THE "GRADUATION" AGENDA

Margaret Grosh SSN Core course, World Bank Washington DC, 2014

"Graduation" can mean different things

Which is true for your country? The term is used....

- 1.as a polite way of saying that the government decided to reduce the number of beneficiaries and thus to 'graduate' some.
- 2. ... a way that household exit a program due to some benchmark met aging out, or no longer meeting needs assessment, hitting a time limit
- a set of services or design features designed to stabilize or to raise households' autonomous income – eg graduating from the present degree of poverty

How important is graduation in your country/program?



- Not a very big deal
- 2. One among several topics of the moment
- A BIG deal eg what the minister or president calls to check on; where a lot of money or effort is going

What percentage of people do you expect to graduate?



- 1. All, nearly all
- Most but not all
- 3. Some but not most
- 4. Few

Over what time period do you expect clients to graduate?



- 1. 0-6 months
- 2. 6 months to 1 year
- 3. 1-2 years
- 4. 2-5 years

SOME INSPIRING EXAMPLES

Mexico: Oportunidades

Mere Transfer Increases Savings

- For each peso transferred, beneficiary households consume 88 cents directly, and invest 12.
- An estimated rate of return on investment of between 15.52% and 17.55%.
- Beneficiary households increased their consumption by 34% after five and a half years in the program.

Gertler, Martinez, Rubio 2011

Paying through Bank Accounts Increases Investment

- MPC is 0.77 when paid in cash
- MPC is 0.65 when paid through bank
- Reduced spending on carbohydrates, eating out and junk food primarily
- Increased spending on durables: furniture, household appliances, and housing (e.g. toilets)

Gertler, Morgan, Martinez 2012

Ethiopia: public works done help restore watersheds, which should eventually improve livelihoods

Results from 2011 PW IA

- 75% of hh report have benefitted from soil and water conservation activities
- Decreased soil loss of more than 12 tonnes/ha in sampled micro-watersheds
- Increased crop yields
 - 66% for cereals;
 - 22% for pulses;
 - 8 % for perennials
- Increases from small base
 - in bee-keeping (reflects greater herbaceous cover);
 - irrigation

Change on one hill, 2005-2008

IE speaks of role of improved roads and access

Brazil: Brasil Sem Miseria links Bolsa Familia to panoply of other programs via common registry





Chile Solidario: more directed linkages and psycho-social support

Intervention

- Psycho-social support:
 - 21 meetings over 2 years
- Preferential access to all SP programs for which qualify, especially
 - Various income support programs
 - Various employment related programs
- Individualized plans to work toward meeting 53 minimum conditions (average of 8-12 bind per family)
 - ID, health, ed, housing, employment, family dynamics, income
- Small, time-bound, declining transfer to offset participation costs

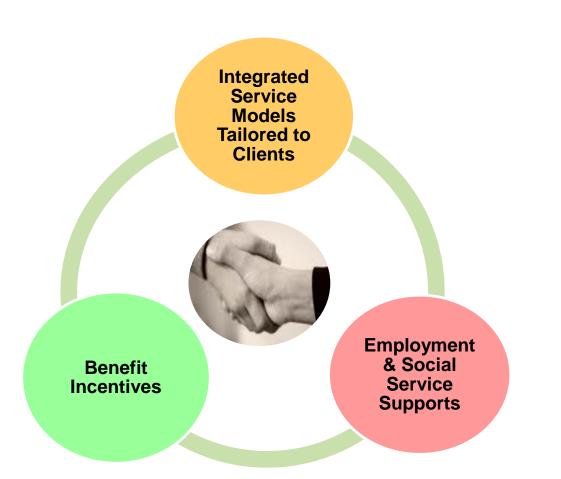
Partial List of Results

- Large increases in take-up of income support programs
 - For targeted child allowance, from 52 to 80+ percent
 - For employment programs among those unemployed or out of labor force
- Limited impacts on employment and housing
 - All male heads already employed
 - Some increased employment among female spouses, higher in rural areas and for least educated and younger women
 - Housing programs supply constrained
- Impacts bigger once supply side improved

(various papers by Galasso and co-authors)

