

ESSN - IE

ICDE 2021

Context

Program
details

Sample and
data

Threats to
identification

Non-random
assignment

Attrition

Program eligibility

SUTVA violation

Results

Conclusion

Children on the move: Progressive Redistribution of Humanitarian Cash Transfers among Refugees

Berk Özler Çiğdem Çelik Scott Cunningham
Facundo Cuevas Luca Parisotto

January 4, 2022

Overview

ESSN - IE

ICDE 2021

Context

Program
details

Sample and
data

Threats to
identification

Non-random
assignment

Attrition

Program eligibility

SUTVA violation

Results

Conclusion

- 1 Context
- 2 Program details
- 3 Sample and data
- 4 Threats to identification
 - Non-random assignment
 - Attrition
 - Program eligibility
 - SUTVA violation
- 5 Results
- 6 Conclusion

Overview

ESSN - IE

ICDE 2021

Context

Program
details

Sample and
data

Threats to
identification

Non-random
assignment

Attrition

Program eligibility

SUTVA violation

Results

Conclusion

- 1 Context
- 2 Program details
- 3 Sample and data
- 4 Threats to identification
 - Non-random assignment
 - Attrition
 - Program eligibility
 - SUTVA violation
- 5 Results
- 6 Conclusion

Context of the evaluation

ESSN - IE

ICDE 2021

Context

Program
details

Sample and
data

Threats to
identification

Non-random
assignment

Attrition

Program eligibility
SUTVA violation

Results

Conclusion

- More than 6.6 million people fled Syria since the civil war began in 2011. Turkey is currently home to nearly 3.6 million Syrian refugees.
- The vast majority of refugees work in informal low-wage jobs, they have access to public services (health and education) but coverage gaps remain.
- The Emergency Social Safety Net (ESSN) was co-implemented by the Turkish Government, World Food Program (WFP), and Turkish Red Crescent (TRC).
- The ESSN disburses unconditional cash transfers, and is currently supporting 1.7 million refugees across Turkey.

Overview

ESSN - IE

ICDE 2021

Context

Program
details

Sample and
data

Threats to
identification

Non-random
assignment

Attrition

Program eligibility

SUTVA violation

Results

Conclusion

- 1 Context
- 2 Program details
- 3 Sample and data
- 4 Threats to identification
 - Non-random assignment
 - Attrition
 - Program eligibility
 - SUTVA violation
- 5 Results
- 6 Conclusion

The ESSN Program

ESSN - IE

ICDE 2021

Context

Program
details

Sample and
data

Threats to
identification

Non-random
assignment

Attrition

Program eligibility
SUTVA violation

Results

Conclusion

- A household is eligible for the ESSN if it meets at least one of the following demographic criteria:
 - 1 Dependency ratio ≤ 1.5
 - 2 Families with ≥ 4 children
 - 3 Single female households (*NOT female headed*)
 - 4 Elderly headed households
 - 5 Single parent households (*male or female*)
 - 6 Households with one member at least 40% disabled

- Eligible households are assigned a debit card (Kızılaycard) through which they can access their assistance, which consists of:
 - 1 Monthly transfers of 120TRY per person (\$62.7 2011 PPP),
 - 2 Quarterly top ups that depend on household size (250 TRY for ≤ 4 hh members, 150 TRY for 5-8 members, and 50 TRY for > 9 members).

The ESSN program

ESSN - IE

ICDE 2021

Context

Program
details

Sample and
data

Threats to
identification

Non-random
assignment

Attrition

Program eligibility
SUTVA violation

Results

Conclusion

- The ESSN is integrated into Turkey's social protection infrastructure.
- ESSN applications are then processed through the "*Integrated Social Assistance System*" (ISAS), which integrates data from more than 20 public institutions and can instantly verify a households' eligibility.
- All applicant households are also checked against meeting the eligibility criteria on a recurring monthly basis. Social workers are expected to make household visits within a year of application to verify information.
- Once a household is registered, it can be difficult to change the data on the application, e.g. adding new household members.

