Supplementary Table S1: Charting Data into Framework Matrix – CMO hypotheses

#	CMOCs	Data sources	Good quotes from NVivo
	Ма	cro Level CMOs	
1	The existence of international frameworks with a focus on the poor, and commitment to a national vision of ensuring inclusive society (C), provide the motivation and the political will for the development of national social protection frameworks, and a receipt of external support (M) to aid the development and implementation of CT programs for the poor in developing countries (O).	Interviews	Policy Document The National Social Protection Strategy represents the Government of Ghana's vision of creating an all-inclusive society through the provision of sustainable mechanisms for the protection of persons living in situations of extreme poverty, vulnerability and exclusion
			Program Operations Manual The LEAP programme is rather an attempt and demonstration that Ghana is a country of conscience that seeks to build a protected and an inclusive society for all (rich and poor, vulnerable or secured).
			Policy Maker In 2007, the then government of President Kuffour had what we call the Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy documents I & II [in line with the Millennium Development Goal 1]. And that document as a matter of fact was the blueprint of the government's development agenda. And in it we had various thematic areas. We had an area specifically dealing with Vulnerability and Exclusion. The National Social Protection Strategy of 2007 identified various key social protection interventions of the country. So the government actually had a clear plan and commitment to start the LEAP program, and later on the development partners came on board to complement government's effort

1 5	In a context of national budgetary constraints, and the complexities around CT programs (C), transnational actors may ideational mechanisms and material incentives to influence CT policy agendasetting (M). This may have implications for the design of CT programs (e.g. conditional vs unconditional), implementation and their sustainability in developing countries (O).	Interviews Program documents News articles	and to be associated with the success of the government by providing various forms of support to the government. Foli (2016) Political leadership provided by Hon. Akosua Frema Osei-Opare, then Deputy Minister of MMYE, in charge of social development, was also vital to the program's success. The Minister noted that her portfolio at the MMYE exposed her to cash transfer programs elsewhere. Having bought into the program, the Minister provided strong leadership and was supported by development partners to facilitate program formulation and implementation. Ghana News Agency He [Minister responsible for LEAP] said LEAP was a key component of the National Social Protection Strategy (NSPS), primarily funded by the British Department for International Development (DFID), UN Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the World Bank (WB). Policy Maker At the design stage, the question that came up was how was the program going to be funded? And the government took the bold decision that government would do the funding. But you know government funding is not always adequate so government started and the DPs followed. But this raises the question of sustainability because your country [Ghana] says they are now low middle income. DFID for instance is saying they are now low middle income. DFID for instance is saying they are now low middle income. DFID for instance is saying they are now low middle income. DFID for instance is saying they are now low middle income. DFID for instance is saying they are now low middle income. DFID for instance is saying they are now low middle income. DFID for instance is saying they are now low middle income. DFID for instance is saying they are now low middle income. DFID for instance is saying they are now low middle income. DFID for instance is saying they are now low middle income. DFID for instance is saying they are now low middle income. DFID for instance is saying they are now low middle income. DFID for instance is saying they are now low middle income. DFID for instance is saying they are
1			Funding for LEAP came from general revenues of the

			Government of Ghana, with support from the donor community.
			Policy Maker The government with support from DFID and UNICEF brought together technical experts to assist with drafting the social protection strategy. Prior to this government had started looking at cash transfer programs. It was then that they supported study trips to Brazil and South Africa. They (DPs) also gave us the technical assistance, which enabled the government to gather a number of experts from South Africa, Turkey, Kenya and others. This team initiated the process of developing the LEAP.
			Ghana News Agency He [Minister responsible for LEAP] said LEAP was a key component of the National Social Protection Strategy (NSPS), primarily funded by the British Department for International Development (DFID), UN Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the World Bank (WB).
3	If CT households are exempted from the payment of the health insurance premium and registration fee to enable them have free access to a health insurance card, but health system organization is not favourable (C), they may not feel motivated to enrol onto the national health insurance scheme (M). This will affect access and uptake of basic health services (both preventive and curative) (O)	Interviews Program documents	M&E Manager So as soon as you enrol onto the program [LEAP], other benefits that you get will be the health insurance. So even in 2016 we commissioned a program to ensure that we register all the beneficiaries onto the national health insurance scheme.
			DP (World Bank) So in Ghana for example, one of the hard pushes last year with support from donors was to get NHIA to give automatic insurance to LEAP beneficiaries to enable the get access to healthcare.

