

Financing Social Protection in Africa: Lessons for Strengthening Social Protection Systems in Ethiopia

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ABSTRACT

Ethiopia has made significant strides in its effort to expand social protection programs, both in terms of expanding coverage and in terms of variety and investment in these programs. However, Ethiopia's social protection system continues to face significant challenges amid growing demand for social assistance and competing needs. Despite the expansion in coverage, the share of population benefiting from social protection programs remains far below demand and global averages. Similarly, spending and sources of finance for social protection remain relatively limited, with the financing structure of many programs being heavily dependent on external donor support, raising concerns about long-term sustainability. At the same time, the country continues to face an increasing demand for social assistance due to climate shocks, conflict, and economic volatility. In this paper, we compile evidence and compare Ethiopia's experience with selected successful cases (from Egypt, Kenya, and South Africa) to draw lessons for strengthening sustainability in financing of social protection programs. By assessing both the achievements and remaining challenges, we draw recommendations on how Ethiopia can strengthen its social protection system, both in terms of coverage and sustainability. While Ethiopia can still increase public finance on social protection programs and improve allocation of public finance as well as efficiency in targeting and delivering social protection, we also identify some innovative and unconventional sources of finance to support safety net programs. These include: social or development impact bonds, climate and disaster risk financing, as well as blended public-private investments for development and social goals. We also identify some domestic experiences and community-level indigenous arrangements that can be scaled-up further. We finally highlight that tapping these financing mechanisms and arrangements entail strengthening domestic and indigenous institutions as well as trust in public-private partnerships.

INTRODUCTION

Social protection has become an essential policy instrument to reduce poverty, manage risks, and promote inclusive development (Banerjee et al., 2024; Kangasniemi et al., 2025). By extending access to essential services, social protection systems strengthen resilience and investments in human capital (Kangasniemi et al., 2025). In many developing countries, these systems have evolved from ad hoc humanitarian responses to more structured programs that combine social assistance, social insurance, and labor market interventions (ILO, 2021). Globally, social protection and safety net programs serve 4.7 billion people in low-and-middle-income countries (LMICs) (World Bank, 2025a). These programs are implemented and financed by various governmental and non-governmental entities (Gentilini et al., 2025). Although some LMICs have made important strides in expanding their social protection programs, some have faced major constraints in such efforts. At the center of these efforts and challenges is countries' fiscal space and associated fiscal constraints to finance social protection programs. Despite the gradually increasing role of domestic finances and related innovative financing mechanisms in some countries, others struggle to finance the expansion of their social protection programs domestically. These challenges are becoming more evident in the context of the dwindling of international development aid and when countries are affected by regional and global shocks that necessitate expansion of social safety nets to protect poor and vulnerable populations. In the context of a rapidly shifting environment for development finance amid escalating needs for safety nets, identifying and diversifying financing schemes for social protection programs remains a top priority of many LMICs.

In Ethiopia, social protection has expanded significantly over the past two decades in response to persistent poverty, recurrent climatic shocks, and structural vulnerabilities both in rural and urban areas. The government has implemented a range of large-scale programs targeting different dimensions of vulnerability. The Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP), one of the largest safety net programs in Africa, provides transfers to food-insecure households while supporting community asset creation and resilience building (Gilligan et al., 2009; Berhane et al., 2014; Abay et al., 2022; Hirvonen et al., 2025). Complementing this rural-focused program, the Urban Productive Safety Net Program (UPSNP) supports poor urban households through temporary employment, direct support, and livelihood opportunities, contributing to improved incomes, financial inclusion, food security, and social integration (Borku et al., 2024; World Bank, 2020; Abebe et al., 2018). Similarly, the Community-Based Health Insurance (CBHI) program aims to increase access to health services for rural and informal sector populations (Girmay and Reta, 2022; Mebratie et al., 2019). Additional initiatives such as school feeding programs, humanitarian assistance, and other social welfare interventions complement these efforts by addressing specific vulnerabilities among children, poor households, and populations affected by shocks.

Despite this progress, Ethiopia's social protection system continues to face significant challenges. Coverage remains far below demand and below global averages, and spending on social protection remains relatively low compared to other countries (UNICEF, 2025b). Moreover, the financing structure of many programs has historically relied heavily on external donor support, raising concerns about long-term sustainability. At the same time, the country continues to face increasing pressures from climate shocks (Ayalew et al., 2026), conflict-related displacement (Abay et al., 2023), and economic volatility, all of which increase the demand for social and humanitarian assistance (FEWS NET, 2026).

In this context, this paper reviews the evolution, coverage, and financing of major social protection programs in Ethiopia. It examines key programs including rural and urban safety nets, community-based health insurance, school feeding initiatives, and humanitarian assistance and analyzes trends in expenditure, coverage, and sources of financing. The paper also compares Ethiopia's experience with selected comparators to draw lessons for strengthening the sustainability of social protection programs. By assessing both the achievements and remaining challenges, the paper aims to generate strategic recommendations on how Ethiopia can build a more comprehensive and financially sustainable social protection system.

SOCIAL PROTECTION IN ETHIOPIA

Overview of social protection policies and programs

Social protection in Ethiopia is guided by the principle of ensuring access to basic social services, promoting human capital development, and supporting livelihoods, particularly for poor and vulnerable populations. Over time and in response to recurring shocks and associated needs, the country has developed a range of policies and strategies to address poverty, vulnerability, and inequality, including the National Social Protection Policy (NSPP), the National Social Protection Strategy, and major programs such as the Productive Safety Net Program (PSNP), the Urban Productive Safety Net Program (UPSNP), Community-Based Health Insurance (CBHI), and the School Feeding Program (SFP).

The NSPP emphasizes a multi-dimensional approach that goes beyond simple financial assistance, with key focus areas implemented through specific programs:

- **Productive Safety Nets** – which aim to strengthen household resilience through cash or food transfers, public works, and disaster response mechanisms. The programs under this focus area include the Rural PSNP, Urban PSNP, and SFP and emergency humanitarian assistance, which provides short-term support to populations affected by shocks such as droughts, floods, or other crises.

- **Livelihood and Employment Support** – which are meant to improve household incomes and employment opportunities through technical assistance, financial support, and guidance on income-generating activities. Public works programs and skills development initiatives provide practical platforms for implementing this focus area.

- **Social Insurance** – which protect individuals from financial risks related to health, old age, and other shocks. This is implemented through CBHI, formal sector pension programs, and emerging schemes targeting informal and rural populations.

- **Access to Health, Education, and Other Social Services** – which ensure vulnerable groups such as children, women, and persons with disabilities can obtain essential services. School feeding, health fee waivers, and subsidized health insurance are key programs supporting this focus area.

- **Addressing Violence, Abuse, and Exploitation** – which safeguard marginalized populations through preventive and responsive measures. Programs under this focus area include child protection services, women’s empowerment initiatives, and community-based protection schemes.¹

Ethiopia’s social protection programs require substantial resources, but the government has demonstrated a commitment to supporting vulnerable populations through both ongoing and new initiatives. Spending on major programs, including the Rural and Urban PSNP and public sector social security, accounts for roughly 1–2% of GDP, indicating moderate fiscal space. Funding comes from a mix of sources, including federal and regional budgets, contributory schemes (such as social security and health insurance), noncontributory transfers funded entirely by the government, contributions from communities, and support from the private sector (through corporate social responsibility and philanthropic initiatives), as well as donor and development partner support (MoLSA, 2016). For example, the PSNP started with heavy donor support while the government’s share has increased over time.

The implementation and coordination of social protection programs in Ethiopia involve multiple government institutions, including the Ministry of Labor and Skills, Ministry of Women, Children, and Youth Affairs, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Urban and Infrastructure, and regional governments, with support from development partners.

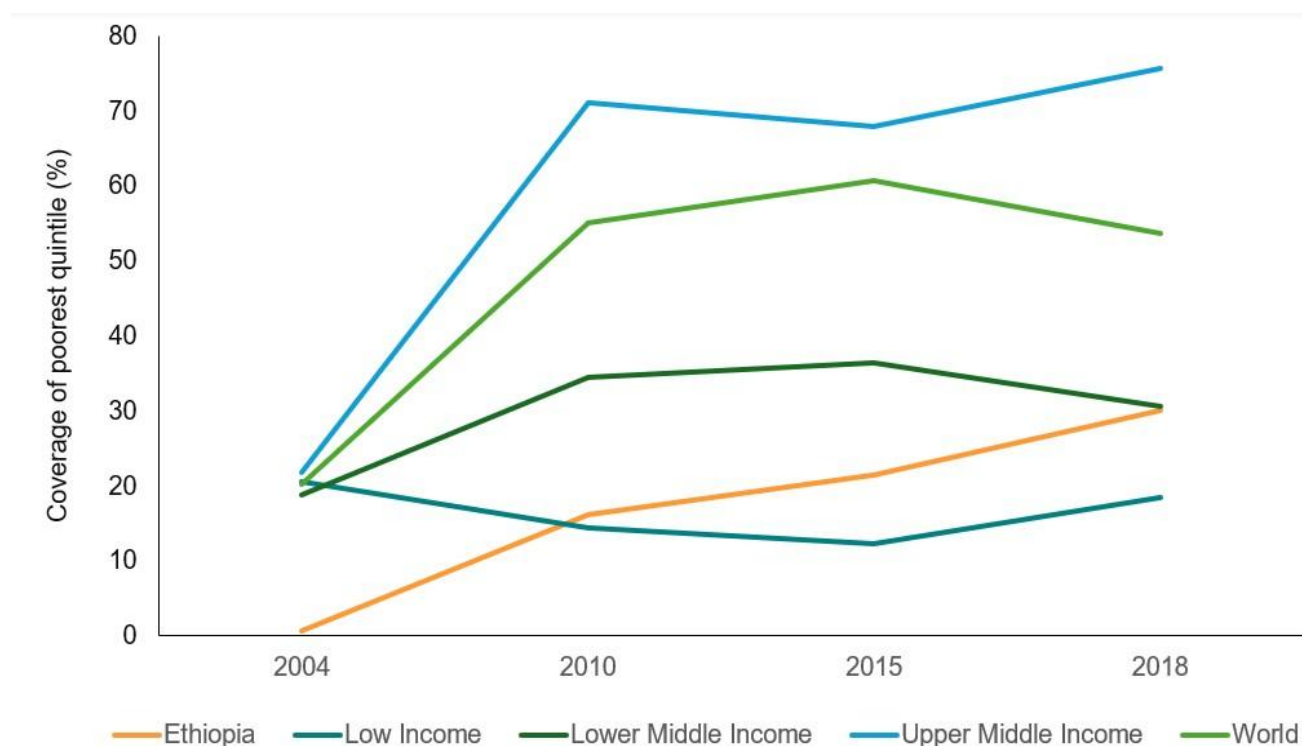
Coverage trends and international comparison