Overview

ESSN - IE

ICDE 2021

Context

Program
details

Sample and
data

Threats to
identification

Non-random
assignment

Attrition

Program eligibility

SUTVA violation

Results

Conclusion

- 1 Context
- 2 Program details
- 3 Sample and data**
- 4 Threats to identification
 - Non-random assignment
 - Attrition
 - Program eligibility
 - SUTVA violation
- 5 Results
- 6 Conclusion

Study sample and data

ESSN - IE

ICDE 2021

Context

Program
details

Sample and
data

Threats to
identification

Non-random
assignment

Attrition

Program eligibility

SUTVA violation

Results

Conclusion

- A random sample of 8,690 households, stratified by 5 regions, was drawn from the pool of ESSN applicants.
- The baseline survey was launched in Feb. 2017, after the decision on households' eligibility was made but before households knew their eligibility status and before any assistance was provided.
 - Transfers started immediately after the baseline survey.
 - Three follow-up panel surveys were collected at 6-month intervals.
- All surveys were phone surveys, designed by WFP with inputs from the World Bank and collected by TRC call centers.

Overview

ESSN - IE

ICDE 2021

Context

Program
details

Sample and
data

Threats to
identification

Non-random
assignment

Attrition

Program eligibility

SUTVA violation

Results

Conclusion

- 1 Context
- 2 Program details
- 3 Sample and data
- 4 Threats to identification**
 - Non-random assignment
 - Attrition
 - Program eligibility
 - SUTVA violation
- 5 Results
- 6 Conclusion

Non-random assignment

- We estimate program impacts using Inverse Probability Weighting.
- Because of the sharp eligibility cutoff, our identification strategy relies on registration *mistakes*. Eligibility p-score

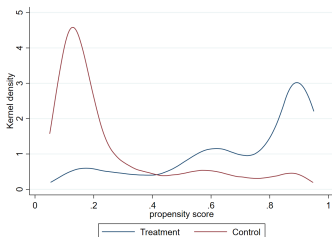


Figure 1: Propensity score density

Variable	Before IPW			After IPW		
	Treatment Mean	Control Mean	T-C (p-val)	Treatment Mean	Control Mean	T-C (p-val)
Household size	6.46	5.25	0.00	5.97	5.95	0.85
Dependency Ratio	1.67	0.85	0.00	1.26	1.26	0.87
Children 0-5 years old	1.32	0.94	0.00	1.10	1.11	0.68
Children 6-17 years old	2.31	1.10	0.00	1.72	1.76	0.55
Adults 18-59 years old	2.60	2.99	0.00	2.87	2.83	0.45
Adults 60+ years old	0.23	0.22	0.72	0.28	0.25	0.17
Female headed HHs	0.30	0.21	0.00	0.25	0.28	0.16
FCS	57.41	57.98	0.24	57.39	57.38	0.99
rCSI	14.77	11.76	0.00	13.28	12.79	0.26
LCSI	5.02	4.29	0.00	4.67	4.74	0.62
Per capita monthly exp.	247.23	305.45	0.00	272.34	275.58	0.57
Prop. children in school	0.50	0.48	0.17	0.47	0.47	0.97
N	3636	4109		3636	4109	

Table 1: Balance at baseline

Attrition

ESSN - IE

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Context

Program
details

Sample and
data

Threats to
identification

Non-random
assignment

Attrition

Program eligibility
SUTVA violation

Results

Conclusion

- Our study suffers from high and differential attrition.
 - Fan reg.
 - Reg. table
 - 27%, 33%, and 47% of households in the control group were lost to follow-up at the 6-, 12-, and 18-month follow-ups, respectively.
 - Attrition is higher in the control group, by 6-7 percentage points.
 - and it is positively correlated with the propensity score, such that it is highest for more vulnerable control HH (i.e. with high propensity scores).
- For this reason, in the paper we present bounds on ALL impact estimates.

Program eligibility

ESSN - IE

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Context

Program
details

Sample and
data

Threats to
identification

Non-random
assignment

Attrition

Program eligibility

SUTVA violation

Results

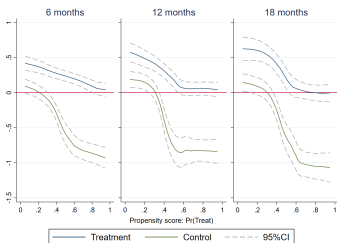
Conclusion

- Throughout the analysis, the treatment and control groups are determined by eligibility at baseline.
- Households' eligibility for the ESSN is not fixed over time.
 - 21% of baseline ineligible (control) households became eligible by 6 months, this reached 37% and 42% at 12 and 18 months
 - The effective difference in eligibility declines to 72% to 44% to 37% at the 6, 12, and 18-months follow-ups.

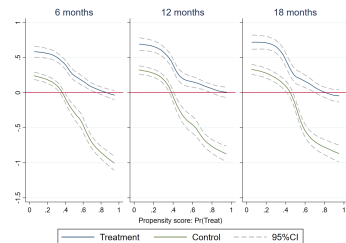
Reg. table

SUTVA violation

- There is a movement of children from better-off to less well-off households.



