Ethiopia's PSNP - Impacts and Challenges*

Alemayehu Seyoum Taffesse

International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI)

BRACC Resilience Learning Event

11-12 February 2020, Crossroads Hotel, Lilongwe

Outline

- ☐ Objectives and introduction
- ☐ PSNP Context and features
- ☐ Impact the PSNP
 - Approach measurement, impact;
 - Data (focus on the highlands);
 - Findings food security, nutrition, resilience, Local Economy effects;
- ☐ Some Observations

Objectives and Introduction

- □ Objectives highlight some key findings of IFPRI research on PSNP and resilience
- Rigorous and regular evaluation 2006-2014 (until the end of PSNP 3)
 - On-going evaluation of PSNP4 (2016-2020)
 - learn, adjust, redesign;
- Regular evaluation dimensions:
 - Process targeting, payments, implementation capacity, ...
 - Outcomes food insecurity (food gap, food expenditure), asset accumulation (TLU, house quality),
- Other evaluation dimensions:
 - Nutrition (child anthropometry, household diet diversity);
 - Vulnerability and resilience key targets;
 - Local economy (general equilibrium) effects productivity, growth;

Context - Incidence and Impact of Drought

Incidence of Drought in Ethiopia (1965-2015)*

	Drought:
--	----------

- Recurrent;
- Some widespread, others local;
- Appear to increase in frequency (particularly in some parts of the country);
- There are:
 - other weather shocks flooding;
 - non-weather shocks pests, human and animal health, economic, political (including conflict);

	5 · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
Year	Total affected
1965	1,500,000
1969	1,700,000
1973	3,000,000
1983	7,750,000
1987	7,000,000
1989	6,500,000
1997	986,200
1998	
1999	4,900,000
2003	12,600,000
2005	2,600,000
2008	6,400,000
2009	6,200,000
2011	4,805,679
2012	1,000,000
2015	10,200,000

^{*}Source: EM-DAT: The Emergency Events Database - Universite catholique de Louvain (UCL) - CRED, D. Guha-Sapir - www.emdat.be, Brussels, Belgium (Created on: December 03, 2017)

Notes: Affected - People requiring immediate assistance during a period of emergency, i.e. requiring basic survival needs such as food, water, shelter, sanitation and immediate medical assistance

Context - Incidence and Impact of Drought

□ Drought shocks have transitory and long-term impact;

	PSNP Woredas (2008-20016)			
Shocks	Incidence		Impact	
	"Low- lands"	"High- lands"	"Low- lands"	"High- lands"
Drought	56.3	45.8		
Loss of household income			25.7	34.9
Reduction in household consumption			25.4	32.8
Pests or diseases that affected livestock	23.2	8.4		
Loss of household income			22.0	32.6
Reduction in household consumption			23.7	12.6

Source: Authors' calculation using PSNP Surveys (2010-2016) data.

Incidence and Impact of Drought

□ Evidence of longer-term effects based on the 1984/85 drought/famine - Dercon (2004), Dercon and Porter (2014), Tafere (2017);

Economic growth, child height, child health, cognitive and non cognitive abilities

- 10% lower rainfall today associated with 1 percentage point decline in growth about 4–5 years later;
- Greater severity associated with worse outcomes about 16 percentage points lower growth (Note: average CV of rainfall high);
- affected children aged 12-36 months are significantly shorter, by at least 5 cm, as adults (20 years later);
- Second generation Mothers' exposure to famine in early childhood has a negative effect on their children's health (height-for-age zscores), cognitive (number of years of schooling) and non-cognitive (locus of control) human capital;

Response to drought shocks

- ☐ Response has evolved over time, still is;
- □ Relief annual appeals system, shortcomings (delay, lack of predictability);
- ☐ PSNP coordinated, multi-year, predictable, 'productive'
- ☐ Part of comprehensive development planning;
- ☐ Broad social protection agenda;

The PSNP - Features

- ☐ The PSNP Objectives and Components
 - aims to smooth consumption (protect assets) through transfers in chronically food insecure communities (targeting)
 - has two components: Public Works (PWs) and Direct Support (DS);
 - builds community assets soil and water conservation (SWC), irrigation, roads, schools, clinics... through PWs projects
- \Box The PSNP Size
 - Large up to 8 million beneficiaries; Cost US\$1.5 billion (2005-09);
 US\$2.1 billion (2010-14)
 - Multi-year, multi-donor coordination between GoE and donors;
- \Box The PSNP M&E
 - independent and collaborative monitoring and evaluation in the design;

