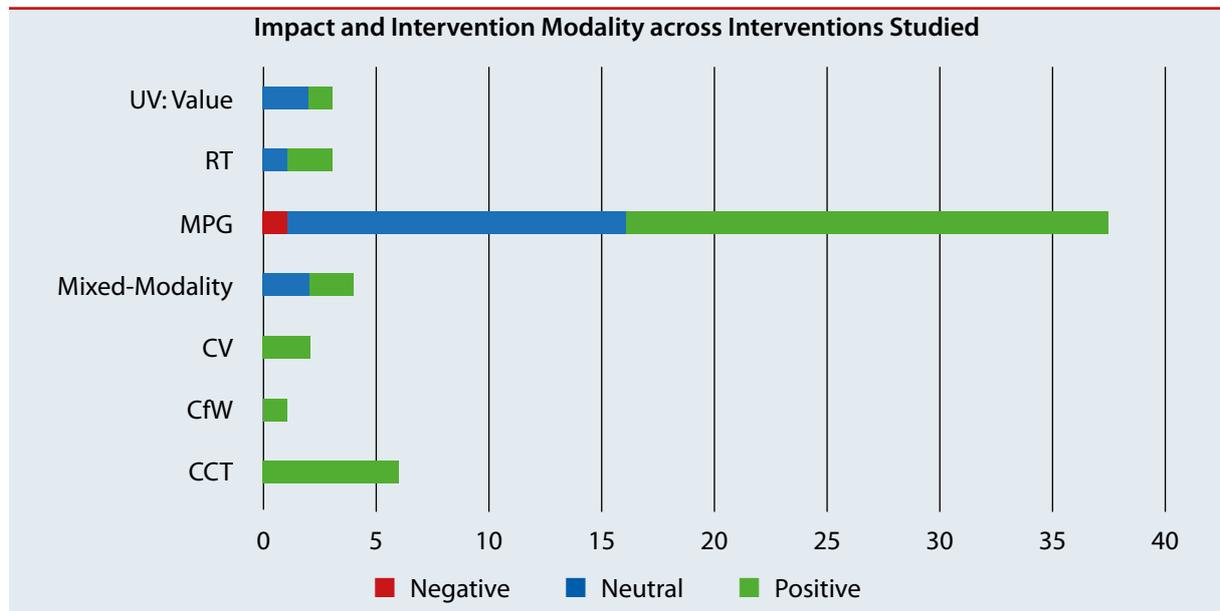


²⁰ See Table 3 for an overview of the indicators used to determine the quality of each piece of evidence and the approach for classification.

6 ANALYSIS

6.1 IMPACT²¹ AND CASH MODALITY OF INTERVENTION

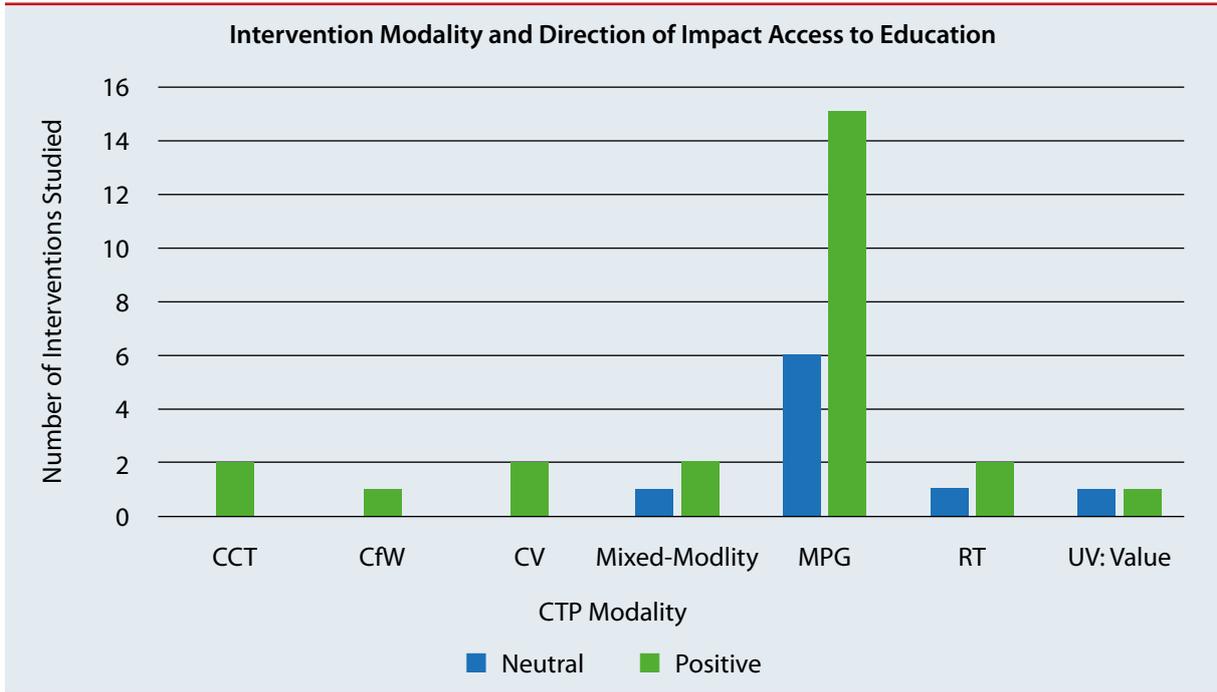
Figure 8: Impact and Intervention Modality



Disentangling what CTP modalities work best in which situations is important for evidence-based design. As the studies rarely compare the impacts of different modalities, this report cannot make a conclusive, empirical claim about relative impacts of interventions in general or achieving specific sectoral outcomes. MPGs, the most common type of intervention, have the most mixed results (Figure 8). This may indicate the limitations of multipurpose cash grants in having an impact on specific sectoral outcomes. Better understanding what drives differing impacts on sectoral outcome is an important area of research for future policy design as MPGs become increasingly popular. It is also more difficult to measure sector-specific outcomes of MPGs (like school attendance or child working hours) due to the nature of intervention design and evaluation, which tend to rely less on in-depth monitoring of specific outcomes to cover a wider range of outcomes for overall well-being.

²¹ Impact is defined as 'positive and negative, primary and secondary long-term effects, produced by a development intervention, directly or indirectly, intended or unintended' (HPG 2004).