(a) Total household size



(b) Children aged 0-17

Figure 2: Changes in HH comp. since baseline by propensity score

Regression table

Sending & receiving HH char.

Sending & receiving elig.

Conclusion

Overview

ESSN - IE

ICDE 2021

Context

Program
details

Sample and
data

Threats to
identification

Non-random
assignment

Attrition

Program eligibility

SUTVA violation

Results

Conclusion

- 1 Context
- 2 Program details
- 3 Sample and data
- 4 Threats to identification
 - Non-random assignment
 - Attrition
 - Program eligibility
 - SUTVA violation
- 5 Results**
- 6 Conclusion

Trends in household consumption

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ICDE 2021

Context

Program
details

Sample and
data

Threats to
identification

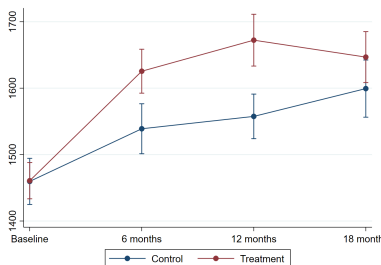
Non-random
assignment

Attrition

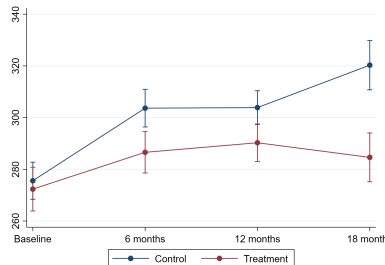
Program eligibility
SUTVA violation

Results

Conclusion



(a) Total cons.



(b) Per capita cons.

Figure 3: Trends in household consumption expenditure, 2017 TRY.

Total stock of debt

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Context

Program
details

Sample and
data

Threats to
identification

Non-random
assignment
Attrition
Program eligibility
SUTVA violation

Results

Conclusion

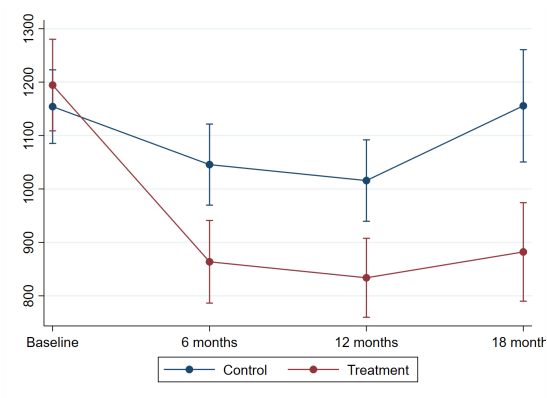


Figure 4: Trends in total stock of debt, 2017 TRY.

WFP Food Consumption Score

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Context

Program
details

Sample and
data

Threats to
identification

Non-random
assignment

Attrition

Program eligibility

SUTVA violation

Results

Conclusion

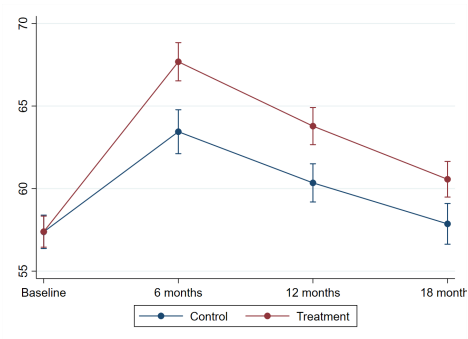


Figure 5: Trends in WFP Food Consumption Score, raw index.

FCS

WFP coping strategies indices

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Context

Program
details

Sample and
data

Threats to
identification

Non-random
assignment

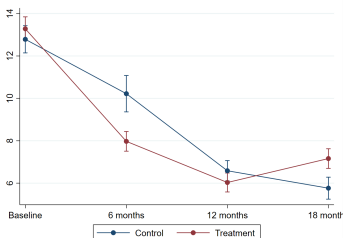
Attrition

Program eligibility

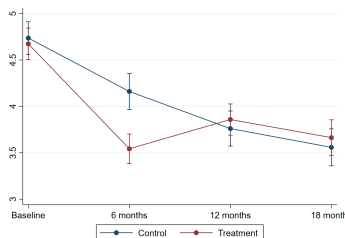
SUTVA violation

Results

Conclusion



(a) Reduced CSI



(b) Livelihoods CSI

Figure 6: Trends in WFP coping strategies indices, raw indices.

