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Development Aid and Infant Mortality

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Abstract

While there is a vast literature studying the effects of development aid (DA) on economic growth, there are far fewer comparative studies addressing how aid affects health outcomes. Furthermore, while much attention has been paid to country-level effects of aid, there is a clear knowledge gap in the literature when it comes to systematic studies of aid effectiveness below the country-level. Addressing this gap, we undertake what we believe is the first systematic attempt to study how DA affects infant mortality at the subnational level. We match new geographic aid data from the AidData on the precise location, type, and time frame of bilateral and multilateral aid projects in Nigeria with available georeferenced survey data from five Nigerian Demographic and Health Surveys, covering information on 294,835 births in the period 1953-2013. Using quasi-experimental approaches, with mother fixed-effects, we are able to control for a vast number of unobserved factors that may otherwise be spuriously correlated with both infant mortality and DA. The results indicate very clearly that geographical proximity to aid projects reduces neonatal, infant, and child mortality. Moreover, aid contributes to reduce systematic inter-group, or horizontal, inequalities in a setting where such differences loom large. In particular, we find that aid more effectively reduces infant mortality in less privileged groups like children of Muslim women, and children living in rural, and in Muslim-dominated areas. Finally, there is evidence that aid projects are established in areas that on average have lower infant mortality than non-aid locations, suggesting that there are biases resulting in aid not necessarily reaching those populations in greatest need.

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1. Introduction

Foreign aid has been the subject of increasing critique since the 1980s and there has been extensive research on aid effectiveness, particularly focusing on the impact of aid on aggregate economic growth (Arndt, Jones and Tarp, 2014; Bigsten and Tengstam, 2015). Despite massive efforts, the scholarly literature remains inconclusive when it comes to the question to what extent development aid actually works (Qian, 2015). This is true both for the general studies of aid effectiveness for overall economic growth, but also for studies on the impact of aid on non-growth outcomes, such as education and health.

One reason for the inconclusive results of the aid effectiveness studies can be that the large majority of the empirical investigations have relied on cross-country analyses. First, such analyses may fail to control for differences across countries, leading to spurious effects between aid and various outcomes (Odokonyero et al., 2015). Second, the lack of robust results regarding the effects of aid on development could arguably be a result of the effects of aid being too small and localized to affect aggregate outcomes (Briggs, forthcoming; Dreher and Lohmann, 2015). Starting from the premise that the country-level may be a too highly aggregated unit of analysis to clearly identify effects of development aid, this study addresses within-country effects across a very extensive empirical material, and focusing on an outcome that has received much policy interest, but less attention in studies of aid effectiveness, namely infant mortality.

In general, the lack of systematic studies of aid effectiveness on health indicators below the country-level represents a clear gap in the literature. Existing databases on foreign aid - the OECD's Creditor Reporting System and now AidData (Tierney et al., 2011) - do in fact contain information at the project level. Yet, the large majority of empirical analyses of aid effectiveness using these data aggregate to the country-year level, thereby losing project specific information (Findley et al., 2011). A few exceptions exist. Using the geographically disaggregated AidData containing information on the exact location of aid projects, scholars have found a positive effect of aid on development (Dreher and Lohmann, 2015), as well as a conflict-reducing effect of aid (van Weezel, 2015), while Briggs (forthcoming) finds that aid is not distributed to the poorest regions, suggesting that aid is not as effective as it could be in reducing poverty. For the health sector in Malawi specifically, De and Becker (2015) find that aid is associated with reduced

 $^{^{1}\}text{By}$ aid effectiveness we understand the ability of aid in achieving stated development goals (e.g. reduced poverty, increased income, social improvements) in the recipient countries relative to the resources spent.

prevalence and severity of diarrhea, while Marty et al. (2017) find that aid contributed to reducing the prevalence of malaria as well as improved quality of self-reported health care. Odokonyero et al. (2015) find that aid has reduced the overall disease severity and burden in Uganda.

Our study makes several contributions to the small but rapidly growing body of literature focusing on the local effects of aid.² First, to the best of our knowledge, we are the first to investigate the effects of aid on infant mortality, a key development outcome, using both a sound identification strategy and a local level design. By spatially linking new data from the AidData on the precise location, type, and time frame of bilateral and multilateral aid projects in Nigeria to micro-level information on infant mortality from household surveys, we provide a systematic attempt at studying how DA affects infant mortality at the subnational level. Investigating infant mortality has the advantage over other outcomes that we are able to investigate a long period at a local level, controlling for a wide array of possible confounders. While a primary rationale for selecting Nigeria as a case study was data availability, due to coverage both by AidData and through several successive and extensive Demographic Health Surveys, Nigeria is a major aid recipient with great local variation in economic, social and demographic conditions, including the most extensive group inequalities documented on the continent (Østby and Urdal, 2014). Second, we find that geographical proximity to aid projects indeed reduces the risk of infant mortality, as well as child and neonatal mortality. Third, we explore heterogeneous effects and find that the mortality-reducing potential of aid seems to be particularly strong for children of Muslim women, in rural areas, and in Muslim areas. Aid thereby seems to reduce horizontal inequalities in a setting where such inequalities loom large. Fourth, we also demonstrate that aid is allocated to areas with less infant mortality to start with. At the very least, this implies that the possibility of aid to reduce vertical inequalities has not reached its full potential, adding to an emerging literature indicating that aid not necessarily reaches those who need it the most. Finally, we assess other effects of aid, and find effects on wealth, female employment, and female education for Muslim mothers, but not for Christian mothers. These factors are likely to explain the heterogeneity in effects that we observe.

² For other prominent examples, see Francken et al. (2012) on relief aid allocation in Madagascar; Powell and Findley (2012) on donor coordination; Briggs (2014) and Jablonski (2014), both on political capture of aid in Kenya; Öhler and Nunnenkamp (2014) on factors determining the allocation of World Bank and African Development Bank aid; Dreher et al. (2016), on allocation of Chinese aid to the birth regions of African leaders; Isaksson and Kotsadam (2016), on the effects of Chinese aid on corruption; and Kelly et al. (2016), on the relationship between Chinese aid and perceptions of corruption in Tanzania.

The remainder of the article proceeds as follows: The next section provides a brief literature review of the aid effectiveness literature, including the impact of aid for health outcomes. In the third section, we outline a framework for how development aid is expected to impact infant mortality. The fourth section presents the data, the fifth section outlines our empirical strategies, the sixth section presents our results, and in the seventh section, we investigate some possible mechanisms. The final section concludes.

