



CONDITIONAL CASH TRANSFER PROGRAMMES

**THE RECENT EXPERIENCE
IN LATIN AMERICA
AND THE CARIBBEAN**

*Simone Cecchini
Aldo Madariaga*



UNITED NATIONS

ECLAC



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Foreword

Ever since its founding, the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) has maintained that social development, poverty eradication and, above all, efforts to secure greater equality are the cornerstones of democratic, fair and prosperous societies in the region. This message was made explicit in the publication launched on the occasion of the thirty-third session of the Commission, entitled *Time for equality: closing gaps, opening trails* (ECLAC, 2010b). In that publication, ECLAC emphasized the importance of taking action on various fronts as a way to secure broader social inclusion, equality and respect for human rights.

Designing and implementing social policies that ensure a multidimensional approach to the complex issues of exclusion, vulnerability, inequality and poverty therefore needs to be one of the region's top priorities. A crucial component of that task will be the strengthening of social protection systems.

In that connection, the present volume seeks to identify and describe the role played by conditional (or co-responsibility) cash transfers (CCTs) as one of the main tools used in the fight against poverty over the past 15 years in the region. These programmes, whose scope and replication have extended well beyond the region's borders, aim to break the chain of intergenerational transmission of poverty by building human capacity in the most vulnerable families. To that end, CCT schemes provide direct cash transfers that are tied to certain conditions being met, mainly in the areas of school attendance and medical check-ups. They should thus contribute not only to reducing levels of income poverty but also to building human capacity, which is a key component for the sustainable development and advancement of the region's societies.

The CCTs implemented in various countries of Latin America and the Caribbean share the same basic architecture but exhibit significant differences in their overall conceptual design, including in terms of coverage and implementation. This publication presents a detailed compilation of those differences together with a review of the areas of ongoing discussion, in the hope of contributing to that discussion. Among the most debated points are the use of conditionality as a social policy tool, benefit targeting as a strategy adopted in settings of tight budgetary constraints and the role of women as the beneficiaries of transfers and subjects of the conditions imposed. While the discussion on all these points is a valid one, it is worth noting as well that the region's experience in this sphere shows that citizens' standards of living have in fact improved since the launching of such programmes.

The preparation of this study benefited in particular from the new database on non-contributory social protection programmes in Latin America and the Caribbean, which was recently launched on the ECLAC website. The database is intended as a key research tool for the vast array of studies currently under way on CCTs; it contains detailed, comparative data of both a descriptive and statistical nature on all programmes in the region, both present and past.

Special acknowledgement is extended to the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA) for the valuable support it provided. The present study was conducted within the framework of the component "Social assistance: poverty reduction and income redistribution through conditional cash transfer programmes" of the ECLAC/SIDA 2010-2011 cooperation programme "Social protection and social inclusion in Latin America and the Caribbean".

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Abstract

This document summarizes experience with conditional cash transfer or “co-responsibility” (CCT) programmes in Latin America and the Caribbean, over a period lasting more than 15 years. During this time, CCTs have consolidated and spread through the region’s various countries as a tool of choice for poverty-reduction policy.

According to the ECLAC database of non-contributory social protection programmes in Latin America and the Caribbean, CCTs are currently being implemented in 18 of the region’s countries, benefiting over 25 million families (about 113 million people) or 19% of the regional population, at a cost of around 0.4% of regional gross domestic product (GDP).

The basic structure of CCTs entails the transfer of monetary and non-monetary resources to families with young children, living in poverty or extreme poverty, on condition that they fulfil specific commitments aimed at improving their human capacities. Despite the, as yet, inconclusive debates on the appropriateness of these programmes and their results in different domains, they have been hailed as representing a major step in connecting poor and indigent families with school-age children to broader and more comprehensive social-protection systems.

This document, which it is hoped will serve as a basis and input for discussion and progress in building social-protection systems premised on inclusion and universal rights, provides detailed information on the different components of CCTs. It also reviews their main characteristics in terms of the definition and registration of programme users, the targeting mechanisms used, the various types of benefits provided, and the conditionalities attached to them. It then analyses the historical trend of the indicators of CCT investment and coverage, and the information available

on their effects in different domains. Lastly, it makes an assessment of the experience and the main challenges that these programmes pose in terms of their sustainability, legal framework, accountability, participation, institutionality and inter-sectoral characteristics.

Chapter I

Introduction

In the mid-1990s, in various municipalities of Brazil and in the Federal District, a number of programmes were launched whose main purpose was to provide cash transfers to families living in extreme poverty in exchange for commitments on education (Aguiar and Araujo, 2002; Godoy, 2004). In 1997, Mexico introduced the Education, Health and Food Programme (*Progresa*), which transferred cash, food supplements, and access to a basic health service package to rural families living in extreme poverty, on condition that they undertake specific education and health-care commitments (Levy and Rodríguez, 2005). Since then, conditional cash transfer (CCT) or “co-responsibility” schemes have spread as a tool of choice in poverty-reduction policy throughout Latin America and the Caribbean. Nonetheless, these programmes vary in terms of their centrality in social-protection systems and they reflect the different approaches to social-policy arrangements in the countries implementing them (Cecchini and Martínez, 2011; Cohen and Franco, 2006; ECLAC, 2010a).

The concept of co-responsibility in poverty-reduction programmes requires consideration not only of elements associated with the demand incentive, but also those relating to the supply of social services (Levy and Rodríguez, 2005; Cohen and Franco, 2006). This study highlights the fact that both the target public and the government itself have to commit to the actions required by the programme.¹ The specialist literature also uses

¹ This document uses the term “conditionality” to refer to the specific commitments that families must fulfil to be eligible to receive the transfers; and instead of “beneficiaries”, it

synonyms for these programmes, such as conditional monetary transfer programmes.

In the past decade, CCTs not only grew in number—in 1997 they were present in three countries, but by 2010 they were available in 18 (see table I.1)—but they also succeeded in consolidating, with an increase in the value the monetary transfers provided, broader coverage and geographic scope (Bastagli, 2009), and, in many cases, institutionalization within the social policy of each country (Hailu, Medeiros, and Nonaka, 2008). These programmes have also gained a high profile in the debate on poverty-reduction policies, both regionally and internationally, largely thanks to their promotion by organizations such as the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), and the establishment of multilateral forums for the exchange of experiences and good practices, such as the Inter-American Social Protection Network (IASPN), within the Organization of American States (OAS).

Beyond the still-open question of the effectiveness of their impact on various indicators (Fiszbein and Schady, 2009; Ribas, Veras Soares and Hirata, 2008; Veras Soares, Ribas and Guerreiro, 2007); the complementarity and consistency of their instruments (Villatoro, 2008; Handa and Davis, 2006); and the legitimacy of their guiding principles (Freeland, 2007; Molyneux, 2007; Standing, 2007a), the role of these programmes in connecting poor and indigent families with school-age children to social protection has been recognized (ECLAC, 2010a). It has also been claimed that CCTs can represent a step towards setting up broad social-protection systems founded on concepts of inclusion and universal rights (Cecchini and Martínez, 2011; Simões, 2006; Bastagli, 2009).

This document summarizes the region's experience with CCTs and provides detailed information on their various components. It is also intended to serve as a basis and input for discussion and progress towards inclusive social-protection systems (Cecchini and Martínez, 2011). Much of the information comes from the ECLAC database on non-contributory social protection programmes in Latin America and the Caribbean, which contains descriptive information and historical data on these programmes.²

The rest of this article is organized as follows. The next section reviews the main characteristics of CCTs in terms of how they define their target public, their targeting mechanisms and the selection and registration tools used, as well as criteria for graduating out of the programmes. The third section describes the various types of benefits

prefers terms that are more appropriate from a rights perspective, such as “target public”, or “users” (more closely related to the population that actually participates in a programme).

² See [on line] <http://dds.cepal.org/bdptc/>.

Table I.1
LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN (19 COUNTRIES): CONDITIONAL CASH
TRANSFER PROGRAMMES

Country	Programmes currently operating (starting year)	Country	Programmes currently operating (starting year)
Argentina	Universal Child Allowance for Social Protection (2009); Porteña Citizenship Programme (2005)	Paraguay	<i>Tekoporã</i> (2005); <i>Abrazo</i> (2005)
Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	Juancito Pinto Grant (2006); Juana Azurduy de Padilla Mother-and-Child Grant (2009)	Peru	<i>Juntos</i> (2005)
Brazil	<i>Bolsa Família</i> (2003)	Dominican Republic	Solidarity (2005)
Chile	Solidarity Chile (2002)	Trinidad and Tobago	Targeted Conditional Cash Transfer Programme (TCCTP) (2006)
Colombia	Families in Action (2001); <i>Juntos</i> Network (2007); Conditional Subsidies for School Attendance (2005)	Uruguay	Family Allowances (2008)
Costa Rica	<i>Avancemos</i> (2006)		
Ecuador	Human Development Grant (2003)		
El Salvador	Solidarity in Rural Communities (formerly the Solidarity Network) (2005)		
Guatemala	<i>Mi Familia Progres</i> a (2008)		
Honduras	Family Allowance Programme (PRAF) (1990); <i>Bono 10 000</i> programme for education, health and nutrition (2010)		
Jamaica	Programme of Advancement through Health and Education (PATH) (2002)		
Mexico	<i>Oportunidades</i> (formerly <i>Progres</i> a) (1997)		
Panama	Opportunities Network (2006)		
		Country	Completed programmes (years)
		Argentina	Families for Social Inclusion; Unemployed Heads of Household (2002-2005) ^a
		Brazil	<i>Bolsa Escola</i> school grant (2001-2003) ^b ; <i>Bolsa Alimentação</i> food grant (2001-2003) ^{b,c}
		Costa Rica	<i>Superémonos</i> (2000-2006)
		Ecuador	Solidarity Grant (1998-2002)
		Honduras	PRAF/IDB II (1998-2005); PRAF/IDB III (2007-2009)
		Nicaragua	Social Protection Network (RPS) (2000-2006); Crisis Response System (SAC) (2005-2006)
		Uruguay	National Social Emergency Response Plan (PANES) (2005-2007)

Source: Prepared by the authors, on the basis of Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), Database of non-contributory social protection programmes in Latin America and the Caribbean [online] <http://dds.cepal.org/bdptc>.

^a Although this programme officially ended in 2005, it continued to pay benefits until the Universal Child Allowance for Social Protection programme was created.

^b Although the programme officially ended in 2003, it continued to pay benefits in subsequent years and was gradually phased out as the number of users of *Bolsa Família* increased.

^c Includes the *Cartão Alimentação* food grant, which was operating in the same years.

that these programmes provide and the conditionalities attached to them. The fourth section reviews CCTs in terms of investment and coverage trends, focusing on the historical development of the two indicators; and an indicator is calculated to compare the investment made by countries in these programmes with the resources needed to overcome the income deficit among poor and indigent population groups. The fifth section briefly analyses and summarizes available information on the effects of CCTs in various domains, such as human capacities, poverty and income inequality, consumption, income generation and labour-market participation, child labour, and the empowerment of women. The sixth section discusses issues of financial and political sustainability, institutionality and inter-sectoral characteristics. Lastly, the conclusions make an assessment of the experience and highlight the main challenges posed by these programmes.

Chapter II

General characteristics of conditional cash transfer programmes

The basic common structure of CCTs consists of transferring monetary and non-monetary resources to families living in poverty or extreme poverty, who have one or more school-age children, on condition that they fulfil certain commitments aimed at enhancing their human capacities. Some programmes also provide benefits to other categories of people, such as unemployed adults, disabled persons and older adults, thus making it possible to include families without school-age children.

The commitments required by the CCTs mainly relate to the areas of education, health and nutrition (for example, the children of user families must attend school or fulfil preventive health actions in health centres). In addition to monetary transfers, several programmes provide transfers in kind, such as food supplements and school bags (known as “*mochilas*” or “*bolsones*”) containing school supplies, while also requiring participation in certain other education and health services, such as educational talks, and information, guidance and counselling on various subjects.³

These programmes target the family unit as a whole, rather than its individual members; and give a leading role to women. In the vast majority of cases, the transfers are actually paid to the mothers, on the assumption that they will use the monetary resources to improve the well-being of the family as a whole and of their children in particular. Mothers

³ As shown in section III.A.3, in several cases these services are not provided by the programmes directly, but by the sectors in question.

are also responsible for fulfilling the conditionalities, and they sometimes act as programme promoters.

Another common feature is the use of technical criteria to select the target public, generally based on procedures with two or more stages—predominantly targeting by geographic units and household selection methods by indirect means testing (proxy means test).

Although CCTs have a common structure, they vary greatly in the way they define their target population, the benefits they provide, and the person responsible for relating with the programme and ensuring the conditionalities are fulfilled.

A. Target population

Although the definition of CCT target populations varies from one country to another it is generally oriented towards families living in conditions of poverty or extreme poverty (see table II.1). Programmes targeting indigent families include Families in Action in Colombia, the Family Allowance Programme (PRAF) in Honduras and the *Tekoporâ* programme in Paraguay. Others, such as the *Bolsa Família* conditional cash transfer programme in Brazil and the Human Development Grant in Ecuador, include poor but non-indigent families in their target population, in addition to the very poor. There are also programmes in which target families are selected according to a broader spectrum of needs. For example, Families for Social Inclusion in Argentina defines families “at social risk” to include those with undernourished children, a head of household over 50 or under 20 years of age, adults with a terminal disease or pandemic illness, and situations of domestic violence or sexual abuse, among others. In other programmes, the target population is not based on family units: the Programme of Advancement through Health and Education (PATH) in Jamaica, for example, targets individuals living in poverty.

The eligibility criteria for the various monetary transfers provided by CCTs can be based on families or household units, or in terms of whether household members belong to specific categories, such as preschool and school-age children, and breast-feeding or pregnant women. Some CCTs also include older adults and the disabled (see table II.1);⁴ for example, the *Oportunidades* programme in Mexico pays monetary transfers to the household as a whole, through the food subsidy, energy subsidy, and *Vivir*

⁴ Upholding the distinction between households and families, implementation of the Opportunities Network in the indigenous communities of Panama explicitly established that the transfer was provided to the family, to avoid conflicts in cases where several families live together in one household (Robles, 2010).

Mejor food support components; whereas the Youth with Opportunities education grant and support for older persons target children in primary, secondary and upper secondary school, young people in the final years of upper secondary education, and older adults, respectively.⁵

The ages considered for access to the benefits vary from one programme to another. For educational benefits (generally at the primary and secondary school levels), the ages of the target population vary according to the organization of the school systems in each country. In most cases, the lower limit is between 5 and 6 years, while the upper limit is 22 in Mexico and 25 in Costa Rica. Health benefits tend to be concentrated in the preschool years, although not exclusively. For example, they cover children up to 3 years of age in the *Juntos* programme in Peru, up to 6 in the *Mi Familia Progresá* programme in Guatemala, and up to 14 in *Tekoporâ* in Paraguay. There are also programmes that make specific transfers for adolescents in the education sector, with the aim of preventing school dropout in the final years of secondary education. A case in point is the *Oportunidades* programme, *Bolsa Família* (Adolescent benefit) and the Porteña Citizenship Programme (“Studying is working”).

The exclusion of poor or indigent families without dependent children is one of the major criticisms of these programmes, with some authors arguing that this overlooks a large number of families that also need help (Standing, 2007a). This discrimination is not present, however, in programmes such as Solidarity Chile, the Human Development Grant, Solidarity in Rural Communities, PATH, *Oportunidades*, *Tekoporâ*, *Juntos* and Solidarity, all of which include benefits for families with older adults and disabled persons. In Jamaica, the health subsidy is provided to unemployed adults between 18 and 64 years of age living in poverty—in addition to children, older adults, the disabled, and pregnant or breast-feeding women (see table II.1).

In practice, foreign immigrants living in poverty or extreme poverty are also excluded from CCTs. While the official documents governing the operations of these programmes define the target population as persons or households living in situations of poverty or indigence in national territory, without explicitly distinguishing the nationality of the head or members of the household, the possession of an identity card, by the head of household at least, is a prerequisite for receiving the monetary transfers. Thus, immigrants who do not hold that document because they have not regularized their stay in the foreign country cannot benefit

⁵ Since 2007, adults over 70 years of age in Mexico can participate in the new federal “70 and over” programme which pays US\$38.50 in cash per month. To avoid duplication of support at the federal level, older adults who participate in this programme have to renounce the older-adult support provided by *Oportunidades* (Rubio and Garfias, 2010).

from the programmes. In the case of the Universal Child Allowance for Social Protection (AUH) of Argentina, foreign households who can prove definitive residency of at least three years in Argentina are entitled to receive the benefit. Nonetheless, Repetto and Díaz Langou (2010) state that this requirement “in practice excludes most foreign residents in the country, since many, particularly the most vulnerable among them, do not have the legal documents required for the AUH”. Accordingly, to protect this extremely vulnerable population group, the requirements for legal residency need to be made more flexible, and there should be campaigns to encourage immigrants to obtain the necessary documents.⁶

In addition, programmes have to designate the person(s) who will act as link between the household and the programme and ensure the conditions are fulfilled. In general, CCTs tend to assign this function to women heads of household. Programmes that make the transfers to the head of household irrespective of sex, or to a guardian or representative of the family, include the Juancito Pinto Grant in the Plurinational State of Bolivia, PATH in Jamaica, Solidarity in the Dominican Republic and a number of programmes that have now ended, such as the Unemployed Heads of Household programme in Argentina, the National Social Emergency Response Plan (PANES) in Uruguay and the Social Protection Network (RPS) in Nicaragua. This is also the case in the version of Families in Action being implemented in indigenous communities of Colombia, where the transfer can be delivered to the adult who is responsible for the children, in keeping with the child-care practices and customs prevailing in the different indigenous peoples (Acción Social, 2008).

The key role played by women in the programmes —not only in managing the transfers, but also in ensuring the conditions are fulfilled— has been interpreted in different ways. Firstly, it has been noted that this allows for greater empowerment of women in household decision-making, since it is they who manage the transferred income; and it also gives them greater visibility and participation in the community through their

⁶ The case of internal migrants is different, because that status —except in the case of locally targeted CCTs, such as those in Bogota or Buenos Aires— does not necessarily mean exclusion from the programmes. Nonetheless, to avoid losing entitlement to participation, migrants must fulfil certain formalities, and each user is responsible for requesting an update of his or her personal information in the databases or records of CCT users (such as the System for the Identification of Potential Social Programme Beneficiaries (SISBEN), the Single System for the Identification of Beneficiaries (SIUBEN), the Social Registry, the Social Protection Record and the single register for social programmes known as *CadÚnico*). This can result in delays in countries where the administration of the programme has shortcomings in terms of information transmission channels, with cumbersome procedures and delays in updating users’ records. An extreme case would consist of the temporary or final suspension of the user for administrative reasons, owing to a failure to collect the benefits.

attendance at courses and workshops within the programme framework (León, 2008; Molyneux, 2007). On the other hand, it has also been argued that this empowerment is weak in practice, unless accompanied by other actions in areas such as capacity development, autonomy, equality, influence and an increase in decision-making possibilities (Molyneux, 2009). This is based on the fact that women join these programmes to augment their children's human capital rather than their own (Molyneux, 2007). In addition, it has been suggested that the various programme requirements end up adding to and reinforcing the care activities that have traditionally restricted women's labour-market participation (ECLAC, 2006; Pautassi and Zibecchi, 2010) (see section V.F).

Table II.1
LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN (19 COUNTRIES): CONDITIONAL CASH TRANSFER PROGRAMMES, TARGET POPULATION,
MONETARY TRANSFERS, ELIGIBILITY CRITERIA AND RECIPIENT

Country	Programme	Target population	Transfer	Transfer eligibility criteria	Recipient
Argentina	Universal Child Allowance for Social Protection	Families with heads of unemployed or work in the informal economy	Universal family benefit	Children under 18 years of age Domestic employees with income below the minimum wage "Monotributistas sociales" ^a	Mother, father, guardian, or next of kin up to the third degree
	Families for Social Inclusion	Families at social risk	Non-wage income	Children under 19 years of age Persons with disabilities Pregnant women	Mother
	Porteña Citizenship Programme	Families living in poverty	Household subsidy	Households in the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires living in poverty, targeting the most vulnerable	Mother
Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	Unemployed Heads of Households	Families with heads of household who are unemployed	Subsidy	Young people between 18 and 29 years of age from households in the target population, with at least two years residency in the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires, studying at any level in the formal education system	Direct user
	Juancito Pinto Grant	Children under 18 attending up to eighth grade of primary school in the regular education system and alternative juvenile education, and students in special education without an age limit	Grant	Children under 18 years of age Persons with disabilities Pregnant women	Head of household
				Attendance at formal education and public schools, alternative juvenile or special education	Father, mother or guardian

Table II.1 (continued)

Country	Programme	Target population	Transfer	Transfer eligibility criteria	Recipient
	Juana Azurduy de Padilla Mother-and-Child Grant	Pregnant and breast-feeding women, without health insurance coverage	Grant for institutional childbirth and postnatal check-up	Children under 2 years old Pregnant women	Mother
			Antenatal subsidy	Pregnant women	Mother
			Comprehensive health checkup subsidy	Women with a child under 1 year old	Mother
Brazil	<i>Bolsa Família</i>	Families living in poverty and extreme poverty	Basic grant Variable grant	Indigent families Families living in poverty with children under 15 years of age	Mother Mother
			Variable adolescent benefit	Children of 16 and 17 years of age	Mother
	Child Labour Eradication Programme (PETI)	Non-poor families with situations of child labour	<i>Bolsa criança cidadã</i> grant	16 year -old children in a child labour situation, except those performing apprentice tasks as from 14 years of age	Mother
	<i>Bolsa Escola</i> school grant	Families living in extreme poverty	Grant	Children between 6 and 15 years of age	Mother
	<i>Bolsa Alimentação</i> food grant	Families living in extreme poverty	Grant	Children under 6 and pregnant women	Mother
Chile	Solidarity Chile	Families and individuals living in vulnerable situations	Protection Grant Exit Grant	All programme user families (in the monitoring phase) All families targeted by the programme (completion of monitoring phase)	Mother Mother
			Single Family Subsidy (SUF)	Children under 18 years of age Pregnant women	Mother
				Persons with a mental disability	

Table II.1 (continued)

Country	Programme	Target population	Transfer	Transfer eligibility criteria	Recipient
Colombia	Families in Action	Families living in extreme poverty in situations of displacement, or indigenous families	Basic Solidarity Pension (PBS)	Persons with a physical disability	Direct user
			Identity Card Subsidy	Adults over 65 years of age	Direct user
			Drinking Water Subsidy (SAP)	All families targeted by the programme	Household
			Basic Allowance	All families targeted by the programme	Mother
			Healthy Child Check-up Allowance	Children under 6 years of age	Mother
			Enrolment Allowance	Children between 6 and 18 years of age	Mother
			Attendance Allowance	Children between 6 and 18 years of age	Mother
			Women's Labour Market Participation Allowance	Children over 18 years of age	Direct user
			Nutrition grant	Children under 11 years of age	Mother
			Education grant	Children between 6 and 18 years of age	Mother
Conditional Subsidies for School Attendance	Families living in non-indigent poverty	Education subsidy	Children under 19 years of age attending sixth to eleventh grade	Mother	
		Transport subsidy	Children between 14 and 19 years of age attending ninth to eleventh grade, and who live more than 2 km from the school	Mother	
Costa Rica	<i>Avancecos</i>	Families that find it difficult to keep their children in the education system for economic reasons	Conditional monetary transfer	Children between 12 and 25 years of age attending secondary education in public schools	Head of household

Table II.1 (continued)

Country	Programme	Target population	Transfer	Transfer eligibility criteria	Recipient
Ecuador	Human Development Grant	Families living in poverty	Human Development Grant	Children under 16 years of age	Mother
			Pension for persons with disabilities	Persons with a disability of 40% or more	Direct user
			Pension for older adults	Adults over 65 without social security	Direct user
El Salvador	Solidarity in Rural Communities	Families in extreme poverty living in municipalities with an extreme, severe, and high poverty rate	Health grant	Children under 5 years of age	Mother
				Pregnant women	
			Education grant	Children between 6 and 18 years of age	Mother
			Basic universal pension for older adults	Adults over 70 years of age living in poverty	Direct user
Guatemala	<i>Mi Familia Progres</i> a	Family living in extreme poverty with children under 15 years of age and pregnant mothers	Health/nutrition grant	Children under 6 years of age	Head of household
				Pregnant women	
			Education grant	Children between 6 and 15 years of age	Head of household
Honduras	<i>Bono 10 000</i> programme for education, health and nutrition	Families living in extreme poverty	Nutrition grant	Children under five years of age	Head of household (women have preference)
			Health grant	Pregnant or breast-feeding women	
				Children under five years of age	
			Education grant	Pregnant or breast-feeding women enrolled in the public education system	
			Mother-and-child grant	Children under 5 years old with a disability or at risk of malnutrition	Mother
		Pregnant or breast-feeding women			

Table II.1 (continued)

Country	Programme	Target population	Transfer	Transfer eligibility criteria	Recipient
			School grant for first to sixth grade	Children aged 6 and 14 years attending up to sixth grade in public schools	Mother
			Grant for older persons	Adults over 65 years of age	Direct user
			"Helping hand" grant	Young people living in zones of high social risk and adults working in municipal garbage dumps	Mother
			School bag	Children attending up to third grade in public schools	Mother
	PRAF/IDB III	Families living in extreme poverty	Nutrition grant	Children under 6 years of age at risk of malnutrition or with a disability	Mother
			Health grant	Pregnant or breast-feeding women	Mother
			Education grant	Children under 6 years of age	Mother
			Nutrition and health grant	Pregnant or breast-feeding women	Mother
	PRAF/IDB II	Families living in extreme poverty	School grant	Children between 6 and 14 years of age attending up to six th grade in public	Mother
			Health grant	Children under 3 years of age	Mother
				Pregnant or breast-feeding women	Mother
				Children between six and 12 years of age that have not completed 4 th grade	Mother
Jamaica	Programme of Advancement through Health and Education (PATH)	Persons living in poverty	Health grant	Children under 59 months of age	Family representative; direct recipient
				Adults over 60 years of age	
				Persons with disabilities	
				Pregnant or breast-feeding women	
				Unemployed adults living in poverty (between 18 and 64 years of age)	

Table II.1 (continued)

Country	Programme	Target population	Transfer	Transfer eligibility criteria	Recipient
Mexico	<i>Oportunidades</i>	Households subject to food poverty	Education Grant	Children between 6 and 17 years of age	Family representative
			Post-Secondary school grant	Children completing secondary education and proceeding to higher education	Family representative
			Food support	All families targeted by the programme	Mother
			Support for school supplies	Children attending primary and secondary school	Mother
			Education support	Children attending primary, secondary or upper secondary education	Mother
			Energy support	All families targeted by the programme	Mother
			Support for older persons	Adults over 65 years of age	Direct user
			<i>Vivir Mejor</i> food support	All families targeted by the programme	Mother
			<i>Vivir Mejor</i> child support	Children up to 9 years of age	Mother
			Baby food	Children between 4 and 23 months of age	Mother
Nicaragua	Social Protection Network (RPS)	Families living in extreme poverty	Youth with Opportunities	Students between third year secondary and fourth year <i>bachillerato</i>	Direct user
			Food Security Grant	All families targeted by the programme	Mother
			Education grant	Children between 7 and 13 years of age that have not completed fourth grade	Mother
			Schoolbag	Children attending up to fourth grade	Mother

Table II.1 (continued)

Country	Programme	Target population	Transfer	Transfer eligibility criteria	Recipient
			Occupational training grant	Young people between 14 and 25 years of age who have completed primary school	Direct user
	Crisis Response System (SAC)	Families living in extreme poverty	Food Security grant	All families targeted by the programme	Mother
			Education grant	Children between 6 and 18 years of age	Mother
			School bag	Children between 6 and 18 years of age	Mother
Panama	Opportunities Network	Families living in extreme poverty	Conditional monetary transfer	All families targeted by the programme	Mother
			Food purchasing grants	All families targeted by the programme	Mother
Paraguay	<i>Tekoporá</i>	Households in extreme poverty	Food support	All families targeted by the programme	Mother
			Support for education and health	Children up to 18 years of age Pregnant women	Mother
			Support for older adults	Adults over 65 years of age	Direct user
			Support for persons with disabilities	Persons with disabilities	Direct user
	<i>Abrazo</i>	Families living in extreme poverty with children in child labour situations	Fixed solidarity grant	Children of up to 14 years of age	Mother
Peru	<i>Juntos</i>	Families living in extreme poverty, risk and exclusion	Grant	Children of up to 14 years of age Pregnant women Widowed fathers and mothers Older adults	Household representative (father or mother)

Table II.1 (concluded)

Country	Programme	Target population	Transfer	Transfer eligibility criteria	Recipient
Dominican Republic	Solidarity	Families in situations of extreme and moderate poverty	Comer es Primero food scheme	Children under 16 years of age	Head of household
				Pregnant women	
				Heads of household	
				Older adults without a job	
				Children between four and 21 years of age enrolled in public education	
Trinidad and Tobago	Targeted Conditional Cash Transfer Programme (TCCTP)	Families living in poverty	Grant	Over 65s who do not receive another pension and are unemployed	Direct user
				Gas subsidy	Household
				Electricity subsidy	Household
				Low income households that receive the gas subsidy and that have been identified by SIUBEN	Household
Uruguay	Family Allowances	Families living in poverty	Conditional monetary transfer	All families targeted by the programme	Household representative
				Children under 18 years of age	Head of household (women have preference)
				Persons with disabilities	Head of household
				All families targeted by the programme	Mother
Uruguay	National Social Emergency Response Plan (PANES)	Families living in extreme poverty	Citizen income	Children under 18 years of age	Mother
				Pregnant women	
				Food card	

Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), Database of non-contributory social protection programmes in Latin America and the Caribbean.

^a A tax category that recognizes the undertaking of productive, commercial, and service activities by people in situations of social vulnerability. Upon payment of a monthly fee, they can issue invoices, access a trade union health insurance, enter the pension system and be suppliers to the Argentine State through direct purchase.

^b As from 2005, the Child Labour Eradication Programme (PETI) was combined with *Bolsa Familia*, and families who were participating in PETI and were eligible for *Bolsa Familia* (poor and extremely poor families) were transferred to the latter. PETI continues to serve poor families in situations of child labour.

^c The programme uses a poverty map to divide the country's 262 municipalities into four groups, according to their extreme poverty level: severe (32 municipalities), high (69), moderate (82) and low (80).

^d Subsidies for persons with disabilities, unemployed adults and older adults can be collected by the direct user.

B. Targeting mechanisms

Multistage targeting procedures are generally used to select CCT target populations (see table II.2).

The first stage involves identifying the geographic units with the highest poverty levels. This generally is assessed on the basis of indices of marginality which may include income variables or unmet basic needs (UBN), and are constructed from data sources such as population censuses, household surveys and poverty maps. In the *Tekoporã* programme in Paraguay, the most vulnerable communities are selected on the basis of the geographic prioritization score that gives a 40% weighting to the poverty conditions of a locality and 60% to the presence of unmet basic needs (Veras Soares and Britto, 2008). In the case of *Oportunidades*, on the other hand, UBN indicators are used to select rural zones, and income and expenditure are used for urban zones (Orozco and Hubert, 2005).

After geographic targeting, family units or households are selected, depending on the definition.⁷ Most programmes use indirect means testing, either through multidimensional indices of the quality of life, as in the case of the Social Protection Record in Chile, or income prediction formulas which use variables that are assumed to be closely related to those incomes, as in the case of *Oportunidades*. Whether or not income-related variables are considered has repercussions for deciding whether to prioritize more structural poverty situations—which are less likely to vary in the short term—or others that are more closely related to the business cycle (Ribas, Veras Soares and Hirata, 2008). There are also programmes that implement a direct means test, using the income level reported by the families themselves in ad hoc surveys or censuses undertaken by the programmes. In Brazil, this information is collected at the municipal level by applying the single register for social programmes, known as *CadÚnico*, to families living in poverty. This procedure tends to be less costly and quicker for the purposes of expanding the user base; but it may also be more susceptible to short-term fluctuations in family income (Veras Soares, Ribas and Osorio, 2007). Criticisms of the way this method is applied in Brazil include the potential for greater inclusion error—by not comparing the family's income reports with other information—or the possibility that its decentralization will render it liable to capture by special interest groups operating locally, although these two situations have not been seen in practice (Veras Soares, Ribas and Osorio, 2007).⁸

⁷ The Solidarity in Rural Communities programme in El Salvador is an exception because means testing is not used in municipalities with “severe” extreme poverty.

⁸ *CadÚnico* records information on families' consumption levels, which make it possible to verify the income reports. Although the *Bolsa Família* programme does not check

In addition, some programmes include a final stage of selection by the community, on the assumption that local agents have more information on the needs and shortcomings of the households in their community. It has been found that means testing mechanisms tend to generate differences between inclusion (or otherwise) in a programme's target population, and the perception of socioeconomic conditions and poverty held by the communities themselves (Adato, 2000). Moreover, household targeting often causes the selection criteria to become opaque to the potential programme users, which, in rural settings or situations of high social-capital density, can have an adverse effect and generate feelings of incomprehension and a poor evaluation of the programme because selection is seen as arbitrary. This can lead to conflict between programme beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries (Adato, 2000 and 2007).⁹ Community targeting aims to address these issues by recognizing that the communities themselves are likely to have more information on the socioeconomic conditions of their members. It also seeks to give legitimacy to the targeting process in highly precarious communities, and where intra-group conflict could be exacerbated.

At the present time, programmes such as *Juntos* in Peru, *Tekoporâ* in Paraguay, and the food purchasing grants component of the Panamanian Opportunities Network, among others, include community selection mechanisms as a final stage of their targeting procedures (see table II.2). This group also includes Families in Action, in which a community-selection component forms part of the adaptation of its operating rules in indigenous localities (Robles, 2010). In general, these mechanisms have more of a social vigilance and transparency objective, which operates by validating the selected households, than one of effective control over which households are included or excluded. Cohen, Franco and Villatoro (2006) note that community participation does not necessarily reduce the programmes' inclusion and exclusion errors, and that "account should be taken of the biases caused by the voluntary nature of participation, which normally results in participation by those who are better off at the outset".

these reports, income data are reviewed when household consumption exceeds reported income by 20% (Veras Soares, Ribas and Osorio, 2007).

⁹ Adato (2007) shows that this can also happen with geographic targeting in contexts where political-administrative divisions do not correspond to community or cultural divisions.