rCSI

LCSI

Schooling

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ICDE 2021

Context

Program
details

Sample and
data

Threats to
identification

Non-random
assignment

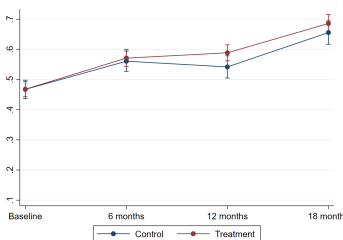
Attrition

Program eligibility

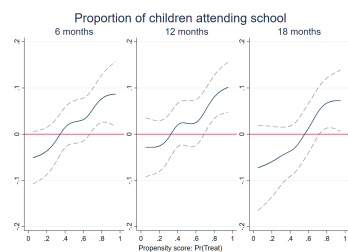
SUTVA violation

Results

Conclusion



(a) Trends



(b) Impact heterogeneity

Figure 7: Proportion of children attending school.

Decline in poverty and inequality

ESSN - IE

ICDE 2021

Context

Program
details

Sample and
data

Threats to
identification

Non-random
assignment

Attrition

Program eligibility

SUTVA violation

Results

Conclusion

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	
	FGT(0)	GE (0)	GE (1)	Gini	N
Baseline					
Overall	0.250	0.113	0.108	0.257	7745
Control	0.250	0.116	0.111	0.261	4109
Treatment	0.250	0.109	0.105	0.252	3636
6 months					
Overall	0.151	0.082	0.078	0.218	5840
Control	0.140	0.086	0.080	0.222	2978
Treatment	0.162	0.077	0.075	0.212	2862
12 months					
Overall	0.119	0.062	0.064	0.197	5494
Control	0.109	0.065	0.067	0.201	2745
Treatment	0.129	0.059	0.061	0.192	2749
18 months					
Overall	0.132	0.076	0.076	0.215	4447
Control	0.102	0.075	0.074	0.213	2184
Treatment	0.159	0.073	0.075	0.212	2263

Note: Column 1 contains the Foster-Greer-Thorbecke poverty index FGT() with $\alpha=0$, i.e. the poverty headcount; columns 2 and 3 contain inequality indices derived from the generalized entropy index GE() with $\alpha=0$ in column 1, i.e. the mean log deviation index, and $\alpha=1$ in column 2, i.e. the Theil index; these indices using the international poverty line of \$3.20 (2011 PPP); Column 4 contains the Gini index; Column 5 shows the row sample size; Indices in the Overall row are for the full sample while Control and Treatment rows show the indices derived within each sample.

Cumulative distribution of consumption per capita

ESSN - IE

ICDE 2021

Context

Program
details

Sample and
data

Threats to
identification

Non-random
assignment

Attrition

Program eligibility

SUTVA violation

Results

Conclusion

Table

Overview

ESSN - IE

ICDE 2021

Context

Program
details

Sample and
data

Threats to
identification

Non-random
assignment

Attrition

Program eligibility

SUTVA violation

Results

Conclusion

- 1 Context
- 2 Program details
- 3 Sample and data
- 4 Threats to identification
 - Non-random assignment
 - Attrition
 - Program eligibility
 - SUTVA violation
- 5 Results
- 6 Conclusion

Conclusion

ESSN - IE

ICDE 2021

Context

Program
details

Sample and
data

Threats to
identification

Non-random
assignment

Attrition

Program eligibility

SUTVA violation

Results

Conclusion

- The program led to improvements in total consumption and food security within 6 months of transfers starting, in Treatment and Control - the latter due to shedding hh members.
- These impacts dissipate over time:
 - 1 Control households gaining eligibility;
 - 2 and the possibility of the program crowding out labor market earnings.

Policy implications

ESSN - IE

ICDE 2021

Context

Program
details

Sample and
data

Threats to
identification

Non-random
assignment

Attrition

Program eligibility

SUTVA violation

Results

Conclusion

- While our results indicate a large reduction in poverty and inequality, which reflects households optimizing under given circumstances, this churn is unlikely to be optimal.
- A first-best policy implication of these findings would be to increase coverage, but a budget neutral improvement could be achieved by reducing transfer size to accommodate increased coverage.
- Universal child support grants (and old age pensions) could allow all refugee households to adequately support children (and elderly), while cash transfers for able-bodied adults could be targeted to the most vulnerable.

ESSN - IE

ICDE 2021

Context

Program
details

Sample and
data

Threats to
identification

Non-random
assignment

Attrition

Program eligibility

SUTVA violation

Results

Conclusion

Thank you!