Over the past two decades, Ethiopia has significantly expanded the coverage of its social protection system, particularly among the poorest segments of the population. According to the World Bank’s ASPIRE database, coverage of the poorest quintile increased from near zero in 2004 to around 30 percent in 2018. As a low-income country, Ethiopia performs relatively well compared to the average for low-income countries. However, coverage remains below the global average and far behind upper

¹ While Ethiopia’s social protection system includes pension schemes and labor market interventions, this study focuses primarily on selected programs namely PSNP, UPSNP, CBHI, humanitarian assistance, and School Feeding Programs

middle-income countries, showing the need for more investment in diversified programs and more sustainable financing.

Figure 1: Coverage of the poorest quintile by Social Protection Programs: Ethiopia and comparator groups (2004–2018)

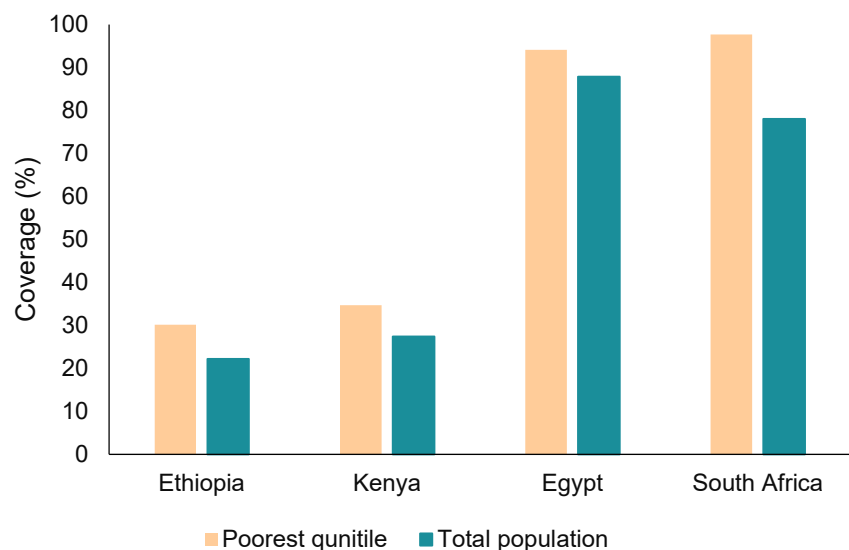


Source: ASPIRE database.

Cross- country comparison of social protection coverage

To assess Ethiopia's progress within the broader African landscape, this section draws on a set of selected countries known for their large investments in social protection programs, including—South Africa, Egypt, and Kenya. These countries represent different stages of economic development with Kenya and Egypt classified as lower middle income and South Africa as an upper middle-income. They were selected as regional benchmarks for their relatively well-developed, institutionalized social protection systems and broader coverage (World Bank, 2018b). Figure 2 illustrates these coverage disparities using the latest available social protection coverage data from the World Bank's ASPIRE database. In 2018, social protection programs in Ethiopia covered approximately 30 percent of the poorest quintile and 22 percent of the total population. In contrast, coverage levels in comparator countries were substantially higher. In Egypt, coverage reached over 94 percent of the poorest quintile and nearly 88 percent of the total population. Similarly, South Africa achieved coverage rates exceeding 97 percent for the poorest quintile and 78 percent for the total population. Kenya's coverage, however, remains close to Ethiopia's despite Kenya's lower-middle-income classification. This divergence suggests that income level alone doesn't fully explain coverage outcomes (ILO, 2021).

Figure 2: Social Protection Coverage of selected countries

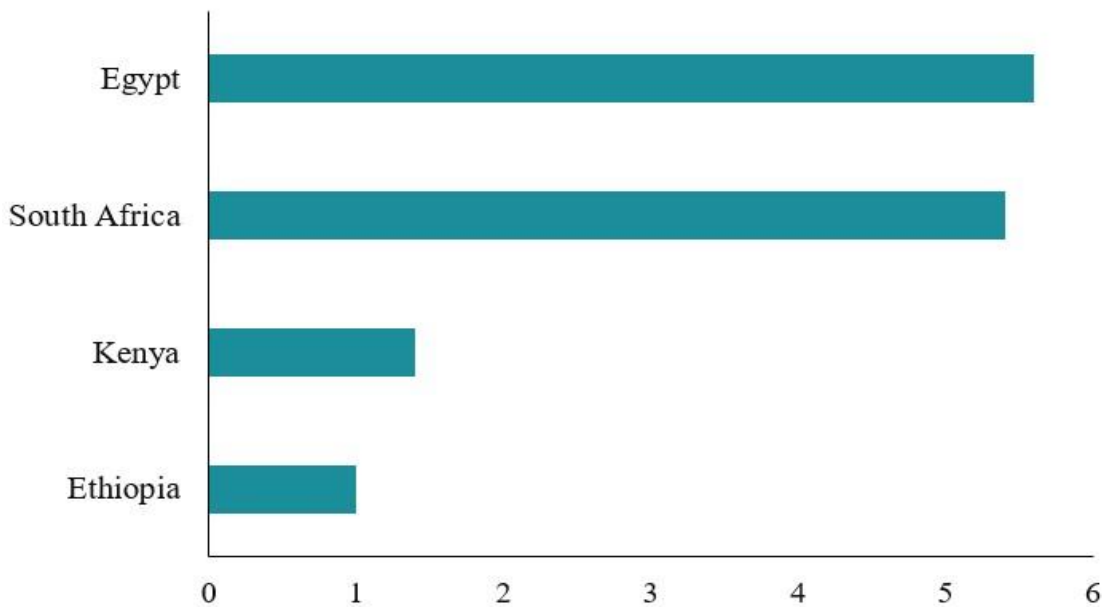


Source: ASPIRE database.

Social Protection Spending in Comparative Perspective

To further understand differences in coverage across countries, it is important to examine levels of social protection spending relative to economic size and overall government expenditure. The cross-country comparison (Figure 3) reveals substantial differences in fiscal commitment and investment. Egypt and South Africa allocate the largest share to social protection, approximately 5 to 6% of GDP. This level of spending reflects a strong fiscal commitment and the prioritization of social protection within overall economic policy. In contrast, Kenya’s spending remains considerably lower, around 1.4%, indicating a more limited but gradually expanding system. Ethiopia records the lowest level of spending among these countries, pointing to relatively constrained fiscal space and investment in social protection.

Figure 3: Social Protection Spending as share of GDP

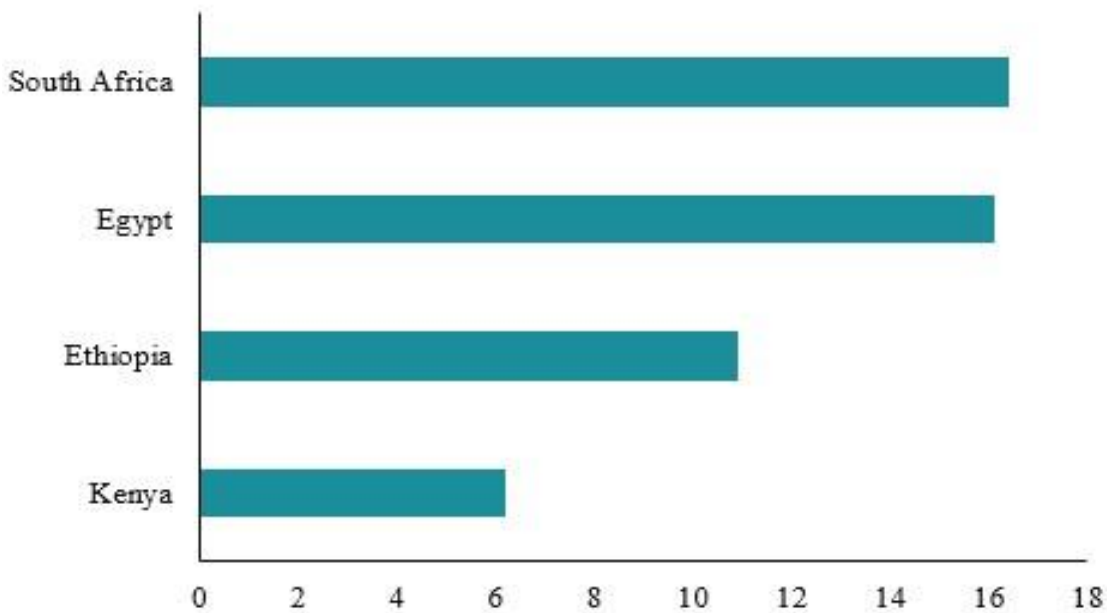


Source: UNICEF (2025b); Assaad and Selwaness (2026).