2. Aid Effectiveness: A Brief Review of the Literature

Over the years, the empirical literature on aid effectiveness has yielded unclear and ambiguous results, and to date, there appears to be no consensus as to whether aid plays a positive role for growth and development in recipient countries.

In a set of meta-analyses surveying the aid effectiveness literature, Doucouliagos and Paldam (e.g. 2009) concluded that aid has not been effective. The main critique centers around the failure to significantly improve growth and reduce poverty. Furthermore, some have argued that development aid may be effective only under certain conditions, such as e.g. only in democracies (Boone, 1996; Burnside and Dollar, 2000), or when aid is outsourced to non-state actors in countries with bad governance (Dietrich, 2016). But even in the presence of these conditions, aid may still be ineffective (e.g. Hansen and Tarp, 2000), or be hindered by weak institutions in recipient countries (Kosack, 2003). Bourguignon and Platteau (2017) argue that donors should consider the tradeoff between need and governance capacity when allocating aid.

As a contrast to the above studies there is also an increasing amount of macro-level evidence for a positive impact of aid on economic growth, possibly shifting the weight of evidence to a positive (albeit moderate) contribution of aid (e.g. Arndt, Jones and Tarp, 2014; Clemens et al., 2012; Juselius, Møller and Tarp, 2014; Mekasha and Tarp, 2013).

Another strand of the aid effectiveness literature focuses on the impact of aid on non-growth outcomes. Proponents of this approach have argued focusing exclusively on the effect of aid on growth may overlook important benefits from aid on other outcomes, such as health (Mishra and Newhouse, 2009). For example, Kosack (2003) studied the impact of aid on human development indicators, Salami et al. (2014) and Ndikumana and Pickbourn (2017) investigated the effect of aid on access to water and sanitation, Mishra and Newhouse (2009) analyzed the impact of aid for

various health outcomes, and Murdie and Hicks (2013) find that when health services are provided by international nongovernmental organizations, they also increase the governmental spending on health services, and Savun and Tirone (2012) suggest that foreign aid can help mitigate conflict risk in low-income countries during periods of economic depression. The relationship between institutions and health aid may also differ from the relationship between institutions and aid in general. Dietrich (2011) argues that health aid need not be ineffective in corrupt countries as compliance in this sector is cheap and the countries may therefore strategically comply. Han and Koenig-Archibugi (2015) argue that aid fragmentation up to a certain extent is beneficial for health aid as there is more possibilities to select the programs that work.

In fact, systematic evidence on how aid affects health is surprisingly scarce. Also, when it comes to the relationship between aid and health outcomes, the empirical evidence remains inconclusive. A set of cross-country studies fail to find that aid spurs improvements in various health indicators, including IMR, both considering the overall effect of aid (e.g. Boone, 1996), and when using sector-specific aid data (Gebhard et al., 2008; Williamson, 2008; Wilson, 2011). Lee and Lim (2014) find that health aid at the country level increases when the health deteriorated but according to Wilson (2011: 2032) aid has been 'following success, rather than causing it.' By this, he means that aid has largely gone to countries that have experienced health gains rather than aid promoting those gains. Due to the lack of empirical support for the effect of health aid, some scholars have placed greater emphasis on domestic efforts in improving health outcomes (e.g. Williamson, 2008).

Opposed to this negative interpretation of the effectiveness of health aid, a handful of country-level studies have found that aid has a positive effect on health outcomes. (e.g. Mishra and Newhouse, 2009; Bendavid, 2014), although the effect is modest. However, as noted by the authors themselves, although the effect of aid is identified using within-country changes in aid and IMR over time, the estimated effect is nonetheless just an average across a very heterogeneous set of countries. Hence, they encourage future research to conduct detailed case studies of the effects of health aid in individual countries.

3. Development Aid and Infant Mortality

According to the World Bank, the infant mortality rate (IMR) for Sub-Saharan Africa as a whole was 56 deaths below the age of one per 1,000 live born in 2015, compared to an average of 6 in the OECD countries.³ For Nigeria, the IMR score was estimated to be higher than the continent's average, standing at 69 in 2015, however there are large geographical variations within the country. To what extent can we expect that development aid can contribute to reducing the level of infant mortality? In order to address this question, it is useful to take a step back and look at what the literature says about the determinants of infant mortality in general.

3.1 The Impact of Aid on Infant Mortality

The chance that an infant makes it to her or his first birthday depends on a variety of direct and indirect determinants (e.g. Schell et al., 2007; Sartorius and Sartorius, 2014), as depicted in Figure 1. Among the proximate determinants are the health of the mother, infections, accidents, and use of health services, such as immunizations. Examples of intermediate determinants are access to food, safe water, sanitation, and electricity. More distal, but yet important, determinants include broader socioeconomic conditions like household poverty, infrastructure, sanitation, clean water, and the education of the parents, in particular the mother.

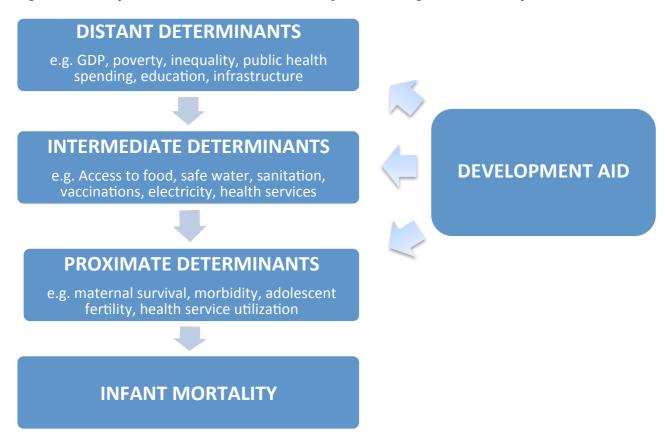
Since so many factors may be determinants of health in developing countries, there may be benefits in considering the impact of the provision of aid more broadly rather than focusing narrowly on aid within the health sector. Arguably, projects aimed at increasing literacy, female empowerment, electricity, safe water, infrastructure or agricultural productivity may all positively impact child survival. Indeed, White (2007), who investigated specific health interventions in Bangladesh, concluded that health outcomes were not related to health aid specifically, but to a larger degree to aid given to other sectors.

The relevance of different types of aid could further differ depending on context, such as rural vs. urban residence. In a study of 60 low-income countries between 1990 and 1999, Wang (2003) found that mortality in urban areas was highly correlated with access to electricity, household

³ http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.DYN.IMRT.IN

wealth and female secondary education, while mortality in rural areas was associated with access to piped water, access to electricity, female education, household wealth and vaccination coverage.

