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KCG Working Paper

Special Economic Zones and Household Welfare: New Evidence from Ghana

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Special Economic Zones and Household Welfare: New Evidence from Ghana

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Abstract: The study evaluates the impact of Special Economic Zones (SEZs) on household welfare (per capita consumption expenditure (PCE) and poverty status) in Ghana using the Ghana Socioeconomic Panel Survey Dataset. SEZs spillover effect on household welfare within a binary treatment condition may lead to finding inadequacy for policy. Therefore, in this study, a paired Propensity Score Matching (PSM) and an Augment Inverse Probability Weighing (AIPW) for multivalued treatment effect (MTE) models were used to correct the potential selection bias and to estimate the effect of SEZs on household poverty. Households located within 30km radius near SEZs seems to have an improved PCE and reduced poverty compared with households farther away. The results on the poverty effect using different household characteristics provide a strong basis for a deeper understanding of the heterogeneous state of SEZs and poverty in Ghana. While data limitations prevented the study from drawing conclusions on the direct channels at work, it was able to investigate the indirect channels, which suggests that SEZs in Ghana may induce employment restructuring effects for individuals in paid employment or farming, albeit for different reasons, which can have important implications for the SEZ-employment-poverty relationship.

Keywords: Special Economic Zones, Household, Poverty, Propensity Score Matching, Ghana

JEL Classification: I31, L52

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1 Introduction

The recent proliferation and wide range of Special Economic Zones (SEZs) in developing countries show that these policies are more than just a trade openness instrument. SEZs have been promoted as part of a broader economic development strategy to encourage additional investment, scale-up technology transfers, increase employment, and fight regional inequalities (Crane et al., 2018; Yiming et al, 2019). Not only are SEZs an essential component of a country's industrial policy, but they are also important examples of place-based policies that create local economic synergy (Chi, 2021), potentially helping to promote development, employment, and economic growth in the surrounding areas. Although SEZs appear to have found growing support, especially with success in China, there is still debate among academics and policymakers on their impact. Among the many issues voiced in the debate is also whether the development of SEZs leads to greater income and more employment for people in the region where the SEZs are located (Aggarwal & Kokko, 2021; Cling & Letilly, 2001). While research has actively studied the impact of these zones on national and, in some cases, regional growth and employment, there has been little theoretical and empirical focus on the localized consequences of these zones. In many cases, like Ghana's, spatially disaggregated empirical analysis to inform this discussion has been hampered by a lack of systematic data (Picarelli, 2016; Wang, 2013).

SEZs in Ghana have had untested results, especially in the case of many single-firm SEZs that have been established since the enactment of the Ghana Free Zone Act (GFZA) in 1995. Starting with the Tema Export Processing Zones (EPZs), the country currently has four SEZs under development in three regions, with several single-firm SEZs scattered across the country. The Tema EPZ has shown significant growth and been described as a truly promising enclave in the sub region. Existing empirical findings on the effectiveness of SEZs on the Ghanaian economy have been mixed. Farole, (2011) highlighting on Ghana's garment sector reported that the SEZ program has been great in attracting FDI but failed to improve the competitiveness and sustainability of the sector. The study alluded weak business environment such as erratic power supply and delays in clearing goods at the ports as the major challenges to the programme. On the subject of export maximisation, it has been observed that, while Ghana's exports have arbitrarily risen through time, this has not had a substantial impact on the country's gross exports (Angko, 2014) or resulted in a shift in export composition (Kutin-Mensah et al., 2017).

Notwithstanding, one area in which evidence is still scarce has to do with the potential poverty-alleviating effect of SEZs in developing countries. The most significant evaluations of spillovers have relied mostly on measures of geographic distance, albeit occasionally attempting to incorporate other types of distances, such as technology distance, due to a lack of suitable data to measure the presence of spillovers (Picarelli, 2016). Again, past empirical assessments of the nature and geographical extent of spillovers have relied on imperfect proxies such as night light to evaluate SEZs impact (Hyun & Ravi, 2018; Lu et al., 2019).

To fill the gap, this study employs the recent advancement in impact evaluation techniques and adopt first the propensity score matching (PSM) and the multivalued treatment effect (MTE) approach (Cattaneo et al., 2013) to examine the welfare implication of SEZs on surrounding households in Ghana. Notably, it seeks to assess the impact of SEZs on household consumption per capita, a welfare measure

of poverty status and further explore some possible mechanisms generating these effects. Multivalued treatment effects deal with population parameters that capture a treatment variable's impact on an outcome when the said treatment takes multiple values. We follow the earlier works by (Rosenbaum & Rubin, 1983) and other literature on propensity score analysis and make an unconfoundedness or ignorability assumption (Cattaneo et al., 2013; Imbens & Wooldridge, 2009), thus adjusting for differences in a set of covariates to remove all biases in comparisons by treatment status. The study also assumed a non-linearity of the relationship between household distance to SEZs and welfare outcomes. The classical dichotomous treatment literature cannot capture important phenomena such as non-linearities and differential effects across treatment levels. Deploying MTE is especially important in SEZ's policy-making context, where this additional information may provide a better understanding of the policy under consideration. Again, the assumption of nonlinearities associated with this approach enables the current study to capture distinct phenomena and identify new parameters of interest.

The rest of the paper is organized as follows. Section 2 presents a literature review on the subject, while a brief overview of SEZs in Ghana is presented in Section 3. Section 4 presents the empirical methodology, which discusses the data sources, choice of variables and models selected for this study. In Section 5, we offer and discuss key findings. Finally, conclusions and recommendations are presented in Section 6. This paper provides the first systematic analysis of the developmental effects of Ghana's special economic zones programme.

2 Literature Review

This section provides a theoretical and empirical review of existing literature on SEZs, and their implication for poverty and employment in other sectors.

While the number of SEZs have increased globally, the institutional setup in their functioning varies among and within countries. The heterogeneity in SEZs and the differences in the operational and institutional setup of SEZ globally make it nearly impossible to have one theoretical framework to explain all SEZs.

The effects of trade liberalization on poverty and income distribution have been used to assess the trade-poverty nexus. Conclusions from these discussions have been conflicting, with some arguing a positive impact of trade on long-run poverty reduction (Dollar & Kraay, 2002; Edwards, 1998), while others (Rodríguez & Rodrik, 2000) report otherwise. On issues of income distribution, the Ricardian theory explains that trade does not redistribute income since labour is the only factor of production and it is homogeneous. On the contrary, the Heckscher-Ohlin theory explains that trade redistributes income through the factor price equalization theorem. As explained by the theorem, trade liberalization in unskilled labour-abundant countries increases the export price of goods which are dependent on this labour leading to an increase in the demand for the labour used intensively in this sector. This increased demand for unskilled labour increases their wages while reducing the wages of skilled labour. This theory explains that this leads to a redistribution of incomes from skilled to unskilled labour.

