Unconditional Government Social Cash Transfers in Africa Do Not Increase Fertility: Issue Brief
Tia Palermo and Lisa Hjelm

OVERVIEW
Social cash transfers (SCT) have become an important component of social protection in sub-Saharan Africa and rigorous evaluations have demonstrated the ability of these programmes to improve food security, school enrolment, health, and other outcomes. However, a common perception surrounding the design and implementation of these programmes is that cash transfers targeted to families with young children will incentivise families to have more children. Understandably a concern to policymakers in contexts where fertility is high and resources are constrained, this perception is a key barrier to scaling up SCT programmes. However, contrary to this belief, research has demonstrated that SCTs generally have no or few impacts on fertility.

To date, research on unconditional cash transfer programmes in Africa (including Kenya, Malawi, South Africa and Zambia) have demonstrated no impacts of cash transfer programmes on increased fertility. In Latin America, studies from conditional cash transfer programmes have also generally found no fertility impacts, with two exceptions. One study in Honduras found a short-term increase in probability of birth that was most likely linked to the programme design which allowed increases in the transfer with the birth of a child, or addition of a pregnant woman, to a household. Another study in Mexico used a somewhat selective sample, possibly decreasing the generalizability of the findings and conflicting with existing (though shorter-term) evidence on the same programme.

AFRICAN CONTEXT
Africa was the last region to start experiencing the demographic transition globally, has experienced declines in fertility rates more slowly than other regions, and the transition has even stalled in some countries with total fertility rates (TFR) over five children on average.

7 Defined as the transition from high birth and death rates to low as countries industrialize.

<table>
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<th>Impacts of cash transfer programmes on number of children aged 0-1 in household, Zambia, Malawi, Kenya</th>
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<td>All, Girls, Boys</td>
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<td>Zambia CGP</td>
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<td>Malawi SCTP</td>
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<td>Kenya CT-OVC</td>
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THE TRANSFER PROJECT
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per woman. Thus policymakers are understandably concerned that programmes might incentivize more births, yet evidence from the region overwhelmingly demonstrates that these unintended consequences are not realized. Women receiving South Africa's Child Support Grant (CSG) were actually less likely to have a subsequent pregnancy than women with similar characteristics not receiving the grant and this unconditional programme, which universally targets households with children under age 18, led to decreased adolescent sexual activity and pregnancy.

Studies examining Kenya’s Cash Transfer for Orphans and Vulnerable Children (CT-OVC), Malawi’s Social Cash Transfer Scheme (SCT) and the Zambian government’s Child Grant Programme (CGP) all found there were no impacts of cash transfer programmes on childbearing. The figure above shows no impacts of cash transfer programmes on the total number of children aged 0-1 in households after 48 months in Zambia, 12 months in Malawi, and 24 months in Kenya. Further, Kenya’s CT-OVC led to decreased sexual debut and first pregnancy among young people aged up to 25 years.

In addition to the number of young children in the household, the Zambian study also examined fertility histories of individual women and found no impact on total births to women over a four-year period. For women under the age of 25, the CGP even decreased fertility after 36 months, but impacts disappeared after 48 months among this younger sample.

CONCLUSION
Evidence of increased fertility in response to social cash transfers appears to be largely anecdotal, and rigorous quantitative evaluations of the programmes do not support this claim. However, some design features that could minimise the fertility incentive can be built into programmes. Examples include:

- continuing the grant up through age 10 so that caregivers are not worried about the child/household ‘aging out’ of the transfer scheme too rapidly
- capping the grant at a maximum number of children
- calculating eligibility per household, not per number of children.

UNICEF Office of Research – Innocenti
Florence, Italy
www.unicef-irc.org
+39 055 20330
florence@unicef.org
@UNICEFInnocenti | facebook.com/UNICEFOfficeofResearchInnocenti

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