

General Equilibrium Effects of Cash Transfers

Egger et al. (2022)

Max Heinze (maximilian.heinze@wu.ac.at)

Sannah Tijani (sannah.tijani@wu.ac.at)

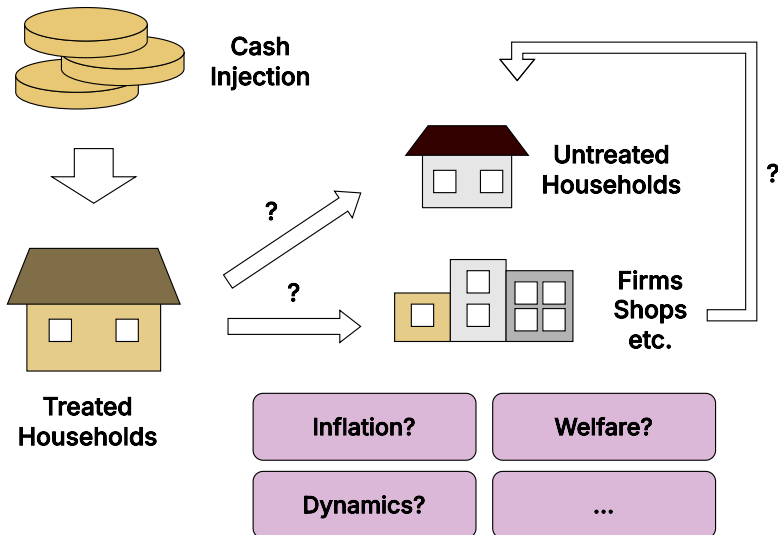
November 12, 2025

What Are We Going to Talk About?

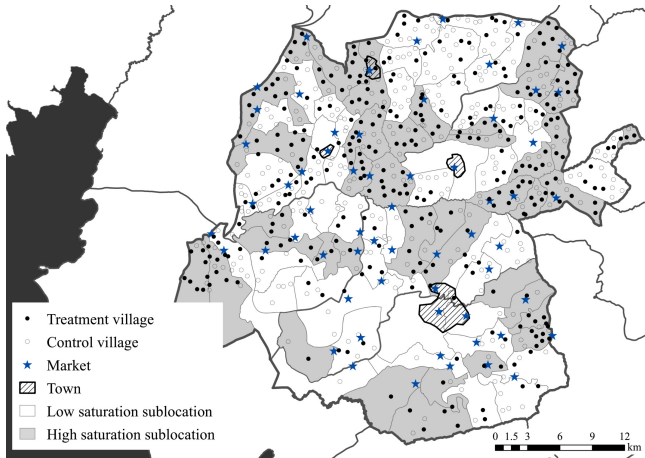
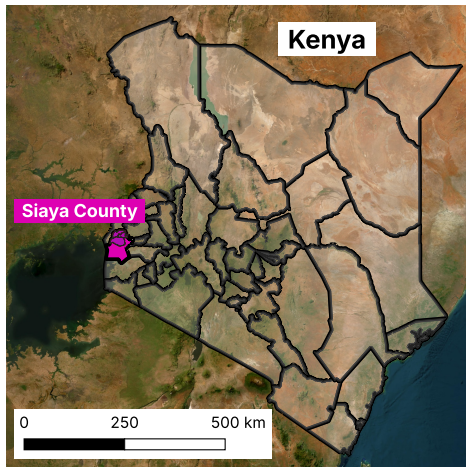
Paper Summary

Discussion

Graphical Summary



Where Are We?



What Are We Going to Talk About?