Additionally, trade liberalization and development issues have been discussed under various trade theories. These discussions have focused on assessing whether or not governments should intervene in their economies. Indeed, early research on SEZs has been based on export processing zones using classical and neoclassical theories of trade. These models sought to assess if the creation of an enclave, accompanied by trade, infrastructure, and tax incentives, would benefit the host country through its effects on welfare enhancement. Outcomes from these neoclassical models have been ambiguous (Hamada, 1974; Miyagiwa, 1986; Young and Miyagiwa, 1987). For instance, while Hamada (1974) finds worsening welfare associated with the creation of enclaves, Miyagiwa (1986) and Young and Miyagiwa (1987) find that in the absence of full employment, the creation of the enclaves is welfare enhancing. Following these findings, the classical and neo-classical trade theories, based on the Hecksher-Ohlin framework argue the need for no government intervention in the economy because of market inefficiencies associated with the intervention (Hamada, 1974).

Other studies have assessed the effects of SEZs based on the catalyst effect. These studies assess the effects of SEZs taking into consideration their relationship with the domestic economy. The relationship between SEZs and the domestic economy could be via two main channels: the forward/backward linkages between SEZs and domestic firms and the technology, managerial and skill spillover effect. Other theories, like the new growth theories, explain the possible spillover effects associated with the establishment of SEZs. They explain that the establishment of SEZs, which results in the inflow of foreign firms, has a significant positive impact on the receiving economy through its impact on domestic firms. As explained by Johansson (1994), and later captured by the Heterodox Approach theorists and the proponents of the Global Value Chain Approach, domestic firms are deficient in some key variables which are crucial for their expansion and are rarely able to gain access into the international market. Hence the need for government to intervene. These deficiencies include technical know-how, managerial know-how and marketing know-how. These new theorists argue that the creation of the SEZs offers an opportunity for these gaps to be filled through the activities of the government in the provision of infrastructure, a good regulatory framework, tax incentives, etc., which create a conducive environment to attract FDI, which comes with it the technical know-how, marketing know-how and the managerial know-how.

Empirical Literature

SEZs have been subjected to a great deal of examination regarding the social effects they may have, but the empirical evidence is still equivocal. Studies on the employment-creation effect of SEZs have found conflicting results. For instance, using data from selected countries from 2002 and 2006 Milberg and Amengual, (2008) examined the economic development and working conditions in EPZs. Their study found that the creation of EPZs positively affects employment creation; specifically, they report that the creation of EPZs has led to the creation of new jobs. Aggarwal, (2007) examined the impact of SEZs on employment, poverty and human capital development in India. The results showed that the channel through which SEZs affect human capital development is employment. She also reported that the creation of SEZs has provided women with the opportunity to gain employment in the formal sector, earn incomes and enhance their status in the homes and community. Cizkowicz et al., (2017) using a set of panel and spatial firm-level data of polish SEZs firms also assessed the employment and investment effects of SEZs in 397 polish counties. The study finds that the creation of SEZs have a strong positive and significant impact on employment creation in the host county as well as in

neighboring counties. Zheng (2021) explores the impact of China's SEZs on employment growth in rural counties using manufacturing firms' panel data from 1999 to 2008 taking into consideration firm births, firm relocation, expansion and closure. The results of the difference-in-difference estimates reveal that SEZs have positive and significant impact on employment creation in rural counties, attributed mainly to the creation of new firms and expansion of existing firms.

Brussevich, (2020) also used a database on existing and potential special economic zones (SEZs) in Cambodia in their research. The information was matched with household surveys conducted at the district level. According to the findings of the study, the introduction of SEZs results in a significant reduction of income disparity on a district level and helps female employees to a disproportionately higher extent. However, the findings also imply that land values in SEZ districts tend to rise while wage levels remain basically stable in comparison to other districts. This is in contrast to the situation in other districts. In addition, the research investigates the possibility of socioeconomic spillovers to neighbouring areas as well as the agglomeration effects associated with clusters of numerous SEZs.

For the effects of SEZs on poverty reduction, Wang (2013) examined the impact of SEZs creation on the local economy in China using a newly constructed panel dataset for 321 Chinese prefecture municipalities. The study found that the creation of SEZs in China has resulted in an increase in the per capita inflow of FDI with income from employment being the main channel through which SEZs affects the domestic economy. Picarelli, (2016) also discovered evidence that SEZ formation in a given municipality raised the average level of real expenditure per capita by 10 to 12% over the period. The study also discovered that when the effect was decomposed across the expenditure distribution, the upper-tail benefited the most, both in terms of size and over time, with the middle-range deciles benefiting only after eight years post zone establishment.

Aggarwal & Kokko, (2021) used household survey data from Andhra Pradesh to examine the effects of SEZs on rural and urban poverty, with a focus on the employment channel. Overall, the study observed that SEZs had a beneficial influence on household expenditure. However, the research discovered that the effects of SEZs on urban poverty differ from those on rural poverty. It was also discovered that districts with many SEZs received greater effects than districts with only one or two SEZs. Other studies, including Roberts (2019) and Farole (2011a) reported the opposite effect. Roberts (2019) assessed FDI in Kigali's SEZ and its impact on Rwanda's economic growth. The researcher found that although the creation of the Kigali SEZ has seen an increase in the number of manufacturing firms, its spillover effect has been low. This low spillover effect has been attributed to the limited employment in the zone. (Farole, 2011a) in assessing the experience of SEZs in some African and non-African countries, concluded that the presence of low employment creation effects of SEZs in Africa compared to the non-African countries.

Key observations are made from existing literature. First, most studies on SEZs and welfare linkages have been conducted in Asia, particularly India and China. Secondly, studies have concluded conflicting effects of SEZs on employment and poverty reduction. Third, few studies have focused on assessing the employment pass-through of SEZ to poverty reduction. Also, while some studies have been done in Sub-Saharan Africa and Ghana in particular, they have relied on national-level data, with no empirical work done so far in using household data to assess the impact of SEZ on household welfare.

Following from these observations, the current study seeks to fill the gap in the literature by providing empirical evidence of SEZs impact on poverty in Ghana.