Social Protection Spending as a Share of Government Expenditure

Figure 4 compares the proportion of total government spending allocated to social protection across the four countries. The graph shows notable variation in the priority given to social protection within national budgets. South Africa and Egypt allocate the largest shares of government expenditure to social protection, each spending roughly 16–17% of their total public expenditures on various types of social protection programs. This reflects the relatively more established and institutionalized social protection systems in these countries, where large-scale cash transfer schemes play a central role in poverty reduction and income support. In contrast, Ethiopia allocates a smaller share, approximately 11% of government expenditure to social protection. While this level of spending is still significant, it indicates that Ethiopia’s system remains more constrained in fiscal terms compared with some regional comparators. The figure also shows that Kenya allocates the lowest share, around 6–7% of government expenditure, suggesting comparatively limited fiscal commitment to social protection within the overall public spending. Although Kenya has expanded programs such as cash transfers for vulnerable groups, the scale of funding remains smaller relative to total government spending.

Figure 4: Social Protection Spending as a Share of Government Expenditure



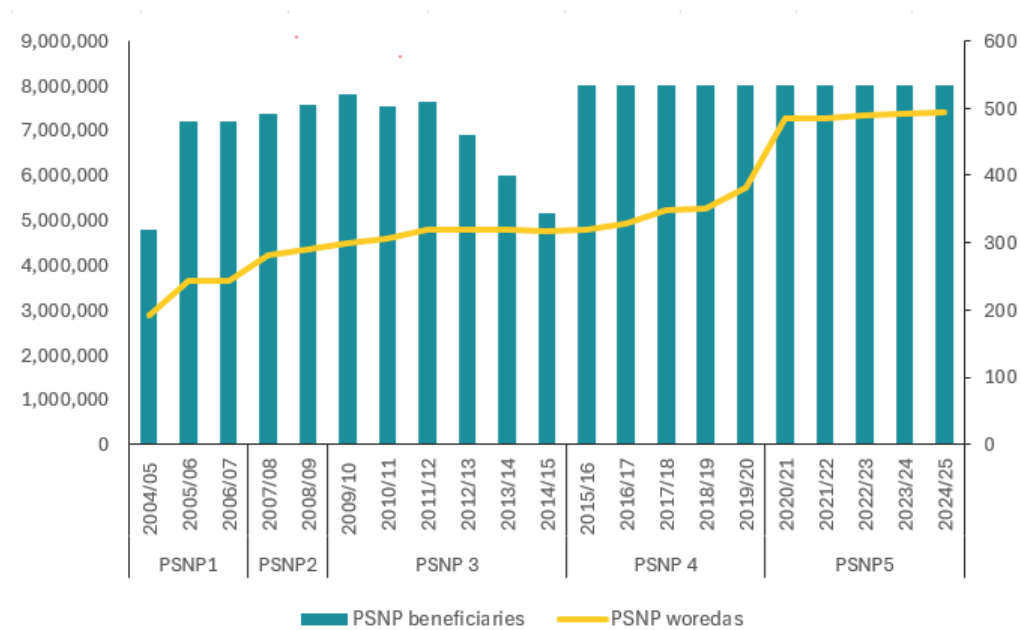
Source: Ministry of Finance & UNICEF (2024) ; UNICEF (2025a).

SOCIAL PROTECTION PROGRAMS IN ETHIOPIA

Rural Productive Safety Net Program

Ethiopia’s Rural Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP) was launched in 2005 as a structural response to persistent rural food insecurity and the country’s longstanding reliance on recurrent emergency food assistance (Gilligan et al., 2009; Berhane et al., 2014; Abay et al., 2022). Before its introduction, millions of rural households required annual humanitarian appeals triggered by drought and agricultural shocks. These short-term responses were insufficient to prevent chronic vulnerability. The PSNP marked a strategic shift from emergency relief towards a predictable, government-led safety net designed to protect consumption, reduce negative coping strategies, and strengthen resilience among chronically food-insecure rural populations. As shown in Figure 5, the PSNP expanded rapidly during its initial years, increasing coverage from 192 woredas and 4.8 million beneficiaries in 2004/05 to more than 7 million beneficiaries within two years. Over successive phases of the program, geographic coverage widened substantially, reaching 494 woredas across 11 regions by 2024/25. While the number of beneficiaries fluctuated during PSNP II and III, coverage stabilized at approximately 8 million individuals from PSNP IV onward, alongside significant institutional and geographic expansion under PSNP V.

Figure 5: Rural PSNP beneficiaries and Woreda Coverage



Source: World Bank (2023a) and MOF (2025).

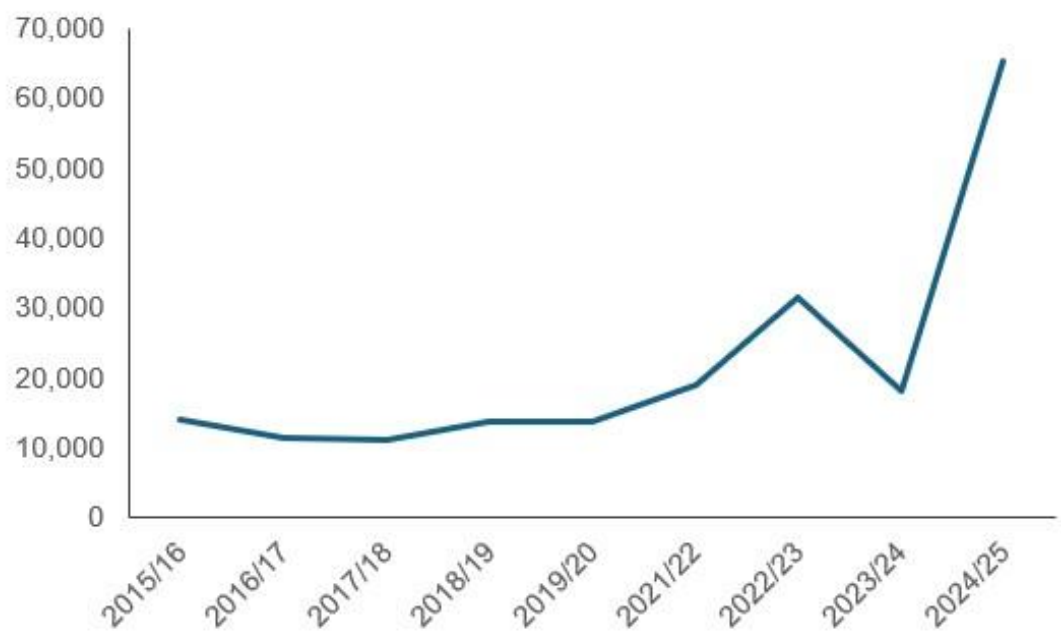
Program Components

The PSNP has two components: Public Works (PW) and Permanent Direct Support (PDS). The PW component accounts for the vast majority of beneficiaries, consistently reaching around 6.8 million people, who participate in community asset-building activities. This component also includes Temporary Direct Support for vulnerable groups, such as pregnant women and caregivers of malnourished children. In contrast, the PDS component targets labor-constrained households, such as those headed by the elderly or people with disabilities, providing unconditional, year-round transfers to roughly 1.1–1.2 million beneficiaries, or approximately 15% of the total number of beneficiaries of the program. Between 2020 and 2025, the data show a steady demographic trend in which female beneficiaries (averaging 4.1 million) consistently outnumber male beneficiaries (averaging 3.85 million), reflecting the program’s focus on supporting the most vulnerable segments of the rural population (Berhane et al., 2013; MoA, 2024).

PSNP expenditure and Source of Finance

The expenditure trend shows that between 2015/16 and 2019/20, annual spending remained relatively constant, ranging between 10 and 15 billion ETB. However, starting in 2021/22, the program entered an era of growth, with costs doubling to more than 30 billion ETB by 2022/23. This upward trend reached its peak of more than 60 billion ETB by 2024/25, representing a four-fold increase in spending over a five-year period despite the beneficiary count remaining constant. This is also partly driven by inflationary pressure and the devaluation of the local currency.

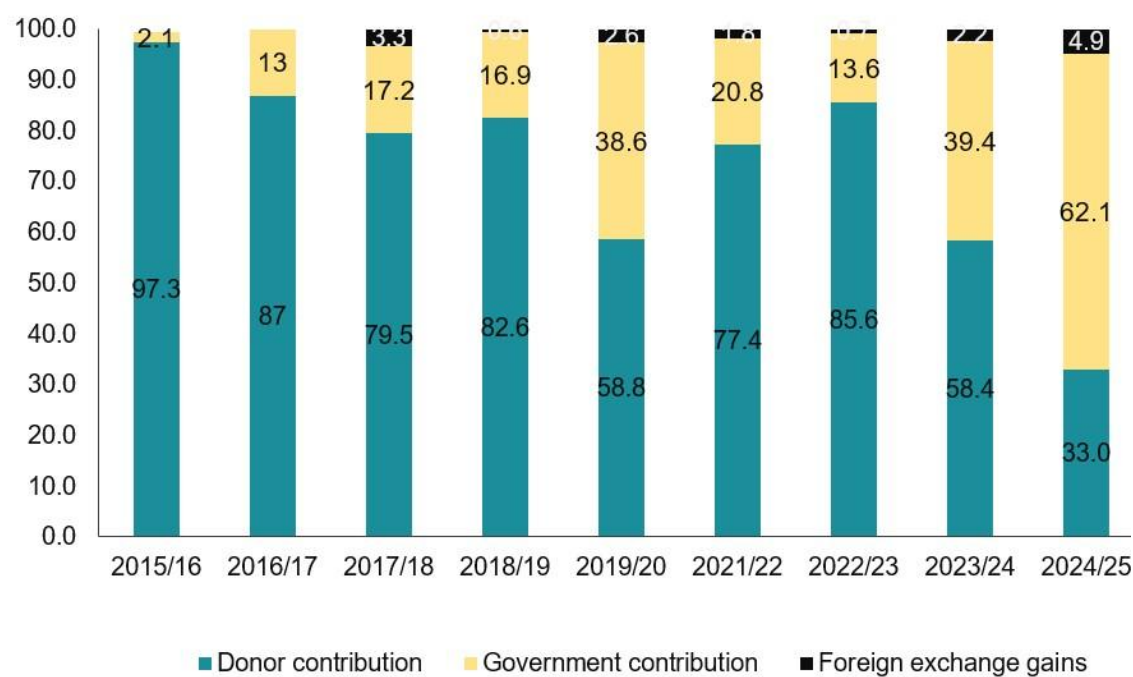
Figure 6: Rural PSNP Annual Expenditure (ETB, millions)



