

Aid, Growth, Poverty and the Global Context By Finn Tarp

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UNITED NATIONS UNIVERSITY

UNU-WIDER

World Institute for Development Economics Research

Overview

- Introduction
- Aid, growth and development
- Poverty and human development
- The changing global context
- Conclusions: a post 2015 perspective



Recent UNU-WIDER research on foreign aid

- : A comprehensive research, documentation and communications initiative (initiated in early 2011)
- Motivated by our desire to understand better four key questions about aid:
 - What works?
 - What could work?
 - What is scalable?
 - What is transferrable?



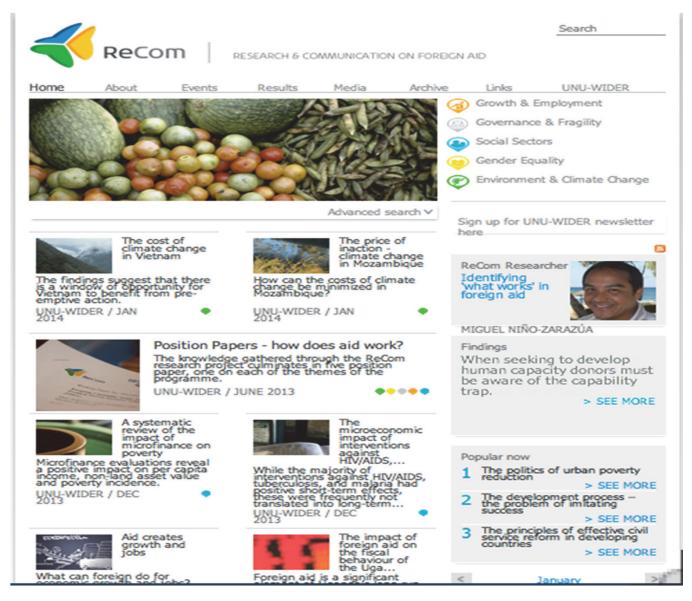
Point of departure

- Aid is diverse and complex
 - No single individual can encompass it all => Rely on:
 - Global network of researchers and policy practitioners + strong and committing research agreements
 - UNU-WIDER's active presence on the ground for example in Mozambique, Tanzania, Ghana, South Africa and Vietnam (300 researchers from 60 countries)
- A sizeable research output available under 5 core themes (including > 225 WIDER WPs)
 - See http://recom.wider.unu.edu/
- We are drawing on this in preparing a variety of papers, statements and lectures – see summary overview:

http://www.wider.unu.edu/home/news/news-archive/2014/en_GB/21-03-2014-recom/



ReCom web-site: http://recom.wider.unu.edu/



Poor nations: some questions and answers

- Q. Why are some countries poor?
- A. Poor countries produce very little.
- Q. Why do poor countries produce so little?
- A. Poor countries employ rudimentary technology, possess limited stocks of human and physical capital, and weak institutional structures.
- Q. Why do poor countries lack the wherewithal to produce?
- A. Poor countries have not managed to accumulate over time.
- -> Growth is a long run and fragile process of accumulation.
- -> What does this mean for our analytical approaches?





Aid, growth and development: what do we know?



ReCom – where to begin?

- The macro aid and growth literature, probably the most controversial theme
- Many critical voices: They often frame and strongly influence the development debate and there is frequently talk of a micro-macro paradox?
 - What do we mean by that?
 - Aid and macroeconomics (Dutch disease)
 - Aid, political economy and institutions
- But is it true that the impact of aid "evaporates" as we move from the project (micro) level up to the macro economy?
- What can we say on balance about aid's aggregate impact?



It is difficult...