3 Overview of SEZs in Ghana

The Economic Recovery Program (ERP) of 1983 introduced a paradigm shift in industrial policy and industrialization in Ghana. It transformed industrialization from one characterized by import substitution dependence and overprotection of firms to an outward liberalized private sector-led strategy. A decade after the ERP, the government adopted the development strategies of the East Asian countries as an alternative to market liberalism, which persisted with the implementation of the ERP. This formed the basis for initial SEZ initiatives, although the concept of industrial clustering of firms in Ghana dates back to 1978, with the promulgation of the Ghana Industrial Free Zones Authority Decree, 1978 (SMCD 157). However, the exact purpose of establishing an industrial free zone was unknown at the time. Eighteen (18) years later, the Parliament of Ghana enacted the Free Zone Act, 1995 (Act 504) and its accompanying Regulations to complement the move towards a liberalized and export-oriented economy in Ghana. The free zones concept in Ghana operates under the enclave system and the single-factory scheme, allowing enterprises to locate anywhere in the country. Act 504 also established the Ghana Free Zone Authority (GFZA) as the regulator with the primary strategy to market Ghana as a destination of choice for investments that have the potential to generate exports.

The industrialization plan involved the creation of SEZs intended to link Ghana with Asian production and Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). Thus, the inception of SEZs in Ghana was dependent on Asian production, particularly on the Malaysian economy. By extension, the effectiveness and vulnerability of Ghana's SEZs depended on Malaysian investment and Malaysian politics (Ansah, 2006). In 2005, the Ghana government and the World Bank embarked on a redevelopment of the main Tema Export Processing Zone (TEPZ) (i.e. Tema Free Zone). The redevelopment included aggregating firms in the same industry specifically along infrastructure, suppliers and support services. Additionally, the new zone redevelopment included setting up minimum level of infrastructure and services for the export sector. The early 2000s also saw a shift in the focus of Ghana's trade and industrialization strategy. In the early 2000s, industrial policy sought to generate wealth by altering the structure of the economy in order to promote growth, rapid poverty reduction, and the protection of the vulnerable within a decentralised, democratic environment. Several development plans, including the Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS), and the Coordinated Programme of Economic and Social Development Policies, reflected this core objective. Policies included rural industrialization, agro-based industrialisation promotion, improving domestic industrial product competitiveness, etc. (Ackah et al., 2016). These policies informed attempts to link SEZs to the national poverty alleviation agenda.

Ghana's SEZ facilities currently include two free ports, an airport-free zone, one hundred and fifty free points and four designated SEZs. The four designated SEZ enclaves, according to the GFZA, are the Tema Export Processing Zone (TEPZ), Ashanti Technology Park, Shama Export Processing Zone, and Sekondi Export Processing Zone. Available data also shows that there are currently 235 Free Zones companies in the country, out of which 178 are active and 57 inactive (ACET, 2021). The TEPZ is the only fully operational enclave, while the other three are still under development. In addition to these enclaves is the concentration of enterprises with free zone licenses in the Tema heavy industrial area,

Tema fishing harbour and the Accra industrial area, as well as the many single factory units designated as free zone enterprises across the entire country.

Existing literature finds employment as a key channel through which SEZs affect poverty (Aggarwal & Kokko, 2021). As noted in Aggarwal and Kokko, (2021), the impact of SEZs on poverty reduction is through its creation of new employment opportunities, particularly for women. As noted, SEZs in Ghana had provided jobs to some 28,555 as at 2018 (ACET, 2021). SEZs have not just created jobs, but have also resulted in an increase in female employment (although marginal) between 2011 and 2014 (GFZB Annual Report, 2014). In Ghana, most of the SEZs firms are into manufacturing, usually requiring low and semi-skilled labour. It is therefore not surprising that the SEZ firms in the manufacturing sector alone employed 27,705 (representing 91.5%). The expectation is that the employment creation will result in decreasing poverty, while improving standard of living through its effect on income and quality of employment.

4 Estimation and Data

4.1 Treatment Assignment

Analyzing the impact of SEZs activities can be quite problematic in the presence of non-randomness of treatment. The non-randomness of treatment raises issues of sample selection bias. A common solution to this problem is the use of matching approaches, in which households of the treatment group, in this case, closer to SEZs, are paired with individuals of the control group (households farther away from SEZs) that are similar in their observable characteristics (Hyun & Ravi, 2018). In the current study, the physical distance in kilometers (Km) from households to the SEZs firm drives the assignment of a potential household beneficiary to the treatment or non-treatment. The most common way of assessing spillovers is to utilize a normalized spatial weight matrix to describe the interregional links between surrounding regions, with either inverse distance or the k-neighbours method as the weighting criterion (Frick & Rodríguez-Pose, 2019).

A few studies have focused on SEZs spillover effect where distance is used as an input variable to model the impact (see Frick & Rodríguez-Pose, 2019; Hyun & Ravi, 2018; Lu et al., 2019). While the distance has been used over the period, there is little consistency in the distance thresholds used to assign treatment. These are often arbitrary, based on administrative boundaries or constrained by variables available in the dataset. For instance, in their study, Hyun & Rav (2018) used night light as a proxy of development to evaluate the impact of SEZs activities across space in India. Using geo-coding and restricting to 6 kilometers away from SEZs, the study observed an increase in economic activity in areas close to the SEZs over time. Similarly, Frick & Rodríguez-Pose (2019) observed a strong distance decay effect on the area's economic performance within 50km of SEZs.

In the present study, we record each geographical reading of an SEZ firm and the distances between the centroid of the firm and the boundary of every household in our database. Thus, linking SEZ-level related factors (operation years, sector, etc.) with household-level information. The study first adopted an arbitrary approach in assigning the treatment effect threshold of 30km.

Therefore, the control group is restricted to households located further than 30 kilometers away from the SEZs firm. We express this assignment as follows. First, T_i is the dummy variable indicating treatment of household i if $T_i = 1$. Whether a household, i , receive treatment depends on the running variable Z_i . In this study, a household tends to receive treatment if the running variable Z_i is less than or equal to the cutoff, c . The treatment assignment rule is $T_i = 1(Z_i \leq c)$.

The study experimented with different distance thresholds to understand the spatial extent of the possible spillover effect of SEZ firm activities on household welfare. These radii include 5km, 10 km, 15km and 20 km from the centroid in the zone units.