ESSN - IE

ICDE 2021

Context

Program
details

Sample and
data

Threats to
identification

Non-random
assignment

Attrition

Program eligibility

SUTVA violation

Results

Conclusion

Appendix

Balance across propensity scores

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	Quintiles of Pr(Treat)									
	Quintile 1		Quintile 2		Quintile 3		Quintile 4		Quintile 5	
	Control Mean/SD	(T)-(C)	Control Mean/SD	(T)-(C)	Control Mean/SD	(T)-(C)	Control Mean/SD	(T)-(C)	Control Mean/SD	(T)-(C)
Household size	4.59 (2.34)	0.46**	4.79 (2.11)	0.41**	6.08 (3.26)	-0.05	6.62 (3.17)	-0.27	7.38 (3.21)	-0.31
Dependency ratio	0.44 (0.37)	0.08**	0.75 (0.36)	0	1.02 (0.52)	0.06**	1.65 (0.74)	-0.06	2.2 (0.82)	0.05
Children 0-5 yrs	0.51 (0.76)	-0.1	1.02 (0.99)	-0.07	1.21 (1.45)	0.01	1.31 (1.48)	0	1.43 (1.59)	0.09
Children 6-17 yrs	0.59 (0.99)	0.09	0.8 (1.08)	0.11	1.45 (1.41)	0.12	2.28 (1.63)	-0.09	3.34 (1.87)	-0.2
Adults 18-59 yrs	3.25 (1.68)	0.23	2.82 (1.50)	0.23**	3.16 (2.03)	-0.16*	2.68 (1.77)	-0.07	2.38 (1.39)	-0.13
Elderly 60+	0.25 (0.61)	0.23***	0.15 (0.53)	0.14***	0.27 (0.67)	-0.03	0.35 (0.83)	-0.10**	0.24 (0.70)	-0.06
Female headed HH	0.02 (0.19)	-0.01**	0.15 (0.42)	0.06*	0.42 (0.58)	-0.03	0.42 (0.62)	-0.08**	0.35 (0.63)	-0.08
FCS	58.84 (21.17)	-2.76	57.72 (21.57)	0.93	58.13 (21.13)	-0.63	57.29 (23.30)	-0.11	55.43 (23.03)	2.11
rCSI	8.62 (9.85)	0.3	12.31 (13.59)	0.42	13.85 (15.05)	-1	14.08 (15.94)	0.93	14.51 (14.21)	2.05*
LCSI	3.88 (3.49)	0.16	4.05 (3.12)	0.1	4.62 (3.63)	-0.03	5.07 (3.84)	-0.02	5.82 (3.88)	-0.38
Total monthly expenditure	1498.07 (722.58)	-60.09	1352.17 (606.14)	76.68*	1475.28 (719.28)	17.99	1471.07 (714.12)	-5.2	1506.8 (828.71)	-38.02
Per capita monthly exp.	362.96 (199.05)	-37.65**	302.82 (149.41)	3.41	268.23 (144.96)	3.49	237.49 (111.71)	12.26*	222.33 (160.83)	-6.38
Proportion of children attending school	0.33 (0.54)	-0.07	0.55 (0.54)	-0.07	0.52 (0.53)	-0.12***	0.47 (0.53)	0.11***	0.44 (0.51)	0.06
F-test (F-stat)		2.68***		2.53***		1.51*		2.50***		2.63***
N (Treat)		134		237		750		1132		1383
N (Control)		1415		1312		799		417		166
N		1549		1549		1549		1549		1549

Notes: significance level p_i 0.01 - ***; 0.05 - **; 0.1 - *; "(C-T)" columns show the differences in the means across groups; sample limited to household with children for schooling outcomes; F-test of joint-orthogonality excludes schooling outcomes; all expenditure in 2017 TRY and winsorized at the 99th percentile.

back

Eligibility per propensity score

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			Quintiles of Pr(Treat)					
			Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Total
HH is eligible for transfers								
Treatment	(%)	0.3	2.7	59	100	100	54.5	
	N	134	237	750	1132	1383	3636	
Control	(%)	0	0.1	46.4	100	100	51.7	
	N	1415	1312	799	417	166	4109	

Notes: This table shows the fraction and number of households who would be eligible for transfers based on (baseline) survey data by actual eligibility as defined by ESSN program administrators' review of households' applications; percentages are weighted by population weights and inverse propensity weights.