Figure 1. Conceptual Framework of The Hierarchy Determining Infant Mortality



Amended from Schell et al. (2007: 290) and Sartorius and Sartorius (2014: 2)

The AidData disbursement data provide an opportunity to identify the time of implementation of aid projects, while DHS data allows for a comparison between those born just before and just after the aid project started. However, the effect of aid on health outcomes may be fast or slow. Some directed efforts like post-natal checkups and care for deadly, but treatable diseases like diarrhea and fever, may have an immediate impact on child survival, others, like immunization, will have a positive effect on survival in the medium run up to a few months, while other forms of aid meant to improve female education or agricultural productivity may improve infant and child survival over a much longer time horizon. We start by testing for a total effect of aid and propose the following main hypothesis:

While the discussion on aid effectiveness has primarily centered around economic development and the ability of aid to deliver aggregate economic growth, less, albeit increasing, attention has been paid to whether or not aid contributes to reduce various forms of inequalities (see Dollar and Kray, 2002; Chong et al., 2009; Castells-Quintana and Larrú, 2015; Herzer and Nunnenkamp, 2012). So far, the research on the aid-inequality nexus is scarce and inconclusive, particularly when it comes to the question of whether aid reduces (or increases) systematic inequalities between identity groups, known as 'horizontal inequalities' (see Brown and Stewart, 2010; Stewart, 2008). Hence, we also address whether aid has contributed to reduce inequalities in health in Nigeria, a country that both has extensive systematic horizontal inequalities between Christians and Muslims along a number of dimensions like health, income, and education, and a history of significant inter-group conflict (Østby and Urdal, 2014).

4. Data

4.1 Aid Data

To measure localized effects of aid, we use data from the USAID-sponsored AidData project. This is an open access database covering geo-coded bilateral as well as multilateral aid projects. The AidData project has produced both global datasets for certain donors, as well as specific and very detailed country dataset for select countries, among them Nigeria, covering a high number of donors. The data comes from various sources including OECD's Creditor Reporting System, annual reports and project documents published by donors, web-accessible databases and project documents, and spreadsheets and data exports obtained directly from donor agencies.⁴

The aid data from Nigeria was released in August 2015. It contains a total of 621 aid projects, covering a total of 1,843 locations. The locations vary from highly precise GPS points to regional/state and central government levels, and the dataset includes precision coding to indicate how detailed the location coding is. The projects range from agricultural support, health and education to government/civil society, banking, and infrastructure. Many projects also span several different sectors.

⁴ http://aiddata.org/user-guide

To be able to assess the effect of aid on infant mortality we need to know the date when the project was established. However, since the precise *actual start date* is unreported for a high number of projects we use the *planned start date*. The correlation between the actual start and planned start dates was above 0.9 for the projects for which we have information on both. Furthermore, they both have the mean starting year in 2011 and the median as well as modal starting year in 2013.

Further, in order to test the localized aspects of aid effectiveness, we need to know the specific location of the projects. We only use projects that correspond to AidData precision coding 3 and below, which defines a project as specific to a local government area. These two restrictions reduce the number of projects to 97.6 However, many of these projects have several locations, so a total of 726 project locations meet our coding criteria. This includes aid projects across all sectors. 18 of the projects are directly linked to health, representing a total of 64 locations. Table 1 disaggregates the type of projects that are included in the analysis. The earliest project included in the analysis was established in 1990 and the latest in 2014.

⁵ This increases the number of projects in the analysis from 37 to 97.

⁶ In order to include more projects, we also ran an analysis on state level, testing whether a state had an active project at the time of birth. This analysis yield the same conclusions as the ones based on the results included in the article, but we deem them too crude and prefer to use the more disaggregated data.

Table 1a. Overview of Project Types

Type of project	Number of projects	Number of locations
Health	18	64
Agriculture	31	144
Government and civil society	14	32
Energy generation and supply	6	21
Banking and financing	2	14
Commodity aid and general programme assistance	4	7
Water and sanitation	2	3
Trade policy and regulations	2	3
Education	2	2
Communication	1	1
Unspecified	29	470

The number of projects in the table is higher than the total number of projects included in the analysis, because one project can include several elements. From Table 1a we see that a number of projects are *unspecified*. This does not mean that we do not know the content of these projects, only that they did not fit squarely into the pre-specified categories from AidData. These projects include, among others, infrastructure, emergency aid, gender-related projects and some unspecified agricultural projects. In addition to the main models, we have also run separate analyses of the 18 health projects.

In Table 1b we see the distribution of project over planned start years included in this analysis. We see that there has been an increase of project over time, with an exception of 2007. However, this increase could also be due to better information on location in more recent years

Table 1b. Overview of Project Types

Planned start year	Number of projects
1990	1
2002	1
2003	3
2004	1
2005	1
2007	5
2008	13
2009	20
2010	7
2011	12
2012	18
2013	13
2014	2

4.2 Demographic Data from DHS

The source of the demographic data used in this analysis is Demographic Health Surveys conducted over several years in Nigeria. In a DHS, a sample of households is selected throughout the entire country. Women between the ages of 15 and 49 are interviewed about sexual and reproductive health, nutrition, family and other demographic factors. The survey instrument also includes a number of additional items, such as ethnicity, education, and household assets. DHS surveys typically cover several thousand respondents nationally, representing urban and rural areas and provinces/states. DHS surveys are conducted every four to five years in most countries, with the same questions asked in each survey to facilitate comparisons across time and space. Several of the DHS surveys include detailed information about the exact location of each sample cluster, providing geographical coordinates for each surveyed location (village/town/city).

We use data from the five DHS survey rounds that have been conducted in Nigeria in 1990, 2003, 2008, 2010 and 2013, totaling 2,686 clusters, in which 67,396 mothers who had given birth to 294,835 live children were interviewed. In order to test the effect of aid on each of the children, the unit of analysis in this article is not the women interviewed, but each live birth reported by the women. Thus, a mother with five children would have five entries in the dataset.

We match the DHS data with the georeferenced aid data and the location of the households of the live-born children under the age of one year, within 25km and 50km distances from each aid project. The map in Figure 2 shows the distribution of aid projects and DHS clusters. It also illustrates how the data is structured with aid project 'buffer zones', indicating which DHS clusters (black dots) are within the relevant distances of the aid projects (red crosses) and which are not. The light gray circles around the projects indicate a 50km buffer zone while the darker is the 25km buffer zone. A visual inspection suggests that the North-Eastern region has very few aid projects. This is also one of the most marginalized regions in Nigeria.