4.2 Propensity Score Matching

We then introduce the propensity score-based weighting technique to correct for imbalance in the pre-assignment characteristics between treated and control groups. The Propensity Score (PS) is the conditional probability of receiving the treatment given the pre-treatment variable T . Propensity Scores (PS) was used to reduce confounding, and thus the scores were generated using variables thought to be related to both treatment and outcome variables (**see Table A1**). We selected variables thought to be related to both the outcome variable and treatment condition (Austin, 2009; Garrido et al., 2014). Again, the choice of cofounders was informed by the need to find a balance between the variables' effects on bias and the precision of the estimated treatment effect (Garrido et al., 2014). We first use a logit regression with the T_i as the outcome variable and the potential confounders as explanatory variables to create a propensity score. The logit model can be expressed as

$$p(x) = \text{prob}(T = 1 | x) = E(T | x) \quad \text{eq. (1)}$$

Where $p(x)$ is the propensity score, and T is the treatment based on the earlier assigning rule. Once the propensity scores were generated for each observation, we ensured that there was an overlap in the range of propensity across treatment and comparison groups (called "common support") (Heckman et al., 1997; Stuart et al., 2013). This is assessed by examining a graph of propensity scores across treated and control groups in **Figs. A1-A4**. The overlap of the distribution of the propensity scores across treatment and control groups displayed in **Figs A1 to A4** seems to be satisfactory. A check for the balance of each covariate across groups and within blocks of the propensity score was performed. This ensures that the propensity score's distribution is similar across groups within each block and that the propensity score is properly specified (Rosenbaum & Rubin, 1983; Stuart et al., 2013). Finally, the standardized difference of the covariates was evaluated across the blocks of the propensity score (**Table A1**). After performing the matching, all the covariates used had a standard deviation (sd) below 5%. We deemed this acceptable.

4.3 Estimating Treatment Effect

Matching

We estimated the average treatment effect (ATE) using Nearest Neighbor Matching (NNM). NNM using a broader one-to-one match increases the sample size and efficiency but can also result in greater bias

from matches that are not as close as the initial match. The ATE is further obtained as a measure of the difference in mean (average) outcomes between units assigned to the treatment and units assigned to the control. A simple definition of the ATE can be written as:

$$ATE = E(Y_{1i} | T_i = 1, \mathbf{0}) - E(Y_{0i} | T_i = 1, \mathbf{0}) \quad \text{eq. (2)}$$

Where $E(.)$ denotes the expectation in the population. T_i as indicated earlier, represent the treatment with the value of 1 for the treated group and the value of 0 for the control group. Thus, the ATE is the average effect that would be observed if everyone in the treated and the control groups received treatment, compared with if no one in both group received treatment.

Therefore, to address the research questions, we have generated sets of estimates which capture (1) the effects of SEZs on poverty; (2) the effects of SEZs on employment patterns. Each of these effects is estimated independently using Nearest Neighbor Matching.

Augmented inverse-probability weighting (AIPW)

We further introduced five (5) level multivalued treatment assignments to understand the spatial extent of the possible spillover of SEZs on household welfare. The five (5) treatment levels are, L1, i.e. the nearest household, defined as households within 5Km of a SEZs, L2 (10Km), L3 (15Km), L4 (20Km) and L0, the Farthest households from a SEZs, defined as households which are more than 20Km away from SEZs. A potential outcome effect for each treatment level would be observed if the household got that treatment level. The distribution of our sample within these treatment levels is also presented in **Table A4**. It is clear from the figures that the majority of households are within the farthest distance of SEZs, with few households at the various levels. The distribution further indicates the importance of using the Augmented Inverse Propensity Weighted (AIPW) approach to examine SEZs spillover across space on household welfare outcomes. Thus, the individual-level treatment effect of treatment level m versus l is $Y_{im} - Y_{il}$, the difference between these two potential outcomes.

The population average treatment effect is given by the difference in the means. The AIPW model used in this study is further explained below. We also estimated the ATE for our outcome variables using the Augmented Inverse Propensity Weighted Estimator (AIPW). The AIPW estimator is doubly robust in that it will be consistent for the ATE whenever the propensity score model is correctly specified or the outcome regression is correctly specified, i.e. allows estimators model for both the outcome and the treatment probability (Cattaneo et al., 2013; Glynn & Quinn, 2009; Kurz, 2021). Using the sample counterpart of Equation (2), the estimator for the average treatment effect is given by the following:

$$\hat{\mu}_t^{A-IPTW} = \frac{1}{N} \sum_{i=1}^N \left[\frac{Y_i D_{it}(T_i)}{\hat{r}(t, X_i)} - \frac{D_{it}(T_i) - \hat{r}(t, X_i)}{\hat{r}(t, X_i)} \hat{m}_t(X_i) \right] \quad \text{Eq (3)}$$

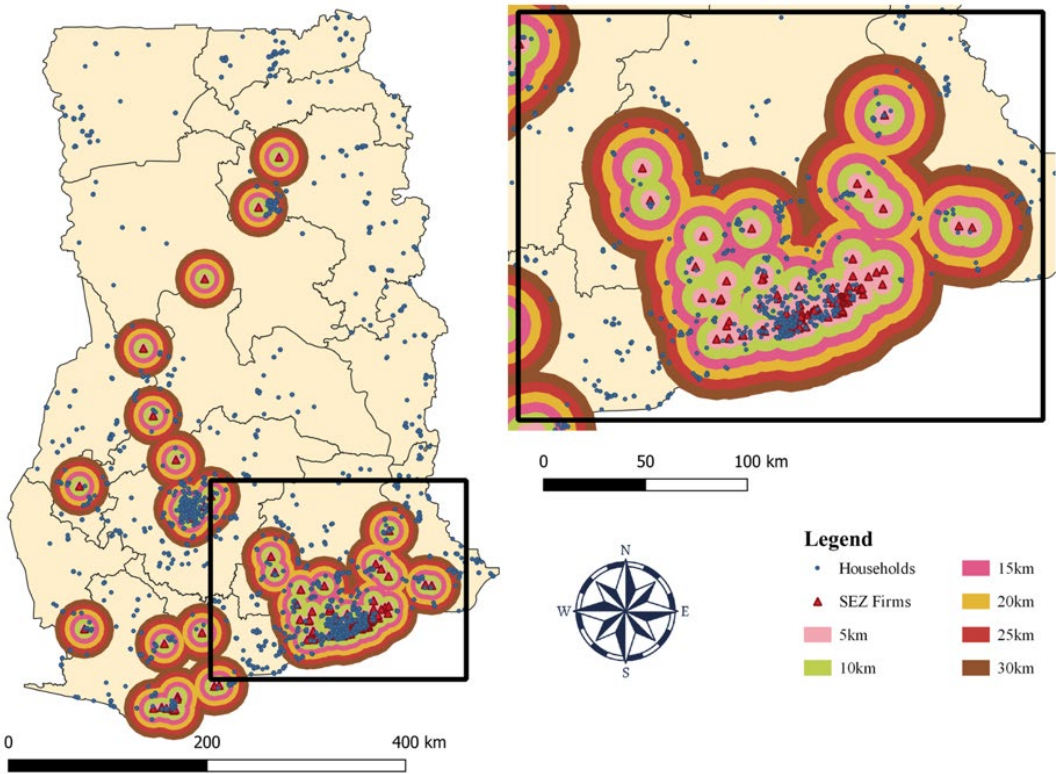
Essentially $\hat{\mu}_t^{A-IPTW}$ corresponds to Cattaneo's efficient influence function estimator (Cattaneo, 2010). The AIPW model can be described in a three-step process. First, the generalized propensity score (GPS) model parameters are estimated, and the IPT weights are computed. Next, separate regression models of the outcome are estimated for each treatment level, and the treatment-specific predicted outcomes for each individual are obtained. Finally, unconditional means are estimated as in