			Program Document
			An important component of LEAP is the enrolment of participants in the NHIS. This enrolment will itself directly trigger potential behaviour change in terms of inducing households to use health services and is thus considered a potential mediator or mechanism through which the effect of LEAP is felt at the household level.
4	In a country where there is a liberalised media (C), news media framing of CTs will affect the public's attention and interest in the need to care	News articles	News headlines
	for, and to support the poor and the vulnerable through CTs (M). This will either improve public endorsement of CT programs and generate	Interviews	LEAP to greater poverty: A plan to spend GH¢ 20 billion on the poor (Ghanaweb, 2007)
	social support for the poor and the vulnerable at the community level,	Research articles	
	or incite the public against CT programs which will affect their successful implementation (O).	Program documents	Minister Defends Dolling Out Money to the Poor (Public Agenda, 2008)
			Direct Cash for the Poor-Ghana's grand centrally planned waste (Ghanaweb, 2008)
			Govt to give 20 billion cedis to the poor (Ghana News Agency, 2007)
			LEAP Scheme is sustainable (Daily Graphic, 2008)
			Giving money to the poor is not the answer (Daily, Graphic 2008)
			CEN Applauds Government (Daily Guide, 2008)
			DP (UNICEF)
			So, if the public perception of a program is good, that this program is the best way to contribute to poverty reduction

and is the good thing to do through public education. That's part of our motivation for engaging in those kinds of things then it will lead government to also prioritize his things (DP interview).

Abebrese (2012?) – journal article

There were suggestions from some newspapers and radio call-in programmes saying that instead of the GoG using the money for the cash transfers on LEAP they should better use it to support new employment and the further development of the industries

Foli (2016) – journal article

During the formulation of the LEAP program, the public was largely unaware of the process, except for some CSOs, which were invited to take part in the process. Two activities brought the new policy to the public's attention. At a meet-the-press series in September 2007, the Minister of MMYE Hon. Nana Akomea indicated that the Ministry would develop some programs for implementation by the end of the year, including LEAP

While the announcement at the meet-the-press series and the budget presentation were intended to popularize the program, they also generated opposition, based on the suspicion that LEAP was a ploy to buy votes, as implementation would take place in 2008, an election year.

In the aftermath of the announcement, reactions to the cash transfer program were mostly expressed through radio callin programs and through articles published in the dailies. While some publications indicated support for the program, a greater percentage of views expressed were against the program

Ghanaweb (2008) news article The decision by the Ghanaian government to make direct cash transfers of between \$8- \$ 15 every other month to those it solely identifies as poor, marginalized, vulnerable and weak has gotten the ire of many Ghanaians. Particularly worrying is the state of mind of government advisors on this idea. Their magic wand to ending poverty evokes images of a cabal of hitherto intelligent academics whose leap of faith in deformed poverty reduction papers surpasses the tiny but useful bits of information on individual needs and wants in an economy. Such dispersed infinites imal information is key to decision making, but not a centrally controlled one as giving direct cash to alleviate one's poverty, created by successive governments in the first place. Eventually, because many African governments feed on populism rather than what works, our government will deliberately not see the enormity of its attempt to embrace what clearly is a failure. Public Agenda (2008) Before it is officially launched, the National Social Protection Strategy christened Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP) involving direct transfer of money to people considered extremely poor is high on the news agenda with arguments both for and against it. Critics in particular have argued that the policy is nothing but a political ploy by the NPP to reward its card bearing members or persuade voters in favour of the ruling party. Ghanaweb (2007 How would you spend 20 billion cedis (about US\$2million) annually on the poor and vulnerable persons? One option is to identify an intervention that demand that beneficiaries invest in their future, so as to break the cycle of poverty.