Paper Summary

Discussion

Setting: Rural Western Kenya

- **Siaya County:** rural, densely populated, high poverty
- **Sample:** 653 villages located in 84 sublocations across 3 subcounties of Siaya
- The mean village has 100 households
- **Mean household:** 4.3 members, 50-year-old respondent, 98% work in agriculture, 5 years of schooling
- **Control villages:** 46% wage workers, 49% self-employed
- **Context:** mid-2014 to 2017, steady economic growth, relative prosperity, political stability

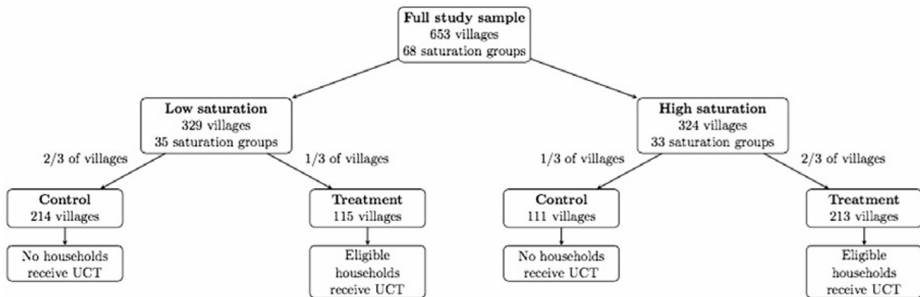
Intervention

- **Treatment:** Unconditional cash transfers to all poor (thatched-roof) households in the treated area
- **Transfer:** Three transfers made to eligible households in the treated area, totaling \$1,000
 - 1st transfer: \$80
 - 2nd transfer (2 months later): \$460
 - 3rd transfer (6 months later): \$460
- The total transfer amount corresponds to 75% of the mean annual household expenditure

Experimental Design

Two levels: within and across village spillovers

(a) Randomization



Household Data

- **Baseline Census:** Sampling frame and household eligibility; identified 65,383 households in a population of 280,000
- **Baseline Survey** — Sept. 2014 to Aug. 2015:
 - Conducted 1–2 months after the census
 - Randomly selected 8 eligible and 4 ineligible households per village, totaling 7,845 baseline surveys
 - Collected data on economic activity, asset ownership, psychological well-being, health, and nutrition
- **Endline Survey** — May 2016 to June 2017:
 - Conducted 9–31 months after the baseline survey
 - Followed households from the initial sample (8,239 surveys completed)
 - Added modules on expenditure, crop production, additional psychological scales, female empowerment, and gender-based violence

Enterprise and Price Data

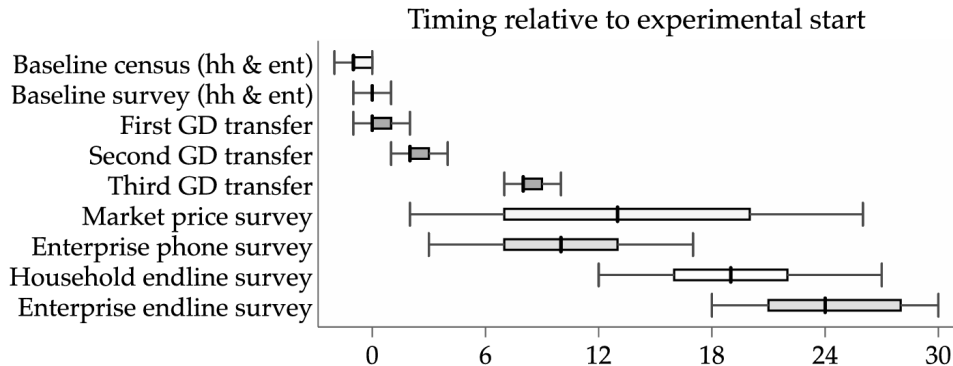
- **Enterprise:**

- **Household Survey:** Uses agricultural and self-employment modules
 - Revenue, profit, production, input costs, investment, hours worked, employment, etc.
- **Non-farm Enterprise Census and Survey** — Nov. 2016 to Apr. 2017:
 - Randomly selected 5 firms per village
- **Endline:** 1,673 firms within and 1,440 outside the homestead, plus 7,899 agricultural firms
- Combining household and enterprise data allows matching firms to their owners

- **Price:**

- Monthly survey of commodity prices in all 61 markets at baseline and up to 2.5 years after
- Prices collected for 70 homogeneous goods
- Household survey used to obtain prices of factors of production