Source: MOF, 2025

The source of funding data reveals a fundamental shift in the program’s financing, moving from near-total donor reliance to domestic ownership. In the 2015/16 fiscal year, donors provided 97.3% of the budget, while government contributed only 2.1%. This has reversed over time; by the 2024/25, government has become the dominant contributor at more than 60%, while the donor contribution has decreased to 33%. Additionally, Foreign Exchange Gains have emerged as a minor but notable budget component, peaking at 4.9% in the final year. The steady growth of the government’s share shows a long-term commitment to a government-led national safety net program. This shift transforms the PSNP into a stable, government-led system, with the expectation that this domestic funding trend will continue to strengthen in the coming years.

Figure 7: Rural PSNP Source of funding (%)



Source: World Bank (2023a) and MOF (2025)

Urban Productivity Safety Net Program

Program component and beneficiaries

Launched in 2016 with support from the government and development partners, the Urban Productive Safety Net Program (UPSNP) was designed as a long-term strategy to reduce poverty and vulnerability among 4.7 million urban poor living in 972 cities and towns (Endale et al., 2019). To ensure sustainable results, the government structured this objective into a series of five-year phases, beginning with major urban cities. The first phase (2016–2020), supported by the World Bank, operated through three-components aimed at immediate poverty relief and long-term self-sufficiency. The Safety Net Support component provided cash transfer to beneficiaries who can work through participation in community services while offering permanent, unconditional support to those who are unable to work. The second component, Livelihood Services, focused on equipping participants with the skills, funding and guidance to become self-reliant through stable jobs or small businesses. Supporting these activities, the third component, Institutional Strengthening, ensures the program is well run, transparent, and effective (World Bank, 2015; MOFEC, 2016).

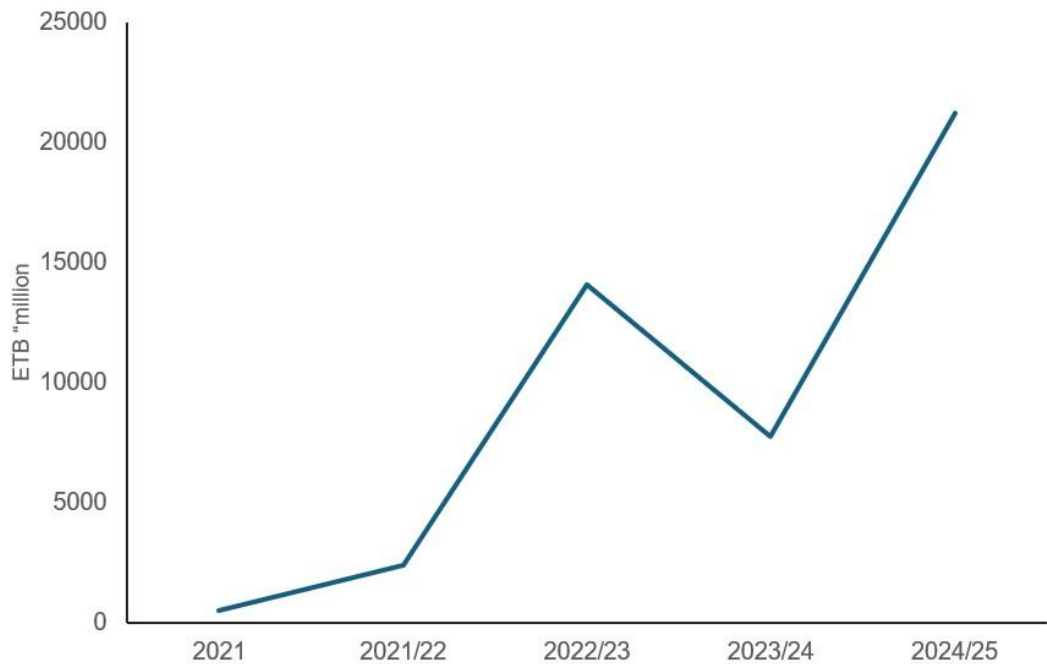
The geographic distribution of beneficiaries during the first phase highlights the program’s initial focus on major urban centers, with a total of 604,002 participants across 11 regions and cities. Addis Ababa accounted for the majority, with approximately 71% of the total beneficiaries (429,697 individuals). This was followed by Dire Dawa (44,784) and Hawassa (35,287). In terms of program design, approximately 81% (488,882 individuals) were enrolled in public works contributing to urban infrastructure and environmental initiatives. The DS component provided a vital safety net to 93,120 elderly and disabled individuals who were unable to participate in physical labor. While the overall volume of participants was

highest in Addis Ababa, the Special Needs category was notably distributed across regional cities, indicating the program’s success in identifying and supporting the most vulnerable populations beyond just the major cities ((World Bank, 2023a); see Table A2). Building on its initial phase, the Urban Productive Safety Net and Jobs Project (UPSNIJ) has expanded significantly to reach 2.9 million beneficiaries across 88 cities. The project has evolved into a multi-dimensional framework that combines climate-smart public works with livelihood grants to support poverty graduation. Its shock-responsiveness was notably demonstrated in 2022, when emergency funds were activated to provide critical support to nearly one million internally displaced persons. The program has also shifted toward specialized inclusion, providing youth apprenticeships, permanent direct support for the elderly and disabled, and reintegration services for homeless individuals. This evolution marks a significant transition from a focus on major urban centers to a robust, nationwide social protection framework (World Bank, 2025a).

Urban PSNP expenditure and finance

The annual Urban PSNP expenditure shows a massive expansion of the program, with spending that rose from approximately 500 million ETB in 2021 to over 21 billion ETB by 2024/25. A sharp upward trend is visible between 2021/22 and 2022/23, where expenditure jumped from roughly 2.5 billion to 14 billion ETB, reflecting the project’s scale-up to more cities. While there was a temporary decline in 2023/24 to approximately 7.8 billion ETB, the subsequent surge in 2024/25 highlights the government’s aggressive move to address urban poverty and food insecurity as a primary development priority.

Figure 8: UPSNP Phase II Annual Expenditure

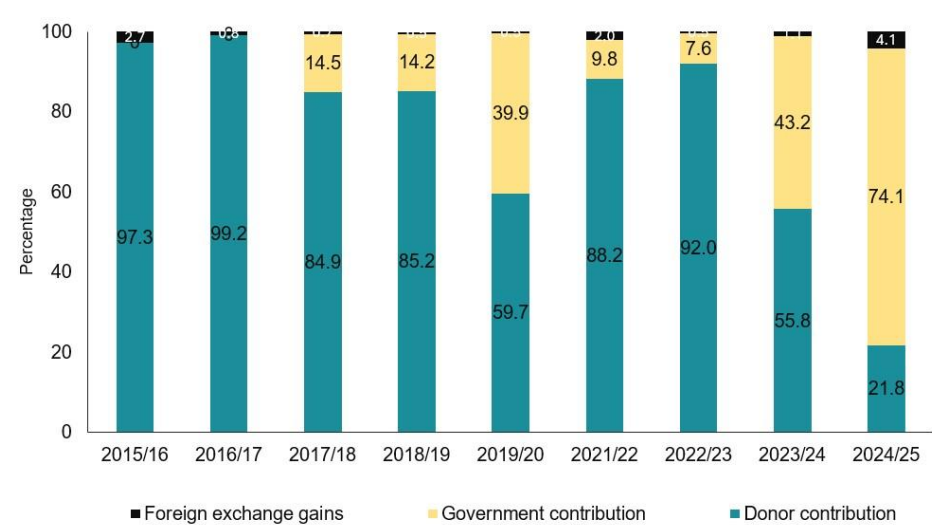


Source: MOF (2025).

UPSNIJ’s source of financing shows that the program is funded by a combination of government and donor sources, both of which have seen substantial increases to reach more cities. Although donor funding remains the largest single component of the budget, the government’s share has grown steadily, demonstrating a commitment to taking more domestic ownership of urban safety nets. This funding

approach has allowed the program to expand rapidly, especially between 2021/22 and 2022/23, ensuring that more urban households receive essential support and job opportunities. Furthermore, the growing trend in government contributions, especially between 2023 and 2025, highlights a move toward increasing domestic ownership of the program. By gradually increasing the share of domestic contribution, the government aims to reduce its long-term reliance on external aid and ensure that the urban safety net becomes a sustainable and nationally-funded program.