Activation: promoting employability and reducing reliance on social transfers

Ubiquitous in HIC and ECA, in some other MICs, though varies in details



US TANF Reform 1996

Main reform provisions

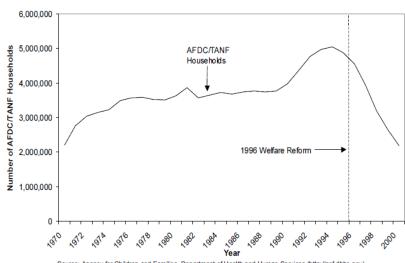
- Work Requirements
 - 50% of single parent families
 - 90% of two parent families
 - 35 hours per week/20 hours per week for single parents of children under 6
 - Work, training, job search counts
 - Reduced caseload counts as working
- Time limits
 - 5 years over lifetime
- Changes in financing
- Devolution to states
 - States provide a variety of work supports
 - Commonly job search assistance, some training, help finding or subsidies to childcare, etc.
- Discouragement of out of wedlock births

(Earned Income Tax Credit comes in too)

Results

- Caseload decline
 - Some to work
 - Low paid, unstable
 - Incomes improve a little (EITC important)
 - Some become disconnected
- Caseload mix changes to those harder to serve/activate
- Over time rules change affect state behaviors

Total AFDC/TANF Caseloads

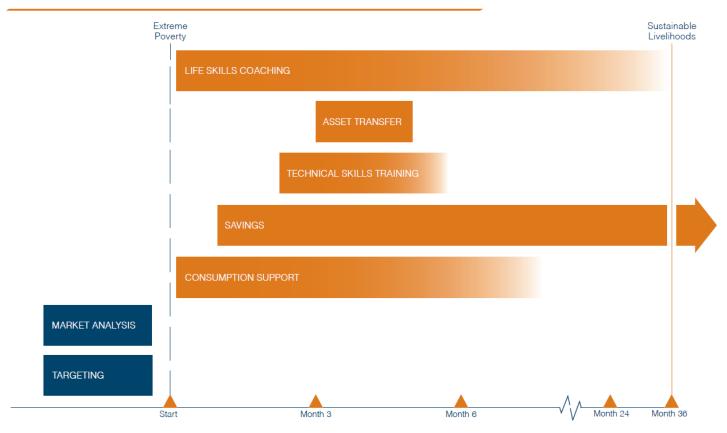


Source: Agency for Children and Families, Department of Health and Human Services (http://acf.dhhs.gov

BRAC/Ford Foundation/CGAP model

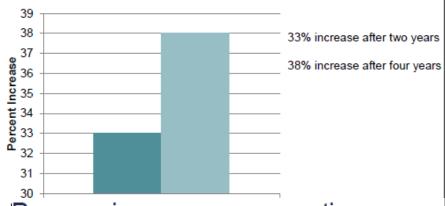
graduation.cgap.org

THE GRADUATION INTO SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS APPROACH

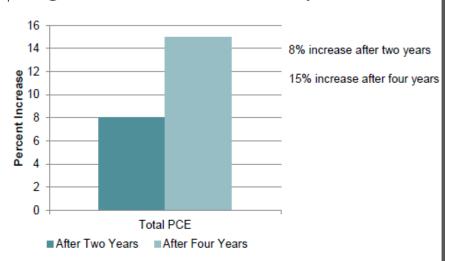


BRAC TUP (as taken from Besley and team)

Program increases earnings



Program increases consumption



- Increases hours of self employment
- Increases total hours of work
- Spreads work more evenly across year
- Lowers hours worked per day
- Makes work patterns more like those of better off villagers

- Costs 20,700TK per HH,
- yields 1,754TK per year
- Positive C/B, better than savings in micro-finance institute

RCT of pilot replications also largely

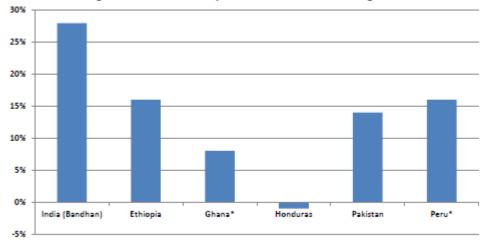
positive (Summary of Karlan and Goldberg 2014)



Adaptations in Ghana, Haiti, Honduras, India (3), Ethiopia, Pakistan, Peru, Yemen

Randomized evaluations at 8 sites

Change in Annual Consumption, as Share of Total Program Cost



Learning as We Scale

Integrated approach:
whole bigger than sum of the parts?
- Complementary returns
- Bottleneck market failures

Early impacts quite positive, but not 100% of time

When does it work, when does it not?
 Improving the model:

Which components are most useful?
 Compare to cash

DISCUSSION

Range of Complexities



- Mere transfer alleviates credit constraint, allows investment that raises incomes **Bonosol** (Bolivia social pension) and **Oportunidades** (Mexican CCT)
- Works done on public works programs raises returns to local enterprises – watershed management, market access, etc. PSNP (Ethiopia public works)
- Activation programs to encourage work by social benefit recipients
 TANF (US social assistance)
- Comprehensive programs to address household specific vulnerabilities on multiple dimensions Chile Solidario
- Programs with major coaching and asset transfer BRAC graduation model

more complex

Range of things one can link transfer to is very diverse

- For building child human capital for future:
 - nutrition programs; health, schooling, ECD
- For releasing constraints on adult labor time:
 - childcare, disabled/elder care, transportation supply
 - water supply, fuel supply, improved stoves
- For improving return to adult labor:
 - Human capital: technical training, adult literacy, entrepeneurship training, ag extension
 - public employment services
 - Instruments to build household assets payment via savings accounts, links to micro-finance, even large asset transfers
 - Instruments to increase returns on household assets improved roads, links to value-chains, public procurement policies, etc.

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With respect to:

- Appropriate context, target group
- Time scale for impact
- Unit cost
- Track record
- Place in government organizational chart

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Where does SP stop?

Is graduation just "development"?

JOINE

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Range in Type of Linkages

simpler

- Separate programs (in same geographic area or segment of welfare spectrum) operating independently
- Separate programs, some linked geographic targeting
- Cross-referrals, joint outreach
- Linked enrollments
- Integrated programs

more complex

What is the 'magic' in linkages?

ie, what wasn't working about the separate model?

- Synergies are inherently important?
 - Requires only concurrent delivery?
- Programs to be linked to weren't to scale?
 - Implies big \$\$\$ to fix
- Programs to be linked to weren't effective?
 - Implies reform agenda

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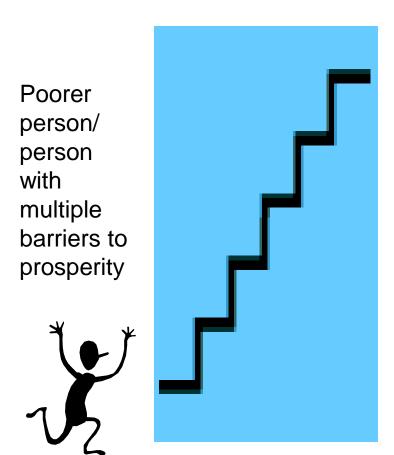
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Magic is synergy

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Magic is in willingness to work on these

Different difficulties in "graduating"







Different difficulties in "graduating"

Income support would be most important for these

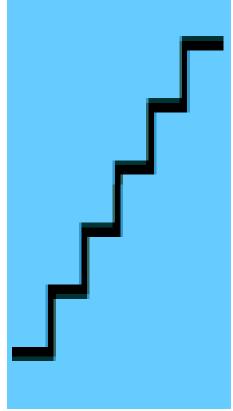
Poorer person/

multiple barriers to

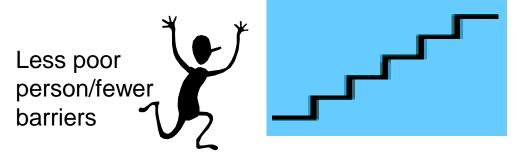
with

prosperity





Graduation would be most successful/easiest for these



When resources are most scarce, or politically difficult to get,

we often emphasize **BOTH** narrow targeting and the graduation potential in the advocacy for those resources -- CONTRADICTION!

Thinking about costs

Benefits

Costs

Increasing autonomous well-being

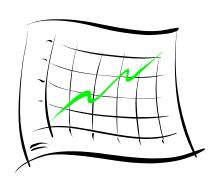
Discounted some for risks

Extra program elements

Extra coordination mechanisms

political technical problems w/ targeting as costs rise

What is realistic to expect?



How much can incomes increase?



For whom? How many?



How fast?

What is role of SP?

- Make sure our SP interventions give Graduation due weight
 - Means of payment
 - Think about benefit levels and threshold effects
 - Timing of payments

- Facilitate Linkages with other program elements
- Don't forget that the Protection agenda isn't finished
 - Breaking link between shock and downward ratchets still needed
 - Still needs effort and finance
 - And protection needed for those unlikely to graduate soon

In conclusion

- Graduation is poverty reduction so of course we are for it
- But we have to:
 - Think critically about SP's role in helping achieve it;
 - Think imaginatively;
 - Work practically
 - Evaluate sensibly;
 - Avoid hype