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CHILD SAVINGS ACCOUNTS

A Primer

GLOBAL ASSETS PROJECT

NEW AMERICA FOUNDATION

Executive Summary

Poverty reduction strategies increasingly focus on the importance of creating financial assets. Child Savings Accounts (CSAs) are a novel and promising tool that builds on that focus by promoting savings starting at a young age. Child Savings Accounts (CSAs) exist as policies, products, and programs, and are being offered by governments, financial institutions, and non-profits for a variety of purposes. This primer describes the concept of CSAs, various purposes for and features of the accounts, impacts

CSAs can have on a child's development, and obstacles that impede the widespread provision of the accounts. By highlighting examples of CSA products, programs and policies, we aim to demonstrate the breadth of CSAs offered around the world. The primer also addresses frequently asked questions related to CSA design and delivery as well as provides additional resources for those interested in a deeper knowledge of current research and practice around these accounts.

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Poverty reduction strategies increasingly focus on the importance of creating financial assets. Child Savings Accounts (CSAs) are a novel and promising tool that builds on that focus by promoting savings starting at a young age. This primer describes the concept of CSAs, various purposes for and features of the accounts, impacts CSAs can have on a child’s development, and obstacles that impede the widespread provision of the accounts.

Child Saving Accounts are more than basic savings accounts. CSAs can be offered as a savings account product, policy, or program by financial institutions, governments, or non-profits. While there is no universal CSA model, generally these accounts are designed with one or more features that have the intention of—or potential to—spur the social and/or economic development of children.

The Concept

The idea of using CSAs *explicitly* to spur the social and economic development of children emerged from the conceptual framework of “asset building.” This perspective was initially described by Center for Social Development founder Michael Sherraden in his 1991 book, *Assets and the Poor*.¹ Since then, the paradigm of asset building has taken shape and become a widespread theme in social and economic development in the United States and a number of other countries.

Savings and ownership of financial assets, particularly earlier in life, can not only reduce economic volatility but lead to the accumulation of other financial assets. Savings and asset ownership can also induce positive changes in attitudes and behaviors (such as a future-oriented outlook, long-term planning, and more civic and political engagement in one’s community). Indeed, savings can be of particular value to children from low- and moderate-income populations, those orphaned or vulnerable, and those traditionally disadvantaged and excluded from access to such a “luxury” as a savings account.

Properly designed CSAs have the potential to spur the economic and social development of children from all backgrounds. What distinguishes CSAs from standard savings

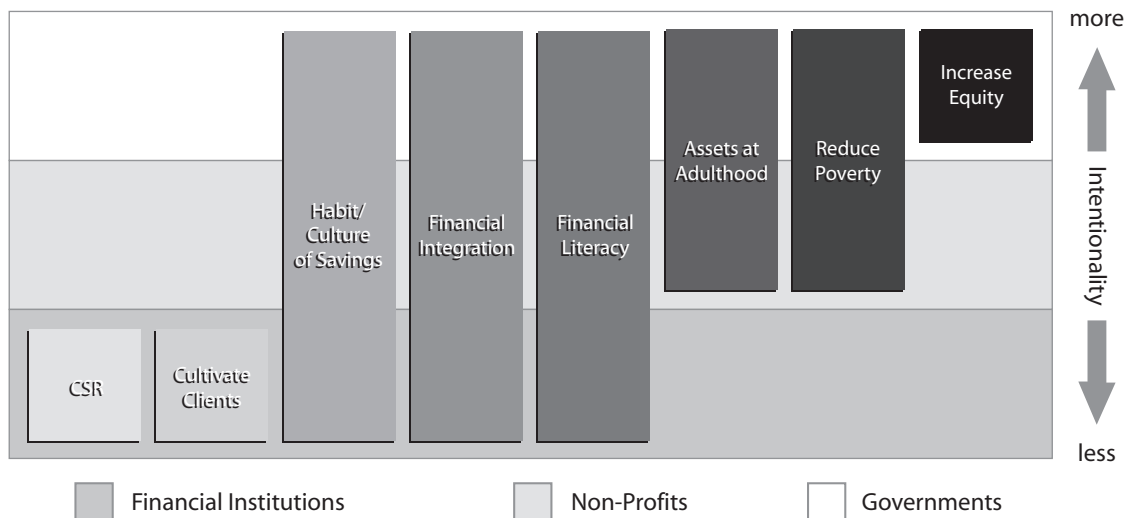
products lies in the degree to which they are designed with *the intention* of facilitating or spurring the social and/or economic development of children. Indeed, in recent years, an increasing number of governments, financial institutions, and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) have started offering CSAs—with varying features and purposes—as policies, products, and programs.