- Aside from ideological debates.....
- A thorny econometric challenge: attribution somewhat elusive
 - Progress typically associated with less aid
 - Causality not easy to establish, so debate ripe with rhetoric:
 - Africa, aid, Africa still not developed.....
 - Anecdotes....
 - We need a credible counterfactual (what would have happened without) -> we use statistical methods



Back to basics

- What does lack of statistical significance mean?
- Absence of evidence ≠ evidence of absence
- Just because economists have over the years had a hard time at the macro level does not in and by itself prove aid impact is not there
- And time has been passing 5 generations!
 - Macro-evidence has been piling up and yes we can by now say quite a lot
- Now to a brief up-to-date summary (skipping a lot)



From Rajan and Subramanian (2008) onwards

- Rajan and Subramanian (analytical innovation but...)
- 16 published estimates post 2008 studying aid impact over the long run
 - 14 find positive effects (the two outliers are ...)
 - Results suggest: a 10% increase in aid/GDP leads to 1% increase in rate of growth
 - Channels identified: investments in physical capital, health & education (a comment about Dutch disease – next slide)
- Overall, aid has had impact annual rate of return 7.3% (without welfare weighting)
- Time horizon of analysis important and significant heterogeneity
 evident from cross-country, time-series and case studies
- See WIDER position paper on aid, growth and employment



A comment about Dutch disease

Inevitable?

- Not inevitable, depends on how aid is used
- Infrastructure investment: reduces costs export supply curve shifts to the right (Dutch vigour)
- If aid deepens domestic financial markets: sterilization instruments become more effective
- Forthcoming WIDER special issue of World Development



So...

- In sum: the weight of the available evidence suggests that aid has worked in promoting growth
- Much has been achieved many countries (including former fragile states) have "graduated" and new donors have emerged
- But continued success cannot be taken for granted: no sensible person.....
- And what about human development?

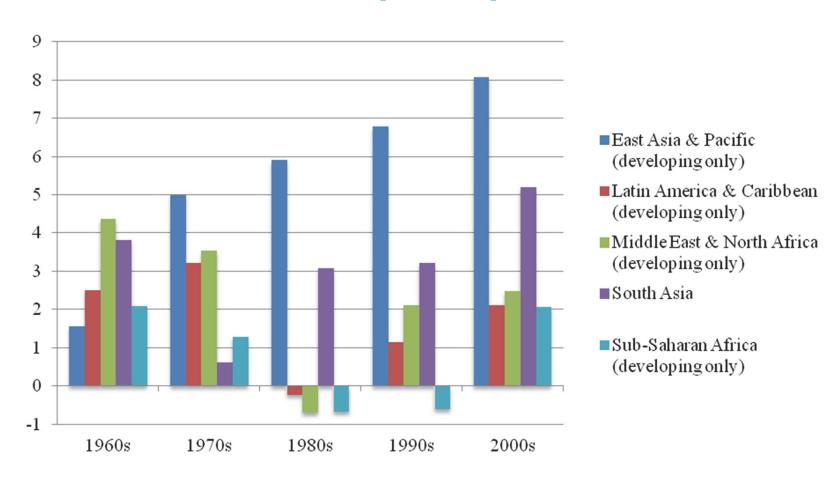




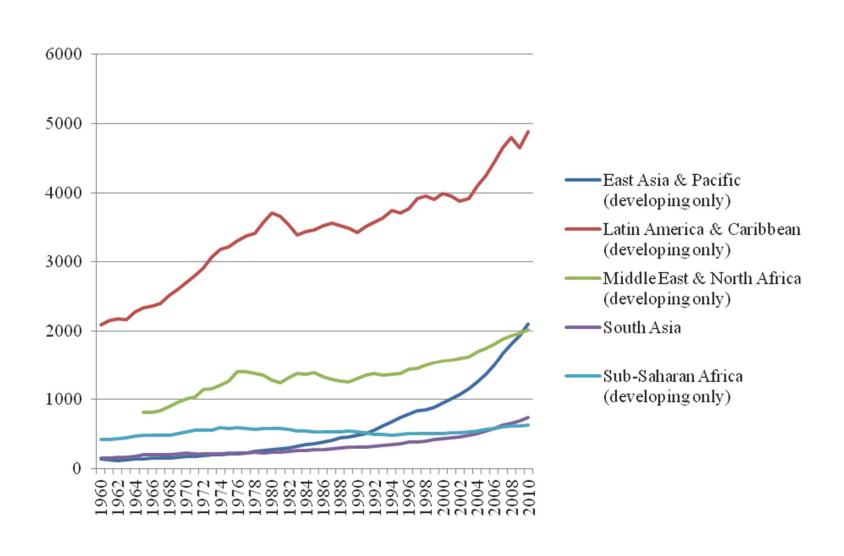
Poverty and human development: what do we know?



