



Malawi
Government

Malawi Social Cash Transfer Programme (SCTP) Longitudinal Impact Evaluation

2024 BASELINE REPORT

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Acronyms

CPC	Carolina Population Center
CSR	Centre for Social Research
CSSC	Community Social Support Committees
DHS	Demographic Health Survey
FGD	Focus group discussion
IE	Impact Evaluation
KII	Key in formant interview
MDE	Mean detectable effect size
MIS	Management information system
MNSSP II	The second Malawi National Social Support Programme
MoGCDSW	Ministry of Gender, Community Development, and Social Welfare
NLGFC	National Local Government Finance Committee
PMT	Proxy means test
SCTP	Social Cash Transfer Programme
TA	Traditional authority
SD	Standard deviation
UBR	Unified beneficiary registry
UNC	University of North Carolina At Chapel Hill
VC	Village cluster

Executive summary



Overall study objectives and purpose of report

This report provides a description of the baseline data collected as part of The Malawi Social Cash Transfer Programme (SCTP) long-term impact evaluation (IE) is designed to follow households over a ten-year period to assess a number of key hypotheses around the impact of the programme. The first key objective is to understand the impact of the programme on current beneficiaries across a range of outcomes, social, protective and productive. In effect this will update the impacts reported in the 2013-15 IE. The second key objective is to understand what happens to households that exit the programme, whether they can sustain the standard of living they achieved while on the programme or whether they fall back into ultra-poverty. This report establishes the baseline for these two overarching questions. As such, it provides valuable data on the starting point for the different groups of households. The report also provides information on the current operational performance of the programme, including targeting, and thus provides data that can be acted upon immediately by the Ministry.

The SCTP and the evaluation study design

The SCTP has been providing monthly unconditional cash grants to ultra-poor and 'labor-constrained' households since 2006, when the programme was initiated in the pilot district of Mchinji. The objectives of the programme are (i) reducing poverty and hunger; (ii) improving health and nutrition in vulnerable households; and (iii) increasing school enrolment for children. The SCTP currently reaches approximately 300,000 households and over 1.3 million individuals (of which over 600,000 are children). The programme is fully executed by MoGCDSW of Malawi and by the District Councils, and in World Bank-funded districts, the National Local Government Finance Committee (NLGFC). In 2018, the SCTP was scaled up to all the 28 districts across the country and the Government has begun an exercise to recertify households who have been on the programme for a period of four years or more. Transfer values depend on household size, and currently average MK8,500 per household per month. The recertification and retargeting of beneficiary households is underway in 15 districts and is expected to be completed by the end of 2022.

The long-term IE study consists of a mixed-methods longitudinal design. A baseline quantitative and qualitative data collection was undertaken in April-May 2022, results of which are reported in this report. The design entails four study groups: 1) new entrants into the SCTP (those who were assessed and deemed to be newly eligible); 2) exiting households (those who were reassessed and deemed no longer eligible for the programme); 3) continuing households (those who were reassessed and continue to be eligible for the programme); 4) comparison households, those who are designated as 'pre-eligible' and thus form part of the waiting list. The quantitative component of the long-term study will follow these four groups of households, totaling 3,418 households in three districts (Balaka, Dedza and Nkhata Bay), periodically (every two years) over the next ten years. The qualitative component entails in-depth interviews with continuing and exiting households, and interviews with key informants about program implementation.

Main Findings

The findings are organized around the main research questions, though this is the baseline, and the research questions will be answered at the follow-up waves. The main research questions are related to the operational and administrative delivery of the SCTP, the impact of the existing program, and the long-term graduation potential of the programme.

New entrants and comparison households are comparable in terms of demographic structure and livelihood activities.

These two groups will be used to assess the current impact of the SCTP. The comparison group is pulled from the list of substitutes or waiting list households and thus are labour constrained but with PMT scores that put them just above the 10 percent threshold. Out of 150 indicators tested, just 20 showed statistically significant differences, and very few of these are actual outcome variables. The study design to estimate the impact of the SCTP on current beneficiaries is thus strong and will be able to generate rigorous evidence on impacts.

A comparison of continuing households and new entrants provides prima facie evidence of positive programme impacts across a range of domains. Since both the new and continuing households are eligible for the SCTP, and the majority of continuing households have been receiving transfers for four or more years, differences between the two groups are indicative of programme impacts. There are statistically significant differences in consumption and its components (foods, non-foods), poverty rates, savings, subjective well-being, livestock, and possession of agricultural implements between the two groups, with continuing households showing better outcomes on all these dimensions. This suggests an important, positive impact of the SCTP. The qualitative data, based on interviews with SCTP beneficiaries, confirm the quantitative results. Households state that Mtukula



Pakhomo has helped them become more food secure, and to build up small assets such as livestock.

There are significant differences in well-being between men and women beneficiaries of the SCTP

The ageing process tends to be very different for men and women and the evidence shown in this report indicates that women are significantly worse off in terms of health and well-being relative to men. Women are more likely to be disabled, suffer from pain, and be in poor general health. They are also more likely to report higher perceived stress and are less optimistic about the future. Case management should pay special attention to the health and well-being of older women beneficiaries and target complementary services and or linkages and referral to other services to this group, as they are significantly worse off relative to older male recipients.

Continuing and exiting households differ on indicators that go into the PMT score.

The PMT score is driven by housing quality and ownership of household durable goods. Exiting households have better quality housing (iron roofs, cement floors) and greater domestic asset ownership, leading to higher PMT scores, thus explaining their exit from the programme. A key issue for the SCTP to resolve is whether this is the appropriate metric to rank and select households for inclusion into the programme. Ultimately the vulnerability of households is driven by lifecycle considerations and their capacity to earn enough money to address their basic needs. Housing quality reflects just one aspect of basic needs yet seems to be the primary driver of the PMT score.



Continuing and exiting households do not differ on livelihood indicators. The premise behind graduation is that exiting households would have improved their economic security such that they no longer need the programme, while continuing households have not attained that level of economic security. However, the analysis shows no significant difference in the main livelihood activities of the two sets of households, with the sole exception of livestock where exiting households do show a statistically significant advantage. There is also no difference in food security between the two sets of households. These results, along with the fact that the PMT score is driven by non-productive indicators like housing quality and domestic assets, suggests that that exiting households may not be at the 'graduation' stage yet. This sentiment is borne out in the qualitative data as well, where households did not understand why they had been exited when they felt they were no different from continuing households. Households exiting the programme are still for the most part poor or ultra-poor, and in need of support, as the SCTP itself is not a graduation programme. The Ministry may want to consider a plan to address the well-being of exiting households by linking them to other forms of support. Results from the key informant interviews indicate that better communication around the reassessment exercise at the time of enrollment and perhaps periodically would be beneficial.

The profile of new SCTP beneficiaries has changed slightly through the reassessment exercise. New entrants to the programme are about ten years younger and more likely to be married and male. New entrants have more younger children, especially preschool children, far fewer elderly members, and are more likely to be in better health compared to continuing household heads. These results suggest an important change

in the profile of the typical SCTP beneficiary, something that was also noted during informal conversations with households during the field work. The introduction of the UBR seems to have resulted in a significant move away from the traditional beneficiary profile of the SCTP. In order to retain those vulnerable groups (e.g. disabled, orphans, elderly) the SCTP should consider directly targeting those characteristics through a categorical approach, rather than maintaining the dependency ratio as the eligibility criterion. This direct targeting through categories will be piloted which is planned for Thyolo district and can provide an important source of information on the feasibility of scaling up such an approach, which would be in line with other programmes in the region and consistent with the lifecycle approach to social protection.

There is considerable overlap of PMT scores among exiting households and new households. The SCTP is designed to target 10 percent of households nationally, but this 10 percent threshold is applied to every VC, no matter where it ranks in the poverty profile of the country. As a result, households with low PMT scores in poorer VCs end up outside the 10 percent threshold despite their overall low PMT scores, while households with a higher PMT living in a relatively better-off VC can qualify. In effect, some households with very low PMT scores have been exited, while other households with higher scores either continue in the programme or are new entrants because they live in relatively 'richer' VCs. The MoGCDSW could consider removing the 10 percent eligibility per VC and moving to 10 percent eligibility at the TA or even district level. This will ensure that the poorest 10 percent of households in each TA or district will have priority for the programme.

There is confusion about key programme rules among beneficiaries. For example, the majority of beneficiaries believe the programme is conditional, and many believe they are being monitored. About half of the beneficiaries do not know when they will get their next payment, or how long they will remain in the programme. This uncertainty impinges on the ability to plan and make forward-looking decisions, which perpetuates the condition of ultra-poverty and diminishes the impact of the programme. There remains confusion about who is eligible for the programme and why some households are eligible, and others are not. Finally, there is limited awareness of the grievance mechanism within the SCTP. These results suggest that the SCTP should strengthen communication around programme eligibility rules, conditionality, and other aspects of the programme such as grievance mechanisms. This communication can be done at the pay point every two months to reinforce the information.

Wait times at pay points are extremely long, with sixty percent of households waiting two or more hours, and forty percent waiting three or more hours. To address this problem, payments could be staggered, with half the beneficiaries asked to come in the morning and the other half in the afternoon, to reduce excessive wait times. The implementation of the e-payments system would also address this issue.

The value of the transfer has eroded over time such that the median transfer value represents just 14 percent of household consumption. International experience indicates that a transfer value of around 20 percent of consumption is capable of having a transformative effect on beneficiaries. Currently, in the SCTP, just 30 percent of households have a transfer value that reaches 20 percent of their overall consumption. A key implication is that SCTP programme managers should be vigilant about the real value of the transfer and ensure it doesn't erode to the point that the administrative cost of transferring money exceeds the actual benefit of the transfer itself. One approach would be to set up an annual process to review the value of the transfer in relation to inflation. While automatic adjustment of the transfer may not be feasible each year, keeping track of the value and maintaining it as a topic of discussion at SCTP meetings with the wider government and development partners, with the understanding that it is fundamental to achieving the objectives of the programme, will be an important step towards building in automatic, periodic increases.

1. Introduction and objectives of the report



This report describes the baseline data collected as part of the Malawi Social Cash Transfer Programme (SCTP) long-term impact evaluation (IE). The IE has been developed through a participatory and consultative process led by the Technical Reference Group (TRG) chaired by the Ministry of Gender, Community Development and Social Welfare (MoGCDSW) and consisting of key development partners and other relevant line ministries. Based on agreements between the research team and the TRG as reflected in the Inception Report, the baseline data collection was conducted in May-June 2022, and the analysis of the data is presented here.

The current report has four main objectives. The first is to establish the comparability of the four different study groups, important for their ability to measure impact over time. The two key comparisons of interest are **new entrants versus a comparison group of alternates**, as these two groups will be used to assess the impact of the SCTP on beneficiaries over time, and **exiting households versus continuing households**, as these two groups will be used to assess the long-term impacts of the SCTP, in particular, whether exiting households have 'graduated' out of poverty and continue to show improvements in living standards over continuing households.

The second objective of the report is to interrogate the idea of 'graduation' among beneficiaries to understand if they understand why some households are exiting and some are continuing in the program, and why some households were able to exit and others not (the enablers for those exiting, and the constraints for those continuing). This evidence comes primarily from the qualitative component of the study, but we also use the quantitative data to try and understand the differences between exiting and continuing households.

The third objective of the report is to compare the characteristics of new entrants to the SCTP versus existing and exiting households to understand why new households were selected over exiting ones. The fourth objective is to provide evidence on the operation of the programme, including aspects of targeting, to support ongoing adjustments and reforms to the programme. Finally, the report also provides summary tables from some of the key domains covered in the quantitative survey as a way of providing a snapshot of the living conditions of SCTP households; these domains include schooling, health, total and food consumption, savings and credit, and coping mechanisms.

2. Background, context and objective of the evaluation



2.1 Background

The Malawi Social Cash Transfer Programme (SCTP) has been providing monthly unconditional cash grants to ultra-poor and 'labor-constrained' households since 2006 when the programme was initiated in the pilot district of Mchinji. The objectives of the programme are (i) reducing poverty and hunger; (ii) improving health and nutrition in vulnerable households; and (iii) increasing school enrolment for children.¹ The SCTP currently reaches over 300,000 households and over 1.3 million individuals (of which over 600,000 are children). The programme is fully executed by MoGCDSW of Malawi by the District Councils, and in World Bank-funded districts, the National Local Government Finance Committee (NLGFC). In 2018, the SCTP was scaled up to all 28 districts across the country and the Government has begun an exercise to recertify households who have been on the programme for a period of four years or more. Currently, recertification and retargeting of beneficiary households is underway in 15 districts and is expected to be completed by the end of 2022.

The Government of Malawi and UNICEF, in collaboration with development partners, commissioned a longitudinal impact evaluation of the Social Cash Transfer Programme that ran from 2013 to 2016. The findings of the evaluation provided solid evidence that the Malawi SCTP generates a wide range of positive impacts across most social and economic domains at the household and individual levels. The 2016 evaluation influenced the design of the second Malawi National Social Support Programme (MNSSP II). The evaluation also significantly informed the scale-up of the SCTP to a national programme and remains a key reference document on the impact of the programme. The evaluation was however run before the SCTP was extended to all 28 rural districts.

¹ The theory of change for the SCTP is provided in Annex 4.

2.2 Motivation for the Study

Over the past ten years, Malawi has faced several shocks of different nature, from El Niño-induced drought and cyclone Idai to recurrent lean season or food insecurity emergencies, tropical storm Ana and cyclone Gombe in early 2022, and the recent effects of Covid-19. During this period, an average of 1.8 million people (that is, 10 percent of the population) have been deemed acutely food insecure each year, triggering a substantial emergency response every single year. Beyond consumption support, the MNSSP II dedicates two pillars to 'Resilient Livelihoods' and 'Shock-Sensitive Social Protection' and identifies pathways for graduation as a key priority. Resilience-building and graduation out of extreme poverty are also key objectives behind numerous government strategies, policies, and support programmes.

As Malawi embarks on a comprehensive reassessment of existing beneficiaries, many of whom would have been receiving cash for over a decade, a key policy question is whether ultra-poor households can maintain their level of consumption after being removed from the program. The idea of 'graduation' is hotly debated in development policy. Evidence from the 2013-15 IE in Malawi shows that SCTP recipients can use the transfer productively such that they generate a multiplier of 2.94, that is, each Kwacha transferred leads to an increase in overall spending of 2.94 Kwacha²; multiplier effects of 1.65 were also found for two programs in Zambia (Handa et al 2018)³. These results suggest that households are strengthening their livelihood base and might be able to continue a higher level of consumption even after they stop receiving the transfer. However, it is important to remember the overall level of consumption and that these large multipliers occur on top of a very low base. In Malawi and Zambia, recipient households have an average daily consumption of US\$0.32 per person per day before the program. Even a tripling of this value, as suggested by the Malawi SCTP multiplier, would merely raise consumption to just under \$1 a day per person, or \$1.75 in PPP terms, which is above the national poverty line but still well below the international poverty line of \$1.90 per day. Is it plausible then that these households can continue to thrive after being removed from the program? Or are they just one shock away from going back to their prior financial position?

Through the SCTP recertification and retargeting exercise, beneficiary households that do not meet the programme's targeting criteria will be taken off the programme (exiting households) and new households will be enrolled in their

place (new entrants), while those households that still meet the programme's targeting criteria will be maintained on the programme (continuing households). Some of the exiting households will be taken off the programme because they have 'graduated' from extreme poverty. Such households provide a unique sample/case as to how specific interventions (SCTP) or attributes/factors (such as productive capacities, access to financial services, changes in household demographics, etc.) may lead to household poverty graduation and the associated pathway(s). A closer examination of exiting households will also provide rich insights into the specific catalytic factors (e.g. access to finance, labour-capacity) that enabled SCTP households to build their resilience and created opportunities for their graduation out of extreme poverty. For continuing households, an analysis of the limiting factors (e.g. demographics, geographic location, etc.) that may be holding some SCTP households back from greater resilience outcomes and graduation from poverty will also be conducted. Finally, a follow-up of graduated households, after they have stopped receiving social cash transfers, will provide information as to whether their graduation from poverty is sustainable, and what interventions may need to be provided to ensure that they stay out of poverty.

2.3 Research Questions

The research questions for the overall long-term follow-up are listed below.

1. What are the welfare impacts of SCTP for the household and its members (e.g. poverty levels, household and caretaker stress, food and nutrition security (including anthropometric measures), asset accumulation and shelter, the health status of adults and children, education outcomes), both while on the SCTP and after being removed from the program?
2. What are the socio-economic impacts of the SCTP on beneficiary households and their communities? How do people identify as ineligible and benefit indirectly from transfers and how does this contribute to overall programme effectiveness?
3. What is the impact of the SCTP and its complementary interventions on the resilience of households against shocks (covariate and idiosyncratic)?
4. Do households that have exited remain out of extreme poverty two to ten years after leaving the SCTP? Did they have a resilience-base that allowed them to withstand shocks or did they have to resort to negative coping mechanisms? What links did households have to other interventions related to livelihoods that assisted graduation?

2 Sudhanshu Handa, Frank Otchere, Paul Sirma* on behalf of the Ghana LEAP, Malawi SCTP and Zimbabwe HSCT Evaluation Teams, "More Evidence on the Impact of Government Social Protection in Sub Saharan Africa," forthcoming in Development Policy Review.

3 Sudhanshu Handa, Luisa Natali, David Seidenfeld, Gelson Tembo and Benjamin Davis, "Can unconditional cash transfers raise long-term living standards? Evidence from Zambia," *Journal of Development Economics*, Vol 133(July): 42-65, 2018.