Figure 9: UPSNP Source of finance



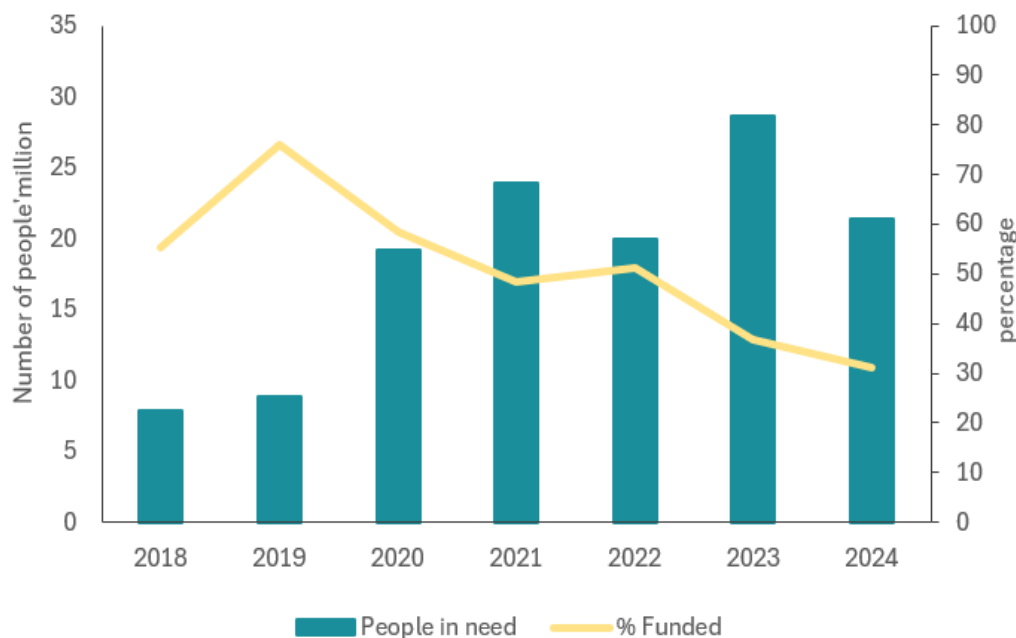
Source: MOF (2025).

Humanitarian Aid

For decades, Ethiopia has faced recurring cycles of shocks that triggered food shortages and humanitarian crises. In response, the country’s humanitarian system coordinated by the National Disaster Risk Management Commission was designed to provide a vital protection system. Using early warning assessments to deliver emergency food or cash, this system aims to protect lives during acute shocks and prevent families from falling into permanent, chronic poverty. However, this system is currently facing its greatest challenge. The triple threat of weather shocks, violence, and rising food prices are overwhelming the country’s social protection and humanitarian systems. The recent armed conflict in northern Ethiopia as well as ongoing violence in Oromia continue to displace millions while disrupting supply chains and essential services. At the same time, in the South and Southeast, the failure of two consecutive rainy seasons has caused a critical shortage of water and pastures. This has resulted in the loss of millions of livestock and total crop failure in several areas, forcing families to abandon their homes in search of survival (FEWS NET, 2026).

A review of humanitarian data from the last five years reveals the scale of these crises. Between 2020 and 2023, the number of people in need for emergency assistance reached over 20 million (Figure 10) due to the convergence of the Northern Ethiopia conflict and drought (OCHA, 2024). While the demand for social assistance continues to grow, the response is increasingly undermined by a growing funding gap.

Figure 10: Humanitarian needs vs (%) funded (2018-2024)



Source: OCHA, Ethiopia Humanitarian Response Plan

The funding data reveal a concerning inverse relationship: as the scale of the crisis grew, the proportion of the humanitarian aid that was actually funded declined from 76% in 2019 to 31% by 2024. This highlights a critical breakdown where the demand for help is increasing just as available resources are shrinking.

To address this persistent shortfall and move toward greater self-reliance, the Ethiopian government recently launched the Disaster Risk Response Fund (DRRF) through Regulation No. 576/2025. Effective as of November 2025, this fund represents a strategic shift toward domestic financing, with the aim of ensuring the country can respond to future shocks without being entirely dependent on volatile international aid.

School Feeding Program

Since its 1994 pilot phase in 40 schools, Ethiopia’s School Feeding Program (SFP) has evolved into a cornerstone of social protection, specifically designed to promote educational equity and boost enrollment within food-insecure woredas (Desalegn et al., 2022; Prifti, 2023; Zenebe et al., 2018). To institutionalize these efforts, the Ethiopian government formulated a national school feeding policy framework and implementation strategy. This framework aims to protect children’s right to education and ensure they reach their full potential as productive citizens by providing all pre-primary, primary, and middle-level students with a balanced and nutritious diet essential for their physical and mental development. This mission is executed through coordinated efforts involving relevant ministries, local communities, and development partners (MOE, 2021).

Building on the program’s long-standing history, Ethiopia has increasingly prioritized the Home-Grown School Feeding model as a key strategy for sustainable development. A primary focus of this

program is to enhance the local economy by connecting school meals directly to local food procurement and agricultural development. Under this model, schools provide market opportunities to small-holder farmers and stimulate community level economies through targeted procurement (MOE, 2023). By sourcing food from nearby farmers, the program creates a reliable market for local producers while simultaneously saving parents the time and money previously required for meal preparation. To further enhance these benefits, there is an increasing push for schools and local farmers to grow micronutrient-rich vegetables and fruits to supplement these daily meals (Desalegn et al., 2022; Singh and Fernandes, 2018).

The program's scale has grown dramatically in recent years. While it reached only 1,294,950 beneficiaries nationwide in 2020/21 (World Bank, 2023a), the number of students supported by government and community initiatives reached 8,009,124 students by the 2024/25 academic year. Today, the program effectively targets government pre-primary and primary schools in every region, with research consistently proving that it enhances educational quality by significantly reducing dropout and absenteeism rates. Community-led and indigenous institutions played a major role in the expansion of school-feeding services in Ethiopia. For example, *Busa Gonofa*² has supported massive expansion of school-feeding services in Oromia region. Oromia currently holds the largest share of beneficiaries with more than 80%, followed by Addis Ababa. This community contribution has been the primary engine of the increase. For example, during the 2022/23 academic year, community contribution in Oromia supported 5,441,488 school children, making a regional total of 5,107,333 students supported by government and community funds (MOE, 2024). In contrast, the Addis Ababa School Feeding Program operates as a large-scale urban model, providing daily meals (breakfast and lunch) to many students through government funding.

The total spending trends between 2015 and 2022 show that while initial investment began at approximately 650 million ETB in 2015/16, it experienced a sharp decline to its lowest level of roughly 250 million ETB the following year, remaining relatively stagnant through 2018/19. A major turning point occurred in the 2019/20 academic year, when spending rose to over 2.2 billion ETB. The launch of the Addis Ababa School Feeding pilot program was a major catalyst for the dramatic resurgence. Unlike previous regional programs that often relied on external aid, the Addis Ababa SFP was the first of its kind to be established with a dedicated and sustainable government budget line.³ Despite a moderate dip in 2020/21-a result of the COVID-19 pandemic and subsequent school closures-the budget surged to its peak of over 3,000 million ETB in 2021/22.

² *Busa Gonofa* is a traditional community support system where community members contribute food, money, labor, or other resources.

³ <https://addis mayor.gov.et/initiatives/school-feeding-program>

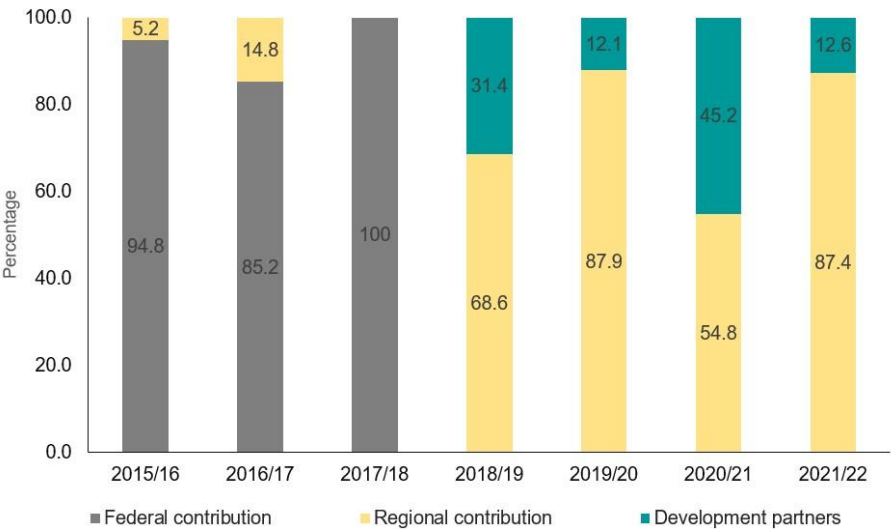
Figure 11: SFP expenditure



Source: World Bank (2023a), MOE (2022).

The source of this spending has also changed fundamentally. In the early years (2015–2018), the program was almost entirely dependent on Federal government contributions, which accounted for nearly 100% of spending by 2017/18. However, from 2018/19 onward, regional governments became the primary driver of the program, particularly as urban models like Addis Ababa scaled up. Most recently, development partners have played an increasingly critical role, covering nearly half of the total spending during the Covid 19 period and remaining a substantial contributor through 2021/22. This transition paved the way for the society-led funding models that now define the program’s massive reach in the 2024/25 period.

Figure 12: SFP source of funding



Source: [World Bank \(2023a\)](#) , MOE (2022).

It is also essential to examine the role of community contribution, which has become the backbone of the program’s long-term sustainability. Taking the 2024/25 academic year as a primary example, community-led financing has emerged as the dominant force sustaining the Home-Grown School Feeding model, with local communities contributing a total of 9,052,609 ETB nationwide. In Oromia specifically, 8,880,945 ETB was contributed by the community, effectively funding the region’s massive school feeding program. By moving away from external aid or federal budgets, this community-led approach directly supports the Home-Grown approach by purchasing produce directly from nearby smallholder farmers. This shift not only secures the program against budget fluctuations, but also fosters deep local accountability, ensuring that school feeding remains reliable (MOE, 2025).