Another option is to turn the whole pot of money into free cash hand-outs to the poor. There is a great temptation to pick the latter, in particular in an election year.
Daily Guide (2008)
A Group calling itself Critical Eye Network (CEN) has lauded government for introducing the Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP) programme which is meant to provide financial assistance for people living it extreme poverty. CEN, in a press statement, has described the programme as "a giant step by the government to empower the livelihood of Ghanaians against poverty". The statement, signed by Amstrong Esaah, Spokesperson for the group, took on people who have criticized the LEAF programme. "It is therefore a shame to see political parties such as the NDC and individuals like Kwesi Pratt who professes to be speaking for the ordinary citizens heavily descending on this rather laudably policy designed to provide relief to the ordinary citizens."
DP (World Bank) That's the argument people were against cash transfers say [creating dependency]. That you are given them, even you hear it in the media that you are giving them handouts because you will want them to vote for you.
Social Protection Policy (2015)
The Media, given their strategic role in public information education and capacity-building, the media (print, electronic and audio-visual) shall be engaged as well as encouraged to support public education in social protection; assist in testing policy preferences and options in

		social protection programme delivery; • keep the public informed about social protection priorities and best practices from various parts of the country and on different sections of the programme; • record and disseminate good practices and lessons learned in social protection; and • highlight the challenges of implementation for concrete and responsive action to be undertaken by relevant stakeholders.
5	If training and sensitisation workshops are organised for national and local level actors (C) their awareness about the program will increase, but they may not feel motivated and empowered to consider CT programs as part of their core activities due to lack of understanding of cross-sectoral working (M). This may result in a lack of integration of CT program activities into the core business of relevant local government departments and agencies which will affect beneficiaries' access to essential services such as education, health and agricultural support (O). Further, the training and support provided to the District Social Welfare Officers and Community LEAP Implementing Committee members (C) will equip them with skills and adequate knowledge about the program, and make them feel motivated and empowered (M) to discharge their duties effectively and attach more urgency to program activities such as supporting targeting and enrolment processes, undertaking case management, supervising payment processes, supporting complementary initiatives, and providing reports on LEAP activities at the district and community levels (O).	Policy Maker We have engaged them [decentralised structures] from time to time but they don't translate these information or skills into their own work schedule and it's not only social welfare programs most of the district assembly programs that's how it works. Policy Maker Because some of these our officers have not handled the LEAP program before and they don't understand the dynamics. So the training has helped in the sense that it has currently made them advocates of the program. Program Operations Manual The District Social Welfare Officer is responsible for training the CLICs on the targeting process, registration and the other tasks that they are supposed to fulfil on the LEAP programme.
		Daily Graphic (2008) News article

			The Workshop, which was among other things, aimed at sensitising the participants to understand the concept and objectives of the scheme, was attended by the Eastern Regional Minister, Mr Kwadwo Affram Asiedu, municipal and district chief executives, the presiding members of the assemblies and officials of the Department of Social Welfare.
6	In an environment of historic mistrust regarding politicisation of targeting of beneficiaries in social programs (C), CT program targeting must be seen to have been conducted in a professional manner with clear and fair eligibility criteria, and strong community involvement in the targeting process, so communities can have confidence and a sense of trust in the targeting process (M). This will help empower communities to take ownership of the program, reduce conflicts at the community level and promote social cohesion, and strengthen relations of trust, reciprocity and respect between citizens and state authorities (O).	Interviews Program documents News article	Program Operations Manual The selection of a household for the LEAP programme goes through a deliberate, elaborate, consultative, objective and well defined processes and procedures. The processes for selecting flow from the national level through regional, district, community and household levels. DP (World Bank) So you will have issues where people would complain to their MP's and all of that and it becomes like this is NPP, this is NDC, you know how it goes. But to me having this scientific method kind of cleans that up a little bit. So when LEAP first started, it was community targeting and what that does is that you have things like you could have a chief decide that somebody should have the money and the other not have the money. Ghana News Agency (2008) News article Nana Akomea said the selection of households would be done using Ghana Living Standard Survey (GLSS) data, district poverty maps and the regional distribution of extreme poor so that the poorest regions would be fairly represented.
7	Relevant local actors' access to a single register on the extremely poor (C) will promote partnership and collaboration, build trust and good	Interviews Policy document	Policy Maker

working relationships for CT program implementation (M). This will increase the level of local actors' involvement in program implementation, promote beneficiaries engagement with state institutions, and enhance beneficiaries' access to services (O).

So with the introduction of the Ghana National Household Registry, it will bring on board all these partners and make sure that we now have a single database and everybody is involved. We will only go to Ghana National Household Registry, pick the data from them and pick those who fall within the LEAP program beneficiary category, we do verification and then we enrol them.