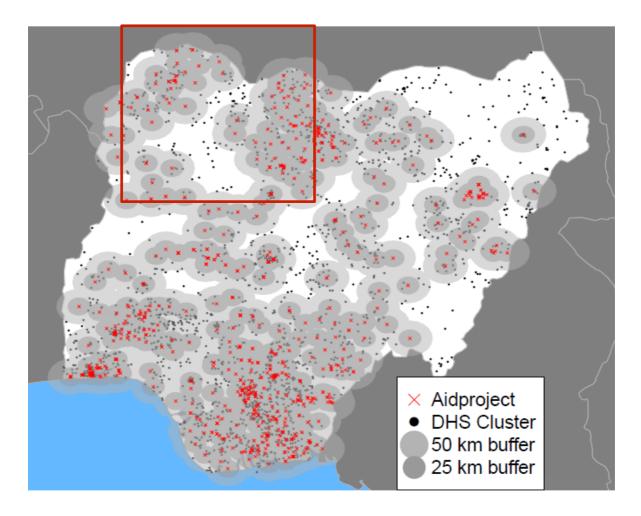
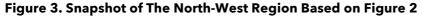
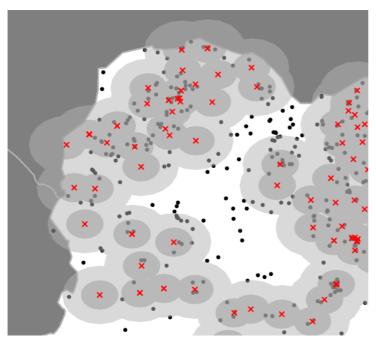


Figure 3 shows in more detail the data structure for the North-Western region of Nigeria. We can clearly see that there is a good distribution of DHS clusters both among those that are located near to an aid project (within in the grey areas), and those that are not.





4.3 Infant Mortality

We use infant mortality to study aid effectiveness. In the Demographic Health Surveys, mothers are asked to provide information about each child they have ever given birth to. These children are the units of analysis. The information given about each child includes the time of their birth, and if they died, the time of death. The variable is coded 1 if the child died before it was 12 months old, and 0 if it survived its first 12 months. Among the 294,835 children included in the dataset 26,927 died before turning one year, representing 9.1 percent of all children, or an Infant Mortality Rate (IMR) of 91 per 1,000 live-born. Figure 4 illustrates how infant mortality has generally declined in Nigeria since 1960.

⁷ It is further likely that this number is somewhat underreported as it is more likely that mothers will fail to report dead children than living children.



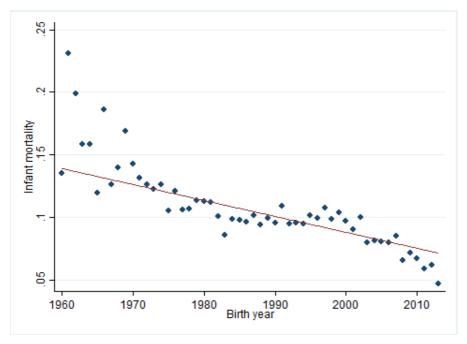
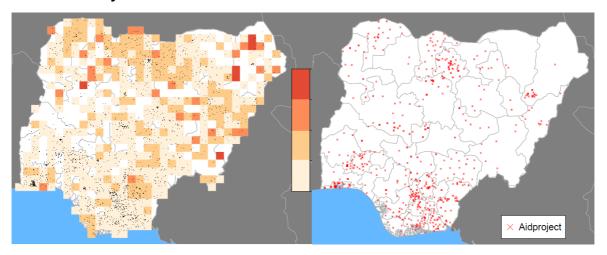


Figure 5 indicates the rate of children who died before 12 months within each grid cell shown on the map. The data in each grid cell is based on the DHS clusters that fall within each cell. We see that the level of infant mortality is generally higher in the northern areas, and in particular in the North-West. Comparing this to Figure 6 indicating where the aid projects are, we see that there is an overlap between areas where there is high infant mortality and *no* aid projects. However, this does not take time trends into account, so it is difficult to assess based on this whether this negative correlation is due to effective aid, or whether aid projects are not established in the marginalized areas.

Figure 5. Infant Mortality Rate Based on The Figure 6: Aid Project Locations Five DHS Surveys



4.4 Testing Heterogeneous Impacts of Aid

In order to test whether the effect of aid on reducing infant mortality is greater among children born to Muslim women, and for children living in Muslim areas or living in rural areas, we must identify these groups. The data defining the mother's religion and whether she lives in an urban or rural area come from the DHS. To define Muslim areas (among the buffer zones around the aid projects) we split the sample on the median of the share of religion for each area, so that areas with more than the median share of Muslims are defined as Muslim dominated areas.

5. Empirical Strategy

5.1 Difference-in-Differences

The structure of the data that we are using in this article allows us to make comparisons over both time and geographical location. Since we know when and where an aid project is to be established, we can compare the level of infant mortality in areas close to projects before and after the projects have started to infant mortality in areas further away from projects. To do so we build on the spatial-temporal strategy presented in Kotsadam and Tolonen (2016) and Knutsen et al. (forthcoming) and use a *difference-in-differences* method. The model compares the likelihood of dying before the age of one, both before and after the introduction of an aid project nearby.

More specifically, we use each child born as the unit of analysis and estimate the following baseline linear probability model:

(1)
$$Y_{ivt} = \beta_1 \cdot active + \beta_2 \cdot inactive + \lambda_t + \theta_{it} + \varepsilon_{ivt}$$
,

where the outcome *Y* of a child *i*, cluster *v* and for year of birth *t* is regressed on active and inactive. We first define the DHS clusters that could be expected to be positively affected by aid, which we set to 50km distance from the project location point in our baseline estimation following previous spatial analyzes with similar data (Kotsadam and Tolonen, 2016; Knutsen et al., forthcoming). We also present results using a 25km buffer zone.

We include projects established both before and after the year of birth of the kids. For each unit of observation, the children included in our dataset, we create two dummy variables for each distance: One called active50 (active25) and one called inactive50 (inactive25). The active variable equals one if at least one aid project was established when the child was born and zero otherwise, while the inactive variable equals one if we know that there will be an aid project in this area in the future, but that it was not yet established when the child was born. The active50 variable includes 13,545 children and the smaller area of active25 includes 5,443 children. Children that are not related to any aid project become the reference category in the analysis.