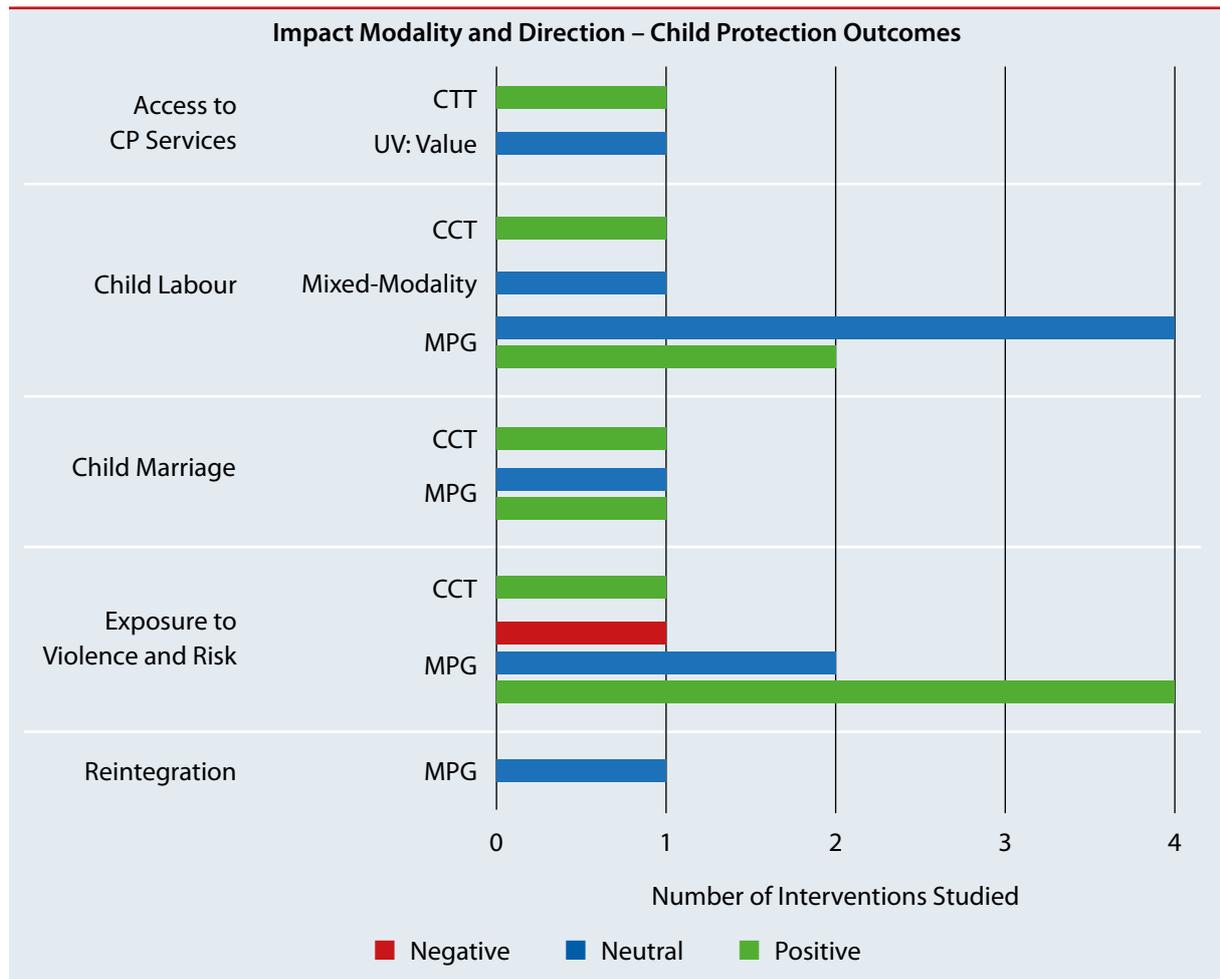
Figure 9: Impact and Intervention Modality – Education



Education outcomes are mostly positive across intervention type, with neutral impacts largely due to non-financial barriers, unrelated to modality. The exception was a comparison of cash and vouchers, which finds different impacts between the two.

Within child protection, there is likewise a heavy MPG concentration, but with consistently mixed results, which may reflect again the difficulty in targeting and measuring specific sector outcomes in a multi-sectoral intervention. Other modalities mostly have one to two occurrences, and therefore drawing any conclusions remains difficult. For both education and child protection, there seems to be a trend (based on limited evidence) of positive impacts with conditional modalities, suggesting an area requiring further research.

Figure 10: Impact and Intervention Modality – Child Protection



Multipurpose Cash Grants (MPGs): While MPGs have had a generally positive impact across the outcomes considered, the evidence is neither strong nor robust. In education, the most common and easiest indicator to track is spending. The extra income allows families to cover additional costs of schooling, such as paying for transportation costs, and decreases opportunity costs of sending children to school. This is consistent across the qualitative studies that indicate the main barriers to education as poverty and lack of income. Even studies that do not find significant differences in enrolment or attendance report higher education spending. In most contexts covered in this report, school tuition is formally free; thus, CTP serves the primary purpose of changing family incentives for keeping children out of school and of overcoming non-tuition barriers to education.

For child protection outcomes, indicators are often monitored as part of general vulnerability reducing interventions using MPGs. However, these often rely on self-reported surveys and focus group data from household heads or children. Many of these topics are sensitive by nature and beneficiaries may misreport answers in order not to appear in a negative light (i.e. instances of child labour or child marriage) (Battistin, 2016). In addition to the ambiguity suggested by the mix of positive and neutral outcomes, results are further complicated by a reporting bias that must be considered with the evidence.

In order to build a more robust evidence base for the impact of MPGs on sector-specific outcomes, greater prioritisation in design and monitoring is required, but may be difficult when resources are limited and many sectors are involved in a single intervention. This is more straightforward for evaluation of interventions in education – i.e., tracking attendance and/or learning outcomes. For evaluations of interventions for child protection, more extensive triangulation through interviews with a variety and sufficient number of stakeholders, such as beneficiaries, teachers, staff of youth centres, social workers or counsellors, may better capture the impact of CTP on child protection outcomes.