Timeline



Empirical Specification: Recipient Households (1)

$$y_{ivs} = \alpha_1 \text{Treat}_v + \alpha_2 \text{HighSat}_s + \delta_1 y_{ivs,t=0} + \delta_2 M_{ivs} + \varepsilon_{ivs} \quad (1)$$

outcome for HH i village v sublocation s village treatment indicator high saturation sublocation outcome baseline missing baseline indicator

- α_1 captures HH **ATE**, α_2 yields a coarse **spillover** assessment.
- This specification would be sufficient if spillovers were fully **contained** within the **boundary** of an administrative subdivision.
- But **they are not**, and the region they investigate is densely populated, where administrative boundaries are often just that.

Empirical Specification: Recipient Households (2)

$$y_{iv} = \alpha + \beta \text{Amt}_v + \sum_{r=2}^R \beta_r \text{Amt}_{v,r}^v + \delta_1 y_{iv,t=0} + \delta_2 M_{iv} + \varepsilon_{iv} \quad (2)$$

outcome for HH i in village v amount of money distr. in village amount of money distr. in 2km bands around village outcome baseline missing baseline indicator

- This equation is an attempt to better capture **spillovers**.
- The Amt_v and $\text{Amt}_{v,r}^v$ terms are cash per capita transferred to **village** v , and to all villages but v in donut-shaped 2km **bands**; all measured as a share of GDP/capita.
- Since only poor households are eligible, these are endogenous and **instrumented for** using the village treatment indicator and the share of eligible HH in the village.

Path of Spending: Recipient Households

- Recipient households increased **total expenditure** by **13.4%** for the total treatment effect and by **11.6%** in low-saturation areas
- The increase is driven by higher spending on **durable goods** (26% in low-saturation areas) and **non-durable goods** (mainly food)
- Although theoretically ambiguous, household earnings and hours worked did not decrease
- Little **heterogeneity** in treatment effects

Table 1 – Panel A

	Recipient Households	
	(1)	(2)
	1 (Treat Village) Reduced Form	Total Effect IV
<i>Panel A: Expenditure</i>		
Household expenditure, annualized	293.59 (60.11)	338.57 (109.38)
Non-durable expenditure, annualized	187.65 (58.59)	227.20 (99.63)
Food expenditure, annualized	72.04 (36.96)	133.84 (63.99)
Temptation goods expenditure, annualized	6.55 (5.79)	5.91 (8.82)
Durable expenditure, annualized	95.09 (12.64)	109.01 (20.24)

Table 1 – Panel C

	Recipient Households	
	(1)	(2)
	1 (Treat Village) Reduced Form	Total Effect IV
<i>Panel C: Household balance sheet</i>		
Household income, annualized	79.43 (43.80)	135.70 (92.10)
Net value of household transfers received, annualized	-1.68 (6.81)	-7.43 (13.06)
Tax paid, annualized	1.94 (1.28)	-0.09 (2.02)
Profits (ag & non-ag), annualized	26.24 (23.67)	35.85 (47.66)
Wage earnings, annualized	42.43 (32.23)	73.66 (60.82)

Empirical Specification: Enterprises

- The authors study **enterprise effects** using enterprise versions of the same specifications as they use for households.
- For the lagged outcome, they use village-level means because they only have repeated cross-sectional enterprise data.
- They interact all right-hand side variables with **enterprise type indicators** (agricultural, non-agricultural within the home, non-agricultural outside the home).