CSA Design

There is no universal model for CSAs. The design of CSAs can vary widely: from simple, low-cost savings products offered by financial institutions to universal, lifelong savings platforms with significant financial incentives offered by governments. Variations in CSA design depend largely on the type of institution offering them, and the institution’s purposes for doing so. Banks may offer CSAs in pursuit of new market opportunities, non-profits may want to test them as part of a new anti-poverty intervention, while governments may want to create a vehicle for economic and social inclusion.

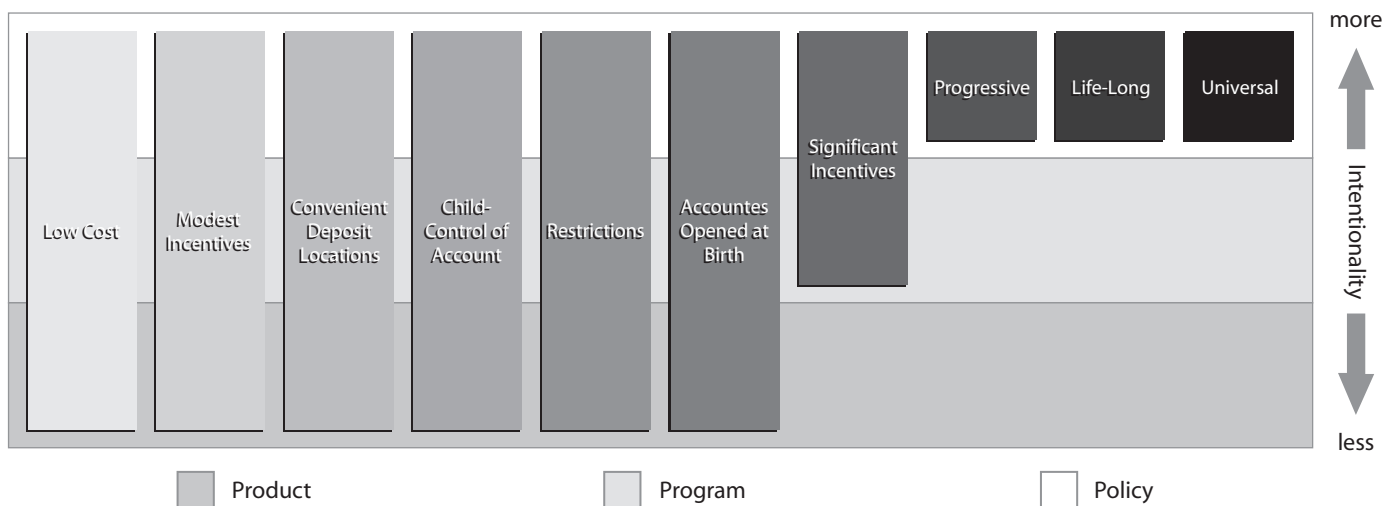
The following figures convey the varying design elements of CSA products, programs, and policies. The first figure illustrates the range of purposes an institution may have for offering CSAs and the type of institution that typically has such purposes. In order to help achieve such purposes, institutions can choose among several features with which to design their CSA product, policy, or program, illustrated in the second box. There is no universal CSA model, and both graphics attempt to portray the potential overlaps in CSA design by the offering institutions and CSA types.