The difference-in-differences strategy implies the comparison of two differences. First, it allows us to compare the death rates of children living in active and inactive aid areas to the rest of the country (the first difference). Only comparing death rates between active areas and the rest of the country would be equivalent to assuming that areas receiving aid and areas not receiving aid are expected to be equal (i.e. that aid is randomly allocated). The comparison between inactive areas and the rest of the country will show us whether there are indeed signs of selection into becoming an aid area. Secondly, we can compare the difference between the two differences (the second difference). That is, we compare the difference between active areas and the rest of the country to the same difference for inactive areas. The strategy thereby purges away the selection effect captured by the inactive measure and, as such, this strategy controls for the potential selection effects. For example, areas receiving aid could be generally poorer than the rest of the country, hence addressing the effect of aid on infant mortality by comparing the proximate areas of the aid projects with the rest of the country might yield biased results. The regression further includes

linear trends in year of birth λ_t , and we control for the time-varying variables in all regressions by adding the vector θ_{it} . These variables are birth order and a dummy for being part of a multiple birth (e.g. twins). The standard errors are clustered at the level of the primary sampling unit so that we take into account that the observations are not independent within each cluster.

5.2 Mother Fixed Effects

As we have retrospective fertility data and many mothers in our sample we are able to exploit the data even further by comparing the death rates of siblings that were born before and after aid projects had started. Hence, in our second estimation strategy we include mother fixed effects and the estimated effects of aid are thus estimated using only *within-sibling variation*⁸. The advantage of such a design, over for example cross-country or even within-country regression analyses, is that we are able to control for a vast amount of variables that may otherwise be spuriously correlated with both infant mortality and aid. In fact, our approach implies controlling for all the observed and unobserved factors that are likely fixed over time for each mother, such as education level, household welfare, and rural/urban residency. It also ensures that the estimated effect is not driven by endogenous population changes that may occur as an effect of aid. The specification is shown in equation (2)

(2)
$$Y_{ivmt} = \beta_1 \cdot active + \alpha_m + \lambda_t + \theta_{it} + \varepsilon_{ivt}$$

where Y is now the outcome for child i born by mother m in cluster v in year t. The mother fixed effects, α_m , ensure that we are comparing the effects of sibling births with as similar conditions as possible but for the aid projects. As we now compare the same mother before and after aid we only include the active coefficient. Note that the vector of time varying control variables, θ_{it} (birth order and multiple birth), vary across siblings.

⁸ When running fixed effects models, individuals with no variation over time are not dropped but they are not used to estimate the coefficient of interest. Dropping these individuals is not recommended as they help improve efficiency and contribute to correct estimations of r-squares.

6. Empirical Findings

In columns 1-4 of Table 2 we present the basic difference-in-differences models of equation (1), assessing the risk of dying among children born in 'active' areas, that is areas with an ongoing aid project, and among children born in 'inactive' areas, that is areas that we know will get an aid project in the future. If aid project locations had been selected at random, there should be no statistically significance difference in child survival between children born in the areas that will never receive aid projects (the reference category) and those born in 'inactive' areas (since the treatment has not yet been implemented). The models in both columns (2) and (4) show, however, that children born in areas that will receive an aid project in the future have lower mortality than children born in areas that will not receive an aid project. This relationship captures a selection effect, suggesting that aid projects are established in areas that on average have lower mortality than the average non-aid location. This supports earlier findings (e.g. Briggs forthcoming) that aid is not primarily reaching those that need it the most. There could be many possible explanations for such bias, including that aid projects may be established predominantly in urban areas with high population densities or more generally in areas with better infrastructure. Comparing areas with ongoing (active) projects with those with future projects, the positive effects is greater and the difference is statistically significant, indicating that there is a positive effect of aid on child survival also when selection is taken into account.

In these models we also include a linear variable of the year of birth of the child, controlling for the general improvement in infant health over time. As aid is increasing over time as well, the failure of including such time variable could easily overestimate the effect of aid. We find similar results whether we use a 25 km or a 50 km buffer zone.

In Columns 5 and 6 we introduce mother fixed effects as in equation (2). The mother fixed effects models essentially only use variation from mothers that have given birth to children both before and after an aid project has started nearby, allowing us to study the impact of aid once all potential confounding factors associated with the mothers are controlled for. Because of this restriction we have fewer observations. While in the baseline regression there were 289,530 children born by 66,604 mothers, the result in column 5 is in fact based on 71,537 children born by the 14,071 mothers who gave birth both before and after an aid project started within a 50 km buffer zone.

Separating between different sub-groups, still using mother fixed effects, we find in Table 3 that aid is particularly effective in reducing mortality among children born in rural areas, among Muslim children, and among children born in Muslim areas. These findings would garner evidence for our expectation that aid contributes to reduce group inequalities in health access. That is, the effect of aid seems to be strongest for the most disadvantaged groups. However, we also know that the allocation of aid is to areas with less infant mortality, so the total effect on inequality is uncertain.

Table 2. Effects of Aid Projects on Infant Mortality

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
VARIABLES	Death	Death	Death	Death	Death	Death
Active 50 km	-0.013***	-0.028***			-0.010***	
	(0.002)	(0.005)			(0.002)	
Inactive 50 km		-0.018***				
		(0.004)				
Active 25 km			-0.018***	-0.026***		-0.006*
			(0.002)	(0.003)		(0.003)
Inactive 25 km				-0.014***		
				(0.003)		
-1						
Observations	289,530	289,530	287,836	287,836	289,530	287,836
R-squared	0.019	0.020	0.019	0.020	0.018	0.018
Mother FE	NO	NO	NO	NO	Yes	Yes
Mean in sample	0.0918	0.0918	0.0920	0.0920	0.0920	0.0920
Difference in difference		-0.0106		-0.0118		
F test: active-inactive=0		21.76		23.79		
p value		0.000		0.000		

Table 3. Effects of Aid Projects on Infant Mortality for Different Groups

	(1)	(2)	(3)
VARIABLES	Death	Death	Death
Active 50	-0.004	-0.002	-0.002
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Active 50*Rural	-0.010*		
	(0.005)		
Active 50*Muslim		-0.017***	
		(0.005)	
Active 50*Muslim area			-0.013***
			(0.005)
Observations	270,464	269,264	289,530
R-squared	0.019	0.019	0.018
Mother FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mean in sample	0.0921	0.0921	0.0918

In the Appendix we show that the results are robust to only including individuals within a distance of 200 km in the control group (Table A1). In Table A2 we restrict the sample to kids born to mothers that we know have always lived in the same area. This reduces the sample a lot partly because the question is not asked in all survey rounds (we have the information only for the surveys conducted in1990, 2003, and 2008). Nevertheless, the coefficients are similar albeit the statistical significance is lower. Finally, in Table A3, we restrict the sample to health projects only. Surprisingly, having a health project in the vicinity is positively associated, though statistically insignificant, to infant mortality. The relatively fewer dedicated health projects and the broader possible influence on child survival of improved education, sanitation, electricity and governance speak to the soundness of assessing the impact of aid more broadly.