DP (World Bank)

Yes, community buy-in into the program is key but this is also dependent on how efficient the targeting system is. So one other intervention we have been working on is the Ghana National Household Registry. What we're are doing is essentially collecting data on poor households to rank poor and non-poor, and when we say poor and non-poor is a little bit more than that so there is difference, so we are using the proxy means test and it's going to be able to show levels of poverty basically. Once it's done [the National Household Register] what it gives to these programs is a number of things, first of all it reduces duplication of efforts, promote efficiency and ensures that one of the objectives of the projects which is to improve the social protection system, and within that system is improve targeting.

NSPS

In order for the LEAP Social Grants programme to be effective, a regular and reliable registration and tracking system must be put in place. Based on the OVC database, a scaled-up version of the system will be developed to manage programme beneficiaries and track their participation in other social services. The Single Registry System will be modelled after the Bolsa Familia example and will collect standardized information on beneficiaries.

	M:	no Laval CMOs
	IVIIC	TO Level Civios
8	Household characteristics (e.g. size, gender of transfer recipient, etc) and social norms (C) determine how the cash transfer affects the choice making ability of households, and the prioritisation of their needs (M). This will affect household consumption, short-term poverty reduction, and child level outcomes including education, nutrition and material wellbeing (O).	Interviews Journal articles Program documents

The findings indicated that household size influenced spending decisions of caregivers.

OPM (2013)

Journal article

The LEAP transfer in extended family household contexts was pooled along with other household resources. Hence, because the LEAP transfer in this way became a resource at household level, the impact was likely to be diluted in the context of a large family size.

Roelen (2015)

LEAP's low transfer amount in conjunction with the cap on the maximum number of beneficiaries and large family sizes appears to present one of the key challenges in the programme's potential impact on children's well-being and care.

Researcher/Evaluator (ISSER)

So it is not strictly conditional, you give the money and then you watch how they use the money, you observe how they use the money. Depending on their needs.

Yes, so surely prioritization is key. I once did a life history interview somewhere in the Northern region Damango and I talked to this woman for about 3 hours. We had a long chat, her parents, her grandparents, herself, her husband, we really talked. So after 2 hours or so then we were so close because she had told me a lot. Then she says, can I ask you a question? I said yes. 'This thing that you people talk of education, is it useful? That is what she wanted to ask me. I said, 'why are you asking that question?' 'I put all the money

			I have into my children's education. This one finished S.H.S and there is nothing for him, this one finished there is nothing for him. Now, even cloth that I should wear, I don't have. So education, is it important?' It took me about 15 minutes to convince her that she has to wait a little bit. For now, she has done all the investment, put in a lot. She should just talk to them not to shun away from small jobs and it will still pay off. For this woman, she will not put it into education because until I was able to convince her she had this strong perception that education is not profitable.
			Policy maker
			And then, particularly in the households, the programme was designed to benefit or to make women pivotal in the household. These you also need to look at it because husbands and men can feel that they are been cheated. The women are taking the money, they need to account for it to them and whatever they don't understand you know take advantage of it and stuff like that. So all this things would have to be looked at, otherwise, it can create conflict in the households.
9	Depending on the specific vulnerabilities of CT households (C), the influx of new predictable cash transfers may influence caregivers' confidence and level of empowerment to take risks in relation to income diversification and productivity enhancement (M). This will increase or decrease household investment in productive ventures and thus affect the degree of poverty reduction and service uptake (O).	Interviews	Policy Maker Yes, they are confident to take risk once they receive the cash, do you understand me? Because if you have the money and depending on your situation, you can rent a piece of land, it enhances your risk taking ability and then you are able to cope with certain demands from the family. I hope you understand. So the major issue here is about their risk taking ability and building their confidence. Once this is done they can access services, invest the money in productive ventures and be able to get out of poverty.