Table 2: Predicted eligibility by propensity score

back

Attrition

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	Household lost to follow-up at:		
	6 months (1)	12 months (2)	18 months (3)
Treatment	-0.0581*** (0.0169)	-0.0736*** (0.0180)	-0.0725*** (0.0193)
Propensity score	0.0416 (0.0457)	0.00738 (0.0472)	0.0744 (0.0498)
Treatment X Propensity score	-0.105* (0.0602)	-0.0608 (0.0640)	-0.185*** (0.0685)
Control group mean	0.275	0.332	0.468
F-test (F-stat. / p-value)	12.753 0.001	25.655 0.000	13.979 0.000
N	7,745	7,745	7,745

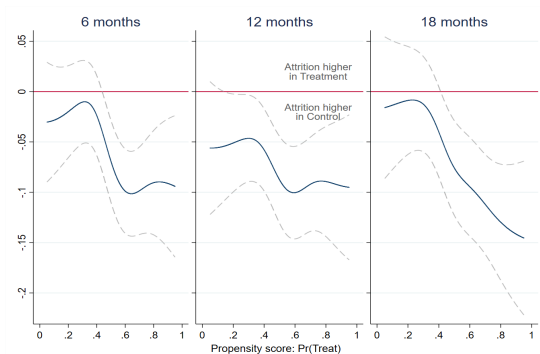
Notes: significance level $p < 0.01$ ***, 0.05 ** , 0.1 *; Robust standard errors in parentheses; the propensity score is centered by subtracting the sample mean; all regressions include strata dummies ($n=5$) and sampling weights.

Back

Attrition

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Notes: Each figure above shows the Fan (1992) locally weighted impact estimates of treatment on attrition rates by propensity score and 95% CI (in dashed lines), bandwidth=.4; regressions include strata dummies; robust standard errors used to calculate CIs.

Figure 8: Treatment effect on attrition per propensity score

Back

Changes in program eligibility

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	Control mean (SD)	(1) Lee (-)	Lower bounds (2) (+/-) .25 SD	(3) (+/-) .1 SD	Unadjusted (4)	(5) (-/+) .1 SD	Upper bounds (6) (-/+) .25 SD	(7) Lee (+)
HH is receiving ESSN transfers								
6 months	0.21 (0.41)	0.73*** (0.02)	0.69*** (0.01)	0.72*** (0.01)	0.73*** (0.02)	0.75*** (0.01)	0.77*** (0.01)	0.79*** (0.01)
12 months	0.37 (0.48)	0.44*** (0.02)	0.38*** (0.01)	0.42*** (0.01)	0.45*** (0.02)	0.47*** (0.01)	0.51*** (0.02)	0.53*** (0.02)
18 months	0.42 (0.49)	0.36*** (0.02)	0.28*** (0.01)	0.34*** (0.01)	0.37*** (0.02)	0.42*** (0.01)	0.48*** (0.01)	0.44*** (0.02)
Transfer amount received last month, reported by HH								
6 months	165.31 (334.03)	455.99*** (15.34)	459.02*** (11.67)	483.96*** (11.68)	497.70*** (15.81)	517.22*** (11.80)	542.16*** (11.95)	543.60*** (15.43)
12 months	264.05 (371.32)	262.52*** (16.46)	267.42*** (12.25)	301.18*** (12.31)	322.36*** (17.40)	346.19*** (12.53)	379.95*** (12.78)	378.25*** (17.48)
18 months	298.46 (380.89)	234.77*** (18.53)	219.22*** (10.58)	271.18*** (10.66)	294.28*** (19.54)	340.45*** (10.96)	392.41*** (11.31)	345.61*** (19.78)

Note: Significance level p< 0.01***, 0.05**, 0.1*; Robust standard errors in parentheses; All specifications include a dummy for treatment that is fully-interacted with the propensity score; strata fixed effects included; all regressions use IPW and sampling weights.

Back

Food Consumption Score

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The FCS is calculated as a weighted sum of the number of days the household has consumed each one of the different food groups in the past 7 days.

Components	Weight
Cereals, grains, roots & tubers: rice, bulgur, bread, potato, etc.	2
Vegetables & leaves: spinach, cucumber, eggplant, tomato, etc.	1
Fruits: citrus, apple, banana, dates, etc.	1
Eggs, Meat, fish: beef, lamb, chicken, liver, kidney, fish, eggs, etc.	4
Pulses, nuts & seeds: beans, chickpeas, lentils, etc.	3
Milk and dairy products: yogurt, cheese, milk, etc.	4
Oil and fat: vegetable oil, butter, ghee, etc.	0.5
Sugar and sweets: sugar, honey, cakes, sugary drinks, etc.	0.5

Impacts

Reduced Coping Strategies Index

ESSN - IE

ICDE 2021

The rCSI is calculated as a weighted sum of the number of days a household has employed each coping strategy in the past 7 days, weighted by severity.