Comparative Impacts of Cash and Vouchers: While most of the evidence provides inconclusive results for comparing modalities, three reports compare the effect of an MPG and an UV: Value intervention for internally displaced people (IDPs) in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Aker (2013) finds improved purchase diversity and increased likelihood of paying school fees for cash households. The transfer modality and its logistics affected the use of the transfer, with the voucher programme reported as constraining households' choices. Similar findings are echoed by Bonilla et al. (2017) and align with the theory behind the use of CTP as an effective means to meet the needs of target populations and to be flexible to changing needs.

Contrary to this, another study found indicative responses from beneficiaries suggesting that the vouchers and organised vendor fairs limited the ability of other family members to allocate the funds elsewhere and enabled female beneficiaries to pay for school fees they otherwise would not have (Bailey, 2009). This underscores the need to consider context-specific risks and constraints when determining modality.

While these studies represent a starting point in attempts to determine the relative impact of modalities, the evidence identifies three constraints that make it difficult to draw generalisable conclusions:

- All three studies are drawn from the same context and possibly the same intervention;
- There is no baseline to compare changes;
- There is no tracking of school attendance or indication of the longer-term impact on education outcomes beyond the transfer duration.

6.2 CONDITIONALITY

Given the difficulty and expense of carrying out regular monitoring activities in humanitarian settings, it is not surprising that conditionality is less common in emergency response (Thompson, 2012). Additionally, the rationale behind conditional transfers in development is that they could encourage long-term behaviour change, overcome non-financial barriers to education, and achieve poverty reduction objectives (Bailey, 2009), whereas the motivation for the use of CTP in emergencies is rooted in the urgency to help people meet their immediate needs. In UNICEF (2016)'s Social Inclusion note on conditionalities in cash transfers, it is also highlighted that while the above mentioned benefits, along with political economy considerations, are used to support the use of conditionality, there is little empirical evidence that suggests the magnitude of impact is greater with conditionality – though these findings draw from developmental CTP rather than exclusively humanitarian CTP. Further, they note that conditionalities can reduce equality, non-discrimination and human dignity; create opportunities for the abuse of power; and may disproportionately discriminate against the most vulnerable – such as those with disabilities, language barriers, or the most poor.

In the evidence reviewed, MPGs generally have a positive impact on access to education by removing financial constraints that households face. Some studies suggest that by providing households with additional income, access and education spending will increase when education is valued and supply-side conditions are sufficient. Evidence from Pakistan, South Sudan, and Somalia suggest that cash transfers conditional on enrolment and attendance have a significant positive impact on access (Crawford, 2016; Thompson, 2012; Lodi, 2011). Despite the positive impact of these interventions, evidence suggests it is the conditionality of the transfer rather than a change in attitude towards education that keeps children facing additional non-financial constraints at school.

Within child protection, the literature highlights the potential for conditionality to have durable, positive impacts on a variety of outcomes (Abu-Hamad et al., 2014). Transfers conditional on school attendance can be effective in reducing reliance on child labour and marriage, at least for the duration of the intervention (Thompson, 2012). Therefore, education-related conditionalities could also have beneficial child protection effects, as schools can provide a protective environment for children; however, this should be considered in contrast to the potentially harmful impacts discussed above. Further, alongside overall evidence being limited, there is increasing disagreement around the effectiveness of conditionalities (Pereznieta et al., 2014).

Overall, the evidence that conditionality leads to behaviour change is weak, but it does appear to have positive short-term impact when constraints are not only financial. However, given the absence of evidence directly comparing conditional and unconditional schemes, findings are only suggestive.

6.3 OUTCOME ANALYSIS

6.3.1 Education in Emergencies Outcomes

Enrolment

Programmes assessing enrolment find overall positive impacts of CTP. Looking at the impact of a CCT in South Sudan, Crawford (2016) finds that cash transfers are associated with greater enrolment the following year, a 2% increase in female enrolment and 6% overall school growth.²² They also find that when disaggregated between primary and secondary school, cash transfers have a larger and statistically significant impact on secondary enrolment, indicating different financial barriers faced by separate age groups and thus an interesting area for further research in optimal programme design.

A study in Lebanon finds that 9.2% more recipient households than control households enrol children in school. Findings were not statistically significant in their regression analysis, which controlled for a variety of other variables that might impact enrolment (Foster, 2015). Battistin (2016) also found no significant difference in enrolment between beneficiary and non-beneficiary households in Lebanon. Other studies in Iraq and Jordan (MPG) and the DRC (UV) find that programmes primarily serve to re-enrol children or prevent them from dropping out (UNICEF, 2017; Barakat et al., 2015; Bailey, 2009), whereas several recent studies find MPGs do not impact new enrolment as much as improved attendance (de Hoop et al., 2018; Pavanello, 2018a). A programme in Pakistan (CfW, CCT) saw children drop out shortly after enrolling or leave school after transfers ended (Thompson, 2012).

The evidence on enrolment indicates a generally positive impact of CTP in education, but with the caveat that CTPs are more effective at keeping children in school who have/had been enrolled and the barrier is primarily financial. There is less clear evidence about the impact of enrolment for children who face other barriers to access.

Attendance

Studies in Lebanon, the Philippines (MPG), South Sudan (CCT), and Somalia (CVT) find attendance and retention higher for beneficiaries than comparable non-beneficiaries (Crawford, 2016; Foster, 2015; PSAL, 2015; Lodi, 2011). In a recent Lebanese study, de Hoop et al. (2018) find that MPGs can help students access transportation, resulting in improved attendance. The spread of modalities and localities indicates that cash, vouchers, and various kinds of conditionality change family financial incentives to keep children in school, but as with enrolment, the evidence is only for financial constraints and does not say anything about deeper behaviour change (i.e., non-financial constraints).

Education Spending

Education spending was the most common outcome, arguably due to the large incidence of MPGs analysed in this report. Overall, spending on education increases in response to a receipt of CT.