Table II.2
LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN (19 COUNTRIES): CONDITIONAL CASH TRANSFER PROGRAMMES, TARGETING
MECHANISMS AND INFORMATION, SELECTION, AND REGISTRATION SYSTEMS

Country	Programme	Targeting mechanisms			Information Systems		
		Geographic (instrument)	Means testing (method)	Community (instance)	Category (characteristics)	Selection tool	User register
Argentina	Universal Child Allowance for Social Protection	--	X (Proxy means test)	--	--	--	--
	Families for Social Inclusion	--	X (Proxy means test)	--	X (Users of the Unemployed Heads of Household programme)	--	--
	Porteña Citizenship Programme	--	X (Direct and proxy means test)	--	--	--	Single Register of Beneficiaries of Government Social Programmes of the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires (RUB)
	Unemployed Heads of Household	--	--	X (Local consultative councils) ^a	X (Unemployed Heads of Household)	--	--
Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	Juancito Pinto Grant	--	--	--	X (Public schools)	--	Single Register of Students (RUDE)
	Juana Azurduy de Padilla Mother-and-Child Grant	--	--	--	X (Mothers and children without health insurance coverage)	Juana Azurduy de Padilla Grant information system	--

Table II.2 (continued)

Country	Programme	Targeting mechanisms			Information Systems		
		Geographic (instrument)	Means testing (method)	Community (instance)	Category (characteristics)	Selection tool	User register
Brazil	<i>Bolsa Família</i>	X (...)	X (Direct means test)	--	--	Single register for social programmes (<i>CadÚnico</i>)	<i>CadÚnico</i>
	Child Labour Eradication Programme (PETI)	X (...)	X (Direct means test)	--	X (Families with children under 16 who are working)	<i>CadÚnico</i>	<i>CadÚnico</i>
	<i>Bolsa Escola</i> school grant	X (...)	X (Direct means test)	--	--	<i>Cadbes</i>	--
Chile	Solidarity Chile	--	X (Quality of life index)	--	--	Social Protection Record	Integrated Social Information System (SIS)
Colombia	Families in Action	X ^{b,c} (...)	X (Quality of life index) ^d	X ^a (...)	X (Displaced families) (Indigenous families)	Indigenous census System for the Identification of Potential Social Programme Beneficiaries (SIBEN)	--
	Conditional Subsidies for School Attendance	--	X (Quality of life index) ^f	--	--	Displaced Population Information System (SIPOD) SIBEN	--
Costa Rica	<i>Avancemos</i>	--	X (Proxy means test) ^g	--	--	Social Information Record	Target Population Information System (SIPO)

Table II.2 (continued)

Country	Programme	Targeting mechanisms			Information Systems		
		Geographic (instrument)	Means testing (method)	Community (instance)	Category (characteristics)	Selection tool	User register
Ecuador	Human Development Grant	--	X (Proxy means test) ^h	--	--	Social Programme Beneficiary Identification and Selection System (social register, formerly SELBÉN)	--
	Emergency Social-Protection System	X (Communities affected by natural disasters or social upheavals)	--	--	--	--	--
El Salvador	Solidarity in Rural Communities	X (Integrated municipal marginality index, IIMM) ⁱ	X (Proxy means test) ^j	--	--	--	--
Guatemala	<i>Mi Familia Progres</i>	X (...)	X (Proxy means test)	--	--	Census in prioritized municipalities	--
Honduras	<i>Bono 10 000</i> programme for education, health and nutrition	X ^c (...)	--	--	--	Beneficiaries Registration System of Honduras (SIRBHO)	SIRBHO
	Family Allowance Programme (PRAF)	X (...)	X ^k (...)	--	--	SIRBHO	SIRBHO
	PRAF/IDB III	X (...)	X (Proxy means test)	--	--	SIRBHO	SIRBHO
	PRAF/IDB II	X (...)	X (Proxy means test)	--	--	--	--

Table II.2 (continued)

Country	Programme	Targeting mechanisms			Information Systems		
		Geographic (instrument)	Means testing (method)	Community (instance)	Category (characteristics)	Selection tool	User register
Jamaica	Programme of Advancement through Health and Education (PATH)	--	X (Proxy means test)	--	--	--	--
Mexico	<i>Oportunidades</i> (formerly <i>Progresas</i>)	X (Social Gap Index, National Council of Evaluation of Social Development Policy –, CONEVAL (Exclusion Index, - National Population Council, CONAPO)	X (Proxy means test)	X ¹ (Community validation assemblies)	--	Single Socio-Economic Data Questionnaire (CUIS)	- Integrated Government Programme Registration System (SIPP-G) - Geo-referenced information system
Nicaragua	Social Protection Network (RPS) Crisis Response System (SAC)	X (...)	X (Proxy means test) X (Proxy means test)	--	--	--	Single Register of Beneficiaries (RUB) RUB
Panama	Opportunities Network Grants for families to buy food	X (...)	X (Proxy means test) X (Proxy means test)	--	--	Social vulnerability census Family census	Management Information System of Panama (SIGP) Family Subsidies System of Panama (SIGP)

Table II.2 (concluded)

Country	Programme	Targeting mechanisms				Information Systems	
		Geographic (instrument)	Means testing (method)	Community (instance)	Category (characteristics)	Selection tool	User register
Paraguay	<i>Tekoporã</i>	X (Geographic prioritization index - IPG)	X (Quality of life index)	X (...)	--	Beneficiary Household Selection Record	--
	<i>Abrazo</i>	--	X (Proxy means test)	--	X (Families with children under 14 who work on the street)	--	--
Peru	<i>Juntos</i>	X (Geographic weighting index)	X (Proxy means test)	X (Community validation assemblies)	--	Single Socio-economic record (FUS)	Household targeting system
Dominican Republic	Solidarity	X (...)	X (Proxy means test)	--	--	Single System for the Identification of Beneficiaries (SIUBEN)	SIUBEN
Trinidad and Tobago	Targeted Conditional Cash Transfer Programme (TCCTP)	--	X (Proxy means test)	--	X (Recommendation of public employees)	--	--
Uruguay	Family Allowances	--	X (Proxy means test)	--	X (Accreditation of disability and former beneficiaries of PANES)	BPS-MIDES income form	PANES beneficiaries register
	National Social Emergency Response Plan (PANES)	--	X (Proxy means test)	--	--	--	--

Source: Prepared by the authors, on the basis of Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), Database of non-contributory social protection programmes in Latin America and the Caribbean.

^a Articulated at the provincial, municipal and local levels, and consisting of representatives from local social organizations. Its main functions are user selection, control of programme operations, and the assignment of work or training activities, involving between four and six hours per day (Cruces, Epele and Guardia, 2008).

^b Only applicable in cases where, owing to funding constraints, it is impossible to cover all families in SISBEN level 1. In this case, geographic targeting is done by assigning quotas according to the number of families in SISBEN 1 and a percentage of rural families in each municipality.

^c It also considers exclusion owing to insufficient supply of services to meet the new demand.

^d Families in SISBEN level 1.

^e Operating as a pilot scheme in indigenous zones.

^f Families in SISBEN level 2.

^g Families in SIPO levels 1 and 2.

^h Families in social register levels 1 and 2.

ⁱ Selects the 100 municipalities considered to be in conditions of severe and high poverty.

^j Applicable in high-poverty municipalities only.

^k Until 2007, both targeting criteria operated simultaneously, depending on the type of subsidy.

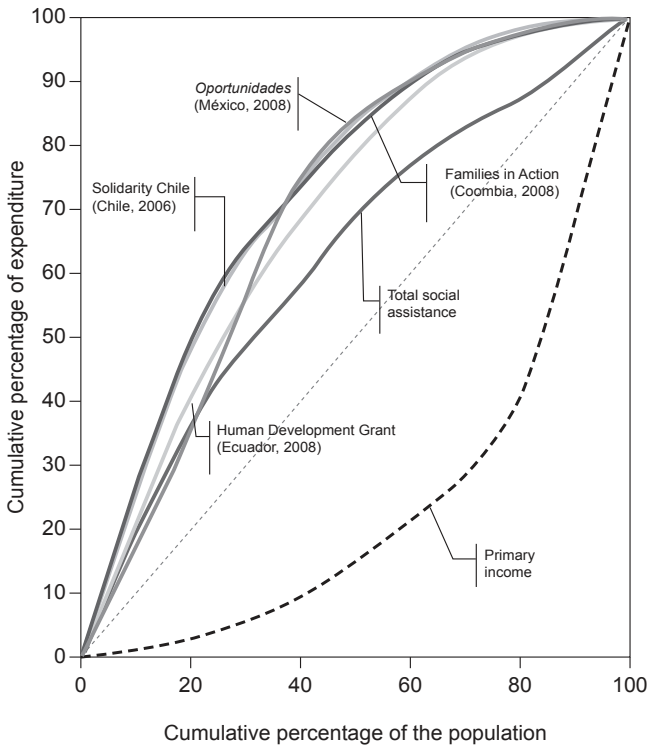
^l In the final phase of household targeting in rural areas, a community assembly is held to announce the list of eligible families, which may be contested by those who are not included, or voluntarily rejected by families that are included. In urban areas, in contrast, given the nature of household selection and the costs of incorporating families into the programme, and to reduce the fieldwork, community targeting basically consists of a self-selection process in which families wishing to join the programme apply to do so (Orozco, M. and C. Hubert, 2005).

^m Regions in the north of the country affected by drought in 2005.

Another form of selection, which is attractive because of its low cost and operational simplicity, is category targeting. This defines easily identifiable populations, which receive equal benefits. A good example of this is the Juancito Pinto Grant programme of the Plurinational State of Bolivia, which is only available for children attending up to eighth grade in public schools. This is an easy, effective and cheap way to target in countries where social services are highly segmented by the population's socio-economic level, although it may not be the best method in programmes that make special efforts to ensure that the benefits do not leak to persons who do not fulfil certain socio-economic characteristics.

Thanks to the use of beneficiary-selection procedures and techniques that aim to minimize exclusion errors (families that satisfy the eligibility criteria but do not participate in the programme) and inclusion errors (families that do not satisfy the eligibility criteria, but still participate), these programmes generally succeed in channelling the income transfers to the most needy and therefore represent one of the most redistributive categories of social public investment. As figure II.1 shows for a number of programmes, between 60% and 75% of expenditure on these transfers (the vertical axis of the graph) are captured by poorest 40% of the population (horizontal axis) (ECLAC, 2010b). Nonetheless, as noted by Cohen and Franco (2006), the results also show that there are poor people who do not succeed in participating in CCTs "even when the selection procedures give preference to them".

Figure II.1
 DISTRIBUTION OF PUBLIC EXPENDITURE ON SOCIAL ASSISTANCE AND
 EXAMPLES OF DIRECT MONETARY TRANSFERS IN SELECTED CONDITIONAL
 CASH TRANSFER PROGRAMMES, BY PRIMARY INCOME QUINTILE, 2005-2008 ^a
 (Percentages)



Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), on the basis of special tabulations of household surveys conducted in the respective countries.

^a Simple average.

Many CCTs concentrate more on avoiding inclusion errors (giving benefits to families who are not in the target population), than exclusion errors (leaving out part of the target population); and this has been called into question from a rights perspective that argues that the most important thing is to avoid the latter (Sepúlveda, 2009). For example, in 2004, the exclusion error was greater than the inclusion error in Oportunidades and Bolsa Família (Veras Soares, Ribas and Osorio, 2007).¹⁰ In Panama's Opportunities Network, it was found that 56% of the extremely poor were

¹⁰ Using the national household surveys database (National Household Income and Expenditure Survey (ENIGH) and the National Household Survey (PNAD) in Brazil), the

not covered by the CCT scheme (exclusion error), but just 7% of transfers were received by the non-poor (inclusion error) (Robles, 2009).

It is also important to take account of administrative capacity, since very poor countries with weak institutions tend to perform worse on targeting when the institutional requirements increase (Peyre, 2007). Moreover, the homogeneity of living standards among the poor in these countries could make an increase in requirements for entering the programmes ineffective (Cecchini, 2009).

Geographical targeting, on the other hand, means focusing efforts on communities with high and homogeneous poverty levels, even though poverty levels may not be high nationally. In larger countries with developed urban areas, this means excluding geographic units with lower relative poverty levels but significant weight in absolute terms. In Mexico, of the roughly 5 million households that were users of the *Oportunidades* programme in 2008, just over 3.5 million were in localities of up to 2,500 inhabitants, whereas only about 710,000 lived in cities with over 15,000 inhabitants (SEDESOL, 2008). Although this makes it possible to address the higher incidence of poverty in rural areas by reducing disparities between localities, it can also result in ignoring the scale of the poverty problem in urban zones, where over two thirds of the poor population of the country live.¹¹

Several authors have highlighted the major effort made by CCT programmes to set up sophisticated user-selection procedures (Hailu and Veras Soares, 2008; Fiszbein and Schady, 2009). Although this has made it possible to lay the foundations for user-selection based on technical criteria rather than special interests, as was the initial concern in many programmes (Levy and Rodríguez, 2005), some authors (Ravallion, 2007; Peyre, 2007) point out that there is no conclusive evidence of the effectiveness or efficiency of targeted compared to universal programmes. It has even been argued that the resources used in targeting could have a greater impact if they were universally distributed (Mkandawire, 2005). It is therefore important to evaluate the appropriateness of procedures on a case-by-case basis, and avoid one-size-fits-all solutions.

In relation to the still inconclusive debate on targeting and universalism, it can be argued that CCTs —despite using resource targeting mechanisms— tend towards the universalization of social and economic rights for all citizens, starting with those who are most deprived

authors calculate the undercoverage rate as the ratio between non-benefiting poor and total poor (Soares, Ribas and Osorio, 2007).

¹¹ In 2008, poverty incidence in Mexico was 44.6% in rural zones and 29.2% in urban areas (ECLAC, 2010a, Statistical Appendix).

of such rights, namely people living in poverty (ECLAC, 2006). Although social policy has objectives that go beyond poverty reduction, such as constructing societies with greater social cohesion and equity, the shortage of public funds makes selection necessary to ensure that the income transfers and social services reach the poorest population groups (ECLAC, 2000). The use of targeting mechanisms in CCTs should not, therefore, be seen as an end in itself, but as a tool of social policy to “do more with less” and make social investment more progressive by targeting public efforts on the most needy (ECLAC, 2010a).

C. Instruments for the selection and registration of target populations

A key issue in selecting target populations is the way the data on current and potential users are collected and kept up to date. To obtain that information, programme agents perform ad hoc population censuses, which are costly in both monetary and human terms. In the fieldwork, government records are used to identify the socio-economic situation of the potential social-programme users. Examples of these include the Social Protection Record of Chile, the Social Information Record of Costa Rica, and the Beneficiary Household Selection Record of Paraguay.

Subsequently, these records are stored electronically, thereby making it possible to organize information and registration systems that maintain detailed information on potential beneficiaries, which can be updated periodically (Irarrázaval, 2004). Implementation of the systems is crucial for maintaining information and resources flows that facilitate various actions, such as streamlining payments, suspending or cancelling benefits—as and when the programmes provide for this—or implementing results monitoring systems. The systems also have the potential to facilitate links with other publicly provided programmes and their articulation around a given policy (Repetto, 2009).¹²

This latter function is an additional advantage of information and registration systems, which can be used by all social protection and promotion programmes in a given country. Information is thus held

¹² A risk in relation to the centrality acquired by selection and registration processes—and verification of the fulfilment of conditions—is the potential for these programmes to become “bureaucratic machines that are confined to entering, processing, and issuing information, and where their staff in many cases have little or no contact with the poor, owing both to the workload associated with processing information, and because the benefits are delivered by the sectors or by private financial entities. All of this has repercussions on the few monitoring activities that programmes can develop (either in terms of information or in terms of linkage with institutional networks, or simply psychosocial support as such)” (Villatoro, personal communication, 20 December 2010).

on the current and potential users of the social policy and different programmes, by integrating databases held by the different sectors and public institutions in a single social-programme user register. This is being done in Brazil with *CadÚnico*, in Mexico with the Integrated Government-Programme Registration System (SIIPP-G) (see box II.1), and in Chile with the Integrated Social Information System (SIIS).¹³ The Beneficiaries Registration System of Honduras (SIRBHO) made it possible to unify information from two programmes that are currently being integrated (the national PRAF and the third tranche of PRAF/IDB), and has also been used in the framework of the Solidarity Network. This shows that progress of this type is not the preserve of countries that have greater financial resources and administrative capacities (see box II.2) (Cecchini and others, 2009).

Box II.1
MEXICO: INTEGRATED GOVERNMENT-PROGRAMME
REGISTRATION SYSTEM

The key objective of the Integrated Government-Programme Registration System (SIIPP-G) is to enhance information quality and identify duplication in the services provided to the target population of programmes covered by the Public Social Security System (SISSP) of Mexico: *Oportunidades*, Social Insurance and the Public Housing Programme^a. SIIPP-G is a programme-user registration and identification modality which operates through the unification of beneficiary registers, an operation that has been carried out since March 2006 (Fernández, 2006). Based on this register, identification credentials are given to families and individuals who participate in any of the three programmes.

The credentials have two chips, one for contact and the other for radio frequency, and their use is based on the direct interface with the electronic file of each user. The credential also provides biometric data on the user, and is used uniformly for all procedures undertaken in federal government offices participating in the scheme. A Single Population Registration Code (CURP) provided by the National Population and Personal Identification Register is used for all programmes.

This mode of operation makes it possible to increase the transparency and control of the system's operation, and it makes services more flexible because the person in question can be attended to at any federative agency provided he or she is carrying the identification. It also operates as a facilitation tool both for federative and for municipal agencies, as well as for all entities related to management of the programmes.

SIIPP-G has been administered by the federal government through the Public Administration Secretariat; but, despite its potential advantages from the transparency and inter-agency coordination standpoint, its

¹³ The SIIS is to be replaced with a new Centralized Social Benefit Recipients and Contributors System, in the framework of the draft law on Executive Power creating the Ministry of Social Development in Chile.

Box II.1 (concluded)

evaluation by the supreme Federal Audit Service (ASF) in 2007 was not positive. Among other things, the audit states that no objectives or targets were established, and there were no progress indicators against which to evaluate SIIPP-G implementation. This is consistent with the absence of progress assessments, and with the lack of efficiency, effectiveness, and transparency in federal programmes. At the same time, just 38.5% of federal government programmes (45 out of 117) have unified registers, and half of the total of 133 million records did not have a CURP identification code for its users. The integration of registers with the SIIPP-G was also made more difficult by the quality problems (it was only possible to integrate 11 out of 45 registers). There was also no computer system to analyse the information on the programmes (ASF, 2007). All of this illustrates the difficulties of setting up this type of initiative and should be taken into account in attempts to replicate such a system in the future.

Source: Supreme Federal Audit Service (ASF) “Auditoría 501, Sistema integral de información de padrones de programas gubernamentales (SIIPP-G)” [Audit 501, integrated system of information on government programme registers (SIIPP-G)], Official Gazette (*Diario Oficial*) (12-12-2005) “Decreto por el que se crea el sistema integral de información de padrones de programas gubernamentales” [Decree creating the Integrated Government-Programme Registration System], published in the Federal Official Gazette [*Diario Oficial de la Federación*], on 12 January 2006; and J.A. Fernández, “Sistema Integral de Información de Padrones de Programas Gubernamentales. Antecedentes – Prospectiva (SIIPP-G)” [Integrated Government-Programme Registration System. Background-prospects (SIIPP-G)], Presentation, Mexico City, 2006 [online] www.normateca.gob.mx/.../4_Antecedentes_Prospectiva_Comision_Nacional_de_Proteccion_Social.ppt.

^a The SIIPP was created in 2006 during the Presidency of Vicente Fox, with the aim of extending the coverage of social security to own-account workers and to those who were excluded from other social security institutes (the Mexican Social Security Institute (IMSS) and the Social Security and Social Service Institute for State Workers (ISSSTE)). The SIIPP addresses three specific areas not considered previously for these workers: access to health, housing, and a retirement with decent living standards. See [online] <http://fox.presidencia.gob.mx/actividades/?contenido=23661>.

A challenge for these registers is to streamline procedures and improve the updating of the information they hold, as shown by the case of the Target Population Information System (SIPO) of Costa Rica. In this country, the lack of procedures to periodically update the information and the “on demand” nature of the censuses —the survey does not include all of the eligible population but only people who seek help— rendered obsolete the information on historical users of the plans, which currently represent around 50% of the register (Román, 2009). This concern is particularly critical if the aim is to use CCTs as a form of insurance against economic crises or events that make it necessary to rapidly expand the user universe (Veras Soares, 2009b).

Another major challenge, which is considered in section VI.C is the transparency of user registers.

D. Exit criteria

An ongoing challenge for CCTs has been to define exit criteria or mechanisms in keeping with their medium and long-term objectives. In practice, more emphasis has been placed on defining rules for leaving programmes than on graduation strategies, in other words mechanisms that make it possible to assure families that they will not need social assistance again in the future. Often this has been influenced more by budgetary constraints or political considerations (shortening the length of stay to increase the gross number of people passing through the programme), than by the programme's objectives (Villatoro, 2008).

The most widely used exit programme in CCTs is simple: user households stop receiving the subsidies when their members no longer satisfy the eligibility conditions. In other words, families leave the programme when their children pass the respective age limits, which means the families can then be left in a similar or worse situation of vulnerability than before the intervention (Banegas, 2008; González de la Rocha, 2008). Another frequent approach is to define exit rules based on a maximum number of years in the programme. For example, in the Targeted Conditional Cash Transfer Programme (TCCTP) of Trinidad and Tobago, the limit is two years; the limit for the Conditional Subsidies on School Attendance in Bogota is between two and three years, depending on the type of subsidy received; whereas in Brazil's Child Labour Eradication Programme (PETI) the limit is four years. In the case of the Social Protection Network (RPS) and the Crisis Response System (SAC) of Nicaragua, the maturity term of the loan that was used to finance these programmes automatically limited the duration of stay, without any transition to a new protection scheme.

In other cases, the programme's objectives are taken into account explicitly in the design of graduation strategies. Examples such as *Oportunidades* in Mexico, *Bolsa Família* in Brazil, PATH in Jamaica, and Solidarity in the Dominican Republic, specify periods of stay with the possibility of recertification, by defining income thresholds for graduation from the programme. If families are unable to pass these thresholds they maintain their status as programme users. Schemes of this type tend to prioritize short run poverty-reduction aspects and avoidance of user dependency, which undermines the longer-term human-capacity and social-promotion objectives of each programme. The case of *Oportunidades* precisely illustrates the difficulties involved in implementing exit mechanisms that are consistent with its human-development goals (see box II.2).

Another example of an attempt to adapt graduation strategies to the programme's objectives, is Solidarity Chile, where participation is regulated by a graduation scheme that includes a steady reduction in family-support visits and in the cash transfers, and the continuation of certain benefits beyond the period in which the family is being supported.

One of the key elements in the current debate on CCTs is the establishment of exit strategies through actions that promote an increase in families' capacities and autonomous income generation (Britto, 2006). A start has therefore been made on more systematically seeking a beneficial relationship between underpinning a certain living standard through cash transfers, and implementing "activation measures" (Farné, 2009) to improve current employment and future employability conditions, by connecting users with income-generation and labour-market participation programmes (see section III.A.3.a). It has also been shown that graduation should not be viewed as the suspension of benefits once certain requirements have been fulfilled or thresholds crossed, but as the establishment of a link with other social protection and promotion actions contained in social policy. From this standpoint, the notion of graduation should be associated with the idea of a transition through various stages that represent a continuum of interventions adapted to different basic needs situations, protection against risks, and the exercise of rights. Thus, exiting from CCTs should mean overcoming poverty and joining other contributory or non-contributory social protection instruments (Cecchini and Martínez, 2011).

Box II.2
EXIT PROBLEMS IN *PROGRESA-OPORTUNIDADES* AND
THE DIFFERENTIATED SUPPORT SCHEME

In keeping with the programme's human development objective of increasing families' capacities, and preventing users becoming dependent, *Progresa* aimed to maintain support for user households for as long as they remained eligible. For that purpose, the socio-economic situation of households was reviewed every three years after admission to the programme.

For various reasons, some of which were financial, when the programme was renamed "*Oportunidades*", a graduation scheme was designed that provided for the definitive exit of user families. As from 2003, a similar family recertification procedure started to be applied, which was augmented by an intermediate stage under a Differentiated Support Scheme (EDA), which started to be applied to families that displayed socio-economic conditions and welfare improvements that were considered "sustainable".

Application of the Differentiated Support Scheme varies by geographic zone. In rural communities it started to operate three years after recertification, and in urban centres after one year. Families transferred to the Scheme cease to receive the primary school education subsidy and food

Box II.2 (concluded)

subsidy, because they are deemed able to finance the relevant expenses themselves. The families remain EDA users for another three years, after which they leave the programme.

Implementation of the Scheme raised a number of issues concerning the appropriateness of the parameters chosen (duration, the poverty line used in the evaluation), and the suitability of the mechanism. Various studies concluded that, in fact, after six years in the programme, only about 20% of families succeeded in overcoming the eligibility threshold. They also showed that 42% of families would regress and fall below the line again in the future. Moreover, families that withdrew from the programme engaged in typical economic-crisis reaction or adaptation processes, suggesting that they were once again in a situation of high vulnerability.

Further adjustments were made to the Scheme between 2006 and 2008. Among other things, the number of years required for the first evaluation was increased to six; households consisting exclusively of older adults were eliminated, and those that had left the programme were authorized to apply for readmission if they fulfilled certain conditionalities. Nonetheless, the mechanism remains highly controversial for two main reasons: (i) the contradiction between the EDA exit criteria based on poverty assessments and the programme's long-term human development objectives; and (ii) the lack of a social protection network in Mexico that can adequately absorb families that are exiting the programme by giving them access to more specific social programmes.

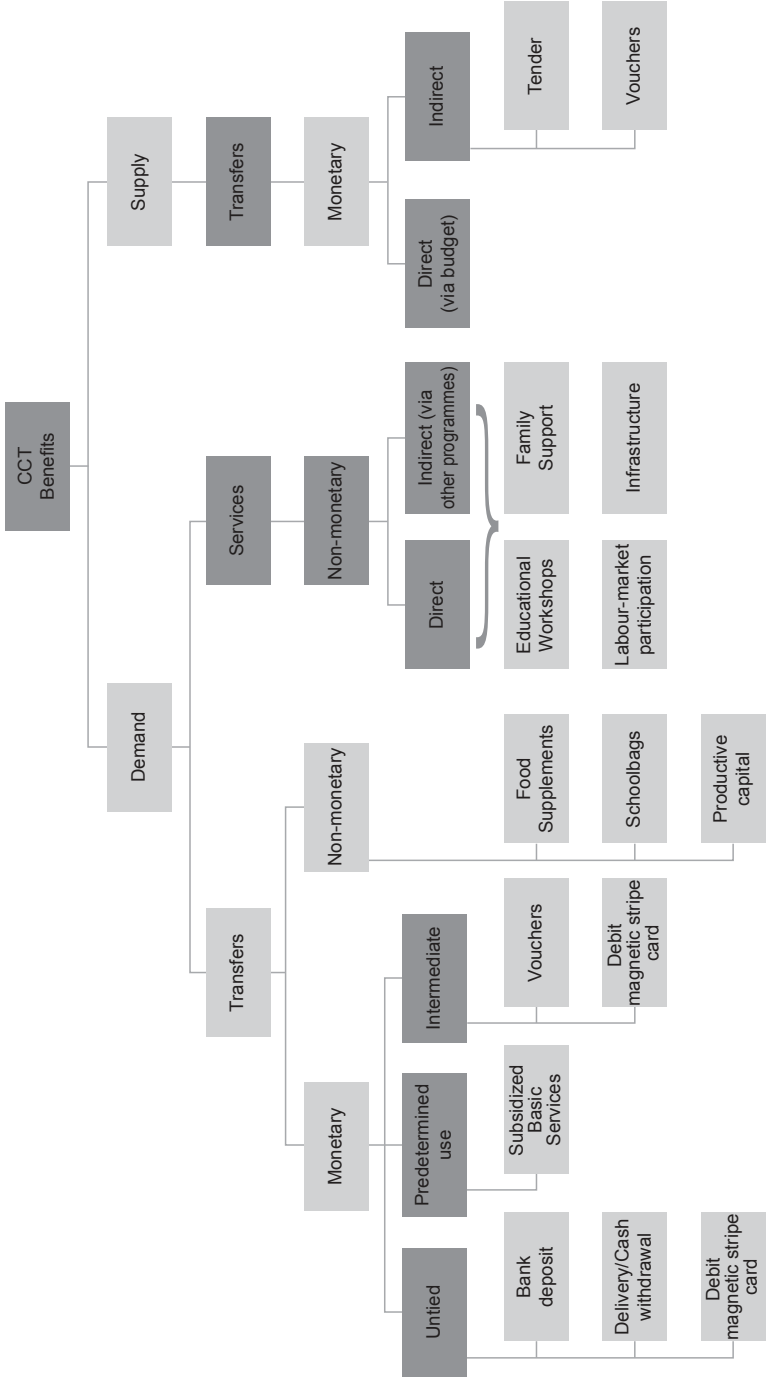
Source: I. Yashchine and L. Dávila, "Why, when and how should beneficiaries leave a CCT programme", *Cash transfers. Lessons from Africa and Latin America*, D. Hailu and F. Veras Soares (eds.), Poverty in Focus, No. 15, Brasilia, International Policy Centre for Inclusive Growth (IPC-IG), UNDP, August 2008; Programa de Desarrollo Humano Oportunidades, "Prontuario institucional del Programa de Desarrollo Humano Oportunidades"; González de la Rocha, "Programas de transferencias condicionadas. Sugerencias para mejorar su operación e impacto", *Futuro de las familias y desafíos para las políticas*, I. Arriagada (ed.), Seminarios y conferencias series, No. 52 (LC/L.2888-P), Santiago, Chile, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), 2008.

Chapter III

Benefits and conditionalities

The literature on CCTs generally tends to see the benefits of these programmes solely in terms of income transfers in cash that operate as a demand incentive. Nonetheless, they frequently offer monetary and non-monetary transfers of various types and also provide certain services. In some cases, they include transfers to strengthen the supply of social services and, thereby, respond to the increasing demand generated by the programmes. In view of this, we have classified the benefits provided by CCTs into major groups, depending on whether they are benefits associated with demand (families) or supply (service providers). Demand benefits are then divided between transfers (monetary and non-monetary) and services (family support and training courses, among others) (see diagram III.1). As can be seen, most of the programmes use a combination of monetary and non-monetary transfers, so what distinguishes them is the function that each transfer fulfils in the programme rationale. This diversity of alternatives available to policymakers when specifying the various aspects of the programmes implies solutions that are not neutral in terms of fulfilment of their objectives.

Diagram III.1
LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN: BENEFITS OFFERED BY CONDITIONAL CASH TRANSFER PROGRAMMES



Source: Prepared by the authors.

A. Demand-side benefits

1. Monetary transfers

Monetary transfers can be paid in various modalities. Although the existence of at least one conditional monetary transfer is a common element to the various CCTs, each programme gives a specific meaning to the transfers within their operational rationale. This makes each case qualitatively different, depending on whether its main objective is to assure poor families a basic level of consumption, strengthen human development among programme users, or facilitate their access to various government social benefits (Cecchini and Martínez, 2011).

(a) Types of monetary transfer and forms of payment

Monetary transfers to families may be untied (the users can spend the transferred money as they wish, as is the case with cash transfers), or else of predetermined use (the use of the money is pre-established and the user cannot decide how to spend it, such as subsidies on the consumption of specific goods or services). Between these two there is a third intermediate category that captures elements of both, since the user has some choice, but only within a predetermined group of goods and services. Payment modalities, on the other hand, are associated with the type of transfer (untied, predetermined use, intermediate). Untied transfers can be made through deposits in bank accounts; handed over directly at public events; or withdrawn in cash at bank branches, social security institutes or other government agencies and mobile banks. They can also be paid as credits made to magnetic stripe cards or debit cards.¹⁵ Transfers of predetermined use, on the other hand, tend to be made through discounts on various basic utilities, such as water, gas or electricity. Intermediate transfers can be made through magnetic-strip cards, debit cards, or vouchers.

Conditional cash transfer programmes mainly use untied monetary transfers (see table III.1), in the belief that the households themselves can make best use of the transfers on the basis of their preferences. Transfers of predetermined use (see table III.2) and intermediate ones (table III.3), aim to precondition the use of the resources transferred and thus prevent them being spent on other items.

¹⁵ In the Plurinational State of Bolivia, El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras, cash is delivered at public events. In the case of the Juancito Pinto Grant, for example, annual civic events are organized by the armed forces and school authorities, in which students must participate with their mother, father or guardian.

In general, transfers of predetermined use are subsidies on the consumption of goods and basic utilities, such as energy or water. The benefits provided by Solidarity Chile include the Drinking Water Subsidy (SAP), in the form of a discount on the monthly drinking water bill paid by user families (up to a limit of 15 m³), the amounts of which vary according to the water rates in each region of the country. In the Dominican Republic, the energy consumption subsidy (*Bonoluz*) covers the cost of energy consumed by a household up to 100 kWh per month, and is paid through the Solidarity Card.¹⁶

Intermediate transfers are generally used to support the purchase of food and other basic items. An amount is credited to a magnetic stripe card or voucher, which can only be used in previously authorized commercial establishments, and only to buy food products from a basic basket and goods of basic necessity —explicitly excluding cigarettes, alcohol, and other articles that are harmful to health.¹⁷ Nonetheless, the potential effects of the existence of captive demand on the prices of these goods remains to be evaluated, since they could cancel out or reduce the economic benefit of the transfer.

From a normative point of view, the choice of untied or predetermined payment modalities is part of the debate over whether the persons in question are really able to spend the resources taking a long-term view (investment in human capacities); or whether it would be more effective, in terms of government expenditure and programme objectives, to predetermine the alternatives. Authors such as Standing (2007a; 2007b) believe this would be inherently paternalistic, since the aim of the policy would then be to persuade people to purchase what the policymakers consider is best for them and their communities.

The way the transfers are ultimately implemented in practice depends more on questions of logistics and distribution than on design alternatives that are explicitly evaluated in terms of their capacity to achieve the programme's objectives. In programmes such as *Tekoporâ* of Paraguay and the Solidarity Network of El Salvador, the transfer is made at events that are organized on an ad hoc basis, in which representatives of the institutions involved in the payment go to the communities and make the payments, either on pre-established dates (every two months in

¹⁶ Some consumption subsidies are included among untied transfers, because families can freely spend the money transferred. An example is the *Oportunidades* Energy Subsidy, consisting of a monthly monetary subsidy to beneficiary families to compensate for expenses made on the consumption of energy sources (electricity, gas and coal, among others).

¹⁷ As of May 2010, the Social Provision Network (RAS) of the Solidarity programme in the Dominican Republic had over 3,000 affiliated commercial entities, including small groceries, bookshops, photocopy centres and cafés (Espinal Martínez, 2010).

the Solidarity Network) or on variable dates that are notified in advance (*Tekoporâ*) (Veras Soares and Britto, 2008). With a large number of users living in rural zones, Panama's Opportunities Network delivers cash transfers both at National Bank of Panama payment centres and through mobile units, depending on the different infrastructure conditions and to reduce families' travel times and the associated costs.¹⁸

The latter raises the need to consider the geographic and sociocultural conditions in which the programmes are implemented, and to design benefits that are adapted to them. The *Oportunidades* programme attempts to move in this direction by applying different operating rules in rural and urban localities. The new *Oportunidades Urbano* programme, which was launched in 2009 as a pilot programme and will be extended to all Mexican cities, involves, apart from new targeting rules, an increase in the amounts of monetary support, the inclusion of new transfers that reward school performance, adaptation of the health services package to urban needs, and the addition of new conditionalities (Programa de Desarrollo Humano Oportunidades, 2009a).¹⁹ An alternative management and service model for the indigenous communities in which this programme operates is also starting to be trialled (Programa de Desarrollo Humano Oportunidades, 2009b).