5. What are the potential key enabling factors of programme administration and the most common characteristics of the households that have successfully built their resilience and graduated from ultra-poverty while on SCTP? Is there a causal relation between the duration of programme support and the beneficiaries' poverty status?
6. Based on evaluation question v, what are some potential linkages to other social services or interventions that would improve the resilience and graduation potential of households?
7. How does the SCTP perform in terms of administrative delivery (i.e. targeting performance), overall achievement

of intended objectives, and ability to support households to become more resilient and sustainably exit from extreme poverty (i.e. design and implementation effectiveness)?

8. How has the level of transfers and payment timeliness, regularity, and predictability or lack thereof affected the effectiveness of the SCTP and its impacts

Note that most of these evaluation questions can only be answered with follow-up data from future mid-line and end-line surveys. Other ongoing studies will also inform these questions, such as the categorical targeting pilot in Thyolo district and the shock-responsive poverty assessment.

2.4 Topics Covered in the Quantitative Survey

The main topics covered in the household survey are listed in Table 1 and are motivated by the key research questions listed above. Our key measure of well-being or living standards is consumption, hence a full consumption module similar to that implemented in the Malawi Integrated Household Survey is included—this is quite a lengthy module but is key to understanding overall well-being as well as how the cash is spent by households. An extensive set of modules captures economic activity (including time-use) to understand the determinants of graduation, a module on subjective well-being complements the monetary well-being measure, a module on SCTP operations will help us understand the functioning of the program as perceived by beneficiaries, and modules on schooling, nutrition, and health will measure children's outcomes.

TABLE 1 Survey questionnaire topics

Roster and Orphan Status	Stress Scale, Resilience Scale Food
Education — 3+ years Health	Security
— All	Social Safety Net Receipt
Disability	Shocks and Coping Strategies
Child Health and Diet— 0-5 years	Covid-19 effects
Access to Educational and Health	Expenditure (IHS expenditure module)
Services Fertility— women ages	Land-Use
12-49	Crop Production and Sales Agriculture
Time-Use (chores, agriculture,	and Livestock Hired Labor
other)— ages 6+ Labor (wage/	Housing Conditions and Household
ganyu)— ages 10+	Assets Mortality and Changes in
Household Enterprises Transfers	Household Membership
Received and Made Other Income	SCTP Operations
Credit and Loans Subjective	
Well-Being	

3. Sampling design



The purpose of the sampling design is to provide a representative sample of households for each of the four groups of the study and to ensure there is enough sample size to support the impact evaluation analyses.

3.1 Study sites, sample frame, and clusters

We used a stratified multi-stage sampling selection strategy as explained here. Three districts were included in the analysis: Dedza, Balaka, and Nkhata Bay, and they constitute the three strata of the sample. These districts were selected to provide geographical representativeness across the country (the three regions), and they had also just updated household socioeconomic profiles using the Unified Beneficiary Registry (UBR) to allow for the reassessment of SCTP beneficiaries. The multistage sampling entails first sampling village clusters (VCs) (stage one) and then within the sampled VCs, sampling households from the four groups (stage two).

In each district, we started by identifying the households in each of the four evaluation groups. The sample frame was a household-level dataset provided by the SCTP program with information about each household's eligibility/recertification status and whether it is a current SCTP beneficiary. We combined these two pieces of information, following instructions from SCTP officials, to classify households as new, exiting, continuing, or alternative/comparison. A total of 3,413 households located in 64 clusters were to be selected for the sample. The original sample size calculation indicated 3,200 households in 60 clusters, but 4 additional clusters were selected due to difficulties in finding households and uncertainties about the households' final SCTP classification in Dedza, where the community verification had not yet taken place. The number of clusters allocated to each district was proportional to the district's population size.

The selection of households proceeded in two stages (this is the multi-stage sampling process):

Stage 1 – Selection of TAs and clusters

In Balaka and Nkhata Bay, we selected clusters from the group of TAs (traditional authorities) comprising at least 70% of the district's population. In Dedza, we selected clusters from the three TAs with available UBR data (Kachere, Chauka, and Kaphuka) as data collection was still ongoing at the time of the data collection. In each district, we used a systematic random selection of VCs using TA and the number of households as the ordering variables. A key issue is that some VCs did not have enough continuing households, this ultimately required adding four additional clusters to the sample.

Stage 2 – Selection of households

In each selected VC we selected households for each evaluation group using a systematic random sample using the PMT score as the ordering criteria. About 14 households per evaluation group were randomly selected in each cluster. It was considered necessary to include a reserve set of households per cluster which would be used as replacements in case of inability to locate the sampled households or misclassifications of program status. The final sample is presented in Table 2 below.

TABLE 2 Target sample and completed households

Target sample: 64 Clusters

District	TAs	Clusters	Households	Households per group
Dedza	3	32	1,402	351
Balaka	4	19	1,239	310
Nkhata Bay	7	13	777	194
Total	17	64	3,418	855

4. Field work



4.1 Training and Ethics

Training of research assistants was conducted from 7th March 2022 – 19th March 2022 at Mango Lodge in Zomba. A total of 38 research assistants were trained, of which 18 (37%) were female. The training involved background to the long-term IE and in particular, the baseline; review of data collection instruments in English and Chichewa for the common understanding of issues, review of the translation of the questionnaire into Chichewa, mock interviews, protocols, and guidelines for tracking respondents, pilot survey, and review of the pilot survey. The pilot survey was conducted on the 16th of March in Zomba. The pilot survey helped the research assistants sharpen their skills in conducting interviews and also helped to identify areas in the tablet version of the questionnaire that were problematic.

These were ironed out by doing some retraining and intensive mock interviews. There were, very few issues to rectify in the programming of the CAPI following the pilot survey. A total of 6 supervisors were selected from the pool of Research Assistants that had been trained and these were trained in the administration of the Community Questionnaire. In addition, this group was also trained in the management of cases in Survey Solution including protocols for quality control and approval of completed questionnaires. The training was facilitated by Sudhanshu Handa, Maxton Tsoka, Joseph Chunga, Kelvin Balakasi, and Peter Mvula. The training schedule is provided in the Annex. The research assistants were divided into teams. Each team had 5-6 interviewers, 1 supervisor, and a driver. The list of the supervisors and interviewers, organized by team, is provided in the Annex.

Human subjects approval for the study was received from the University of Malawi Research Ethics Committee and the UNC-CH Institutional Review Board (study #21-3204). A human subjects refresher was conducted during the training session for all enumerators and supervisors and personnel signed an agreement stating they would adhere to study protocols regarding the ethical conduct of research. Both the PIs from CSR and UNC-CH and the qualitative PI have extensive experience working with this population and are familiar with the potential ethical concerns that can arise in such a study. The study group is primarily vulnerable due to extreme poverty. The informed consent protocol was reviewed during training and is a required part of the recruitment process as in all studies involving human subjects. We minimized the risk of breach of confidentiality in several ways. First, data was collected on closely monitored audio recording devices and encrypted tablets so that a tablet that was lost or stolen could not be opened—this did not occur. Second, interviews were held in a secluded location to ensure privacy and minimize eaves dropping. Third, electronic files were to be uploaded to the UNC/CPC secure terminal server regularly and then deleted from local tablets and recording devices. At CPC/UNC identifying information was removed from the data during data cleaning. Finally, in the case of the focus groups, the data collector opened and closed the session by stressing the need for privacy and confidentiality among participants. Note that the questions in the interview and focus group guides are not sensitive.

4.2 Experiences

This baseline survey took place after the re-targeting but before the first payment of the transfers. By the time of the interviews, beneficiaries in Balaka and Nkhata Bay had stayed over three months without any payment. That frustration was evident in their responses regarding the SCTP program. Again, many of those that were told to have graduated seemed surprised although we have been told that all were informed at their recruitment that they will benefit only for four years. Further, while Balaka has stopped receiving disruptive rains, Nkhata Bay was still drenched. With its terrain and type of soil, work was hampered and sometimes the teams mostly took motorcycle taxis and walked to reach homesteads.

4.3 Key challenges and mitigation strategies

New committees, new beneficiaries, and large clusters

Community Social Support Committees (CSSC) are vital in the operations of Mtukula Pakhomo. They visit and pass messages to beneficiaries. They also organize them for meetings and pay parades. During the baseline study, the communities had just elected new committee members and the committees had not yet started their work of visiting and/or organizing beneficiaries. This made identifying beneficiaries rather challenging in many cases, as the new members had not yet started interacting with the beneficiaries of the cluster. This was made worse by some households who wanted to be interviewed, for some reason, even when they knew they were not the person being sought. Identifying 'gate crashers' was more difficult in areas where the same surnames are common (Nkhata Bay and some parts of Balaka). With time, the teams resorted to using the UBR cards each visited household was left with. In other cases, the teams resorted to using the national IDs to ensure that they were interviewing the right persons.

Related to the newness of the committees was the size of the clusters. Some clusters are so large that it is impractical for committee members to know everyone unless there have been numerous one-on-one interactions between the committee members and beneficiaries. To save on time, interviewers were just given general directions of where beneficiaries were. In Nkhata Bay, interviewers

PHOTO 1 Training at Mango Lodge, Zomba



PHOTO 2 Group photo of training team



PHOTO 3
Precarious crossing to visit homestead in
Thula cluster, Nkhata Bay



had to walk hours (climbing up and down mountains) just to interview two beneficiaries perched on two different hilltops.

Gaming for high levels of transfers and eligibility for the programme

Most of the sampled households are familiar with the criteria for inclusion in the programme and how transfers are calculated. The evaluation teams, despite introducing themselves as non-government, were still considered to be part of the process. Those sampled therefore ensured

that they included as many people as possible as household members. To deal with this, the interviewers were trained to reduce the incidence of this as possible. In many cases, this was discovered right at the start but in some cases, it was discovered during other modules. Of course, the process meant wasted time as interviewers, if discovered late especially, had to go back and delete the wrongly included household members and their related information on several modules like education and health. It is also possible that some managed to squeeze in non-members but this will be discovered as the survey goes into midline and endline phases.

In some cases, where it was known that the sampled household disintegrated, neighbors (relatives) posed as that household and wanted to respond to the questionnaire. In most cases, these were discovered upfront. In others, they were discovered when they failed to respond to some of the questions. In any case, these delayed our work and made reaching our daily targets difficult.

Accessibility of some areas

Related to the above, some clusters and indeed sampled households were not accessible. In Nkhata, the rains made the roads to the clusters impassable. Field vehicles, regardless of their 4-wheel drive status, got stuck several times. Walking long distances to get to households was also experienced in some clusters of Balaka. In some instances, especially in Nkhata Bay, field teams hired motorcycles to reach clusters to ensure work was done. Interviewers also walked long distances to get to households because the terrain dictated no use of vehicles. The use of motorcycles increased the cost of transport. Mobility was much better in Dedza as conditions were drier.

Increased cost of fuel and supplies

The budget for the study was done when prices were fairly stable. The increase in the fuel prices has increased the prices of the goods we planned to provide to a household as a 'thank you' after the interviews (one packet of brown sugar and a bar of soap). We had hoped that the depreciation of the Kwacha would compensate for the price escalation but it is apparent that the inflation outmatches the fall in the Kwacha. This has been difficult to mitigate given that it would be unfair to reduce the gifts when we had already started giving others.

Disgruntled interviewees

The baseline was conducted after retargeting, which produced two categories of households that may have reasons for being disgruntled. These are those who graduated and those who were left out for being relatively better off. While it is expected that these two groups would feel disadvantaged, we understand that every participant was informed during the enrolment they would graduate after four years. Despite that, the majority of graduates in both quantitative and qualitative interviews tried to voice this up and those responding to the questionnaire attempted to exaggerate their poverty status. This was only mitigated by the interviewers who were trained to detect misinformation designed to portray a household as poorer than it is. The advantage is that these groups were willing to be interviewed, albeit to voice out their views. Their main contention was that those who replaced them were better off and younger than themselves. There were, of course, some cases where the respondents were rude and did not want to respond to the questions politely.

Untraceable households

There are a few cases where sampled households were not known. These are some of the cases where it was thought that the system placed some households in the wrong clusters. We would not want to speculate that these could be ghost beneficiaries considering that if there were ghost beneficiaries only the committee

PHOTO 4 Household to be interviewed in Nkhata Bay



PHOTO 5 Searching for a household



would know about them and they may not have wanted to say it.

Categorization

The study has four arms. The number of respondents is planned to be equal in each study group. The drawn sample is in the four categories (arms). It was based on this that the sample was drawn. In some instances, households considered to be exiting were found to be new and those designated as continuing were found to be exiting. These cases are not too many. However, this combined with household migration (especially for comparison households), disintegration due to death or marriage, and re-location of the household head, among others, fewer cases in some categories resulted in some imbalance among the four categories that required additional interviews from the replacement list, an additional challenge being that some clusters have fewer households of some category, particularly in the 'continuing' category.

5. Comparison of the four groups



5.1 Distribution of proxy means test scores

The proxy means test (PMT) is a crucial determinant of SCTP eligibility. In the current targeting approach, all labor-constrained households are selected using data from the UBR. Then these households are ranked within each village cluster (VC) by PMT, and the poorest 10 percent are offered the programme. Those just above the 10 percent cut-off are selected into a waiting list in case space opens up. The comparison group in this study comes from the waiting list.

The distribution of the PMT by the four study groups is shown in Figure 1. The two orange lines are the new entrants and those on the waiting list (dotted line). The height of each line indicates the proportion of households at that PMT score—the taller (or higher) the line at any point, the greater the number of households at that score. As to be expected given the ranking system, the waiting list group have PMT scores that are slightly to the right (higher) than those entering the programme, however, there is considerable overlap in scores, which suggests that the two groups may be similar enough to provide for a rigorous assessment of the impact of the SCTP.

Meanwhile, the green lines show the PMT scores for the continuing (solid line) and exiting households. The scores for the

continuing households resemble those of the new ones, which makes sense as they are both SCTP beneficiaries. **However, many exiting households have PMT scores to the far right on the graph, which explains why they are leaving the programme.** At the same time though, there are still exiting households with PMT scores to the far left, and overlapping the scores for those in the programme. **These households, with low PMT scores, reside in poorer VCs, and end up outside the 10 percent threshold despite their overall low PMT scores.** This is because the 10 percent threshold is applied across the board to all VCs, no matter their relative poverty. In effect, some households with very low PMT scores have been exited, while other households with higher scores either continue in the programme or are new entrants because they live in relatively 'richer' VCs.

Aside from the PMT, the other key eligibility criterion is the demographic structure of the household, their dependency ratio (the number of members deemed to fit for work divided by the number deemed not fit for work), and whether they are therefore labor-constrained. Figure 2 shows the demographic structure for comparison and new households. As both are labour-constrained, we expect their structure to be similar, and Figure 2 confirms this.

FIGURE 1 Distribution of PMT by study group

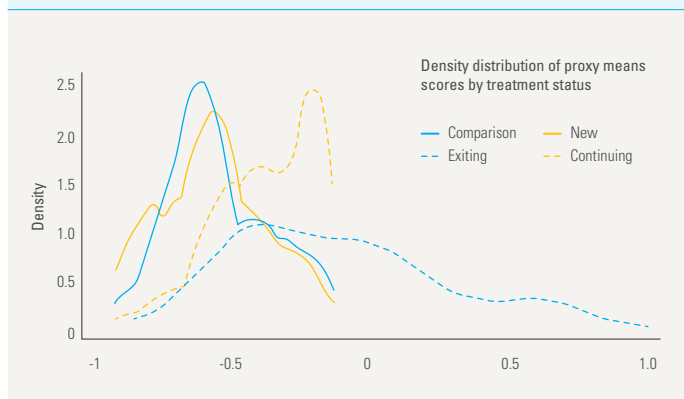
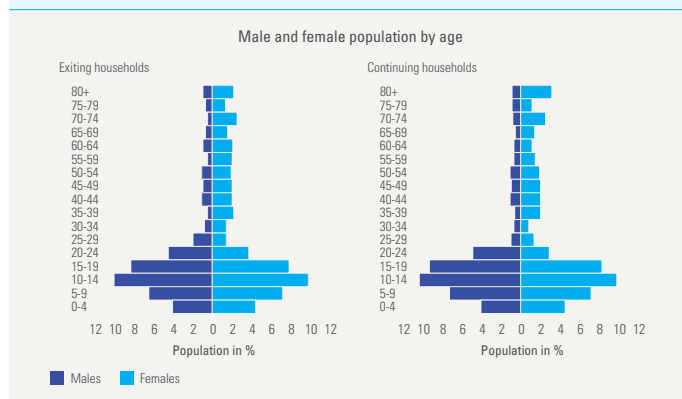


FIGURE 2 Demographic structure: exiting vs. continuing households



On the other hand, exiting households may no longer be labour-constrained. Figure 3 compares them to continuing households; the figure shows that exiting households have fewer members in the very oldest age category, but other than that the age pattern of residents seems about the same. This is good news for the impact evaluation as it suggests that aside from the average PMT score, the two households are comparable in terms of demographic composition.