We further find that there is an effect on child mortality (children aged 0-5), on children aged 1-5 and on neonatal mortality (first month). For these outcomes we see that the heterogeneity point in the same direction as for infant mortality. These results are presented in the Appendix, Tables A4-A9.

7. Mechanisms

So far, we have found that aid seems to reduce infant mortality, and more so in rural and Muslim areas and for Muslim mothers. To investigate the mechanisms behind these findings we further analyze the effects of aid on wealth, employment, and education. As these factors are likely to be important for child survival, the analysis will give us an indication of possible intermediate factors. These variables are, however, not available for each birth year, but are asked to the mother in the year of interview. The analysis in this section is therefore slightly different as we use observations on the mother level at the time of interview As we only have one observation per mother for these variables, we will rely on the difference in difference strategy, i.e. the strategy comparing active to inactive areas. As seen in the analysis above (Table 2), the estimates when using this strategy in the main analysis are very similar to the estimates using mother fixed effects so we are confident that they capture most of the endogeneity concerns.

Table 4 shows that wealth seems to increase, but the difference is not statistically significant. Female employment seems to increase, however, but not necessarily cash employment. In column 4 we see that years of schooling are higher in active than in inactive areas. We can here be more precise and drop all women that lived in an area that became active after they were 20

years old. This is not necessary but it is comforting to see that the effect is much stronger and almost doubled if we do so.

Table 4. Effects of Aid Projects on Other Variables of Interest

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
VARIABLES	Wealth	Working	Cash Paid	Schoolyears	Schoolyears
					(exp)
Active 50 km	84,251.085***	0.044***	0.042***	4.123***	4.715***
	(5,484.077)	(0.011)	(0.013)	(0.231)	(0.223)
Inactive 50 km	76,585.538***	0.017*	0.058***	3.466***	3.450***
	(4,189.148)	(0.009)	(0.011)	(0.182)	(0.182)
Observations	78,275	76,891	73,630	83,423	74,872
R-squared	0.150	0.002	0.035	0.132	0.132
Difference in difference	7666	0.0275	-0.0165	0.657	1.265
F test: active-inactive=0	1.613	7.154	1.773	6.876	27.07
p value	0.204	0.00754	0.183	0.00879	2.14e-07

Robust standard errors clustered at the DHS cluster level in parentheses. All regressions control for a multiple birth dummy, birth order fixed effects, and a linear trend in birth year. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

In Table 5 we run separate regressions for Muslims and Christians as we have identified stronger effects for Muslim mothers. It is interesting to see that Muslim women increase their wealth, their employment, and their years of schooling whereas there are no corresponding effects for Christian women. If anything, their employment seems to be reduced, but this is only statistically significant at the 7 % level. In the Appendix (Tables A10-A11) we present the same analyses for 25 kilometers and find similar patterns.

Table 5. Effects of Aid Projects on Infant Mortality for Different Groups

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Musl.	Musl.	Musl.	Chr.	Chr.	Chr.
VARIABLES	wealth	working	schoolyears_exp	wealth	working	schoolyears_exp
						_
Active 50 km	68,098.084***	0.052***	3.383***	68,508.208***	-0.015	2.341***
	(7,898.617)	(0.019)	(0.407)	(6,406.841)	(0.013)	(0.199)
Inactive 50 km	43,897.001***	0.014	1.378***	77,179.289***	-0.034***	2.350***
	(5,719.708)	(0.014)	(0.200)	(5,051.396)	(0.012)	(0.170)
Observations	38,552	38,345	37,907	38,393	37,018	35,497
R-squared	0.088	0.003	0.043	0.121	0.002	0.093
Difference in	24201	0.0380	2.005	-8671	0.0189	-0.00914
difference						
F test: active-	7.187	3.568	21.43	1.944	3.424	0.00283
inactive=0						
p value	0.00743	0.0591	3.96e-06	0.163	0.0645	0.958

In the Appendix we further present results showing that birthweight (in grams) is affected (Table A12-A13). These results are more difficult to interpret, however, as aid may affect the probability of being weighted in the first place. We actually find indications of this, see (Table A14). Furthermore, when regressing aid on the probability of ever being vaccinated using the fixed effects framework we see that aid increases the probability of having had any vaccination. Again, this increase is especially strong for kids of Muslim mothers and kids born in Muslim areas. (See Tables A15-A16).

8. Conclusion

Local-level data on aid and health outcomes can be very useful for policymakers and practitioners, both when it comes to evaluating the effectiveness of health interventions and to inform decisions on how and where to allocate aid. We are the first to investigate the effects of aid on infant mortality using a sound identification strategy and the first to investigate this question using a local level spatial design. Combining georeferenced data on development aid and infant mortality data from Nigerian household surveys, we find that children born to mothers who live in locations close to one or more aid projects indeed have a lower risk of dying before the age of 12 months. Furthermore, the general relationship between aid projects and infant mortality is stronger for less privileged groups like children of Muslim women, and for children living in rural and in Muslim-dominated areas. Aid thereby seems to reduce horizontal inequalities in a setting where such inequalities loom large. We also show, however, that aid is allocated to areas with less

infant mortality to start with. At the very least, this implies that the potential of aid to reduce vertical inequalities has not reached its full potential. We further assess other effects of aid and find effects on wealth, female employment, and female education for Muslim mothers, but not for Christian mothers. These factors are likely to explain the heterogeneity in effects that we observe.

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Appendix

Section A: Robustness of the main results

Table A1. Effects of aid projects on infant mortality for different groups. The control group is restricted to be within 200 km from a project location.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
VARIABLES	Death	Death	Death	Death	Death
					_
Active 50	-0.010***		-0.004	-0.002	-0.002
	(0.002)		(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Active 25		-0.006*			
		(0.003)			
Active 50*Rural			-0.010*		
			(0.005)		
Active 50*Muslim				-0.017***	
				(0.005)	
Active 50*Muslim area					-0.013***
					(0.005)
Observations	200 402	20/ 700	2/0 427	2/0.224	200 402
Observations	288,493	286,799	269,427	268,234	288,493
R-squared	0.018	0.018	0.019	0.019	0.018
Mother FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mean in sample	0.0918	0.0921	0.0921	0.0922	0.0918

Table A2. Effects of aid projects on infant mortality for different groups. The sample is restricted to children born to mothers who have always lived in the same place.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
VARIABLES	Death	Death	Death	Death	Death
Active 50	-0.017*		-0.017	-0.008	-0.012
	(0.010)		(0.020)	(0.012)	(0.012)
Active 25		-0.015			
		(0.016)			
Active 50*Rural			0.000		
			(0.023)		
Active 50*Muslim				-0.026	
				(0.021)	
Active 50*Muslim area					-0.017
					(0.021)
Observations	64,855	64,842	64,855	64,644	64,855
R-squared	0.021	0.021	0.021	0.021	0.021
Mother FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mean in sample	0.104	0.104	0.104	0.104	0.104

Table A3. Effects of health aid projects on infant mortality for different groups.