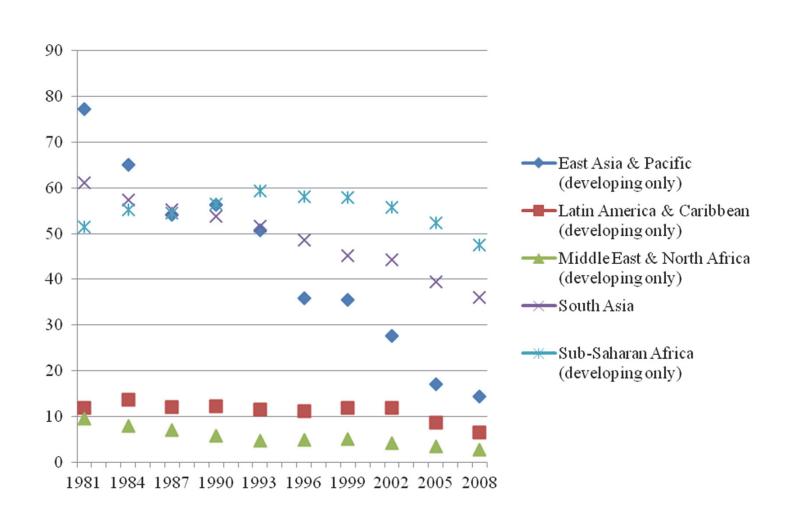
Growth in per capita GDP



GDP per capita increasing (real USD2000)



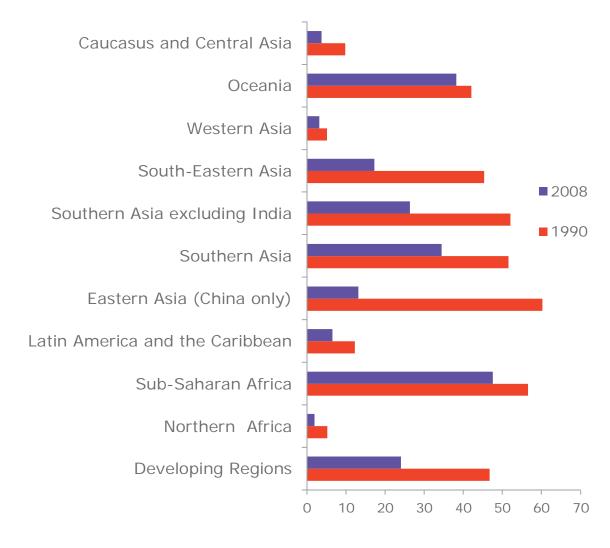
Poverty headcount ratios falling (USD 1.25 per day)



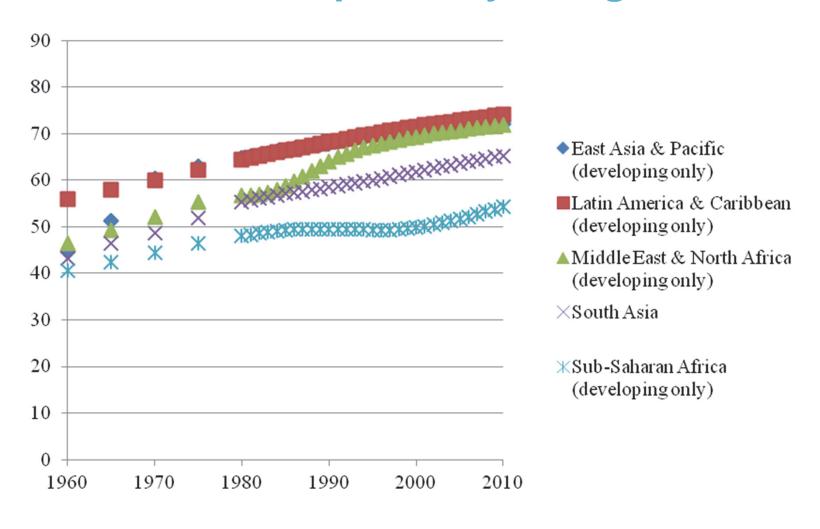
Poverty is falling

- Since 1990: people living on less than \$1.25 has fallen in every region, including sub-Saharan Africa:
 - In 1990 ≈46% (or ≈2 billion people) were extremely poor
 - Estimates predict that that the MDG target of cutting extreme poverty by half will be achieved by 2015
 - Number of countries categorized as low income has fallen from 63 in 2000 to 36 today
 - Still: ≈1 billion people (≈14%) remain in extreme poverty