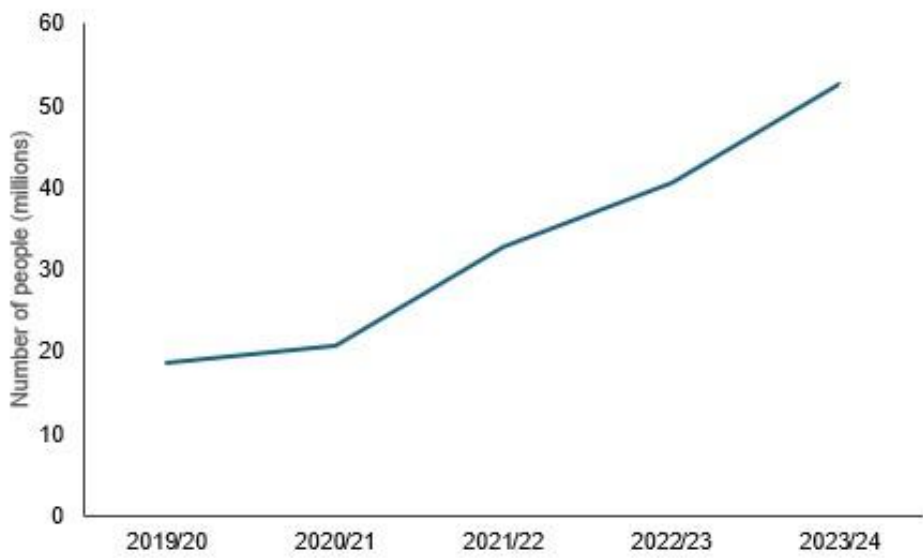
Community Based Health Insurance

Community-based health insurance (CBHI) was introduced in Ethiopia as part of the government’s broader health sector financing reforms aimed at improving financial protection and access to health services. The program was initially piloted between 2011 and 2013 in 13 woredas across the four major regions (Tigray, Amhara, Oromia, and the former Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples’ Region) (Shigute et al., 2020). CBHI operates on a voluntary basis, and enrollment is organized at the household level rather than the individual level to reduce adverse selection and promote risk sharing among family members. During the pilot phase, households contributed an annual premium of approximately 180 Ethiopian Birr, although contributions varied across woredas (Mulat et al., 2022). The benefit package covers services including outpatient care, inpatient treatment, and other curative services provided in public health facilities (Zenebe et al., 2018).

Premiums are generally determined based on households’ ability to pay, while the poorest households receive fee waivers financed by government subsidies or third-party support. Following encouraging results from the pilot phase, the government expanded CBHI to more than 1190 woredas by 2024/25⁴.

Enrollment in the CBHI scheme has expanded substantially in recent years. As shown in Figure 13, the number of beneficiaries increased from approximately 18 million in 2019/20 to about 20 million in 2020/21. Enrollment continued to grow rapidly, reaching around 32 million in 2021/22 and 40 million in 2022/23. By 2023/24, the number of people covered by the insurance had risen to roughly 52 million, reflecting significant progress in the program and access to health services. By 2023/24, CBHI coverage had reached more than 70 percent of the eligible population, indicating substantial progress toward expanding health insurance coverage in Ethiopia.

Figure 13: CBHI Beneficiaries



Source: EHIS 2023-2025.

Member contributions to the community-based health insurance (CBHI) scheme in Ethiopia have increased significantly over time, reflecting the expansion of the program and growing enrollment. As shown in Figure 14, total contributions from CBHI members rose from approximately ETB 170 million in 2015/16 to about ETB 530 million in 2016/17. Contributions continued to increase to around ETB 680 million in 2017/18 and ETB 890 million in 2018/19, reaching roughly ETB 1.3 billion in 2019/20. This upward trend indicates both the rapid scale-up of the CBHI scheme and the increasing role of member premiums in financing health services.

⁴ <https://ehis.gov.et/en/resources/1>

Figure 14: CBHI Contribution by members

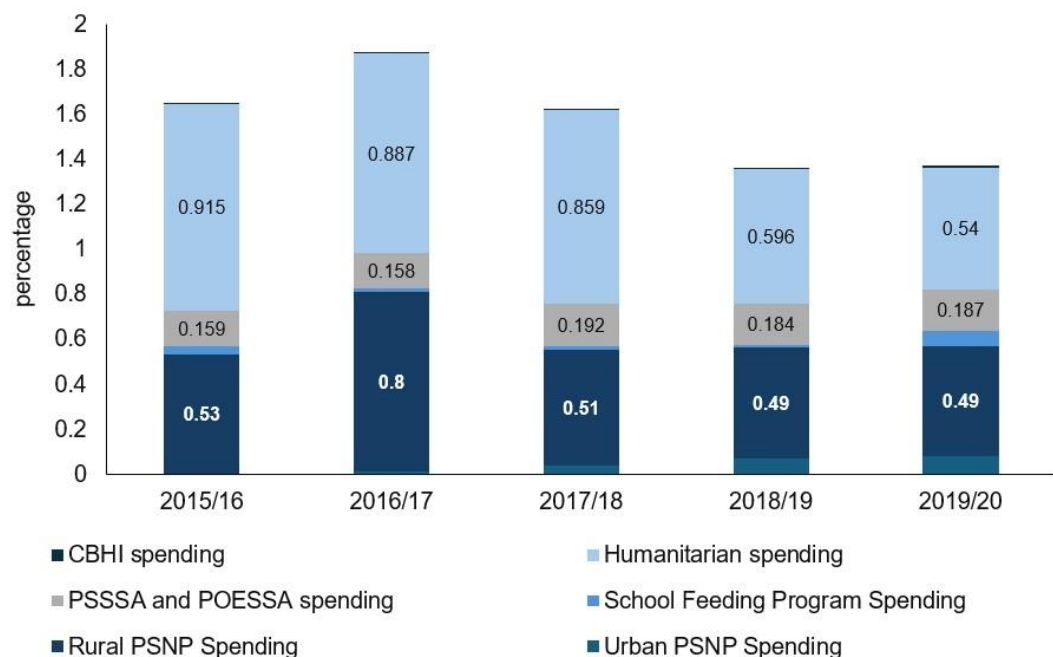


Source: EHIS 2023-2025.

Expenditure share (%GDP) of selected programs

Expenditure on selected social protection programs clearly shows that humanitarian spending consistently takes the largest share of social protection expenditure as a percentage of GDP for the majority of the period, peaking at 0.915% in 2015/16 following a severe drought before gradually decreasing to 0.54% by 2019/20. This is followed by spending in the Rural PSNP, which represents the second-largest portion, reaching its highest level of 0.8% in 2016/17 and stabilizing around 0.49% in later years. In contrast, contributory pension spending accounts for a much smaller and relatively flat share of approximately 0.15% to 0.19% of GDP throughout the period. The overall trend highlights a system that is heavily driven by emergency relief and rural safety nets, while other programs like Urban PSNP and School Feeding remain small portions of total expenditure.

Figure 15: Selected Social Protection Programs expenditure (% share of GDP)



Source: (World Bank, 2023a).

REGIONAL SUCCESS STORIES AND LESSON LEARNED

This section draws important lessons from selected African countries (Egypt, South Africa and Kenya) with a focus on financing and scaling of social protection. Despite their different starting points, all three countries show the same basic pattern: social protection programs sustain when they are integrated within national financing systems and backed by consistent political support, and delivered through systems that actually reach people reliably. The country experiences are presented below, followed by a discussion of what these common patterns suggest for Ethiopia's own social protection financing strategy.

Egypt's Takaful and Karama Program

Established in early 2015, the Takaful and Karama (T&K) program serves as a major social safety net in Egypt, aimed at protecting vulnerable citizens from the impacts of significant macroeconomic volatility and reforms. It combines two cash transfer programs; Takaful (Solidarity), a conditional program targeting poor families with children, and Karama (Dignity), an unconditional program providing support to the elderly, people with disabilities and orphans. By December 2023, the program had reached approximately 4.67 million vulnerable households - around 17 million individuals- including beneficiaries from the former social pension program, Daman (World Bank, 2024).

T&K has enhanced household welfare, supported investments in productive assets, improved school participation, helped families manage economic shocks, and provided meaningful financial support for basic needs, while also affecting household decision-making and resilience across different poverty levels (El Enbaby et al., 2022; ElDidi et al., 2018).

The most significant lesson from Egypt's experience is its use of fiscal reallocation to finance social protection programs: the government deliberately phased out regressive energy subsidies and redirected the resulting savings into the social safety net, transforming T&K from a donor funded discretionary program into a permanent pillar of the social protection system (Gentilini et al., 2025; Lee et al., 2025). Subsidy reform of this kind can improve macroeconomic stability, but it can also induce short-term welfare losses for poor households. Evidence suggests that when reform is phased in gradually and paired with expanded targeted cash transfers, these distributional costs can be mitigated while preserving the broader economic gains (Breisinger et al., 2019). Political framing played an equally important role - by presenting cash transfers as compensation for difficult economic reforms, the government built the public credibility needed to keep the program's funding resilient even as inflation pressured the national budget (Gentilini, 2025). The program's local economic effects reinforced this credibility — each dollar transferred through T&K has been shown to generate additional spending in local markets, extending its benefits beyond direct recipients (Gentilini, 2025). Finally, while T&K began with World Bank financing, domestic funding has since taken over almost entirely, illustrating a full transition from donor dependence to national ownership. Taken together, Egypt's experience shows that scaling social protection sustainably requires the simultaneous alignment of fiscal space, political will, and delivery capacity (Gentilini, 2025) — not any one of these in isolation.