Path of Spending: Enterprise

- Large increases in **revenue** for firms in both treated (+65%) and control (+48%) areas
- Higher revenues led to increased **spending on labor** (higher wages)

Table 3 – Panel A

	Treatment Villages		Control Villages
	(1)	(2)	(3)
	1(Treat Village) Reduced Form	Total Effect IV	Total Effect IV
<i>Panel A: All enterprises</i>			
Enterprise profits, annualized	-2.27 (21.42)	55.77 (36.73)	35.08 (37.36)
Enterprise revenue, annualized	-29.61 (102.74)	322.16 (138.17)	237.16 (112.72)
Enterprise costs, annualized	-13.32 (28.63)	89.35 (38.51)	73.08 (46.77)
Enterprise wage bill, annualized	-15.90 (25.49)	75.99 (30.64)	66.57 (35.86)
Enterprise profit margin	0.01 (0.02)	-0.11 (0.06)	-0.12 (0.05)

Empirical Specification: Non-Recipient Households

$$\begin{aligned}
 & \underbrace{y_{iv}}_{\text{outcome for HH } i \text{ village } v} = \alpha + \sum_{r=2}^{\bar{R}} \beta_r^1 \underbrace{\text{Amt}_{v,r}}_{\text{amount of money distr. in 2km bands around village}} + \sum_{r=2}^{\bar{R}} \beta_r^2 \left(\underbrace{\text{Amt}_{v,r}}_{\text{interaction}} \cdot \underbrace{\text{Elig}_{iv}}_{\text{HH eligibility indicator}} \right) + \gamma \underbrace{\text{Elig}_{iv}}_{\text{HH eligibility indicator}} + \underbrace{y_{iv,t=0}}_{\text{outcome baseline}} \delta + \varepsilon_{iv} \quad (3)
 \end{aligned}$$

- There are **two types** of non-recipient HH: ineligible HH in treated villages, and all HH in control villages.
- Own-village effects and cross-village effects are **no longer separated**.
- The authors report the results as a **weighted average** between the two types of non-recipient HH.

Path of Spending: Non-Recipient Households

- Non-recipient households experienced a similar **expenditure increase** as recipient households
- Non-recipient households showed a larger increase in **income** than recipients

→ Recipient households spent the cash transfers, which increased firm revenues and, in turn, the incomes of non-recipient households, allowing them to also raise their expenditure.

Table 1 – Panels A & C

	(1) Recipient Households 1 (Treat Village) Reduced Form	(3) Non-Recipient Households Total Effect IV
<i>Panel A: Expenditure</i>		
Household expenditure, annualized	338.57 (109.38)	334.77 (123.20)
Non-durable expenditure, annualized	227.20 (99.63)	317.62 (119.76)
Food expenditure, annualized	133.84 (63.99)	133.30 (58.56)
Temptation goods expenditure, annualized	5.91 (8.82)	-0.68 (6.50)
Durable expenditure, annualized	109.01 (20.24)	8.44 (12.50)
<i>Panel C: Household balance sheet</i>		
Household income, annualized	135.70 (92.10)	224.96 (85.98)

Empirical Specification: Prices

- Using the prices collected across time and different markets, the authors can control for market FE when estimating **price effects**.
- They are unable to detect price increases that affect the entire study area, but such increases (at least large ones) are unlikely to result from localized cash injections.
- The authors investigate **heterogeneous price effects** along two dimensions: More and less tradable goods; and more and less accessible markets.

Path of Spending: Prices

- **Output Prices**

- Price effects are **small**
- Average maximum transfer effect across markets is about **1%**
- The result holds across almost all product categories
- Slightly larger price increases in **less integrated markets**

- **Input Prices**

- Evidence of **higher wages**, more pronounced for non-recipient households
- Results for other factors of production are either **insignificant** (land) or **null** (capital)

Empirical Specification: Dynamics

$$\underbrace{x_{it,v}}_{\text{some flow variable}} = \alpha_t + \sum_{s=0}^9 \beta_s \underbrace{\text{Amt}_{v(t-s)}}_{\substack{\text{amount of money distr.} \\ \text{to village } v \\ \text{in quarter } (t-s)}} + \sum_{s=0}^9 \gamma_s \underbrace{\text{Amt}_{v(t-s),0-2\text{km}}^v}_{\substack{\text{amount of money distr.} \\ \text{in the 0-2km band} \\ \text{around village } v}} + \varepsilon_{it,v} \quad (7)$$

- Using this **dynamic** version of the earlier **estimating equation**, the authors can estimate the multiplier associated with the cash injection.
- Lack of data immediately after the first transfer makes this approach somewhat imprecise.