Possible CSA Purposes



- **Satisfying Corporate Social Responsibility:** Bolster a bank’s reputation as a good citizen
- **Cultivating Young People as Clients:** Increase client base, client retention, and long-term client profitability
- **Fostering a Habit of Savings of Young Accountholders:** Increase frequency and amount of deposits, combat over-indebtedness
- **Integrating Young People into the Formal Financial System:** Integrate citizens into financial and social mainstreams, reduce reliance on informal financial services, eliminate need to use predatory financial services
- **Enabling Financial Literacy:** Enable financial decision-making early in a child’s life in order to improve financial literacy throughout a lifetime
- **Ensuring Children Have Financial Assets at Start of Adulthood:** Provide children with a stock of funds to use once they reach adulthood for such purposes as helping to fund additional education, a small-business, a home, and retirement
- **Reducing Poverty:** Decrease inter-generational poverty
- **Increasing Equity and Opportunity in Society:** Narrow the wealth gap, and increase social and economic equity in a society

Possible CSA Features



- **Low Cost:** Allows individuals to open a savings account with a modest amount of money, and maintain modest balances with low or no fees
- **In Kind and Modest Financial Incentives:** Encourages children to open accounts and build balances (e.g. banks awarding accountholders prizes such as mugs or schoolbags if their account balances reach certain levels, banks offering preferential interest rates, and banks holding “lucky draw” lotteries)
- **Convenient Deposit Locations:** Enables more accountholders to make more regular deposits (e.g. banks operating deposit centers at schools, and sending employees to remote areas on motorbikes)
- **Ability of Children to Control the Accounts:** Gives accountholders a better sense of personal identity, and helps protect funds in account against misuse by family members
- **Withdrawal/Usage Restrictions:** Helps promote a disciplined approach to savings (e.g. a bank, government, or non-profit allowing withdrawals only for school or school-related fees, health care expenses of accountholders, homeownership, or microenterprise)
- **Opening of Accounts at Birth:** Increases the uptake of accounts and facilitates early accumulation of a stock of savings for futures of accountholders.
- **Significant Financial Incentives:** Encourages savings, particularly for asset-building activities (e.g. governments “seeding” accounts with a lump sum, and subsequently offering “matches” of deposits made by family and friends of accountholders or the accountholders themselves)
- **Progressivity:** Gives more financial support to those more in need (e.g. a government providing extra seed funding or more generous matches to children from lower-income families)
- **Lifelong Savings Platform:** Encourages healthy savings behavior throughout a lifetime
- **Universality:** Fosters broad-based social development and inclusion in the financial system (e.g. a government providing an account for every newborn born in a locality)

CSA Impacts

Existing research and successful demonstration projects of asset building concepts suggest that CSAs can have a number of economic, social, and psychological effects that promote the development of children, as well as their families, in both the short- and long-term.² Depending on its objectives and mix of features, savings accumulated through CSAs can help children:

- Build a stock of resources that enable future investments (such as continuing education, buying a home, starting a small business, and/or funding retirement);
- Provide a financial cushion, smooth consumption, and protect against economic shocks;
- Improve economic self-sufficiency and stability, educational attainment and health outcomes;
- Enhance psychological well-being (a child may adopt a more hopeful outlook on the future); and
- Have a greater chance of improving overall well-being compared with children without CSAs.

While evidence on such “asset effects” suggests that a CSA could be a versatile and influential tool for economic and social empowerment, there has in fact been little research to date on CSAs as such. Research that has taken place, notably Fred Ssewamala’s research on CSAs in Uganda, offers encouraging evidence.³ Moreover, the Global Assets Project is planning to undertake with partner organizations a multi-year, multi-site project aimed at testing the impact of CSAs on children and their households, as well financial institutions offering such accounts.