-	/4\	(0)	(0)	(4)	/ E\
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
VARIABLES	Death	Death	Death	Death	Death
Active 50	0.001		0.003	0.003	0.001
	(0.005)		(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.006)
Active 25	(0.000)	0.005	(0.000)	(0.007)	(0.000)
Active 25					
		(0.007)			
Active 50*Rural			-0.006		
			(0.010)		
Active 50*Muslim				-0.009	
				(0.010)	
Active 50*Muslim area					0.002
					(0.009)
					(3.207)
Observations	292,908	292,425	273,264	272,050	292,908
R-squared	0.018	0.018	0.018	0.018	0.018
Mother FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mean in sample	0.0916	0.0916	0.0919	0.0919	0.0916

Section B: Other measures of mortality

Table A4. Effects of aid projects on child mortality (0-5).

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
VARIABLES	Death	Death	Death	Death	Death	Death
active50	-0.048***	-0.072***			-0.032***	
	(0.003)	(0.007)			(0.003)	
inactive50		-0.029***				
		(0.007)				
active25			-0.050***	-0.069***		-0.027***
			(0.003)	(0.004)		(0.004)
inactive25				-0.032***		
				(0.005)		
	000 500	000 500	007.007	007.007	000 500	007.007
Observations	289,530	289,530	287,836	287,836	289,530	287,836
R-squared	0.024	0.025	0.024	0.025	0.020	0.020
Mother FE	NO	NO	NO	NO	Yes	Yes
Mean in sample	0.169		0.170		0.169	0.170
Difference in difference		-0.0432		-0.0368		
F test: active-inactive=0		172		104.2		
p value		0		0		
Number of mothers					66,604	66,235

Robust standard errors clustered at the DHS cluster level in parentheses. All regressions control for a multiple birth dummy, birth order fixed effects, and a linear trend in birth year. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A5. Effects of aid projects on child mortality (0-5) for different groups.

	(1)	(2)	(3)
VARIABLES	Death	Death	Death
active50	-0.010*	0.002	0.001
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
active50_rural	-0.033***		
	(0.006)		
active50_muslim		-0.062***	
		(0.006)	
active50_muslim_area			-0.057***
			(0.006)
Observations	270,464	269,264	289,530
R-squared	0.020	0.021	0.020
Number of mothers	62,034	61,763	66,604
Mother FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mean in sample	0.170	0.170	0.169

Table A6. Effects of aid projects on child mortality, except infants (1-5)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
VARIABLES	Death	Death	Death	Death	Death	Death
active50	-0.034***	-0.044***			-0.022***	
	(0.002)	(0.004)			(0.002)	
inactive50		-0.011***				
		(0.004)				
active25			-0.032***	-0.042***		-0.022***
			(0.002)	(0.003)		(0.003)
inactive25				-0.017***		
				(0.003)		
Observations	289,530	289,530	287,836	287,836	289,530	287,836
R-squared	0.010	0.011	0.009	0.010	0.006	0.006
Mother FE	NO	NO	NO	NO	Yes	Yes
Mean in sample	0.0770		0.0775		0.0770	0.0775
Difference in difference		-0.0326		-0.0250		
F test: active-inactive=0		265.1		121		
p value		0		0		
Number of mothers					66,604	66,235

Table A7. Effects of aid projects on child mortality, except infants (1-5) for different groups.

	(1)	(2)	(3)
VARIABLES	Death	Death	Death
active50	-0.006	0.003	0.003
	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.003)
active50_rural	-0.024***		
	(0.005)		
active50_muslim		-0.045***	
		(0.005)	
active50_muslim_area			-0.045***
			(0.004)
Observations	270,464	269,264	289,530
R-squared	0.006	0.007	0.007
Number of mothers	62,034	61,763	66,604
Mother FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mean in sample	0.0781	0.0780	0.0770

Table A8. Effects of aid projects on neonatal mortality (1 month).

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
neonatal	neonatal	neonatal	neonatal	neonatal	neonatal
-0.004**	-0.009***			-0.003*	
(0.002)	(0.003)			(0.002)	
	-0.006***				
	(0.002)				
		-0.005***	-0.009***		0.001
		(0.002)	(0.002)		(0.002)
			-0.006***		
			(0.002)		
289,530	289,530	287,836	287,836	289,530	287,836
0.018	0.018	0.018	0.018	0.018	0.018
NO	NO	NO	NO	Yes	Yes
0.0474		0.0475		0.0474	0.0475
	-0.00288		-0.00217		
	3.382		1.556		
	0.0660		0.212		
				66,604	66,235
	neonatal -0.004** (0.002) 289,530 0.018 NO 0.0474	neonatal neonatal -0.004**	neonatal neonatal neonatal -0.004** -0.009*** (0.002) (0.003) -0.006*** (0.002) -0.005*** (0.002) 289,530 287,836 0.018 0.018 NO NO 0.0474 0.0475 -0.00288 3.382 0.0660	neonatal neonatal neonatal neonatal -0.004** -0.009*** (0.003) -0.006*** (0.002) -0.005*** -0.009*** (0.002) (0.002) -0.006*** (0.002) 289,530 287,836 287,836 287,836 0.018 0.018 0.018 0.018 NO NO NO NO 0.0474 0.0475 -0.00217 3.382 0.0660 0.212	neonatal neonatal neonatal neonatal neonatal -0.004** -0.009*** -0.003* (0.002) (0.003) (0.002) -0.005*** -0.009*** (0.002) -0.006*** (0.002) -0.006*** (0.002) -0.006*** (0.002) -0.006*** (0.002) -0.006*** (0.002) -0.006*** (0.002) -0.006*** (0.002) -0.006*** (0.002) -0.006*** (0.002) -0.006*** (0.002) -0.006*** (0.002) -0.006*** (0.002) -0.006*** (0.002) -0.006*** (0.002) -0.006*** (0.002) -0.006*** (0.002) -0.006*** (0.002) -0.006*** (0.002) -0.008** 0.018 0.018 0.018 0.0474 -0.00217 -0.00217 3.382 -0.00217 -0.00212 <t< td=""></t<>

Table A9. Effects of aid projects on neonatal mortality (1 month) for different groups.