Table 3 shows the number of people, on average, in each demographic category by study group, and confirms that existing and continuing households have very similar if not identical demographic structures, as do comparison and new households. **The similarity between the comparison and new households is important for the rigor of the impact evaluation, as these two groups will be used to assess 'impact' at the follow-up waves.**

FIGURE 3 Demographic structure: comparison vs. new households

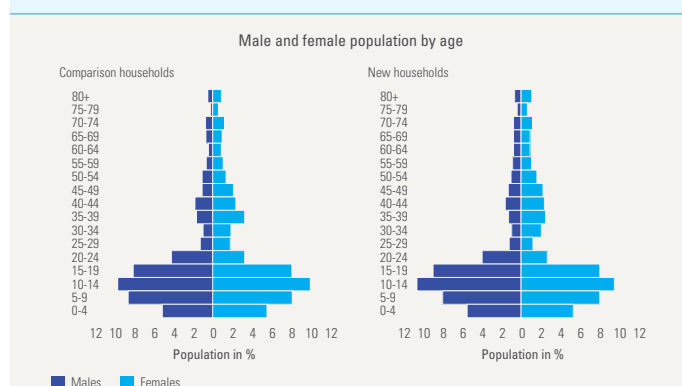


TABLE 3 Demographic composition by study group

	Exiting vs. Continuing			Comparison vs. New		
	Mean	Mean		Mean	Mean	
	Exiting	Continuing	p-value	Comparison	New	p-value
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Household size	5.173	5.090	0.573	5.581	5.547	0.762
The proportion of female household members	0.557	0.581	0.040*	0.536	0.536	0.981
Number of members ages 0-5	0.498	0.500	0.963	0.728	0.713	0.712
Number of members ages 6-11	0.977	1.029	0.244	1.180	1.221	0.390
Number of members ages 12-17	1.198	1.219	0.738	1.264	1.286	0.690
Number of members ages 18-49	1.460	1.350	0.141	1.755	1.628	0.023*
Number of members ages 50-64	0.472	0.358	0.000*	0.306	0.352	0.089
Number of members ages 65+	0.567	0.630	0.064	0.347	0.346	0.973
Number of observations	843	860		852	863	

* p<0.05

Next, we compare the characteristics of the main respondent, typically the SCTP beneficiary, across the two sets of study groups in Table 4. In the first three columns, we see just one statistically significant difference, where respondents in exiting households are slightly more likely to be married compared to continuing respondents (39 versus 33 percent). In columns 4-6, comparison respondents are slightly less likely to be female (61 versus 68 percent), and more likely to be married compared to new entrants to the programme.

An additional point to note is that new entrants are younger (by ten years) and more likely to be male and married compared to continuing beneficiaries. This seems to align with the feedback during fieldwork, where continuing and exiting households (previous beneficiaries) indicated that new entrants to the programme were noticeably different. Thus, it seems the reassessment is leading to a slightly different profile of beneficiaries in the programme, an important point for the Ministry to watch for.

Figure 4 provides a comparison of the age structure of new and continuing households and shows a clear shift in the composition of beneficiaries. **New entrants have more younger members (children), particularly very young children, more prime-age members, and fewer members ages 55 and older.** Again, this indicates an important change in the type of household that is newly entering the programme.

This changing profile of SCTP households is further illustrated in Table 5, where we show the orphan status of children aged 0-18 years in the household. The SCTP has historically always reached households with a large number of orphans as can be seen in columns 1 and 2, where in nine percent of cases the mother of the child is dead and in 21 percent of cases the father of the child is dead. However, among new entrants to the program, the father of the child is dead in just 16 percent of cases and the mother of the child in eight percent of cases. Significantly more children live with their mothers (72 percent) compared to continuing and exiting households (58 percent).

FIGURE 4 Age structure of continuing and new households

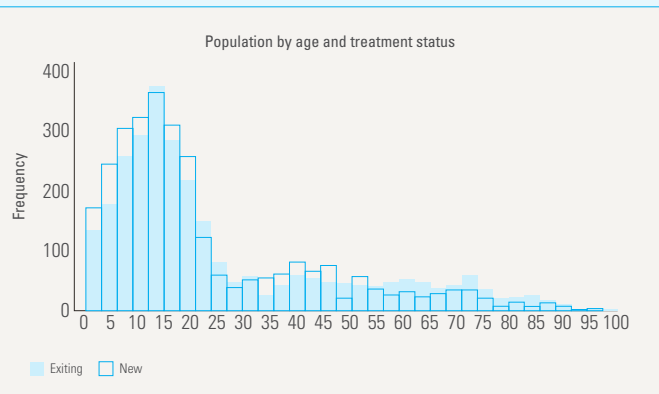


TABLE 4 Main respondent characteristics

	Exiting vs. Continuing			Comparison vs. New		
	Mean	Mean		Mean	Mean	
	Exiting	Continuing	p-value	Comparison	New	p-value
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
The main respondent is female	0.756	0.813	0.010*	0.635	0.688	0.010*
Main respondent age	58.325	60.069	0.076	48.769	49.377	0.539
The main respondent is married	0.399	0.307	0.001*	0.528	0.463	0.013*
The main respondent is divorced or separated	0.174	0.205	0.139	0.216	0.261	0.049*
The main respondent is a widow or widower	0.397	0.466	0.011*	0.235	0.255	0.288
Number of observations	843	860		852	863	

* p<0.05

TABLE 5 Household demographics

	Exiting vs. Continuing			Comparison vs. New		
	Mean		p-value	Mean		p-value
	Exiting	Continuing		Comparison	New	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Mother lives in hhld	0.573	0.583	0.714	0.718	0.716	0.899
Mother alive, not in hhld	0.342	0.321	0.338	0.212	0.209	0.871
Mother dead	0.085	0.096	0.439	0.071	0.076	0.544
Father lives in hhld	0.257	0.219	0.096	0.378	0.346	0.174
Father alive, not in hhld	0.542	0.563	0.347	0.447	0.495	0.026*
Father dead	0.201	0.218	0.350	0.175	0.159	0.293
Number of observations	2406	2536		2879	2953	

* p<0.05

TABLE 6 Household Demographics by gender

	Exiting vs. Continuing		
	Mean		p-value
	Male	Female	
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Mother lives in hhld	0.663	0.643	0.037*
Mother alive, not in hhld	0.255	0.277	0.008*
Mother dead	0.082	0.080	0.702
Father lives in hhld	0.308	0.302	0.534
Father alive, not in hhld	0.496	0.522	0.006*
Father dead	0.197	0.176	0.005*
Number of observations	5447	5327	

* p<0.05

Table 6 shows that female children are more likely to not be living with their biological parents than male children (64 versus 66 percent live with their mother, the difference is statistically significant). The issue is not orphanhood per se, but rather the phenomenon of fostering, where the female child's biological parents are alive, but simply not living with them.

6. Exiting the SCTP: The role of the proxy means test



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The PMT plays a key role in determining who qualifies for the programme. The PMT is derived from a set of variables that include characteristics of the house (walls, roof, floor), type of lighting and water source, toilet facility, and ownership of six types of durable goods (radio, sofa, bed, chair, TV, iron sheets). We showed above that exiting households have higher PMT scores on average, these scores must be driven by differences in the indicators that enter into the PMT—we show here that the main driver of differences in the PMT stems from housing quality and ownership of household durable goods.

Table 7 shows the means for a set of housing characteristics, almost all of which enter into the PMT score. In columns 1-3 we see that there are statistically significant differences between exiting and continuing households in virtually all of the housing characteristics. Exiting households are more likely to have an iron roof (64 versus 32 percent), cement floor (17 versus 4 percent), and walls made of burnt brick (85 versus 74 percent)—all these are important indicators in the PMT score.

PHOTO 6

Mtukula Pakhomo beneficiary saving for improved house



The PMT also includes indicators on the source of lighting, whether electricity, paraffin, or torch. Table 8 shows a longer list of indicators encompassing both lighting and cooking fuel—not a single one of these is statistically different between exiting and continuing households, suggesting that these are not driving the reason why exiting households score higher on the PMT.

The PMT also includes two indicators related to food security (number of meals eaten), which were also collected in the baseline survey, along with other food security indicators. Table 9 shows that none of these indicators are significantly different between exiting and continuing households, thus differences in food security are not driving the difference in the PMT score.

TABLE 7 Housing characteristics by study group

	Exiting vs. Continuing			Comparison vs. New		
	Mean		p-value	Mean		p-value
	Exiting	Continuing		Comparison	New	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Number of rooms	2.848	2.462	0.000*	2.638	2.459	0.003*
Walls are made of grass	0.001	0.003	0.420	0.005	0.001	0.256
Walls are made of mud brick (unfired)	0.180	0.308	0.000*	0.268	0.329	0.008*
Walls are made of burnt bricks	0.770	0.624	0.000*	0.664	0.589	0.003*
Walls are made of concrete	0.008	0.000	0.016*	0.002	0.001	0.561
The roof is made of grass	0.384	0.705	0.000*	0.592	0.779	0.000*
The roof is made of iron sheets	0.616	0.294	0.000*	0.408	0.218	0.000*
The floor is made of sand	0.058	0.059	0.911	0.040	0.046	0.440
The floor is made of smoothed mud	0.795	0.906	0.000*	0.897	0.899	0.832
The floor is made of smooth cement	0.145	0.035	0.000*	0.062	0.053	0.314
Number of observations	838	860		848	863	

* p<0.05

TABLE 8 Lighting and cooking characteristics by study group

	Exiting vs. Continuing			Comparison vs. New		
	Mean		p-value	Mean		p-value
	Exiting	Continuing		Comparison	New	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Electricity works in the dwelling	0.006	0.002	0.177	0.007	0.003	0.178
Own improved cookstove	0.534	0.594	0.089	0.345	0.436	0.008*
Cooking with collected firewood	0.885	0.891	0.771	0.864	0.889	0.130
Cooking with purchased firewood	0.040	0.042	0.876	0.039	0.043	0.653
Cooking with charcoal	0.027	0.016	0.095	0.035	0.020	0.066
Lighting fuel source is collected from firewood	0.024	0.036	0.174	0.026	0.041	0.118
The lighting fuel source is grass	0.025	0.030	0.499	0.054	0.036	0.072
Lighting fuel source is electricity	0.005	0.002	0.408	0.006	0.003	0.407
The lighting fuel source is gas	0.002	0.003	0.671	0.004	0.002	0.699
The lighting fuel source is a battery/dry cell (torch/lamp)	0.807	0.817	0.643	0.820	0.809	0.534
Lighting fuel source is candles	0.013	0.005	0.108	0.013	0.012	0.797
The lighting fuel source is solar	0.087	0.070	0.348	0.025	0.031	0.489
Number of observations	843	860		852	863	

* p<0.05

We have collected data on three of the six durable goods used in the PMT—chair, radio, and bed. For all three of these, the existing households are significantly more likely to own durable goods relative to the continuing households. For example, 25 percent of exiting households own a chair compared to just 13 percent among continuing; similarly, 26 percent own a bed compared to just 14 percent among continuing, and 18 percent own a radio compared to just 12 percent among continuing households. Though not part of the PMT, the table shows that exiting households are also more likely to own a bicycle (27 versus 16 percent).

While livestock does not enter the PMT, in Table 11 and Table 12 we show ownership of livestock and number owned, as livestock is an important source of economic security and a key productive asset in this context. Exiting households are more likely to own any livestock (73 versus 69 percent), and total livestock wealth (derived from a principal components model) is significantly higher. Table 12 shows that exiting households own significantly more goats/sheep, chickens, and ducks/geese than continuing households. While these assets do not enter into the PMT score, they do suggest that exiting households are more economically secure.

PHOTO 7 Beneficiary household with livestock investment



TABLE 9 Food security by study group

	Exiting vs. Continuing			Comparison vs. New		
	Mean		p-value	Mean		p-value
	Exiting	Continuing		Comparison	New	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Worried about having enough food	0.651	0.676	0.428	0.748	0.754	0.748
Skipped a meal because of lack of money	0.533	0.557	0.394	0.656	0.669	0.587
Ate less than should because lack of money	0.618	0.660	0.170	0.739	0.762	0.274
Number of meals per day	2.320	2.241	0.013*	2.124	2.072	0.053
Eats more than 1 meal per day	0.949	0.924	0.077	0.912	0.877	0.033*
Child skipped meal	0.356	0.375	0.417	0.470	0.494	0.375
Children ate less than should because of a lack of money	0.431	0.462	0.251	0.570	0.599	0.234
Number of observations	840	855		847	859	

* p<0.05

TABLE 10 Durable goods ownership

	Exiting vs. Continuing			Comparison vs. New		
	Mean		p-value	Mean		p-value
	Exiting	Continuing		Comparison	New	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Bed	0.214	0.109	0.000*	0.113	0.078	0.028*
Chair	0.230	0.113	0.000*	0.156	0.088	0.000*
Radio	0.173	0.110	0.001*	0.116	0.085	0.053
Bicycle	0.259	0.166	0.000*	0.215	0.156	0.005*
Torch	0.814	0.826	0.595	0.781	0.789	0.647
Number of observations	843	860		852	863	

* p<0.05

TABLE 11 Livestock ownership by study group

	Exiting vs. Continuing			Comparison vs. New		
	Mean		p-value	Comparison	Mean	
	Exiting	Continuing			New	p-value
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Raised or owned livestock	0.762	0.705	0.015*	0.528	0.472	0.035*
Wealth index from PCA of livestock ownership	0.464	0.184	0.000*	-0.223	-0.417	0.000*
Calf/Steer/Heifer/Cow	0.013	0.005	0.055	0.006	0.005	0.752
Goat/Sheep	0.407	0.336	0.006*	0.185	0.124	0.000*
Pig	0.138	0.088	0.028*	0.070	0.044	0.030*
Chickens	0.620	0.573	0.052	0.425	0.374	0.062
Duck/Geese	0.100	0.065	0.018*	0.061	0.050	0.251
Other livestock	0.042	0.015	0.002*	0.020	0.027	0.329
Number of observations	843	860		852	863	

* p<0.05

TABLE 12 Livestock ownership by study group

	Exiting vs. Continuing			Comparison vs. New		
	Mean		p-value	Comparison	Mean	
	Exiting	Continuing			New	p-value
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Calf/Steer/Heifer/Cow owned	0.031	0.017	0.285	0.038	0.020	0.449
Goat/Sheep owned	1.648	1.289	0.005*	1.004	0.627	0.005*
Pig owned	0.350	0.244	0.133	0.282	0.177	0.091
Chickens owned	4.723	4.120	0.037*	3.624	3.459	0.587
Duck/Geese owned	0.531	0.333	0.033*	0.509	0.437	0.496
Other livestock owned	0.536	0.150	0.002*	0.278	0.354	0.553
Number of observations	642	606		450	407	

* p<0.05

7. Operational aspects of the SCTP



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We implemented a short module asking households about their knowledge of the SCTP, and for those who are current or previous recipients, their opinion about programme rules and operational aspects. For all households (not just current or prior recipients), we asked about eligibility rules, and 84 percent felt these were clear (Table 13). The majority of respondents (83 percent) thought that very poor individuals were eligible for the program, 55 percent considered old age to be an eligibility criterion, and 28 percent thought disability was a criterion (Table 14). We also asked whether people could be trusted to make good decisions with the money, and here responses were split about half and half (Table 15).

TABLE 13 Eligibility criteria for the SCT program are clear

	Percent
Disagree	13.83
Agree	86.17
N	3414

PHOTO 8 Community meeting



We then asked respondents if they were either current or previous beneficiaries. Given the study design, the comparison and new households would not have been previous beneficiaries (half the sample), one quarter would be previous beneficiaries (exiting) and the remaining quarter current ones (continuing). For existing households, 45 percent do not know why they are no longer in the programme, 12 percent claim they were removed by a local authority, and 37 percent responded that they were no longer eligible (Table 16). While no follow-up question was asked about why they were no longer eligible, informal conversations indicated that by and large, they did not know.

TABLE 14 Who do you think is eligible to receive the transfer?

(more than one response is possible)	Percent
Individuals taking care of orphans	25.6
Individuals taking care of many children	7.8
Chronically sick individuals	16.9
Widowed individuals	9.4
Individuals not able to work	3.9
Handicapped individuals	28.3
Old individuals	55.2
Very poor individuals	83.6
Not enough to eat	11.3
N	3414

TABLE 15 Can people be trusted with the money they receive

	Percent
Disagree	47.74
Agree	52.26
N	3414

TABLE 16 Why did you stop receiving SCT transfers?

	Percent
No longer eligible	39.10
Beneficiary passed away	2.19
Removed by Chief/CSSC/Social Welfare Officer	10.84
Don't Know	45.68
Other reasons	2.19
N	821

TABLE 17 When do you expect to receive the next regular SCT payment?

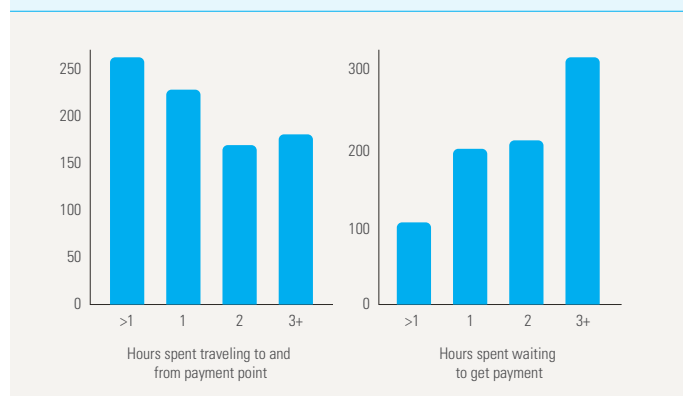
	Percent
In the Next 2 Months	15.87
In the Next 3 To 6 Months	2.98
Never	0.60
Don't Know	80.55
N	838

TABLE 18 How long in the future do you expect to continue receiving this money?

	Percent
0-6 Months	0.36
6 Months - 1 Year	0.60
1-2 Years	0.60
2-5 Years	40.21
Longer/For the Rest of Life	2.39
Don't Know	55.85
N	838

For those currently in the program (continuing households), 74 percent do not know when they will receive their next payment, a serious problem since this inhibits the ability to plan for the future (Table 17). Similarly, 46 percent did not know for how long they would receive the transfer, though 50 percent indicated between 2-5 years, which is indeed accurate (Table 18).