Research Spotlight: SEED Uganda

An Experimental Study of the Impact of CSAs in Africa: Fred Ssewamala, a social work professor at Columbia University, has been studying the effects of CSAs on orphaned children in Uganda through an intervention called SEED Uganda. In a study conducted by Ssewamala and co-researchers, some adolescents were given bank accounts (in their own name) while others were not. One year later, the researchers measured changes in the attitudes of both groups. They found that the adolescents given bank accounts had improved both their HIV prevention attitudes and educational plans, while those that were not given bank accounts had decreased scores in these measures. Also, the adolescents given bank accounts had increased aspirations for the future, in contrast to those not given accounts. Adolescents with accounts saved the equivalent of US\$8.85 monthly. With the intervention matching contributions from family and friends of adolescents at a 2:1 rate, the average adolescent with a bank account saved US\$26.55 monthly, or US\$318.60 per year. “This is an impressive amount in a poor country like Uganda, and was sufficient to cover a student’s post-primary education for two years,” the researchers concluded.

Examples of CSAs

CSAs exist as government policies, banking products, and programs run by non-profits, and are offered in a variety of forms globally. Generally, CSA products and programs are more common in developing nations, while CSA policies are more common in developed nations. However, global trends in CSAs indicate that these lines may blur over time. Below are charts showing examples of different CSAs products, programs, and policies offered by banks, NGOs, and governments around the world: ⁴

Examples of CSA Products ⁵				
Institution Name	Institution Type	Target Age	Key Features	Purpose
Co-operative Bank (Kenya)	Cooperative bank	Birth to 18	Low fees; Modest material incentives	Culture/Habit of savings
Equity Bank (Kenya)	Bank	Children to age 18	Limited withdrawals	Cultivate clients; Financial integration
Children's Development Bank (Asia)	NGO	Ages 9–18 (working children)	Low fees	Financial literacy
Government Savings Bank (Thailand)	Public bank	Students in elementary, secondary, high, and vocational schools	Convenient deposit locations	Culture/Habit of savings; CSR
PNG Microfinance (Papua New Guinea)	Microfinance institution	Schoolchildren	Modest financial incentives; Convenient deposit locations	Cultivate clients; Ensure assets into adulthood
National Savings Bank (Sri Lanka)	Government bank	Birth to three months (Kiri Ketu Hapan); "Little ones" to age seven (Puchi Hapan); Ages 7–16 (Hapan)	Low fees; Modest financial incentives; Material incentives	Financial integration
Hatton National Bank (Sri Lanka)	Publicly-listed bank	Newborns (Singithi Kirikatiyo account); Children to age 18 (Minor savings account)	Low fees; Material incentives; Convenient deposit locations; Limited withdrawals	CSR; Cultivate clients

Product Spotlight: Hatton National Bank

Hatton National Bank, a publicly-listed bank in Sri Lanka, offers savings accounts especially targeted toward infants and children.⁶ In general, with infant accounts, which the bank offers at hospitals, “parents and relatives are incentivized to place money in the child’s account instead of offering other gifts such as gold or jewelry...,” Chandula Abeywickrema, an executive at Hatton National Bank has said. In March 2008, Hatton National Bank launched its “Singithi Kirikatiyo” savings scheme. Under the scheme, parents of newborns that open an account by depositing 1,000 Sri Lankan rupees (US\$9.28) will receive a “gift” of 1,000 Sri Lankan rupees from the bank deposited into the account.

More generally, the bank offers savings accounts for children up to age 18. The bank offers children “elephant-shaped till[s]” in order to incentivize savings. To expand its reach, the bank operates deposit centers at schools, managed by students, for young accountholders. Hatton National Bank does not permit withdrawals from a minor’s savings accounts except for “necessities of the minor acceptable to the bank.” The bank sees offering CSAs as part of its responsibility to promote a habit of savings.