	(1)	(2)	(3)
VARIABLES	neonatal	neonatal	neonatal
active50	-0.002	-0.000	-0.000
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
active50_rural	-0.003		
	(0.004)		
active50_muslim		-0.007*	
		(0.004)	
active50_muslim_area			-0.005
			(0.003)
Observations	270,464	269,264	289,530
R-squared	0.019	0.019	0.018
Number of mothers	62,034	61,763	66,604
Mother FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mean in sample	0.0475	0.0475	0.0474

Section C: Mechanisms

Table A10. Effects of aid projects on other outcomes, robustness with 25 km.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
VARIABLES	wealth	working	cash_paid	schoolyears	schoolyears_exp
active25	99,297.390***	0.050***	0.086***	3.994***	4.317***
	(6,981.689)	(0.012)	(0.014)	(0.287)	(0.284)
inactive25	75,435.144***	0.029***	0.086***	3.153***	3.154***
	(5,545.899)	(0.009)	(0.012)	(0.225)	(0.230)
Observations	76,737	75,356	72,098	81,885	74,192
R-squared	0.136	0.002	0.040	0.096	0.081
Difference in difference	23862	0.0216	-0.000454	0.841	1.163
F test: active-inactive=0	7.958	2.452	0.000772	6.136	11.67
p value	0.00483	0.118	0.978	0.0133	0.000648

Robust standard errors clustered at the DHS cluster level in parentheses. All regressions control for a multiple birth dummy, birth order fixed effects, and a linear trend in birth year. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A11. Heterogeneity in effects of aid projects on other outcomes, robustness with 25 km.

-	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Mus	Mus	Mus	Chr	Chr	Chr
VARIABLES	wealth	working	schoolyears_exp	wealth	working	schoolyears_exp
						_
active25	88,595.138***	0.063***	3.777***	78,549.665***	0.016	2.167***
	(10,738.223)	(0.023)	(0.520)	(7,072.923)	(0.013)	(0.177)
inactive25	56,716.168***	0.042**	1.837***	64,077.170***	-0.007	1.863***
	(8,349.040)	(0.017)	(0.296)	(5,885.505)	(0.010)	(0.168)
Observations	38,149	37,943	37,735	37,278	35,905	34,993
R-squared	0.096	0.003	0.037	0.122	0.001	0.074
Difference in	31879	0.0208	1.940	14472	0.0230	0.304
difference						
F test: active-	5.786	0.591	10.95	2.981	2.747	2.188
inactive=0						
p value	0.0163	0.442	0.000956	0.0844	0.0977	0.139

Table A12. Effects of aid projects on birthweight.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
VARIABLES	birthweight	birthweight	birthweight	birthweight	birthweight	birthweight
-						
active50	82.367***	153.962***			109.190**	
	(23.983)	(52.131)			(45.828)	
inactive50	,	77.014			, ,	
		(50.867)				
active25		,	82.526***	78.765**		83.530*
			(22.943)	(34.810)		(44.437)
inactive25			- /	-5.084		,
				(34.170)		
				(0.111.0)		
Observations	10,909	10,909	10,657	10,657	10,909	10,657
R-squared	0.016	0.016	0.016	0.016	0.020	0.021
Mother FE	NO	NO	NO	NO	Yes	Yes
Mean in sample	3317		3314		3317	3314
Difference in		76.95		83.85		
difference						
F test: active-		9.915		11.94		
inactive=0						
p value		0.00167		0.000564		
Number of					7,965	7,789
mothers						

Table A13. Effects of aid projects on birthweight for different groups.

	(1)	(2)	(3)
VARIABLES	birthweight	birthweight	birthweight
active50	102.473*	105.504**	102.020**
	(53.431)	(52.577)	(51.857)
active50_rural	22.874		
	(93.499)		
active50_muslim		9.082	
		(95.207)	
active50_muslim_area			29.075
			(98.353)
Observations	10,909	10,877	10,909
R-squared	0.020	0.020	0.020
Number of mothers	7,965	7,939	7,965
Mother FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mean in sample	3317	3317	3317

Table A14. Effects of aid projects on the probability of being weighted.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
VARIABLES	weighted	weighted	weighted	weighted	weighted	weighted
active50	0.136***	0.206***			0.001	
	(0.012)	(0.013)			(0.004)	
inactive50		0.091***				
		(0.011)				
active25			0.184***	0.236***		0.007
			(0.014)	(0.014)		(0.005)
inactive25				0.113***		
				(0.010)		
Observations	60,936	60,936	59,543	59,543	60,936	59,543
R-squared	0.052	0.057	0.069	0.084	0.001	0.001
Mother FE	NO	NO	NO	NO.	Yes	Yes
Mean in sample	0.179		0.179		0.179	0.179
Difference in difference		0.115		0.123		
F test: active-inactive=0		81.96		61.38		
p value		0		0		
Number of mothers					40,128	39,543
	11		.1	A 11 .		

Table A15. Effects of aid projects on vaccinations.

-	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
VARIABLES	vaccinated	vaccinated	vaccinated	vaccinated	vaccinated	vaccinated
active50	0.058***	0.127***			0.025***	
	(0.015)	(0.025)			(0.009)	
inactive50		0.090***				
		(0.024)				
active25			0.067***	0.091***		0.032***
			(0.015)	(0.017)		(0.011)
inactive25				0.054***		
				(0.016)		
Observations	48,399	48,399	47,442	47,442	48,399	47,442
R-squared	0.021	0.024	0.023	0.026	0.082	0.082
Mother FE	NO	NO	NO	NO	Yes	Yes
Mean in sample	0.658		0.660		0.658	0.660
Difference in		0.0374		0.0370		
difference						
F test: active-		6.178		5.031		
inactive=0						
p value		0.0130		0.0250		
Number of mothers					34,604	34,157

Table A16. Effects of aid projects on vaccinations for different groups.

	(1)	(2)	(3)
VARIABLES	vaccinated	vaccinated	vaccinated
active50	-0.003	-0.017	-0.022
	(0.020)	(0.016)	(0.016)
active50_rural	0.035		
	(0.022)		
active50_muslim		0.061***	
		(0.019)	
active50_muslim_area			0.068***
			(0.019)
Observations	48,399	48,167	48,399
	•	•	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
R-squared	0.082	0.082	0.082
Number of mothers	34,604	34,444	34,604
Mother FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mean in sample	0.658	0.658	0.658