FIGURE 5 Travel to and wait time and pay point



The SCTP payment system is a so-called 'pull' system where beneficiaries are 'pulled' to a PayPoint and physically receive transfers, though several different forms of electronic payments have been discussed and piloted. Figure 5 shows that most recipients spend less than two hours to get to the pay point. However, the main area of concern appears to be the wait time once at the pay point, where 40 percent of households report waiting more than three hours to receive their payment, and 20 percent wait two hours. In effect, the payment activity is essentially a three-quarter or full-day affair for the majority of beneficiaries. On the one hand, this is an opportunity to provide other services and information to individuals, but absent any additional services, this is a significant amount of time just to receive the transfer.

A key aspect of any social program is the ability to file a grievance or to at least have a point of contact in case there is any question or concern about programme operations or rules. Table 19 indicates that 28 percent of beneficiaries do not think there is a point of contact for grievances or do not know if there is, which is a significant area of concern.

As there has been considerable interest on the part of the Ministry to look at alternative ways to make payments, we asked current beneficiaries (continuing households) about their preferences for payments. Cell phones appear to be the most popular option (56 percent) out of the five, followed by mobile banks and then shopkeepers (Table 20). Note that respondents were not prompted for these responses but were asked to come up with payment methods by themselves.

For continuing households, Figure 6 shows that almost all (92 percent) started receiving payments before 2019-2020, and 80 percent have received payments before 2017-18. Thus, the majority of continuing households have been in the programme for at least four years.

Finally, a key awareness concern in the programme is that of conditions. While the SCTP is officially unconditional, it is well known that social welfare officers do tell beneficiaries that they must use the money 'wisely', on basic needs like food, to invest, and to send their kids to school. As a result, 71 percent of respondents believe there are conditions attached to receiving the money, and a further 15 percent do not know (Table 21). Hence the majority of recipients are not fully aware of this important programme rule.

For those who thought there were conditions, we asked them to list up to three conditions and report the responses in Table 22. The top three cited conditions are precisely those that are typically mentioned by social welfare officers (sending children to school, food, investment). And 60 percent of households believe that someone is checking on whether they comply with these conditions (Table 23).

FIGURE 6 Year first started receiving transfers

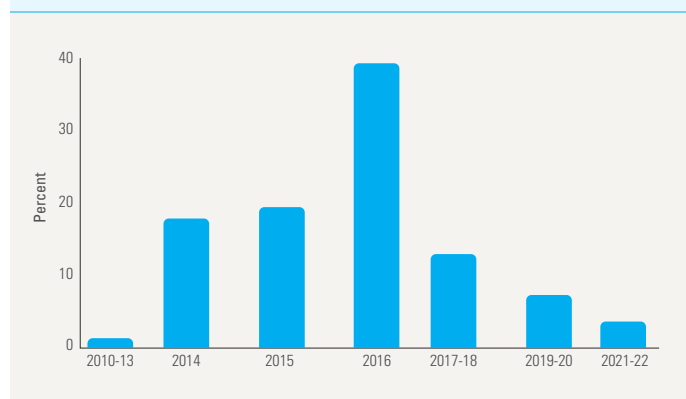


TABLE 19 Is there anyone to contact if you have any problem with the SCTP?

	Percent
No	21.31
Yes	72.12
Don't know	6.57
N	746

TABLE 20 Would you prefer to receive your payments by the following methods instead?

	Percent
Post Office	10.9
Cell Phone	53.0
Bank Card	19.7
Mobile Bank	34.4
Shop Keeper	31.9
N	838

TABLE 21 Are there conditions to continue receiving payments?

	Percent
No	15.39
Yes	71.84
Don't know	12.77
N	838

TABLE 22 What are the conditions? (Percent)

	Rule 1 (most important)	Rule 2	Rule 3
Enrollment/Attendance in primary schools	20.10	9.97	6.22
Enrolment/attendance in secondary schools	5.48	3.99	2.38
Purchase of school supplies (books, uniform, etc.)	10.63	15.12	12.61
Attendance at health facility for growth monitoring	0.66	0.83	1.83
Adequate food and nutrition for children	20.93	22.43	15.17
Clean and appropriate clothing for children	3.82	6.98	10.05
Invest in farm or non-farm business	27.41	17.28	14.99
Pay off debt	0.33	0.66	1.28
Other	10.63	12.96	11.33
N	602	602	547

Previous work by the study team indicated that the so-called school bonus is an important source of confusion when it comes to conditions. The bonus is meant to be additional support to incentivize households to send children to school but is perceived as conditional on school enrollment (which it is not). We inquired about whether continuing households had heard of the school bonus, and surprisingly just 30 percent responded affirmatively. Of these, 56 percent believe that they receive the school bonus, and 75 percent of those who report receiving the school bonus believe it is conditional and will be removed if their children do not attend school.

TABLE 23 Is anyone checking to see if cash transfer families are following the rules?

	Percent
No	30.73
Yes	62.46
Don't know	6.81
N	602



8. The SCTP transfer



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In this section, we examine a key aspect of the SCTP intervention that influences the impacts it could have on the target population: the value of the cash transfer. This analysis examines the transfer of prices and its relation to the households' consumption.

8.1 The nominal and real value of the SCTP transfer

The first step in the causality chain linking the SCTP intervention to outcomes is an increase in the purchasing capacity of the beneficiary households. The SCTP achieves that by directly transferring money in cash to the recipients regularly. However, purchasing capacity depends both on the amount of money transferred and on the prices of the goods and services the households buy. In the context of inflation of consumer prices, the purchasing power of the transfer is reduced over time. The nominal amount of the transfer: The SCTP determines the amount of the transfer based on the household's number of members. There is also an education bonus based on the household members' age and their enrollment in primary or secondary school. Table 24 shows the transfer amounts since August 2013 when the first SCTP baseline impact evaluation

survey was conducted. The program reviews the transfer amounts periodically and has increased them three times, about every two or three years, in May 2015, June 2017, and in July 2020.

TABLE 24 SCTP transfer amounts (in current MK)

	2013 to April 2015	May 2015 to May 2017	June 2017 to June 2020	July 2020 to current
1 member	1,000	1,700	2,600	4,000
2 members	1,500	2,200	3,300	5,000
3 members	1,950	2,900	4,450	6,500
4 or more members	2,400	3,700	5,600	8,000
Each primary school child	300	500	800	1,000
Each secondary school person	600	1,000	1,500	2,000

(1) Provided for persons aged 6-15, and for those aged 16-20 enrolled in primary school. (2) Provided for persons aged 10-25 enrolled in secondary school.

The real value of cash transfer: Malawi has experienced sustained inflation of consumer prices for the last 10 years. We examined the evolution of prices using the monthly time series of the consumer price index (CPI) for rural areas published by the National Statistical Office of Malawi.

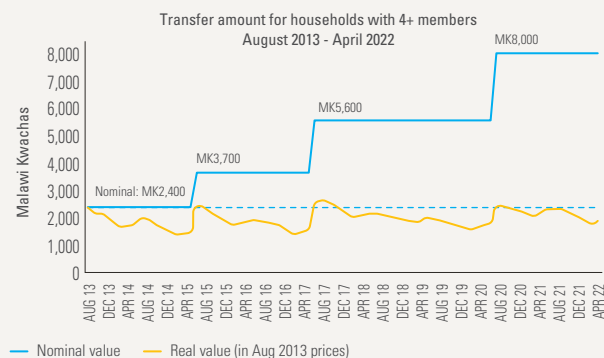
To examine the evolution of the real value of the transfer we use the case of a household with four or more members which received MK 2,400 in August 2013. We obtained the time trajectory of the real value of the transfer by dividing the nominal transfer amount by the accumulated inflation factor of each month relative to August 2013. The nominal and real values of the cash transfer are presented in Figure 7. The jumps in the nominal trajectory correspond to the three increases made by the SCTP. We observe steady declines in the real value of the transfer due to inflation. We calculated that the inflation factor from August 2013 to April 2022 in rural areas was 4.15, that is, prices increased 4.15 times during that period. Using this factor, **we obtained that the current nominal transfer of MK 8,000 per month (for a household of size 4+) had a real value of MK 1,928 in prices of August 2013, which is 19% lower than the MK 2,400 amount transferred in August 2013.**

Figure 7 also reveals that the three adjustments made by SCTP to the nominal amounts were able to restore or slightly improve the August 2013 real value of the transfer of MK 2,400 (represented by the dashed line), but price inflation rapidly eroded its purchasing capacity. For our case of households with 4+ members, our calculations indicate that a real value of MK 2,400 or higher (the value transferred in August 2013) was only maintained for 3 to 5 months right after the adjustments. The transfer had a lower (real) value in all other months, 93 out of 103 months. The persistency of inflation also meant that the steady declines in the real value implied very large reductions in the real value: the real value declined by 40% by early 2015, by 39% by early 2017, and then by 32% by early 2020.

8.2. The transfer as a share of household consumption

Another way to examine the value of the transfer from the point of view of the beneficiaries is to compare it to the households' overall consumption. This is called the "transfer share" and it is obtained by dividing the monthly transfer amount received by the household by its monthly consumption net of the transfer. The transfer share is expressed in percentage units. At the time of writing this report, we didn't have the actual transfer amounts received by the households; however, we used the collected baseline survey data on the number of members and their age and education status to simulate the transfer amounts using the current transfer criteria presented in Table 25. We calculated the simulated transfer amounts for all four evaluation groups to have an additional indicator on which to compare the groups even though the New and Comparison groups have not received the transfer, and the comparison group is technically not currently in the programme.

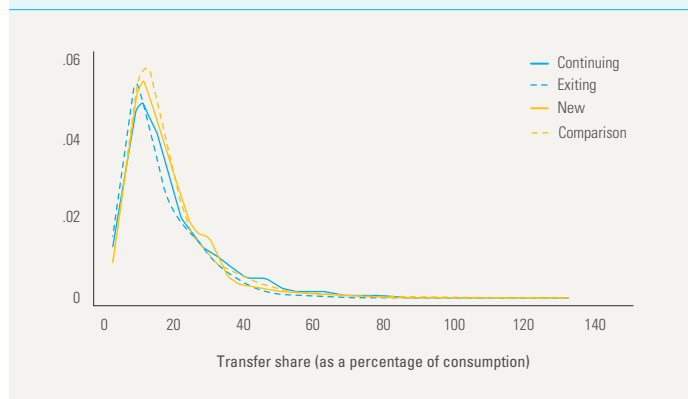
FIGURE 7 Nominal and real value of the transfer amount



As presented in Table 25, **the median transfer shares are between 13.6 and 15.4 percent for the evaluation groups, which means that half of the households have transfer shares of less than 13.6 to 15.6 percent. It is important to note that about two-thirds of the households (73% for the Comparison group) have transfer shares of less than 20 percent, which is considered the recommended level for expecting widespread impacts (Davis and Handa, 2015).** A note of caution is that the simulated amounts are based on the current demographic and members' school enrollment conditions of the household, they don't reflect the households' conditions at the time of the initial certification for SCTP eligibility on which the actual amounts received were based on, which can be as much four to five years earlier. Considering the SCTP's positive effect on school enrollment, our simulations are likely to overestimate the actual amount of the transfer, at least for the Exiting and Continuing groups.

TABLE 25 Simulated transfer amounts and transfer shares as a percentage of consumption

	Comparison	New	Exiting	Continuing
Mean total transfer per month (MWK)	9,004.10	9,058.6	8,616.70	8,633.20
Mean transfer share	17.6	18.0	18.2	21.0
Median transfer share	14.6	15.0	13.6	15.4
Percentage of households with less than 20% transfer share	73.0	68.4	68.7	65.1
N	851	862	841	855

FIGURE 8 Transfer share by evaluation group

Note: The vertical dashed line indicates the overall median transfer share of 14.5.

Figure 8 presents the distribution of households by their transfer share. For all evaluation groups, there is a large concentration of households on the left of the graph with transfer shares lower than 20 percent.

The transfer share is less than 20 percent even for households with few members as presented in Table 26. There is no sub-group of households in Table 26 with a transfer share of 20 percent or higher. The median transfer share declines rapidly as the household size increases beyond four members. The median is much lower for larger households of seven members or more.

TABLE 26 Median transfer share by household size

Household size	Comparison	New	Exiting	Continuing
1	14.1	12.4	17.1	19.4
2	13.2	12.4	17.0	16.9
3	18.5	15.6	15.3	16.0
4	16.4	17.0	17.3	17.6
5	16.1	18.0	14.3	15.5
6	15.8	16.0	12.9	14.0
7	12.9	13.6	12.6	14.0
8	12.1	12.8	11.0	13.8
9	11.0	11.8	11.9	11.0
10	9.2	12.6	10.5	12.1
11+	9.0	11.3	7.5	10.1
All households	14.6	15.0	13.6	15.4
N	851	862	841	855

9. Consumption and poverty



Our survey instrument has replicated the full Integrated Household Survey (IHS) consumption module with 300+ individual items of consumption and non-consumption expenditure recorded with reference periods aligned with the frequency of purchase (weekly, monthly, quarterly, and yearly). Following the IHS we collected purchases, own production, and the value of gifts, aggregated all of these to obtain a total household consumption value, and divided by household size to convert to per capita terms like the welfare approach used to monitor national poverty statistics in Malawi. We further categorize consumption into broad groups following the procedure used in the IHS.

9.1 Analysis of total and food consumption

Consumption tends to be highly skewed to the right, as Figure 9 indicates. **The distribution of consumption (annual, per capita) is very similar for comparison and new households, with a slight difference just around the median. On the other hand, consumption is significantly higher for exiting (solid black line) households compared to continuing (dotted line) as the distribution is shifted slightly to the right.**

FIGURE 9 Total consumption per capita-annual

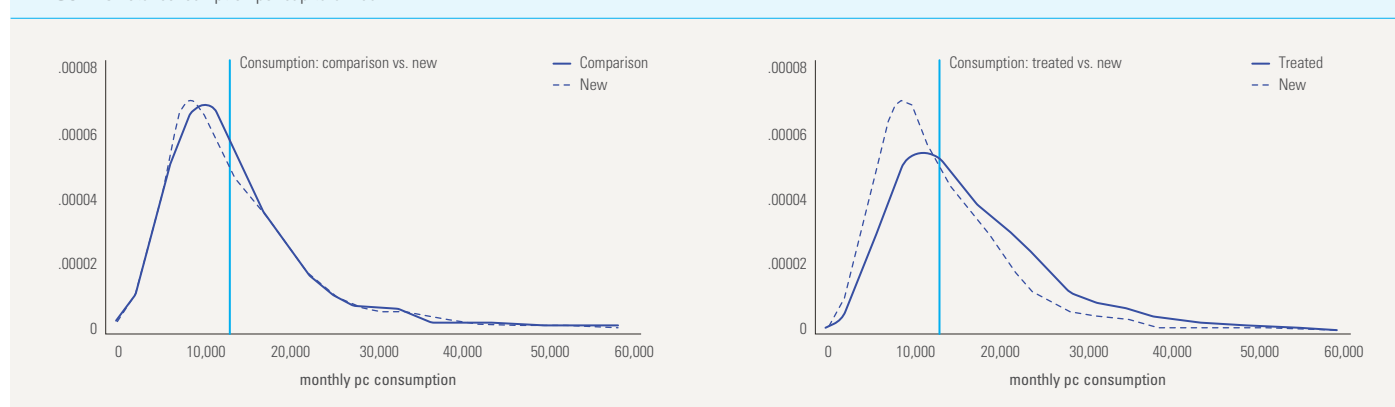


Table 27 confirms that neither total, food nor non-food consumption is statistically different between new and comparison households, while total consumption is significantly different between continuing and exiting households.

Given the skewed distribution of consumption, the mean of the overall sample of MK188,754 is much higher than the median of MK155,866. Using the median, dividing by 365 days in the year and an exchange rate over the reference period of MK820 gives a daily per-person consumption of US\$0.52. Similarly, food consumption per person per day is US\$0.41.

Annual per capita consumption by broad category is shown in Table 28. There is only one statistically significant difference

(education) between comparison and new households. We also see a significant difference in home furnishings and repair spending between exiting and continuing households, consistent with our earlier analysis showing significant improvements in housing conditions among exiting households.

The importance of different budget categories is assessed through the share of the overall budget they attract. Table 29 shows clearly that food is the single most important consumption item, taking up 78 percent of the overall budget, followed by health (5 percent), home furnishings and repair (4 percent), and transportation and communication (primarily airtime) (3 percent).