CSA Program Examples ⁷				
Institution Name	Institution Type	Target Age	Key Features	Purpose
Sponsor a Child Project of the National Agency for Little Children’s Homes (Senegal)	Government	Birth to six	Significant financial incentives; Limited withdrawals	Poverty reduction
SEED Uganda (Uganda)	Pilot study	Orphaned adolescents	Ability of children to control Accounts; Limited withdrawals; Significant financial incentives	Poverty reduction; Financial integration; Ensuring assets into adulthood
SEED for Oklahoma Kids (Oklahoma) ⁸	Demonstration project	Newborns	Significant financial incentives	Ensuring assets in adulthood
World Vision Ethiopia (Ethiopia) (Planned)	NGO	Ages 4–14	Significant Financial incentives; Limited withdrawals	Poverty reduction; Financial integration

Program Spotlight: World Vision Ethiopia

World Vision Ethiopia—an arm of World Vision International, a development and advocacy non-profit—plans to launch a CSA program for vulnerable children aimed at reducing poverty.⁹ Under the program, World Vision Ethiopia expects to open a savings account for participating children at a local microfinance institution and make yearly deposits into the accounts. The program plans to automatically transfer the equivalent of about US\$15 per child each year into the accounts of children. World Vision will have to approve withdrawals of the funds—which can be for purposes such as funding

education—in order to prevent parents or guardians from exploiting children. By granting money to children over time, as opposed to one lump sum, the program hopes to teach children financial responsibility and stewardship, according to an executive at VisionFund, the microfinance arm of World Vision International. An advantage of the program, according to World Vision, is that since the funds are deposited at a local MFI, they remain in the targeted communities.

CSA Policy Examples ¹⁰				
Institution Name	Institution Type	Target Age	Key Features	Purpose
Oportunidades (Mexico)	Government	Adolescents, roughly ages 15 to 18	Significant financial incentives	Poverty reduction
Caguas (Puerto Rico)	Government	Birth to 18	Universal, Significant financial incentives, Limited withdrawals	Poverty reduction, Ensuring assets into adulthood
Children Development Accounts (Korea)	Government	Birth to 18	Progressive, Significant financial incentives, Limited withdrawals	Socioeconomic equity
Child Trust Fund (United Kingdom)	Government	Birth to 18	Universal, Progressive, Significant financial incentives, Limited withdrawals, Lifelong savings platform option	Culture/Habit of savings, Financial literacy, Ensure assets into adulthood
Baby Bonus and Edusave Schemes (Singapore)	Government	Birth to six (Baby Bonus), Ages six to 16 (Edusave)	Universal (Edusave), Limited withdrawals (Baby Bonus, Edusave), Significant financial incentives (Baby Bonus, Edusave)	Ensure assets into adulthood
KIDS Accounts (United States) (Proposed)	Government	Birth to 18	Universal, Progressive, Significant financial incentives, Limited withdrawals, Lifelong savings platform option	Poverty reduction, Culture/Habit of savings, Financial literacy, Ensure assets into adulthood

Policy Spotlight: Britain's Child Trust Fund

The United Kingdom's Child Trust Fund policy, implemented in 2005, opens an account for every newborn.¹¹ The government mails parents/guardians a £250 voucher upon a child's birth. (Children from lower-income households receive an additional £250). The parent/guardian then takes the voucher to a bank and uses the voucher to open a savings account on behalf of the child. If the parent/guardian does not redeem the voucher after one year, an account is automatically opened on behalf of the child. (Parents/guardians can choose to open a savings account or an account that invests in shares. This decision depends, in part, on their appetite for risk). All accountholders receive a top-up of £250 on their seventh birthday, and accountholders from low-income families receive an additional £250 top-up at this age. Accountholders can begin withdrawing funds from the account only after they turn 18 years old, at which time they can, with some penalties, withdraw the funds for their own use. Alternatively, the accounts will convert into long-term savings plans for the individual. Goals of the Child Trust Fund include helping accountholders understand the benefits of saving and investing, encouraging parents and children to develop a habit of savings, and ensuring that all children have a finance asset at the start of their adult lives.

Obstacles to Wider Provision of CSAs

Several obstacles impede the widespread provision of CSA policies, programs, or products. These obstacles, four of which are explained below, require creative solutions from the banks, governments, and other institutions interested in offering CSAs.