			DP (UNICEF) Even small cash transfers can make it possible for poor families to invest in assets, take risks in more productive and remunerative activities and purchase inputs such as seeds, tools and fertiliser
10	Availability of market and economic opportunities at the community level (C) will influence households' risk taking ability in investing the money in productive ventures (M). This may affect the households' ability to meet their long-term needs (poverty reduction, uptake of services), and be able to graduate from the program (O).	Interviews	The major challenges I will say the location of most of these poor communities because many of the poor communities are isolated geographically, isolated from services it becomes difficult to reach these people quickly efficiently; and sometimes you find that some of them is a delay providing them with services like payment and then it take quite a long time to reach them information is not focal because you cannot reach them yes so the geographical isolation of these communities is one big challenge implementation. Program Manager The local context counts a lot with regard to what happens to the money at the household level. The way they handle their money; some may even use it go and drink. I heard some people will take the money and still go and beg. Researcher (ISSER) So the opportunities available at the local level. Likesort of economic activities that they can engage in and multiply the money.
11	In the context where households have low knowledge of program rules, conditions and the long-term benefits of preventive behaviours espoused by CT programs (C), messaging regarding the program's rules and conditions, the services available to beneficiaries under the program, and how to access these services will raise their consciousness, and increase the urgency that they attach to	Interviews Program documents	Policy Maker So that is one area we have identified, the knowledge gap. We have realised that a lot of things been stuck at the top level but what is actually now left is the lower level. So we are now working to make sure that we intensify education and sensitization at the community level so that at least while

	recommended behaviours under the program (M). This will increase households' compliance to program conditions and therefore, increase investment in children's education, nutrition and child wellbeing and uptake of services (O).		we are at the top are working well, those on the ground who actually give us the product do same. So it's a gap we have identified and are working on. M&E Manager So the DSWOs together with the CLIC members mobilise them and then it is at this point that the social welfare officers provide all the necessary education. Because in the program there is what we call co responsibility; the government is not only giving the money, you also have to do one or two things. For instance if there are children in the household above five years who are supposed to be in school, it is the responsibility of the caregiver that when government brings the money to make sure that she doesn't send the child to farm or engage in any form of worse child labour. So this education are all done at the point of payment. DP (World Bank) Because the other thing when you think about it, in any one community, I dare say to the poorest, poorest community in Ghana, there is at least 2,3 services that exist that they do not know, and the services or service provides are also not doing a great communication job. So beneficiaries may not be aware of the existence of services that they are entitled to under the program, even though these services may be available. Park et al. (2012). The large majority of LEAP beneficiaries are not aware of any co-responsibilities or rules that they need to abide by to receive transfers
12	If services (e.g. schools, health) are available at the community level, and there is effective collaboration between service providers and the LEAP program (C), giving a CT to households will remove financial	Interviews	Policy Maker With the Kufuor's administration Ghana had implemented what we call the Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS

barriers to accessing these services which will motivate and empower households and children to access the services (M). This will increase school enrolment, attendance and reduce absenteeism, increase birth registration and health services utilisation, and foster citizen-state engagement. These, in turn, can produce learning, good health and social capital that could ultimately lead to exit from poverty (O).

1), and there was an assessment called impact assessment on Poverty that is PSI. The PSI report indicated that despite the pro-poor intervention that the Government has initiated including the GPRS 1 towards the achievement of MDG 1, the impact of these initiatives on some section of the population was not being felt particularly the extremely poor. The aim of the cash transfer was therefore, not to expand the existing social intervention programmes, but actually to create access for the vulnerable and people who did not have access to these opportunities.

Policy Maker

Even though we have the national health insurance, the capitation, School feeding Programme and, quite a number of social interventions. There was a sizable number of the population who were not benefiting from these initiatives because of their extreme poverty situations. So you can imagine there might be a health center here with a national health insurance facility but a section of the population could not access the opportunity being created. The capitation grant was on-going but there were quite a number of children who could not access education and thus benefitting the capitation and school feeding Programme which were quiet useful. So based on that and following from there, and other innovations that have taken place across developing countries and also even in the developed countries, it was considered that cash given to households can to do a lot of things rather than providing them with food and scholarships.