The Transfer Multiplier (1)

- The **MPC** matters for the magnitude of the multiplier
- Estimated **MPC = 0.76**, implying a transfer multiplier of **3.2**
- The **multiplier** M measures the cumulative effect of transfers on local real GDP, relative to the total amount T transferred (in real terms) over a given time interval

$$M = \frac{1}{T} \int_{t=0}^{\bar{t}} \Delta GDP$$

- This specific context generates a **pure external transfer multiplier**
- Unlike the MPC, this approach accounts for **positive spillover effects** and **dynamic responses**

The Transfer Multiplier (2)

- Two distinct measures of the same concept (GDP) are used
- **Expenditure-based measure:**
 - $GDP_t = C_t + I_t + G_t + NX_t$
 - Estimated multiplier: **2.58**
- **Dual income-based measure:**
 - $GDP_t = W_t + R_t + \Pi_t + T_t - NFI_t$
 - Estimated multiplier: **2.47**

Welfare

- Different policies that yield positive output changes may entail different **welfare effects**.
- Any output increase must come from some mix of **two sources**:
 - Heavier **use** of **input factors**, and
 - those factors being **more productive**.
- Productivity gains are unambiguously welfare gains, while increased factor employment comes at a cost.
- The authors find **no change** in land, HH labor supply, or non-agricultural fixed capital investment. Inventories increase slightly, but less than sales.
- They conclude that output increases are **largely due to productivity gains** and should be interpreted as welfare gains of similar magnitude.

Distribution and Non-Market Welfare

- While transfers were targeted to poor **households**, sizable spillovers reached their **richer neighbors**.
- This is reflected by within-village **Gini coefficients** not changing.
- Changing **relative prices** of different goods could also have distributional effects.
- However, price changes for individual goods measured were all very similar, prompting the authors to deem this effect unlikely to have occurred.
- Psychological well-being, food security, education, health, female empowerment, and security are **non-market factors** that impact welfare.
- For **recipient** households, psychological well-being, food security, education, and security improved; for **non-recipients**, only education improved slightly.

Where Did the Additional Output Come From?

- The study exposed the local economy to a large, **sudden demand shock**.
- The retail and manufacturing sectors **responded elastically**, quickly increasing output.
- **No change** was observed in employment, or other **inputs**.
- The authors conclude, suggestively, that a lot of manufacturing is done **on-demand**; and retail typically has one employee minding the shop, waiting for the avg. 1.9 customers that come each hour.
- **Costs** of these businesses are largely **fixed** and cannot be reduced, while additional demand can readily be served.

- **Why** is there so much **underutilized capacity** in businesses?
- 69% of non-agricultural businesses had just one employee. You cannot have less than one person minding the shop.
- Local markets are extremely **small-scale** affairs. There is demand for a market to be present, but reducing locations is infeasible.
- Additionally, **market frictions** may prevent businesses from consolidating into larger, more centralized companies.

What Are We Going to Talk About?

Paper Summary

Discussion

Scope

- The **scale** of this paper is extremely large.
- Monetary payouts amount to roughly \$ 10 million.
- This allows the authors to answer simple large-scale questions about spillovers, multiplier, etc. in a precise microeconomic setting.
- **Indicative results** about welfare effects, potential output expansion channels, etc. are interesting. It would probably not have been difficult to amend the survey in a way that allowed for more insights here.

Validity and Spillovers

- A usual cheap comment about experimental studies is to question **external validity**.
- However: This study surely is specific to a context of East African rural households in times of low economic uncertainty, but we find it plausible that the findings extend beyond the immediate study context.
- **Spillovers** are comprehensively studied, which is a selling point of this paper.
- Spillover effects within treated villages are on richer households, as all eligible households in treated villages were treated.

What More Would Be Interesting?