- **The Business Case:** Often CSAs for poor children, particularly in the developing world, are not profitable as stand-alone savings products. Further, the cost of offering incentivizing product features must be matched by increased savings rates or balances. Some banks offering CSAs justify the accounts as a “loss leader” in the short-term, arguing that they are an investment in longer-term client profitability. Despite these challenges, financial institutions are showing creativity in designing CSAs that both spur the development of children and benefit the long-term business interests of financial institutions.

- **Barriers to Access:** In many countries, there are significant physical barriers (such as lack of established bank

branches to receive deposits) and institutional barriers (prohibitive minimums and fees and other regulatory requirements) to access savings services, in particular for children. However, to date, creative efforts to break down these barriers (such as by offering individuals the ability to bank via cell phone and point-of-sale terminals at retailers) are rapidly advancing.

- **Policy Environment:** The reality of scarce resources, large budget deficits and even structural debt impedes political buy-in for new discretionary spending for such policies or programs. However, as experience with existing CSA policies evolves, more countries are interested in finding solutions to allow them to also implement CSA policies. Moreover, as researchers carry out more studies of CSA policies, policymakers will have more data from which to draw lessons.

- **Lack of Information:** Currently, there is limited research on the impact CSAs have on the social and economic development of children. There is also limited research on the “business case” of CSAs for banks, i.e. how banks can create a product that is financially viable for their institution that also spurs the development of the child accountholder. Researchers at institutions including the Center for Social Development, CGAP, and the New America Foundation, among others, are looking into such issues.

CSAs: Frequently Asked Questions

Q: How are they different from “plain vanilla” savings accounts?

A: CSAs are different from “plain vanilla” savings accounts because, unlike such standard accounts, CSAs are designed with the intention of spurring the social and economic development of children.

Q: Are poor people generally too poor to save?

A: A growing body of research shows that even the poor can, and do, save.¹² For example, financial diaries kept by poor people employ various methods—including informal savings (such as in livestock or gold jewelry) and formal savings (such as in bank accounts), to keep their households financially afloat.¹³

Q: Do some countries and/or groups have “cultures” of savings while others less so?

A: There are certainly countries that have much higher per-

sonal savings rates than others. However, researchers have suggested that “institutional factors” play an important role in the accumulation of savings.¹⁴ Institutions can include favorable tax laws (such as interest paid on mortgages being tax deductible), and access to affordable savings products at banks.

Q: Will funding of CSAs from governments come at the expense of funding for basic safety net programs for food, housing, and health care?

A: No, we foresee governments choosing to supplement existing safety-net programs with CSA policies, which encourage long-term wealth accumulation.

Q: How much does it cost to administer a CSA program or policy?

A: Depending on the features, such as matching and seeding or progressivity or universality, costs to administer CSAs can vary widely. Likewise, given relatively small deposits and limited access in some locations, CSAs banking products can also be expensive to deliver. In both cases, governments, non-profits and banks that provide CSAs generally choose to do so because they contend that the long-term economic and/or social benefits (to the institution or to society as a whole) outweigh the cost.

Q: Won't parents just take money in CSAs at some point before their children reach 18 years old?

A: Yes, this is a possibility, depending on the CSA's design. In many countries, it is either law or the custom of banks to not allow children to control their account until they are 18 years old. This being said, there are some CSA policies and products that restrict withdrawals to only those that are used to pay for a child's education or emergency health care. Also, some banks, such as BancoEstado in Chile, allow children to control accounts before age 18 (ages 12 or 14 in BancoEstado's case).

Q: What about children that live in rural areas that don't have easy access to banks?

A: Lack of physical access is a major hurdle that prevents children, and their families, from accessing financial services. Fortunately, advances in technology—especially mobile phone banking and banking through point-of-sale terminals at shops—hold great potential for reducing physical barriers to access. Use of these technologies is growing rapidly in countries such as South Africa, Kenya, and Brazil.