In some cases, extra income enables beneficiaries to pay school fees. Bonilla et al. (2017) find that beneficiaries of an MPG programme in the DRC re-enrolled children at schools after using the transfer to pay for fees. However, more common is spending on non-tuition costs that are nonetheless a barrier. Studies in Jordan, Lebanon and Palestine (MPGs) find that the resources to pay for transportation to school to cover long distances, cope with harsh winter conditions or avoid street harassment are essential and cite being able to provide pocket money for children as important (de Hoop et al., 2018; Abu-Hamad et al., 2017; Foster, 2015; Abu-Hamad and Pavanello, 2012). Studies across the board cite spending on school supplies and books, such as those Middle East studies mentioned above as well as interventions in Greece (MPG to refugees), Malawi, Kenya and Swaziland (MPG/CfWs following drought) (Pavanello, 2018a; Muli and McDowell, 2011; Devereux and Jere, 2008; Devereux et al., 2006). At times, the spending was substantial – in Iraq (MPG), some areas recorded expenditures accounting for 60.7% of the transfer (UNICEF, 2017), while in Swaziland (MPG), education was the third-highest spending category (Devereux and Jere, 2008). These findings suggest that transfers are used to cover education costs across communities and contexts and prioritise education-related expenses even in difficult conditions such as conflict. Limitations apply, however, with evidence of only 1% of reintegrating Burundians, who received a one-off MPG,

²² This study includes a capitation grant (payment based on enrolment) to schools as well as cash transfers to girls attending school—the figures listed are those that are attributed to the impact of cash transfers and not to capitation grants.

using the cash transfer on education costs (Haver et al., 2009). Harvey and Pavanello (2018) echo this in their report on MPGs and sectoral outcomes, concluding that evidence on education spending is more limited, due to the value and frequency of cash and prioritisation of needs. They further add that timing can be essential – cash disbursed near the beginning of the school year is more likely to be spent on education. The frequency, timing and amount of cash transfers play a significant role, and that context-specific considerations have to be factored in when deciding about the best type of intervention to support education.

Despite existing evidence of cash transfers' effectiveness in addressing financial barriers to education, in certain contexts there may be non-financial barriers or preferences that are preventing or deterring children from re-enrolling (i.e., cultural norms or the aversion to returning to school as an older child in a younger class). As identified by the UNHCR (2017) report on cash and education, acceptability and the value placed on education are important considerations in CTP. The issue of frequency might be relevant here; a one-off transfer may make families reticent about investing their payment on education if the children might soon be forced to drop out again.

6.3.2 Child Protection Outcomes

Evidence was found for a range of child protection outcomes, though often this was suggestive or anecdotal rather than robust. As such, the magnitude and direction of impact of CTP on most outcomes remains unclear. This section provides insights on these outcomes as well as on positive and negative spillovers between education and child protection and the use of CTP to achieve desired outcomes in both sectors.

Child Labour

The evidence that cash transfers reduce child labour is mixed. On the positive side, some studies find that CTP can have a positive impact on keeping children at school and reducing child labour. Studies in Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine (MPG) and a global review find evidence that CTP helps families to reduce reliance on child labour (primarily for boys) and keep children in school, but find the impact limited, with instances of child labour still present (Hagen-Zanker et al.; 2017, Doocy and Tapis, 2016; Lehmann and Masterson, 2014; Perezniето et al., 2014). Abu-Hamad et al. (2017) also find limited impact, since a positive impact was only detectable among younger children who had recently left school.

Evidence on long-term impacts on child labour are lacking. Thompson (2012) observes that in Pakistan, families receiving cash transfers send their children to school instead of work, but indicate that children may be pulled out of school and sent to work if the grant ends. Similar results were found for MPGs in the Middle East (ME) (Sloane, 2014; Perezniето et al., 2014; Battistin, 2016).

These findings support Thompson's (2012) argument that the relationship between education and child labour outcomes varies across different contexts. CTP is likely to be more effective in cases where children have previously attended school but had been sent to work to overcome an economic shock. Sloane (2014) also finds that the impact on child labour seems to vary on a family to family basis, depending on their attitudes toward education.

This is where a case can be made for attendance-conditional transfers that both help to mitigate the impact of lost wages and ensure that children remain in school to reduce or eliminate working hours. However, the decision to impose conditionality is highly context-specific and would require greater monitoring such as through caseworkers, teachers and community organisations (Thompson, 2012). It would also require economic interventions such as labour-saving technologies that can further help mitigate the loss of child labour.

In certain forms and under certain conditions, CTP may increase child labour and lead to negative outcomes in both child protection and education. There is some evidence that cash-for-work programmes can prevent children from going to school because of the increase in workload that cuts into their study time when children need to make up for other work that parents had been doing – i.e., chores and childcare. In other cases, work (domestic and external) was reallocated among siblings when CTP did not cover lost wages; however, this reflected a lack of risk mitigation in programme design rather than an effect of cash (Thompson, 2012).

Overall, based on an analysis of different contexts, there is potential for CTP to be effective in preventing child labour in the short term, indicating effectiveness in acute crises or if programmes have long-term funding. However, more rigorous studies must be done to explore the potential for both positive and negative spillover

effects between education and child protection. Programme designers should be cognisant of the potential harms the limited scope of their interventions might cause. More research is needed to examine when CTP could be an appropriate intervention and when it might be best to use alternative assistance methods.

Child Marriage

There is some evidence of positive impacts of CTP on child marriage. A CCT for school attendance in Jordan finds that by easing access to education and providing financial support for shelter, child marriage of girls in targeted families was prevented. However, the extent of this impact is unclear (Pertek, 2016). The use of conditionality to target this issue should be further explored.

However, most of the studies find inconclusive evidence, mostly due to the limited ability to monitor and issues of reporting bias due to the sensitive nature of the subject. One MPG for refugees in Lebanon finds no impact of transfers on extreme coping strategies due to insufficient transfer amounts (Battistin, 2016); whereas other studies in Jordan, Palestine, Rwanda, the DRC and Afghanistan (MPGs, vouchers and RTs) do not find conclusive data on impact but suggest primarily short-term impacts on child marriage and indicate households view child marriage as a way to better ensure their daughters' needs are met (Abu-Hamad et al., 2017; Yoshikawa, 2015; Thompson, 2012).

Overall, evidence suggests that child marriage is a complex issue and the potential for CTP to reduce its incidence is still unclear, although it is likely to be more effective in the short term and when reliance on child marriage as a coping strategy has economic roots.