- Their **slack** argument is based on Bassi et al. (2022), who conducted a survey in Uganda.
- It might be that the extremely positive spillover effects plateau out once a certain amount of slack is eliminated.
- Repeating a study like this is hardly feasible since one would need to acquire substantial funding.
- That said, similar research in a **more uncertain** economic setting would be interesting.
- Also, **longer-term** follow-ups could have yielded additional insights on *how* permanent the improvement is.
- The measurement of **within-HH inequality** could be improved.

References (1)

- Bassi, V., Muoio, R., Porzio, T., Sen, R., & Tugume, E. (2022). Achieving Scale Collectively. *Econometrica*, 90(6), 2937–2978. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.3982/ECTA18773>
- Egger, D., Haushofer, J., Miguel, E., Niehaus, P., & Walker, M. (2022). General Equilibrium Effects of Cash Transfers: Experimental Evidence From Kenya. *Econometrica*, 90(6), 2603–2643. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.3982/ECTA17945>

Appendix

Table 1

TABLE I
EXPENDITURES, SAVINGS AND INCOME.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Recipient Households		Non-Recipient Households	
	1 (Treat Village) Reduced Form	Total Effect IV	Total Effect IV	Control, Low-Saturation Mean (SD)
<i>Panel A: Expenditure</i>				
Household expenditure, annualized	293.59 (60.11)	338.57 (109.38)	334.77 (123.20)	2536.01 (1933.51)
Non-durable expenditure, annualized	187.65 (58.59)	227.20 (99.63)	317.62 (119.76)	2470.69 (1877.23)
Food expenditure, annualized	72.04 (36.96)	133.84 (63.99)	133.30 (58.56)	1578.05 (1072.00)
Temptation goods expenditure, annualized	6.55 (5.79)	5.91 (8.82)	-0.68 (6.50)	37.07 (123.54)
Durable expenditure, annualized	95.09 (12.64)	109.01 (20.24)	8.44 (12.50)	59.41 (230.83)
<i>Panel B: Assets</i>				
Assets (non-land, non-house), net borrowing	178.78 (24.66)	183.38 (44.26)	133.06 (78.33)	1131.66 (1419.70)
Housing value	376.92 (26.37)	477.29 (38.80)	80.65 (215.81)	2032.11 (5028.27)
Land value	51.28 (186.22)	158.47 (260.91)	544.85 (459.57)	5030.03 (6604.66)
<i>Panel C: Household balance sheet</i>				
Household income, annualized	79.43 (43.80)	135.70 (92.10)	224.96 (85.98)	1023.36 (1634.02)
Net value of household transfers received, annualized	-1.68 (6.81)	-7.43 (13.06)	8.85 (19.11)	130.08 (263.65)
Tax paid, annualized	1.94 (1.28)	-0.09 (2.02)	1.68 (2.02)	16.92 (36.50)
Profits (ag & non-ag), annualized	26.24 (23.67)	35.85 (47.66)	36.37 (44.88)	485.56 (786.92)
Wage earnings, annualized	42.43 (32.23)	73.66 (60.82)	182.63 (65.53)	494.95 (1231.12)

Table 2

TABLE II
INPUT PRICES AND QUANTITIES.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Recipient Households		Non-Recipient Households	Control, Low-Saturation Mean (SD)
	1 (Treat Village) Reduced Form	Total Effect IV	Total Effect IV	
<i>Panel A: Labor</i>				
Hourly wage earned by employees	0.10 (0.03)	0.04 (0.04)	0.19 (0.10)	0.70 (0.89)
Household total hours worked, last 7 days	2.44 (1.71)	1.41 (3.69)	-4.69 (3.17)	63.19 (54.12)
<i>Panel B: Land</i>				
Land price per acre	168.02 (201.18)	366.46 (290.85)	557.44 (412.34)	3952.48 (3147.29)
Acres of land owned	-0.19 (0.14)	-0.10 (0.09)	0.08 (0.10)	1.42 (2.37)
<i>Panel C: Capital</i>				
Loan-weighted interest rate, monthly	-0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.06 (0.07)
Total loan amount	5.53 (4.95)	3.12 (8.34)	6.12 (13.23)	80.57 (204.28)