% of people living on less than \$1.25 USD (2005 PPP)

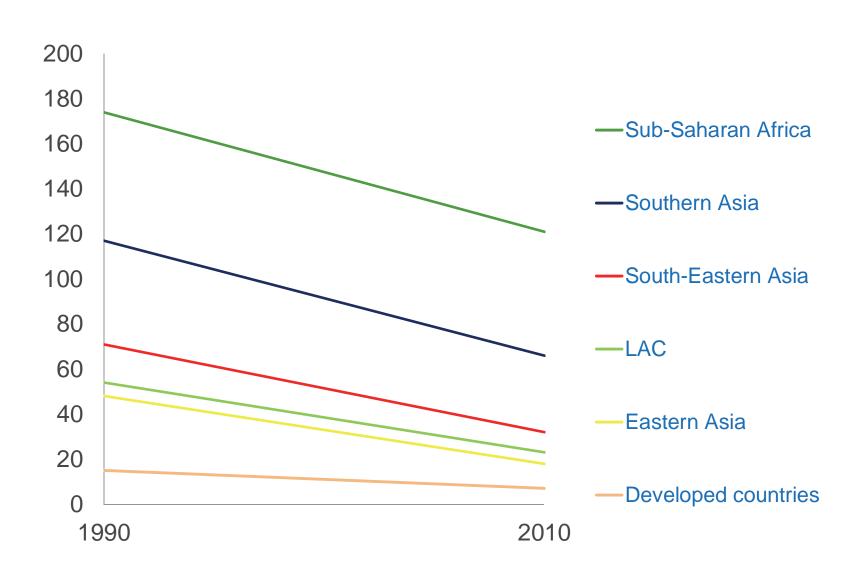


Life expectancy rising

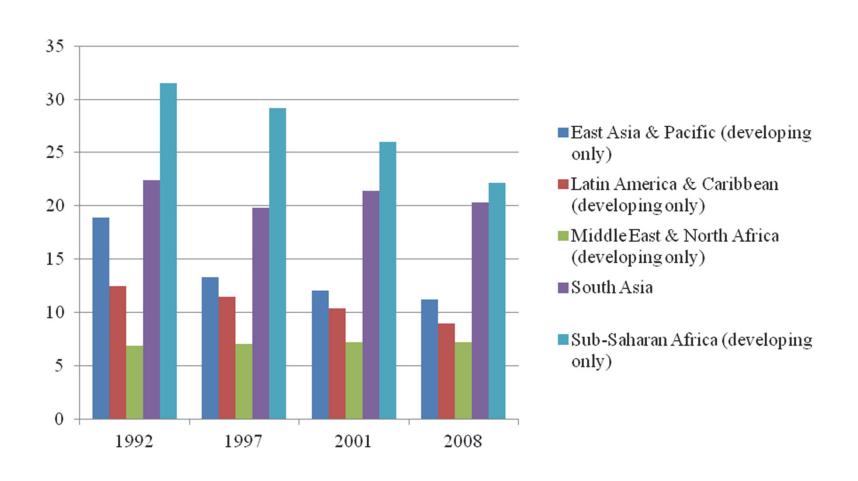




Under-five mortality rate: 1990-2010

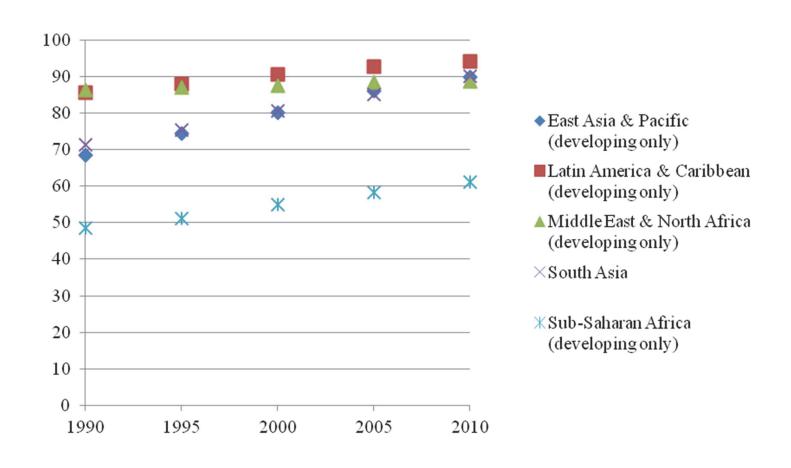


Prevalence of undernourishment





Percent of population with access to a safe water source





Primary school enrolment, 1990-2010 (%)

	1990		2010	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Developing world	84	75	91	89
Sub-Saharan Africa	57	50	78	74
Latin America and the Caribbean	88	84	96	95
Eastern Asia	99	96	97	97
Southern Asia	83	66	94	91
South-Eastern Asia	94	91	95	96