Equation (3), using the estimated generalized propensity score (GPS) from the first step, $\hat{r}(t, X_i)$ as well as the estimated conditional mean functions, $\hat{m}_t(X_i)$. The contrasts of these weighted averages provide the estimates for the ATE.

4.4 Data

The data for this study was sourced from two primary sources. The first is the Ghana Socio-Economic Panel Survey (GSPS), 2018 Wave 3 Data, which is a collaborative survey between the Institute of Statistical, Social and Economic Research (ISSER), University of Ghana and the Economic Growth Centre (EGC) of Yale University. The GSPS involves 5009 households selected through a multi-stage probability sampling technique to ensure representation at the national level. The data also provided the GPS locations of all the surveyed households. In addition, the GSPS has a standard consumption module. Other data modules include Health, education, household assets, housing, agricultural production, and non-farm household enterprises.

Figure 1: Distribution of Sample Households and SEZs Firms in Ghana.



Source: Conceptualization by the Authors

The secondary data was sourced from the Ghana Free Zones Authority (GFZA). Data includes information on GPS location of firms, date of acquiring an operational license, owner's nationality, operation sector, etc. It comprises data on 182 firms, with 40 firms (approximately 34 per cent) located within the Tema Metropolitan District and 24 firms (20 per cent) in the Accra Metropolitan area. The rest, 55 firms (46 per cent), were scattered across the administrative regions except Upper East and

Upper West Regions. The household data was linked to the firm data using the recorded geographical location. Distances between firms and households are computed by considering the firm's centroid and the boundary of every household in the database. Thus, linking SEZ-level information (operation years, sector etc.) with household-level information.

Figure 1 above presents the distribution of households and SEZ firms in Ghana. Figure 1 shows SEZ firms are located in all regions of the country, except the Upper East and Upper West regions. Figure 1 also shows a concentration of SEZ firms and households in the Greater Accra region. While the Greater Accra region is the most populated region (according to the 2021 national census), this household concentration may result from the agglomeration of firms in the region, particularly in the Tema Industrial Area. It is also worth noting that the concentration of firms and households reduces as one moves towards the northern part of Ghana, which could reflect the extensive infrastructural gap between the north and the south. Specifically, there is a large concentration of households and firms along the coast, where seaports, airports and the national capital, Accra, are located. Furthermore, to identify the treatment status of a household, the latitude and longitude of each firm, as well as spatial rings of various radii around the centroid of SEZs, are projected on a map using QGIS.

4.5 Descriptive Statistics

The household characteristics employed in the analysis include variables representing attributes of the household head (age, gender, Christianity, education), and household characteristics (household size, location). The rationale for including these variables is that these characteristics have been reported to significantly influence PCE (Atta-Ankomah & Osei, 2021; Heshmati et al., 2019; Nkechi et al., 2020). In addition to the household characteristics, we considered two SEZ-related factors that may affect the production and diffusion of poverty reduction spillovers. The characteristics dimension of the zones included were the operating age of the zone units and the types of sectors targeted. As observed by Frick et al. (2019), these factors can affect spillovers both because of the labour intensity of the sector and due to the potential links to local inputs and producers.

Table 1 describes and provides summary statistics for variables used for this study. The proportion of households headed by males in the dataset was 62.1%. On average, household heads were about 54 years. The majority of household heads, 54.7%, are married, and 70.02% have Christianity as their main religion. With respect to the education of household heads, 67% of heads have had formal education. While 43.9% of the sample had valid registered national health insurance schemes. Other descriptive statistics, including SEZs-related factors, are provided in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Variables and Descriptive Statistics

Variable	Description	Mean	SD
Percapita Consumption Expenditure (PCE)	Per capita household consumption expenditure (GHS)	325.69	247.74
Poverty status ¹	poverty=1 if household is poor, 0 otherwise	0.34	0.47
Employed	HH head in paid employment	0.15	0.36
Farmer	HH head a farmer (yes ==1, 0 otherwise)	0.52	0.50
Age	Age of household head	54.01	15.51
Age_square	Age-squared of household head	2542.37	1709.55
Male head	Male =1, 0 otherwise	0.62	0.48
Urban	Urban=1 0 otherwise	0.38	0.48
HH_size	Number of people in a household	3.57	2.34
Married	Marital status of household head (Married= 1, 0 otherwise)	0.55	0.50
Education	HH head ever had formal education (yes ==1, 0 otherwise)	0.68	0.47
Held office	HH held ever held political or traditional office (yes ==1, 0 otherwise)	0.14	0.34
Christian	HH head a Christian (yes ==1, 0 otherwise)	0.70	0.46
Safety net	HH head hold a valid NHIS card (yes ==1, 0 otherwise)	0.44	0.50
SEZs Firm Related Factors			
SEZ Operating age	Operating age of the SEZ	7.29	6.21
Sector	Manufacturing =1, 0 otherwise	0.96	0.20

¹The Ghana Statistical Service (GSS), 2015 reported an upper poverty line of 1,314 GHS per adult equivalent per year (295.35 US Dollar) as at 2013, indicating the minimum requirement to cover an individual's dietary needs. Based on this poverty line and the actual household consumption expenditures, we constructed the poverty status.

5 Empirical Results and Discussion

This section presents the results of the estimation techniques employed for the study.

Matching Approach

SEZ and Poverty reduction

Table 2 and Table 3 report the ATE for the two outcome variables PCE and poverty status, respectively, for the households in the data.