Components	Severity weight
Rely on less preferred, less expensive foods	Stress - 1
Borrow food or rely on help from relatives or friends	Crisis - 2
Reduce number of meals eaten per day	Stress - 1
Reduce portion size of meals	Stress - 1
Reduce quantities consumed by adults so children can eat	Emergency - 3

Impacts

Livelihoods Coping Strategies Index

ESSN - IE

ICDE 2021

The LCSl is calculated as a weighted sum of coping strategies employed by the household in the past 30 days, weighted by severity.

Components	Severity weight
Sold household assets/goods (jewellery, refrigerator, electronics, etc.)	Stress - 1
Spent savings	Stress - 1
Bought food on credit	Stress - 1
Borrowed money from non-relatives/friends	Stress - 1
Gather unusual types of food (from the garbage, restaurants left-overs, etc.)	Stress - 1
Sold productive assets or means of transport (tools, bicycle, car)	Crisis - 2
Withdrew children from school	Crisis - 2
Reduced expenses on health to cover other basic needs	Crisis - 2
Reduced expenses on education to cover other basic needs	Crisis - 2
Moved the entire household to another location	Emergency - 3
Sent children to work	Emergency - 3
Sent household members to beg	Emergency - 3
Members of the household returned to Syria	Emergency - 3

Impacts

Changes in household composition

ESSN - IE

ICDE 2021

	Control mean (SD)	(1) Lee (-)	Lower bounds (2) (+/-) .25 SD	(3) (+/-) .1 SD	Unadjusted (4)	(5) (-/+) .1 SD	Upper bounds (6) (-/+) .25 SD	(7) Lee (+)	IV (8)
Household size									
Baseline	5.95 (2.60)								
6 months	5.54 (2.29)	0.42*** (0.09)	0.38*** (0.07)	0.56*** (0.07)	0.66*** (0.09)	0.80*** (0.07)	0.97*** (0.07)	0.93*** (0.10)	0.92*** (0.13)
12 months	5.60 (2.37)	0.31*** (0.09)	0.29*** (0.07)	0.51*** (0.07)	0.64*** (0.10)	0.80*** (0.07)	1.02*** (0.08)	1.03*** (0.11)	1.54*** (0.25)
18 months	5.43 (2.23)	0.46*** (0.10)	0.36*** (0.06)	0.67*** (0.06)	0.80*** (0.11)	1.10*** (0.07)	1.41*** (0.07)	1.16*** (0.12)	2.20*** (0.35)
Number of children 6-17 years old									
Baseline	1.76 (1.60)								
6 months	1.46 (1.39)	0.42*** (0.05)	0.32*** (0.04)	0.43*** (0.04)	0.47*** (0.05)	0.57*** (0.04)	0.68*** (0.04)	0.56*** (0.05)	0.71*** (0.07)
12 months	1.56 (1.47)	0.37*** (0.05)	0.25*** (0.04)	0.39*** (0.04)	0.45*** (0.05)	0.57*** (0.04)	0.70*** (0.04)	0.67*** (0.05)	1.22*** (0.16)
18 months	1.49 (1.35)	0.40*** (0.05)	0.24*** (0.03)	0.43*** (0.04)	0.46*** (0.05)	0.69*** (0.04)	0.88*** (0.04)	0.70*** (0.06)	1.46*** (0.19)

Note: Significance level p: 0.01***, 0.05**, 0.1*; Robust standard errors in parentheses; All specifications include a dummy for treatment that is fully-interacted with outcome at baseline and with the propensity score, strata fixed effects included; all regressions use IPW and sampling weights.