Supplementary Table S2: List of LEAP Program Documents Reviewed (N = 34)

Author/Year	Title	Document Type	Summary
National Development Planning Commission (2003)	Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS I 2003-2005): an agenda for growth and prosperity	Policy document	This document represents comprehensive policies, strategies, programmes, and projects to support growth and poverty reduction in Ghana. The aims of GPRS I are to achieve a poverty reduction by implementing measures like the Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP) Social Grants Scheme and the National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS) which are going to be explained in the following chapters.
National Development Planning Commission (2005)	Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS II, 2006-2009)	Policy document	This document represents the medium-term policy framework of the government and provides details on implementation social protection programs.
Ministry of Manpower, Youth and Employment (2007)	The National Social Protection Strategy (NSPS); investing in people	Policy/Strategy document	This document contains the Government of Ghana's vision for social protection of persons living in situations of extreme poverty, vulnerability and exclusion. It outlines various social protection programs for the poor and vulnerable in the country
National Development Planning Commission (2010)	Medium-Term National Development Policy Framework: Ghana Shared Growth and Development Agenda (GSGDA, 2010-2013)	Policy document	This document represents the medium-term policy framework of the government and provides details on implementation and coordinating mechanisms for social protection programs.
Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare (2012)	LEAP operations manual.	Program operations manual	This document details the implementation framework and structure of the LEAP program.
Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection (2015)	Ghana national social protection policy (2015-2030)	Policy document	The document provides a framework for delivering social protection coherently, effectively and efficiently in a way that is holistic and properly targeted. The policy outlines five flagship programmes that focus on the poor and the vulnerable, namely, the Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP), the Labour Intensive Public Works (LIPW), the School Feeding Programme (SFP), the National Health Insurance (NHI) Exemptions and the Basic Education Capitation Grants.

Oxford Policy Management (2013a)	LEAP Monitoring and Evaluation Framework and System Document (2013–2016)	Report	This document provides the M&E framework for the LEAP program
Oxford Policy Management (2013b)	Qualitative research and analyses of the economic impacts of cash transfer programmes in sub-Saharan Africa: Ghana Country Case Study Report. Rome: FAO	Research report	This report presents analysis and findings from a qualitative research case study conducted in April 2012 in Ghana, the first of a six country study of the economic impact of cash transfer programmes in Sub Saharan Africa
Park et al. (2012)	Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP): Assessment of LEAP Operations	Research report	This document covers the results of the operational assessment of the LEAP program as part of Program impact evaluation. The report covers information on a range of topics related to the administration of the LEAP program, including targeting, communication and information, and payment delivery.
Handa et al. (2014)	LEAP Impact Evaluation	Research report	This document constitutes the quantitative impact evaluation of the program. The evaluation design was based on longitudinal propensity score matching (PSM).
Handa and Park (2012)	LEAP Baseline Report	Research report	This document covers the baseline report for the quantitative impact evaluation of the program.
Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection (2016)	Ghana LEAP 1000 Programme: baseline evaluation report.	Program report	This report presents results from the baseline survey of the impact evaluation of LEAP 1000 (Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty), a sub-component of the wider Ghana LEAP programme, which explicitly targets poor households with pregnant and lactating women or women with a child under the age of 12 months.
The Transfer project (2016)	Ghana LEAP increases schooling outcomes	Research brief	This brief summarizes findings from the impact evaluation of the LEAP programme on schooling outcomes overall and for various subgroups: by sex, age group and cognitive ability
The Ghana Center for Democratic Development (2015)	Advancing out of poverty in Ghana: the role of the Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP) program	Research report	This reports discusses the influence of LEAP program on the living conditions of beneficiary households on three development dimensions: social services (household access to health, food, and educational services), economic benefits (household asset

			accumulation) and political dimensions (citizenship, civic participation and community social relationships)
Mochiah et al. (2014	The impact of conditional cash transfer programmes on household work decisions in Ghana	Research report	This study looks at the impact of LEAP program on households' supply of labour for agriculture, paid employment, and non-farm enterprise.
Debrah (2013)	Alleviating Poverty in Ghana: The Case of Livelihood Empowerment against Poverty	Journal article	This paper looks into the concrete and effective pathways to poverty reduction in Ghana focusing on LEAP beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries
Food and Agricultural Organisation (2014)	Local Economy-wide Impact Evaluation (LEWIE) of Ghana's Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP) programme	Research report	This study used the Local Economy-Wide Impact Evaluation (LEWIE) methodology to stimulate the LEAP impact on the local economy, focusing on the communities in seven districts included in the LEAP impact evaluation.
The World Bank (2016)	Ghana: Social Protection Assessment and Public Expenditure Review	Report	This document reviews Ghana's effort toward social protection. It provides information on key areas for social protection programs for the poor and vulnerable
Abebrese (2011)	Social Protection in Ghana An overview of existing programmes and their prospects and challenges	Report	The report discusses Ghana's efforts towards social protection.
Yeboah et al. (2016)	Sociocultural and institutional contexts of social cash transfer programs: Lessons from stakeholders' attitudes and experiences in Ghana	Journal article	This article examined the perspectives of beneficiaries, program managers, and community leaders regarding LEAP program. It addressed sociocultural attitudes toward poverty, perceptions of CCT as a poverty reduction strategy, and experiences with CCT implementation.
Foli R (2016)	Transnational actors and policymaking in Ghana: The case of the Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty	Journal article	This article focused on how transnational actors (TNAs) influence social policies in developing countries using LEAP as a case study. It shows how TNAs combine multiple strategies including ideational, institutional, and material incentives to influence social policies in particular countries.
Owusu-Addo (2016)	Perceived impact of Ghana's conditional cash transfer on child health	Journal article	This study explored the pathways of CCTs' impact on the health of orphans and vulnerable children in rural Ghana.