TABLE 27 Total food and nonfood consumption per capita--annual

	Exiting vs. Continuing			Comparison vs. New		
	Mean		p-value	Mean		p-value
	Exiting	Continuing		Comparison	New	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
PC Consumption, Annual	217,244.11	201,337.04	0.03*	167,717.27	169,151.87	0.80
PC Food	175,409.64	164,436.10	0.07	130,263.72	133,210.07	0.50
PC Nonfood	41,834.47	36,900.94	0.02*	37,453.55	35,941.80	0.41
Number of observations	843	860		852	863	

* p<0.05

TABLE 28 Total consumption and groups

	Exiting vs. Continuing			Comparison vs. New		
	Mean		p-value	Mean		p-value
	Exiting	Continuing		Comparison	New	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Food	169,950.56	159,415.35	0.07	126,556.33	128,916.72	0.58
Alcohol & tobacco	5,459.08	5,020.75	0.52	3,707.39	4,293.35	0.24
Clothing	3,109.20	3,281.04	0.51	2,121.06	2,674.80	0.05
Housing and utilities	3,176.08	2,494.14	0.16	3,228.13	2,671.22	0.26
Home furnishings, repairs	8,561.20	6,949.56	0.05*	6,260.80	5,775.22	0.25
Health	9,931.40	10,081.53	0.84	9,928.09	10,127.02	0.77
Transp. & communication	7,588.80	5,676.94	0.08	7,344.99	6,864.89	0.64
Education	3,805.78	3,704.88	0.77	3,996.39	3,361.83	0.05*
Miscellaneous	5,662.01	4,712.85	0.00*	4,574.09	4,466.82	0.56
Number of observations	843	860		852	863	

* p<0.05

As food is the most important consumption item it is revealing to see what the composition of food consumption looks like. The typical diet consists of a basic starch, usually nsima made from maize or cassava coupled with a relish of either vegetables, beans, or, if affordable to the household, meat, fish, or chicken. Table 30 shows that cereals and tubers together comprise 40 percent of the food budget, with the most common relishes (meats, beans, vegetables) comprising 44 percent. The remaining 16 percent of the food budget is comprised of foods from vendors (6 percent), fats (primarily cooking oil and sugar) (6 percent), and other foods. In prior qualitative work, we discovered that cooking oil is a key luxury item that the SCTP allows households to purchase, this can be seen

TABLE 29 Total consumption shares

	Exiting vs. Continuing			Comparison vs. New		
	Mean		p-value	Mean		p-value
	Exiting	Continuing		Comparison	New	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Food	0.783	0.788	0.454	0.762	0.770	0.234
Alcohol & tobacco	0.024	0.025	0.735	0.021	0.025	0.169
Clothing	0.015	0.016	0.111	0.012	0.015	0.062
Housing and utilities	0.013	0.010	0.086	0.015	0.013	0.134
Home furnishings, repairs	0.039	0.037	0.299	0.039	0.037	0.185
Health	0.050	0.054	0.238	0.063	0.061	0.543
Transp. & communication	0.026	0.022	0.145	0.032	0.027	0.142
Education	0.022	0.021	0.746	0.025	0.023	0.275
Miscellaneous	0.029	0.026	0.039*	0.029	0.029	0.966
Number of observations	843	860		852	863	

* p<0.05

TABLE 30 Food shares

	Exiting vs. Continuing			Comparison vs. New		
	Mean		p-value	Mean		p-value
	Exiting	Continuing		Comparison	New	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Cereals	0.315	0.327	0.163	0.347	0.351	0.620
Vegetables	0.202	0.210	0.236	0.220	0.224	0.475
Meats	0.142	0.133	0.097	0.122	0.118	0.537
Pulses, nuts	0.098	0.095	0.499	0.091	0.092	0.853
Tubers	0.084	0.084	0.896	0.082	0.082	0.868
Fats, sugars	0.060	0.053	0.003*	0.051	0.046	0.047*
Food from vendors	0.057	0.057	0.892	0.045	0.048	0.492
Dairy/fruit/spices	0.040	0.042	0.331	0.041	0.039	0.159
Number of observations	843	860		852	863	

* p<0.05

in the statistical differences in fats between the slightly richer exiting households versus the other groups, but **aside from this one difference, overall diet composition is the same for both sets of households (continuing versus exiting; new versus comparison).**

We now turn to estimates of poverty and ultra-poverty, where we use the recently updated national poverty lines as reported in IHS5 of MK165,869 and MK101,293 for poverty and ultra-poverty respectively, expressed in annual April/May 2019 units. We apply the CPI inflator over the period of 1.45 to inflate these lines to May 2022 units and compare household annual per capita consumption from our survey to the resulting lines to estimate poverty rates. **The IHS5 reports a national poverty**

rate (individual level) of 50.7 percent and a rural rate of 56.5, compared to 83 percent in our sample, thus the poverty rate among SCTP households is nearly 1.5 times higher than the rural average. The ultra-poverty rate from IHS5 is 20.5 nationally and 23.6 in rural areas, compared to 52.3 percent in our sample, so the ultra-poverty rate among SCTP households is over twice the rate among all rural households in Malawi. Table 31 reports poverty rates by study group and shows significantly lower poverty rates among existing versus continuing households and no differences between comparison and new households. Note that poverty rates in columns 1 and 2 (households who have been in the SCTP for some time) are much lower than in columns 3 and 4 (households who have not been in the programme).

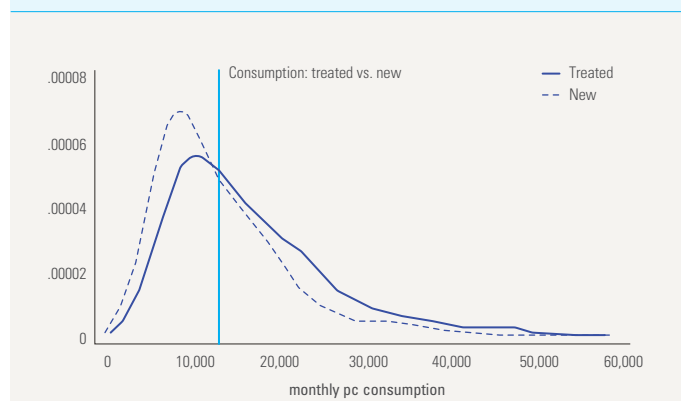
9.2 Comparison between SCTP and New Households

As mentioned earlier, a comparison of households who have received the Mtukula Pakhomo for several years versus newly eligible households but who haven't received transfers can provide an initial idea of programme impacts. In this section, we compare consumption outcomes for continuing and exiting households who have been in the program ('SCTP households') with new entrants.

Figure 10 shows the distribution of total per capita consumption for the two groups—**there is a significant rightward shift in the distribution for SCTP households, and this difference is statistically significant, providing prima facie evidence of a positive welfare impact of the SCTP.**

Figure 11 shows that this difference is almost entirely driven by food consumption (the difference is also statistically significant), which makes sense as food comprises 78 percent of total consumption. However, even the non-food consumption totals are statistically different, a difference that is undoubtedly driven by the spending on housing quality that we noted earlier.

FIGURE 10 Consumption: treated vs. new



Given the importance of food in the consumption bundle, Figure 12 compares the food budgets between the two groups of households. There is a slight shift in the budget towards higher priced relishes (meats, fish, chicken), vendor-provided foods, and of course fats, driven again by cooking oil and to a lesser extent sugar. **These patterns are perfectly consistent with what we would expect in this context as otherwise, poor households obtain slightly more income, and they provide a very clear picture of the impact of the SCTP on ultra-poor households.**

FIGURE 11 Total, food and nonfood consumption: SCTP vs. new households

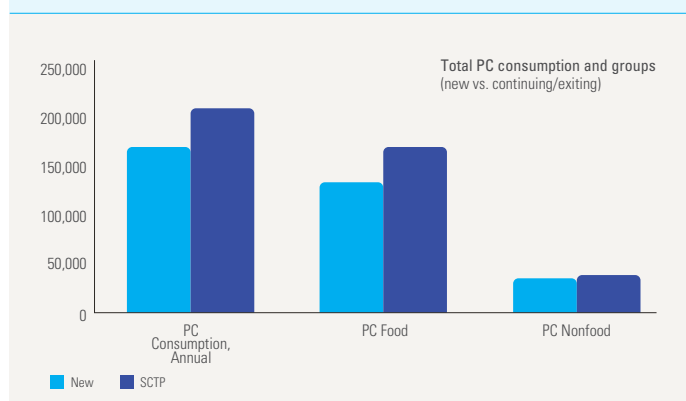


FIGURE 12 Food budget: SCTP vs. new households

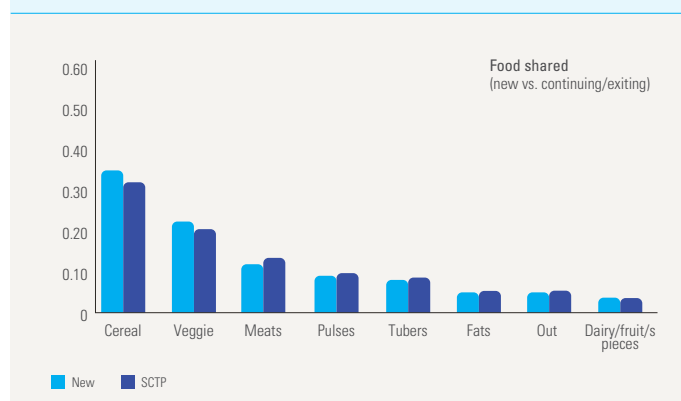


TABLE 31 Poverty rates

	Exiting vs. Continuing			Comparison vs. New		
	Exiting	Mean Continuing	p-value	Comparison	Mean New	p-value
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Poverty rate	0.673	0.740	0.007*	0.832	0.832	0.991
Ultra-poverty rate	0.374	0.410	0.148	0.532	0.539	0.768
Poverty gap	0.272	0.305	0.011*	0.381	0.388	0.573
Ultra-poverty gap	0.103	0.126	0.009*	0.173	0.189	0.137
Number of observations	843	860		852	863	

* p<0.05

10. Well-being, economic security, shocks and coping



In this section, we present statistics on other important domains for two reasons. First, these baseline statistics provide a useful snapshot of the current living conditions of SCTP households and can be compared to comparable statistics in future follow-up surveys to monitor changes in living conditions. Second, we provide statistical tests for differences in means for each indicator between the two sets of study groups (existing versus continuing and comparison versus new), so that the reader can assess the comparability of the two groups. Significant differences at baseline, especially for key outcome variables, must be noted for the follow-up survey waves. These differences can be netted out (or accounted for) by measuring the change in the value of the outcome across the two comparison groups (difference-in-differences).

An additional aspect of interest is that a comparison between continuing households and new entrants provides an informative first cut at the possible impact of the SCTP since both are now deemed eligible for the program, and continuing households have been receiving cash for several years already while new entrants have not received any. We will thus highlight the differences between these two groups of households as well.

10.1 Main Respondent Well-being

In recent years research on poverty and living standards has come to recognize the importance of non-monetary aspects of well-being, in particular, subjective well-being and psychological states. These are complementary to monetary (consumption, food security) or physical indicators (assets) and ultimately can be viewed as a direct measure of a person's well-being as they see it. Individuals naturally value different things in life and asking them questions about their quality of life or life satisfaction gives each person the opportunity to weigh the aspects of their life that they consider important, whether it be physical assets or money, housing quality, security, family and friends, or health.

Our quantitative questionnaire includes a suite of questions to capture subjective well-being and psychological states, administered to the main respondent (typically the SCTP beneficiary), and we report these in Table 32. In columns 1-3 just one of the reported 13 indicators is statistically different between the groups. In columns 4-6, all but two indicators are statistically indistinguishable across the new and comparison households, but the two that are different refer to whether the respondent believes that life will be better in the next one or two years,

whereas the new entrants understandably score higher than the comparison households. Note that the exiting households also score lower on this indicator relative to continuing households as we might expect, though the difference is not statistically significant.

Comparing new with continuing households can give an idea of the 'impact' of the SCTP since continuing households have been receiving cash for several years now. Here we see that on the summative scales of Quality of Life and the Cantril Life Satisfaction ladder, continuing households score higher than new entrants, and the differences are statistically significant at 5 percent for the Cantril ladder and 10 percent for Quality of Life,

which can be interpreted as prima facie evidence of programme impacts.

Reporting on subjective well-being is often different between men and women, because men and women may weigh different aspects of life differently, and because structural features of society affect women differently from men. For these reasons, we report indicators by sex in Table 33, and surprisingly, we find very little difference. **The three statistically significant differences in Table 33 do, however, indicate that women have higher perceived stress, and are less likely to feel positive about the future or believe their life will be better two years from now.**

TABLE 32 Main respondent's subjective well-being

	Exiting vs. Continuing			Comparison vs. New		
	Mean		p-value	Mean		p-value
	Exiting	Continuing		Comparison	New	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Quality of life scale	2.727	2.686	0.336	2.547	2.566	0.670
In most ways, my life is close to ideal	2.463	2.426	0.606	2.197	2.282	0.177
The conditions in my life are excellent	2.631	2.581	0.411	2.438	2.513	0.262
I am satisfied with my life	3.052	2.977	0.256	2.923	2.968	0.580
So far I have gotten the important things I want in life	2.197	2.140	0.337	1.930	1.950	0.686
If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing	2.199	2.301	0.114	2.144	2.097	0.474
I feel positive about my future	2.980	3.021	0.496	2.957	2.979	0.748
I generally feel happy	3.065	3.013	0.410	2.737	2.754	0.776
I am satisfied with my health	3.225	3.029	0.002*	3.052	2.981	0.314
Cantril ladder	2.867	2.702	0.145	2.418	2.200	0.021*
Life is better than it was 12 months ago	0.504	0.512	0.769	0.474	0.476	0.936
Life will be better in a year	0.495	0.510	0.592	0.496	0.528	0.215
Life will be better in 2 years	0.490	0.492	0.941	0.486	0.543	0.030*
Perceived Stress	30.575	30.900	0.357	32.302	32.669	0.195
Number of observations	843	860		852	863	

* p<0.05

TABLE 33 Main respondent subjective well-being by sex

	Male vs. Female		
	Male	Female	p-value
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Quality of life scale	2.615	2.637	0.477
In most ways, my life is close to ideal	2.275	2.367	0.062
The conditions in my life are excellent	2.469	2.568	0.054
I am satisfied with my life	2.933	2.997	0.233
So far I have gotten the important things I want in life	2.021	2.066	0.298
If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing	2.133	2.206	0.169
I feel positive about my future	3.064	2.953	0.042*
I generally feel happy	2.932	2.876	0.143
I am satisfied with my health	3.090	3.064	0.605
Cantril ladder	2.641	2.509	0.079
Life is better than it was 12 months ago	0.479	0.496	0.326
Life will be better in a year	0.525	0.501	0.182
Life will be better in 2 years	0.543	0.488	0.002*
Perceived Stress (higher is worse)	31.268	31.749	0.031*
Number of observations	947	2471	

* p<0.05

TABLE 34 Land use and plots by study group

	Exiting vs. Continuing			Comparison vs. New		
	Mean		p-value	Mean		p-value
	Exiting	Continuing		Comparison	New	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Own or cultivate land	0.991	0.984	0.156	0.984	0.978	0.391
Number of plots own or cultivate	1.677	1.577	0.033*	1.479	1.435	0.135
Acres of land	1.739	1.622	0.060	1.415	1.394	0.619
Plot is irrigated	0.116	0.129	0.522	0.121	0.097	0.123
Poor soil quality	0.292	0.313	0.389	0.354	0.335	0.409
Fair soil quality	0.516	0.483	0.221	0.494	0.490	0.868
Good soil quality	0.393	0.371	0.358	0.291	0.287	0.856
Number of observations	836	853		847	859	

* p<0.05

10.2 Livelihoods and Economic Security

A key premise of the reassessment and retargeting exercise is that households may have strengthened their economic conditions enough to be able to ‘graduate’ from the program. The PMT score of exiting households is higher than for those entering or continuing in the program, but as we saw earlier, the PMT is driven by changes in housing quality and household durable goods ownership and not economic conditions. **An important interrogation of the graduation idea is to assess whether exiting households indeed have a different portfolio of livelihoods that suggests they are more secure from an economic or financial perspective and are thus likely to have ‘graduated’.**

Earlier we showed that exiting households are more likely to have any livestock and to have more quantities of livestock such as goats, sheep, and chickens. On the other hand, we also noted that their food security situation in terms of worrying about food or the number of meals eaten was no different from continuing households. Here we provide additional information on different dimensions of livelihoods and financial security.

All SCTP households are rural and are dependent on agriculture as their primary livelihood source. Table 34 shows that 99 percent of households cultivate land, and typically have 1-2 plots and a total size of 1-2 acres, primarily rainfed (91 percent) and of fair to poor soil quality. Thus, these are small, primarily subsistence agricultural households living off small plots, and are highly susceptible to weather conditions.

Table 35 further indicates that one-third of these households use no fertilizer at all, and just 10 percent use pesticides. This low use coupled with the reliance on rainwater and the small plots paints a picture of a very precarious existence for these households. Table 36 indicates that all households have at least a hoe, over half have a panga and 40 percent have an axe. **We do not see any systematic differences between exiting and continuing households, which raises questions about the graduation potential of the exiting households.**

In terms of possible program impact, we observe that continuing households do use more fertilizer than new entrants, and also are more likely to own an axe, sickle, and pick and to have a structure or building for agricultural purposes.

Diversification of livelihoods is a key strategy to mitigate risk and can directly contribute to economic security. We already observed that exiting households are more likely to hold livestock, Table 37 reports indicators on non-farm enterprise (NFE) and associated assets and revenues. **Here we see no statistical difference between exiting and continuing households in any dimension of NFE**, though revenue and net profit do appear a bit higher.