Note: PSNP has fewer interventions than BRACC, but much larger

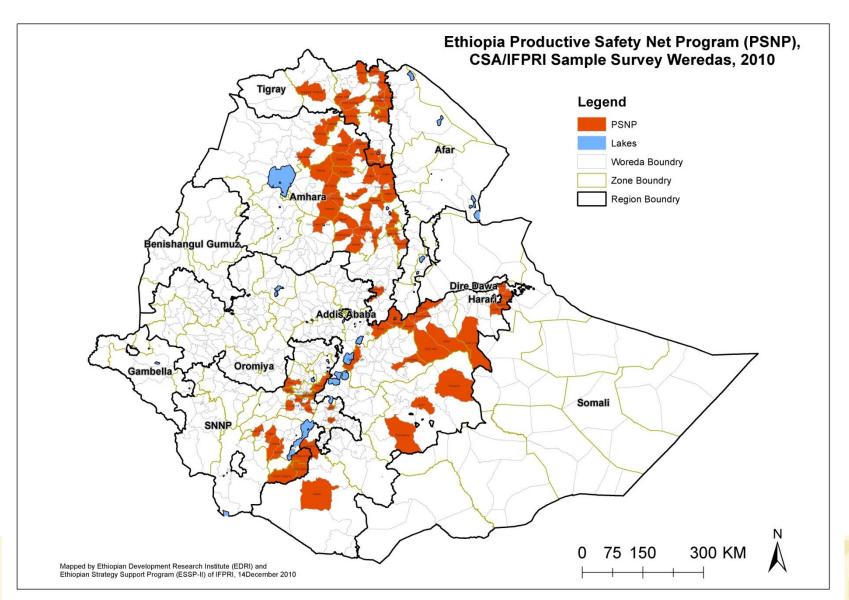
The PSNP - Impact Summary

- □ **Food security** improved food security, as measured by the **food gap**, particularly in the highlands;
- □ Disincentive effects:
 - does not reduce labour supply,
 - does not appear to crowd out private transfers.
- □ *Livelihoods and asset creation* mixed evidence;
- □ *Economy-wide effects* the benefits of PSNP significantly exceed the cost of PSNP transfers due to multipliers via local and national markets;

Data: Highlands (Tigray, Amhara, Oromiya, SNNP)

- □ "Core" data a panel of households (beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries) in 68 *woredas* in Tigray, Amhara, Oromiya and SNNP interviewed in 2006, 2008, 2010, 2012 and 2014;
- ☐ Significant effort to minimize attrition:
 - 3,670 hh in 2006; 3,091 hh in 2014.
 - Attrition rate of 15.8% (including 100 hh where *woreda* was dropped) or 1.7% p.a. (better than US Census Bureau)
- ☐ Major effort to ensure comparability over time:
 - Survey fielded at approximately same time of year
 - Core questions, enumerator training etc. not changed
 - Core team (JH, AS, YY) involved since 2006
- ☐ But no "non-PSNP *kebeles*"; therefore cannot quantitatively assess impact of public works; also, first survey occurred one year after PSNP began;

Data: Highlands



Data and Approach: Highlands

□ *Additions to core*:

- quantitative data at the *kebele* (since 2006) and *woreda* (since 2010) levels
 - o *Woreda* data focuses on resources needed to implement PSNP and HABP; data on payment processes
 - o *Kebele* data focuses on local infrastructure and implementation of PSNP and HABP
- qualitative data and analysis FGDs, KII, Case histories ... at the regional, and selected woreda and kebele levels

□ Approaches

- matching and difference-in-difference;
- instrumental-Variables Household Fixed Effects estimator;
- No RCT (now with LT programme);

Impact of PSNP on Child Nutrition

- □ PSNP improved household level (calorie) availability and food security as well as dietary diversity at the household level.
- □ Improvements were not seen at the child level.
 - Little change in child nutritional outcomes due to PSNP;
 - Child diet quality remains poor.
- ☐ Missing link nutrition knowledge of mothers and the household at large:
 - Mother had limited contact with health extension workers;
 - Mother had received little information on good feeding practices;
 - Poor hygiene and water practices observed
- ☐ The new PSNP (PSNP 4) aims to achieve some of these by linking some of these nutrition knowledge components with the PSNP;

Impact of PSNP on Resilience

- ☐ Multiple conceptualisations of resilience and vulnerability;
- □ Resilience
 - a *recovery trajectory* following a specific shock.
 - an *ex-post* approach (study reported below):
- ☐ Impact of PSNP
 - beneficiaries recover after no more than 2 years, rather than taking up to four years) – resilience;
 - Considerable food gap remains;

Impact of PSNP on the Local Economy

- □ PSNP has two components: Transfers (T) and Community assets via Public Works (PW)
 - Community assets Soil and water conservation (SWC), Irrigation, Roads, Schools, Clinics...
- ☐ Most evaluation focuses on recipient households
 - But impacts may spread far beyond recipients:
 - Cash Recipients spend their money within their economy;
 - Public works affect agro-ecological and economic environment;
- ☐ Implication
 - Need to evaluate the FULL impact;
 - Full impacts locally, and nationwide