Exposure to Violence and Risk

Children can be more exposed to physical and sexual violence in an emergency context. Positive impacts in child protection and related educational outcomes are often associated with a reduction in household tension and violence due to reduced income-related stress (Pertek, 2016;²³ Foster, 2015). However, Foster (2015) additionally reports that beneficiary children feel more unsafe than comparable non-beneficiaries because of fighting at home and harassment by the community, despite finding reduced overall protection-related insecurity for beneficiaries (Foster, 2015). Another states the programme does not have a significant link to reduced violence due to the lack of specific child protection programming and services aimed at tackling child abuse (Perezniето et al., 2014).

In addition to exposure to violence, CTP can have a positive impact on risky sexual ur by children. A focus group in a drought response MPG programme in Swaziland cited a decrease in the crime rate within the community as well as young girls no longer engaging in transactional sex as a coping mechanism, though evidence is limited to reports by some adults in the community (Devereux and Jere, 2008). Thompson (2012) suggests that in order for CTP to reduce sexual risk-taking, it must be coupled with access to educational activities and be longer term, but further indicates that there are rarely preventative interventions targeting vulnerable adolescents. Results of CTP impact on the risk of exposure to violence remain inconclusive.

Alternative Care

The potential of CTP to support alternative care arrangements such as foster placements become increasingly relevant in a humanitarian context. Evidence on alternative care practices within the reviewed literature is limited and not directly explored by the studies included in this report. While Devereux and Jere (2008) examine alternative care practices in Swaziland, they find the evidence too limited and inconsistent to draw any definitive conclusions. Thompson (2012) suggests that alternative community-based care that can be encouraged via CTP is better for children's well-being than housing children in centres. However, a case study in DRC indicates fostered children in camps were used by caregivers more than biological children for labour and chores. It suggests additional measures such as tight monitoring and disbursement delays to protect fostered children (ibid.).

²³ The reduction in violence in Pertek (2016) was limited to the observations of one social worker and in the text was only mentioned with regards to Jordanian families.

Access to Child Protection Services

Evidence on the impact of CTP on access to child protection services, such as psychosocial counselling, is also limited. There is no evidence of CTP directly enabling access; however, several studies discuss beneficiary access associated with MPGs and suggest positive outcomes when beneficiaries are informed about services through their participation in a programme. For example, Pertek (2016) finds that a referral mechanism through schools, which was associated with a CCT in Jordan, eases children's access to specialist counselling services for acute and complex cases, though this was due to the referral mechanism being conditional on school attendance rather than necessarily the introduction of CTP. The evidence cites access to educational services as especially relevant, but also indicates a greater need for access to services dealing with psychosocial support.²⁴

Reintegration

Minimal impact on reintegration of children who had been associated with armed forces or groups was observed; however, the Somalia Cash Consortium (2013) demonstrates that CTPs can protect children against recruitment into armed forces and groups, whilst allowing them greater opportunity to receive an education, but it did not find evidence that CTP can aid reintegration of former child soldiers. Thompson (2012), however, is cautious, suggesting that an association with armed forces is not likely to be resolved via CTP alone due to the complex range of reasons for joining (i.e., protection, status, income), citing evidence of a negative impact of CTP on former child soldiers in Liberia. However, this was most likely due to poor design rather than the introduction of CTP directly. Her recommendations include alternative reintegration activities, such as investment in income-generating activities, community grants and educational programming.

6.4 GENDER

6.4.1 Gender-based Targeting²⁴

Overall, targeting of school-aged girls for CTP in education and child protection in emergencies is limited. Two instances appear. In a CCT in South Sudan, conditional on enrolment, the number of females enrolled increased by around 2%, which was statistically significant (Crawford, 2016). An attendance-conditional voucher programme in Somalia targeted 50% female beneficiaries, which was exceeded. To reduce discriminatory beliefs and practices that constrained female education, gender equity training and activities were incorporated, but the study did not find any positive change in entrenched discriminatory practices (i.e., child marriage), indicating that although the intervention was positive in terms of enrolment and attendance, it did not have any effect on the deep underlying discrimination towards girls (Lodi, 2011). These suggest that female-targeted interventions in humanitarian contexts might have positive short-term impacts on desired outcomes. Further research on how CTP targeting education could be used alongside longer-term behaviour change interventions could thus be valuable.

6.4.2 Differential Gender Impacts

Despite the lack of explicit gender considerations in the design of interventions, some studies find differences in impact by gender.

A mixed-modality programme in Jordan finds that in terms of attendance, girls, once enrolled, are more likely to remain in school than boys, who might be engaged in child labour. However, it is more likely for girls not to be enrolled in the first place due to cultural norms and safety concerns (Abu-Hamad et al., 2017). This adds to the common finding that discriminatory beliefs and practices may not be addressable by CTP alone. In the DRC, an MPG and UV intervention produced mixed results, having a positive, significant impact on enrolment of boys but no significant impact for girls (Bonilla et al., 2017).

The evidence suggests that the impact of cash transfers on education can be gender-specific and sensitive to context-specific characteristics, non-financial barriers to entering or continuing education, and the expected returns of such investment. These discriminatory practices call for more complex and longer-term interventions.

²⁴ This refers to targeting female children as beneficiaries rather than female-headed households.

6.5 SPILLOVER EFFECTS

6.5.1 Positive Spillovers Effects

The potential for positive spillover effects related to increased enrolment and attendance at school has strong implications for aspects of child protection – as detailed above, there is a strong link between education, child labour and other risky coping strategies. Additionally, CTP seems to improve family dynamics, thus reducing psychosocial stress both for children and their caretakers. This was common in the ME studies (Pereznieto et al., 2014; Pertek, 2016; Abu-Hamad et al., 2017). A CCT programme in Jordan that provided payments for monthly rental bills and encouraged children to attend school or informal educational centres indicates additional positive effects on the mental health and psychosocial well-being of Syrian refugee children – they report an increase in hopes and aspirations for the future. Interviews with social workers and teachers also suggest an improvement in the well-being of the family unit, with families reporting feeling more enthusiastic and motivated about the education of their children, especially after witnessing a huge progress in their writing and reading (Pertek, 2016).²⁵ An MPG in Lebanon also observed significant psychosocial stress reduction within families, with 15% fewer beneficiary children (than comparable non-beneficiaries) reporting being in severe psychosocial distress (Foster, 2015).