(b) Method used to calculate the amount of the monetary transfer

To calculate the amount of the transfers, which are delivered with different frequencies, three approaches are generally used (Villatoro, 2007): flat transfer, transfer according to family composition, and transfer according to the characteristics of the user (see table III.1).²⁰

In the first case, an amount is set independently of the composition of the family group, generally calculated as a percentage of the poverty

¹⁸ In November 2008, when the payments were made through Panama's national network of post offices (Correos y Telégrafos de Panamá, COTEL), 72% of the beneficiaries of the Opportunities Network took less than two hours to reach the payments point, 22% took between two and four hours, 4% between four and six hours, and the remaining 2% over six hours (Ministry of Social Development, National Government of Panama, 2008b).

¹⁹ In late 2010, the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) granted a loan of US\$ 800 million to the federal government to implement the programme in other areas (see [online] <http://idbdocs.iadb.org/WSDocs/getDocument.aspx?DOCNUM=35421267>). Thus far, the programme has been implemented in Ciudad Juárez (see [online] http://www.oportunidades.gob.mx/Portal/wb/Web/did042010_16032010) and in Puebla. Nonetheless, there are political difficulties involved in expanding it to the Federal District.

²⁰ Each calculation method could be adapted to the payment modalities described above. In practice, governments that launch these programmes may have calculated the amount of the transfers simply on the basis of the budgetary funding available and the number of families to be covered.

line or a low-cost food basket. The second modality provides greater benefits to households that have a larger number of eligible members (most frequently children up to a certain age, pregnant or breast-feeding women, and older adults). The third form provides amounts that vary according to the characteristics of the users of the monetary transfers. This modality prioritizes the goal of providing incentives to make use of education and health services, with the amounts set on the basis of the opportunity costs faced by the various population groups in using those services. The direct costs of providing the services can also be added to the calculation.

Flat transfers are used in programmes that prioritize assuring specific levels of income or consumption. In the *Bolsa Família* programme in Brazil, the value of the basic benefit, which is paid to families living in extreme poverty, is based on the level of the indigence threshold. The basic flat benefit is supplemented by a variable benefit that takes account of family composition.

Consideration of family composition makes it possible to adjust the amounts transferred in line with a family's consumption needs according to its structure and stage in the life cycle (the ages of its members). This seems appropriate in the case of households subject to a number of vulnerabilities. For example, in the case of single-parent households with a female head of household and a high dependency rate (presence of young children, disabled persons, and older adults, among others), prioritizing the composition of the family group would make it possible to consider a broader set of needs caused by the poverty situation. Moreover, transfers that differentiate by family composition tend to limit the number of users or specify a maximum amount per family. In some cases, these limitations are also combined with schemes of decreasing amounts, alleging reasons of economies of scale in consumption. In the Families for Social Inclusion programme in Argentina, for example, the amount of the transfer started at US\$ 53 per month for families with two children under 19 years of age, and then increased by just US\$ 12 per child, up to a maximum of six, which is equivalent to a total of US\$ 101 per family.²¹

There are arguments to justify both types of transfer —flat transfers, or those that vary according to family composition. Stecklow and others (2006) show that a flat transfer would avoid the perverse incentives caused by favouring families with a larger number of children, thus stimulating fertility. Nonetheless, this involves strong assumptions about the strategies used by families in responding to the incentives they face. It seems more plausible that the adverse effects of a flat transfer and the establishment

²¹ Families with seven or more children could apply to receive a non-contributory pension, in which the amount of the transfer is higher than the upper limit of the Families for Social Inclusion programme. This pension continues to operate today.

of excessive restrictions on the amounts transferred will reduce the per capita benefits received by larger families rather than trigger supposedly opportunistic behaviour patterns among families (such as having more children to obtain larger transfer).²² The final outcome, therefore, would be a reduction in the impact of the transfer in terms of guaranteeing a given level of income (Villatoro, 2007; ECLAC, 2010a; Cecchini and others, 2009), which is particularly worrying in the case of more vulnerable households that have several children.

Transfers that are differentiated according to the users' characteristics have been used in programmes such as *Oportunidades* in Mexico, and Families in Action in Colombia, and also recently by PATH in Jamaica. In the Colombian case since 2007, cities have been divided into four size-groups, and differentiated transfers have been defined for each. In addition, for the education subsidy, a scheme of scaled amounts was designed, according to the different school levels being attended by the beneficiary children, with the transfer increasing as the children progress to higher grades, following the Mexican example. Both *Oportunidades* and PATH also pay different amounts according to the sex of the user. Villatoro (2007) lists criteria that could be used to justify larger transfers for men (higher opportunity cost of fulfilling the conditionalities, since their returns from alternative activities are greater), or for women (higher dropout rates, with higher expected returns of additional years of schooling; and the fact that, other things being equal, parents tend to prioritize the education of their male children). A practical criterion, consistent with human development objectives, might consist of setting variable amounts according to the differences of coverage and school grades of men and women prior to the intervention, which would require an ex ante evaluation of those indicators (de Janvry and Sadoulet, 2006b). In fact, *Oportunidades* and PATH work in opposing directions: while the Mexican programme provides transfers that are 10% higher for girls at school grades corresponding to the start of secondary education (because they have lower attendance rates than boys), the Jamaican scheme pays higher transfers to boys (reflecting the opposite situation). Thus the conditions for establishing this type of differentiated transfer vary according to each country's reality; and there is no need to establish fixed rules for each context.

Solidarity Chile and the second phase of the now-defunct Social Protection Network (RPS) of Nicaragua display what can be considered

²² To gain a better understanding of families' strategies in response to different incentives, including those relating to the number of children, deeper research is needed, particularly through studies that triangulate quantitative and ethnographic methods (Villatoro, personal communication, 20 December 2010).

a fourth modality of declining flat transfers (the flat transfer decreases as families approach the end of their stay in the programme). In Solidarity Chile, for example, the Protection Grant is paid during the family support period (known as the *Puente* phase) (see section III.A.3.c), for up to 24 months; and it decreases as the end of the support stage approaches. In Nicaragua, the Food Security Grant decreased gradually over three consecutive years, dropping from US\$ 168 per family in the first year to US\$ 145 in the second and US\$ 126 in the third (Largaespada, 2006).

Several programmes have established monetary incentives targeting young people in the final years of education, to avoid the loss of human capacities caused by school dropout (*Oportunidades*, Conditional Subsidies for School Attendance in Bogota, Solidarity Chile and PATH, among others). In the case of *Oportunidades*, the members of user families accumulate about US\$ 300 in their savings book, which they can then withdraw and use freely once secondary school has been completed (the Youth with Opportunities component). Similar amounts and procedures are involved in the Scholarship in Support of School Retention (BARE) to which users of Solidarity Chile have access. The Conditional Subsidies for School Attendance programme offers users who successfully complete secondary education a choice between a subsidy on the cost of registration and enrolment in higher education (about US\$ 250), or its withdrawal in monthly instalments of about US\$ 80. In the case of PATH, an amount of about US\$ 200 is paid only to users who decide to continue their studies and enrol in higher education.

Table III.1
LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN (17 COUNTRIES): CONDITIONAL CASH TRANSFER PROGRAMMES, CHARACTERISTICS OF
UNTIED MONETARY TRANSFERS

Country	Programme	Transfer	Method of calculation	Mode of payment	Periodicity of delivery	Maximum per family
Argentina	Universal Child Allowance for Social Protection	Universal family subsidy	Flat transfer	Magnetic-stripe or debit card	Monthly	Five users
	Families for Social Inclusion	Non-wage income	According to the composition of the family group	Magnetic-stripe or debit card	Monthly	Six users ^a
	Unemployed Heads of Household	Subsidy	Flat transfer	Magnetic-stripe or debit card	Monthly	One transfer
Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	Juancito Pinto Grant	Grant	Flat transfer	Delivery at a public event	Annual	None
	Juana Azurduy de Padilla Mother-and-Child Grant	Institutional childbirth and postnatal check-up grant	Flat transfer	Cash withdrawal	...	One transfer
		Antenatal grant	Flat transfer	Cash withdrawal	Monthly	Four subsidies
Brazil	<i>Bolsa Família</i>	Integrated health check-ups grant	Flat transfer	Cash withdrawal	Every two months	12 subsidies in 24 months
		Basic grant	Flat transfer	Magnetic-stripe or debit card	Monthly	One transfer
		Variable grant	According to the composition of the family group ^b	Magnetic-stripe or debit card	Monthly	Three users
		Variable adolescent benefit	According to the composition of the family group ^b	Magnetic-stripe or debit card	Monthly	Two users
	Child Labour Eradication Programme (PETI)	<i>Bolsa Criança Cidadã</i> grant	Flat transfer	Magnetic-stripe or debit card	Monthly	One transfer

Table III.1 (continued)

Country	Programme	Transfer	Method of calculation	Mode of payment	Periodicity of delivery	Maximum per family
	<i>Bolsa Escola</i>	School grant	According to the composition of the family group	...	Monthly	Three users
	<i>Bolsa Alimentação</i>	Food grant	According to the composition of the family group ^e	Magnetic-stripe or debit card	Monthly	One transfer
Chile	Solidarity Chile	Protection grant	Flat, decreasing through time	Cash withdrawal	Monthly	One transfer
		Exit grant	Flat transfer	Cash withdrawal	Monthly	One transfer
		Single Family Subsidy (SUF)	Flat transfer	Cash withdrawal	Monthly	None
		Basic Solidarity Pension (PBS)	Flat transfer	Cash withdrawal	Monthly	None
		Basic Allowance	According to the characteristics of the user or household ^d	Cash withdrawal	Monthly	None
		Healthy Child Checkup Allowance	According to the characteristics of the user or household ^e	Cash withdrawal	Semiannual/annual	None
		Enrolment Allowance	According to the characteristics of the user or household ^e	Cash withdrawal	Annual	None
		Attendance Allowance	According to the characteristics of the user or household ^e	Cash withdrawal	Annual	None
		Labour-market participation allowance	According to the characteristics of the user ^f	Cash withdrawal	Annual	None

Table III.1 (continued)

Country	Programme	Transfer	Method of calculation	Mode of payment	Periodicity of delivery	Maximum per family
Colombia	Families in Action	Nutrition grant	According to the characteristics of the user or household ⁹	Deposit in a bank account	Every two months	One transfer
		Education grant	According to the characteristics of the user or household ¹⁰	Cash withdrawal	Every two months	None
	Conditional Subsidies for School Attendance	Education subsidy	According to the characteristics of the user ¹	Cash withdrawal	Every two months	None
Costa Rica	<i>Avanceamos</i>	Transport subsidy	Flat transfer	Magnetic-stripe or debit card	Every two months	...
		Conditional monetary transfer	According to the characteristics of the user ¹	Deposit in a bank account	Monthly	US\$ 140
Ecuador	Human Development Grant	Human Development Grant	Flat transfer	Magnetic-stripe or debit card	Monthly	One transfer
		Pensions for persons with disabilities	Flat transfer	Cash withdrawal	Monthly	None
		Pensions for older adults	Flat transfer	Cash withdrawal	Monthly	None
El Salvador	Solidarity in Rural Communities	Health grant	Flat transfer	Magnetic-stripe or debit card	Monthly	None
		Education grant	Flat transfer	Cash withdrawal	Every two months	One transfer ¹
				Delivery in a public event	Every two months	One transfer ¹
				Delivery in a public event	Every two months	One transfer ¹

Table III.1 (continued)

Country	Programme	Transfer	Method of calculation	Mode of payment	Periodicity of delivery	Maximum per family
		Basic universal pension for older adults	Flat transfer	Delivery in a public event	Monthly	...
Guatemala	<i>Mi Familia Progres</i>	Health/nutrition grant Education grant	Flat transfer Flat transfer	Delivery in a public event Delivery in a public event	Every two months Every two months	One transfer One transfer
Honduras	<i>Bono 10 000</i> programme for education, health and nutrition	Nutrition grant Health grant Education grant	Flat transfer Flat transfer Flat transfer	Delivery in a public event Delivery in a public event Delivery in a public event	Quarterly Quarterly Quarterly	None None None
	Family Allowance Programme (PRAF)	Mother-and-child grant School grant for first to sixth grade Older persons grant "Helping Hand" grant	According to the composition of the family group Flat transfer Flat transfer ...	Cash withdrawal Cash with withdrawal Cash withdrawal Cash with withdrawal	Every four months Semi-annually Annual Weekly	Three users One transfer None ...
	PRAF/IDB III	Nutrition grant Health grant Education grant	Flat transfer Flat transfer Flat transfer	Cash withdrawal Cash withdrawal Cash withdrawal	Every four months Every four months Every four months	One transfer One transfer One transfer
	PRAF/IDB II	Health and nutrition grant	According to the composition of the family group	Voucher or coupon	Every four months	Two users

Table III.1 (continued)

Country	Programme	Transfer	Method of calculation	Mode of payment	Periodicity of delivery	Maximum per family
Jamaica		School grant	According to the composition of the family group	Voucher or coupon	Every four months	Three users
	Programme of Advancement through Health and Education (PATH)	Health Grant	Flat transfer	Magnetic-stripe or debit card	Every two months	...
		Education Grant	According to the characteristics of the user	Magnetic-stripe or debit card	Every two months	...
		Post-Secondary School Grant	Flat transfer	...	Single transfer	One transfer
Mexico	<i>Oportunidades</i>	Food support	Flat transfer	Cash withdrawal Deposit in a bank account	Every two months	One transfer
		School supplies support	According to the characteristics of the user	Cash withdrawal Deposit in a bank account	Semiannual (primary education) Annual (secondary and middle-higher education)	One transfer
	Education support	According to the characteristics of the user	Cash withdrawal Deposit in a bank account	Every two months	Maximum amount (counting all benefits)	
	Energy support	Flat transfer	Cash withdrawal Deposit in a bank account	Every two months	One transfer	
	Support for older adults	Flat transfer	Cash withdrawal Deposit in a bank account	Every two months	Maximum amount (counting all supports)	

Table III.1 (continued)

Country	Programme	Transfer	Method of calculation	Mode of payment	Periodicity of delivery	Maximum per family
		<i>Vivir Mejor</i> food support	Flat transfer	Cash withdrawal Deposit in a bank account	Every two months	One transfer
		<i>Vivir Mejor</i> child support	Flat transfer	Cash withdrawal Deposit in a bank account	Every two months	One transfer
		Youth with Opportunities	...	Deposit in a bank account	At the end of middle-higher education	...
Nicaragua	Social Protection Network (RPS)	Food Security Grant	Flat transfer, decreasing in time	Cash withdrawal	Every two months	One transfer
		Education grant	Flat transfer	Cash withdrawal	Every two months	One transfer
		School bag	Flat transfer	Cash withdrawal	Annual	One transfer
	Crisis Response System (SAC)	Occupational raining subsidy	Flat transfer	Cash withdrawal	Monthly + single transfer ^k	One transfer
		Food Security Grant	Flat transfer	Cash withdrawal	Every two months	One transfer
		Education grant	Flat transfer	Cash withdrawal	Every two months	One transfer
Panama	Opportunities Network	School bag	Flat transfer	Cash withdrawal	Annual	One transfer
		Conditional monetary transfer	Flat transfer	Cash withdrawal Deposit in a bank account	Every two months	One transfer
Paraguay	<i>Tekoporá</i>	Food support	Flat transfer	Magnetic-stripe or debit card; cash withdrawal	Every two months	One transfer

Table III.1 (concluded)

Country	Programme	Transfer	Method of calculation	Mode of payment	Periodicity of delivery	Maximum per family
		Support for education and health	According to the composition of the family group	Magnetic-stripe or debit card; cash withdrawal	Every two months	Four users
		Support for older adults	Flat transfer	Magnetic-stripe or debit card; cash withdrawal	Every two months	One transfer
		Support for persons with disabilities	Flat transfer	Magnetic-stripe or debit card; cash withdrawal	Every two months	One transfer
	Abrazo	Fixed solidarity grant	Flat transfer	Cash withdrawal	Monthly	...
Peru	<i>Juntos</i>	Grant	Flat transfer	Cash withdrawal	Every two months	One transfer
Uruguay	Family Allowances	Conditional monetary transfer	Transfer according to the composition of the family group (number of children, age, disability, and education level)	Cash withdrawal	Monthly	Seven users (children per family)
	National Social Emergency Response Plan (PANES)	Citizen income	Flat transfer	Cash withdrawal	Monthly	One transfer

Source: Prepared by the authors, on the basis of Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), Database of non-contributory social protection programmes in Latin America and the Caribbean.

^a As from the seventh child, the family qualifies for a non-contributory pension.

^b Number of boy and girl children.

^c Number of boy and girl children and pregnant women.

^d Score obtained on the Social Protection Record (FPS).

^e Score obtained on the Social Protection Record (FPS) and the time for which the family has been in Solidarity Chile.

^f Average salary earned between April and October 2011.

^g Size of the city of residence and age of the children.

^h Size of the city of residence and the school level being attended by the children.

ⁱ School level being attended by the children.

^j Maximum amount if the family receives both transfers.

^k Pays US\$ 15 per month to cover the opportunity costs of attending a quarterly course, and then a vocational training subsidy worth US\$ 200.

Table III.2
LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN (2 COUNTRIES): CONDITIONAL CASH TRANSFER PROGRAMMES, CHARACTERISTICS OF
MONETARY TRANSFERS OF PREDETERMINED USE

Country	Programme	Transfer	Calculation method	Mode of payment	Periodicity of delivery	Maximum per family
Chile	Solidarity Chile	Drinking Water Subsidy	Flat transfer	Discount on the value	Monthly	One transfer
		Identity Card Subsidy	Flat transfer	Discount on the value	One time	None
Dominican Republic	Solidarity	Gas subsidy	Flat transfer	Magnetic-stripe or debit card	Monthly	One transfer
		Electricity subsidy	Flat transfer	Magnetic-stripe or debit card	Monthly	One transfer

Source: Prepared by the authors, on the basis of Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), Database of non-contributory social protection programmes in Latin America and the Caribbean.

Table III.3
LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN (5 COUNTRIES): CONDITIONAL CASH TRANSFER PROGRAMMES, CHARACTERISTICS OF
MONETARY TRANSFERS OF INTERMEDIATE USE

Country	Programme	Transfer	Calculation method	Mode of payment	Periodicity of delivery	Maximum per family
Argentina	Porteña Citizenship Programme	Household subsidy	According to the characteristics of the user or household	Magnetic-stripe or debit card	Monthly	One transfer
Panama	Opportunities Network	Food purchase grant	Flat transfer	Magnetic-stripe or debit card	Monthly	...
Dominican Republic	Solidarity	Food purchase grant <i>Comeres Primero</i> food scheme School Attendance Incentive (LLAE) Support for older adults	Flat transfer	Magnetic-stripe or debit card	Monthly	One transfer
Trinidad and Tobago	Targeted Conditional Cash Transfer Programme (TCCTP)	Grant	According to family composition	Magnetic-stripe or debit card	Monthly	Six beneficiaries
Uruguay	National Social Emergency Response Plan (PANES)	Food card	According to family composition	Magnetic-stripe or debit card	Monthly	Four beneficiaries

Source: Prepared by the authors, on the basis of Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), Database of non-contributory social protection programmes in Latin America and the Caribbean.

^a Differentiates between poor or indigent households and also takes account of the number of household members and their age.

(c) Adjustment of the transfer amounts

Once the amount of the transfers has been calculated, whether flat, or according to family composition or user characteristics, automatic indexation mechanisms need to be designed to prevent the transfers from devaluing through time, by protecting them from inflation and in particular the rise in food prices. In practice, however, adjustments to benefits in the region are usually made on a discretionary basis, reflecting current fiscal constraints and political pressures (see table III.4) (Levy, 2008; ILO, 2009).

Transfer amounts are adjusted automatically in line with inflation rates in four national CCT schemes (Solidarity Chile, Families in Action in Colombia, *Oportunidades* in Mexico, and Family Allowances in Uruguay) and one of local scope (the Porteña Citizenship Programme of the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires). In the *Oportunidades* programme, the amounts of the different transfers are increased every six months in line with inflation in a total basket of prices in the Mexican economy, whereas in the event of deflation, they maintain their nominal values. Nonetheless, in this programme and also in Families in Action in Colombia, this measure is not based on a law that gives regulatory underpinning to the automatic adjustment mechanism, as is the case in Chile and Uruguay.

A second group of programmes has altered the amount of the transfers over time, but the adjustment is not automatic. Changes have been made through executive or presidential decrees, thus bypassing debate in the national parliaments. In Argentina, the amounts of the Universal Child Allowance for Social Protection have been adjusted through decrees issued by the Office of the President of the Republic, the most recent of which was Decree No. 1.388/2010 raising the amount of the allowance from 180 to 220 pesos. Repetto and Díaz Langou (2010) argue that this programme should consider the inflationary effect of the rise in the cost of the total basket or food basket, to automatically update the amounts of the non-contributory family allowances and annul the decrees implementing those adjustments. In Brazil, the values of transfers in the *Bolsa Família* programme are set through presidential decrees every 12 or 14 months. For 2011, Decree No. 7.447 raised the basic grant by 2 reais, or 3%. In the cases of the variable grant and the variable grant for adolescents, the minimum amounts were increased substantially: 10 reais (45% increase) and 35 reais (106% increase), respectively²³. In Colombia,

²³ In Brazil legislative debate is ongoing with a view to formalizing the mechanism for updating the amount of subsidies provided by *Bolsa Família* and to move it towards serving as a minimum-income or citizen-income programme. One of the main proposals is to create an algorithm that takes account of annual inflation, GDP growth, and the rate of growth of general pensions. This aims to establish half of the basic wage as a minimum floor, and also pay an additional month at the end of the year (Britto and Veras Soares, 2011).

Table III.4
LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN (18 COUNTRIES): CONDITIONAL CASH
TRANSFER PROGRAMMES, AUTOMATIC ADJUSTMENT OF TRANSFER VALUES IN
LINE WITH CONSUMER PRICE INDEX VARIATIONS

Country	Programmes currently operating	Automatic adjustment	Associated instrument
Argentina	Universal Child Allowance for Social Protection	No ^a	Decree No. 1,388/2010
	Porteña Citizenship Programme	Yes	Law No. 1.878 of the Legislature of the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires
Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	Juancito Pinto Grant	No	
	Juana Azurduy de Padilla Mother-and-Child Grant	No	
Brazil	<i>Bolsa Família</i>	No ^a	Decree No. 7,447/2011
Chile	Solidarity Chile	Yes	Law No. 19,949
Colombia	Families in Action	Yes	Handbook of Operations, Fiscal 2010
	Conditional Subsidies for School Attendance	No ^a	Resolution No. 233, of 5 February 2010
Costa Rica	<i>Avancemos</i>	No ^b	Regulation of Fiscal 2009
Ecuador	Human Development Grant	No ^a	Executive Decree No. 1.838/2009
El Salvador	Solidarity in Rural Communities (formerly the Solidarity Network)	No	
Guatemala	<i>Mi Familia Progresá</i>	...	
Honduras	<i>Bono 10 000</i> programme for education, health and nutrition	...	
	Family Allowance Programme (PRAF)	No	
Jamaica	Programme of Advancement through Health and Education (PATH)	...	
Mexico	<i>Oportunidades</i> (formerly <i>Progresá</i>)	Yes	Handbook of Operations, Fiscal 2011
Panama	Opportunities Network	No ^a	Handbook of Operations, Fiscal 2010
Paraguay	<i>Tekoporá</i>	No	
	<i>Abrazo</i>	...	
Peru	<i>Juntos</i>	No	
Dominican Republic	Solidarity	No	
Trinidad and Tobago	Targeted Conditional Transfer Programme (TCCTP)	...	
Uruguay	Family Allowance	Yes	Law No. 18,227

Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), on the basis of official information from the respective countries; V. Imas, *Las transferencias monetarias con corresponsabilidad (TMC) y la disminución de la pobreza en el marco de las políticas de protección social*, Asunción, Center of Economic Analysis and Diffusion (CADEP)/Economic Research Center (CINVE)/International Development Research Centre (IDRC), 2011; R. Franco, *Protección social en Honduras: el papel de los programas de transferencias condicionadas: PRAF I, II y III*, Sao Paulo, Instituto Fernando Henrique Cardoso (IFHC)/Economic Research Corporation for Latin America (CIEPLAN), 2008.

^a The amounts are adjusted through executive or presidential decrees, or some other legal instrument.

^b The board of directors of the Joint Institute for Social Aid (IMAS) sets the amounts of the transfer subject to prior coordination with the Governing Body for the Social Sector and Poverty Reduction.

the Conditional Subsidies for School Attendance programme in Bogota calculates transfers according to the price of public transport; whereas in Ecuador and Panama, they are updated by the government without any predefined frequency. The *Avancemos* programme in Costa Rica depends directly on agreements reached by the board of directors of the Joint Institute for Social Aid, subject to prior coordination with the Governing Body for the Social Sector and Poverty Reduction, which means that the amounts do not depend exclusively on presidential decrees.

In a third group of countries, including the Plurinational State of Bolivia and Honduras, CCT amounts have not been updated for several years. These countries have some of the lowest GDPs in the region, and so the failure to update the amounts paid could be the result of low budgetary capacity.

2. Non-monetary transfers

Non monetary transfers, or transfers in kind such as food supplements, school bags, and productive capital, are mainly included in programmes that stress human development components.

The majority of transfers in kind are food supplements that aim to make up for potential micronutrient deficiencies, given the constraints on the ingestion of sufficient food faced by the poorest households. The food supplements provided by the *Oportunidades* programme are intended to provide 100% of daily micronutrient requirements, which on average are equivalent to 20% of daily calorie needs (Programa de Desarrollo Humano Oportunidades, undated). This programme has no specific conditionality associated with the transfer, apart from seeking to ensure that the mother manages it effectively among the targeted children. Other programmes that place a heavy emphasis on nutritional aspects use alternative designs, such as connecting users with pre-existing nutritional programmes. An example is the *Mi Familia Progresa* programme in Guatemala, *Juntos* in Peru, and the now-defunct Social Protection Network (RPS) of Nicaragua — three programmes giving families access to nutritional supplements through a package of health and nutrition services provided to users during the medical check-ups they attend as part of the programme's conditionalities. This component of CCTs is similar to long-standing nutritional programmes in the region such as the National Supplementary Food Programme (PNAC) in Chile, which uses a structure of benefits (food supplements and monetary transfers), and an operating rationale that is very similar to that described for *Oportunidades* (Vergara, 1990).

Nutritional supplements have the virtue of not operating alongside commercial channels and thus do not cause a shift away from local suppliers, as occurs with food rations (Cohen and Franco, 2006; Standing, 2007b). Nonetheless, problems remain in terms of distribution, storage and logistic costs, particularly in countries with lower institutional capacities. For example, the problems in the supply of vitamins, iron and antiparasitics reported in 2001 in the Social Protection Network caused interruptions in nutritional treatment for the youngest users of the programme, with repercussions on indicators such as the prevalence of anaemia and the level of haemoglobin in the blood (Hoddinott and Bassett, 2009).

In the education component, school supplies are generally donated at the start of each school year, in a transfer commonly known as the “*bolsón*” or “*mochila escolar*” [school bag]. In the Family Allowance Programme (PRAF) in Honduras, the transfer includes exercise books and pencils for various uses, as well as other supplies such as erasers, rulers, pencil sharpeners, and a school bag. The case of school supplies shows that the choice between monetary transfers and transfers in kind can also often be seen as depending on the infrastructure available for payment in cash or the storage and distribution of the supplies. PRAF has been delivering school bags for about 12 years; and, despite frequent problems in executing the budget, between 2001 and 2008, it donated an average of 100,000 school bags per year (Ministry of Finance of Honduras, 2007). In contrast, the Social Protection Network (RPS) of Nicaragua prioritized cash transfers for the same purpose. In the *Oportunidades* programme, although a monetary transfer was chosen to cover those expenses, families whose children attend schools served by the National Educational Development Council (CONAFE) receive the transfer in kind.

Lastly, the food purchase grants component in the Panamanian Opportunities Network provides transfers in kind to support the agricultural training courses included among the families’ conditionalities. These consist of set of tools (spade, pick, mattock, rake, machete and file) and seeds. This has similarities with other production programmes operating in the region, such as Nicaragua’s Zero Hunger Food Production Programme, which does not use the traditional monetary transfer instrument (Cecchini and others, 2009).

3. Provision of services and access to other programmes

Apart from monetary and in-kind transfers, a third demand-side benefit provided by CCTs is the provision of services, either directly by the

programme itself or else indirectly through other programmes to which access is facilitated.

Indirect service provision —actions undertaken by the different sectors— seems to be a growing trend in various programmes, including a number of emblematic ones such as *Bolsa Família* through its “complementary programmes”. Programmes which from the outset are envisaged as facilitating access to the network of services and public benefits and do not provide services themselves, are a special case. The paradigm for this type of programme is Solidarity Chile, which aims to facilitate access for the population living in extreme poverty to a set of social protection and promotion programmes operated by the Chilean government (see table 2 of the annex). Other similar cases are the *Juntos* Network of Colombia and the TCCTP of Trinidad and Tobago which places heavy emphasis on social promotion and connection to vocational-training and income-generation programmes.

In the direct service-provision modality, whether the solution is the most appropriate needs to be evaluated on a case-by-case basis, because there is a danger of generating an all-encompassing structure, which is non-specific and ineffective — the “Christmas tree syndrome” (Cecchini and Martínez, 2011) — and tends to become detached from sectoral public-policy management and its specific objectives.

A review of regional experience shows that there are four categories of service that CCTs provide to families and communities, mainly indirectly, but sometimes also directly: (i) labour-market participation and income generation, which may include vocational training in both technical and skill development aspects, and access to microcredit, job creation, and support for self-employed work; (ii) counselling, educational talks and workshops (individual and group) on various issues, such as those related to health, which aim to create basic capacities and strengthen the human development of user families; (iii) visits by professionals to user households (“family support”) with the aim of monitoring the conditionalities and providing psychosocial support; and (iv) infrastructure improvement (in the neighbourhood or housing) (see tables III.5 and III.6).

(a) Labour-market participation and income generation

Connecting users to labour-market-participation and income-generation programmes was not a priority in CCTs as originally conceived. Nonetheless, programmes are increasingly including actions on these issues, since it has been found that a single transfer is not sufficient to reduce poverty and vulnerability among families in the short and medium

term (OAS/ECLAC/ILO, 2010). These concerns have been matched by worries about the sustainability of programme actions, particularly the duration of support and the programmes' exit or graduation strategies, if the aim is to fulfil their objectives on a sustained basis (Yaschine and Dávila, 2008).

The tool used by CCTs to improve the employability of working-age users is technical and vocational training, whereas instruments that seeks to activate labour demand and improve connections with supply include support for own-account work, labour-market intermediation services, and direct and indirect job creation programmes (see table III.5).

As shown in OAS/ECLAC/ILO (2010), vocational training and skill development actions aim to improve and increase the assets possessed by poor and vulnerable people by improving their knowledge and skills (Weller, 2009), which should promote job stability and higher wages (ECLAC, 2008a).

Support for self-employment, which along with technical and vocational training represents one of the most common actions on labour-market participation and income-generation implemented in relation to CCTs, consists of programmes that provide seed capital or microcredit, both to start a new enterprises and to maintain existing undertakings, together with other non-financial services linked mainly to training on issues of saving and finance, economic planning, microenterprise enterprise and leadership. Labour-market intermediation services provide general information on the labour market, help match supply and demand by disseminating information on vacancies and job-seekers, and support the preparation of labour-market participation strategies (ECLAC, 2008c).

Direct job creation entails the expansion of labour demand through emergency employment plans or departmental, regional and municipal development plans offering temporary jobs. Often these plans are restricted to heads of household and use low pay as the self-selection mechanism. The Unemployed Heads of Household programme of Argentina and the National Social Emergency Response Plan (PANES) of Uruguay are two examples that created direct jobs and, at the same time, sought to improve the employability of participants by including components related to completion of studies and training. In the case of PANES, for example, the Building Exit Routes component, which served over 16,000 heads of household, included a socio-educational and community programme aimed at developing strategies to exit various social emergency situations, including the recovery of reading-writing capacity, training and consideration of the subjective dimension, promotion of citizens rights and self-esteem, and the involvement of users in various community activities.

Lastly, indirect job creation implies the public provision of economic incentives for hiring by private firms. These act as a subsidy that reduce non-wage labour costs (social security contributions) or cover part of the salary.

Although CCTs do not usually provide these services directly, there are some examples of this, such as labour-market-participation components that target specific population groups or training actions. The first of these are the *Bono Juvenil (DI-familia)* youth allowance for comprehensive family development and the *DI-mujer* project for women's comprehensive development attached to the PRAF of Honduras, which target young people and housewives, respectively.

To incorporate the labour-market participation and income-generation components indirectly, links have been established with programmes run by sector ministries, mainly education and employment. An example of this is Ecuador's Solidarity Productive Credit programme, the main users of which are recipients of the Human Development Grant, although it is also open to people who do not participate in this programme but are living in poverty (see box III.1).

Box III.1
MICROCREDIT FOR USERS OF THE
HUMAN DEVELOPMENT GRANT

The Human Development Grant (BDH) of Ecuador, forms part of a broader Social Protection Programme (PPS), through which BDH users can access other programmes, including the Solidarity Productive Credit programme.

The Solidarity Productive Credit programme incorporates three components of social promotion: preferential access to credit (solidarity productive credit and human development credit components), training in microenterprise management and productive development (training component), and strengthening of support for financial institutions (specialized integrated assistance component).

Solidarity productive credit and human development credit

These programmes differ in terms of the conditions and the amounts involved in the lending activities. The first involves loans of up to US\$ 600 for microenterprise start-up, while the second provides up to US\$ 350 to support productive activities that have been operating for no more than six months. Both last for a maximum of one year.

Programme operators can be financial institutions or other types of suppliers and private individuals or legal entities working in the microfinance sector (for example cooperatives and mutual funds), and also non-governmental organizations (NGOs). To be eligible they must fulfil conditions specified by the National Finance Corporation.

Box III.1 (continued)

Specialized comprehensive assistance.

This provides support for lending institutions to improve their capacities in the area of business management and the provision of quality services targeting microenterprises in rural and outlying urban areas. The objective is to improve the quality of financial services supplied to the target population, which includes streamlining procedures and diversifying products in the microfinance domain

Training

This includes training activities on human development and citizens rights, business management and productive development, with support in microenterprise activities.

The programme is not for Human Development Grant users, since persons living in poverty who are not registered as Grant users can also access it, up to level 3 of the Social Programme Beneficiary Identification and Selection System (SELBEN).

Source: Social Protection Programme [online] <http://www.pps.gov.ec/PPS/PPS/CPS/INF/InformacionGeneral.aspx>.