South Africa's Social Assistance and Insurance System

South Africa's social protection framework is a relatively developed system designed to address deep-seated structural inequality and life-cycle risks through a dual-pillar approach (Bhorat and Oosthuizen, 2026). The first pillar consists of non-contributory social assistance, which is a constitutionally mandated right that provides a safety net for those with no other means of support (World Bank, 2021). These grants are means-tested and funded entirely through the national public resource via general tax revenue, reflecting a significant fiscal commitment of approximately 3.3% of GDP (Bhorat and Oosthuizen, 2026; World Bank, 2021). The core of this pillar includes the Old Age Grant, the Disability Grant, and the Child Support Grant, the latter of which reaches nearly 13 million children and is vital for improving long-term human capital and nutrition outcomes (World Bank, 2021). During the COVID-19 pandemic, this pillar was expanded through the Social Relief of Distress (SRD) grant to include unemployed working-age adults, a group previously excluded from formal assistance (Bhorat and Oosthuizen, 2026). The second pillar is comprised of contributory social insurance programs, which act as financial protection for workers in the formal economy. These include programs such as the Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF) and the Compensation fund which are funded through mandatory payroll levies from both employers and employees. However, because of South Africa's high unemployment rate, the scope of social insurance remains relatively limited, leaving the non-contributory grants as the primary source of support for most of the population (Bhorat and Oosthuizen, 2026).

South Africa's social assistance system benefits from being financed almost entirely through general tax revenue, which has allowed grants to be embedded as a recurring line item within the national budget (Bhorat and Oosthuizen, 2026). The country's experience also offers evidence against a common assumption about dependency: cash transfers to the unemployed, such as the SRD grant, have been found to increase job search and efforts to start a business, particularly among those already actively seeking work — though these effects hold only in the shortrun (Bhorat and Köhler, 2024). Equally

important, the dedicated South Africa Social Security Agency (SASSA)'s payment infrastructure supported by digital application and payment systems, has strengthened administrative capacity of the social assistance system and facilitated the effective delivery and rapid scaling-up of social assistance specially during crisis (World Bank, 2021). However, the dual-pillar structure remains incomplete in its coverage: while social assistance reaches a large share of the population, the social insurance pillar makes no provision for informal workers leaving the extension of insurance-based protection to this group as an ongoing policy challenge rather than a resolved one (Bhorat and Oosthuizen, 2026).

Kenya's Inua Jamii

Over the past decade, Kenya's social assistance system has shifted from mainly in-kind food distribution to a more cash-based social protection approach. A key part of this shift is *Inua Jamii* (uplift the community), the Government of Kenya's flagship National Safety Net Programme (NSNP). Inua Jamii brings together four main cash transfer programmes: the Cash Transfer for Orphans and Vulnerable Children (CT-OVC) for households caring for orphaned and vulnerable children; the Older Persons Cash Transfer (OPCT) for poor older persons; the Persons with Severe Disabilities Cash Transfer (PwSD-CT) for households with members who have severe disabilities; and the Hunger Safety Net Programme (HSNP), which supports chronically food-insecure households in arid and semi-arid counties. By bringing these programs under one national framework, Kenya improved coordination, targeting, and payment systems, moving from emergency-style support to a more organized and predictable social protection system. This was further strengthened through the Kenya Social and Economic Inclusion Programme (KSEIP), which aimed to enhance access to social services and test economic inclusion graduation models for the poorest households (Abay et al., 2025; Hidrobo et al., 2025). As a result, coverage expanded significantly from about 241,000 households in 2012/13 to nearly 1.2 million households by 2020/21, reflecting a clear policy effort to build a more reliable and system-based national safety net (World Bank, 2023b)

A critical lesson from Kenya's experience is its gradual transition to national financing. By 2019/20, the government had assumed complete financing of the four core Inua Jamii programs, completing earlier reliance on donor financing for some programmes (World Bank, 2023b). This financing transition was made possible in part by parallel institutional reforms — Kenya replaced a fragmented set of programs with a harmonized Enhanced Single Registry, significantly improving administrative efficiency and ensuring that the most vulnerable populations were reached across program categories (World Bank, 2023b). Payment systems were modernized in tandem, moving from manual disbursement to a flexible digital and bank-based model that gave beneficiaries greater financial independence while reducing administrative leakage (World Bank, 2023b). Finally, through KSEIP, Kenya demonstrated that cash transfers alone are often insufficient to build lasting resilience. Integrating Cash Plus components, such as nutrition-sensitive top-ups and links to economic inclusion programs, has provided households with a genuine pathway out of extreme poverty rather than merely temporary relief (World Bank, 2018b).

Despite differing in design and history, these three experiences point to the same underlying preconditions for scaling social protection sustainably. In each case, sustainable financing depended on a credible transition from donor to domestic funding -whether through subsidy reallocation in Egypt, an already tax-based system in South Africa, or a phased shift in Kenya. In each case, that financing transition was reinforced by sustained political commitment, through public framing of reforms, embedding grants in the national budget, or consistent multi-year investment in institutional consolidation. And in each

case, delivery infrastructure - digital platforms, unified registries and payment systems - determined whether available financing translated into effective coverage. Finally, all three cases suggest that social protection and cash transfer programs work best not in isolation, but alongside complementary interventions that help households move from short-term protection toward lasting resilience. These patterns are examined in relation to Ethiopia's own experience below.

IMPLICATIONS FOR ETHIOPIA

Lessons Learned from regional and domestic experience

Drawing from regional experiences in Kenya, Egypt, and South Africa, as well as Ethiopia's own trajectory, several strategic priorities emerge to build a more sustainable, inclusive and resilient social protection system.

A central priority is strengthening long-term sustainability and national ownership. Ethiopia has made important progress in this regard, particularly through the increase in the government's contribution to programs such as the PSNP. This transition demonstrates that moving away from heavy donor dependence is both feasible and necessary. The experiences from Egypt's T&K and Kenya's Inua Jamii program further highlight that sustained political commitment and fiscal prioritization are critical to embedding social protection as a core component of national policy (World Bank, 2023b).

Closely linked to this transition toward greater fiscal ownership is the need to expand fiscal space for social protection. While Ethiopia faces structural fiscal constraints, international experience shows that strategic reallocation of public expenditure can generate substantial resources for targeted social programs without necessarily increasing the overall tax burden. Evidence from Egypt's T&K program illustrates this dynamic clearly. Egypt progressively increased domestic financing for the program as it became institutionalized within the national social protection system, reducing reliance on external assistance over time. One important factor enabling this transition was broader fiscal reforms that improved the allocation of public spending (Gentilini et al., 2025). Historically, energy subsidies in Egypt absorbed a large share of public expenditure while disproportionately benefiting higher-income households. Reforms implemented in the mid-2010s gradually reduced these subsidies and redirected part of the fiscal savings toward targeted social assistance programs, including expanded cash transfers under the T&K program. Research shows that when subsidy reforms are combined with well targeted compensatory measures, they can simultaneously improve equity outcomes and support economic growth (Breisinger et al., 2019). These findings highlight the importance of carefully sequencing fiscal reforms so that savings from inefficient expenditures are redirected toward programs that more effectively support vulnerable populations. For Ethiopia, similar strategies could contribute to strengthening the long-term sustainability of social protection financing. Although the country's fiscal structure differs from Egypt's, there remains scope to improve public expenditure prioritization and efficiency. Redirecting resources from less targeted or low-impact spending toward well-established social protection programs such as the PSNP and the UPSNP could enhance the government's capacity to maintain and expand coverage. Strengthening tax administration, improving compliance, and reducing inefficiencies in public spending would further complement such efforts (Mascagni et al., 2021). More broadly, international evidence suggests that fiscal space for social protection often emerges not only from in-

creased revenues but also from strategic shifts in expenditure priorities, allowing governments to allocate a greater share of existing resources to programs that generate higher social returns (Ortiz et al., 2015).

Beyond financing, enhancing the system's ability to respond to shocks is increasingly important. Ethiopia's exposure to climate variability, conflict, and economic volatility underscores the need for stronger shock-responsive social protection systems. Although large-scale programs such as the PSNP provide a solid foundation, gaps in coordination with humanitarian assistance can delay responses during crises. Strengthening mechanisms for both vertical expansion (increasing benefit levels) and horizontal expansion (temporarily increasing coverage), along with improved integration with instruments such as the Disaster Risk Response Fund, would enable faster and more predictable responses (Sabates-Wheeler et al., 2022)

Improving system efficiency and targeting is another critical priority. Experiences from Kenya and Egypt demonstrate the benefits of unified social registries and digital systems in reducing duplication, enhancing coordination, and ensuring that support reaches the most vulnerable populations (World Bank, 2023b; UNICEF, 2019). For Ethiopia, further integrating rural and urban programs into a harmonized system supported by a national social registry would significantly improve effectiveness and transparency.

At the same time, promoting a more balanced financing structure through the expansion of contributory schemes can complement tax-financed social assistance. The rapid growth of CBHI illustrates the potential of contributory mechanisms to enhance financial protection and reduce vulnerability to health-related shocks (Hirvonen et al., 2020). Expanding such schemes, particularly among informal and rural populations, can strengthen resilience while easing pressure on public budgets.

Finally, strengthening the effectiveness of social protection requires a greater focus on resilience and graduation pathways. Evidence from Ethiopia's PSNP and Kenya's economic inclusion programs shows that combining cash transfers with complementary interventions such as livelihood support, nutrition services, and skills development can significantly improve long-term outcomes (Sabates-Wheeler et al., 2022; Hirvonen et al., 2023, 2025; Hidrobo et al., 2025). These cash plus programs and approaches are essential for enabling households to move beyond short-term consumption support toward sustainable livelihoods.