Table 2: Treatment-Effects Estimation – Per capita Consumption Expenditure (PCE)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	5km	10km	15km	20km
	PCE	PCE	PCE	PCE
SEZ treatment	45.28 (1.91)	51.61** (3.25)	58.48*** (3.64)	57.38*** (4.40)
Age square	-0.0314*** (-4.13)	-0.0284*** (-3.81)	-0.0275*** (-3.90)	-0.0236*** (-4.56)
age	-1.407 (-1.47)	-2.048** (-2.58)	-2.574** (-3.23)	-2.407*** (-3.45)
Male head	54.78 (1.52)	55.33* (2.08)	35.69 (1.73)	30.38* (2.15)
urban	33.32 (0.92)	56.75** (3.00)	70.03** (3.27)	69.47*** (4.01)
married	136.0*** (4.88)	128.5*** (5.20)	121.6*** (5.93)	108.2*** (6.76)
Household size	-120.5*** (-22.21)	-118.5*** (-23.04)	-104.7*** (-15.87)	-96.54*** (-21.97)
Educated	5.465 (0.12)	-20.91 (-0.76)	-31.10 (-1.22)	-3.915 (-0.17)
Held Office	41.86 (1.03)	70.65 (1.82)	65.80 (1.93)	62.90* (2.01)
Christian	27.91 (0.61)	41.13 (1.11)	44.05 (1.67)	50.21** (3.03)
Social safety	100.9*** (4.63)	77.44*** (4.69)	63.98** (3.16)	52.85** (3.16)
Age of firm	-2.143 (-1.10)	-1.981 (-1.35)	-0.703 (-0.52)	0.477 (0.45)
_cons	838.9*** (9.51)	868.2*** (18.47)	850.6*** (13.08)	776.9*** (16.98)
Observations	3990	3990	3990	3990

t statistics in parentheses

*** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

The estimated effect of the SEZs treatment group on household PCE is significantly positive across the treatment groups. We find that our thresholds of 5km, 10km, 15km and 20km increase household monthly PCE by GHS 52.29, GHS 58.88, GHS 67.63, and GHS 49.58, respectively. This is also reflected in the reduction in poverty (Table 3). The estimated effect of being within 20km of an SEZ reduces the likelihood of being poor. We find that the SEZs treatment group reduces the likelihood of being poor by thirteen percentage points. These results indicate that SEZs potentially improve welfare among households within the 20km threshold. Our findings of SEZs welfare implications in Ghana are similar to the literature on SEZs poverty spillover effects by Aggarwal & Kokko, (2021) and Picarelli, (2016).

Table 3: Treatment-Effects Estimation – Poverty

	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	5KM	10km	15KM	20KM
	Poverty	Poverty	Poverty	Poverty
ATE	-0.118*	-0.150***	-0.164***	-0.127***
	(-2.05)	(-5.37)	(-6.39)	(-6.01)
N	2541	2849	3159	3494

t statistics in parentheses *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

Augmented Inverse Propensity Weighted (AIPW) Estimation

Table 4 reports the estimated means for the five (5) potential outcome mean (POmean) distributions of the outcome variables PCE and poverty status. The output indicates that the means of the POmean distributions decrease with an increase in the distance treatment level. The estimated PCE POmean of the control level of more than 20Km distance is approximately GHS 315.17 compared to the POmean for the nearest (0-15Km) distance to an SEZ GHS 374.1. The greater positive impact on consumption at the 10Km threshold level is an indication that, the presence of SEZ can improve livelihoods through increased per capita consumption and reduced vulnerability to poverty.

Table 4: Multivalued average treatment effect (ATE) at different distance threshold levels relative to treatment 20Km>.

	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
	PCE		Poverty Status	
	ATE	ATE % change ^a	ATE	ATE % change ^a
'0-5Km	65.51* (2.38)	20.75	-0.236*** (7.30)	61.85
5-10Km	77.60*** (4.20)	24.62	-0.173*** (5.98)	45.17
10-15Km	60.32** (2.70)	19.13	-0.122*** (3.88)	32.03
15-20Km	31.78 (1.67)	10.08	-0.0858** (3.28)	22.46
POmean Treatment 20km>	315.17*** (52.65)		0.382*** (39.81)	

t statistics in parentheses

*** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

^a -Note: % change is calculated by expressing the ATE as percentage of the POM in Table A5 in the appendix.

5.1 SEZ and Poverty Reduction by Sub-population

We consecutively discuss the results for heterogeneity over the gender of household head and locality of residence (urban/rural). We compute results by subpopulations that involve matching and balancing households within each subpopulation. The statistical analyses of heterogeneous treatment effects are given in **Table 5**. The estimated ATE for the treatment threshold of 20kms for the outcome variable is the average value that a female-headed or rural locality of household obtains when the household

finds itself in the treatment assignments. Significantly, a male-headed household in our treatment reports a higher PCE than a female-headed household. We also observed that within our threshold measure, the effects of SEZs on urban PCE are different from those on rural PCE. Evidence suggests that SEZs had positive expenditure effects on rural households while the urban share is negligible (Table 5).

Table 5: SEZ and Poverty reduction by Subpopulation- (20KM Threshold)

		(13)	(14)
		Female head	Rural
		PCE	PCE
Treatment group			
	<i>ATE</i>	37.74 (1.84)	62.49** (2.85)
	<i>ATT</i>	41.36 (1.56)	55.52** (2.66)
N		3990	3990

t statistics in parentheses
 *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

5.2 SEZs and Employment in other Sectors

This subsection explores the employment linkage of SEZs and individual employment in other sectors. The analysis is done by observing the employment status of the household heads. Specifically, the section assesses the probability of a household head living within 20km of an SEZ in paid employment or farming. The results are presented in Table 6 below.

Table 6: Treatment-Effects Estimation- Paid employment

	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)
	5KM	10km	15KM	20KM
	Employed	Employed	Employed	Employed
ATE	0.0826** (3.13)	0.0924*** (4.08)	0.0763*** (4.55)	0.0671*** (4.31)
N	2736	3062	3389	3755

t statistics in parentheses *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

We find from Table 6 that living within 20km distance of an SEZ increases the probability of being in paid employment while reducing the probability of being a farmer. The positive relationship between living close to an SEZ and the probability of a household head being in employment can be explained by SEZ's direct employment creation effect. It may also be attributed to the jobs created through the forward and backward linkages in the supply chain. The findings support the conclusion by Rama

(2002), who argues that in an SEZ setting increase in competition and incentives to attract Multinationals Corporations (MNCs) leads to a reduction of wages and the number of jobs in the traditional workforce such as farm labour and related activities.