Another example is *Bolsa Familia* and the supplementary Next Step programme established on the basis of the Labor Ministry's job training and intermediation programme (Sector Vocational Training Plan for *Bolsa Familia* beneficiaries, or PlanSeQ), and adapted to specifically address the labour-market participation needs of *Bolsa Familia* users (OAS/ECLAC/ILO, 2010). In addition, in the Solidarity in Rural and Urban Communities Programme of El Salvador, the "job creation and productive development" action hub involves connecting users with vocational-training and microcredit programmes to pursue productive projects in the crop-farming and livestock areas, and the promotion of other productive activities. These actions involve the relevant ministries in the areas of agriculture and productive development, in addition to donor organizations (FISDL, 2010; Secretaría Técnica de la Presidencia, Gobierno de El Salvador, 2009). Another relevant experience is the second phase of Nicaragua's Social Protection Network programme, where adolescents and young people between 14 and 25 years of age who had completed primary or secondary education attended courses given by the National Technological Institute (INATEC) on subjects such as carpentry, cosmetics, flower arrangement and mechanics (Largaespada, 2006).

Other programmes have pursued strategies to link elements of training and human development with labour-market intermediation actions and indirect job creation (OAS/ECLAC/ILO, 2010). Examples

include programmes such as the labour-hiring subsidy programme in Solidarity Chile and Next Step (PlanSeQ) of *Bolsa Família*, both of which aim to increase users' qualifications and help them enter the labour market (ibíd.). Although these are significant efforts to improve labour-market participation by poor and vulnerable people, a number of problems and complexities still persist (see box III.2).

Box III.2
THE CHALLENGES OF LABOUR MARKET PARTICIPATION IN
BOLSA FAMÍLIA AND SOLIDARITY CHILE

Given the characteristics of CCT users, various programmes have implemented complex programmes in conjunction with other sectors, to help working-age adults enter the labour market. These include actions undertaken by ministries and secretariats of labour and employment, which combine elements of vocational training, labour-market intermediation, collaboration with the private sector and, in some cases, hiring subsidies. Two examples of these are the labour-hiring subsidy programme in Solidarity Chile and the Next Step sector vocational training plan for the beneficiaries of *Bolsa Família* (PlanSeQ) in Brazil.

The Solidarity Chile system uses incentives to facilitate labour-market placement, both for the firms who employ workers and for municipal labour-market intermediation offices (OMILs) that place job-seekers in firms. One of these interventions is implemented through the labour-hiring subsidy programme, which finances the hiring of unemployed workers from families supported by Solidarity Chile. The subsidy is equivalent to 50% of the minimum monthly wage and lasts for between one and four months, renewable for a further two months in the case of adults; and for four months, renewable for the same amount of time, in the case of young people. This action also finances job training costs for every worker hired. As part of other programmes, a hiring subsidy is combined with a percentage of the minimum monthly wage for a specified maximum number of months, with funds for training.

In April 2011 the Solidarity Chile social allowance began to be implemented, which includes an additional allowance for labour-market participation by women. This is paid when women over 18 years of age from families affiliated to Solidarity Chile start working in the formal sector. This includes women who made no social security contributions between April 2009 and March 2011, and have a minimum of three social security contributions between April and October 2011. They are paid a subsidy of up to 51,600 pesos (slightly over US\$ 100).

Next Step/PlanSeQ, for its part, is a training and vocational placement initiative specifically designed for *Bolsa Família* users, implemented as a joint initiative between the Ministry of Social Development and Hunger Reduction and the Ministry of Labour and Employment. It forms part of the Growth Acceleration Programme (PAC) which began in 2007, consisting of federal government infrastructure investments and economic measures to stimulate private investment in areas that are considered fundamental for

Box III.2 (concluded)

the Brazilian economy. Next Step operates in two sectors (civil construction and tourism), chosen on the basis of the vigorous demand growth they are likely to experience in the next few years owing to the PAC and the holding of sporting events such as the Football World Cup in 2014 and the Olympic Games in Rio de Janeiro in 2016. Activities implemented under this programme include training in the selected sectors, professional practice and labour-market intermediation to meet local labour demand. Transport and food subsidies are also provided. Eligibility requirements are as follows: (i) being a member of a *Bolsa Família* family; (ii) being older than 18 years of age; and (iii) having completed at least fourth grade of basic education. Families that have members with this profile receive a letter inviting them to choose one of their members to register on one of the courses offered. Participation in Next Step is not obligatory, nor one of the conditions required by the *Bolsa Família* programme. As the aim is to encourage participation by women to stimulate their productive participation, women are guaranteed at least 30% of places.

Despite the efforts of these programmes to generate forms of graduation enabling CCT users to enter the labour market, none has been problem-free. In the case of Solidarity Chile, although registration in the OMILs is high, and users are becoming used to referring to institutional networks to seek a job, persistent difficulties include the unsuitability of the jobs offered in relation to the profile of the users, little connection with the private sector, lack of financial and human resources in the OMILs, inadequate monitoring of persons placed, and programme evaluation. In the case of Next Step, although there are no results assessments yet, preliminary studies have detected a small number of persons enrolled in relation to the number of places offered. This would be explained by a lack and unsuitability of the information provided to programme users, compounded by the lack of supplementary programmes enabling women to reconcile their household care workload with programme activities. The latter reason is repeated in the case of Solidarity Chile, which highlights the importance of establishing social protection policies to complement employment actions, and thus enable households to cover the demand for child and elderly care. The experience of Next Step has also shown that it is hard to adjust the rhythms of the programme to public works schedules, and to consolidate articulation of the various government levels with the private sector, which has resulted in a low level of user participation in the labour market. The offices of the National Employment System (SINE), which is responsible for implementing training actions, had difficulties in serving people outside the contributory system, such as *Bolsa Família* users. In addition, their training activities were not always adapted to local demands.

Source: Organization of American States (OAS)/Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC)/International Labour Organization (ILO), "Social Protection and Employment Generation: Analysis of Experiences from Co-responsibility Transfer Programmes", 2010 [online] http://www.gtz-cepil.cl/files/inter-agency_concept_document_19_nov_2010_ENGLISH-1.pdf; Ministry of Planning and Cooperation of Chile, "Asignación social", 2011 [online] <http://as.mideplan.cl>.

Table III.5
LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN (13 COUNTRIES): ACCESS TO LABOUR MARKET PARTICIPATION AND INCOME GENERATION PROGRAMMES THROUGH CONDITIONAL CASH TRANSFER PROGRAMMES

Country	Programme	Technical and vocational training	Support for self-employment	Labour-market intermediation services	Direct job creation	Indirect job creation
Argentina	Families for Social Inclusion	i	i (Local development and social economy plan "Manos a la Obra")			
	Unemployed Heads of Household	i		i Training and employment insurance ^a	d	
Brazil	<i>Bolsa Familia</i>	i (Next step; ongoing vocational training programme, <i>Acreditat</i>)	i (National Family Farming Programme; <i>Creclarmigo</i> ; <i>Agroamigo</i> ; National Targeted Productive Microcredit Programme)	i (Next Step; ongoing vocational training programme, <i>Acreditat</i>)		
Chile	Solidarity Chile	i (Programme to develop women's labour skills; Programme to support employment and preparation for work; Programme to support youth employability)	i (Programme to support family production for own consumption; Urban indigenous microenterprise creation programme; Microenterprise support programme; <i>Emprende Más</i>)	i (Programme to support employment and preparation for work; Programme to support youth employability)		i (Labour hiring subsidy programme)
Colombia	Families in Action		i	i ^b		

Table III.5 (continued)

Country	Programme	Technical and vocational training	Support for self-employment	Labour-market intermediation services	Direct job creation	Indirect job creation
Ecuador	Human Development Grant	i (Training plan for users of the Human Development Credit)	i (Solidarity Productive Credit; Human Development Credit)			
El Salvador	Solidarity in Rural and Urban Communities	i	i			
Honduras	<i>Bono 10 000</i> programme for education, health and nutrition Family Allowance Programme (PRAF)	i d (Grant for the comprehensive advancement of women; Youth grant)	i d (Grant for the comprehensive advancement of women; Youth grant)			
Mexico	<i>Oportunidades</i>		d (Youth with Opportunities)			
Nicaragua	Social Protection Network (RPS)	i (Occupational training)	i (Occupational training)			
	Crisis Response System (SAC)	i (Occupational training)	i (Occupational training)			
Panama	Opportunities Network	i (Capacity development and income generation)				

Table III.5 (concluded)

Country	Programme	Technical and vocational training	Support for self-employment	Labour-market intermediation services	Direct job creation	Indirect job creation
Paraguay	<i>Abrazo</i>	d ^c (<i>Bansocial</i>)	d ^c (<i>Bansocial</i>)			
Trinidad and Tobago	Targeted Conditional Cash Transfer Programme (TCCTP)		i	i		
Uruguay	National Social Emergency Response Plan (PANES)	d	i		d	

Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), Database of non-contributory social protection programmes in Latin America and the Caribbean; and Organization of American States (OAS)/Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC)/International Labour Organization (ILO), "Social Protection and Employment Generation: Analysis of Experiences from Co-responsibility Transfer Programmes", 2010 [online] http://www.gtz-cepal.c/files/inter-agency_concept_document_19_nov_2010_ENGLISH-1.pdf.

d= direct provision; i= indirect provision.

^a To access the training and employment insurance, users of the Unemployed Heads of Household programme had to switch to the new programme and stopped receiving transfers from the Unemployed Heads of Household programme.

^b Through the *Juntos* Network.

^c Labour-market participation and income generation services are offered to parents.

Table III.6
LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN (11 COUNTRIES): ACCESS TO OTHER SOCIAL SERVICES AND PROGRAMMES THROUGH
CONDITIONAL CASH TRANSFER PROGRAMMES

Country	Programme	Basic capacities and human development				Family support		Infrastructure	
		Psycho-emotional skills	Education	Health	Nutrition and food	Monitoring of conditionalities	Psychosocial support and family dynamics	Social infrastructure and neighbourhood improvement	Habitability and housing
Argentina	Families for Social Inclusion Unemployed Heads of Household								
Brazil	<i>Bolsa Familia</i> Child Labour Eradication Programme (PETI)	i				i		d	
Chile	Solidarity Chile	i				i ^a	i ^a	i	i
Colombia	Families in Action					i ^b	i ^b	i	i
El Salvador	Solidarity in Rural and Urban Communities					i		d	
Mexico	<i>Oportunidades</i>			d-i	d				
Panama	Opportunities Network						d	d	
Paraguay	<i>Tekoporá</i> <i>Abrazo</i>	d	d	d	d				
Peru	<i>Juntos</i>			i					
Trinidad y Tabago	Targeted Conditional Cash Transfer Programme (TCCTP)	i						d	
Uruguay	National Social Emergency Response Plan (PANES) (PANES)	d						d	

Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), Database of non-contributory social protection programmes in Latin America and the Caribbean.

d = Direct provision; i = Indirect provision.

^a Families are monitored through the *Puente* programme.

^b Families are monitored through the *Juntos* Network.

(b) Basic capacities and human development

The services provided directly or indirectly by CCTs to stimulate basic capacities and strengthen the human development of their users include counselling, talks and workshops to provide information and general orientation on a very wide range of topics. Participation by a household member in basic-capacities-strengthening activities is usually one of the programme conditionalities. As shown in table III.8, in 11 out of 18 countries, the transfer is (or was) conditional on participation in training activities.

The topics addressed in these training activities include areas as diverse as emotional and psycho-social skills, education, health, nutrition and food, sexual and reproductive health, human rights and citizenship, among others (see table III.6).

The TCCTP in Trinidad and Tobago, for example, provides courses on “life skills” such as strengthening responsible parenthood, and family planning, the family economy, anger management and the prevention of domestic violence (Trinidad and Tobago, Ministry of Social Development, 2008).²⁴ In Solidarity Chile, on the other hand, basic-capacities development is promoted by putting users into other programmes that they can access. For example, they can participate in the National Family Dynamics Support Programme, implemented by the Foundation for the Advancement and Development of Women (PRODEMU), which consists of workshops on parenting skills, including childcare topics. They can also participate in the Life Skills Programme (HPV) of the National School Support and Scholarships Board (JUNAEB), which undertakes psychoemotional skills activities with children, including, among other things, work in the classroom; promotional workshops for teachers, parents and students; and specific group actions for children at risk. Along the same lines, through the Child Labour Eradication Programme (PETI), children who have succeeded in moving out of child labour situations gain access to the coexistence service and strengthening of links the children of up to six years of age and their families. This consists of extracurricular activities on cultural, sports, learning support and citizenship topics, depending on the age groups of the users. This programme is organized by the Comprehensive Family Support Programme (PAIF) and Social Assistance Referral Centres (CRAS) at the local level.

²⁴ The programme aims to include at least 80% of the beneficiaries in life-skills training programmes, as well as those classified as “employable” in labour-market intermediation agencies, training them in specific programmes, and assisting the families with a development plan to ensure their economic stability in the long-term.

The *Oportunidades* programme, for its part, focuses on generating basic capacities for health self-care. This means providing information, guidance and counselling, both individually (during consultations) and in groups (in community training workshops for health self-care), taking advantage of the visits of programme users to health centres to fulfil the conditionalities. On these occasions, various types of message are communicated, depending on the age, sex and the life-situation of the users, expanding and strengthening knowledge and good practices for health self-care. The topics of the group workshops are defined by the health sector in each locality, and can vary from one state or region to another, depending on the interests of each area. In this and other programmes, such as Families in Action, workshop participation is required as a counterpart to the payment of monetary transfers.

In the education domain, the main areas have been re-education and completion of studies programmes. In 2006, for example, *Bolsa Família* started to offer users the possibility of entering the *Brasil Alfabetizado* literacy programme —a federal programme run by the Ministry of Education that provides basic literacy training to young people and adults aged 15 and over who did not have access to basic education.

Programmes in the health component essentially include basic health-care packages of free access for user families. In some cases, these are specific benefits or modes of access for CCT beneficiaries which are not available to the population at large. For example, the *Oportunidades* package includes 13 free health services for its users, in accordance with the requirements of the different household members.²⁵ Similarly, PATH in Jamaica started to offer its users free access to health services in 2008. Programmes such as Solidarity Chile and *Juntos* in Peru, on the other hand, seek to help users join health programmes implemented by the corresponding ministries. In the case of Solidarity Chile, users access the public health insurance system, the National Health Fund (FONASA), which guarantees free service for 69 health problems for all citizens through the System of Universal Access with Explicit Guarantees (the AUGE Plan), together with preferential access to other public health programmes that are available for the population at large. Along the same lines, in 2009 *Juntos* in Peru started to encourage its users to join the Integrated Health Service (SIS), which is a Ministry of Health programme offering free access to a set of preventive and curative health services

²⁵ The services offered include: basic sanitation, family planning, antenatal and childbirth care, puerperium and newborn care, nutrition vigilance and child growth, immunization, dealing with cases of diarrhoea in the household, parasite treatment, management of acute respiratory diseases, prevention and control of pulmonary tuberculosis, prevention and control of arterial hypertension and diabetes mellitus, prevention of accidents and initial treatment of injuries.

for people that do not have their own health insurance. In Honduras, the second and third tranches of the PRAF programme connected users with the Comprehensive Care Strategy for Children in the Community (AIN-C), which aimed to improve health conditions among children by promoting active incorporation of the family and community under its monitoring. For that purpose, through various NGOs, the programme trained community health promoters—mostly mothers of the users—to monitor the health status of the children, send them to health centres and provide guidance to other mothers on aspects of health and nutrition (Moore, 2008; Serpa and Joya de Suárez, 2003).

In the nutrition and food area, *Juntos* establishes conditions related to the entry of users to the Food Supplement Programme for Higher-Risk Groups (PACFO), which provides nutritional supplements to children under 3 years of age and training for mothers and fathers. The benefits provided by PATH in Jamaica include access to the school canteens programme in the places where it operates.

(c) Family guidance and psychosocial work

A component that has gained growing acceptance among CCTs in the region is what can be generically referred to as “family support”, which consists of visits by professionals to user households with various objectives.

Two versions of this component in the CCTs of the region can be identified, based on the aims being pursued: one that monitors the conditionalities and another which is oriented towards overcoming psychosocial and cultural barriers to achieve full social inclusion of programme users (see table III.6).

This first type of support consists basically of ensuring that programme families fulfil the conditions by accessing public education and health services. For this purpose, the support professionals provide information on the programmes and services available locally, and help with the paperwork needed to gain admittance to them. In this modality, the support professional serves as the link between the programme and the family and generates a flow of information that allows for feedback to the programme on the problems faced by families in fulfilling the conditions, along with the adaptation of local supply needed to reach the users more effectively.

The second form of family support targets the psycho-social aspects of the family as the main barriers faced by poor households in connecting to the supply of public services and programmes and other social inclusion structures, such as the labour market. Psycho-social support focuses on factors associated with integration and those related to the family

dynamic, such as self-esteem; and it represents a way of bringing users closer to the supply of social services and programmes.²⁶

An example of the first type of family support is the Opportunities Network, where the support component basically serves to transmit information to users on the characteristics of the programme (the monetary transfers and the conditions they have to fulfil, participation in workshops and other events) while also providing feedback to the programme, albeit informally (Rodríguez Mojica, 2010). In addition, Solidarity in Rural Communities uses NGOs for family monitoring and support, which, as they are responsible for monitoring the conditions of user families, become the link between them and the supply of services. These organizations have the mission to work with families in identifying the causes of failure to fulfil the conditions. They also undertake activities to promote community participation in organizations through training workshops.

The best-known example of the second type, and probably also the one that has had the greatest influence in disseminating this component in other programmes in the region, has been Solidarity Chile, where the incorporation of family support is a key element of the poverty-reduction policy model it promotes. In Solidarity Chile, family support forms part of the *Puente* programme component, and consists of psycho-social work and support by a professional in the user households for 24 months. During that period, families are encouraged to improve certain aspects of their quality of life, which are considered social minima in terms of rights and citizenship.²⁷ Family support should have the effect of connecting households with social services and programmes, and ensure that they have access to the different benefits available to them. On this point, it is worth noting that “the idea of the family as the link with the programme is none other than the woman, mother or female head of household operating as programme interface for all purposes. The woman and her family group understand family support in this way. Both men and women who participate in the programme view the family subsidy as a form of compensation for the woman in her role as manager of the resources, albeit informal, and public policy for survival.” (Serrano, 2005).

²⁶ Cohen and Franco (2006) consider that these activities form part of a specific approach of certain CCTs, which is different from that which emphasizes changing the behaviour of the poorest households through monetary incentives. This is referred to as the “psycho-social approach”.

²⁷ These involve 53 aspects (expanded to 79 in 2010) grouped together in seven dimensions which, depending on the programme, constitute the basis for overcoming poverty (the “pillars of the bridge”) (see table III.7). These aspects are addressed jointly by the family support professionals and households according to priorities, skills, and needs of the households themselves. Families are paid a declining monetary transfer merely to complement this intervention.

The organized family support component in the *Puente* programme enjoys a high level of approval by families participating in Solidarity Chile, who see it as a “new type of approach by the State, which hitherto has been seen as distant, not interested in them, and out of touch with their reality” (Larrañaga and Contreras, 2010; Nun and Trucco, 2008). Nonetheless, the people who achieve positive effects by successfully completing the support period of the *Puente* programme tend to be families who were in a better situation at the start of intervention, whereas the most vulnerable families generally fail to satisfy the minima or abandon the programme before the support period ends (Nun and Trucco, 2008). Moreover, there are a number of adverse effects on social capital owing to the lack of interventions at the community level and problems of sustainability in connecting users with the supply of public programmes and services once the family support intervention has ended.

Other CCTs in the region have started to include this family-support modality, including the *Juntos* Network of Colombia and the TCCTP of Trinidad and Tobago, with its STEP-UP component (Social Transformation and Empowerment Programme - Uplifting People) (see table III.7). Like Solidarity Chile, the *Juntos* Network has a family support component that operates through “social managers”, who work directly with the families for five years on key aspects for improving the quality of life (“basic achievements”), while also articulating the public supply of social services and programmes around the fulfilment of the established minima.²⁸ Within the latter objective, the *Juntos* Network establishes two actions: firstly, define a baseline and identify the demand for the services and programmes that families need to fulfil the social minima; and, secondly, manage the necessary supply and articulate the different sectors to guarantee user access to the different services and programmes, while strengthening the institutional framework and supply at the municipal level. The Families in Action programme operates as a gateway to the Network, and the set of benefits that this offers—similar to the role played by the *Puente* programme in Solidarity Chile—such that this programme becomes the monetary transfer component of a broader system of social protection with a different conception of overcoming poverty. This programme also provides for community-support sessions where families can share their experiences in fulfilling the basic achievements, thereby helping to strengthen social capital at the local level.

In Brazil, the minimum income programme implemented in the city of Campinas was a forerunner of the family support components in CCTs. This programme pioneered the introduction of education conditionalities

²⁸ The dimensions included coincide with those of Solidarity Chile, except for the additional dimensions of “Insurance and bank account use” and “Legal support” (see table III.7).

Table III.7
LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN (3 COUNTRIES): CHARACTERISTICS OF PSYCHO-SOCIAL SUPPORT IN THE FAMILY SUPPORT COMPONENT

Country	Programme	Family support (Common characteristics)	Duration	Quality of life minima		Other related benefits
				Number of minimum conditions	Dimensions	
Chile	Solidarity Chile / Puente	Psycho-social work with families Establishment of minimum achievements grouped together in dimensions of the quality of life Fulfillment of minima on the basis of user priorities and capacities	24 months	53 "social minima"	Identification Health Education Family dynamic Habitability Work Income	Monetary support (Social Protection Grant, Exit Grant)
Colombia	Juntos Network	Connection of users to the public supply of social services and programmes	5 years	45 "basic achievements"	Identification Income and work Education Health Habitability Nutrition Family dynamic Insurance and bank use Legal support	Monetary support (through the Families in Action programme)
Trinidad and Tobago	Targeted Conditional Cash Transfer Programme (TCCTP)/ Social Transformation and Empowerment Programme - Uplifting People (STEP-UP)		30 months	49 "minimum conditions"	Identification Health Education Family dynamic Housing conditions Employment Income Security/safety	Monetary support

Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), Database of non-contributory social protection programmes in Latin America and the Caribbean.

—for which reason it is considered a direct ancestor of the *Bolsa Escola* school grant and the current *Bolsa Família* programmes— and was the first to include a group socio-educational activity with the families which involved participation by teams of psychologists and social assistants at monthly meetings with family representatives.²⁹ These meetings address topics of education, domestic economy and guidance in accessing public programmes (Draibe, 2006); and this component was considered one of the main sources of the programme's success (Draibe, 1996).

At the present time, the Comprehensive Family Support Programme (PAIF) aims to provide socio-welfare and educational services to families covered by non-contributory social protection programme such as *Bolsa Família* or the Continuous Benefit Programme. The aspects targeted include preventing the breakdown of family and community links, promotion of citizens rights, access to the various benefits in public subsidies, and promoting autonomous income generation. These services are provided through Social Assistance Referral Centres (CRAS), using the classical model of waiting for the families to apply rather than seeking them proactively. Local or preliminary evaluations of the PAIF and CRASs show that their main limitations include both lack of resources for these initiatives and a shortage of teams of effective and qualified staff (psychologists) to provide support to the families (de Oliveira Cruz, 2009; Giardini and Coelho, 2009; Paiúca and others, undated).

Lastly, the *Abraço* programme in Paraguay involves an action focusing on the family dynamic, particularly in restoring family links and the assumption of greater responsibility by fathers and mothers, and participation in the process that the child begins when re-entering the educational system. This intervention entails periodic visits to the families, monitoring of cases and training workshops (SAS/ILO, 2007). *Tekoporã* has also included a family-support component. Although in this case the initial objective was closer to the first modality, little by little it has added elements of psycho-social support and family dynamics, although not in the systematic way that Solidarity Chile, the *Juntos* Network and the TCCTP do. In *Tekoporã*, family support actions have to fulfil various objectives that range from educational and training work with families on human development (educational, nutritional, sanitation, and other issues) and family dynamics (domestic violence, alcoholism), evaluation of fulfilment of the health and education conditionalities; and much of their activity is devoted to discussing with the family strategies to make the most of productive capital both at the family and at the community level

²⁹ The difference in relation to current models of family accompaniment is that in Campinas the work was done as a group activity, whereas models providing specific support to each family now predominate.

(Veras Soares and Britto, 2008). Assessments of the Paraguayan experience suggest that, although the family component is considered a key element in the functioning of the programme, several obstacles have been magnified by a shortage of infrastructure and resources that limit capacity to respond in a differentiated way to families' needs. It is also difficult to incorporate and coordinate social protection, social promotion and economic inclusion activities in a single programme (Veras Soares and Britto, 2008).

(d) Infrastructure

Some CCTs have succeeded in coordinating with infrastructure improvement programmes: firstly, with those that provide basic infrastructure to the communities in which they operate, improve existing infrastructure or generate interventions at the neighbourhood level; and, secondly, with those that relate to housing infrastructure and the living conditions in homes (see table III.6).

In the first case, the benefits favour not only the direct CCT users themselves, but the population at large that lives in those communities, since they tend to prevail in programmes that not only target families or individuals, but also territorial areas. The Solidarity in Rural Communities programme of El Salvador includes an action entitled "Basic Utilities Network", which consists of improving sanitary infrastructure, communications (construction of bridges and roads, electrification) and equipment (medical and logistic equipment). There is also a process for surveying needs which includes studies to ascertain the status and needs of infrastructure in the selected localities. In its urban component, Solidarity in Communities envisages the implementation of programmes such as the Integrated Precarious Urban Settlement Improvement Programme, which involves the provision of basic infrastructure, legalization of property ownership, community strengthening and the implementation of violence-prevention plans in the prioritized municipalities.

In the second case, the Solidarity in Rural Communities programme operates in conjunction with the Floor and Roof housing programme, which provides floor and housing solutions (both removable and permanent) to homes in municipalities of extreme severe poverty.³⁰ Solidarity Chile, for its part, works with the Habitability programme of the Solidarity and Social Investment Fund (FOSIS) to improve living conditions among programme user families (housing materials, home equipment and land ownership). The actions are implemented by the

³⁰ Municipalities with severe extreme poverty are defined as those displaying the worst indicators in three dimensions: (i) income (poverty gap); (ii) education (non-attendance at school by children of between 7 and 15 years of age and illiteracy rate among the over-15s); and (iii) habitability (a composite index that combines rates of housing with piped water, without electricity, without a floor and in conditions of overcrowding).

municipalities themselves or put out to tender to external consultants—in this case mainly for the repair of housing and equipment—and the works are done after a prior diagnostic assessment of the home in conjunction with the families in question. In addition, technical diagnostic assessments are performed by the Ministry of National Assets, along with activities to regularize land titles and effective possession procedures.

B. Supply-side provisions

Although most CCTs act by stimulating the demand for social services, recently emphasis has been placed on the importance of matching that increase in demand with an adequate supply of services (Cecchini and Martínez, 2011; Cohen and Franco, 2006; ECLAC, 2006; Fiszbein and Schady, 2009). Under this rationale, supply-side provisions relate to benefits provided by CCTs that do not affect the users as such, but the services and social programmes that are available.

The most common transfers on the supply-side coincide with the programmes' human development objectives, namely expanding access to health and education services. The aim in these cases is to adapt the social services to the requirements of the CCTs in terms of co-responsibility, which often involves overcoming the supply deficit by expanding its coverage. Nonetheless, coverage expansion is not the only action needed to adapt social services to the demands of the CCT and the needs of user families, because there are also challenges in terms of the quality of the services provided. Moreover, cases such as *Oportunidades* (González de la Rocha, 2008) and the Opportunities Network (Rodríguez Mojica, 2010) show that, in some rural zones, the lack of human resources (for example, teachers) can be one of the main factors preventing families from fulfilling the conditionalities. Lastly, in most other countries where these programmes are implemented, a cultural-relevance approach is lacking in the supply of existing social services. This is essential to ensure that the CCTs actually connect the indigenous families to benefits and services aimed at forming and strengthening human capacities (Robles, 2009).

Supply-side transfers differ according to the modality of public financing, and can be implemented either through the budget (direct modality), in which case the services are supplied by the public sector itself, or through tenders or payment with vouchers (indirect modality), in which case the services are provided by the private sector. Public financing and provision (direct transfer) occurs when there are budgetary allocations to the sectors involved in the programmes, to cover the increase in potential supply or improve its quality. Indirect public

provision occurs when the financing is public but provision is private. In the latter case, there are two modalities: a first model that generates supply monopolies, where private entities are hired and are required to meet specific service provision standards; and a second model that generates a quasi-market for supply of the service, where the resources are turned into vouchers that programme users assign to the entities they choose as providers.

Direct supply-side transfers occur in Brazil when the federal government pays subsidies to municipalities to support the additional administrative costs they incur in implementing the *Bolsa Família* programme. In 2006, the federal government designed a Decentralized Management Index (IGD) mechanism, to evaluate the standards of municipalities in terms of their resource management capacity, which serves to award financing while also providing incentives for generating local capacities.³¹ The additional resources can be used in action such as expanding the list of programme users and information, improving management of the conditionalities and monitoring processes, and implementing supplementary programmes (Mesquita, 2009).

In Mexico, State institutions are responsible for strengthening the infrastructure available in each region in which the *Oportunidades* programme operates, and for covering the additional demand for services generated by the programme. The national coordination of the programme has to notify the education and health sectors of the number of users envisaged in the annual service target (families, adults over 70 years of age, schoolchildren and others). The entities, in turn, must assign budgetary funding earmarked for the operation of *Oportunidades*, including expenditure provisions that make it possible to guarantee adequate fulfillment of the programme's objectives and targets. In this context, since 1998 the intervention strategy for the programme has been supported by the Social Infrastructure Contribution Fund (FAIS), which transfers resources to improve the infrastructure of the most marginal communities in areas such as construction and location of schools, health clinics and rural roads. The resources in question are transferred directly from the federal to local levels, which decide where they should be applied (Levy and Rodríguez, 2005).

In cases where education or health service providers are private, the calculation of the amounts transferred from the public sector considers the increase in demand caused by the CCTs, for example, as an amount paid per person who has used the service. The most

³¹ In 2008 the State Decentralized Management Index (IGDE) was introduced, which is an analogous mechanism for transferring resources to the states, with the aim of providing incentives for technical and operational support activities from states to municipalities.

representative examples of this modality are the second tranche of the PRAF programme of Honduras and the Social Protection Network (RPS) and Crisis Response System (SAC) of Nicaragua (Largaespada, 2006; Moore, 2008; 2009a; 2009b; Cecchini and others, 2009) (see box III.3). The alternative of generating a quasi-market of private suppliers has the advantage of giving users freedom of choice, and, in optimal conditions, promoting price and quality competition between the suppliers. Nonetheless, the geographical concentration of supply frequently means that the user has no freedom of choice at all in practice.

Box III.3
SUPPLY TRANSFERS IN CONDITIONAL CASH TRANSFER
PROGRAMMES IN HONDURAS AND NICARAGUA

Both the CCT created with Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) funds in Honduras (the Family Allowance Programme, PRAF II), and Nicaragua's Social Protection Network (RPS) and Crisis Response System (SAC) (all concluded in 2006), included an innovative benefit in the form of supply transfers in education and health, to complement the conditional benefits on the demand side that are typical of CCTs.

In the case of PRAF II, the amounts allocated to each health centre or school were calculated on the basis of physical and infrastructure capacity requirements on the one hand, and the number of users on the other. In the education sector, an amount was transferred per student enrolled, and another amount was allocated to the parents association (administrative costs and training), students (school materials), the provision of classrooms (school materials), and teachers (teaching materials, training expenses, performance bonuses). The average amount per school was US\$ 4,000 per year, in a range of US\$ 1,600 to US\$ 23,000. For the health sector, the amounts transferred included the provision of infrastructure, equipment and inputs, as well as monetary incentives for volunteers and the staff of each school. The average amount was US\$ 6,000, varying between US\$ 3,000 and US\$ 15,000.

The RPS programme in Nicaragua established a closer link between service provision and payments to suppliers. In the health sector, the payment was proportional to the fulfilment of specific coverage targets in localities where the demand transfers operated; whereas in communities that did not receive these benefits, suppliers received a payment per person served. An amount of US\$ 90 per household per year was paid. Transfers to the education sector were US\$ 8 per year per child enrolled. Similar provisions were adopted for the SAC programme.

In both cases, there were conditionalities involving participation by suppliers in quality-improvement programmes, fulfilment of standards and coverage targets imposed by the respective ministries, and participation by users in parents associations and user committees, among others.

Monetary transfers were not the only actions that these programmes undertook to adapt public supply to requirements. Other actions included

Box III.3 (concluded)

community organization and participation, and efforts to set up health user committees and associations of parents and guardians (parents associations in Honduras), which could decide how to spend the transfers and monitor their use, and the training of community health and nutrition promoting agents (the Comprehensive Care Strategy for Children in the Community (AIN-C) in Honduras). In-service teacher training programmes were also developed (continuous training programme in Honduras), in addition to active involvement of the non-profit private sector (NGOs) in the management of loan funds at the local level and oversight of the actions of parents associations and committees.

Source: C. Moore, "Assessing Honduras' CCT programme PRAF, Programa de Asignación Familiar: C. Moore, "Assessing Honduras' CCT programme PRAF, Programa de Asignación Familiar: Expected and unexpected realities", Country Study, No. 15, Brasilia, International Policy Centre for Inclusive Growth/United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), April 2008; Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), "PRAF. Programa de Asignación Familiar, Fase II, Descripción técnica del proyecto", presentation, 2000 [online] <http://www.ifpri.org/themes/praf.htm>.

An interesting case of covering the supply deficit is discussed by Pautassi and Zibecchi (2010) in relation to the experience of certain social and community organizations in the city of Buenos Aires in preschool child-care actions within CCTs. In response to the supply deficit, social and committee organizations have been set up, specializing in the provision of these services by community caregivers and educators.³² Although the organizations differ in terms of their degree of institutionalization and professionalization, the authors valued not only their capacity to absorb the unsatisfied demand, but also the adaptation of the services provided to the reality of the children attending. These organizations do not have official recognition, however, and their links to public education are limited to informal relations (recommendation, contact through a teacher) rather than a stable and institutionalized arrangement with this sector.

C. Conditionalities

Making benefits conditional is one of the distinguishing features of CCTs. Hanlon, Barrientos and Hulme (2010) identify three main justifications for introducing conditionalities in income-transfer programmes: (i) the presumed shortsightedness of parents in poor families who do not invest enough in the human development of their children, which makes it

³² Although there is unsatisfied demand, the city of Buenos Aires has a large supply of initial and pre-school education (such as early childhood centres), which are being expanded through agreements between the Government of the City of Buenos Aires and various social and community organizations that were already providing these services in a more precarious way. Based on these efforts, infrastructure is being improved, staff are being trained and capacity is being expanded.

necessary to provide them with incentives to send their children to school and attend health check-ups; (ii) the need to strengthen exercise of the rights to education and health; and (iii) the economic policy argument, whereby the incorporation of conditionalities makes it possible to gain broader support for transfers on the part of citizens who finance them through the taxes they pay, as well as on the part of donor organizations.³³

The various programmes in Latin America and the Caribbean tend to adopt similar solutions, in other words education and health conditionalities, in line with the transfers provided to families in return for compliance in each sector. In general, the requirements entail ensuring school attendance by their school-age children and health check-ups for those of preschool age. Nonetheless, the specific parameters on which the conditionalities are established vary (see table III.8);³⁴ some are set in consonance with sector provisions and programmes, while others do not seem to have any apparent justification.