Financing Opportunities for Ethiopia

Building on the strategic priorities identified above, Ethiopia can draw on a range of financing approaches to strengthen the sustainability, efficiency, and resilience of its social protection system. These approaches differ considerably in their institutional and administrative requirements as well as the time needed for implementation. Accordingly, this section distinguishes between short-term priority financing approaches—those that can build on existing systems and deliver tangible benefits in the short to medium term—and longer-term financing mechanisms, which offer significant potential but require stronger institutional capacity, regulatory development, or governance arrangements before they can be implemented effectively at scale. In all cases, these approaches should complement, rather than replace, sustained domestic public financing.

Short-term Financing Avenues

Public expenditure reallocation and efficiency gains: Public expenditure reallocation represents the most immediately actionable financing opportunity for Ethiopia because it requires no new financial instrument or external partner—only the political commitment and administrative capacity to improve the allocation of existing public resources. Building on the lessons discussed above, improving expenditure prioritization, strengthening targeting, reducing administrative inefficiencies, and reallocating resources toward well-established programmes such as the PSNP and the UPSNP could generate additional fiscal space without increasing the overall tax burden. Egypt's experience demonstrates how strategic fiscal reforms and the reallocation of inefficient public expenditures can strengthen domestic financing for social protection while reducing dependence on external assistance (Gentilini et al., 2025; Breisinger et al., 2019). The gains from these reallocations and reforms can be complemented by strengthening digital infrastructure to improve fiscal capacity, reduce leakage, and improve transparency. Ethiopia's Fayda digital identification system provides an important foundation for strengthening beneficiary identification and improving delivery efficiency. Kenya's experience with digital payment platforms further demonstrates how digital systems can facilitate the rapid expansion of social assistance during crises while strengthening routine programme delivery (World Bank, 2023b).

Climate and disaster risk financing: While not a substitute for routine social protection financing, climate and disaster risk financing can strengthen Ethiopia's adaptive social protection system by providing rapid financing during climate-related shocks. Mechanisms such as contingency financing, sovereign risk insurance, and climate funds help reduce reliance on ad hoc humanitarian appeals by ensuring timely resources during crises. Given Ethiopia's increasing exposure to drought, climate shocks, conflict, and economic volatility, expanding participation in sovereign risk financing mechanisms such as the African Risk Capacity (ARC) could further strengthen the country's crisis response. Through ARC, participating countries pay premiums in advance and receive automatic payouts when predefined climate thresholds are met, enabling governments to rapidly scale up cash transfers or food assistance (Clarke and Hill, 2013; Bowen et al., 2020; African Risk Capacity Limited, 2025).

Indigenous community-based financing: Ethiopia's long-established indigenous institutions—including *Edir*, *Equb* and other community-based mutual support arrangements—complement formal social protection systems by mobilizing local resources, strengthening community solidarity, and providing informal support during household-level shocks (Bliss and Gutema, 2024). Building these existing structures could enhance community participation, improve outreach to vulnerable households, and strengthen local ownership of social protection initiatives. Exploring appropriate linkages between these indigenous institutions and formal social protection programmes therefore offers an opportunity to strengthen the overall social protection system while preserving their voluntary and community-led nature (MOE, 2025; Bliss and Gutema, 2024).

Medium and Long-term Financing Schemes

Social and development impact bonds: Social and development impact bonds are innovative financing mechanisms in which private investors provide upfront funding for social programmes and are repaid only when predefined and independently verified outcomes are achieved. While Social Impact Bonds (SIBs) are typically financed by governments, Development Impact Bonds (DIBs) rely on donors or philanthropic organizations, making them more suitable for low- and middle-income countries with limited fiscal capacity (Gustafsson-Wright et al., 2015). India's Educate Girls Development Impact Bond

exceeded its enrolment and learning targets, demonstrating how clearly defined outcomes, independent verification, local implementation, and flexible delivery can improve programme performance (IDinsight, 2018). Similarly, South Africa's Impact Bond Innovation Fund for early childhood development provides relevant lessons from an African context (Rayner and Nkonyeni, 2021). Although these instruments require robust monitoring and measurable outcomes, they can support similar programmes in education, health, and selected social protection interventions rather than for financing large-scale social protection programmes.

Blended finance: Blended finance combines public, donor, and private capital through de-risking instruments such as guarantees and first-loss arrangements to mobilize private investment for delivery infrastructure, including digital platforms, beneficiary registries, payment systems, and climate risk insurance (OECD, 2018; IFC, 2025). While this approach offers significant potential, its successful implementation depends on stronger institutional and financial capacity to structure and manage complex financing arrangements, making it more appropriate as a longer-term financing option.

Diaspora financing and remittance-linked instruments: Diaspora financing offers an opportunity to mobilize resources from citizens living abroad through mechanisms such as diaspora bonds and remittance-linked programmes. While countries such as Nigeria have successfully used diaspora bonds, Ethiopia's previous attempts attracted more limited investment (World Bank, 2019). Nigeria's 2017 diaspora bond raised approximately USD 300 million and was oversubscribed by 130 percent, demonstrating the importance of strong regulatory oversight, institutional credibility, and investor confidence (World Bank, 2017). For Ethiopia, strengthening governance, transparency, and investor confidence would be essential for leveraging diaspora financing to complement domestic resources for social protection and other social sector investments.

Graduation-linked solidarity contributions: A modest, temporary income tax contribution from individuals who have successfully graduated from social protection programmes into stable formal employment could generate supplementary resources while reinforcing social solidarity (Abel, 2019). However, given its relatively limited revenue potential and the need to avoid unintended labor market disincentives, this mechanism is best regarded as an exploratory, longer-term financing option rather than a short-term priority.

Overall, the aforementioned innovative financing mechanisms should be viewed as complementary to, not substitutes for, domestic public financing. While these instruments can help diversify funding sources and support innovation, they are often more limited in scale and less predictable over time than the stable financing flows required for large-scale social protection systems. As a result, their greatest value may lie in supporting pilot programs, testing innovative delivery mechanisms, and financing the initial establishment of contributory schemes targeting under-served groups such as informal workers. In such cases, innovative finance can help absorb early-stage risks, support experimentation, and generate evidence before programs are scaled through more sustainable public financing channels. These mechanisms may also be useful for financing improvements in delivery systems, including digital payments, targeting systems, beneficiary registries, and adaptive social protection approaches. When carefully integrated with existing institutional frameworks, innovative financing instruments can therefore strengthen the flexibility, responsiveness, and long-term effectiveness of Ethiopia's social protection system without replacing the central role of domestic public resources.

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SUPPLEMENTARY TABLES

Table A1: Rural PSNP coverage by gender and component (2020/21–2024/25)

Coverage	2020/21	2021/22	2022/23	2023/24	2024/25
By Gender	3,902,151	3,905,397	3,845,867	3,845,724	3,850,417
Male					
Female	4,095,065	4,091,819	4,151,349	4,151,492	4,146,799
By Component	6,797,634	6,797,634	6,872,797	6,859,617	6,859,620
Public Work					
Permanent Direct Support	1,199,582	1,199,582	1,124,419	1,137,599	1,137,596

Source: MoA, 2025.

Table A2: Coverage of UPSNP Phase I (2016–2021)

City/Region	PW beneficiaries	DS beneficiaries	Special needs beneficiaries	Total beneficiaries
Addis Ababa	349,375	66,548	3,774	429,697
Tigray/Mekele	12,588	2,398	1,438	16,424
Afar/Semera-logia	1,260	240	120	1,620
Amhara/Dessie	15,795	3,009	986	19,790
Oromia/Adama	22,488	4,283	1,428	28,199
Somali/Jigjiga	9,143	1,742	676	11,561
Beneshangul-Gumuz	3,150	600	212	3,962
SNNP/Hawassa	28,510	5,431	1,346	35,287
Gambella	4,244	808	296	5,348
Harari/Harari	5,695	1,085	550	7,330
Dire Dawa	36,632	6,978	1,174	44,784
Total	488,882	93,120	22,000	604,002

Source: World Bank (2023a).

Table A3: SFP Support by Funding Source and Year

Regions	2022/23		2023/24		2024/25 ^a
	Government/ Community	Development Partners	Government/ Community	Development Partners	Total Sup- port
Tigray	–	–	–	113,571	224,363
Afar	29,448	117,885	24,480	96,684	104,325
Amhara	81,543	157,221	73,129	165,339	281,443
Oromia	5,107,333	160,285	6,216,618	80,989	6,421,783
Somali	800	70,185	1,500	39,285	3,474
Benushangul-Gumuz	1,346	200	4,286	–	12,968
South Ethiopia	154,642	77,304	69,598	–	167,947
Gambella	10,768	9,512	19,060	88,110	26,397
Harari	36,804	–	35,603	10,154	38,021
Addis Ababa	701,000	–	475,695	–	522,854
Dire Dawa	7,607	1,075	9,701	1,601	11,885
Sidama	–	32,154	–	–	31,392
South West Ethiopia	5,184	8,798	205	11,718	44,312
Central Ethiopia	–	–	–	1,261	117,960
Total	6,136,475	634,619	6,984,636	608,712	8,009,124

Notes: While data for 2022/23 & 2023/24 is disaggregated by funding source, the 2024/25 data is presented at the aggregate level. Source: MOE, 2023; MOE,2024; MOE,2025.

Table A4: Coverage of Community Based Health Insurance (2012–2020)

Year	Number of CBHI woredas	Number of HHs covered
2012	13	125,142
2013	13	144,011
2014	140	546,188
2015	192	1,374,328
2016	307	2,372,736
2017	366	3,092,258
2018	522	4,064,716
2019	657	4,912,619
2020	827	6,944,784

Source: CBHI, 2023-2025

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