back

Sending and receiving HH - eligibility

ESSN - IE

ICDE 2021

	Control				Treatment				Difference (6)-(4)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)		
	Total Mean/SD	Unchanged Mean/SD	Gained children Mean/SD	Lost children Mean/SD	Unchanged Mean/SD	Gained children Mean/SD	Lost children Mean/SD		
Within Treatment group percentage		54%	18%	28%	63%	26%	11%		
Eligible for transfers at baseline	0.53 (0.87)	0.47 (0.88)	0.33 (0.85)	0.80 (0.45)	0.65 (1.01)	0.36 (0.65)	0.58 (0.91)	-0.44***	
Propensity score	0.48 (0.63)	0.46 (0.65)	0.35 (0.59)	0.68 (0.43)	0.53 (0.65)	0.36 (0.40)	0.52 (0.59)	-0.32***	
Dependent ratio _i =1.5 at baseline	0.42 (0.87)	0.39 (0.92)	0.25 (0.86)	0.59 (0.79)	0.53 (0.88)	0.24 (0.49)	0.37 (0.67)	-0.34***	
Single parent household at baseline	0.04 (0.37)	0.04 (0.46)	0.03 (0.37)	0.04 (0.40)	0.04 (0.25)	0.02 (0.12)	0.04 (0.22)	-0.02	
4+ children household at baseline	0.33 (0.85)	0.26 (0.90)	0.19 (0.83)	0.69 (0.66)	0.36 (0.68)	0.19 (0.42)	0.50 (0.83)	-0.50***	
Single female household at baseline	0.00 (0.08)	0.00 (0.07)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.11)	0.01 (0.11)	0.00 (0.00)	0.01	
Elderly household head at baseline	0.01 (0.21)	0.01 (0.31)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.07)	0.00 (0.03)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00*	
N	5840	1824	638	516	1987	541	334		

back

Sending and receiving HH

ESSN - IE

ICDE 2021

	Control			Treatment				Difference
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	
	Total	Unchanged	Gained children	Lost children	Unchanged	Gained children	Lost children	
	Mean/SD	Mean/SD	Mean/SD	Mean/SD	Mean/SD	Mean/SD	Mean/SD	(6)-(4)
<i>Within Treatment group percentage</i>		54%	18%	28%	63%	26%	11%	
Eligible for transfers at baseline	0.53 (0.87)	0.47 (0.88)	0.33 (0.85)	0.80 (0.45)	0.65 (1.01)	0.36 (0.65)	0.58 (0.91)	-0.44***
Propensity score	0.48 (0.63)	0.46 (0.65)	0.35 (0.59)	0.68 (0.43)	0.53 (0.65)	0.36 (0.40)	0.52 (0.59)	-0.32***
HH size	5.96 (4.32)	5.58 (4.31)	5.38 (3.95)	7.82 (4.36)	5.85 (3.39)	5.63 (3.66)	7.81 (3.97)	-2.19***
Children 0-5 yrs	1.11 (1.97)	1.06 (1.92)	0.99 (1.44)	1.36 (2.54)	1.13 (1.80)	0.96 (1.45)	1.33 (2.09)	-0.40***
Children 6-17 yrs	1.74 (2.92)	1.55 (2.95)	1.16 (2.24)	2.93 (2.67)	1.80 (2.50)	1.35 (2.01)	2.48 (2.43)	-1.57***
Adults 18-59 yrs	2.85 (2.47)	2.71 (2.27)	2.97 (2.08)	3.30 (2.40)	2.63 (2.44)	3.11 (2.74)	3.69 (2.51)	-0.19
Elderly 60+ yrs	0.26 (1.08)	0.26 (1.16)	0.26 (1.07)	0.23 (0.78)	0.29 (1.16)	0.21 (0.84)	0.32 (0.86)	-0.02
Female headed household	0.27 (0.79)	0.28 (0.82)	0.21 (0.64)	0.37 (0.96)	0.22 (0.56)	0.25 (0.58)	0.28 (0.68)	-0.12**
rCSI	13.03 (19.19)	12.85 (20.91)	12.16 (14.07)	12.85 (18.62)	13.51 (16.96)	13.39 (17.36)	13.09 (17.47)	0.54
LCSI	4.71 (5.50)	4.65 (6.00)	4.34 (4.68)	5.59 (5.79)	4.46 (4.68)	4.66 (3.74)	5.24 (4.41)	-0.93***
Total monthly exp.	1460.13 (995.19)	1440.92 (1083.88)	1457.42 (830.87)	1543.80 (1117.60)	1438.33 (859.93)	1453.49 (728.51)	1610.35 (820.62)	-90.31
Per capita monthly exp.	273.99 (247.54)	287.02 (250.27)	306.64 (181.58)	210.99 (143.42)	268.42 (233.34)	292.79 (293.96)	224.03 (181.15)	81.80***
Prop. children attending school	0.47 (0.75)	0.50 (0.78)	0.50 (0.70)	0.34 (0.63)	0.52 (0.71)	0.42 (0.64)	0.31 (0.60)	0.08*
N	5840	1824	638	516	1987	541	334	

Note: Significance level p) 0.01***, 0.05**, 0.1*; all changes in household calculated as change since baseline; *gained/lost* children refers to households who gained/lost at least one child; this table only includes households who had gained/lost a child by the 6 months follow-up.

Back