6.5.2 Negative Spillovers Effects

Programme designers must be cautious about unintended negative spillover effects. CfW programmes have been found to be associated with negative outcomes on child protection, when children engage in harmful labour to access cash transfers or when they take on the labour of their caretakers who are accessing such schemes. This could also have negative implications for education outcomes, as the increase in workload could cut into their study time or prevent them from attending school altogether (Thompson, 2012). Nevertheless, this appears to be an issue of poor programme management rather than a specific CfW child protection or education-related outcome. Overall, more rigorous studies must be done to explore the potential for both positive and negative spillover effects between education and child protection.

6.6 LIMITATIONS OF CTP

Understanding how and when to use CTP in humanitarian emergencies is crucial for effective programming. The five basic enabling conditions required for CTPs to be effective include the local availability of commodities for basic needs and recovery, the existence of functioning markets, the beneficiaries' preferences for such assistance, security, and adequate financial infrastructure (Gairdner et al., 2011). Assuming these conditions are met, CTP can be effective in meeting people's basic needs and strengthening resilience; however, awareness of its limitations and where it may be only one part of a more complex intervention can better inform design.

6.6.1 Demand-side Barriers

Many children are unable to go to school during crises because of safety concerns, such as targeting by combatants, harassment or military occupation. Harassment is particularly common within the literature on Syrian refugees (Crawford, 2016; Abu-Hamad et al., 2014; Foster, 2015; Abu-Hamad et al., 2017; Abu-Hamad and Pavanello, 2012; Hagen-Zanker et al., 2017; Pertek, 2016; Lehmann and Masterson, 2014). Issues were widespread: exposure to harsh weather resulting in illness, verbal and physical street harassment, concerns of walking to evening shift classes known for being reserved for refugees, and thus leading to targeted harassment (Hagen-Zanker et al., 2017; Foster, 2015). While specific to a particular humanitarian crisis, the lack of physical security in getting to and from school can be seen as a significant barrier that CTP cannot fully address. These findings have serious implications for interventions with education and child protection objectives alike.

6.6.2 Supply-side Barriers

Thompson (2012) suggests CTP has been successful in supporting access to education where systems and infrastructure already exist, and that emergency CTP is more likely to be effective where children have previously attended school but left as an economic coping strategy. Harvey and Pavanello (2018) add that cash cannot tackle systemic issues and does not change the quality of supply of services or address policy issues.

²⁵ Foster (2015) explicitly monitored psychosocial well-being in children, and other authors explicitly consider the impact on children. However, as psychosocial well-being was not included as a child protection outcome, it has been included as a spillover.

CTPs reviewed here were ineffective at addressing issues of overcrowding and special education needs. A salient example is the Palestinian National Cash Transfer Programme in the Gaza Strip, which presents the significant limitations of CTP in helping children with disabilities to access schools (Abu-Hamad et al., 2014; Perezniето et al., 2014), although this could be considered a design flaw that could be amended through more specialised programming. Addressing special learning needs becomes especially important in contexts of crises and exposure to trauma as children become more likely to report depression, anxiety and post-traumatic stress disorder (Perezniето et al., 2014). The programme did not address issues of overcrowding, because the intervention's scope and capacity did not allow for the repair or expansion of existing educational facilities, including for special needs (Abu-Hamad et al., 2014). CTPs aimed at addressing child protection concerns need to be aware of the potential limitations of cash. While easing demand-side barriers of education is essential, CTP requires supply-side programming that allows education systems to function better.

6.7 COMPLEMENTARY PROGRAMMING²⁶

Given the nature of protracted crises, which create conditions of chronic fragility and vulnerability, CTPs in education and child protection should be implemented with complementary, longer-term services and in-kind support.²⁷ CTP serves an important purpose in allowing people dignity, choice, and flexibility, but is not sufficient to meet all needs. Greater attention should be paid to the best combination of CTP and sectoral programming, with focus on ensuring cash and services are synchronistic and mutually reinforcing (Harvey and Pavanello, 2018).

In education interventions, supply-side complementary programming is essential to address the barriers that emerged in the literature, such as overcrowding in schools and lack of transportation, and missing documentation that prevents official enrolment. Several studies report positive complementary supply-side interventions. In South Sudan, capitation grants²⁸ given to schools were a strong complement that increased teaching staff, improved instruction quality, and permitted schools to grow and remain open (Crawford, 2016). In Somalia, vouchers were accompanied by a school expansion and competency training programme to make spaces more child-friendly. A case study of Greece highlights the difficulty for students who do not speak the local language, but were able to better integrate into the national education system via additional preparatory classes in Greek, English, mathematics and other topics (Pavanello, 2018a). While these studies indicate positive impacts, there is no causal evidence in the studies reviewed for this report, and more research should be done into exactly what kinds of complementary programming produce the best results alongside cash transfers.

Evidence indicates child protection programming could be complementary and mainstreamed within education-focused projects. MPGs in Iraq, Lebanon and Jordan have referral mechanisms to support out-of-school children to access education, psychosocial support and other child protection services (UNICEF, 2017; UNICEF, 2017b). However, it is not sufficient for practitioners to simply make protection referrals if they observe problems. Practitioners working alongside the community need to proactively assess risks, where CTP can mitigate risks, where child protection programming is needed, and the best way to ensure those at risk can access child protection services (Jacobsen and Armstrong, 2016).

While this kind of complementary programming can be assumed to have a positive impact on reducing beneficiary vulnerability, the report does not find any direct evidence of the impact of referrals to protection services on education or child protection outcomes. More research should be done to identify the effectiveness of such programmes.

²⁶ Complementary programming in this report refers to the use of a combination of assistance modalities and activities, including cash and/or vouchers and support, such as service provision and in-kind goods distribution.

²⁷ Our discussion assumes selection of the most appropriate and effective types of assistance will depend on the needs to be addressed, the intended beneficiaries and the context, and should ideally be determined through a systematic and collaborative response analysis process. Complementary interventions may be implemented by the same agency/agencies providing CTP, or by other agencies working in collaboration.

²⁸ Capitation grants are funds made available to all not-for-profit schools (government, community and faith-based schools) to help supplement running costs and to increase the learning environment. The amount of the grant each school receives is based on the number of students/pupils enrolled (GESS).