Another aspect of conditionalities to be considered concerns who has to fulfil them and who is responsible for their execution. In terms of fulfilment, it is generally the users who are eligible for specific benefits, although sometimes they have to be fulfilled by all members of the family. For example, in the food purchase grants component of the Panamanian Opportunities Network, receipt of the monetary transfer is conditional on attendance at health checkups by all family members (not just those below a certain age). Responsibility for fulfilling the conditions generally falls on the mothers in the family (see sections II.A and V.F).

This section analyses the various types of conditionality, their monitoring and sanctions for non-compliance; and it describes the as yet inconclusive debate on “whether or not to condition”, and the shortage of evaluations of the conditionalities themselves.

1. Types of conditionality

Conditionalities occupy various positions in each programme and their importance varies according to the specific objectives. Depending on the goals of each programme and their operational rationales, they are organized in different schemes, which include forms of monitoring and

³³ With regard to the third argument, the Social Plans Perception Survey (EPPS) held in Argentina, found that 87% of those questioned considered it necessary to demand counterpart contributions from the beneficiaries of social programmes, such as work or taking their children to health check-ups (Cruces and Rovner, 2006).

³⁴ For example, a minimum percentage attendance at school could be required, or a maximum number of unjustified absences. The periodicity of attendance at health centres also varies from one programme to another, and also between age groups. Similarly, attendance at workshops or talks, and their various contents, are specific to each programme.

the establishment of sanctions (Cecchini and Martínez, 2011; Fiszbein and Schady, 2009). These schemes tend to reflect the arguments that justify their introduction and the function they fulfill in each programme (de Janvry and Sadoulet, 2006a).

This section next analyses the types of conditionalities required and their function in the programme's operating rationale. Three types can be distinguished: strong, moderate, and light.

A strong conditionality is supported by a technical argument, which holds that the conditionality makes it possible to shift users' behaviour towards greater investment in human capacities and, therefore, occupies a central role in the programme's operating rationale. Given this role, there is also a set of specific mechanisms designed to implement the process of monitoring the conditionalities and coordination with payment and sanctioning procedures. In programmes with strong conditionalities, the "one transfer, one condition" scheme tends to prevail, such that each benefit has a specific conditionality associated with it. Examples of this type can be found in *Oportunidades*, Families in Action, PATH, Solidarity in Rural Communities (formerly the Solidarity Network), the Conditional Subsidies for School Attendance in Bogota, and the discontinued Nicaraguan CCTs (RPS and SAC) (Fiszbein and Schady, 2009). There are also programmes which, while giving a significant role to the conditionalities, are in the process of implementing the corresponding monitoring and sanctioning mechanisms. An example is the PRAF of Honduras, which has been unable to set up these mechanisms owing to a problem of institutional capacity. Since 2007, however, as part of the Integrated Social Protection Programme (PIPS) and the IDB loan aimed at standardizing the operating and pragmatic structures of the national PRAF and the PRAF financed with IDB funds, the monitoring of conditionalities and application of sanctions have gradually started to be included (Cecchini and others, 2009).

In programmes with moderate conditionalities, these play a secondary role compared to the benefit as such (in other words the monetary transfer). Thus, either verification is weak, or else the sanctions are moderate. When these schemes coincide with flat transfers or they do not distinguish whether there are for education or health, the design of the "one transfer-one condition" pair becomes more complex, which causes additional difficulties at the time of monitoring. An example of this modality is *Bolsa Familia*, where the conditionalities are included in an intervention model that prioritizes user access to education and health services ahead of sanctions or suspension owing to non-fulfilment (Fiszbein and Schady, 2009; Britto, 2006; Godoy, 2004). Although conditionality control and sanctioning mechanisms have recently been strengthened in Brazil, the emphasis is on attempting to identify and

overcome the elements that affect conditionality non-compliance by the families (Bastagli, 2009; Mesquita, 2009).

Light conditionalities exist in programmes where the conditionality takes on specific modalities: they are negotiated with the families, they are not associated with sanctions and suspensions, or they are not strengthened. The first is the case of CCTs that respond to the system or network logic (Cecchini and Martínez, 2011), such as Solidarity Chile and the *Juntos* Network in Colombia, where the actions to be fulfilled by each family are defined in the framework of specific work they do in conjunction with the family support professionals. Here the argument for using conditionalities is one of promotion; in other words, co-responsibility enables programme users to participate in improving their conditions of life.³⁵ In the aforementioned programmes, the conditionalities are aimed at ensuring user participation in the different public programmes, depending on the dimension being targeted, and dealing with the specific requirements of each programme. In this context, flexibility in defining the conditionalities is provided by the ranking that the families themselves give to their needs and contracts for fulfilling the minimum requirements, but not in terms of defining which dimensions need to be addressed, since these are predefined. The flexibility of this type of conditionality also involves the possibility of adapting the supply of services and programmes to the specific realities of the families in question.

In these cases, the links between the monetary transfers and the conditionalities are different in each programme. In Solidarity Chile, for example, the Protection Grant paid during the support period requires that, during the current month, the family has worked on at least one of the seven and dimensions considered relevant for improving its living standards³⁶. Moreover, the Exit Grant is paid to families that succeed in fulfilling the minimum requirements established when the family support ends. This monetary support and other subsidies to which the user families are entitled is maintained, without additional conditions, for three years after the family support period has ended. In the *Juntos* Network of Colombia, on the other hand, the conditionalities that the families undertake to gain access to the monetary subsidies are significant, because they are obtained through the strong conditionalities of the Families in Action programme.

³⁵ Although the promotional argument is also used in programmes with strong conditionalities, such as *Oportunidades* (see SEDESOL, 2006, in Cohen, Franco and Villatoro, 2006), the difference is that, in the Mexican case, the co-responsibilities are standard for all families, whereas in Chile they are negotiated with each family, so their participation in the process is not merely a question of rhetoric.

³⁶ Law No. 19.949 of 2004, creating the Solidarity Chile system, states that the Protection Subsidy “will cease if the families and individuals do not fulfil the conditions they have committed to, as duly certified by the entity responsible for executing the psychosocial component”.

In this third group, Ecuador's Human Development Grant and Paraguay's *Tekoporâ* programme are specific cases, because although they are defined within the logic of conditional transfers, compliance is not verified in practice. In support of this, some studies have shown that to have an effect on user behaviour it is sufficient for users to perceive that they should make contributions in return, without the need for strict verification and sanction in the case of non-compliance (Schady and Araujo, 2006).

2. Sanctions and the monitoring of conditionalities

As is true of conditionalities, sanctioning systems also vary significantly in the designs of the different programmes and may be more or less harsh (see table III.8). For example, although in both *Oportunidades* and *Bolsa Família* a failure to fulfil the conditions results in immediate interruption of the monetary benefit in the corresponding month, in *Bolsa Família* the amounts are accumulated and are paid in full once the family resumes compliance. In *Oportunidades*, the family supports are suspended indefinitely if health conditionalities are not fulfilled for four consecutive months, whereas in *Bolsa Família* the basic grant paid to families can be interrupted after the fifth month of non-compliance.

Another significant point with regard to sanctions is the importance of having clear rules on the subject and adequate capacities to monitor the conditionalities. *Oportunidades*, for example, has several strict rules of compliance that specify various types of sanction (monthly suspension of benefits, indefinite suspension and, lastly, definitive suspension), alongside procedures for restoring entitlements in the case of indefinite suspension (Steta, 2006).

Conditionality monitoring is possibly one of the most demanding aspects of CCTs in terms of installed capacities, compared to other social programmes. On this point, various authors (Tesluic, 2006; Villatoro, 2008; Britto, 2006; Parra C orra and Perez Ribas, 2008) point out that in some countries, although the programmes establish sanctions for failure to fulfil the conditions, these are hard to implement in practice owing to capacity shortcomings.

Several authors also note the large volume of resources that countries have to assign to conditionality-monitoring activities (Villatoro, 2008; Parra Correa and P erez Ribas, 2008).³⁷ Apart from the need to have these resources available, compliance verification poses a

³⁷ On the cost-effectiveness of conditionality monitoring, see section V.B.

series of practical problems: How frequently to verify? Whom to verify? What penalties to apply? These are questions that guide the design of verification mechanisms for which there is no great theoretical or empirical support. The decision becomes more complex when there are multiple agents to deal with, which make the verification process slow and cumbersome, and there are no information technologies available to make it more efficient. Tesluic (2006) lists a number of additional difficulties to be resolved in this area, which affect the operation of the programmes and their efficiency. These include: whether to keep records or reduce bureaucracy; the need to control verification costs; the invention of alternative ways to penalize non-fulfilment; and the need to ensure that the information flow and payment cycle are as simultaneous as possible. The latter is crucial to the effectiveness of the conditionalities rationale and for sanctions to be effective. Even in the case of *Oportunidades*, which is one of the programmes that has progressed furthest in these areas, the response to monitoring data that indicates whether or not to sanction a family by blocking payment can take longer than six months (Fiszbein and Schady, 2009).

The sophistication of verification mechanisms and the calibration of operating times can become completely ineffective when, in practice, the personnel responsible for implementing those actions are dealing with other priorities. It is also been found that, given the shortcomings in supply of public services and the difficulties potentially faced by poor families in fulfilling the demands of the conditionalities, in some cases local operators tend to report fulfilment of conditionalities when this is not in fact the case, since withdrawing benefits from certain families means depriving them of an important source of sustenance (Villatoro, 2008).

Partly because of this, but also on issues of principle, the relevance of incurring high expenses to satisfy the assumptions underlying conditionality monitoring has been called into question.

3. Evaluation of conditionalities

From a rights perspective in particular (United Nations, 2009; Standing, 2007a; Freeland, 2009), it has been found that an unduly strict focus on conditionalities can generate an unfortunate distinction between “poor people who deserve support and those who do not”, which clashes with the principle of universal rights and would violate basic human rights in terms of guaranteeing a minimum standard of living (United Nations, 2009). It has also been found that poor and vulnerable families tend to be those that fail to fulfil the conditionalities needed to obtain the income transfer (Escobar and González de la Rocha, 2009), and that the conditionalities can create opportunities for corruption among those

responsible for certifying them (de Brauw and Hoddinott, 2008). Moreover, there is no clear evidence of the effectiveness or efficiency of making social benefits conditional (Draibe and Riesco, 2009; Veras Soares, Ribas and Osorio, 2007; Veras Soares, Ribas and Hirata, 2008), owing to the difficulty of separating the effects of the conditionalities from those of the transfers (Hanlon, Barrientos and Hulme, 2010).

The various studies and impact evaluations that have been carried out have focused little on the “calibration” of the conditionalities, or “how to condition” (de Brauw and Hoddinott, 2008; de Janvry and Sadoulet, 2006a, 2006b; Samson, 2006; Széleky, 2006) —in other words, measurement of the specific effects caused by the different conditionalities with a view to making them more effective and efficient.

As Bastagli argues, possibly the most important finding of the impact evaluations is that the effect of the conditionalities largely depends on how they are designed and implemented (2008). On this point, the study by de Janvry and Sadoulet (2006b) proposes ways to make conditionalities more efficient, by focusing only on the population group that has the lowest levels of the indicator it is intended to raise. For example, as primary school enrolment is already high enough in several countries, the authors argue that the costs of imposing conditions, together with the monitoring tasks and other actions involved, greatly outweigh the benefits in cost-impact terms. For the education sector, they propose defining where and in what groups to target the conditionalities, through a combination of indicators that show who is most likely not to enrol in school without the conditional transfer and who will respond most to the amount offered. In the case of *Progresá*, they find that these elements are determined by variables such as age and belonging to a given ethnic group (de Janvry and Sadoulet, 2006b).

Villatoro (2007) therefore proposes that CCT conditionalities could be expanded into preschool education, where access levels are low in Latin America and the potential long-term returns are very high. Nonetheless, supply-side constraints need to be considered along with the problems of making this level of education a requirement in the different countries. The author also points out that this recommendation is more important for middle-income countries than for the poorest, either because of the demography of poverty or because of institutional capacity issues.

Table III.8
LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN (19 COUNTRIES): CONDITIONAL CASH TRANSFER PROGRAMMES,
CONDITIONALITIES AND SANCTIONS

Country	Programme	Conditionalities	Sanctions
Argentina	Universal Child Allowance for Social Protection	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Education</i>: School attendance for children between 5 and 18 years of age. - <i>Health</i>: Children under 6 years old must have their immunization scheme complete or underway, depending on age, and be registered in the <i>Plan Nacer</i> programme. Children between 6 and 18 years old must have their immunization programme complete or underway depending on age, and health checkups complete. All health conditionalities must be accredited by a professional (doctor, nurse, or pharmaceutical professional). 	20% of the transfer withheld until the conditionalities are accredited.
	Families for Social Inclusion	- ^a	...
	Porteña Citizenship Programme	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Education</i>: Try to ensure that children of 3 and 4 years of age attend preschool. Send 5 year old children to preschool. Send children and adolescents aged between 6 and 18 years to primary and secondary school. - <i>Health</i>: Monthly pregnancy, childbirth and postpartum checkups. Healthy child and nutritional development checkups (the requirements vary according to the age of the users). Fulfilment of the compulsory immunization schedule. - <i>Documentation</i>: Obtain the national identity document for all household members. 	Non-fulfilment of commitments may cause suspension or reduction of the subsidy, or loss of the "beneficiary household" status.
	Unemployed Heads of Household	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Education</i>: Regular attendance at school by school-age children. - <i>Health</i>: Attendance at health and immunization checkups. - <i>Employment</i>: Participation by heads of household in social infrastructure projects or training activities (four to six hours a day). 	...
Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	Juancito Pinto Grant	- <i>Education</i> : Minimum school attendance of 80%.	...

Table III.8 (continued)

Country	Programme	Conditionalities	Sanctions
	Juana Azurduy de Padilla Mother-and-Child Grant	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Health</i>: Attend, according to schedule, antenatal check-up, post-partum check-up and comprehensive children's health checkups. Professionally assisted childbirth (at a health centre). Attend educational sessions and activities. Fulfill nutritional recommendations and immunization requirements in the period indicated by the doctor. 	...
Brazil	<i>Bolsa Família</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Education</i>: Minimum school attendance of 85% for children between 6 and 15 years of age; Minimum of 85% attendance at socio-educational services by children at risk or those removed from child labour; Minimum 75% attendance at school for adolescents of 16 and 17 years of age. - <i>Health</i>: Fulfilment of the immunization schedule and growth and development checkups for children under 7 years of age. Attendance at antenatal checkups and support for breast-feeding mothers between 14 and 44 years of age. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - First non-fulfilment: Family receives a warning, does not affect or alter the obtaining of the benefit; - Second non-fulfilment: Family will receive a penalty, benefit blocked for 30 days, but accumulates in the following month; - Third non-fulfilment: Benefit suspended for 60 days; - Fourth non-fulfilment: Benefit suspended for 60 days. In these two periods, the family receives no benefit; - Fifth non-fulfilment: The family may have the benefit cancelled.^b
	Child Labour Eradication Programme (PETI)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Education</i>: Minimum 85% attendance at socio-educational services. - <i>Child labour</i>: Remove all children under 16 years of age from paid work. 	...
	<i>Bolsa Escola</i> school grant	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Education</i>: Minimum 85% school attendance. 	...

Table III.8 (continued)

Country	Programme	Conditionalities	Sanctions
	<i>Bolsa Alimentação</i> food grant	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Health</i>: Children: Fulfill immunization schedule. Mothers: Attend antenatal and postnatal checkups. - <i>Basic capacities</i>: Participate in educational activities organized by the health centre. 	...
Chile	Solidarity Chile (Social Protection Grant)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Depends on agreements in the family contract on compliance with 53 minimum standards in education, health, identification, habitability, family dynamic, monetary income and work. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Repeated non-compliance with the participation commitment by the user will result in cancellation of the benefit. - Definitive suspension in the event of failure to collect the benefit for three months without justification, or non-fulfilment of the income requirements.
	Solidarity Chile (Social Allowance)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Health</i>: Fulfill health checkups for children under 6 years of age. - <i>Education</i>: Enrolment and minimum school attendance of 85% for children between 6 and 18 years old. - <i>Social security</i>: Three continuous contributions between April and October 2011 for women over 18 years of age. 	
Colombia	Families in Action	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Education</i>: Minimum 80% school attendance. - <i>Health</i>: 100% attendance of children in the family group to growth and development check-ups programmed by the health entity to which they are affiliated. - <i>Basic capacities</i>: Attendance by beneficiary mothers and members of the families at meeting and training events, and attendance at workshops programmed by the municipality. - <i>Education</i>: Attendance at educational establishment with a maximum of eight justified absences every two months.^c 	<p>Suspension of the benefit in the event of three continuous non-compliance is all or discontinuous non-compliances in a given year.</p> <p>The subsidy is lost if the student does not pass the school year or fails to comply with the attendance commitments during two cycles (continuous or discontinuous).</p>
	Conditional Subsidies for School Attendance		

Table III.8 (continued)

Country	Programme	Conditionalities	Sanctions
Costa Rica	Avanceamos	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Education</i>: Support and ensure prompt and permanent attendance by students. Help students pass the year course. - <i>Health</i>: During the year students must receive a comprehensive health evaluation performed by the services of the Costa Rican Social Security Fund. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Education</i>: Suspension of the benefit in the event of school dropout. - <i>Health</i>: The transfer is suspended for the month in which students do not attend school (January) in the event of non-compliance with the health conditionality. The other 11 transfers for the year are not lost.
Ecuador	Human Development Grant ^d	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Education</i>: Children between 5 and 17 years of age must be enrolled in school and have 75% attendance. - <i>Health</i>: Children under 1 year of age must attend at least one preventive health checkup every two months; Children between 1 and 5 years old must attend at least one preventive health checkup every six months. 	No.
El Salvador	Solidarity in Rural Communities ^d	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Education</i>: School registration and regular attendance. - <i>Health</i>: Fulfilment of the immunization scheme; Attendance at weight and height checkups; Attendance at antenatal checkups. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Education</i>: The transfer is suspended if there are more than four unjustified absences per month. - <i>Health</i>: The transfer is suspended if two consecutive conditionalities are not fulfilled or a three discontinuous conditionalities are not fulfilled in a 12-month period.
Guatemala	Mi Familia Progresá	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Education</i>: Minimum 80% school attendance. - <i>Health</i>: Attendance at medical checkups; Attendance at health training events. 	The transfers are cancelled after the third non-compliance.

Table III.8 (continued)

Country	Programme	Conditionalities	Sanctions
Honduras	Bono 10 000 programme for education, health and nutrition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Nutrition:</i> Adequate use of micronutrients - <i>Health:</i> Registration of children and pregnant or breast-feeding women at the health unit for checkups. - <i>Education:</i> Enrolment in the first and second quarter; At least 80% attendance during the third and fourth quarter. 	...
	Family Allowance Programme (PRAF)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Education:</i> Enrolment and attendance at education centres. ° - <i>Health:</i> Attendance at health centres for checkups. - <i>Training:</i> Participation in training courses (Bono juvenil and DI-mujer). 	...
	PRAF/IDB II	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Education:</i> Enrolment in the first school month, having less than 20 absences per year and not repeating the grade more than once. - <i>Health:</i> Attendance by mothers at antenatal checkups and postpartum checkup. Attendance by children at nutrition and health checkups. 	...
	PRAF/IDB III	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Education:</i> Not having more than nine unjustified absences per quarter. Children of 13 and 14 years of age that have not completed sixth grade, but have fulfilled the attendance requirements, may continue to receive the subsidy. 	- <i>Education:</i> Children of 13 and 14 years of age that have not completed sixth grade and have not completed the conditionalities are not entitled to receive the subsidy.
Jamaica	Programme of Advancement through Health and Education (PATH)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Education:</i> Enrolment in public school and minimum 85% school attendance. - <i>Health:</i> Attendance at health centres (differentiated frequency according to population category). 	Payments to users that do not fulfil the programme conditions will be suspended until the compliance requirement is achieved.
Mexico	Oportunidades	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Education:</i> Minimum 85% school attendance (Educational support); Completion of upper secondary education before 22 years of age and in less than four years counted from the first registration in the middle-higher level under the <i>Oportunidades</i> programme (Youth with Opportunities). - <i>Health:</i> Attendance at scheduled medical checkups (for all household 	Monthly suspension - <i>Education:</i> When a student records four or more unjustified absences during the month.

Table III.8 (continued)

Country	Programme	Conditionalities	Sanctions
		<p>members, frequency differentiated by age groups); Monthly participation in educational communication actions for health self-care.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Nutrition and food</i>: Support to be targeted on household food and consumption of nutritional supplements. 	<p>- <i>Health</i>: Non-fulfilment of conditionality (food support, energy, <i>Vivir Mejor</i> food support and <i>Vivir Mejor</i> child support).</p> <p>Two-monthly suspension</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Education</i>: When certification of the students attendance is not received on time. <p>Suspension for the rest of the school cycle:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Education</i>: When the scholarship holder accumulates three months of suspension or 12 or more unjustified absences in a given cycle. <p>Indefinite suspension:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Education</i>: When the basic education scholarship holder is in the same school grade for the third time. The benefits are renewed when the grade is passed. - <i>Health</i>: When conditionalities are not fulfilled for four consecutive months or six discontinuous months in the last 12 months. For older adults, when fulfilment of the conditionality of attending health services is not certified.

Table III.8 (continued)

Country	Programme	Conditionalities	Sanctions
Nicaragua	Social Protection Network (RPS)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Education</i>: Attendance at school with a maximum of three unjustified absences per month (95% attendance) for children between 7 and 13 years of age; The household must submit the education supply transfer as specified. - <i>Health</i>: Keep the immunization schedule up to date (children up to 9 years of age). Attendance at medical checkups (children, adolescents and women of childbearing age). - <i>Basic capacities</i>: Attendance at twice monthly training sessions (mothers and adolescents). Household commitment to send young people of between 14 and 25 years of age to occupational training courses, literacy training or the Differentiated Support Scheme (EDA). - <i>Training</i>: Attendance at vocational training workshops. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Others</i>: When the titleholder of the beneficiary family who receives the support through direct delivery has not appeared on two consecutive occasions to receive it. When the titleholder of the beneficiary family who receives the support through a bank deposit does not make any movement on the account for two or more consecutive two monthly periods.¹ Definitive suspension: - <i>Health</i>: Failure to fulfil the conditionality for two or more consecutive months (older adults). - <i>Education</i>: If the maximum number of unjustified absences is exceeded, the family loses its transfer for that cycle. Failure to justify absence results in loss of the subsidy (occupational training subsidy). - <i>Health</i>: Children must remain at a healthy weight and if they are underweight at two consecutive checkups, the family will lose the transfer.

Table III.8 (continued)

Country	Programme	Conditionalities	Sanctions
Panama	Opportunities Network	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Education</i>: Minimum 85% school attendance by children between 4 and 17 years of age. Parents must attend meetings of the school's parents association. - <i>Health</i>: Pregnant and breast-feeding women: attendance at medical checkups. Children under 5 years of age: attendance at growth and development and immunization checkups. - <i>Training</i>: At least one older adult in the household must participate in the training workshops convened every two months. 	...
Paraguay	Tekoporá	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Education</i>: Enrolment and regular attendance by children and adolescents at school; Participation by adults in literacy training programmes run by the Ministry of Education. - <i>Health</i>: Attendance at service centres for growth, development and immunization checkups for children and adolescents; Attendance at antenatal checkups for pregnant women; Attendance at basic care checkups (older adults and disabled persons). 	No.
Peru	Juntos	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Education</i>: 85% attendance at school by children between 6 and 14 years of age. - <i>Health</i>: Attendance at health checkups for children under 5 years of age, and pregnant and breast-feeding women. - <i>Nutrition and food</i>: Participation by children at nutritional risk between 6 months and 3 years of age in the Food Supplement Programme for Higher Risk Groups (PACFO). - <i>Identification</i>: Obtaining of the identity card by family members. 	...
Dominican Republic	Solidarity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Education</i>: Minimum 80% school attendance and passing of the grade. - <i>Health</i>: Attendance at health checkups for children under 5 years of age; Attendance at health training activities. - <i>Identification</i>: Processing and obtaining of identity documents for family members who do not have them (birth certificate or identity card). 	Definitive suspension if there is non-compliance with the conditionality in three consecutive periods.

Table III.8 (concluded)

Country	Programme	Conditionalities	Sanctions
Trinidad and Tobago	Targeted Conditional Cash Transfer Programme (TCCTP)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Relies on agreements in the family contract for the fulfilment of 49 minimum standards in education, health, identification, family dynamic, income, employment, and security. - <i>Employment:</i> Registration of eligible household members in an employment agency. - <i>Basic capacities:</i> Participation by users in life skills training activities (family planning and financial planning). Vocational training: Maintaining 85% attendance in vocational training courses. 	...
Uruguay	Family Allowances	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Education:</i> School enrolment and attendance. - <i>Health:</i> Periodic health checkups in public or private centres for persons with some type of physical disability. In the case of children and young people who have a psychological disability, this must be accredited in accordance with the record created by Law No. 13.711. 	If the information provided by the interested parties is proven to be partially or totally false; or if it has been impossible to verify the conditions that authorize receipt of the benefit for a reason imputable to the family in question, the Social Security Institute will suspend the benefit.

Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), Database of non-contributory social protection programmes in Latin America and the Caribbean.

^a The method used to control the conditionalities in the first phase of programme implementation (2005-2008) was replaced by the monitoring of educational, health and social risks by the programme, — with a view to its intervention and support — cross-referencing of interstate information on the family nucleus, and the commitment by users to keep family data up to date and participate in prevention and promotion activities.

^b In the case of the variable subsidy per adolescent, the benefit is cancelled after the third non-fulfilment.

^c In the case of the school transport subsidy, up to 10 unjustified absences are accepted.

^d Without conditions for older adults and persons with disabilities.

^e In the case of the *Bono Juvenil* youth allowance, daily school attendance is required and a minimum grade of 70%.

^f The National Coordination Unit holds the transfers for two bimonthly periods before removing the family from the beneficiaries list.

Chapter IV

Investment and coverage³⁸

In the decade and a half that has passed since the first CCTs were implemented in Brazil, with its *Bolsa Escola*, school grant, and in Mexico, with its Education, Health and Food Programme (*Progresa*), these non-contributory social assistance programmes have grown at a steady pace in the Latin American and Caribbean countries in terms of both population coverage and investment (traditionally known as spending).³⁹ This has occurred against the backdrop of a steady increase in public social investment, which has risen from 12.3% of GDP in the biennium 1990-1991 to 18.4% in the period 2007-2008 (ECLAC, 2011).

Around 2000, CCTs or their direct precursors —major poverty reduction programmes based on direct income transfers, such as Ecuador’s Solidarity Grant and the Family Allowance Programme (PRAF) in Honduras— were already operating in six countries, covering about 6% of the region’s population and investing the equivalent of 0.19% of GDP.⁴⁰ These programmes expanded very rapidly in the following five years, so that by 2005 they had spread to 17 countries in the region and covered 14% of the region’s population, investing the equivalent of 0.24% of GDP. Spending on CCTs increased to 0.34% of GDP in 2008 and 0.40% of GDP in 2009; this

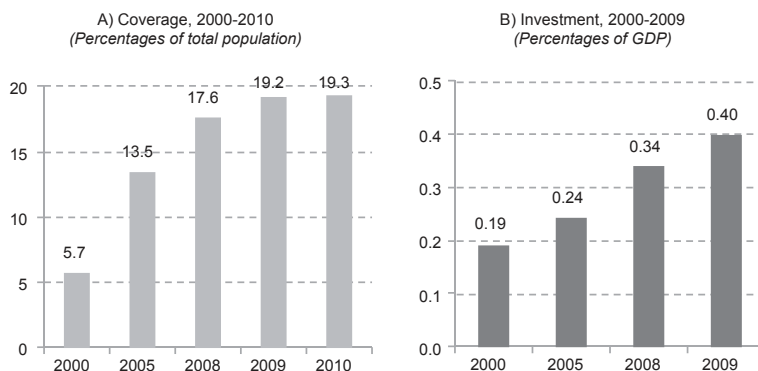
³⁸ The statistical information in this chapter comes from the ECLAC database on non-contributory social protection programmes in Latin America and the Caribbean, [online] <http://dds.cepal.org/bdptc/>.

³⁹ In the statistics for public finances and national accounts, “social spending” is used to refer to all resources allocated to finance social policy, and its programmes and projects. Here, however, the term “social investment” is preferred, in the light of the returns it generates in terms of human development (Martínez and Collinao, 2010).

⁴⁰ The six countries are Brazil, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Honduras, Mexico and Nicaragua.

latter increase was due to the combined effects of rising budgets for these programmes and falling GDP as a result of the global economic crisis (see figure IV.1).

Figure IV.1
LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN (19 COUNTRIES): COVERAGE OF AND INVESTMENT IN CONDITIONAL CASH TRANSFER PROGRAMMES^a



Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), on the basis of official information provided by the respective countries.

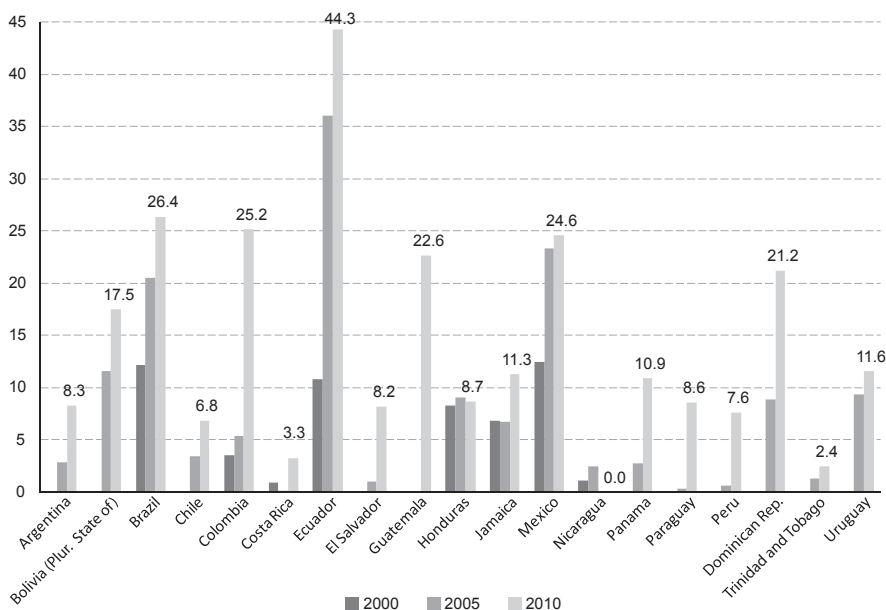
^a Weighted averages.

In 2010, eighteen countries had CCTs, following the launch of the Targeted Conditional Cash Transfer Programme (CCT) in Trinidad and Tobago in 2006 and *Mi Familia Progres*a in Guatemala in 2008, and the halting of such programmes by Nicaragua in 2006. In addition, new programmes have been launched or existing ones modified in recent years. In 2009, Argentina launched its Universal Child Allowance for Social Protection, which took over the beneficiaries of the Families for Social Inclusion programme, and the Plurinational State of Bolivia created the Juana Azurduy de Padilla Mother-and-Child Grant. In 2010, Honduras added a transfer of 10,000 lempiras a year to each family under the Family Allowance Programme (the *Bono 10,000*, worth about US\$ 500) with a view to improving education, health and nutrition in indigent households with children and adolescents (see table 1 of the annex).

As a result of this expansion, in 2010 CCTs were reaching over 25 million Latin American and Caribbean families, including 12.6 million Brazilian families and 5.6 million Mexican families. These programmes therefore cover around 19% of the population (113 million people), with an investment effort representing 0.40% of GDP (see figure IV.1). In 2010, six of the 10 countries for which information is available increased their CCT budgets in nominal terms, while four cut them.

The coverage levels actually achieved by each programme vary substantially. As of about 2010, Ecuador, with its Human Development Grant, is the country where the largest percentage of the population (44%) is covered by a CCT (see figure IV.2 and table 1 of the annex). The programmes with the largest number of beneficiaries in absolute terms are *Bolsa Família* in Brazil (52 million people, or about half of all CCT beneficiaries in the region), *Oportunidades* in Mexico (27 million) and Families in Action in Colombia (12 million). *Bolsa Família* and *Oportunidades* are also the programmes with the largest budgets in the region (at US\$ 6.2 billion and US\$ 3.5 billion, respectively), although in terms of percentage of GDP, their 0.47% and 0.51% are surpassed by Ecuador's Human Development Grant (1.17% of GDP) (see figure IV.3 and table 1 of the annex). In six countries (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Ecuador, Mexico and Uruguay), the number of beneficiaries is as great as or greater than the number of indigent people (see figure IV.4 and table 1 of the annex).⁴¹

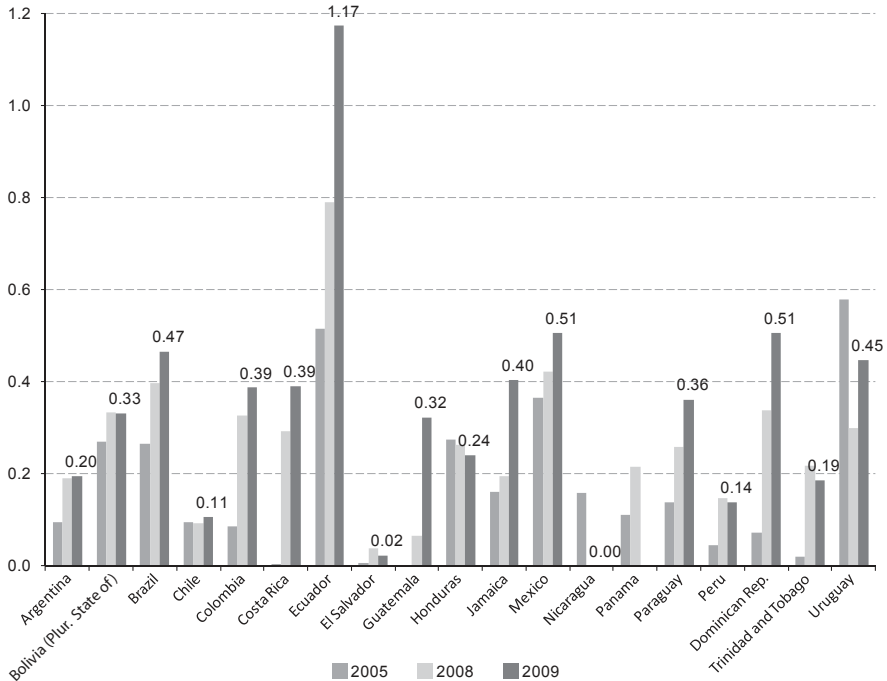
Figure IV.2
LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN (19 COUNTRIES): COVERAGE OF
CONDITIONAL CASH TRANSFER PROGRAMMES, AROUND 2000, 2005 AND 2010
(Percentages of total population)



Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), on the basis of official information provided by the respective countries.