Dako-Gyeke and Oduro (2013)	Effects of household size on cash transfer utilization for orphans and vulnerable children in rural Ghana	Journal article	This study explored how household size influenced the extent to which the basic needs of orphans and vulnerable children were met among LEAP households.
Oduro (2015)	Beyond poverty reduction: Conditional cash transfers and citizenship in Ghana	Journal article	This study explored the implications of the LEAP program on notions of citizenship among cash recipients
Roelen et al. (2014)	Little cash to large households: Cash transfers and children's care in disadvantaged families in Ghana.	Journal article	This article considered the impact of a social cash transfer targeted at poor households — Ghana's Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP) programme — on child well-being, quality of care and preventing children's separation from their parents as perceived by programme and non-programme beneficiaries in a context of vulnerability, large households and widespread informal kinship care
Daidone et al. (2015)	Social networks and risk management in Ghana's Livelihood Empowerment against Poverty Programme	Working paper	This paper assessed the impact of LEAP on household risk reduction strategies via reintegration in, and strengthening of, social networks and reduction of debt exposure
Daily Graphic (2008)	LEAP Scheme is sustainable	News article	This article presents the perspective of an economist and a researcher who played a key in the design of LEAP program on program sustainability in reaction to public concerns about sustainability and feasibility of the program
Ghanaweb (2008)	Cash for the Poor: The case of John Adabomse	News article	This article focuses on the potential benefits of the LEAP program on the poor and vulnerable and the possibility of graduating from poverty
Ghanaweb (2008)	Direct Cash for the Poor-Ghana's grand centrally planned waste	News article	This articles captures the perspective of a policy think- tank who is strongly against the government's decision to implement a cash transfer program in Ghana. The article portrays cash transfer program as a waste of the taxpayers' money.
Ghanaweb (2008)	Giving money to the poor is not the answer	News article	In this article, it is argued that while there is the need to address the issue of extreme poverty in Ghana,

			government's decision to use cash transfer to tackle this issue has questionable prospects of success. It is further argued that CT is an insult to the dignity of the poor.
Public Agenda (2008)	Ghana: Nana Akomea Defends Dolling Out Money to the Poor	News article	This article raises concerns prior to the launching of the LEAP program as one being a political tool. The Minister in charge of the program however, defends the government's decision to roll out the program
Ghanaweb (2007)	LEAP to greater poverty: A plan to spend c20 billion on the poor	News article	This article raises concerns about the LEAP program and asks the question: how would you spend 20 billion cedis (about U\$2million) annually on the poor and vulnerable persons?
Ghana News Agency (2008)	Multi structure approach vital in poverty reduction - Nana Akomea	News article	This presents the government's position on the LEAP program presented at meet-the-press series. It discusses the program goals, targeting, budgetary allocations, implementation structure and the development partners supporting the program
Ghana News Agency (2007)	Govt to give 20 billion cedis to the poor	News article	This presents the government's position on the LEAP program presented at meet-the-press series. It discusses the program goals, targeting, budgetary allocations, implementation structure and the development partners supporting the program. The program sector Minister expressed concern about the way some NGOs, which purported to provide safety nets for the poor and vulnerable had reportedly become notorious for lining their own pockets with funds provided by government and other financiers.

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