Table 7: Treatment-Effects Estimation – Agriculture employment

	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)
	5KM	10km	15KM	20KM
	Farmer	Farmer	Farmer	Farmer
ATE	-0.400***	-0.291***	-0.253***	-0.250***
	(-3.82)	(-6.11)	(-10.66)	(-10.81)
N	2736	3062	3389	3755

t statistics in parentheses *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

6 Conclusion

The paper contributes to the broader literature on place-based policies in general and Ghana's Special Economic Zone policy. The study seeks to assess the effects of SEZs on poverty reduction in Ghana by examining its pass-through employment effect. The study used primary data from the Ghana Socio-Economic Survey (Wave 3) and secondary data from GFZA. Using Propensity Score Matching, the study answers the following research questions: a) Do SEZs affect household consumption per capita? b) Do SEZs have any effect on employment? The key findings are presented below. First, the study finds that living within an SEZ enclave increases a household's per capita consumption while reducing poverty. Specifically, the study reports that living within 30Km of an SEZ increases a household's per capita income by some 16% while reducing the household's probability of being poor by some 13%. Second, in terms of the nature of employment, the study finds that living within 30Km of an SEZ increases the probability of the household head being in paid work while reducing the likelihood of being a farmer. Again, this finding is consistent irrespective of the estimation technique used. Following the findings, we make the following recommendation. First, given the potential of SEZs to reduce poverty through its employment creation effect, the government needs to provide an enabling environment for these firms to grow while attracting new firms into the zones. Second, there is the need to develop other sectors of the economy. This is to ensure that those individuals who fail to gain paid employment in SEZ (directly or indirectly) can find jobs in another sector.

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Appendix

Table A1

Means	Raw			Matched (ATE)		
	Treated	Untreated	StdDif	Treated	Untreated	StdDif
agesq	2969.956	3169.309	-0.113	3254.235	3103.165	0.086
age	52.312	54.168	-0.121	54.798	53.437	0.089
Male head	0.554	0.632	-0.160	0.574	0.543	0.064
urban	0.626	0.333	0.612	0.375	0.543	-0.352
married	0.457	0.571	-0.230	0.566	0.468	0.199
Household size	3.065	3.737	-0.303	3.683	3.198	0.219
educated	0.833	0.653	0.421	0.712	0.777	-0.153
office	0.093	0.142	-0.154	0.127	0.108	0.060
Christian	0.851	0.679	0.416	0.731	0.806	-0.181
Safety net	0.381	0.447	-0.133	0.451	0.384	0.136
Operating age	9.229	6.935	0.345	5.909	8.348	-0.367
manufacturing	0.978	0.952	0.142	0.963	0.964	-0.010

Variances	Raw			Matched (ATE)		
	Treated	Untreated	Ratio	Treated	Untreated	Ratio
agesq	3098511	3119911	0.993	3590974	3207753	1.119
age	233.819	235.200	0.994	251.827	247.912	1.016
malehead	0.248	0.233	1.064	0.245	0.248	0.986
urban	0.235	0.222	1.055	0.235	0.248	0.945
married	0.249	0.245	1.015	0.246	0.249	0.987
hhsz	4.250	5.573	0.763	5.218	4.247	1.229
educated	0.139	0.227	0.615	0.206	0.173	1.185
office	0.084	0.122	0.691	0.111	0.097	1.154
christian	0.127	0.218	0.582	0.197	0.157	1.259
validnhis	0.236	0.247	0.956	0.248	0.237	1.048
Operating age	53.119	35.224	1.508	48.303	46.682	1.035
manufacturing	0.021	0.045	0.470	0.036	0.034	1.049

Table A2: Number of treated households before PSM

	5km	10km	15km	20km
Number of households	701	1,027	1,354	1,721

Table A.3: Number of treated households matched

	5km	10km	15km	20km
Number of households	673	985	1,299	1,635

Table A.4: Number of treated households – Multivalued Treatment Study

	0-5km	5km-10km	10km-15km	15km-20km
Number of households	701	326	327	367

Fig.A1-A4: PSM Density Balancing Plot for N-km Control threshold.

Fig. A1

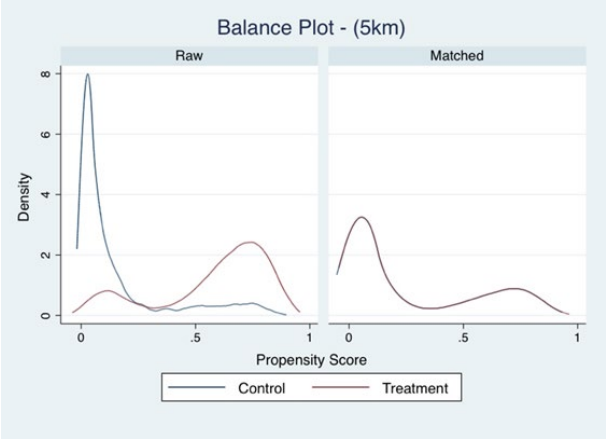


Fig. A2

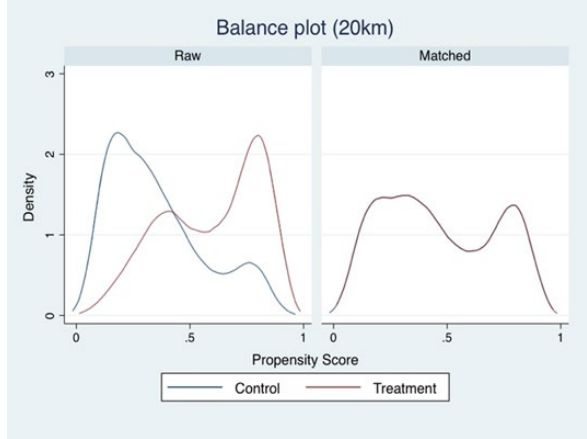
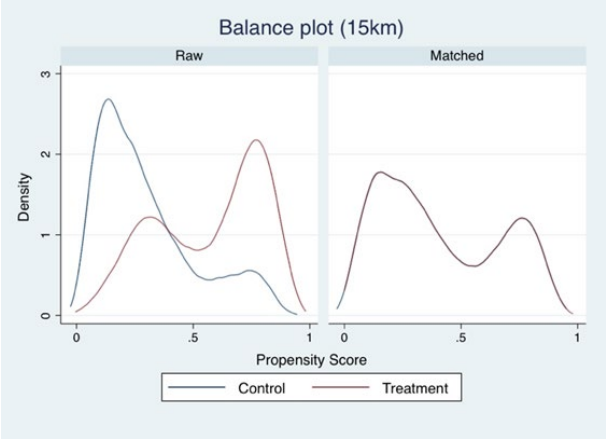
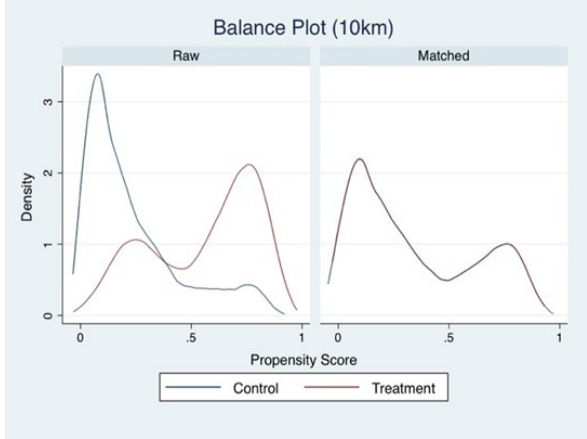