Western Asia	87	79	94	89
Developed Regions	95	95	97	97

So...

- In sum: the weight of the available evidence suggests much progress in promoting human development
- See WIDER position paper on the role of aid in supporting these advances (includes more background, examples and case studies of countries where UNU-WIDER is active)
- Aid has worked to deliver development as traditionally measured
- But don't ignore remaining issues and note that the contours of the development challenge is changing

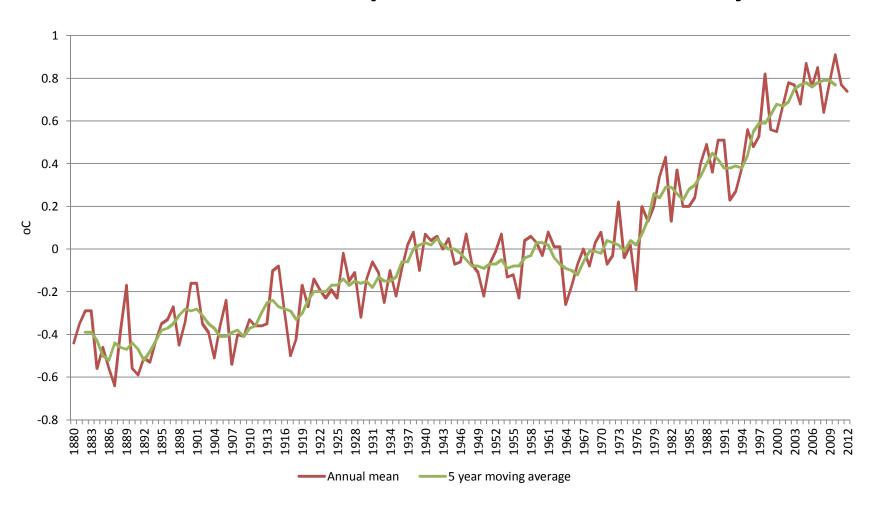




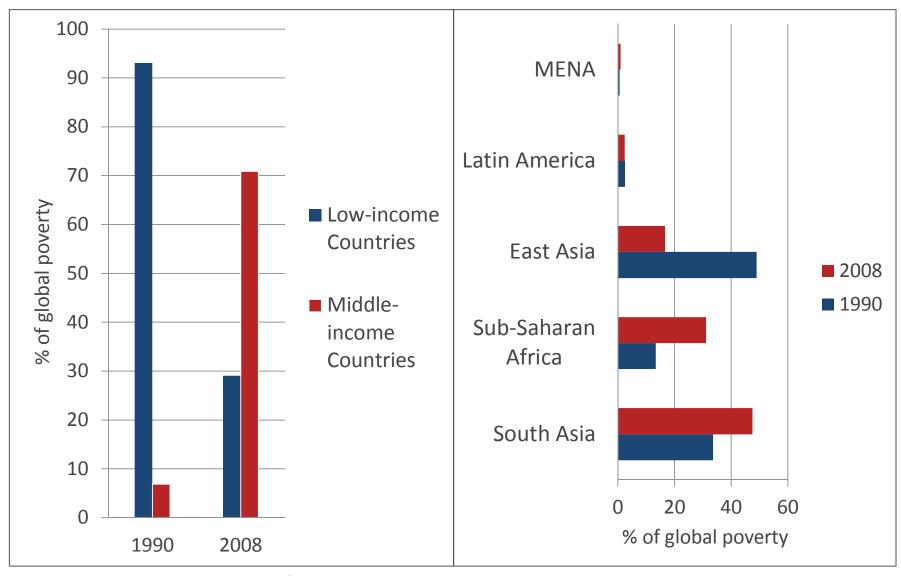
Changing global context: challenges and opportunities for aid