Table 3

TABLE III
ENTERPRISE OUTCOMES.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Treatment Villages		Control Villages	
	1 (Treat Village) Reduced Form	Total Effect IV	Total Effect IV	Control, Low-Saturation Weighted Mean (SD)
<i>Panel A: All enterprises</i>				
Enterprise profits, annualized	-2.27 (21.42)	55.77 (36.73)	35.08 (37.36)	156.79 (292.84)
Enterprise revenue, annualized	-29.61 (102.74)	322.16 (138.17)	237.16 (112.72)	494.45 (1223.07)
Enterprise costs, annualized	-13.32 (28.63)	89.35 (38.51)	73.08 (46.77)	117.22 (263.46)
Enterprise wage bill, annualized	-15.90 (25.49)	75.99 (30.64)	66.57 (35.86)	97.35 (237.01)
Enterprise profit margin	0.01 (0.02)	-0.11 (0.06)	-0.12 (0.05)	0.33 (0.30)
<i>Panel B: Non-agricultural enterprises</i>				
Enterprise inventory	11.02 (9.14)	34.69 (13.39)	16.90 (10.66)	50.41 (131.86)
Enterprise investment, annualized	4.00 (7.05)	13.58 (13.10)	6.82 (7.96)	46.57 (167.44)
<i>Panel C: Village-level</i>				
Number of enterprises	0.01 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	1.12 (0.14)

Table 4

TABLE IV
OUTPUT PRICES.

		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
		Overall Effects		ATE by Market Access	
		ATE	Average Maximum Effect (AME)	Below Median	Above Median
<i>All goods</i>		0.0010 (0.0006)	0.0042 (0.0031)	0.0017 (0.0009)	0.0007 (0.0007)
<i>By tradability</i>	More tradable	0.0014 (0.0015)	0.0062 (0.0082)	0.0023 (0.0023)	0.0021 (0.0018)
	Less tradable	0.0009 (0.0006)	0.0034 (0.0032)	0.0015 (0.0011)	0.0001 (0.0008)
<i>By sector</i>	Food items	0.0009 (0.0006)	0.0036 (0.0033)	0.0016 (0.0012)	0.0002 (0.0008)
	Non-durables	0.0014 (0.0017)	0.0061 (0.0089)	0.0026 (0.0026)	0.0019 (0.0019)
	Durables	0.0019 (0.0011)	0.0070 (0.0061)	−0.0009 (0.0011)	0.0034 (0.0016)
	Livestock	−0.0008 (0.0010)	−0.0027 (0.0052)	−0.0008 (0.0004)	−0.0017 (0.0020)
	Temptation goods	−0.0011 (0.0026)	−0.0112 (0.0143)	−0.0008 (0.0036)	−0.0003 (0.0035)

Table 5

TABLE V
TRANSFER MULTIPLIER ESTIMATES.

	(1) M Estimate	(2) H ₀ : M < 0 p-Value	(3) H ₀ : M < 1 p-Value
<i>Panel A: Expenditure multiplier</i>	2.58 (1.44)	0.03	0.14
Household non-durable expenditure	1.20 (1.31)	0.18	
Household durable expenditure	0.84 (0.05)	0.00	
Enterprise investment	0.48 (0.43)	0.14	
Enterprise inventory	0.07 (0.03)	0.02	
<i>Panel B: Income multiplier</i>	2.47 (1.71)	0.07	0.20
Enterprise profits	1.68 (1.27)	0.10	
Household wage bill	0.69 (1.09)	0.26	
Enterprise capital income	0.06 (0.17)	0.36	
Enterprise taxes paid	0.04 (0.03)	0.09	
<i>Panel C: Expenditure and income multipliers</i>			
Average of both multipliers	2.52 (1.39)	0.03	0.14
Joint test of both multipliers		0.01	0.07

Transfer Multiplier