Fig. A3: PCE Heterogeneous Treatment Effect (by Locality of Residence)

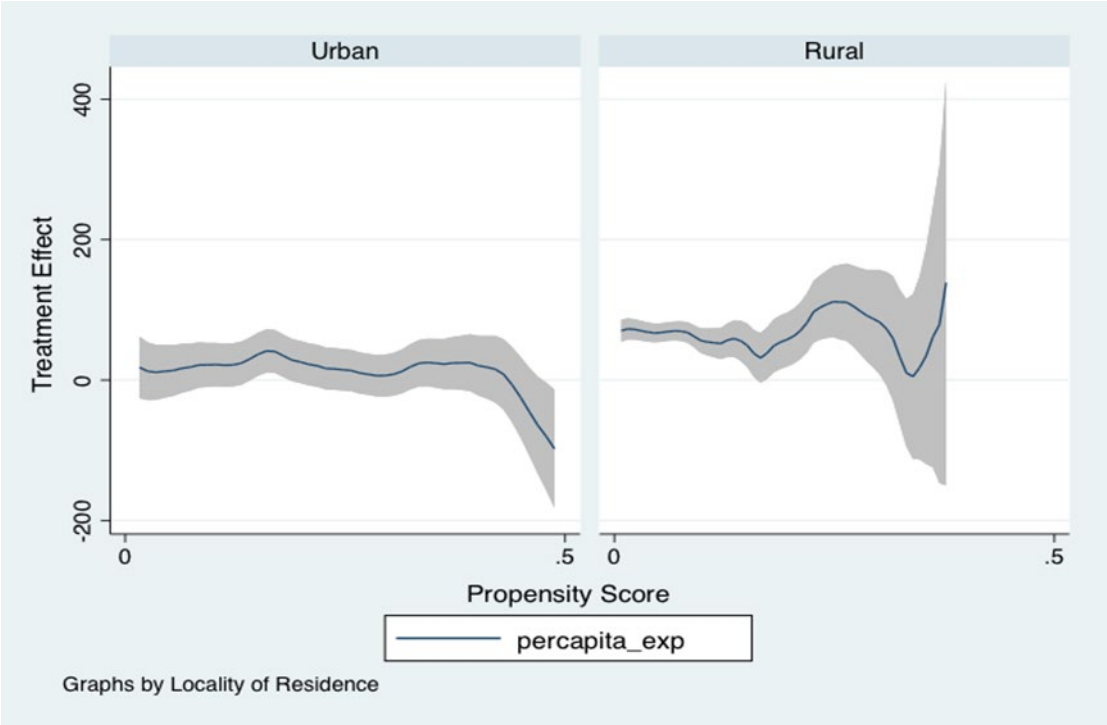


Fig. A4: PCE Heterogeneous Treatment Effect (by Gender)

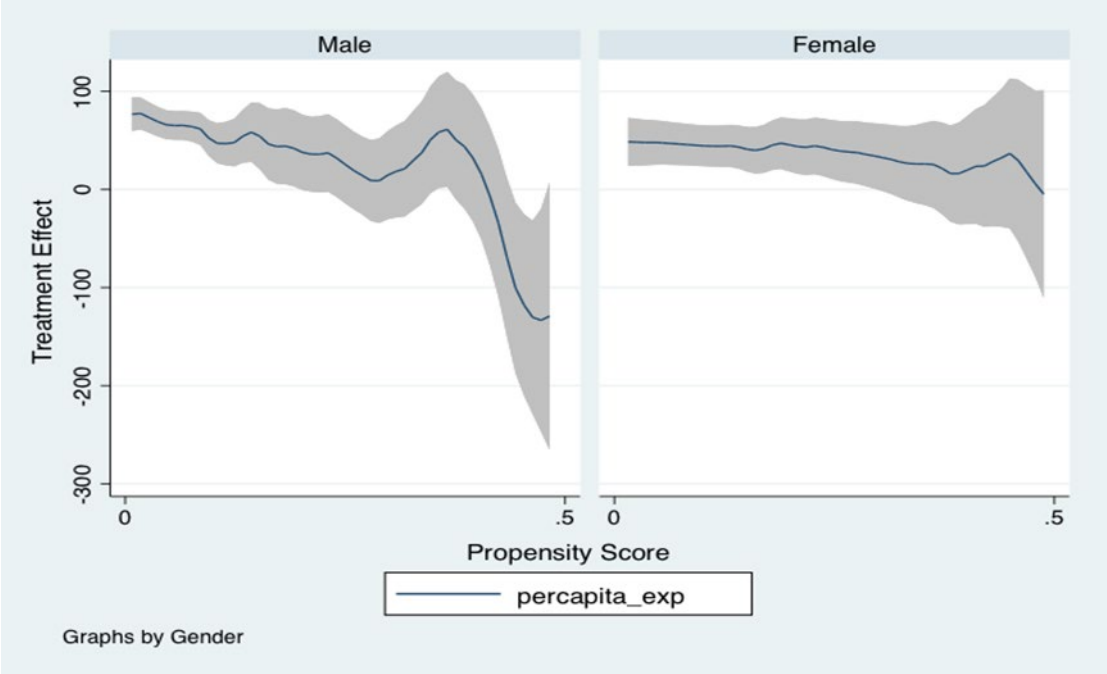


Table A5: Potential outcome means (POmean) of per capita consumption expenditure (PCE) and poverty at different distance levels.

Treatment Level	PCE		Poverty Status	
	POmean	Bootstrap SE	POmean	Bootstrap SE
0-5Km	380.7*** (18.08)	21.05	0.146*** (9.30)	0.016
5-10Km	392.8*** (14.58)	26.93	0.210*** (7.97)	0.026
10-15Km	375.5*** (24.18)	15.53	0.260*** (17.35)	0.015
15-20Km	346.9*** (18.00)	19.28	0.296*** (13.36)	0.022
20km>	315.2*** (66.99)	4.70	0.382*** (32.97)	0.012

t statistics in parentheses *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$