⁴¹ Not considering programme inclusion and exclusion errors.

Figure IV.3
 LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN (19 COUNTRIES): INVESTMENT IN
 CONDITIONAL CASH TRANSFER PROGRAMMES, AROUND 2005, 2008 AND 2009
 (Percentages of GDP)

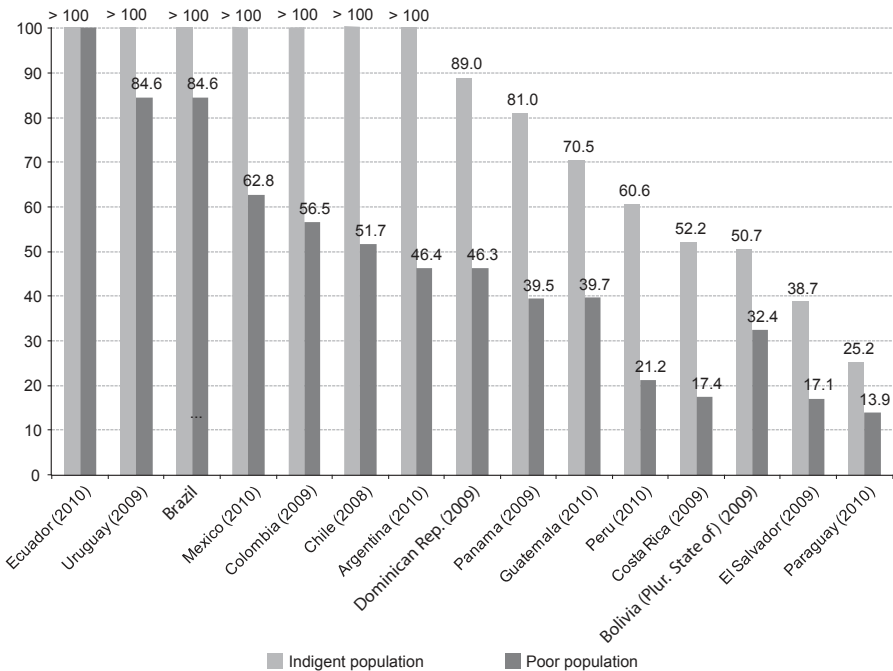


Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), on the basis of official information provided by the respective countries.

A shared feature of the broadest programmes is that before they began, there were already other significant poverty reduction programmes in place. In Mexico, *Oportunidades* was preceded by the National Solidarity Programme (*Pronasol*) and, more directly, by the Education, Health and Food Programme (*Progres*a). In Brazil, the *Bolsa Escola* school grant—a programme of minimum income linked to education, created in 2001—and the sectoral income transfer programmes—the *Bolsa Alimentação* food grant, the *Cartão Alimentação* food card and the *Auxílio Gás* gas subsidy—were gradually incorporated into *Bolsa Família* between 2003 and 2006. In 1998-2002 in Ecuador, the Solidarity Grant, a non-conditional cash transfer, preceded the Human Development Grant. In the case of Colombia, 2007 saw a large increase in the number of recipient families when, six years following their creation,

conditional transfer programmes began to function in urban areas and covered over 200,000 displaced persons, as well as the indigenous and Afro-Colombian communities (see figure IV.5).

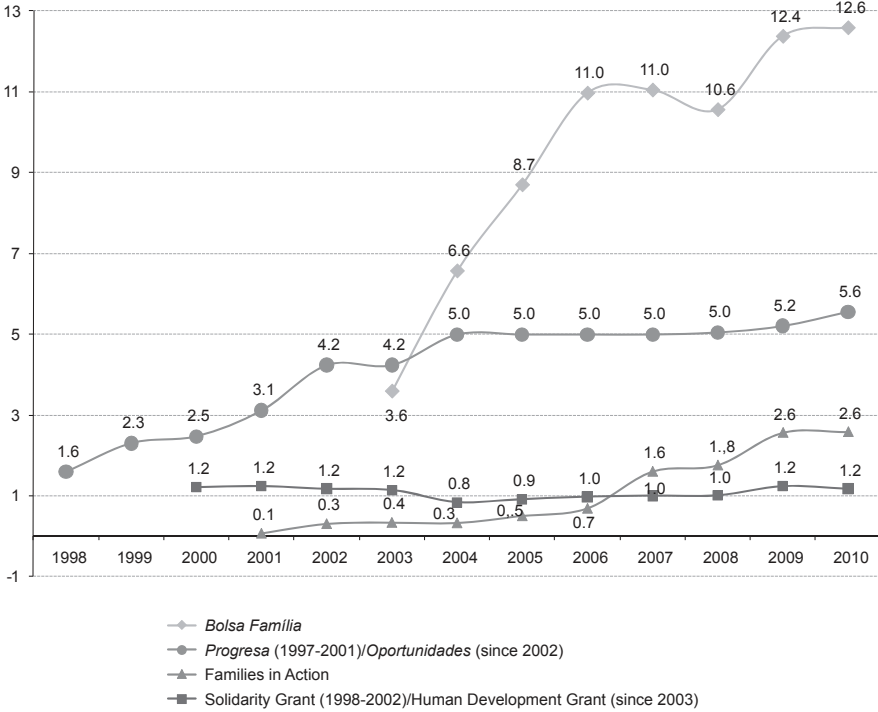
Figure IV.4
LATIN AMERICA (15 COUNTRIES): COVERAGE OF CONDITIONAL CASH
TRANSFER PROGRAMMES, 2009-2010
(Percentages of the indigent and poor populations) ^a



Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), on the basis of special tabulations of data from household surveys and official information from the relevant countries.

^a Data on coverage of the programmes with respect to the indigent and poor population do not include errors of inclusion and exclusion.

Figure IV.5
BRAZIL, COLOMBIA, ECUADOR AND MEXICO: COVERAGE OF CONDITIONAL CASH
TRANSFER PROGRAMMES
(Millions of families)



Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), Database of non-contributory social protection programmes in Latin America and the Caribbean; and M. Naranjo, "Ecuador: análisis de la contribución de los programas sociales al logro de los Objetivos del Milenio", Project documents, No. 201 (LC/W.201), Santiago, ECLAC, 2008.

A. Countries' efforts towards eradicating extreme poverty

In order to measure countries' efforts in terms of the amount of resources used for CCTs to eradicate extreme poverty, we created an indicator to link CCT investment with the indigent population's aggregate annual resource deficit in relation to the indigence line (with both values expressed as a percentage of GDP) (see table IV.1). On the basis of a methodology used by the United Nations (2005), the aggregate deficit is calculated by dividing GDP by the resources needed to lift all the country's indigent people out of extreme poverty (see tables 3 and 4 of the annex).

The ratio between CCT investment and the aggregate resource deficit of the indigent population shows that these programmes represent an average of 30% of the annual monetary resources needed to eradicate extreme poverty in the region. This is taking into account the fact that the aggregate deficit underestimates the scale of real monetary flows necessary to eradicate indigence permanently. First, the calculation assumes that the transfer of resources to indigent people is perfectly targeted (both in terms of beneficiary selection and setting of transfer sums for each person) and does not generate administrative costs. Second, it must be acknowledged that extreme poverty cannot be eradicated using current income transfers alone, but requires multidimensional and long-term interventions aimed at breaking the intergenerational transmission of poverty. This means that people must have, *inter alia*, access to appropriate levels of education and health, as these are vital inputs for the autonomous generation of sufficient resources through entry into the labour market (United Nations, 2005).

These data also show how uneven the situation is among the region's countries. In Uruguay, which has the smallest poverty gap in Latin America, the aggregate deficit is very small (and investment in Family Allowances is therefore 10 times larger). In Brazil and Mexico, which have the region's largest CCTs, investment in these programmes is almost double the aggregate resource deficit of the indigent population (which coincides with wide coverage, relatively high programme benefits and a relatively small deficit of 0.28% or less of GDP). Costa Rica and Ecuador are the other countries where CCT investment is greater than the aggregate deficit, while in Chile this investment covers 93% of the small deficit. The situation is more critical in smaller countries such as El Salvador, the Plurinational State of Bolivia, Guatemala, Honduras and Paraguay, where the indicator is no more than 22%. Colombia, Panama and the Dominican Republic are in an intermediate situation, as they cover between 44% and 60% of the annual aggregate resource deficit of the indigent population (see table IV.1).

Table IV.1
LATIN AMERICA (14 COUNTRIES): AGGREGATE ANNUAL RESOURCE DEFICIT
SEPARATING THE INDIGENT POPULATION FROM THE INDIGENCE LINE AND
INVESTMENT IN CONDITIONAL CASH TRANSFER PROGRAMMES, 2009

Country	Annual aggregate deficit (millions of dollars)	GDP (millions of dollars)	Annual aggregate deficit (percentage of GDP)	Programme	Annual investment in CCTs (percentage of GDP)	CCT investment/ aggregate deficit (percentages)
Bolivia (Plurinational State of) ^a	445.1	17 340.0	2.57	Juancito Pinto Grant and Juana Azurduy de Padilla Mother-and-Child Grant	0.56	21.9
Brazil	3 949.5	1 595 122.9	0.25	<i>Bolsa Família</i>	0.47	188.3
Chile	188.1	163 305.0	0.12	Solidarity Chile	0.11	92.5
Colombia	2 035.1	232 270.9	0.88	Families in Action	0.39	44.2
Costa Rica	82.9	29 283.7	0.28	<i>Avancemos</i>	0.39	137.8
Ecuador	443.0	52 021.9	0.85	Human Development Grant	1.17	137.9
El Salvador	162.8	21 100.5	0.77	Solidarity in Rural Communities	0.02	2.9
Guatemala	1 029.3	37 660.6	2.73	<i>Mi Familia Progres</i>	0.32	11.8
Honduras ^a	770.3	14 318.2	5.38	Family Allowance Programme (PRAF)	0.24	4.5
Mexico ^b	2 465.5	1 093 678.3	0.23	<i>Oportunidades</i>	0.42	187.2
Panama ^b	83.1	23 001.6	0.36	Opportunities Network	0.22	59.8
Paraguay	523.2	17 097.5	3.06	<i>Tekoporã</i>	0.36	11.8
Dominican Republic	514.3	46 597.6	1.10	Solidarity	0.51	46.1
Uruguay	12.2	31 510.9	0.04	Family Allowances	0.45	1154.4
Latin America	12 704.3 ^c	3 374 309.5 ^c	1.33 ^d		0.40 ^d	30.2

Source: Prepared by the authors, on the basis of Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), Social Panorama of Latin America, 2010 (LC/G.2481-P), Santiago, Chile, 2011. United Nations publication, Sales No. E.10.II.G.6; and CEPALSTAT database.

^a 2007.

^b 2008.

^c Total.

^d Simple average.

The same methodology can be used to calculate the annual resource deficit separating the poor population from the poverty line (see table IV.2 and tables 5 and 6 of the annex), which shows that the regional average is for CCT investment to cover just 7.2% of that deficit. In the region, only Uruguay's Family Allowances programme gets close to covering the resource deficit of the poor, while the CCTs of countries that manage to cover the deficit of the indigent population (Brazil, Costa Rica, Ecuador and Mexico) manage to cover between just 22% and 32% of the deficit for poor people.

Table IV.2
LATIN AMERICA (14 COUNTRIES): AGGREGATE ANNUAL RESOURCE DEFICIT
SEPARATING THE POOR POPULATION FROM THE POVERTY LINE AND
INVESTMENT IN CONDITIONAL CASH TRANSFER PROGRAMMES, 2009

Country	Annual aggregate deficit (millions of dollars)	GDP (millions of dollars)	Annual aggregate deficit (percentage of GDP)	Programme	Annual investment in CCTs (percentage of GDP)	CCT investment/ aggregate deficit (percentages)
Bolivia (Plurinational State of) ^a	1 566.7	17 340.0	9.03	Juancito Pinto Grant and Juana Azurduy de Padilla Mother-and-Child Grant	0.56	6.2
Brazil	30 028.1	1 595 122.9	1.88	<i>Bolsa Família</i>	0.47	25.0
Chile	860.7	163 305.0	0.53	Solidarity Chile	0.11	20.9
Colombia	13 969.1	232 270.9	6.01	Families in Action	0.39	6.4
Costa Rica	360.1	29 283.7	1.23	<i>Avancemos</i>	0.39	31.7
Ecuador	2 202.6	52 021.9	4.23	Human Development Grant	1.17	27.6
El Salvador	1 126.6	21 100.5	5.34	Solidarity in Rural Communities	0.02	0.4
Guatemala	4 510.3	37 660.6	11.98	<i>Mi Familia Progresá</i>	0.32	2.7
Honduras ^a	2 464.2	14 318.2	17.21	Family Allowance Programme (PRAF)	0.24	1.4
Mexico ^b	20 916.8	1 093 678.3	1.91	<i>Oportunidades</i>	0.42	22.1
Panama ^b	349.7	23 001.6	1.52	Opportunities Network	0.22	14.5
Paraguay	1 959.5	17 097.5	11.46	<i>Tekoporã</i>	0.36	3.1

Table IV.2 (concluded)

Country	Annual aggregate deficit <i>(millions of dollars)</i>	GDP <i>(millions of dollars)</i>	Annual aggregate deficit <i>(percentage of GDP)</i>	Programme	Annual investment in CCTs <i>(percentage of GDP)</i>	CCT investment/aggregate deficit <i>(percentages)</i>
Dominican Republic	2 200.5	46 597.6	4.72	Solidarity	0.51	10.8
Uruguay	152.5	31 510.9	0.48	Family Allowances	0.45	93.0
Latin America	82 667.4 ^c	3 417 124.2 ^c	5.58 ^d		0.40 ^d	7.2

Source: Prepared by the authors, on the basis of Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), Social Panorama of Latin America, 2010 (LC/G.2481-P), Santiago, Chile, 2011. United Nations publication, Sales No. E.10.II.G.6; and CEPALSTAT database.

^a 2007.

^b 2008.

^c Total.

^d Simple average.

Chapter V

Impact

The purpose of impact assessments is to identify any changes and improvements that need to be made to CCTs and to provide objective and transparent information to citizens, and this can ensure the continuity of successful programmes even in the face of political transitions. Thanks to impact assessments, programme officials can find out about the planned (and unplanned) effects of CCTs and discover shortcomings in implementation that stand in the way of achieving the proposed objectives (González de la Rocha, 2010).⁴²

Currently, the preferred methods for measuring such impacts are experimental or quasi-experimental assessments that evaluate programmes' various aspects by means of control groups. This consists in comparing programme users (treatment group) with a control group that has similar socio-economic characteristics (Rawlings and Rubio, 2005). Qualitative assessments are also being used to enrich analysis, as they provide an understanding of processes triggered by the programmes. For instance, they can detect effects not planned for in the programme's theory, changes in relationships within households and in interactions between the poorest people and institutions, as well as helping to understand what it is like for users to take part in the programme and assessing effects such as the empowerment of women.

A significant number of assessments come from the *Progres-Oportunidades* programme in Mexico, which is considered an iconic

⁴² Process assessments (relating to the rules of operation) can be used to check whether a given CCT was implemented as intended.

example of the systematic collection of data for impact assessment, data publication and the subsequent production of a large number of studies (Fiszbein and Schady, 2009, p. 6; González de la Rocha, 2010). In Mexico, assessment was explicitly incorporated into the programme design, which was not the case with other major programmes such as *Bolsa Família*, where there is no comparable availability of assessment data and analysis (González de la Rocha, 2010). In the case of *Chile Solidario*, Larrañaga and Contreras (2010) show that impact assessment has been restricted by the limited availability and quality of information.

CCTs have a variety of impacts on families' incomes and consumption, their use of public services, their educational level and the nutritional and health status of the recipient population. These programmes have different results in terms of income generation and employment status of the working-age population, child labour and empowerment of women. Depending on whether the main objective of a CCT is to reduce poverty in the short term through income transfers, strengthen human capacities through increased access to health and education services or improve families' involvement in society by enhancing a series of "social minimums", there would be an expectation for these aspects to be affected in different ways (Cecchini and Martínez, 2011). What follows is a brief analysis of the impact that CCTs have had on human capacities, poverty and income distribution, consumption, employment status, child labour and women's empowerment.

A. Human capacity indicators

Assessments of the effects of CCTs on human capacities show that there have been advances in terms of "intermediate goals" (Bastagli, 2008) such as improving access to schools and health services. However, there is no conclusive information on other aspects such as learning (Reimers, DeShano da Silva and Trevino, 2006) or children's nutritional or health status (Castiñeira, Nunes and Rungo, 2009; Hoddinott and Bassett, 2009).

In the education component of CCTs, the effects are usually concentrated in increases in school enrolment (Schady, 2006). The increases tend to be greater in countries where the base levels are lower, in transitional school grades with high dropout rates (such as from primary to secondary school) and in the poorest households. De Brauw and Hoddinott (2008) identify, for the educational component of *Progresá*, that conditionality generates a significant difference in the probability of attending school. In addition, the *Oportunidades* programme has practically eradicated the gender gaps in the enrolment of boys and girls in secondary schools, especially in rural areas (Parker, 2003, 2004). Other assessments

(SEDESOL, 2008) show important progress in reducing school dropout rates, increasing school enrolment and improving qualifications, albeit in specific geographical areas, age ranges and levels of schooling. Similarly, Levy and Ohls (2007) found that the Programme of Advancement Through Health and Education (PATH) in Jamaica increases school attendance among 6-to 17-year-old children by 0.5 days per month, which is significant considering the high rates of attendance (96%). In the Dominican Republic, the Solidarity programme has been found to increase the probability of attending school by 14 percentage points among students aged 14 to 16 (Programa Solidaridad, 2008). Furthermore, the *Tekoporâ* programme in Paraguay has pushed up enrolment rates by 2.5% among the children of beneficiary families, while the school attendance rate is up by between 5 and 8 percentage points (Veras Soares and others, 2008).

However, considering a larger set of programmes and in the light of other studies, Reimers, DeShano da Silva and Trevino (2006) question the effects of conditional transfers on school attendance, especially in primary education. The Families in Action programme, for instance, has been found to increase school attendance more among secondary pupils than among primary pupils, which may be attributable to the high attendance levels in the latter group prior to programme implementation (Attanasio and others, 2008).

As for the health and nutrition components of CCTs, although increased coverage is seen for children's growth checks and preventive medical tests, the evidence about the impact on children's health and nutritional status is uneven (Hoddinott and Bassett, 2009). In Jamaica, for example, medical checks rose by 38% for children aged under 6 years part in the PATH programme (Levy and Ohls, 2007). Certain programmes that include nutritional benefits, including *Oportunidades*, Families in Action, *Bolsa Família* and the defunct Social Protection Network (RPS), produce improved nutritional indicators for pre-school children, while the *Bolsa Alimentação* food grant, *Tekoporâ* and the Family Allowance Programme (PRAF) show no such positive effects (Attanasio, Trias and Vera-Hernández, 2008; Barrios, Galeano and Sánchez, 2008; Bassett, 2008; Hoddinott and Bassett, 2008; Paes and Pacheco, 2008). In Colombia, one year's participation in the Families in Action programme brings down the incidence of chronic malnutrition by 1% (Attanasio, Trias and Vera-Hernández, 2008). In Brazil, children aged under 5 who use the *Bolsa Família* programme are 26% more likely to have healthy height-to-weight and weight-to-age ratios, compared with children who are not programme beneficiaries (Paes and Pacheco, 2008). In the case of *Progres/Oportunidades*, there has been an increase in preventive consultations, a reduction in maternal and child mortality and an improvement in nutritional indicators, such as height and anaemia prevention, as well as a fall in the number of sick days (SEDESOL, 2008).

Yet again, all these findings relate to specific population groups in terms of geographical location and age range.

These results should highlight an important point from a strictly methodological standpoint. A study by Younger, Ponce and Hidalgo (2009) includes a comparison of the various assessments of *Progresa* and *Oportunidades* in terms of methodology and nutritional effects. The study showed that changing the information source, year of measurement or methods and techniques used radically altered the results (see box V.1). Clarity in terms of these methodological aspects must therefore be borne in mind when it comes to presenting available evidence.

Box V.1

ASSESSMENTS OF THE IMPACT OF *PROGRESA* - *OPORTUNIDADES* ON CHILD FOOD SECURITY

Younger, Ponce and Hidalgo (2009) analyse the results of several studies into the impact of *Progresa-Oportunidades* on three variables relating to child food security: (i) height, which is an important reflection of aspects of child nutrition and health, (ii) blood haemoglobin concentration, which shows children's physical capacity and cognitive development and is affected by short-term changes in nutrition and health, and (iii) household food spending. The authors demonstrate that the studies showed effects of varying levels and degrees of significance for populations of different ages belonging to particular socio-economic strata or living in distinct locations (rural or urban areas).

In order to assess the impact on these variables, the studies in question consider various samples and periods from the available surveys. For instance, although Gertler (2004) and Behrman and Hoddinott (2005) did carry out studies with an experimental design, they cross-referenced available information from the rural household assessment survey (ENCEL) from 1998 with a parallel survey carried out by the Institute for Nutrition and Public Health (INSP). While this methodology makes it possible to cross-reference data from both surveys in order to combine information on characterization and more specific health and nutritional aspects, this did cause problems relating to the different sample sizes of the surveys. As a result, the studies based on the 2003 rural household assessment survey include information from 151 new areas as control groups that were not included in previous versions but selected using propensity score matching. Lastly, the studies that use information from the urban household assessment survey do not use an experimental design. Even though a panel of control and treatment groups in urban areas was identified using the method of community matching, in *Oportunidades* the urban areas were not selected at random as they were for the rural version, but rather they were selected for administrative reasons, and then subsequently matched with other similar communities that would not be using the programme until 2004.

Box V.1 (continued)

PROGRESA - OPORTUNIDADES: SUMMARY OF THE RESULTS OF ASSESSMENTS ON THE IMPACT UPON NUTRITION

Study	Database and period	Method	Indicator	Results
Anthropometry				
Rivera and others (2004)	ENCEL, rural households, ^a 1998-2000	Experimental, difference in difference, OLS ^b regression	Height	+1 cm compared with the control group, significant for the age group 0 to 6 months and low SEL ^c
Gertler (2004)	ENCEL, rural households, 1998-1999 and INSP ^d	Experimental, difference in difference, OLS regression	Height	+1 cm compared with the control group, significant for the age group 0 to 24 months
Behrman and Hoddinott (2005)	ENCEL, rural households, 1998-1999 and INSP	Experimental, fixed effects for each child	Height	Non-significant
Hoddinott (2008)	ENCEL, rural households, 1998-1999 and INSP	Experimental, probit regressions	Chronic malnutrition	Chronic malnutrition down 10% in the treatment group, significant for ages 12 to 36 months
Fernald, Gertler and Neufeld (2008)	ENCEL, rural households 2003	Non experimental, regression	Height/age of children who have spent their whole lives in the programme, according to cumulative total of transfers to the household (indirect impact of transfer	Doubling the transfer amount increases height by 0.20 Z scores, significant for ages 24 to 68 months: +0.24 cm for children aged 24 months, +0.29 cm for children aged 48 months and +0.35 cm for children aged 68 months
Leroy and others (2008)	ENCEL, urban households ^e 2002-2004	Difference in difference	Height	+1.53 cm, significant for ages 0 to 6 months
Neufeld and others (2008)	ENCEL, urban subsample, 2003-2004	Difference in difference	Height/age	Non-significant
Micronutrients				
Rivera and others (2004)	ENCEL, rural households, 1998-2000	Experimental, difference in difference, OLS regression	Level of haemoglobin in the blood, incidence of anaemia	1999= +0.37g/dl of haemoglobin, -11% anaemia, significant for all ages and SELs 2000 = differences disappear

Box V.1 (concluded)

Gertler (2004)	ENCEL, rural households, 1998-1999 and INSP	Experimental, difference in difference, OLS regression	Incidence of anaemia	-25% incidence of anaemia, older children benefit more
Neufeld and others (2004)	ENCEL, rural households, 2003	Experimental, redefinition of treatment group (two groups: original and delayed) and new control group; 1) simple differences between treatment groups, 2) propensity score matching for treatment in relation to control	Level of haemoglobin	1) +0.4g/dl of haemoglobin, significant for those aged 48 to 59 months 2) +0.42 g/dl of haemoglobin, significant for those aged 60 to 71 months
Fernald, Gertler y Neufeld (2008)	ENCEL, rural households, 2003	Non experimental, regression	Levels of haemoglobin according to cumulative total of transfers to household	Non-significant
Neufeld and others (2006)	ENCEL, urban households, 2002-2004 (cross-sectional) and ENCEL, urban subsample, 2003-2004	Difference in difference. 2002-2004 sample children aged 24 to 47 months; 2003-2004 subsample for children aged 12 to 35 months in 2003	Levels of haemoglobin	+0.4g/dl of haemoglobin, significant for those aged 24 to 35 months in the 2004 cohort

Source: Prepared by the authors, on the basis of S. Younger, J. Ponce and D. Hidalgo, "El impacto de programas de transferencias a las madres de familia en la seguridad alimentaria de los niños: un análisis comparado entre México y Ecuador", document presented at the Third International Seminar on Cash Transfers Programmes, Hunger and Stunting Eradication, Santiago, Chile, 1-2 December 2009 [online] <http://www.ric.fao.org/es/prioridades/seguridad/ingreso3/pdf/imp>.

^a Household assessment survey (ENCEL), in rural areas. Panel design including four rounds between 1998 and 2000, plus another round in 2003. Gathers data on spending and consumption. Includes random distribution of treatment in communities.

^b Ordinary least squares.

^c Socio-economic level.

^d Institute for Nutrition and Public Health (INSP) survey. Panel design including three rounds between 1998 and 2000. Gathers data on anthropometry and haemoglobin. Can be cross-referenced with ENCEL, but there are difficulties due to different sample sizes;

^e Household assessment survey (ENCEL), in urban areas. Panel with base line in 2002 plus two rounds in 2003 and 2004. Gathers data on anthropometry and haemoglobin and micronutrients. Does not include an experimental design.

It should also be borne in mind that it is not easy to measure the impact of CCTs on an improvement in indicators over which they only have an indirect effect. For instance, when CCTs are credited with nutritional improvements thanks to the increased intake of nutritious food, it is worth asking whether the characteristics of CCTs alone are responsible for increased consumption of these foods. Does the introduction of conditional transfers have some direct link? Could this have been achieved without conditions? What is the role of national food and nutrition policies in this result (beyond the effect of CCTs)? In summary, as CCTs mainly consist in actions that supplement human development (such as incentives to use social services), one would be ill-advised to seek a causal effect of CCTs on, for instance, improved school performance without considering what is happening in schools and in terms of other relevant variables. Returning to the topic of nutrition, although transfers do push up consumption, how much of them is used to buy food (and food that is nutritious for all family members) does not necessarily depend on the transfer itself (although it could be influenced by certain aspects of a CCT programme, such as talks on food). Similarly, while conditions may help to improve outcomes such as attendance at health checks and compliance with vaccination schedules, it is less easy for programmes to have an effect on increasing the level of haemoglobin in the blood.

The foregoing leads to two preliminary conclusions. First, CCTs must be considered within the wider context of each country's social policy, and more specifically as part of a series of actions aimed at laying the foundations for an inclusive and comprehensive social protection system, so as to achieve combined effects on human capacities. Second, considerable research is required to investigate further the differentiated effects of the various components of CCTs (cash and non-monetary transfers, talks and training, links with other programmes, and so on), as well as the cumulative effects that these and other associated programmes have on human development objectives.

B. Income inequality and poverty indicators

Income-oriented evaluations of conditional cash transfer programmes are divided between those which focus on their impacts from the beneficiary viewpoint and those which measure their effects on the countries' poverty indices.

The impact of transfers on the incomes of recipient families can be substantial in the short term, although this varies from one programme to another (ECLAC, 2010a; Maluccio, 2005; Fiszbein and Schady, 2009). According to ECLAC (2010a), conditional transfers and other public welfare

transfers represent an average of 10.3% of the per capita income of recipient households. Furthermore, this type of monetary benefit may double pre-transfer income in the first decile of income distribution (ECLAC, 2010a).

One way of visualizing the diversity in this respect is to measure the percentage represented by the relevant cash transfers in comparison with the poverty line or indigence line in each country. Table V.1 contains data on the 14 Latin American countries in which it was possible to compare the minimum and maximum per capita amount of the transfers and the values of the poverty and indigence lines in the same year and geographical area in which they were delivered. That information shows that, in rural areas, the amount of the transfers averages 12% of the indigence line and 7% of the poverty line, while in urban areas they are equivalent to 11% and 5%, respectively. As far as the maximum amount per capita is concerned, the regional average for rural areas is for transfers to represent 35% of the indigence line and 20% of the poverty line, while in urban areas the figures are 29% and 15%, respectively.⁴³ In Brazil, the maximum amount of all transfers represents 53% of the rural indigence line, and in Mexico it represents 63% of that line (see table V.1).

Another way of evaluating the potential impact of conditional cash transfers on the income of poor and indigent families is to compare the sums involved with the monthly resource deficit of this population. The data for indigent families are in table V.2 and those for poor families in table V.3.⁴⁴ Although in general transfers represent no more than a third of the income deficit of the indigent population, all transfers from the region's two largest programmes (*Bolsa Família* and *Oportunidades*) can bring extremely poor families above the indigence line. In these programmes, the maximum transfers cover more than 100% of the resource deficit of the indigent population. Other programmes where the transfers more than cover the income deficit of the indigent population are *Avancemos* in Costa Rica and the Basic Solidarity Pension in Chile.⁴⁵ The Human Development Grant in Ecuador and the conditional monetary transfers of the Opportunities Network in Panama can cover more than half of the income deficit of indigent people. At the other extreme, with a very limited impact on the income of the indigent population, is PRAF in Honduras.

⁴³ In all Latin American countries, the amounts corresponding to the indigence and poverty lines are lower in rural areas than in urban areas, which is why the value of transfers as a percentage of these lines is higher in rural than urban areas.

⁴⁴ For more information on calculating the deficit, see section IV.A and in tables 3, 4, 5 and 6 of the annex.

⁴⁵ In Chile, older adults using Solidarity Chile and any who have no right to another pension and who are among the poorest 60% of the population are eligible for the Basic Solidarity Pension. This shows the relevance of other types of non-contributory transfers, beyond conditional ones, when it comes to reducing poverty and indigence.

As a regional average, minimum transfer amounts represent 27.4% of the mean monthly resource deficit of the indigent population in urban areas, and 31.3% of the same deficit in rural areas. The proportion of the mean monthly deficit of those in extreme poverty covered by the maximum transfer amount is 81.4% in urban areas and 98.4% in rural areas. On average, minimum transfer amounts represent 13.5% of the monthly resource deficit of the poor population in urban areas and 17% in rural areas, while maximum amounts cover 39.9% of the deficit in urban areas and 53.4% in rural areas.

The impact of transfers on poverty at the country level is visible mostly in indicators of the poverty gap (FGT1) and of poverty severity (FGT2) (Veras Soares, 2009a), since transfers tend to focus on the poorest groups (see figure II.1). They do not always, however, represent a large amount, so they can raise the recipients' status closer to the poverty line without necessarily exceeding it.

Information on the positive impacts of conditional cash transfer programmes on poverty at the national level comes from countries where they have considerable scope and the amounts of transfers are significant, such as Argentina (Galasso and Ravallion, 2004), Brazil (Cury, Coelho and Pedrozo, 2007; Fiszbein and Schady, 2009; Veras Soares and others, 2006), Ecuador (Naranjo, 2008b; Fiszbein and Schady, 2009), Jamaica (Fiszbein and Schady, 2009) and Mexico (Fiszbein and Schady, 2009; Skoufias and McClafferty, 2001). In those where the coverage and amount of the transfers are lower, there is no major impact on poverty. In the case of Honduras, Guerreiro Osório (2008) concludes that the modest amount of the transfers under the Family Allowance Programme (PRAF) has led to a decline in poverty of only 0.02 percentage points.

In terms of the impact of CCTs on income distribution, the results for *Bolsa Família*, *Oportunidades* and Solidarity Chile are very different. The effect is small in the case of Solidarity Chile, as the Gini coefficient drops by a mere 0.1 points. In *Oportunidades* and *Bolsa Família*, in contrast, the results were more significant, with a reduction of inequality of around 2.7 points in both cases. The key to understanding the difference lies in the proportion of total income represented by the transfers, as this is higher in Mexico and Brazil, and too small to impact inequality in the case of Solidarity Chile (representing less than 0.01% of total family income) (Soares and others, 2007).⁴⁶

⁴⁶ In the case of Chile, Soares and others (2007) considered the following transfers: Single Family Subsidy (SUF), Social Assistance Pension (PASIS), Protection Grant and Drinking Water Subsidy (SAP).

It is also vital to take account of sustainability over time of poverty- and inequality-reduction effects (Bastagli, 2009). The aim of reducing poverty is challenging from the perspective of a social policy that aims to achieve long-term effects, rather than just alleviate the problem at a certain moment in time.⁴⁷ To assess whether the impact of CCTs is sustainable, it is not enough to measure the proportion of total family income represented by transfers and analyse the extent to which this brings people above the indigence or poverty lines or enables them to maintain income levels in times of crisis. For programmes to have an impact on poverty, the time during which transfers are provided must also be considered, because guaranteeing them beyond the short term (thus overcoming the insecurity of subsistence problems) will place recipient families in a better position to invest in children's capacities and small enterprises, as well as improving their economic inclusion (Hanlon, Barrientos and Hulme, 2010). It is also vital to take into account the effectiveness of exit strategies when it comes to building the capacities of and enabling autonomy of households. In particular, it is difficult to see how the impact of CCTs on income will continue after the transfers stop if the programmes are not supplemented with others aimed at providing access to a range of social outreach policies and programmes.

Furthermore, it is worth mentioning the relationship between cost and effectiveness of interventions. Several authors suggest that if the sole objective is to transfer income, the best option is an unconditional transfer (given the costs associated with monitoring actions and other institutional arrangements needed for a conditional programme) (de Janvry and Sadoulet, 2006a; Samson, 2006; Freeland, 2007). Evidence shows that the costs of these procedures are unclear, especially in the stage of condition monitoring. According to the three-country study carried out by Caldés, Coady and Maluccio (2006), total costs of targeting and monitoring conditions (not including assessment activities) can represent up to 60% of the annual budget of a programme such as *Progresa*. There are also major variations in costs over time, depending on the implementation stage of the programme. This view is shared by the study by Fiszbein and Schady (2009). By separately analysing the various activities involved in *Progresa*, it can be seen that costs associated with targeting and identifying recipients as a proportion of total costs dropped from 61% in the year of its

⁴⁷ Even when short-term alleviation is the aim of a CCT, such as programmes designed for emergencies including the Crisis Response System (SAC) in Nicaragua or the Emergency Grant in Ecuador, and despite many CCTs starting off as temporary solutions to crises (including PRAF in Honduras, Families in Action in Colombia and Solidarity in the Dominican Republic), they have nonetheless tended to be expanded and institutionalized in each country so as to tackle poverty rates in the long term.

launch (1997) to 3% three years later. At the same time, the cost of checking conditions rose from 8% to 24%.