PART 3

7 EVIDENCE GAPS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR RESEARCH

This report has sought to lay out the current body of evidence on CTP for education and child protection outcomes. The key gaps that have emerged from our analysis of existing evidence and which this report identifies as potential areas for future research and evaluation are listed below. The highest priority areas for research are the comparative use of MPGs and sectoral cash and better understanding the efficiency of MPGs in achieving sectoral outcomes as well as the effectiveness of conditional vs. unconditional cash transfers.

COMPARATIVE STUDIES OF CASH MODALITIES

Comparative research and robust evaluations should be conducted across a broader range of interventions (such as restricted cash, multipurpose cash grants, shock-responsive social protection, vouchers, etc.) and sectoral outcomes. This would enable better evidence-based decision making when choosing a cash modality for a specific sectoral purpose. Most of the existing evidence is suggestive and focuses on cash versus vouchers; while recommendations based on past programming and beneficiary and stakeholder feedback provide guidance for choice of cash modality, a base of scientific evidence indicating the merits or drawbacks of different cash modalities in achieving desired sectoral outcomes would further strengthen the case for (or against) cash when engaging in intervention design.

MPGS AND SECTORAL OUTCOMES

More concrete and focused evidence regarding the use of multipurpose cash grants is also necessary. For example, education is often not mainstreamed in intervention design; as such, the impact of MPGs on education outcomes is tracked via monitoring of how cash is spent rather than investigating enrolment, attendance or learning outcomes. Similarly, child protection outcomes were often observed anecdotally rather than mainstreamed as a feature of programme design. A more robust analysis of the impact of CTP on education and child protection in humanitarian crises would need greater emphasis on sectoral outcomes in design and evaluation in order to investigate more specifically how and when they can be achieved through the use of MPGs. Greater emphasis on monitoring and design would help build a clearer body of evidence.

CONDITIONALITY

A comparative analysis and evaluation of the effectiveness of conditionality is another evidence gap that should be prioritised for further research. No studies that met our inclusion criteria provide evidence on whether conditionality improves or harms the education or child protection outcomes. It should be noted that there are many arguments for and against conditionalities; while there could be a potentially positive impact if households do not understand the benefits of education or greater ease in gaining political support for the programme, conditionalities may also undermine equality, dignity and non-discrimination, create perverse incentives and opportunities to abuse power, and reduce the ability of vulnerable people to choose what investments are best for them. Further, they increase the costs of programme administration (UNICEF, 2016). While conditionality has been frequently used in education interventions in development contexts, there would also be value in better understanding their effectiveness in humanitarian settings as they are still employed in some contexts.

COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAMMING

While CTP can help reduce the financial barriers to education, many of the limitations faced by beneficiaries go beyond financial barriers. As such, future research should explore the interactions of CTP modalities and other programming that reduce limiting factors such as non-financial barriers to education or limited availability or knowledge of child protection services. While these barriers are often referenced in the literature, such as reports of teenage girls dropping out of school to marry in their family's hope of increasing their overall security, or secondary school boys preferring to continue working despite transfers, there was no evidence in the reviewed literature of how cash plus other support could tackle these non-financial constraints.

PRIMARY VS. SECONDARY EDUCATION

Only one study (Crawford, 2016) tests the impact of CTP on enrolment or attendance for primary and secondary school students, separately. Gathering this type of information is essential for programme design and should also be sensitive to gendered impacts at each level as the value of cash or conditionalities needed to overcome different opportunity costs may vary across gender and age. Evidence of varying opportunity costs across ages is provided by the baseline report of the UNICEF and WFP Cash Transfer Program for Displaced Syrian Children in Lebanon (de Hoop et al., 2017). It stresses the importance of design of CTPs according to the needs of primary and secondary school children, as they face different barriers to enrolment and attendance: while distance costs are a primary barrier for younger children, child labour increases dramatically as children get older, significantly reducing enrolment. Further research on differential impact of CTP across age is needed to provide sound evidence to improve programme design.

CTP AND DISABILITY

Many evaluations, particularly in the Syrian refugee response and Palestine literature, identify beneficiary concerns with the lack of disability inclusion in programming and flag it as a priority for future design consideration. Further, there is little evidence on actual practices and their impact on outcomes. The body of literature evaluated contains no evidence of how CTP can be leveraged to achieve education or child protection outcomes for children with disabilities, or how they are affected by current programming. Due consideration should be given to disability in intervention design to better build evidence on how CTP could be improved to better serve all people.

8 CONCLUSION

Understanding how and when to use CTP in humanitarian emergencies is crucial for effective policies and programming. On one hand, the provision of direct transfers to families and their children to reduce demand-side barriers to education such as costs for materials, transport and fees have been common. Cash and voucher transfers can remove financial constraints, enabling households to enrol their children at school and reduce opportunity costs. On the other hand, the use of CTP in child protection is relatively new and few interventions have had the explicit goal of achieving child protection outcomes. Recently, there has been a shift to multipurpose cash grants, which do not necessarily have sector-specific objectives, but can have positive outcomes across a variety of sectors. MPGs were also the most common type of intervention found in the literature. Most of the analysis in this report is thus based on this complementarity.

The number of studies included in this report is relatively small, a total of 35. However, given the high quality of the studies, the diversity of contexts and the consistency of findings, we can assess the body of literature to be of medium quality. One of the greatest weaknesses of the literature examined is the limited inclusion of education and child protection outcomes in the systematic design, monitoring and evaluation of interventions, meaning that much of the evidence remains anecdotal. The impacts on education outcomes are mostly positive across intervention type, with neutral impacts largely due to non-financial barriers, unrelated to modality. Evidence was only found on the 'access to education' outcome; however, it allows for differentiation across changes in enrolment, attendance and spending. Evidence was found for a broader range of child protection outcomes, with a higher concentration on child labour. The magnitude and direction of impact of CTP on most outcomes, however, remains unclear.

While most of the evidence provides inconclusive results for comparing modalities, conditional modalities seem to have the potential to positively impact outcomes in both sectors. For example, transfers conditional on school attendance can be effective in reducing reliance on child labour and child marriage, at least for the duration of the intervention. In addition, education-related conditionalities can have beneficial child protection effects, as schools can provide a protective environment, keeping children off the streets. Overall, evidence on conditionality, leading to long-term behaviour change, is weak, however.