The 'anthropocene': global mean surface temperature anomaly

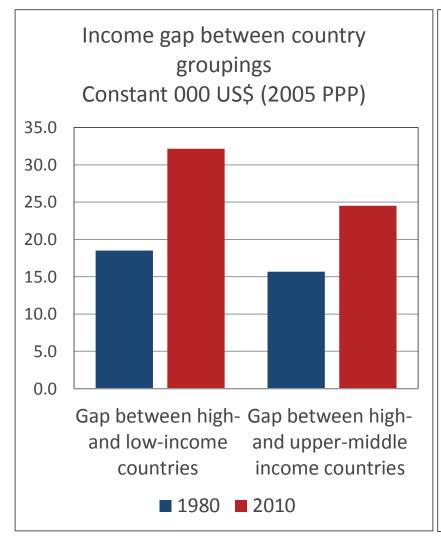


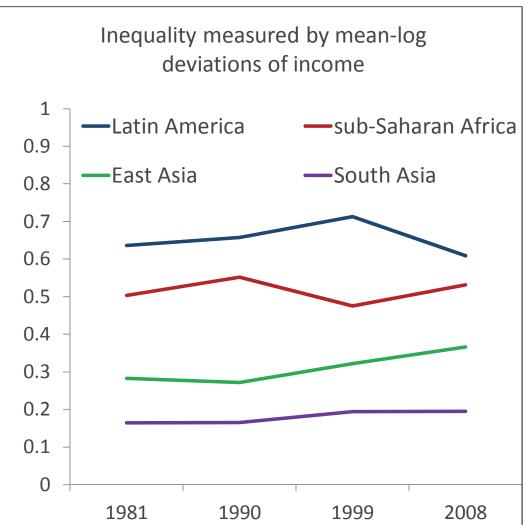
Poverty increasingly associated with middle-income countries (often with high levels of inequality)



People living on less than \$1.25 USD a day (2005 PPP)

Inequality a major challenge







The structural transformation challenge

Decompostion of productivity growth, 1990-2005					
	Labor productivity growth, %	Due to within sector productivity growth,%	Due to structural change, %		
Asia	3.87	3.31	0.57		
High Income	1.46	1.54	-0.09		
LAC	1.35	2.24	-0.88		
Africa	0.86	2.13	-1.27		



So...

- Currently, in Africa labour moving from high productive sector (manufacturing) to low productivity activities
- Perverse structural change hampering productivity growth (Mozambique as case)
- Happening in parallel with MDG progress (see WIDER draft position paper on aid and social sectors)
- Three key challenges identified in UNU-WIDER's 2014-18 work programme:
 - Transformation
 - Inclusion
 - Sustainability



Key issues of the 21st century

Development:

- >1 billion absolutely poor people on the globe
- 36 low income countries
- 47 fragile states
- Continued vulnerability to trade (dependence on commodities) and financial shocks

Environment:

- Global warming
- Fish stock declines
- Biodiversity and mass extinctions
- Deforestation and
- Land degradation
- Etc.

Climate change is of potentially transcendent importance



What can aid do – a few examples (1)

- Agriculture's share down: 6% of OECD-DAC aid in 2011 (\$1.7 billion)
 - But 2/3 of population relies on agriculture and critical for food security
 - Need increase in agricultural productivity & movement up the value chain
- So: aid can support rural transformation, i.e.
 - Small farm agriculture (seeds and much more)
 - Rural non farm enterprises/processing
 - Social protection policies that stabilize consumption
 - And infrastructure
 - Recall UNU-WIDER's Mozambique-Vietnam comparison



What can aid do – a few examples (2)