These data are in contrast with those collected by Grosh and others (2008), who found that in 10 countries the costs of paying and monitoring conditions, as well as additional support services, did not exceed 12% of the average budget (although there were underlying methodological problems with comparing countries).⁴⁸

⁴⁸ These problems related to the difficulty of considering administrative costs by function, given each country's specific arrangements in this regard (as well as differences in the systems for recording administrative data). Both issues make it difficult to compare disaggregated administrative costs of various programmes. See Lindert, Skoufias and Shapiro (2006).

Table V.1
 LATIN AMERICA (14 COUNTRIES): VALUE OF CONDITIONAL CASH TRANSFERS AND PERCENTAGE THAT THEY REPRESENT
 RELATIVE TO POVERTY AND INDIGENCE LINES, AROUND 2008
 (Monthly value per person)

Country	Programme	Type of transfer	Year	Value of transfer minimum/ maximum ^a	Minimum amount as a percentage of the indigence line (IL) and the poverty line (PL) ^b (Percentages)						Maximum amount as a percentage of the indigence line (IL) and the poverty line (PL) ^b (Percentages)											
					(Local currency) ^c			(Dollars) ^d			Urban areas			Rural areas			Urban areas			Rural areas		
					IL	PL	PL	IL	PL	PL	IL	PL	PL	IL	PL	PL	IL	PL	PL			
Argentina	Families for Social Inclusion	Non-remunerative income	2006	33/61 ^e	11/20 ^e	24 ^f	12 ^f	24 ^f	12 ^f	...	...	44 ^f	22 ^f	22 ^f	...	...				
Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	Juancito Pinto Grant		2007	17/17 ^g	2/2 ^g	7	4	7	4	9	5	7	4	9	5	5						
Brazil	<i>Bolsa Familia</i>	Basic benefit	2008	15/15	8/8	16	7	18	9	18	9	16	7	18	9	9						
		Variable benefit	2008	5/15	3/8	5	2	6	3	15	7	17	8	8	8	8						
		Variable adolescent benefit	2008	7/15	4/8	8	3	9	4	15	7	17	8	8	8	8						
		Minimum/maximum limit per household ^h	2008	15/44	8/24	16	7	18	9	46	20	53	25	25	25	25	25					
Chile	Solidarity Chile	Protection Grant	2006	1 105/2 233	2/4	5	2	6	3	10	5	13	7	7	7	7						
		Exit Grant	2006	1 105/1 105	2/2	5	2	6	3	5	2	6	3	3	3	3						
		Single Family Subsidy (SUF)	2006	1 105/1 105	2/2	5	2	6	3	5	2	6	3	3	3	3						
	Basic Solidarity Pension (PBS)	2006	10 248/10 248	19/19	44	22	56	32	44	22	56	32	44	22	56	32						

Table V.1 (continued)

Country	Programme	Type of transfer	Year	Value of transfer minimum/maximum ^a	(Local currency) ^c	Minimum amount as a percentage of the indigence line (IL) and the poverty line (PL) ^b (Percentages)				Maximum amount as a percentage of the indigence line (IL) and the poverty line (PL) ^b (Percentages)			
						Urban areas		Rural areas		Urban areas		Rural areas	
						IL	PL	IL	PL	IL	PL	IL	PL
		Minimum/maximum limit per household	2006	2 211/13 719	4/26	9	5	12	7	58	29	76	43
Colombia	Families in Action	Nutrition subsidy	2005	10 333/10 333	4/4	11	4	14	6	11	4	14	6
		Education subsidy	2005	3 111/6 222	1/3	3	1	4	2	6	3	9	4
		Minimum/maximum limit per household	2005	3 111/16 556	1/7	3	1	4	2	17	7	23	10
		Conditional cash transfer	2008	3 750/20 000	7/35	48	26	61	37	64	34	82	50
Ecuador	Human Development Grant	Human Development Grant	2008	6/6	6/6	13	7	19	11	13	7	19	11
		Pension for persons disabilities	2008	6/6	6/6	13	7	19	11	13	7	19	11
		Pension for older adults	2008	6/6	6/6	13	7	19	11	13	7	19	11
		Minimum/maximum limit per household	2008	6/19	6/19	13	7	19	11	39	21	56	34
Honduras	Family Allowance Programme (PRAF)	Mother-and-child grant	2007	17/58	1/3	2	1	3	1	6	3	9	5
		Education Grant	2007	19/19	1/1	2	1	3	2	2	1	3	2
		Grand for older person's	2007	10/10	1/1	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	1
		Minimum/maximum limit per household	2007	17/87	1/5	2	1	3	1	9	5	13	8

Table V.1 (continued)

Country	Programme	Type of transfer	Year	Value of transfer minimum/ maximum ^a	(Local currency) ^c	Minimum amount as a percentage of the indigence line (IL) and the poverty line (PL) ^b (Percentages)						Maximum amount as a percentage of the indigence line (IL) and the poverty line (PL) ^b (Percentages)						
						Urban areas			Rural areas			Urban areas			Rural areas			
						IL	PL	IL	IL	PL	IL	PL	IL	PL	IL	PL	IL	PL
Mexico	<i>Oportunidades</i>	Food support	2008	6/6	62/62	6	3	9	5	6	3	9	5	6	3	9	5	
		Education support	2008	2/16	27/171	3	1	4	2	17	9	24	14					
		Support for school supplies	2008	5/6	54/67	5	3	8	4	7	3	9	5					
		Youth with Opportunities	2008	6/6	61/61	6	3	9	5	6	3	9	5					
		Support for older persons	2008	5/5	56/56	6	3	8	5	6	3	8	5					
		Energy support	2008	1/1	11/11	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	1					
		<i>Vivir mejor</i> Food support	2008	2/2	24/24	2	1	3	2	2	1	3	2					
		Minimum/maximum limit per household ^{h,i}	2008	9/41	97/453	10	5	14	8	45	23	63	27					
	Nicaragua	Social Protection Network (RPS) ^j	Food security grant	2005	2/2	30/40	8	5	11	6				
			School bag	2005	0/0	6/6	2	1	2	1				
		Education grant	2005	2/2	30/30	...	...	8	5	...	...	8	5				
		Minimum/maximum limit per household	2005	2/5	30/76	...	...	8	5	...	...	20	12				
		Conditional cash transfer	2008	11/11	11/11	23	12	30	17	23	12	30	17					
Panama	Opportunities Network	Conditional cash transfer	2008	11/11	11/11	23	12	30	17	23	12	30	17					

Table V.1 (concluded)

Country	Programme	Type of transfer	Year	Value of transfer minimum/ maximum ^a	Minimum amount as a percentage of the indigence line (IL) and the poverty line (PL) ^b (Percentages)				Maximum amount as a percentage of the indigence line (IL) and the poverty line (PL) ^b (Percentages)				
					Urban areas		Rural areas		Urban areas		Rural areas		
					IL	PL	IL	PL	IL	PL	IL	PL	
Paraguay	<i>Tekoporá</i>	Food support	2008	12 500/12 500	3/3	4	2	6	3	4	2	6	3
		Education and health support	2008	6 250/25 000	1/6	2	1	3	2	8	4	11	7
		Minimum/maximum limit per household	2008	12 500/37 500	3/9	4	2	6	3	13	7	17	10
Dominican Republic	<i>Solidarity</i>	<i>Comer es Primero</i> food scheme	2008	175/175	5/5	8	4	9	5	8	4	9	5
		School Attendance Incentive (LLAE)	2008	75/150	2/4	4	2	4	2	7	4	8	5
		Support for older adults	2008	100/100	3/3	5	2	5	3	5	2	5	3
		Gas subsidy	2008	57/57	2/2	3	1	3	2	3	1	3	2
		Minimum/maximum limit per household	2008	232/482	7/14	11	6	12	7	23	12	26	15
Uruguay	<i>Equity Plan</i>	Food purchase card	2008	101/272	5/13	6	3	8	5	17	9	22	14
Simple average ^{k1}		Minimum/maximum limit per household			6/16	11	5	12	7	29	15	35	20

Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), Database of non-contributory social protection programmes in Latin America and the Caribbean.

^a The values of transfers refer to the minimum or initial per capita amount allocated to families. The value has been divided by the number of household members. For that purpose, the calculation was made using the information on the average size of urban households in the poorest quintile according to the most recent population statistics from the Latin American and Caribbean Demographic Centre (CELADE) – Population Division of ECLAC.

- ^b Monthly value per person of IL and PL in the corresponding year, according to the ECLAC method.
- ^c Argentina, (\$) peso; Bolivia, Plurinational State of, (Bs) boliviano; Brazil, (R\$) real; Chile, (Ch\$) peso; Colombia, (Co\$) peso; Costa Rica, (¢) colón; Ecuador, (US\$) dollar; Honduras, (Lps) lempira; Mexico, (MN\$) new peso; Nicaragua, (C\$) córdoba; Panama, (PAB) balboa; Paraguay, (G) guaraní; Dominican Republic, (RD\$) peso; Uruguay, (\$) peso.
- ^d Dollars at each year's level; conversion is made using the "rr" exchange rate of the International Monetary Fund.
- ^e Transfer takes place beginning with the second child.
- ^f Values of the indigence line (IL) and the poverty line (PL) in the second half of 2006.
- ^g Approximate monthly amount. Transfers are paid in a single annual amount equivalent to 200 bolivianos (25 dollars).
- ^h Minimum and maximum amount per capita of the transfer given to a household by the programme, according to its rules of operation.
- ⁱ Includes food support, energy support, *Vivir Mejor* food support and education support. Support for older adults and school materials are not included in the maximum amount.
- ^j The programme operates in rural areas.
- ^k To calculate the average maximum amount of transfers, in countries with more than one type of transfer we considered the maximum amount per household (Brazil and Mexico), the sum total of the Protection Grant, SUF and PBS (Chile), or all transfers (Colombia, Ecuador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Paraguay and the Dominican Republic).
- ^l To calculate the average minimum amount of transfers, in countries with more than one type of transfer we considered the minimum received by each household taking part in the programme, irrespective of its demographic composition (Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Honduras, Mexico, Paraguay and the Dominican Republic).

Table V.2
 LATIN AMERICA (12 COUNTRIES): VALUE OF CONDITIONAL CASH TRANSFERS AND PERCENTAGE THAT THEY REPRESENT
 OF THE AVERAGE MONTHLY RESOURCE DEFICIT OF THE INDIGENT POPULATION, AROUND 2008
 (Monthly value per person)

Country	Year	Average monthly resource deficit of population (Dollars)		Programme	Type of transfer	Value of transfer ^a (Dollars)	Minimum amount as a percentage of the average monthly resource deficit of the indigent population (Percentages)		Maximum amount as a percentage of the average monthly resource deficit of the indigent population (Percentages)		
		Urban areas	Rural areas				Urban areas	Rural areas	Urban areas	Rural areas	
Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	2007	10	13	Juancito Pinto Grant		2	2	20.8	15.8	20.8	15.8
Brazil	2008	25	20	Bolsa Familia	Basic benefit	8	8	33.0	41.7	33.0	41.7
					Variable benefit	3	8	10.7	13.4	32.0	40.3
					Variable adolescent benefit	4	8	16.0	20.2	32.0	40.3
					Minimum/maximum limit per household ^b	8	24	33.0	42.0	97.0	122.3
Chile	2006	16	12	Solidarity Chile	Protection Grant	2	4	13.2	17.4	28.2	37.3
					Exit Grant	2	2	13.2	17.4	13.2	17.4
					Single Family Subsidy (SUF)	2	2	13.2	17.4	13.2	17.4
					Basic Solidarity Pension (PBS)	19	19	122.2	161.4	122.2	161.4

Table V.2 (continued)

Country	Year	Average monthly resource deficit of population (Dollars)		Programme	Type of transfer	Value of transfer ^a (Dollars)	Minimum amount as a percentage of the average monthly resource deficit of the indigent population (Percentages)		Maximum amount as a percentage of the average monthly resource deficit of the indigent population (Percentages)									
		Urban areas	Rural areas				Urban areas	Rural areas	Urban areas	Rural areas								
Colombia	2005	26	12	Families in Action	Minimum/maximum limit per household	4	26	26.4	34.8	163.6	216.1							
												Nutrition subsidy	4	4	17.4	35.8	17.4	35.8
Costa Rica	2008	23	19	Avancemos	Conditional cash transfer	7	24	31.4	37.4	104.8	124.8							
Ecuador	2008	16	12	Human Development Grant	Human Development Grant	6	6	39.8	53.3	39.8	53.3							
												Pensions for persons with disabilities	6	6	39.8	53.3	39.8	53.3
												Minimum/maximum limit per household	6	19	39.8	53.3	119.4	159.8
Honduras	2007	20	20	Family Allowance Programme (PRAF)	Mother-and-child grant	1	3	4.4	4.4	15.1	15.3							
												Education grant	1	1	5.0	5.1	5.0	5.1

Table V.2 (continued)

Country	Year	Average monthly resource deficit of population (Dollars)		Programme	Type of transfer	Value of transfer ^a (Dollars)	Minimum amount as a percentage of the average monthly resource deficit of the indigent population (Percentages)		Maximum amount as a percentage of the average monthly resource deficit of the indigent population (Percentages)		
		Urban areas	Rural areas				Urban areas	Rural areas	Urban areas	Rural areas	
Mexico	2008	22	19	Oportunidades	Grand for older person's	1	1	2.6	2.7	2.6	2.7
					Minimum/maximum limit per household	1	5	4.4	4.4	22.7	23.0
	Food support	6	6		26.3	29.9	26.3	29.9			
	Education support	2	16		11.3	12.9	73.0	83.3			
	Support for school supplies	5	6		23.0	26.3	28.7	32.7			
	Youth with Opportunities	6	6		26.1	29.7	26.1	29.7			
	Support for older persons	5	5		23.9	27.3	23.9	27.3			
	Energy support	1	1		4.8	5.5	4.8	5.5			
	<i>Vivir Mejor</i> food support	2	2		10.4	11.9	10.4	11.9			
	Minimum/maximum limit per household ^b	9	41		41.5	47.3	193.0	220.0			
Panama	2008	19	20	Opportunities Network	Conditional cash transfer	11	11	58.5	55.7	58.5	55.7
Paraguay	2008	21	21	<i>Tekoporá</i>	Food support	3	3	13.5	13.9	13.5	13.9

Table V.2 (continued)

Country	Year	Average monthly resource deficit of population (Dollars)		Programme	Type of transfer	Value of transfer ^a (Dollars)	Minimum amount as a percentage of the average monthly resource deficit of the indigent population (Percentages)		Maximum amount as a percentage of the average monthly resource deficit of the indigent population (Percentages)		
		Urban areas	Rural areas				Urban areas	Rural areas	Urban areas	Rural areas	
Dominican Republic	2008	23	21	Solidarity	Education and health support	1	6	6.7	7.0	27.0	27.9
					Minimum/maximum limit per household	3	9	13.5	13.9	40.4	41.8
	2008	23	21	Solidarity	Comer es Primero food scheme	5	5	21.8	24.0	21.8	24.0
					School Attendance Incentive (ILAE)	2	4	9.4	10.3	18.7	20.6
					Support for older adults	3	3	12.5	13.7	12.5	13.7
					Gas subsidy	2	2	7.1	7.8	7.1	7.8
2008	19	17	Equity Plan	Minimum/maximum limit per household	3	9	13.5	13.9	40.4	41.8	
				Food purchase card	5	13	25.3	29.1	68.1	78.2	
Simple average				Minimum/maximum limit per household	5	16	27.4	31.3	81.4	98.4	

Table V.2 (concluded)

Country	Year	Average monthly resource deficit of population (Dollars)	Programme	Type of transfer	Value of transfer ^a (Dollars)	Minimum amount as a percentage of the average monthly resource deficit of the indigent population (Percentages)	Maximum amount as a percentage of the average monthly resource deficit of the indigent population (Percentages)
					Minimum	Urban areas	Rural areas
					Maximum	Urban areas	Rural areas

Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), Database of non-contributory social protection programmes in Latin America and the Caribbean.

^a The values of transfers refer to the minimum or initial per capita amount allocated to families. The value has been divided by the number of household members. For that purpose, the calculation was made using the information on the average size of urban households in the poorest quintile according to the most recent population statistics from the Latin American and Caribbean Demographic Centre (CELADE) – Population Division of ECLAC.

^b Minimum and maximum amount per capita of the transfer given to a household by the programme, according to its rules of operation.

Table V.3
 LATIN AMERICA (12 COUNTRIES): VALUE OF CONDITIONAL CASH TRANSFERS AND PERCENTAGE THAT THEY
 REPRESENT OF THE AVERAGE MONTHLY RESOURCE DEFICIT OF THE POOR POPULATION, AROUND 2008
 (Monthly value per person)

Country	Year	Average monthly resource deficit of population (Dollars)		Programme	Type of transfer	Value of transfer ^a (Dollars)	Minimum amount as a percentage of the average monthly resource deficit of the poor population (Percentages)		Maximum amount as a percentage of the average monthly resource deficit of the poor population (Percentages)		
		Urban areas	Rural areas				Urban areas	Rural areas	Urban areas	Rural areas	
Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	2007	25	25	Juancito Pinto Grant		2	2	8.5	8.3	8.5	8.3
Brazil	2008	51	46	<i>Bolsa Familia</i>	Basic benefit	8	8	16.3	18.0	16.3	18.0
					Variable benefit	3	8	5.3	5.8	15.8	17.4
		Variable adolescent benefit	4	8	7.9	8.7	15.8	17.4			
			Minimum/maximum limit per household ^b	8	24	16.0	18.0	47.8	52.7		
Chile	2006	28	19	Solidarity Chile	Protection Grant	2	4	7.4	10.9	15.7	23.3
					Exit Grant	2	2	7.4	10.9	7.4	10.9
		Single Family Subsidy (SUF)	2	2	7.4	10.9	7.4	10.9			
			Basic Solidarity Pension (PBS)	19	19	68.2	101.1	68.2	101.1		
Minimum/maximum limit per household	4	26	2.8	5.6	91.3	135.3					

Table V.3 (continued)

Country	Year	Average monthly resource deficit of population (Dollars)		Programme	Type of transfer	Value of transfer ^a (Dollars)	Minimum amount as a percentage of the average monthly resource deficit of the poor population (Percentages)		Maximum amount as a percentage of the average monthly resource deficit of the poor population (Percentages)		
		Urban areas	Rural areas				Urban areas	Rural areas	Urban areas	Rural areas	
Colombia	2005	47	24	Families in Action	Nutrition subsidy	4	4	9.4	18.8	9.4	18.8
					Education subsidy	1	3	2.8	5.6	5.7	11.3
					Minimum/maximum limit per household	1	7	2.8	5.6	15.1	30.0
Costa Rica	2008	37	29	Avancemos	Conditional cash transfer	7	24	19.4	24.6	64.6	81.9
Ecuador	2008	34	23	Human Development Grant	Human Development Grant	6	6	18.7	27.6	18.7	27.6
					Pension for persons with disabilities	6	6	18.7	27.6	18.7	27.6
					Pension for older adults	6	6	18.7	27.6	18.7	27.6
					Minimum/maximum limit per household	6	19	18.7	27.6	56.2	82.8
Honduras	2007	46	39	Family Allowance Programme (PRAF)	Mother-and-child grant	1	3	1.9	2.3	6.6	7.8
					Education grant	1	1	2.2	2.6	2.2	2.6
					Grant for older person's	1	1	1.1	1.4	1.1	1.4
				Minimum/maximum limit per household	1	5	1.9	2.3	9.9	11.8	

Table V.3 (continued)

Country	Year	Average monthly resource deficit of population (Dollars)		Programme	Type of transfer	Value of transfer ^a (Dollars)	Minimum amount as a percentage of the average monthly resource deficit of the poor population (Percentages)		Maximum amount as a percentage of the average monthly resource deficit of the poor population (Percentages)									
		Urban areas	Rural areas				Urban areas	Rural areas	Urban areas	Rural areas								
Mexico	2008	53	40	Oportunidades	Food support	6	6	67.6	14.0	10.6	14.0							
												Education support	2	16	29.1	6.0	29.5	39.0
												Support for school supplies	5	6	59.3	12.3	11.6	15.3
												Youth with Opportunities	6	6	67.1	13.9	10.5	13.9
												Support for older persons	5	5	61.6	12.8	9.7	12.8
												Energy support	1	1	12.3	2.6	1.9	2.6
												<i>Vivir Mejor</i> food support	2	2	26.9	5.6	4.2	5.6
												Minimum/maximum limit per household ^b	9	41	16.8	22.2	78.0	103.1
												Conditional cash transfer	11	11	32.5	33.5	32.5	33.5
												Panama	2008	35	34	Opportunities Network		
Paraguay	2008	50	41	Tekoporá	Food support	3	3	5.7	7.0	5.7	7.0							
												Education and health support	1	6	2.8	3.5	11.4	14.1
												Minimum/maximum limit per household	3	9	5.7	7.0	17.1	21.1
Dominican Republic	2008	51	44	Solidarity	<i>Comer es Primero</i> food scheme	5	5	10.0	11.5	10.0	11.5							

Table V.3 (concluded)

Country	Year	Average monthly resource deficit of population (Dollars)		Programme	Type of transfer	Value of transfer ^a (Dollars)	Minimum amount as a percentage of the average monthly resource deficit of the poor population (Percentages)		Maximum amount as a percentage of the average monthly resource deficit of the poor population (Percentages)		
		Urban areas	Rural areas				Urban areas	Rural areas	Urban areas	Rural areas	
					School Attendance Incentive (LAE)	2	4	4.3	4.9	8.6	9.9
					Support for older adults	3	3	5.7	6.6	5.7	6.6
					Gas subsidy	2	2	3.3	3.7	3.3	3.7
					Minimum/maximum limit per household	7	14	13.2	15.2	27.5	31.7
Uruguay	2008	43	27	Equity Plan	Food purchase card	5	13	11.3	18.2	30.5	49.0
Simple average					Minimum/maximum limit per household	5	16	13.5	17.0	39.9	53.4

Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), Database of non-contributory social protection programmes in Latin America and the Caribbean.

^a The values of transfers refer to the minimum or initial per capita amount allocated to families. The value has been divided by the number of household members. For that purpose, the calculation was made using the information on the average size of urban households in the poorest quintile according to the most recent population statistics from the Latin American and Caribbean Demographic Centre (CELADE) – Population Division of ECLAC.

^b Minimum and maximum amount per capita of the transfer given to a household by the programme, according to its rules of operation.

C. Consumption

Assessments available in five countries (Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, Nicaragua and Paraguay) show that households' consumption increases as a result of their participation in CCTs. In particular, there is a rise in food consumption and clothing purchases for boys and girls. The range of foods consumed also increases, although this does not always imply a greater consumption of the healthiest foods. In Ecuador and Honduras, there were no significant improvements in consumption.

According to Hoddinott, Skoufias and Washburn (2000), *Progresá* in Mexico pushed up consumption by almost 15%, both in terms of product consumption and consumption of own production.⁴⁹ Compared with non-recipient households, average food consumption in beneficiary households climbed by 2% during the first year of programme implementation (1998) and by 10.6% in the following year (November 1999). The rise was even more marked among the poorest households.

In Brazil (Camilo de Oliveira and others, 2007), users of *Bolsa Família* were also seen to have significantly higher total family expenditure than those receiving no benefits (with larger differences among the lowest income groups). In the case of the *Bolsa Alimentação* food grant—which later became part of *Bolsa Família*—the Brazilian Ministry of Health (2005) identified that user families showed a higher marginal propensity to consume food, in other words they spent more of the transfer money on food, which increased the quantity and diversity of food consumed. In a survey carried out in 2007 involving 5,000 households participating in *Bolsa Família*, 87% of users considered improving food spending as a priority when it came to investing the transfer they received (IBASE, 2008). As a result of the transfer, most users reported increasing the consumption of foods they were already eating, although they also mentioned increasing the variety of food purchased. Benini Duarte, Sampaio and Sampaio (2009) demonstrated that households benefiting from the programme used 88% of the transfer received on food consumption.⁵⁰

A similar situation was discovered for the Families in Action programme in Colombia: beneficiary families increased their food consumption by 15% in relation to the previous year (Attanasio and Mesnard, 2005). The outcome was comparable with the *Tekoporá* programme in Paraguay, where general household consumption was up 9%, with a surge in consumption of their own production (Veras Soares,

⁴⁹ Results from the household assessment surveys (ENCCEL) of October 1998 and July and November 1999.

⁵⁰ The study used propensity score matching in a 2005 sample of 838 farming families in 32 Brazilian states. Costa Resende and Camilo de Oliveira (2008) found similar results.

Perez Rivas and Hirata, 2008).⁵¹ Lastly, the Social Protection Network (RPS) in Nicaragua also impacted household spending patterns and pushed up food consumption (Maluccio, 2010).⁵²

Despite this, in Honduras an assessment of the second tranche of the Family Allowance Programme (PRAF/BID II) showed that transfers had not increased household food consumption, probably due to the small amount of the transfer, which covered less than 3.6% of total family spending (IFPRI, 2003). There was also a lack of significant results for the Human Development Grant in Ecuador (Veras Soares, Perez Rivas and Hirata, 2008).

In terms of the increased range of food consumed in beneficiary households of the *Progresa* programme, Hoddinott, Skoufias and Washburn (2000) found evidence of increased consumption of fruit and vegetables, and also products of animal origin. The programme thus improved the quality of the diet, rather than increasing the number of calories consumed. This could have been influenced by the talks given as part of the programme, as these have been proved to have a positive effect on changing user behaviour and generating positive effects on non-users. Evidence collected on increased consumption of better quality products was similar for the Family Allowance Programme (PRAF) in Honduras and the Social Protection Network (RPS) in Nicaragua, especially among the poorest households (Hoddinott and Weismann, 2008). Similarly, in Colombia, Attanasio and Mesnard (2005) established that protein consumption increases in even more direct proportion than food in general.⁵³ In the assessment of the pilot phase of the *Tekoporã* programme in Paraguay, significant results were also found for greater food diversity consumed by beneficiary families and a positive change in the basket of products (which contained more dairy products and fresh fruit) (Veras Soares, Perez Rivas and Hirata, 2008).

However, according to LeRoy and others (2010), food support in *Progresa* showed an increase in calorie consumption, as well as greater consumption of fruit, vegetables and animal products.⁵⁴ IBASE (2008) also found similar indicators for *Bolsa Família*: even though milk consumption increased in 63% of recipient households, the food group for which consumption increased the most was sugar (followed by rice and

⁵¹ The study on which the results are based was carried out on the beneficiaries of the pilot programme and a control group of non-beneficiaries from two districts that had originally been surveyed for the programme, using propensity score matching.

⁵² Study carried out on a panel survey of treatment and control households before and after programme implementation (2000, 2001, 2002 and 2004).

⁵³ Study of a sample of 11,500 households in cities where the programme has and has not been implemented.

⁵⁴ Results from a random sample from 206 rural communities in southern Mexico.

cereals). In this regard, De Bem Lignani and Salles-Costa demonstrate that the probability of households consuming cereals, sugar and meat was directly related to their degree of dependency on *Bolsa Família*. Despite the fact that the programme increases food consumption, it is vital to boost educational actions on food security, so as to promote the consumption of healthy food.⁵⁵

In terms of consumption of non-food items, *Progresa* increased the consumption of clothes and shoes for children of beneficiary households, as well as pushing down consumption associated with transport and medical costs (Hoddinott, Skoufias and Washburn, 2000). Spending on children's clothing was also found to increase in the pilot programme of *Tekoporâ* (Veras Soares, Perez Rivas and Hirata, 2008). In Colombia, after foodstuffs, the two types of goods that increased their share of household spending the most with Families in Action were childrenswear (clothes and shoes) and education (in urban areas) (Attanasio and Mesnard, 2005). In the *Bolsa Escola* school grant programme in Brazil, consumption of personal hygiene and care products also rose (Costa Resende and Camilo de Oliveira, 2008). There was no evidence of households spending more on alcohol or tobacco in Brazil (Costa Resende and Camilo de Oliveira, 2008), Colombia (Attanasio and Mesnard, 2005) or Paraguay (Veras Soares, Perez Rivas and Hirata, 2008).

Lastly, there is a need for more detailed study into the impact of CCTs on household consumption decisions, particularly in the distribution of spending on goods for various family members. In Mexico, Skoufias and McClafferty (2001) show that women's empowerment for consumer decision-making in the household has been strengthened as a result of their participation in *Progresa-Oportunidades*. According to a survey carried out on a sample of the programme's beneficiaries, in recipient households men are less likely to make decisions alone without consulting the women, especially in matters relating to the children.⁵⁶ Furthermore, the probability of women alone deciding what to do with the extra money from the transfer increases over time (Skoufias and McClafferty, 2001). Similarly, a study of the composition of household spending by Rubalcava, Teruel and Thomas (2008) shows that this programme has changed the balance within the household in favour of women's consumption decisions, and that income from transfers is invested in goods that directly benefit

⁵⁵ Basically, *Bolsa Família* increases the consumption of cereals, animal protein, dairy products, eggs, sweets and, only to a lesser degree, fruit, vegetables and pulses.

⁵⁶ The data considered are from the first seven states to implement *Progresa*. The panel survey involved 24,000 households in 506 areas (with 320 designated treatment areas and 186 control areas), interviewed periodically between November 1997 and November 1999 (Skoufias and McClafferty, 2001).

children (mainly clothing).⁵⁷ In the case of Brazil, Suárez and Libardoni (2008) mention that female beneficiaries of *Bolsa Família* have gained power and visibility as consumers in their local and domestic surroundings. In the case of the Nicaraguan Social Protection Network (RPS), however, Bradshaw (2008) states that an external assessment of the programme (IFPRI, 2005) found evidence that resources given to women are mainly invested in improving men's diets and reducing the men's workload, which contradicts the evidence presented for Mexico.

D. Income generation and labour market insertion⁵⁸

The various cases of work training and income generation through CCTs schemes show that, generally, users fail to gain stable employment in a sustainable manner, as finding informal employment remains the most feasible option for the majority of poor and vulnerable households.

In the case of Solidarity Chile, one of the dimensions with the highest level of non-compliance (83.3%) is exiting the programme with at least one household member working regularly with a stable income (MIDEPLAN, 2009), and it is women who face the most difficulties (Rangel, 2005).⁵⁹ In Brazil, beneficiaries of *Bolsa Família* who manage to find work remain employed for periods not exceeding 11 months (Soares and Leichsenring, 2010). Furthermore, the evidence collected for rural areas where the *Oportunidades* programme has been implemented (González de la Rocha, 2008) shows that, although improvements have been made in terms of employment of the participants, most of them have informal labour market occupations.

This is due to structural factors that it is impossible for programmes such as CCTs to change in their remit, as well as the complexity of providing responses tailored to the range of conditions and requirements of beneficiaries. For instance, not all families who take part in CCTs have the same capacity to join the labour market, make use of the opportunities

⁵⁷ The authors estimate the marginal effects of income from *Progresa* using data from household assessment surveys (ENCEL) from March and October 1998 and May and November 1999.

⁵⁸ This section is based on chapter 5 of OAS/ECLAC/ILO (2010).

⁵⁹ Larrañaga and Contreras (2010) report the results of various impact assessments of Solidarity Chile in terms of this particular dimension: (i) for the period 2003-2004, Galasso (2006) found no evidence that the programme improves labour market insertion or household income generation capacity, (ii) for the period 2003-2006, Peticara (2007) and Galasso and Carneiro (2008) found evidence of a positive impact in rural but not urban areas, and (iii) for the cohort of participants that joined the programme in 2002, Contreras, Larrañaga and Ruiz Tagle (2009) found positive effects on employment. In terms of autonomous income generation, there was an increase in rural areas and a decrease in urban areas.

of programmes such as microcredit and microbusiness (MIDEPLAN, 2009) or really take on board the psychosocial work that is carried out with them (Nun and Trucco, 2008). It is difficult to promote the employability of beneficiaries in a context where links with the private sector are not always active, or in territories with limited labour opportunities. This poses major challenges in terms of improving links with the private sector and coordination among social policy sectors, as well as the use of information mechanisms to find out about user profiles, so as to better serve their capacities, needs and aspirations.

In relation to specific activities for labour market insertion and income generation described in section III.A.3.a, another important finding is the need to diversify the training offer. It is worth distinguishing between the training of those who are already employed or have more links with formal employment, which requires a focus on improving their productivity and/or specialization, and the training of people who have been laid off, aimed at improving their employability and re-training. Likewise, it is necessary to distinguish between ongoing training for those already in the labour market, versus that aimed at those who join it for the first time and need vocational orientation. It has also been highlighted that it is necessary for job training and education programmes to incorporate modalities that facilitate, most notably, the attendance of women and that promote the reconciliation of work and care under a logic of co-responsibility (Weller, 2009).

As far as direct employment generation interventions are concerned although their effectiveness has been recognized when it comes to addressing short term income gaps (Weller, 2009), it has also been found that they do not necessarily generate better employability conditions (IDB, 2009). Indirect employment generation programmes have a number of weaknesses, mainly linked to the fact that the introduction of these subsidies could generate distortions in the companies' hiring decisions. Among other factors is the perception that this is a permanent subsidy on their workforce or that these subsidies could promote the replacement of regular workers with subsidized hires. There is also the risk that the subsidy leads to the hiring of employees that would have been hired anyway. To avoid this, it has been noted that it is important to design it with a view to proper targeting by worker categories or economic sectors (IDB, 2009) and to monitor them (Farné, 2009).

Various assessments show that experiences with strategies to support self-employment among very poor families can have limited success in terms of sustainable income generation. In particular, programmes to promote microbusiness have been found to be effective for only a minority of workers interested in starting their own business,

and above all the results are better when users are adults, motivated and relatively well educated (Farné, 2009). In the case of Brazil, Braga, Leandro and Lyra Júnior (2008) provide evidence from *Bolsa Família* and *Crediamigo* (a supplementary microcredit programme in the northern regions) to show that the main action was to strengthen prior experiences of microbusiness. In 82% of cases, credit provided was found to be used to expand pre-existing businesses, which seems to suggest that microbusiness actions work more by reinforcing existing capacities than by promoting new income generation options.⁶⁰

In Solidarity Chile, there were several main problems with support for self-employment, ranging from business inexperience, the little pertinence of some projects or the impossibility that the individuals have to devise a long term investment in the present given the economic emergency context in which they find themselves (MIDEPLAN, 2006). Also, projects often end up operating informally or simply fail. There are even situations where users choose to sell the capital goods purchased as a way of generating immediate income, or hand them over to the community if they are unable to productively use them for themselves (MIDEPLAN, 2009; 2006). In the Social Protection Network (RPS) in Nicaragua—where beneficiaries received a US\$ 200 transfer at the end of a training course conditional upon the design of a business plan for setting up a microbusiness—Moore (2009a) reveals serious shortcomings: from a failure to ensure that transfers are actually used to start up small businesses, to doubts over the quality of training courses and the lack of training in the business skills needed to manage the enterprise and maintain it over time.

Thus, although many of these strategies are vital to cope with emergency situations and maintain levels of subsistence, they must be considered a temporary way of accessing a quality job (Rodríguez and Alvarado, 2008). In Solidarity Chile for instance, when the heads of household access jobs perceived as well paid and in a highly valued working environment, the development of a microbusiness is not considered to be an attractive prospect (MIDEPLAN, 2009).