TABLE 35 Use of fertilizer and pesticide

	Exiting vs. Continuing			Comparison vs. New		
	Mean			Mean		
	Exiting	Continuing	p-value	Comparison	New	p-value
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Manure fertilizer	0.127	0.133	0.794	0.176	0.165	0.572
Chemical fertilizer	0.566	0.542	0.388	0.487	0.474	0.613
Manure and chemical fertilizer	0.265	0.224	0.130	0.211	0.220	0.678
Did not apply any fertilizer	0.317	0.295	0.325	0.329	0.320	0.707
Pesticide	0.158	0.094	0.001*	0.109	0.092	0.261
Number of observations	843	860		852	863	

* p<0.05

TABLE 36 Usage of agricultural implements and costs

	Exiting vs. Continuing			Comparison vs. New		
	Mean			Mean		
	Exiting	Continuing	p-value	Comparison	New	p-value
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Hand hoe	0.991	0.984	0.168	0.981	0.981	0.965
Axe	0.427	0.401	0.371	0.373	0.363	0.687
Panga	0.554	0.501	0.045*	0.516	0.499	0.531
Sickle	0.330	0.376	0.108	0.322	0.341	0.409
Pick	0.019	0.020	0.894	0.014	0.017	0.593
Shovel	0.062	0.049	0.337	0.066	0.042	0.036*
Structures or buildings	0.326	0.221	0.000*	0.197	0.168	0.102
Incurred any cost for agricultural production	0.308	0.310	0.930	0.304	0.295	0.694
Total expenditure on agricultural inputs (owned, rented, or borrowed)	1,396.809	1,333.760	0.622	1,335.331	1,299.647	0.796
Number of observations	827	840		831	847	

* p<0.05

PHOTO 9 Example of non-farm enterprise



Another avenue for diversification is through wage or off-farm employment (not ganyu), however, Table 38 indicates no statistical difference in the number of hours worked in the past seven days in wage or off-farm work between exiting and continuing households. Table 39 supplements this with data on ganyu⁴ over a longer reference period, as well as on-farm work and domestic activities—both tables are for all individuals ages six years and above in the household. **Here we see a significant reduction in any among the exiting households relative to continuing, which is to be interpreted as a positive since many are the labor of last resort in this setting.**

We complete our analysis of financial and economic security by looking at loans, credit and savings in Table 40. Columns 1-3 show no statistically significant differences in any of the 11 indicators reported, indeed if anything, exiting households seem to be slightly more indebted, with higher loan and credit balances (though not statistically different from continuing households).

TABLE 37 Usage of agricultural implements and costs

	Exiting vs. Continuing			Comparison vs. New		
	Mean		p-value	Mean		p-value
	Exiting	Continuing		Comparison	New	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Operating any non-farm enterprise	0.378	0.377	0.972	0.379	0.374	0.877
Number of non-farm enterprises	0.415	0.414	0.961	0.409	0.394	0.626
Number of non-farm enterprises currently in operation	0.280	0.266	0.671	0.272	0.254	0.481
Own any asset for the non-farm enterprise	0.114	0.121	0.725	0.132	0.115	0.317
Total revenue in last operating month	9,382.609	8,246.296	0.283	9,395.303	8,285.152	0.417
Total profit or loss	4,582.283	3,889.139	0.454	4,961.095	3,219.718	0.146
Number of observations	506	486		479	495	

* p<0.05

TABLE 38 Hours worked in the last seven days in economic activity

	Exiting vs. Continuing			Comparison vs. New		
	Mean		p-value	Mean		p-value
	Exiting	Continuing		Comparison	New	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Other economic activities for the household	5.751	4.904	0.021*	4.330	3.894	0.105
Casual, part-time, or any labor	2.645	3.140	0.115	3.668	3.957	0.301
Wage, salary, commission employment	0.317	0.370	0.587	0.390	0.559	0.150
Number of observations	3941	3945		4134	4172	

* p<0.05

4 Ganyu is the local word for casual or piece-work, and in agrarian economies is widely regarded as the labour of last resort.

TABLE 39 Time used on domestic chores, farming, and ganyu

	Exiting vs. Continuing			Comparison vs. New		
	Mean		p-value	Mean		p-value
	Exiting	Continuing		Comparison	New	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Hours of domestic chores, yesterday	2.515	2.539	0.798	2.426	2.388	0.559
Days of farming activities, in the past rainy season	33.607	32.361	0.347	31.870	29.271	0.038*
Any ganyu, in the last 12 months	0.419	0.490	0.000*	0.518	0.529	0.350
Months of ganyu, in the last 12 months	1.908	2.225	0.004*	2.571	2.621	0.624
Number of observations	3941	3945		4134	4172	

* p<0.05

TABLE 40 Access to credit

	Exiting vs. Continuing			Comparison vs. New		
	Mean		p-value	Mean		p-value
	Exiting	Continuing		Comparison	New	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Owe money from any loan	0.058	0.036	0.031*	0.062	0.066	0.727
The loan amount still owe	1,041.706	774.040	0.267	1,369.185	1,112.806	0.348
Borrowed any money	0.489	0.470	0.428	0.471	0.440	0.273
Amount borrowed	10,651.493	9,663.158	0.293	11,916.469	9,024.737	0.006*
Borrowed amount still owe	7,924.464	7,138.811	0.332	8,897.355	6,901.954	0.019*
Any purchase on credit	0.154	0.142	0.477	0.196	0.197	0.963
Can purchase on credit	0.346	0.322	0.322	0.344	0.331	0.605
Total credit amount	964.655	722.459	0.098	1,444.486	1,242.436	0.320
Credit amount still owe	482.381	408.357	0.442	931.720	893.035	0.809
Number of observations	829	851		833	846	

* p<0.05

Turning to potential program impacts, we note that continuing households have lower balances on credit and long-term loans than new entrants, but higher current loan balances, so the total outstanding debt is about the same or slightly lower among continuing households. **On the other hand, these households are more likely to hold savings, and the amount held is three times higher than in new households, both of these differences are statistically significant.**

Our analysis of livelihoods and economic security leads to two main conclusions. **First, there is very little systematic difference between exiting and continuing households, except in livestock holdings. As we saw earlier, differences in the PMT score that make households ineligible are driven by housing quality and ownership of domestic assets (the PMT**

does not contain any economic indicators except for ganyu and wage work). Consequently, the evidence raises doubts about the graduation potential of exiting households, though it should be highlighted that the SCTP is not a graduation programme.

The other comparison of interest is between continuing households who have received transfers for several years and new entrants. **Differences in outcomes between these two groups are suggestive of prima facie evidence of positive programme impacts. Here the evidence is positive, with significant differences in savings, subjective well-being, livestock, and possession of agricultural tools indicating a positive impact of the SCTP.**

TABLE 41 Shocks

	Exiting vs. Continuing			Comparison vs. New		
	Mean		p-value	Mean		p-value
	Exiting	Continuing		Comparison	New	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Drought/Irregular rains	0.549	0.533	0.545	0.594	0.604	0.685
Floods/Landslides	0.282	0.300	0.498	0.331	0.334	0.901
Unusually high level of crop/livestock pests or disease	0.511	0.493	0.569	0.540	0.534	0.823
Unusually high costs of agricultural inputs	0.579	0.544	0.217	0.610	0.587	0.351
Serious illness or accident of household member(s)	0.094	0.100	0.686	0.100	0.097	0.870
Birth in the household	0.028	0.034	0.624	0.050	0.031	0.035*
Death of household income earner(s)	0.069	0.069	0.988	0.083	0.073	0.416
Break-up of household (divorce/separation/death/migration)	0.042	0.048	0.586	0.069	0.045	0.094
Theft of money/valuables/assets/agricultural output	0.117	0.088	0.064	0.127	0.101	0.144
High education costs	0.152	0.140	0.502	0.197	0.160	0.024*
House destroyed (for example, burning, flood, winds)	0.222	0.292	0.002*	0.331	0.356	0.284
Number of observations	843	860		852	863	

* p<0.05

Finally, the rigor of the long-term evaluation of impacts is strengthened by baseline balance between the respective study groups. Here again, the evidence is promising—there are very few statistically significant differences in outcome indicators between new and comparison households. There are differences in some domains (household durable goods, livestock, housing quality) between exiting and continuing households, which is to be expected, but no difference in livelihood activities, savings, or credit. Here the core research question is whether the differences that do exist will continue in the future.

10.3 Shocks and Coping Mechanisms

A recent paper by the study team, using data from the earlier 2013-15 IE, showed that the programme had a strong positive impact on household resilience.⁵ A key validity check of their compositive resilience index was its relationship with positive coping strategies in the face of a shock, as risk-coping is a key component of resilience. Households in our sample face almost continuous shocks, mostly covariate and exogenous shocks such

as drought 58 percent), crop disease (52 percent), and floods (32 percent). The main types of individual or idiosyncratic shocks are the death of an income earner (eight percent), theft (11 percent), or damage to one's house due to weather (30 percent) (though this may also be considered a covariate shock).

For each shock reported by the households, we asked about up to two main coping responses to the shock and reported the main coping response in Table 42. **The most common response is in fact to do nothing, a reflection of the scarcity under which these households live. Among SCTP recipients in columns 1 and 2, the SCTP transfer itself is an important coping mechanism (11 percent), as are other types of unconditional support from the government (10 percent), savings (20 percent), and help from friends and relatives (21 percent). New and comparison households do not have the SCTP as a coping mechanism, and so are more likely to do nothing, to increase work, or to take a loan or credit.**

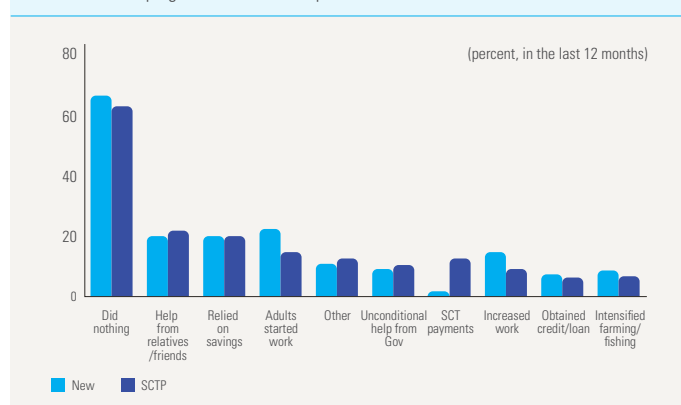
5 Frank Otchere, Sudhanshu Handa on behalf of the Malawi SCTP Evaluation Team, 2022, Building Resilience through Social Protection: Evidence from Malawi, Journal of Development Studies, available at <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/00220388.2022.2075733>.

TABLE 42 Coping mechanisms

	Exiting vs. Continuing			Comparison vs. New		
	Mean		p-value	Comparison	Mean	
	Exiting	Continuing			New	p-value
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Did nothing	0.620	0.656	0.146	0.666	0.670	0.885
Help from relatives /friends	0.229	0.207	0.290	0.228	0.201	0.183
Relied on savings	0.218	0.180	0.097	0.240	0.198	0.038*
Adults started work	0.145	0.142	0.885	0.202	0.222	0.313
Other	0.138	0.119	0.246	0.117	0.109	0.637
Unconditional help from gov	0.099	0.106	0.629	0.094	0.092	0.878
SCT payments	0.096	0.134	0.022*	0.001	0.001	0.993
Increased work	0.076	0.095	0.209	0.137	0.147	0.523
Obtained credit/loan	0.074	0.054	0.103	0.078	0.078	0.974
Intensified farming /fishing	0.060	0.070	0.518	0.085	0.080	0.667
Number of observations	781	783		797	805	

* p<0.05

Next, we compare the coping responses of SCTP households (continuing and exiting) versus new households (those who are eligible for the SCTP but have not yet received payments). Figure 13 shows that SCTP households were more likely to use the transfer as a coping response and less likely to take a loan or credit, or to do nothing, relative to new households. As the most common type of quick work is low-paying ganyu, the reduced reliance on ganyu is to be viewed as a positive in this context, as is the reduced reliance on debt, or doing nothing. This is yet another illustration of the way the Mtukula Pakhomo affects the behavior and well-being of households.

FIGURE 13 Coping mechanisms in response to household shocks

11. Schooling, health and nutrition

In this section, we provide descriptive statistics for the schooling and health indicators collected in the survey. Our objective is to check for balance between comparison households and new entrants, to see whether there is a separation between exiting and continuing households, and to report the baseline value of these indicators for future reference.

11.1 Schooling

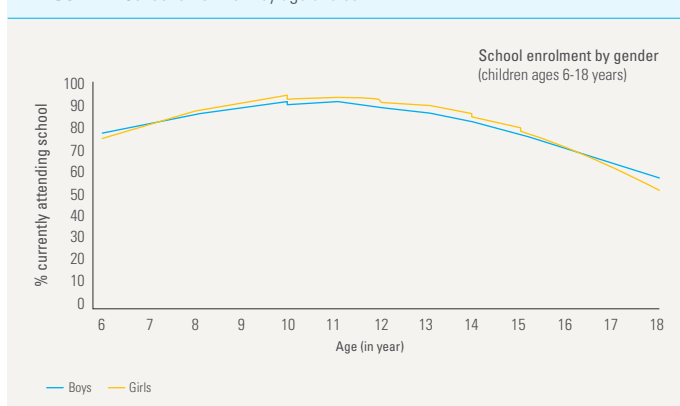
Schooling outcomes in the SCTP have been studied quite extensively. The earlier 2013-15 IE showed that the SCTP increased school enrollment among children aged 13-17 by 13 percentage points, one of the highest schooling impacts of a cash transfer program in the world.⁶ A recent report by the study team looked at specific barriers to schooling for SCTP children, and how these could be overcome to improve schooling outcomes.⁷ The report highlighted the non-monetary barriers faced by children, including poor school quality and the attitude of teachers. Girls face additional challenges, associated with menstrual health and sexual abuse. Finally, an in-depth analysis of schooling and child work showed that even with increased school enrollment, children continued to work in domestic and economic activities, which has obvious implications for their performance in school.⁸

Figure 14 shows enrollment rates by age and sex—the profile is fairly typical for Malawi and neighboring countries, with drop-out commencing around age 12, around the time children transition from primary to secondary school. This transition coincides with the primary school leaving exam, which requires a passing grade to proceed to secondary school. Sex differences in enrollment are surprisingly not large, even though girls face larger barriers to continuing their schooling as documented in the earlier study.



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FIGURE 14 School enrollment by age and sex



6 Kelly Kilburn*, Sudhanshu Handa, Gustavo Angeles, Peter Mvula and Maxton Tsoka, "Short-term Impacts of an Unconditional Cash Transfer on Child Schooling: Experimental Evidence from Malawi," *Economics of Education Review*, Vol 59 (August): 63-80, 2017.

7 Policy Options to Improve the Educational Impact of the Malawi Social Cash Transfer Programme. Transfer Project. https://transfer.cpc.unc.edu/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/Malawi-SCTP_Education-Policy-Options-Final-Report-14.08.20.pdf

8 Jacob De Hoop, Valeria Groppo and Sudhanshu Handa, "Cash transfers, entrepreneurial activity, and child work: Evidence from Malawi and Zambia," *World Bank Economic Review*, Vol. 34(3): 670-697, 2020. <https://academic.oup.com/wber/article/34/3/670/5611144>

TABLE 43 Education

	Exiting vs. Continuing			Comparison vs. New		
	Mean			Mean		
	Exiting	Continuing	p-value	Comparison	New	p-value
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Literate in Chichewa	0.614	0.573	0.019*	0.586	0.541	0.009*
Literate in English	0.251	0.208	0.005*	0.220	0.204	0.281
Has attended school	0.966	0.947	0.014*	0.945	0.944	0.873
Highest grade completed	3.317	3.075	0.005*	3.131	2.988	0.095
Currently attending school	0.847	0.818	0.032*	0.820	0.818	0.905
Withdraw from school for at least two consecutive weeks	0.260	0.317	0.003*	0.340	0.325	0.445
Received contributions for school costs from outside the households	0.070	0.076	0.584	0.046	0.063	0.087
Expects to enroll in school in academic year 2022-23	0.990	0.988	0.391	0.991	0.982	0.030*
Grade expecting to attend in academic year 2022-23	5.004	4.775	0.024*	4.906	4.751	0.082
Number of observations	1682	1722		1852	1913	1682

* p<0.05

TABLE 44 Education by age group

	Ages 6-12 vs. Ages 13-18		
	Ages 6-12	Ages 13-18	p-value
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Literate in Chichewa	0.344	0.847	0.000*
Literate in English	0.051	0.416	0.000*
Has ever attended school	0.921	0.983	0.000*
Highest grade completed	1.616	4.857	0.000*
Currently attending school	0.893	0.747	0.000*
Withdraw from school for at least two consecutive weeks	0.241	0.394	0.000*
Received contributions for school costs from outside the households	0.059	0.068	0.187
Expects to enroll in school in academic year 2022-23	0.987	0.988	0.930
Grade expecting to attend in academic year 2022-23	3.449	6.794	0.000*
Number of observations	4153	3016	

* p<0.05

We report a suite of school-related indicators for children aged 6-18 from the household survey. Key outcomes of literacy and highest grade attained are statistically different between exiting and continuing households, and also between comparison and new households (with higher levels among comparison households). Caregivers universally report that they expect their children to attend school in the next academic year although current attendance hovers around 84 percent for school-age children. One concerning statistic is that 61 percent of children withdrew temporarily for at least two weeks during the school

year, a common phenomenon when the household needs additional support at home.

We break down the schooling indicators by primary and secondary age children in Table 44. Current enrollment is 89 percent at primary ages versus just 75 percent at secondary ages, and older children are more likely to withdraw temporarily relative to younger children (39 percent versus 24 percent), consistent with their ability to help the household in time of need. Figure 15 highlights the issue of opportunity cost as a driving

factor behind the schooling patterns of secondary-aged children. **The percentage of children engaged in economic work (primarily gay) increases steadily with age, and the crossing point between schooling and work occurs around ages 13-14, at which point children are more likely to be engaged in economic work than in school.** Earlier work by the study team on barriers to schooling for SCTP children highlighted the low value of the transfer and school bonus relative to the cost of secondary schooling. These direct costs of secondary schooling are in addition to the important opportunity cost of schooling due to foregone income that makes it particularly challenging for SCTP children to complete secondary schooling.

We further break down schooling indicators by age and sex in Table 45, and these show that at both younger and older ages, schooling outcomes tend to be slightly higher for girls relative to boys. For example, literacy in Chichewa is significantly higher for girls, as is grade attainment.