- In industrial policy focus required on constrains that prevent enterprises from growing:
 - Capabilities, Credit, Energy, Transport & Communications etc
- Dilemma of small/medium versus large enterprises how best create growth and high productivity jobs?
- Attracting private investment: not just regulatory reform (e.g. "doing business" indicators)
- Recall UNU-WIDER's L2C



What can aid do – a few examples (3)

- Untapped potential in regional integration
- Aid can support
 - Inter country trade accounts for only 11% of Africa trade flows
 - Underinvestment in regional transport infrastructure is characteristic and it prevents positive externalities from accruing to landlocked neighbours (these externalities are not internalized)
 - But countries do need to reduce barriers to trade



What can aid do – a few examples (4)

- Aid can help accelerate adaptation to climate change in Africa
 - Long-term planning and analysis required for effective adaptation
 - Current stock of infrastructure requires maintenance (flooding etc)
 - Africa's renewable energy resources untapped: high cost of financing capital for green energy suggests aid may have a supportive role
- Recall WIDER's DUCC + ReCom work
 - Aid, environment and climate change (e.g. Stockholm results meeting + Vietnam climate report)



What can aid do – a few examples (5)

- Aid has an obvious role to play in fragile states, for example:
 - Reduce integration to global economy via bad ways: piracy, narcotics, human trafficking
 - Increase control over revenue (i.e., reduce corruption)
 - Encourage transparent fiscal processes & inclusive growth
 - Programme support for state building in addition to project support
- See WIDER draft position paper on aid, governance and fragility





Looking post-2015



UN High-Level Panel report on the post-2015 development agenda

- Calls for:
- "...A quantum leap forward in economic opportunities and a profound economic transformation to end extreme poverty and improve livelihoods..."
- How could aid best feed into this endeavour?



Aid post-2015

- Must deal with:
 - Increased complexity (on supply side)
 - The new geography of poverty (middle income countries)
- In addition to:
 - Helping preserve the gains made in peace & stability
 - Addressing challenges in a "hard core" of fragile states
- And help underpin ongoing efforts towards ensuring:
 - Transformation (agriculture and industry)
 - Inclusion (including gender see ReCom aid and gender position paper)
 - Sustainability (mitigation, adaptation, energy)



Roles for aid post-2015

- Reiterate: aid will clearly continue to have a key role in fragile, resource-poor countries:
 - They need to "accumulate" (physical, human and institutional capital) + grow as other countries have done
- The aid system should also devote attention to middle-income countries, for example due to:
 - The concentration of absolutely poor people in middle-income countries + the key role that middle-income countries have in combating global environmental problems
 - This assistance will mainly have to take the form of demand driven "soft assistance" that enhances local capacities



Roles for aid (cont.)

- The role of aid and aid institutions in the provision of global/regional public goods could also be enhanced
 - Examples: the provision of information (health, agriculture, water and transboundary river basins, technology, research)
- Aid could also prepare to assist with the transformations required to confront global environmental issues while providing inputs for the development of appropriate public policies at global and national levels
 - Fundamental ideas behind REDD, CDM, GEF, and GCM remain valid and appealing (see WIDER position paper on Aid, Environment and Climate Change)
 - BUT development will only be possible if the most vulnerable are protected against the impact of climate change
 - NOT saying "development" aid money should be spent on the "environment"

An example

- Independent tracking of emissions at the country level
 - Global greenhouse gas emissions should peak at or before 2030 and then decline thereafter
 - Difficult to achieve without adequate monitoring
 - This is an auditing function best placed in a newly created, specialized, independent and technically competent institution (maybe difficult to "sell" at the moment – but...)



In sum

- Aid must post-2015 adapt to emerging national and global contexts, including how to deal with:
 - Increased complexity (on supply side)
 - A "hard core" of fragile states (including building state capability)
 - The new geography of poverty
 - Global public goods (climate, health)
- Much of this is unknown territory -> the need for high quality development policy research
- ReCom has taken a first step with sizeable output –
 but efforts need to be continued



Some questions for further reflection

- What does the emerging distribution of global poverty mean for the new global development agenda – and for aid?
- Should focus in aid be on poor countries or on poor people?
- Should aid confine itself to social sectors in the fight against poverty?
- What is aid's role in growth and employment generation?
- How should the international community address the concerns with inequality?
- Should aid be allocated to address climate change?
- How can aid promote inclusive development?







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