Additional Resources

- Reid Cramer, “The America Savings for Personal Investment, Retirement, and Education Act (“The ASPIRE Act of 2007”): To Provide every newborn with a KIDS Account: Questions and Answers,” October 2007.
- Reid Cramer, “Net Worth at Birth: Creating a System for Savings and Asset Building with Children’s Savings Accounts,” New America Foundation, September 2006.
- Vernon Loke and Michael Sherraden, “Building Assets from Birth: A Global Comparison of Child Development Account Policies,” Center for Social Development, 2008.
- Jeff Meyer, Jamie M. Zimmerman, and Ray Boshara, “Global Trends in Child Savings Accounts,” New America Foundation (forthcoming in 2008).
- Fred M. Ssewamala et al. “A Novel Economic Intervention to Reduce HIV Risks Among School-Going AIDS Orphans in Rural Uganda,” *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 42, 2008.

Notes

1. See: Michael Sherraden, *Assets and the Poor: A new American welfare policy*, Armonk, N.Y., M.E. Sharpe, 1991, Chapter 7.
2. For an introduction to the concept of “asset effects,” see: Michael Sherraden, “Key Questions in Asset Building Research,” Center for Social Development, 1999, at <http://gwbweb.wustl.edu/csd/asset/keyquestions.htm> (accessed June 10, 2008). For an example of a study showing effects of holding assets on health attitudes and educational plans, see: Fred M. Ssewamala et al. “A Novel Economic Intervention to Reduce HIV Risks Among School-Going AIDS Orphans in Rural Uganda,” *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 42, 2008, pp.102–104.
3. See, for example: Fred M. Ssewamala et al. “A Novel Economic Intervention to Reduce HIV Risks Among School-Going AIDS Orphans in Rural Uganda,” *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 42, 2008.
4. The charts below are meant to be illustrative, not an exhaustive list of all products, policies and programs. For more information on CSA purposes and features, see: Jeff Meyer, Jamie M. Zimmerman, and Ray Boshara, “Global Trends in Child Savings Accounts,” New America Foundation, forthcoming in 2008.
5. Information in chart comes from a number of sources, including: Global Assets Project surveys with financial institutions; Co-operative Bank of Kenya’s Jumbo Junior web site, at <http://www.jumbojunior.co.ke/> (accessed June 6, 2008); Butterflies web site, at <http://www.butterflieschildrights.org/developmentBank.asp> (accessed June 9, 2008); Government Savings Bank web site, at http://www.gsb.or.th/social/school_en.php (accessed June 9, 2008); Government Savings Bank, “School-based Banking Project: Government Savings Bank, Thailand,” PowerPoint presentation, no date; Hatton National Bank web site, at <http://www.hnb.net> (accessed June 9, 2008); and The Microfinance Gateway, “Banking on the Future: An Interview with Chandula Abeywickrema from Hatton National Bank in Sri Lanka.” at http://www.microfinancegateway.org/resource_centers/savings/practitioners/_bankingfuture (accessed June 4, 2008).
6. Hatton National Bank web site, at <http://www.hnb.net> (accessed June 9, 2008); and The Microfinance Gateway, “Banking on the Future: An Interview with Chandula Abeywickrema from Hatton National Bank in Sri Lanka.” at http://www.microfinancegateway.org/resource_centers/savings/practitioners/_bankingfuture (accessed June 4, 2008).
7. Information in this chart comes from a number of sources, including: Global Assets Project surveys of institutions; National Agency for the “Case des Tout Petits,” “The ‘Case des Tout-Petits:’ an innovative programme for early childhood development in Senegal”, March 2007; “The Project ‘Sponsor a Child’ (Projet Parrainage Bebe, PPBB-Senegal),” no date. (Document provided by the World Savings Banks Institute in November 2007); Fred M. Ssewamala et al. “A Novel Economic Intervention to Reduce HIV Risks Among School-Going AIDS Orphans in Rural Uganda,” *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 42, 2008, pp.102–104; George Warren Brown School of Social Work, “More than 1,000 Oklahoma Babies Get \$1000 for College Savings,” June 3, 2008, at <http://gwbweb.wustl.edu/newsroom/PressRelease/Pages/ChildDevelopmentAccounts.aspx> (accessed June 9, 2008); SEED for Oklahoma Kids, “SEED for Oklahoma Kids, A Special Opportunity to Save for Your Child: Answers to Frequently Asked Questions,” at www.ok.gov/treasurer/documents/SEEDOK%20FAQ-r.pdf (accessed June 4, 2008); and Michael Sherraden and Margaret Clancy, “SEED for Oklahoma Kids: Summary of Project, Research, and Policy Implications,” Center for Social Development, May 2007.
8. SEED for Oklahoma Kids is part of a larger initiative, Saving for Education, Entrepreneurship, and Downpayment (SEED), “a policy, practice, and research initiative designed to test the efficacy of and inform policy for a national system of asset-building accounts for children and youth.” See the Center for Social Development’s web site, at <http://gwbweb.wustl.edu/csd/SEED/SEED.htm> (accessed June 13, 2008).
9. Information on World Vision Ethiopia’s CSA program comes from an interview with a World Vision executive in November 2007.
10. Information in this chart comes from a number of sources, including: Oportunidades, “Proyecto de Reglas de Operacion Programa De Desarrollo Humano Oportunidades Ejercicio Fiscal 2008,” available at the Oportunidades, at http://www.oportunidades.gob.mx/htmls/reglas_2007.html (accessed June 12, 2008); The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, “Reducing Poverty Sustaining Growth: Scaling Up Poverty Reduction: A Global Learning Process and Conference in Shanghai, May 25–27, 2004: Case Study Summaries,” 2004; Personal correspondence with Sergio Marxuach of the Center for the New Economy, April 2008; Joanisabel Gonzalez, “A Revolution in Child Savings,” *El Nueva Dia*, April 19, 2007 (English translation of Spanish original), link found at <http://www.globalassetsproject.org/resource-center/child->