Another key aspect of education in this population, highlighted in the team's previous work and also manifested in the current data, is the low rate of grade progression. Table 44 for example shows mean grade attainment of just 4.9 among secondary school age children aged 13-18 years. Figure 16 plots actual versus expected grade attainment for each age among children currently in school. **Children seem to start school on time for the most part, but quickly begin to fall behind, so that by age ten the typical student is already two years behind grade in school, and even by age 17 the typical child in this population has still not completed primary school.**

FIGURE 15 Schooling and work by age

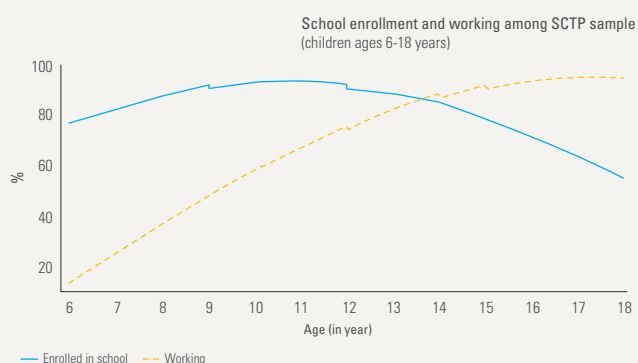


FIGURE 16 Actual vs. expected grade attainment by age

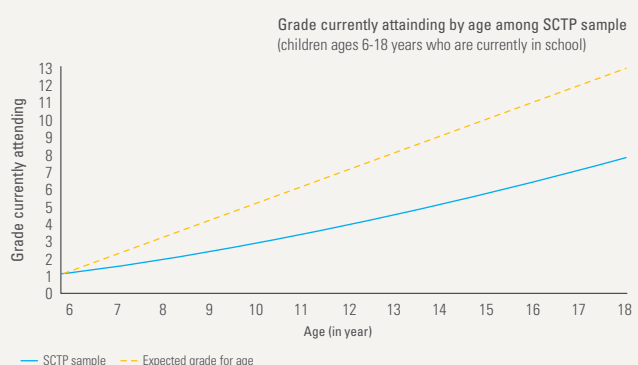


TABLE 45 Education by age and sex

	Ages 6-12			Ages 12-18		
	Mean		p-value	Mean		p-value
	Girls	Boys		Girls	Boys	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Literate in Chichewa	0.370	0.317	0.000*	0.882	0.814	0.000*
Literate in English	0.056	0.045	0.089	0.464	0.371	0.000*
Has attended school	0.923	0.919	0.652	0.984	0.982	0.525
Highest grade completed	1.678	1.555	0.012*	5.097	4.636	0.000*
Currently attending school	0.901	0.885	0.097	0.749	0.745	0.807
Withdraw from school for at least two consecutive weeks	0.237	0.245	0.516	0.384	0.404	0.209
Received contributions for school costs from outside the households	0.065	0.054	0.131	0.068	0.067	0.857
Expects to enroll in school in academic year 2022-23	0.986	0.989	0.271	0.989	0.987	0.583
Grade expecting to attend in academic year 2022-23	3.522	3.375	0.007*	7.010	6.594	0.000*
Number of observations	2091	2062		1446	1570	

* p<0.05

11.2 Health and nutrition

We administered a set of targeted questions to caregivers of children aged 0-5 years. Note that given the demographic structure of SCTP households the average number of preschool children is around 0.60 per household so about one-third of households do not have a child in this age category. Table 46 shows no statistically significant differences between comparison and new households nor between exiting and continuing households. Overall morbidity (cough, diarrhea, fever) is around 60 percent, and care is most likely to be sought for fever followed by diarrhea. The highest cause of morbidity is fever, followed by cough and then diarrhea.

We also collected information about participation in nutrition and other health programs including attendance at an under-5 clinic (preventive care), whether the child has a health passport and the birth circumstances of the child. Table 47 (above) shows no statistically significant difference in any of these indicators across

the two sets of comparisons. Around 40 percent of children attended a well-baby clinic in the past six months and around 78 percent were fed vitamin A-rich foods on the last day.

We end this section with a review of selected health indicators for all main respondents and household members aged 50 years and older. We administered the Washington Group on Disability Measurement short-form, a set of six questions that have also been recommended for use in the upcoming categorical targeting pilot by the Department of Disability at the Ministry (see annex for the six items). These indicators can be used to construct a severe disability indicator and a moderate indicator (labeled 'disability' in the table). Very few people are classified as severely disabled (less than five percent) but using the broader category that includes being able to do one of the six functions with 'some difficulty', **around 38 percent of individuals are classified as disabled across all groups, with higher rates in the exiting and continuing group (34 percent) and much lower rates in the new and comparison households (22 percent). Recall**

TABLE 46 Child morbidity and curative care (Ages 0-71 months)

	Exiting vs. Continuing			Comparison vs. New		
	Mean		p-value	Mean		p-value
	Exiting	Continuing		Comparison	New	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Diarrhea, fever, or cough past 2 weeks	0.583	0.601	0.594	0.630	0.595	0.174
Diarrhea in the past 2 weeks	0.143	0.155	0.657	0.169	0.166	0.864
Treatment for diarrhea	0.102	0.081	0.281	0.108	0.122	0.412
Fever in the past 2 weeks	0.400	0.385	0.645	0.444	0.434	0.744
Treatment for fever	0.331	0.288	0.191	0.300	0.312	0.666
Cough in the past 2 weeks	0.388	0.367	0.535	0.388	0.372	0.610
Treatment for cough	0.248	0.213	0.262	0.200	0.226	0.325
Number of observations	420	431		621	615	

* p<0.05

TABLE 47 Child feeding and program participation (0-71 months)

	Exiting vs. Continuing			Comparison vs. New		
	Mean		p-value	Mean		p-value
	Exiting	Continuing		Comparison	New	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
The child participates in a nutrition program	0.748	0.487	0.615	0.501	0.522	0.966
The child participates in an under-five clinic	0.676	0.691	0.683	0.662	0.647	0.609
The child attended a well-baby/under-five clinic past 6 months	0.433	0.420	0.762	0.451	0.402	0.119
The child has a health passport	0.893	0.877	0.541	0.913	0.898	0.317
Delivered in a health facility	0.971	0.956	0.254	0.966	0.964	0.895
Skilled attendant at birth	0.907	0.926	0.342	0.945	0.912	0.113
Number of observations	420	431		621	615	

* p<0.05

TABLE 48 Child feeding and program participation (0-71 months)

	Exiting vs. Continuing			Comparison vs. New		
	Mean		p-value	Mean		p-value
	Exiting	Continuing		Comparison	New	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
# times are given solid foods in a day	2.618	2.571	0.479	2.491	2.459	0.576
Consumed Vitamin-A-rich foods on the last day	0.814	0.790	0.546	0.781	0.737	0.161
Number of observations	317	324		466	468	

* p<0.05

TABLE 49 Adult physical health and disability

	Exiting vs. Continuing			Comparison vs. New		
	Mean		p-value	Mean		p-value
	Exiting	Continuing		Comparison	New	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
fair/poor general health	0.347	0.358	0.629	0.332	0.299	0.163
severely disabled	0.036	0.043	0.406	0.015	0.020	0.366
disabled	0.339	0.350	0.564	0.218	0.221	0.865
Physical activity scale: higher is worse	6.763	7.074	0.014*	5.879	5.875	0.966
=1 if often suffered from pain the last yr	0.430	0.444	0.523	0.410	0.401	0.708
pain: difficult to perform normal activity	0.333	0.349	0.458	0.318	0.332	0.551
Number of observations	1137	1116		1045	1076	

* p<0.05

TABLE 50 Adult physical activity and disability by sex

	Male vs. Female		
	Male	Female	p-value
	(1)	(2)	(3)
fair/poor general health	0.297	0.351	0.000*
severely disabled	0.031	0.028	0.659
disabled	0.238	0.305	0.000*
Physical activity scale: higher is worse	5.986	6.605	0.000*
=1 if often suffered from pain the last yr	0.388	0.437	0.001*
pain: difficult to perform normal activity	0.318	0.340	0.106
Number of observations	1357	3017	

* p<0.05

that these latter two groups are generally younger and have significantly fewer people in the very oldest age categories, which may explain this difference. This latter group also does better on the physical activity scale, relative to exiting and continuing households, which can also be explained by their relatively younger age composition.

As the aging process tends to vary significantly across sexes, we report results by sex. **In four of the six indicators, women fare significantly worse than men. For example, 31 percent of women are classified as disabled, compared to just 24 percent of men. Similarly, 44 percent of women experienced pain compared to 39 percent of men, and women were more likely to report themselves in fair/poor health relative to men (35 versus 30 percent).**

12. Insights from the qualitative surveys



12.1 Description of sample

Qualitative fieldwork was carried out from April 29th to May 22nd in two districts: Balaka and Nkhata Bay. We conducted individual in-depth interviews and focus groups with SCTP beneficiaries and key informants; all beneficiaries also participated in the quantitative survey. Purposive sampling was used drawing upon survey data to identify beneficiaries who were eligible for graduation as well as participants who still met program eligibility criteria. In Balaka, seven FGDs were conducted and these drew a total of 58 beneficiary participants, most of which (90%) were women. In Nkhata Bay the corresponding number of participants in the eight FGDs was 66, just over half (53%) of which (i.e. 35) were female. Table 51 provides a breakdown of the sample size and distribution.

TABLE 51 Baseline Qualitative Sample

	Balaka	Nkhata Bay	Total
Focus groups (beneficiaries)	7	8	15
In-depth interviews (beneficiaries)	19	17	36
Key Informant interviews	4	3	7
Total	30	28	58

Below we summarize the three main topical areas covered in the in-depth interviews, focus groups, and key informant interviews: perceptions of SCTP impact, perceptions of SCTP program functioning, and perceptions of graduation. Note that in-depth data analysis is continuing to take place, additional depth will be provided in subsequent drafts.

12.2 Perceptions of SCTP impact

The most salient SCTP impacts across both districts were improved food security, school attendance, and housing. Participants in both districts indicated that the transfer facilitated having enough food as well as other basic needs. School attendance was facilitated by being able to acquire material goods such as uniforms, supplies, and transport. Some participants highlighted that the transfer specifically supported their children or grandchildren attending secondary school. Regarding housing, participants described improving the structure of their homes, with iron sheets for example, as well as constructing new homes that were more stable and resilient. Most participants in Balaka also mentioned that they had been able to invest in livestock, which for some had led to profit beyond the investment; only two participants in Nkhata Bay identified livestock as an example of program impact through three participants in Nkhata Bay had invested in agriculture beyond meeting basic food needs.

“

SCTP has helped us to buy food and other necessities for our families and we managed to buy livestock (goats); mold bricks and renovate our house using SCTP funds. We were able to send our children to school and manage to buy them school necessities (school bags, notebooks, and clothes among others). SCTP has helped us to improve our welfare - FGD_1, Balaka

Beyond the most prominent impacts of food security, education, and housing, in Nkhata Bay several participants specified experiencing less financial stress (n=4). One participant identified improved economic status, which he described as starting at “zero” while another felt improved social status as he was able to “show you are a man” with the transfer of money. Another participant in Nkhata Bay was able to settle debts. In Balaka participants described being able to join village savings and loans (n=3) and investing in livestock, as noted above. Other material impacts mentioned in Balaka included getting solar panels (n=1) and bicycles (n=2).

“

The cash from the SCTP program is helping ussome of us used to live in houses with grass-thatched roofs and we have managed to buy iron sheets. In addition, we have been using this cash to buy basic needs in the household like buying food and paying back the debts because sometimes 2 months can pass without receiving anything as a result we were borrowing a lot of money from other people so when you receive the cash you start paying back the loans and whatever remains you use it at the household - FGD_4, Nkhatabay.

Two participants in Balaka mentioned that the program did not have much impact beyond basic survival in their cases. Key informants echoed the same perceived benefits. One key informant in Balaka believed the program encouraged participants to have more children to get a higher amount of money. They also highlighted improved health as another impact, which was a benefit of the improved food security.

“

Most of the people are doing better. Some have managed to build good houses, send children to school, and even run businesses with such help. Some people have more children since SCTP comes with a bonus when you have a higher number of children - KII_1, Balaka

12.3 Perceptions of SCTP Program Functioning

Some participants in each district (5 in each) felt that, overall, the program functioned well. The most salient challenges mentioned about program functioning included delays in getting payment, long waits on paydays, and insufficient size of the transfer. Regarding payment delays, some participants had gone months and even up to a year without receiving payment; some of these participants may have graduated without realizing it, which was another critique of the program’s functioning. Participants noted that they did not always get the full amount they expected after these delays. Participants in Nkhata Bay experienced long waits on paydays; this challenge was not mentioned in Balaka. In both districts, some participants mentioned that the amount of the transfer was not enough though this was more salient among participants in Nkhata Bay.

“

...the money should be received on time. The government said would be providing the transfers every month but imagine we received them in August last year... - IDI_2, Balaka.

“

...the money is not enough. They should consider topping up. Imagine after 3 months you receive MWK 6,000, others receive MWK 3,000. Nothing tangible you can show. Of course, we have managed to construct houses and what have you but the money is not enough. Had it been that we received MWK 10 000, I think we would have been in a better position to help our school-going children - FGD_6, Nkhatabay

“

The amount was not fixed, we were receiving different amounts of cash in different months but we would not ask. So we just received without questioning what was going on - IDI_12, Balaka.

“

Most of the people who are not in the SCTP program become jealous of us the SCTP beneficiaries. As a result, they do not involve us in other community developmental activities that provide handouts to the community members - IDI_1, Nkhatabay.

Other program challenges mentioned by smaller numbers of participants included misinformation about beneficiaries, which created jealousy in communities, exclusion of beneficiaries from other development opportunities, and insufficient clarity about both entry and exit procedures. In Nkhata Bay several participants raised concerns about the integrity of the CSC and the use of bribes.

Key informants recognized challenges and strengths on the program and beneficiaries' sides. They perceived that some beneficiaries did not understand the objectives, which led to misuse of

“

...people need to be reminded of the goal of this program because some people do not understand what it means as a result when they get the money, they go for polygamy or beer drinking forgetting that the money is there to eliminate or reduce poverty in their households. So, we have to educate SCTP beneficiaries to have a positive impact - KII_1, Balaka.

“

...we have to make sure that collectively we should put up programs which should work in a coordinated way to make sure that the households are supported towards the pathway to graduation. This could include increasing the transfers a little bit because what I noted was that the cash transfers are spent on food items. After all, the beneficiaries are always not food secure. As such, the chances of doing other things like saving is minimized - KII_4, Balaka.

“

...the UBR should be updated periodically to reflect how things currently are on the ground. People who were very poor some years ago might be better off now and vice versa. There is also a need for some complimentary programs to help the beneficiaries on how to invest and use the money - KII_3, Balaka.

funds. Several KIs notes noted that the size of the transfer did not allow beneficiaries to invest and achieve greater impact. They also noted the lack of objective indicators to measure impact. Another challenge was the Unified Beneficiary Register, which was critiqued for not being nimble, lacking validation measures, and thus allowing beneficiaries who were not the ideal targets of the program to enter. One KI noted that some beneficiaries themselves avoided targeting interviews, which limited their ability to enter the program. KIs also raised concerns about the lack of communication around graduation and delays in delivering transfers.

12.4 Perceptions of Graduation

While technically exiting the programme is not equivalent to graduating from poverty, in the communities these two phenomena are used interchangeably. Participants shared many perspectives on exiting/graduation. The most common critique of exiting/graduation in both districts was that it should not include elderly or disabled participants who did not have alternative sources of income. Participants in both settings also raised concerns that exiting/graduation would lead to undoing the aforementioned impacts of food security, school attendance and overall reduced poverty.

“

It is not easy for beneficiaries to accept that they are graduating. Last time, when we were about to target new people, we informed beneficiaries that they were to receive their last cash. When the day came, some collapsed due to increased blood pressure (a sign that they are not ready to graduate) - KII_1, Nkhatabay.

“

Graduating from SCTP would be a very sad news to us because we would have nothing to depend on since we are very old and we cannot manage to do any kind of work that could help us earn a living. We would fail to have money to buy food and other necessities for our families if we could graduate from the SCTP program - FGD_2, Nkhatabay

Several participants in both districts felt that exiting/graduation was a good idea overall. Several participants suggested the need for a clear system of needs assessment to determine and confirm graduation readiness. Some volunteered that they would be happy to graduate when they were “ready.” Two participants in Nkhata Bay suggested that graduation would be easier to achieve if participants received larger sums of money that they could use to invest. A few participants in Nkhata Bay specified that graduation was good as it allowed new people into the program. Two participants in Balaka felt graduation was inevitable as the money was “given free” and could not last forever. One participant in Nkhata Bay cautioned that graduation could raise stress and conflict.

“

Graduating is good because everyone needs support. So, if one’s wellbeing has improved, they should graduate to allow others to benefit as well”... “People should graduate after proper assessment to see if his or her life has improved - IDI_5, Nkhatabay.

“

I would be happy to graduate after I have improved the lives of my household members. Since this program is not meant for only one person, so giving other members of the community a chance to also be beneficiaries would make the whole community improved - IDI_9, Balaka.

Key informants generally felt that graduation was inevitable and important to avoid reliance on the program forever but emphasized the importance of preparing for and communicating very clearly about graduation. They used words like “self-reliance” and “independence” as reasons for graduating beneficiaries from the program. They also mentioned that others could benefit that needed to be reached. One KI referred to graduation as a “nudge” to plan for the future, which is something that participants would need help with.

“

Graduation can help beneficiaries to be self-reliant and provide for himself or herself economically. Unlike them to keep on staying in the program which can always make them rely on the government to provide for them. Once they graduate, they can find further ways to provide for themselves or to maintain the economic status they had when they were on SCTP - KII_3, Balaka.