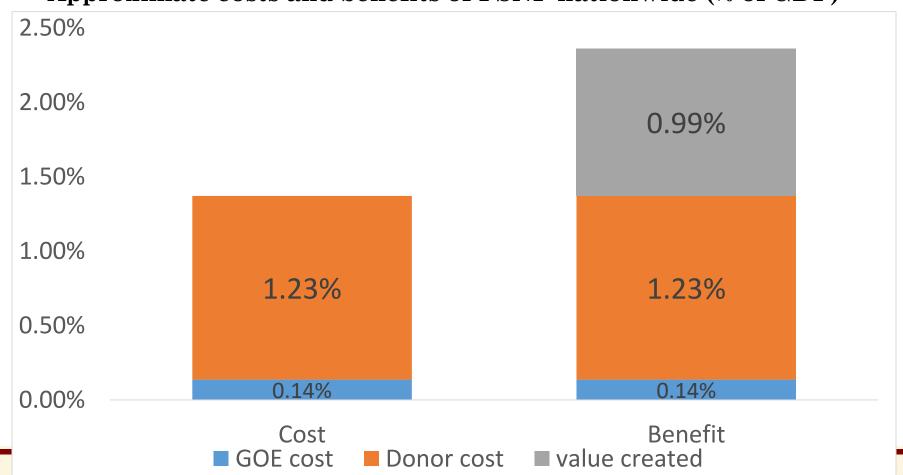
Impact of the PSNP on Productivity and Growth

- \Box *Yield growth*:
 - PSNP-related SWC infrastructures enhanced crop yields by 2.8 percent on average (econometric analysis);
- □ Local Economy Impact:
 - PSNP generated income multipliers ranging from 1 to 2.4
 ETB per ETB transferred depending on the *kebele* (eight LEWIE models);

Impact of PSNP on the Local Economy

□ National Economy Impact: CGE estimates

Approximate costs and benefits of PSNP nationwide (% of GDP)



☐ Significant productivity and growth challenges continue;

The PSNP4

- □ *PSNP4* is more nutrition sensitive
 - Increasing nutrition sensitive targeting PLW, malnourished children;
 - Improve Knowledge, Attitude and Practices (KAP) of nutrition-related behaviour through BCC and WASH
 - other innovations social workers, …
- □ Livelihood improvements livelihoods component (with a livelihoods transfer 'scale-up'), *a variant of the graduation model*;

The PSNP - Challenges

- ☐ Targeting geographic and community
 - This proved problematic in the *lowlands*;
- ☐ Timeliness of payments much improved, some weaknesses continue;
- ☐ Graduation difficult, less understood;
- □ Sustainability resources, coverage; increasing role of GoE in financing;
- □ Considerable food security and vulnerability remains even with PSNP:
- ☐ PSNP4 and ongoing evaluation
 - nutrition sensitive, livelihoods component (with a livelihoods transfer 'scale-up'), other innovations (TDS, Social workers, ...)
 - further successes and lessons expected;

The PSNP - Challenges

☐ Considerable vulnerability remains;

Two examples:

- Up to 75% more vulnerable people in drylands in 2030 (2010=100, medium fertility scenario)
- Child Stunting;

China Stanting,							
	Stunting Incidence among Children Under 5 (%)						
	2005			3			
AEZ zone	Non-PSNP	PSNP	Non-PSNP	PSNP			
Drought prone	46	47	37	33			
Pastoralist	50	60	35	34			

Source: Authors' calculation using DHS (2005-2016) data. AEZ classification as earlier presentations.

- PSNP as a platform for response to shocks (relief delivery);
- Broader point: "Emergency is a failure of development"

The PSNP - Messages

- □ Large social protection programme can be operated in a poor country, even without means-tested targeting;
- □ Commitment indispensable GoE (at different levels), development partners;
- ☐ Independent, rigorous, and regular evaluation vital;
- ☐ Genuine dialogue, learning and redesign essential;
- □ **Complementarity** addressing emergency, enhancing resilience, and promoting development

References

Evaluation Reports – 2006, 2008, 2010, 2012, 2014 (years evaluation conducted)

Journ	al	Ar	tic	les
ooui ii	ω		$\nu \nu \nu$	$\iota \mathbf{co}$

- □ Berhane et. al (2014). *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, volume 63:1, 2014, pages 1-26.
- □ Hoddinott, et. al (2012). *Journal of African Economies*, Volume 21, Issue 5, pp.761-786.
- ☐ Gilligan, Hoddinott, and Taffesse (2009). *Journal of Development Studies*, Volume <u>45</u>, Issue 10, 2009, pp. 1684–1706.

Book chapters

- □ Hoddinott and Taffesse (2019)." chapter 24 in Cheru, Fantu, Christopher Cramer, and Arkebe Oqubay (eds.) (2019). *The Oxford Handbook of the Ethiopian Economy*, Oxford University Press.
- □ Hoddinott et. al (2013) in Rahmato, Dessalegn, Alula Pankrust, and Jan-Gerrit van Uffelen, Food Security, Safety Nets and Social Protection in Ethiopia, Forum for Social Studies.
- □ Coll-Black et. al (2012) in Dorosh, Paul, and Shahidur Rashid (eds.), Food and Agriculture in Ethiopia: Progress and Policy Challenges, University of Pennsylvania Press (in collaboration with IFPRI).
- Hoddinott, Gilligan, and Taffesse (2010) in Sudhanshu Handa, Stephen Devereux, and Doug Webb, eds. *Social Protection for Africa's Children*, (Routledge).

Thank You