savings-accounts-caguas-puerto-rico (accessed June 10, 2008); Vernon Loke and Michael Sherraden, “Building Assets from Birth: A Global Comparison of Child Development Account Policies,” Center for Social Development, 2008; Reid Cramer, “The America Savings for Personal Investment, Retirement, and Education Act (“The ASPIRE Act of 2007”): To Provide every newborn with a KIDS Account: Questions and Answers,” October 2007; New America Foundation, “The America Savings for Personal Investment, Retirement, and Education Act (“The ASPIRE Act of 2007”): The Section-by-Section Summary of the Bill,” October 2007; Reid Cramer, “Asset-based Welfare Policy in the U.K.: Findings from the Child Trust Fund and Savings Gateway Initiatives,” New America Foundation, November 2007; Child Trust Fund web site, at <http://www.childtrustfund.gov.uk> (accessed June 4, 2008); and Singapore Baby Bonus web site, at <http://www.babybonus.gov.sg> (accessed June 9, 2008).

11. Information on the United Kingdom’s Child Trust Fund comes from: Vernon Loke and Michael Sherraden, “Building Assets from Birth: A Global Comparison of Child Development Account Policies,” Center for Social Development, 2008; and Reid Cramer, “Asset-based Welfare Policy in the U.K.: Findings From the Child Trust Fund and Savings Gateway Initiatives,” New America Foundation, November 2007.

12. See, for example, the thoughts of Stuart Rutherford, in: The Microfinance Gateway, “Q&A with Stuart Rutherford,” at http://www.microfinancegateway.org/resource_centers/savings/experts/_asktheexpertsno1.

13. See, for example, see research from the Financial Diaries project in South Africa directed by Daryl Collins, at <http://www.financialdiaries.com/>.

14. See: Michael Sherraden, *Assets and the Poor: A new American welfare policy*, Armonk, N.Y., M.E. Sharpe, 1991, Chapter 7.



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