13. Conclusions and recommendations



We organize the main conclusions and associated recommendations or 'areas for consideration by the SCTP management' around the main research questions. However, the reader is reminded that the research questions are primarily applicable to the long-term study, and as such, will be answered in the follow-up ways. Nevertheless, there are already some key themes and ideas coming out of the baseline study that can preliminarily inform those questions. The main research questions are related to the operational and administrative delivery of the SCTP, the impact of the existing programme, and the long-term graduation potential of the programme. Other questions can be essentially grouped under these three main themes.

13.1 Current welfare impacts of the SCTP

■ New entrants and comparison households are comparable in terms of demographic structure and livelihood activities.

These two groups will be used to assess the current impact of the SCTP. The comparison group is pulled from the list of substitute or waiting list households and thus are labour constrained but with PMT scores that put them just above the 10 percent threshold. Out of 150 indicators tested, just 20 showed statistically significant differences, and very few of these are actual outcome variables. The difference-in-difference methodology used at follow-up will be able to net any differences at baseline.

Recommendation: The research team analyzing the data at the follow-up waves should use difference-in-differences or similar methodology to account for any baseline differences between groups when estimating program impacts.

■ **A key limitation of the quantitative design is that final verification was not conducted in Dedza.** The research team 'simulated the reassessment process conducted by the Ministry, but given time constraints, the final reassessment was not taken back to the communities. As such, the final classification of households into the four study groups may not be exact. The team has mitigated this risk by increasing the sample size by 200 households to ensure there are enough households in each of the four study groups.

Recommendation: The SCTP MIS team provides the final list of new, existing, and continuing households to the research team for Dedza so that the final status of households can be identified and classified going forward.

■ A comparison of continuing households and new entrants provides prima facie evidence of positive programme impacts across a range of domains.

Since both groups are eligible for the SCTP, and the majority of continuing households have been receiving transfers for four or more years, differences between the two groups are indicative of programme impacts. We show statistically significant differences in consumption and its components (foods, non-foods), poverty rates, savings, subjective well-being, livestock, and possession of agricultural implements. More rigorous statistical approaches (proposed for future research with these data) can be applied to confirm these initial findings, but for now, they are consistent with important, positive impacts of the SCTP. The qualitative data, based on interviews with SCTP beneficiaries, confirm the quantitative results. Households state that Mtukula Pakhomo has helped them become more food secure, and to build up small assets such as livestock.

Recommendation: Further analysis can be done focused on comparing exiting/continuing households with new households to confirm the findings that suggest positive program impacts of the SCTP.

■ **There are significant differences in well-being between men and women beneficiaries of the SCTP.** The ageing process tends to be very different for men and women and the evidence shown in this report indicates that women are significantly worse off in terms of health and well-being relative to men. Women are more likely to be disabled, suffer from pain, and be in poor general health. They are also more likely to report higher perceived stress and are less optimistic about the future.

Recommendation: Case management, to the extent that it is feasible, should pay special attention to the health and well-being of older women beneficiaries, and target complementary services and or linkages and referral to other services to this group, as they are significantly worse off relative to older male recipients.

13.2 Graduation Potential of the SCTP

■ **Continuing and exiting households differ on indicators that go into the PMT score.** The PMT score is driven by housing quality and ownership of household durable goods. Exiting households have better quality housing (tin roofs, cement floors) and greater domestic asset ownership, leading to higher PMT scores, thus explaining their exit from the programme. A key research question in this study is whether these two groups of households will continue to display differences over time.

Recommendation: The PMT score is driven by housing quality and is 'working' in that it is identifying households with better housing. A key issue for the SCTP to resolve is whether this is the appropriate metric to rank and select households for inclusion into the programme. Ultimately the vulnerability of households is driven by lifecycle considerations and their capacity to earn enough money to address their basic needs. Housing quality reflects just one aspect of basic needs yet seems to be the primary driver of the PMT score.

■ **Continuing and exiting households do not differ on livelihood indicators.** The premise behind graduation is that exiting households would have improved their economic security such that they no longer need the programme, while continuing households have not attained that level of economic security. However, the analysis shows virtually no difference in the main livelihood activities of the two sets of households, with the sole exception of livestock where existing households do show a statistically significant advantage. There is also no difference in food security between the two sets of households. These results, along with the fact that the PMT score is driven by non-productive indicators like housing quality and domestic assets, suggests that that exiting households may not be at the 'graduation' stage yet. This sentiment is borne out in the qualitative data as well, where households did not understand why they had been exited when they felt they were no different from continuing households. The qualitative interviews indicate a feeling that those who are elderly or disabled should not be exited from the program. On the other hand, there is also an understanding that there are many eligible households and some form of 'rotation' of benefits is appropriate. Evidence from the KIs suggests better communication and explanation are required around the reassessment procedure and an emphasis at the time of enrollment about the time limits and eventual reassessment.

Recommendation: Households exiting the programme are still for the most part poor or ultra-poor, and in need of support. The Ministry may want to consider a plan to address the well-being of exiting households by linking them to other forms of support. Better communication around the reassessment exercise at the time of enrollment and perhaps periodically is also indicated by the data.

13.3 SCTP Operations and Administration

■ **The profile of SCTP beneficiaries has changed slightly through the reassessment exercise.** New entrants to the programme are about ten years younger and more likely to be married and male. New entrants have more younger children, especially preschool children, far fewer elderly members, and are more likely to be in better health compared to continuing household heads. These results suggest an important change in the profile of the typical SCTP beneficiary, something that was also noted during informal conversations with households during the fieldwork.

Recommendation: The introduction of the UBR has resulted in a significant move away from the traditional beneficiary profile of the SCTP. To retain those vulnerable groups (e.g., disabled, orphans, elderly) the SCTP should consider directly targeting those characteristics through a categorical approach, rather than maintaining the dependency ratio as the eligibility criterion. This direct targeting through categories will be piloted in the Thyolo district and can provide an important source of information on the feasibility of scaling up such an approach, which would be in line with other programmes in the region and consistent with the lifecycle approach to social protection.

■ **There is considerable overlap of PMT scores among exiting and comparison households and those selected for the programme.** These households with low PMT scores reside in poorer VCs and end up outside the 10 percent threshold despite their overall low PMT scores. This is because the 10 percent threshold is applied across the board to all VCs, no matter their relative poverty. In effect, some households with very low PMT scores have been exited, while other households with higher scores either continue in the programme or are new entrants because they live in relatively 'richer' VCs.

Recommendation: Consider removing the 10 percent eligibility per VC and moving to 10 percent eligibility at the TA or even district level. This will ensure that the poorest 10 percent of households in each TA or district will have priority for the programme. The drawback of this approach is that some of the better-off VCs may not have any beneficiaries at all. However, overall poverty targeting will be strengthened, allowing the SCTP to better achieve its objective of reaching the poorest households who are also demographically eligible.

■ **There is confusion about key programme rules among beneficiaries.** For example, the majority of beneficiaries believe the programme is conditional, and many believe they are being monitored. About half of the beneficiaries do not know when they will get their next payment, or how long they will remain in the program. This uncertainty impinges on the ability to plan and make forward-looking decisions, which perpetuates the condition of ultra-poverty and diminishes the impact of the programme. There remains confusion about who is eligible for the programme and why some households are eligible and others are not. Finally, most households are not aware of any grievance mechanism within the SCTP.

Recommendation: Strengthen communication around programme eligibility rules, conditionality, and other aspects of the programme such as grievance mechanisms. This communication can be done at the pay point every two months to reinforce the information.

■ **Wait times at pay points are extremely long, with sixty percent of households waiting two or more hours, and forty percent waiting three or more hours.**

Recommendation: Payments could be staggered, with half the beneficiaries asked to come in the morning and the other half in the afternoon, to reduce excessive wait times.

■ **The value of the transfer has eroded over time such that the median transfer value represents just 14 percent of household consumption.** International experience indicates that a transfer value of around 20 percent of consumption is capable of having a transformative effect on beneficiaries. Currently, in the SCTP, just 30 percent of households have a transfer value that reaches 20 percent of their overall consumption. A key implication is that SCTP programme managers should be vigilant about the real value of the transfer and ensure it doesn't erode to the point that the administrative cost of transferring money exceeds the actual benefit of the transfer itself.

Recommendation: The MoGCDSW should set up an annual process to review the value of the transfer in relation to inflation and extend Figure 7 in this report. While automatic adjustment of the transfer may not be feasible each year, keeping track of the value and maintaining it as a topic of discussion at SCTP meetings with the wider government and development partners, with the understanding that it is fundamental to achieving the objectives of the programme, will be an important step towards building in automatic, periodic increases.

Annex

ANNEX 1 Training Schedule

WEEK 1: Date	Activity, Task (Week 1 Training on paper questionnaire)
8 Tues	Morning (8:30 – 12:00) Introductions, Overview of SCTP, and Long-term Impact Evaluation Baseline Baseline questionnaire cover page Module 1, Household composition/roster Module 2, Education, Module 3, Health and 3A, COVID Practice in Groups, Roster examples, translations
9 Wed	Morning (8:30 – 12:00) Module 4, Child Health, Module 5, Fertility, Module 6, Time Use, Module 7, Enterprise Afternoon (1:00 – 5:00 pm) Module 8 & 9, Transfers and other income – 14, Shocks & coping Practice in Groups, One-on-One interviews, translations
10 Thu	Morning (8:30 – 12:00) Module 15A, Food consumption & Expenditures, - 15D, Non-food Expenditure Afternoon (1:00 – 5:00 pm) Module 16, Land - Module 20, Hired labour Practice in Groups, One-on-One interviews
11 Fri	Morning (8:30 – 12:00) Module 21A, Livestock – Module 23, Changes in household membership Afternoon (1:00 – 4:00 pm) Module 24 (Operational Performance) Practice in Groups, One-on-One interviews, translations
12 Sat	Morning (8:30 – 12:00) Ethics training, consent forms, and process, COVID screening Measurement training (height, weight, blood pressure) Full practice interview, one on one Afternoon (1:00 – 5:00 pm) Complete full questionnaire practice Feedback on the full questionnaire
13 Sun	Rest day
14 Mon	Morning (8:30 – 12:00) Begin tablet training, basic login, navigation, and other features Walk through the roster and first two sections on CAPI Afternoon (1:00 – 5:00 pm) Walk through the rest of the questionnaire on CAPI
15 Tus	Morning (8:30 – 12:00) Complete household questionnaire on a tablet in groups Work in pairs, each person completes the full questionnaire one on on tablet Afternoon (1:00 – 5:00 pm) Complete full questionnaire practice on a tablet Field work practice logistics
16 Wed	Pilot the entire survey, all enumerators on CAPI
17 Thu	Morning (8:30 – 12:00) Debrief from pilot Additional training on difficulties with CAPI Fieldwork logistics and instructions Contracting/organizational issues
18 Fri	Morning (8:30 – 12:00) Meeting with supervisors Community questionnaire training GPS review/training
19 Sat	
20 Sun	Depart for field

ANNEX 2 Names of members of field teams

Team 1		Team 2		Team 3	
Allan Dyles	Male	Emmanuel Kambalame	Male	Tamala Maleta	Female
Daniel Mwapasa	Male	Paul Mwera	Male	Raphael Nedi	Male
Hajra Mbackie	Female	Joan Makuru	Female	Chikondi Chikalipo	Male
Chimuka Vusso	Female	Felicia Chifundo	Female	Funny Chamba	Female
Hastings Kaipa	Male	Humphreys Macheso	Male	Samuel Kagwerema	Male
Phyllis Khonde	Female	Olive Mwanga	Female	Saudi Maoni	Male
Patricia Goweka	Female				
Team 4		Team 5		Team 6	
Mtisinge Matope	Female	Patrick Msukwa	Male	Grace Sembereka	Female
Hope Chirwa	Female	Asimenye Silumbu	Female	Macdonald Chitekwe	Male
Noel Chisoso	Male	Joseph Kayuni	Male	Isaac Mpunga	Male
Phillipo Rodgers	Male	Rita Lungu	Female	McChester Rhyce	Male
Steven Sabola	Male	Bernard Mhango	Male	Beatrice Kamtambo	Female
Henderson Misomali	Male	Gloria Mwale	Female	Tonnex Rodgers	Male
		Esther Mtambo	Female		

ANNEX 3 Washington Group on Disability Statistics – Short Form on Functioning

Response Codes:

- ☐ Not difficulty
- ☐ Some difficulty
- ☐ A lot of difficulty
- ☐ Cannot perform activity at all

Questions

1. Do you have difficulty seeing, even if wearing glasses?
2. Do you have difficulty hearing, even if wearing hearing aids?
3. Do you have difficulty walking or climbing steps?
4. Do you have difficulty remembering or concentrating?
5. Using the usual language, do you have difficulty communicating, for example understanding or being understood?
6. Do you have difficulty with self-care, such as washing all over or dressing?

Thresholds can vary depending on the use of the tool

At least one 'cannot perform at all' response – The most restrictive

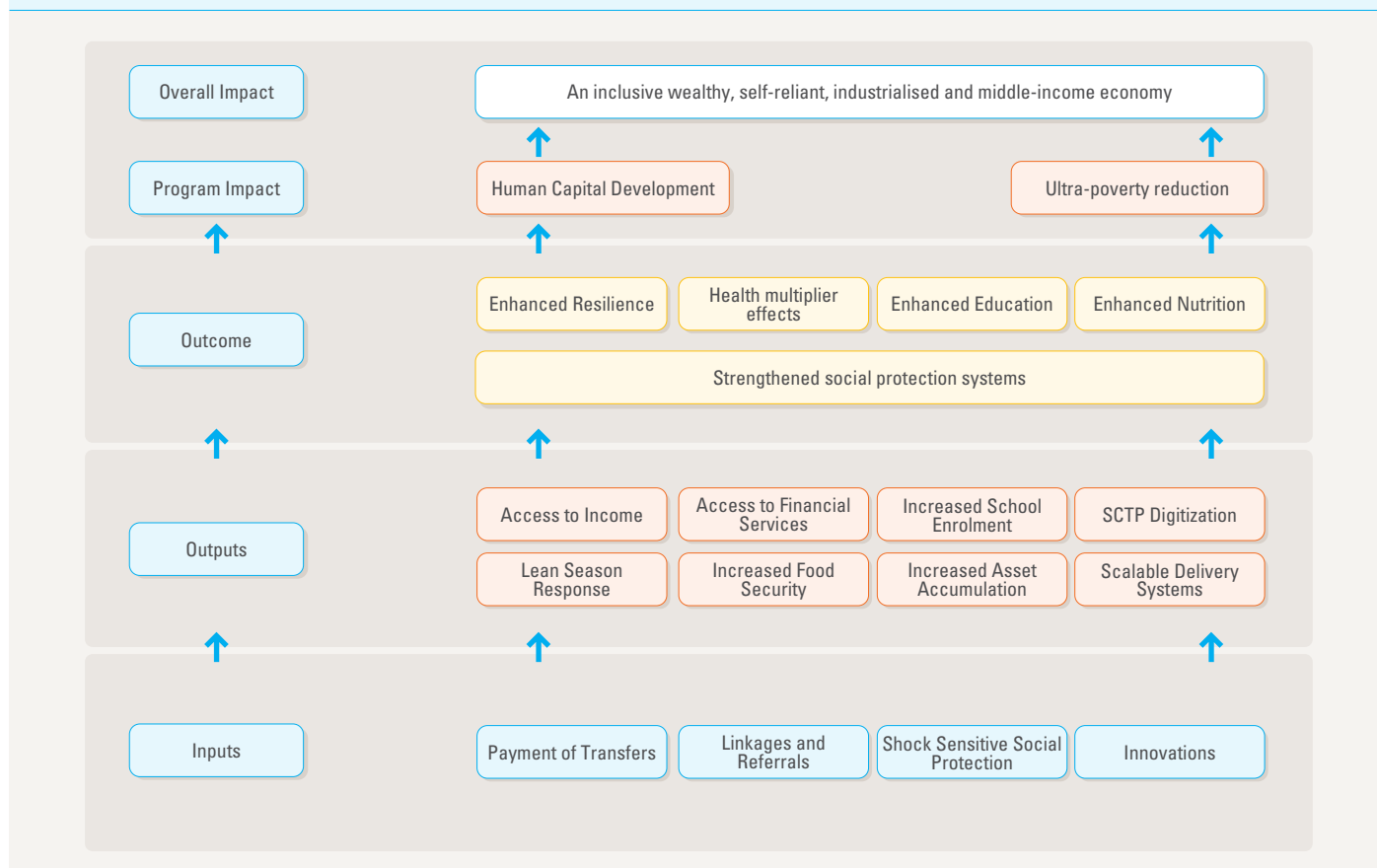
Above category + at least one a lot of difficulty' response – Second most restrictive

ANNEX 4 Theory of Change for the social cash transfer programme

The Theory of Change for the program has been based on the premise that the provision of cash transfers that are more regular, shock-sensitive, adequate, and predictable is supported by a tailor-made package of interventions (education, Nutrition, livelihood resilient programs) and effective innovations underlined by a strong and integrated social protection system will lead to increase access to income, more sustained and resilient livelihoods, strong social protection systems, contribute to better education and nutrition outcomes and positively contribute to

the wide economy. This will provide a platform for the poor and vulnerable to be resilient and participate in economic growth that contributes to human capital development, and a sustained reduction in vulnerability and ultra-poverty levels which will contribute to the attainment of the Government's aspiration of transformation of the country to an inclusive wealthy, self-reliant, industrialized and middle-income economy by 2063 (Figure 17 below).

FIGURE 17 Theory of change for the social cash transfer programme



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