It is important to note that despite the lack of explicit gender considerations in the design of CTPs, some studies find differences in impact by gender. However, there is mixed evidence on whether the direction of impact is positive or not. The evidence suggests that the impact of CTP on girls' education is sensitive to context-specific characteristics as well as to non-financial, gender-specific barriers that exist for entering or continuing education. The mixed evidence and apparent gender differences in accessing education require that more complex, longer-term interventions and further investigation are undertaken.

Finally, the report identifies six key gaps in the literature on CTP in humanitarian contexts that could help policy makers and practitioners working on education and child protection with evidence-based guidance: (1) comparative research and robust evaluations across a broader range of interventions and contexts; (2) greater emphasis on monitoring sectoral outcomes of MPGs; (3) comparative evaluation of conditionality; (4) complementary programming, particularly the interaction of CTP modalities with interventions aiming at reducing non-financial barriers to education; (5) differential impact on primary versus secondary education; (6) how CTP can be leveraged to achieve education or child protection outcomes for those with disabilities. Given the increased reliance on CTP interventions as part of humanitarian response, there is a critical need to build an in-depth understanding of the nature and extent of the impact that the use of CTP can have on sector-specific outcomes such as education and child protection. Greater attention on CTP by academics and researchers will help build a sound body of evidence to inform policy design.

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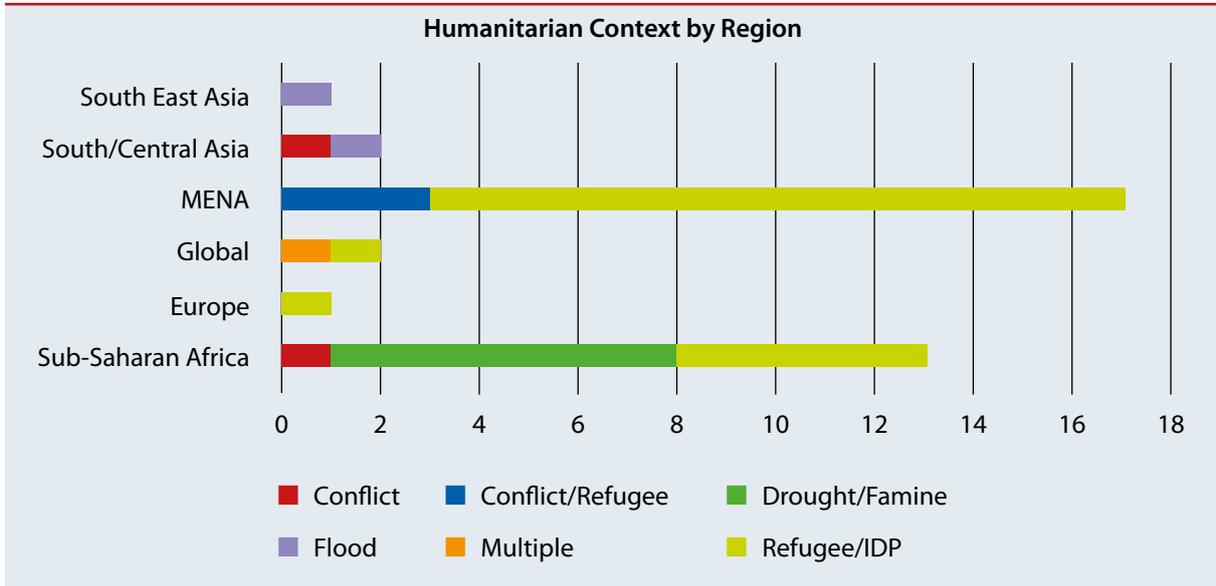
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ANNEX A: QUALITY OF BODY OF LITERATURE

Specification	Description
High	<p>Quality: 70% or more of the studies included are of high quality, with a mix of both attempts at isolating causation and observational studies that have drawn on multiple sources to support identified impact.</p> <p>Size: Medium-Large</p> <p>Context: Body represents diverse locations, humanitarian situations, and a spread of interventions.</p> <p>Consistency: Results are highly consistent with each other within an intervention-outcome combination and across interventions and outcomes more broadly.</p>
Medium	<p>Quality: 75% or more of studies are of medium or high quality and contain a mix of both attempting to identify causality and explanatory but well-sourced descriptions of the results of intervention.</p> <p>Size: Medium</p> <p>Context: There is some diversity in location and humanitarian situation as well as moderate breadth and depth across interventions, but some clustering in geographic locales, humanitarian contexts, or intervention types.</p> <p>Consistency: Results are mostly consistent, but there are some cases of conflicting outcomes.</p>
Limited	<p>Quality: Body relies mainly on reviews of other interventions without detail on their methodology or high level overviews of particular situations that do not provide adequate information on how impact was determined.</p> <p>Size: small in size</p> <p>Context: There is disproportionate particular location, humanitarian situation, or intervention.</p> <p>Consistency: A pattern cannot be established across the evidence</p>

ANNEX B: LOCATIONS AND TYPE OF HUMANITARIAN CONTEXT



When broken down by region, 52% of interventions studied are undertaken in the Middle East (ME) and 39% in sub-Saharan Africa. Studies in ME are heavily concentrated in Lebanon and Jordan, due to the uptake of CTP as part of the Syria response. This is not surprising due to the protracted nature of the crisis, allowing for more time and opportunity to conduct baseline and follow-up reports. While ME studies are all refugee/IDP related, the studies in Africa contain a mix of drought, conflict and refugee/IDP responses. Two studies are included for flooding in South and South East Asia; they are among the few studies in this sample that are not in the context of a protracted crisis. Those taking place 'globally' appear in meta analyses and systematic reviews. Of note is the distinct lack of CTP studies in the education sector in Latin America and the Caribbean. While there is a great deal of literature on CTP in the education sector in this region, it is largely within the development context, and thus not included in this report. This report does not directly take up an analysis of the differential impact of interventions on outcomes across regions or conflicts, but the spread of evidence is important to understanding the limited applicability of the findings. Context is included in the analysis to signal where and in what types of crisis the evidence is situated.



The Cash Learning Partnership

The use of cash transfer programming in humanitarian response continues to increase in scale and quality. This report aims to capture the body of research that provides evidence of the impact of cash transfer programming on education and child protection outcomes. It provides a comprehensive synthesis and analysis of existing evidence and identifies gaps in the knowledge base for future research prioritisation.

This material was developed by students of the London School of Economics (LSE) on behalf of the Cash Learning Partnership.