As for labour intermediation services, while such programmes have the appeal of their low cost, they lose effectiveness in times of recession when companies are not willing to hire (Farné, 2009). Moreover, given the sociocultural characteristics of the region, a large proportion of the hiring continues to be done through informal means, that is, through personal contacts and recommendations, which undermines the efficiency of

⁶⁰ It should be pointed out that this was not a representative sample of beneficiary families from *Bolsa Família* or those taking part in the *Crediamigo* programme.

these services and contributes to an increased segmentation in the labour market (ECLAC, 2008c). Thus, to adjust them to the needs of the region there should be a gradual transition from mere intermediation to setting up centres that support a productive labour market insertion, including various types of interventions on a more comprehensive basis (Weller, 2009). In this regard, Farné (2009) proposes that these services should become “one-stop windows” that allow vulnerable workers to access other interventions (relating to job generation, training and education, and microbusinesses, for example) according to the specific needs of the service applicants.

Lastly, some have pointed to the risk of the potential disincentive that CCT monetary transfers could represent for the labour supply of working-age adults in beneficiary families (Levy and Rodríguez, 2005). The argument states that transfers received by poor families could lead them to reduce their efforts to find work as they already have a guaranteed level of income. However, there is no conclusive evidence of this, and some assessments of *Bolsa Família* even show the opposite effect, whereby the proportion of people seeking work is significantly higher in households using the programme (Camilo de Oliveira and others, 2007). The argument of the potential negative impact of conditional transfers on job seeking has been refuted by several authors (Alzúa, Cruces and Ripani, 2010; Hanlon, Barrientos and Hulme, 2010; Samson, 2009), who show the positive synergy between transfers and the employability of recipient families. In the study by Alzúa, Cruces and Ripani (2010), for *Progresa* in Mexico there was an increase of between 5% and 7% in the wage paid to male beneficiaries per hour of work. No significant effects are detected in the employment of adult users, nor are there readjustments between farming and other work.⁶¹ In summary, given the limited capacity of CCTs to cover the income deficit of the indigent and especially the poor population (see tables V.2 and V.3), recipient families do not stand around waiting for transfers.

E. Child labour

The reduction of child labour has been a main aim of some of the region's CCTs and not others, although some programmes do explicitly include this as an objective. The Child Labour Eradication Programme (PETI) in Brazil seeks to remove all children aged under 16 years of age from work, and the *Abrazo* programme in Paraguay aims to help enforce the health, education

⁶¹ These authors used information from experimental assessments of programmes based on the *Progresa* evaluation survey (ENCEL), with base lines of November 1997 and March 1998, and follow-up carried out in November 1998, March 1999 and November 1999 (Alzúa, Cruces and Ripani, 2010).

and social protection rights of children aged up to 14 years living or working in the street.⁶² In other cases, child labour is taken into account implicitly, and cash transfers are designed to cover the opportunity cost (and direct cost) for poor families of sending children to school instead of work.⁶³

In terms of the effects observed in this area, the results have been variable, and recipient families tend to combine work and school attendance, rather than replacing the former with the latter. In Mexico, Skoufias and Parker (2001) identified a fall in labour participation among children using *Progresa*, and an increased possibility of their spending more time on school-related activities. More specifically, the time girls spent on domestic tasks fell, although the tension between work and school affects boys more than girls. In the *Tekoporâ* programme in Paraguay, it was only possible to identify a positive impact on child labour in those aged 4 to 9 years. In other groups, children using the programme combine work with school, rather than completely leaving work behind (Veras Soares, Perez Ribas and Issamu Hirata, 2008). In Brazil, the effect of transfer programmes (with the main one being the *Bolsa Escola* school grant) is estimated to have reduced the probability of child labour among girls aged 6 to 15 in urban and rural areas, and among boys aged 11 to 15 years in urban areas (Ferro and Nicolella, 2007). Nevertheless, some assessments of *Bolsa Escola* show that transfers did not completely compensate families for the income generated by child labour (Ferro and Nicolella, 2007; Cardoso and Portela Souza, 2004). Maluccio and others (2005) estimated that, as a result of the Social Protection Network (RPS) in Nicaragua, the proportion of children aged 7 to 13 in work fell by almost 6 percentage points between 2000 and 2002. In addition, the Human Development Grant in Ecuador brought down child labour by 17 percentage points (Schady and Araujo, 2006).

Lastly, in Colombia the National Planning Department (DNP, 2008) showed that Families in Action has significantly reduced the labour participation rates of girls aged 10 to 17 (down 36% in rural areas and 29% in urban areas (DNP, 2008) and of boys of the same age (down 19% in rural areas).⁶⁴ However, Attanasio and others (2008) found that Families in Action did not have a significant impact on the paid work of recipient children, while domestic work fell by between 10 and 13 percentage points.

⁶² The PETI programme does not include children who are on apprentice training programmes from the age of 14.

⁶³ This applies to the Family Allowance Programme (PRAF) in Honduras and *Progresa/Oportunidades* in Mexico. In Mexico, for instance, the *Progresa* transfer was the equivalent of 40% of the child labour income carried out by children of the same age not participating in the programme (de Janvry and Sadoulet, 2006b).

⁶⁴ The DNP study (2008) is based on three panel surveys carried out in three municipalities of Colombia in 2002, 2003 and 2006.

F. Women's empowerment

In terms of the positive effects of CCTs on women's empowerment and autonomy, Escobar and González de la Rocha (2004, 2009) claim that qualitative assessments of *Progresas/Oportunidades* show that women have increased their self-esteem and their status in the community by being programme beneficiaries (and this has also been demonstrated in Brazil by Veras Soares and Silva, 2010a, 2010b). As seen in section V.C, the availability of resources gives women some control over domestic and consumption decisions, and their well-being is shown to have improved.

However, empowerment is dependent on other variables, besides the availability of economic resources (Escobar and González de la Rocha, 2009; Molyneux, 2009). Although female users of *Bolsa Família* in Brazil have increased their bargaining power in the home, and women using Solidarity Chile report improved self-esteem, the same results have not been found in Colombia (Veras Soares and Silva, 2010a, 2010b). There is no evidence about women's change of position in the family and a possible increase in episodes of family violence.

In terms of the interaction between the bureaucracy implementing CCTs (including municipal officials, medical and training staff) and the women fulfilling the programme conditions, Gruenberg (2010) highlights the possible risk of reproducing gender inequalities through clientelist practices.⁶⁵ To explore the issue, the author analyses the performance of three mechanisms for controlling clientelism in the region's CCTs (transparency, accountability and citizen participation) and concludes that, while there has been some progress in combating clientelism, these are insufficient to guarantee inclusion and control of programmes by female recipients, or to implement effective penalties for clientelist practices from a gender and rights perspective. This is particularly striking in the lack of acceptable intercultural channels for making complaints that are suited to the various cultural realities.

In relation to CCT design, there has been a criticism that women are conceived as instruments rather than subjects (Molineux, 2009; Martínez and Voorend, 2008). For instance, Martínez and Voorend (2008) have criticized these programmes for the lack of a multidimensional equity perspective, with gender mainstreaming.⁶⁶ The authors focus

⁶⁵ In the programme *Oportunidades*, the health sector (39%) received the most complaints of abuse such as requests for money, work, preaching and mistreatment. Complaints were also made about programme representatives (34%), programme staff (10%), municipal authorities (7%) and the education sector (5%), among others (Gruenberg, 2010).

⁶⁶ However, in Peru the *Juntos* programme is seeking to promote greater involvement of men in domestic activities and changes in their perceptions of the role of women in the

on *Avancemos* in Costa Rica, Solidarity Chile and Solidarity Network in El Salvador, and describe how these programmes fail to introduce public policies and services to create autonomy in terms of women's employment, and reproduce a "maternalistic" vision of access to public resources.

Holmes and others (2010) point out that few impact studies have presented conclusive results on the effects of incorporating a gender perspective into CCTs. Among the information available for female employability, they report that female users of *Bolsa Familia* are more likely to have paid employment than women who are not in the programme, even though other studies state that their working hours are shorter. For Families in Action, the programme is shown to increase female employment in urban areas, with no effect on the number of hours worked. In Solidarity Chile, there is an increase in women's employment (especially in rural households with male heads).

One of the main criticisms directed at CCTs is the limited or lack of consideration of strategies to reconcile paid and domestic work, as well as compensation for women being overburdened with domestic work while carrying out joint responsibilities (and in readjusting time use of various family members following programme implementation – see box V.2), and the lack of practices to encourage joint care responsibility. In particular, programmes do not tackle the issue of extending day-care centres and other care services to facilitate the process (Molyneux, 2009, 2006; Staab and Gerhard, 2009; Tabbush, 2009). Few countries in the region have included any provisions in this regard. Since 2007, although it does not officially form part of the *Oportunidades* programme, the Childcare to Support Working Mothers Programme in Mexico aims to help bridge the gap in accessing and keeping jobs for mothers who work, look for jobs or study with children aged under 4 years in households with monthly incomes of up to 1.5 times the minimum wage. In Chile, the *Chile Crece Contigo* programme is part of the Intersectoral Social Protection System, along with Solidarity Chile, and aims to extend access to preschool education to the poorest children. However, in Chile the focus is on children as subjects of demand, rather than on extending their mothers' employment prospects (Staab and Gerhard, 2009). Even in cases where programmes are based on the aim to promote the employability of female recipients or where this is included in addition (as in the Families for Social Inclusion and Unemployed Heads of Household programmes in Argentina), there has been no strategy to help women reconcile work with care (Pautassi and Zibecchi, 2010).

household. In Solidarity Chile and Families in Action in Colombia, domestic violence issues are tackled in the work done with families (Holmes and others, 2010).

Box V.2
ESTIMATE OF THE COST OF READJUSTING TIME DISTRIBUTION
WITHIN THE FAMILY

Available data for the economically active population in Latin America show that women not only dedicate more time to domestic work, but that they also have a greater total work burden than men (that is, hours spent on paid and unpaid work) (ECLAC, 2010a). Given these facts, it is easy to infer that adding another set of responsibilities in the form of care will have major implications on women's total workload and the possibility of combining paid and unpaid work (Pautassi and Zibecchi, 2010).

Gammage (2010) has made an initial effort to quantify the possible cost for women of readjusting time distribution within the family as a result of these programmes. On the basis of the programme *Mi Familia Progres*a in Guatemala and having calculated time use for men and women in this country using data from a time use module from the National Living Conditions Survey (ENCOVI) from 2000, Gammage established that the total value of unpaid work represented between 25.7% and 34.2% of GDP.^a Women and girls provide 70% of this work and are time poor. Poor women are doubly poor: in terms of income and time. The author adds an estimate of the value of the extra time women must spend on domestic tasks as a result of reduced child labour (one of the expected objectives of CCTs). She concludes that the value of transfers does not completely compensate for the unpaid work that affects women in particular. This takes into account the results obtained for the *Oportunidades* programme in Mexico, where child labour falls by an average of 10 hours per week. Assuming that this reduction is the equivalent to transferring 8 hours a week of domestic work to an adult, the cash transfer of 300 quetzales as part of the *Mi Familia Progres*a programme does not offset the extra cost of time use that women must bear.

Gammage also provides relevant data on a possible adjustment of time use based on the implementation of a CCT. This shows the need to consider the increased demand on time to carry out unpaid joint responsibilities (which affects women disproportionately) in the calculation of cash transfers. At the same time, there is a need for accurate, up-to-date and disaggregated statistical information on the distribution of time use among various members of households that benefit from such programmes.

Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), *Social Panorama of Latin America 2009* (LC/G.2423-P/E), Santiago, Chile, 2010; S. Gammage, "Time pressed and time poor: unpaid household work in Guatemala", *Feminist Economics*, vol. 16, No. 3, 2010; and L. Pautassi and C. Zibecchi, "La provisión de cuidado y la superación de la pobreza infantil. Programas de transferencias condicionadas en Argentina y el papel de las organizaciones sociales y comunitarias", *Políticas sociales series*, No. 159 (LC/L.3198-P/E), Santiago, Chile, ECLAC, 2010.

^a The survey involved every household member above the age of 7, and they were asked how much time they spent in the day on paid and unpaid activities, including domestic chores, childcare, household farm activities, animal care, craftwork, home repairs, shopping and errands, as well as studies and recreation.

Chapter VI

Institutional framework and sustainability

A number of authors have underscored the role that conditional cash transfer (CCT) programmes can play as a gateway for poor and vulnerable families to comprehensive and inclusive social protection systems rooted in a rights-based approach (see box VI.1) (Cecchini and Martínez, 2011; Bastagli, 2009; Simões, 2006). However, this largely depends on their ability to find a place in the social policy arena that is harmonious and sustainable over time, in both functional and institutional terms. Although in several cases CCTs have made it possible to reach groups that did not previously receive social benefits by driving an expansion in supply at the local level and laying the foundation for cross-sector work (Cecchini and Martínez, 2011), in other cases dependence on electoral cycles, lack of political and financial support, and shallow institutional roots have led to increasing fragmentation of social policy and reinforced its ineffectiveness.

With these financial and political sustainability problems in mind, we will discuss factors that are crucial for CCT programmes to actually become part of comprehensive social protection systems: the creation of suitable legal frameworks and institutional structures, accountability and citizen participation, the transparency of beneficiary registries and the search for cross-sector synergies.

Box VI.1
SOCIAL PROTECTION, CONDITIONAL CASH TRANSFER
PROGRAMMES AND A RIGHTS-BASED APPROACH

ECLAC has called for social protection systems to be strengthened in response to the obligations imposed by international human rights instruments. Conditional cash transfer (CCT) programmes have an important role to play in building comprehensive social protection systems because they can help to guarantee minimum income levels and connect the poorest and most vulnerable groups to social policies and services, two fundamental objectives from a rights-based approach (Cecchini and Martínez, 2011).

Also from a rights-based approach, there are still some components of CCT arrangements that must be strengthened (United Nations, 2009). In addition to participation and accountability mechanisms (see section VI.C) and transparency mechanisms (see section VI.D), which have been singled out as important, a specific concern has arisen with regard to conditionalities, since respect for human rights cannot be made contingent on any requirement as this would undermine the principle of non-discrimination.

Making benefits accessible to all intended beneficiaries of the policies is another key consideration in the rights-based approach. Along with an exhaustive process to identify all potential beneficiaries, special attention should be placed on ensuring that the targeting of these programmes, done in accordance with the availability of public services, does not lead to cases of discrimination. Although efforts in this regard are strongly determined by the institutional and financial limits in each country that impede progress towards universal coverage of basic services, it is important to consider them from a human rights perspective. On this point, the requirements imposed by the principle of complementarity of rights should also be taken into account. For example, CCT programmes should provide for their harmonization with content that defines the rights of indigenous peoples (Robles, 2010).

Thus, the recommendation is to explicitly consider a rights-based approach, as a set of guiding principles and requirements, not only for the design and implementation stages of CCT programmes but also for their monitoring and evaluation. The size of the budget allocated for these programmes from the viewpoint of national obligations of progressive realization and non-discrimination, the definition and fulfilment of social guarantees and minimums and mechanisms to ensure their enforceability and transparency are three areas that take centre stage in the literature on these programmes (Balakrishnan, Elson and Patel, 2010).

Source: S. Cecchini and R. Martínez, *Protección social inclusiva en América Latina: una mirada integral, un enfoque de derechos [Inclusive Social Protection in Latin America: a comprehensive look, a rights-based approach]*, ECLAC Books, No. 111 (LC/G.2488-P), Santiago, Chile, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), 2011; United Nations, "Promotion and Protection of All Human Rights, Civil, Political, Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, including the Right to Development. Report of the independent expert on the question of human rights and extreme poverty, Magdalena Sepúlveda Carmona" (A/HRC/11/9), 27 March 2009; Robles, Claudia (2010), "Pueblos indígenas y programas de transferencias con corresponsabilidad. Avances y desafíos desde un enfoque étnico", *Políticas sociales series*, No. 156 (LC/L.3170-P/E), Santiago, Chile, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC). United Nations publication, Sales No. S.09.II.G.144; R. Balakrishnan, D. Elson and R. Patel, "Rethinking macro economic strategies from a human rights perspective (Why MES with human rights II)," Marymount Manhattan College, 2010.

A. Financial and political sustainability

In line with the history of social policy in the region, CCT programmes have not been exempt from financial and political sustainability problems.

Nicaragua's Social Protection Network (RPS) is a case in point. The RPS, financed with a loan from the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), was reasonably successful, but with the 2007 change in government, it was replaced with other poverty reduction initiatives, such as the Zero Hunger Food Production Programme and the Zero Usury Microcredit Programme (Cecchini and others, 2009). Several authors (Maluccio, 2005; Fiszbein and Schady, 2009; Moore, 2009b) have singled out the RPS for its positive effects on poverty and inequality indicators alike, attributable to its transfer amounts and effective targeting. This programme would have also helped to increase consumption levels in beneficiary households, both in quantitative and qualitative terms (greater consumption of food with high nutritional content). However, the programme only lasted for the life of the IDB loan that financed it (2000–2006), after which it ended, along with its benefits and, as expected, the aforementioned effects. The programme ended up having only a passing impact owing to the weak sustainability of the political and financial support on which it depended.

To meet their objectives, the programmes should, therefore, be conceived *ex ante* as longterm initiatives within a public policy framework that is not vulnerable to changes in government. This means that government financing mechanisms should be established, instead of simply relying on foreign donors (Cecchini, 2009). For externally financed pilot programmes in small countries, in addition to the problems inherent to implementation of any of these programmes, other problems stemming from differences in expectations and positions between the government representatives and the donor agencies must be addressed.

As is the case in Honduras and Nicaragua, contradictions are frequently seen between the terms of reference of loans and the programme objectives. Loans from international organizations do not consist solely of funding and the support that teams of technical specialists can provide to help implement, steer and promote the efficiency and efficacy of the programmes, but may also stipulate conditions on how to use the loan proceeds and set important restrictions on the terms and dates associated with the disbursement of funds.⁶⁸ As Levy and Rodríguez (2005) show, in

⁶⁸ This situation does not affect only the smaller countries with less of a social policy tradition. For example, in Colombia, the quality committee for the Families in Action programme, which is responsible for proposing adjustments and modifications to the programme's operating regulations, must request approval from the multilateral bank that is financing the programme before it can implement proposed changes or adjustments (Acción Social, 2008).

the case of *Progresa*, one of the reasons behind the decision to finance the first stage of the programme with own resources was to protect it from these conditions and risks. Institutions like the World Bank and IDB only recently came to play a major financial role when the programme had already been consolidated and had started to expand to urban areas under the name of *Oportunidades* (ibid.).

Political visibility considerations can interfere with the timeframe, rationale and design of programmes, threatening their effectiveness and the fulfilment of their objectives. These problems are more likely to arise when the institutional framework is weak, especially in countries with a recent history of social policy and political systems that favour personality-driven politics and caudillo-type leaders. In these contexts, public policy tends to be seen as government policy, not State policy, such that political support for certain programmes may cause those initiatives to be identified with the individuals or sectors that have promoted them, which is a serious challenge for their sustainability beyond the next election (Britto, 2006; Cecchini and others, 2009).

However, this can also occur in contexts where the institutional framework is stronger.⁶⁹ For example, in the case of *Oportunidades*, one of the largest and longeststanding programmes in the region, Banegas (2008) criticizes changes that were made to the programme's exit mechanisms—the introduction of the Differentiated Support Scheme (EDA)—in the context of changes in government, arguing that they have had a negative impact on the fulfilment of the programme's human development objectives.

B. Legal framework and institutional anchoring

The legal framework and institutional anchoring for CCT programmes derive from established rights that guarantee citizens access to the full range of programme benefits and protection thereof from political and economic changes. These frameworks allow for the installation and permanence of these programmes in the government apparatus, as well as the creation of the structures and interagency coordination mechanisms needed to produce the benefits. As Levy and Rodríguez (2005) point out, in the case of *Progresa*, the preparation of very detailed and precise operating rules and procedures contributed significantly to reducing conflict between the various administrative agencies (see also Repetto, 2009).

⁶⁹ As Román (2010) states, considering the programmatic changes and priority shifts that Costa Rica's Joint Institute for Social Aid (IMAS) experienced when it was attached to the Office of the Presidency in the 1990s, policy sustainability problems also affect countries with democracies known to be among the most stable in the region.

Aside from whether a programme can perform well in a given scenario and generate positive results, implementing a CCT programme in the absence of clear and specific legal and institutional frameworks entails a number of risks, not only in terms of programme scope, continuity and legitimacy (Hailu, Medeiros and Nonaka, 2008; Repetto, 2009) but also the protection of human rights standards (United Nations, 2009). The latter aspect is critical because once a programme concludes, its beneficiaries can end up in situations that are even worse than prior to the intervention (ibid.).⁷⁰ Medeiros, Britto and Veras Soares (2008), for example, describe the different outcomes of two CCT programmes in Brazil: *Bolsa Família* and the Continuous Benefit Programme (BPC).⁷¹ According to the authors, *Bolsa Família* is based on a law that somewhat subjectively establishes that beneficiary selection depends on the availability of resources and coordination between federal and municipal structures. Therefore, although provided by law, access to benefits under *Bolsa Família* is determined not only by fulfilment of the programme's eligibility criteria but also by whether there are enough resources. In contrast, the BPC was established in the 1988 Constitution. As a constitutional right, anybody who meets the programme's eligibility criteria must be given access and may bring enforcement action if their right is denied.

As shown in table VI.1, although several programmes have succeeded in establishing specific legal frameworks to govern their procedures, many are executive orders or governmental resolutions, which do not ensure consensus among all political sectors and thus threaten to undermine programme sustainability.

Moreover, the implementation of a CCT programme involves the creation of ad hoc administrative and management structures and their insertion in the public sector through responsible executing agencies. The trend seems to be to install CCT programmes in social development and planning ministries (see table VI.1), which is consistent with their inclusion in long-term strategies in the social policy arena, but in some cases the ministries are young or overly technical, depriving the programmes of political weight (Repetto, 2009). This institutional anchoring should allow for a stronger cross-sector approach in programme management, albeit at the expense of a sector-specific focus, which could lead to problems

⁷⁰ González de la Rocha (2008) shows that *Oportunidades* beneficiary families who exited the programme abruptly experienced typical periods of adaptation or reaction to economic crisis situations, resulting in restrictive consumption practices, school desertion and an increase in female workforce participation, for example.

⁷¹ Non-contributory pension programme for the elderly and people with disabilities living in poverty.

when the programmes have strong objectives in specific human capacity development components.⁷²

A second group of CCT programmes are grounded in a more sector-oriented approach, that is, they are part of the structure of the sector ministries and departments (see table VI.1). This has to do with the fact that some programmes are more sector specific, but nonetheless, it reduces their capacity to coordinate with other sectors and tends to lead to duplication of functions and actions. In the decision to take one approach or the other, consideration is given to each agency's experience in working with a given target population —individual beneficiaries (for example, students) in the case of the sector ministries vis-a-vis families or households in the case of the social development ministries— the social development ministries' more extensive experience with targeted programmes and poor families (although they also have a longer history of welfare-type assistance and patronage) and the sector ministries' more extensive experience with universal programmes. The case of Brazil and the transformation of its sector-specific programmes *Bolsa Escola* (education) and *Bolsa Alimentação* (health) within the cross-sector programme *Bolsa Família* is a good example of the trade-offs that are made between the effectiveness of the human development objectives and the streamlining of social policy and its structures (Draibe, 2006).⁷³

A third group of CCT programmes are rooted in structures that are highly vulnerable to political changes, such as agencies that report directly to the Office of the President or the Office of the First Lady, which is seen in some countries in Central America (see table VI.1; Cecchini and others, 2009; Bastagli, 2009). In these cases, where the programmes are associated with an individual person, the risk of political unsustainability is high.

A significant institutional challenge stems directly from a capacity problem. In some instances, CCTs have consisted of isolated interventions that, far from strengthening the fabric of social-sector institutions, have instead tended to pull it apart and generate unintegrated or barely integrated parallel structures that are out of step with sector policies (Cecchini and others, 2009; Moore, 2008). Some CCT programmes that have emerged as emergency solutions or pilot programmes supported by international cooperation have been built on pre-existing institutional

⁷² Reimers, DeShano da Silva and Trevino (2006) point out the problems that arise in the education sector when programmes are not run by the education ministries, including lack of a specific educational approach to the problems, little consideration of the body of experience in this area and low participation by sector officials. See the case of Brazil in Draibe (2006).

⁷³ Levy and Rodríguez (2005) give an account of the programmatic and fiscal streamlining strategies associated with implementation of *Progresá* in Mexico.

Table VI.1

LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN (19 COUNTRIES): LEGAL FRAMEWORK AND INSTITUTIONAL PLACEMENT OF CONDITIONAL CASH TRANSFER PROGRAMMES

Country	Programme	Agencies involved		Legal framework
		Umbrella agency	Executing agency	
Argentina	Universal Child Allowance for Social Protection (AUH)	National Social Security Administration (ANSES)	National Social Security Administration (ANSES)	Decree no. 1.602/2009 (November, 2009) modifying the existing family Allowance Regime under Law no. 24.714
	Families for Social Inclusion	Ministry of Social Development	Department of Social Policies and Human Development	Ministry of Social Development resolution no. 825/05 PEN decree no. 1.506/04 Modified in 2009 by Ministry of Social Development resolution no. 3.380
	Porteña Citizenship Programme	Ministry of Social Development of the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires	...	Law no. 1.878 of the legislature of the Ministry of Social Development
	Unemployed Heads of Household	Ministry of Labour, Employment and Social Security	...	Regulation no. 165/02 Decree no. 565/02 Decree no. 39/03 Decree no. 144/03 Decree no. 1353/03 Decree no. 696/03 Decree no. 1506/04 Law no. 26.077
Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	Juancito Pinto Grant	Ministry of Education	Ministry of Education	Supreme decree no. 28.899 (2006) Supreme decree no. 29.321 (2007)
	Juana Azurduy de Padilla Mother-and-Child Grant	Ministry of Health and Sport	Ministry of Health and Sport	Supreme decree no. 0066 (2009) Supreme decree no. 0426 (2010)

Table VI.1 (continued)

Country	Programme	Agencies involved		Legal framework
		Umbrella agency	Executing agency	
Brazil	<i>Bolsa Família</i>	Ministry of Social Development and Hunger Alleviation	National Income Support Department (SENARC)	Law no. 10.836/2004 Decree no. 65.209/2004
			<i>Bolsa Família</i> Programme Board (CGPBF)	Decree no. 6.135/2007 Decree no. 6.157/2007
				Temporary measure no. 411/2007
				GM/MDS decree no. 312 (September, 2008)
				Decree no. 6.917/2009 Decree no. 7.447/2011
	Child Labour Eradication Programme (PETI)	Ministry of Social Development and Hunger Alleviation	Single System for Social Assistance (SUAS)	Decree no. 458 (October, 2001) GM/MDS decree no. 666 (December, 2005)
	<i>Bolsa Escola</i> school grant	Ministry of Education	...	Law no. 10.219
	<i>Bolsa Alimentação</i> food grant	Ministry of Health	...	MP 2.206-01 Decree no. 1.770, September 2001
	<i>Cartão Alimentação</i> food card	Extraordinary Minister for Food Security and Hunger Alleviation (MESA)	...	MP 108 (February 2003) Law no. 10.689 (June 2003)
Chile	Solidarity Chile	Ministry of Planning (MIDEPLAN)	Executive Secretariat for Social Protection	Law no. 19.949 Decree 29 (2011)
Colombia	Families in Action	Office of the President of the Republic	President's Agency for Social Action and International Cooperation	...
	Conditional Subsidies for School Attendance	Capital District Department of Education	...	Resolution no. 4.671

Table VI.1 (continued)

Country	Programme	Agencies involved		Legal framework
		Umbrella agency	Executing agency	
	<i>Juntos</i> Network	National Planning Department	President's Agency for Social Action and International Cooperation	Conpes Social document 102 (2006)
		President's Agency for Social Action and International Cooperation		National Development Plan 2006-2010 "State and community: development for all"
		Ministry of Social Protection		
Costa Rica	<i>Superémonos</i>	Joint Institute for Social Aid (IMAS)	Inter-American Development Bank (IDB)	...
	<i>Avancemos</i>	Vice-Ministry for Social Development	Joint Institute for Social Aid (IMAS)	Executive decree no. 33.154-MP-Mideplan-MEP-MTSS/MIVAH
Dominican Republic	Solidarity	Office of the President of the Republic	Social Policies Coordination Cabinet Social Grants Administration Department (ADESS)	Decree no. 536-05
Ecuador	Solidarity Grant	...	Ministry of Social Welfare (until 2000, Ministry of Finance and Public Credit)	...
	Human Development Grant	Ministry of Economic and Social Inclusion	Social Protection Programme	Executive decree no. 347-A (2003) Executive decree no. 12 (2007) Executive decree no. 1824 (2006)
El Salvador	Solidarity in Communities (formerly the Solidarity Network)	Office of the President of the Republic (Technical Secretariat)	Social Investment Fund for Local Development (FISDL)	Executive decree no. 11 (2005) establishing the Solidarity Network Executive decree no. 56 (2009) establishing Solidarity in Communities

Table VI.1 (continued)

Country	Programme	Agencies involved		Legal framework
		Umbrella agency	Executing agency	
				Executive decree no. 72 (2010) broadening the coverage of the "alleviating poverty" component
Guatemala	<i>Mi Familia Progresá</i>	Ministry of Education in the framework of the Social Cohesion Committee	Ministry of Education, Special Projects Unit	Government accords nos. 117-2008, 273-2008 and 52-2009
Honduras	<i>Bono 10 000</i> programme for education, health and nutrition	Office of the President of the Republic (State Secretariat)	Family Allowance Programme (PRAF), Ministry of Health and Ministry of Education	Executive decree PCM-010 (2010) Executive decree PCM-024 (2010)
	Family Allowance Programme	Office of the President of the Republic	PRAF	Decree law no. 127-91 Legislative decree no. 127-91
	PRAF/IDB III	Office of the President of the Republic	PRAF IDB	...
	PRAF/IDB II	Office of the President of the Republic	PRAF IDB	...
Jamaica	Programme of Advancement through Health and Education (PATH)	Ministry of Labour and Social Security	...	...
Mexico	<i>Oportunidades</i> (formerly <i>Progresá</i>)	Ministry of Social Development (SEDESOL)	National Department for the <i>Oportunidades</i> Human Development Programme	Decree establishing the National Department for the Education, Health and Food Programme (March, 2002)
Nicaragua	Social Protection Network	Supplementary Social Fund (FSS)	Emergency Social investment Fund (FISE) (Phase I) Ministry of the Family (Phase II)	...
	Crisis Response System (SAC)	Development Solidarity Programme	Ministry of the Family	...

Table VI.1 (concluded)

Country	Programme	Agencies involved		Legal framework
		Umbrella agency	Executing agency	
Panama	Opportunities Network	Ministry of Social Development (MIDES)	Social Protection System Secretariat	...
	Programme of grants for families to buy food	Office of the President of the Republic	National Secretariat for Coordination and Follow-up of the Food and Nutrition Plan (SENAPLAN)	...
Paraguay	<i>Tekoporá</i>	Office of the President of the Republic	Social Action Secretariat (SAS)	Decree no. 1.928 (2009)
	<i>Abrazo</i>	National Secretariat for Childhood and Adolescence (SNNNA)	DEQUENI Foundation JOGUERAJA Foundation	Presidential decree no. 869
Peru	<i>Juntos</i>	Office of the President of the Council of Ministers	...	Supreme decree no. 032 PCM-2005 Supreme decree no. 062 PCM-2005
Trinidad and Tobago	Targeted Conditional Cash Transfer Programme (TCCTP)	Ministry of Social Development	...	...
Uruguay	Family Allowances	Ministry of Social Development and Monitoring Unit	Ministry of Social Development Social Security Institute (BPS)	Law no. 18.227 replacing laws nos. 17.139 and 17.758
	National Social Emergency Response Plan (PANES)	Ministry of Social Development (MIDES)	...	Law no. 17.869 (2005)

Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), Database of non-contributory social protection programmes in Latin America and the Caribbean [online] <http://dds.cepal.org/bdptc/>.

frameworks and structures (as in the case of Honduras' Family Allowance Programme) or generated provisional structures that were dismantled when the loan or grant funds ended (as was the case in Nicaragua).

Apart from the legal and institutional frameworks, it should be noted that the informal rules and practices and historical ties of the actors involved are also important, not just the explicit rules and procedures documented in writing (Repetto, 2009). Leadership and political will have also been instrumental in the success stories (*ibid.*). With these points and the analysis presented in this section in mind, one of the greatest challenges associated with CCT programmes, in terms of institutionalizing them and creating comprehensive social protection systems, is to create synergies between political support, technical capacities and availability of resources. To this end, proposals to generate framework agreements on access, financing and solidarity of social policies through fiscal and social protection pacts consistent with the concept of entitlement, as ECLAC has been advocating (2006; 2008b), are crucial. Experiences like Argentina's, with the launch of the Universal Child Allowance for Social Protection (AUH), and Uruguay's, with the Family Allowances programme and the Equity Plan, demonstrate the role that political leadership and social consensus can play in getting these initiatives off the ground. In both cases, the efforts have sought to broadly expand coverage of social protection benefits for previously excluded groups. In Argentina, implementation of AUH has been the fruit of debates initiated by civil society and scholars (Lo Vuolo, 2010) and taken up by the political sector, which finally approved this CCT in 2009. In Uruguay, the factors that pushed through the country's social assistance and social security reforms were a newly elected government in 2004 and a supporting coalition that held a legislative majority (Maldonado and Palma, 2011).

C. Accountability and citizen participation

Patronage and corruption in association with social programmes are long-standing problems that have affected social policy in Latin America and Caribbean, and CCT programmes have not been exempt. However, measures are being taken in several countries to counteract these problems by promoting accountability and citizen participation⁷⁴.

According to the United Nations (2009), well-defined accountability mechanisms that establish the responsibilities and functions of the

⁷⁴ Accountability means setting up mechanisms to compel public officials and agencies to account for their actions and to penalize them when necessary (Goetz and Jenkins, 2002, in Gruenberg and Pereyra, 2009b). Citizen participation can be understood as the direct intervention of social agents in public activities (Cunill, 1997).

relevant public and private actors make it easier to view the CCTs in terms of entitlement and rights, instead of as instruments of patronage that can be manipulated by the various political actors and sectors that have traditionally enjoyed significant bargaining power and autonomy.

Along with the establishment of mechanisms for horizontal audits by government agencies and external evaluations, direct citizen participation—or social control—is receiving increasing attention in the discourse on control of social programmes (Gruenberg and Pereyra, 2009b; Hevia 2009a, 2009b; Olvera, 2009; Pereyra, 2010).⁷⁵ The control that citizens can exercise runs the gamut from expressing their concerns and requests regarding implementation of the programmes to getting involved in programme design, evaluation and oversight. From a rights-based approach, participation is among the basic principles that citizens can demand, and it should be considered and promoted in programmes that are designed on the basis of that approach.

Although CCT programmes are not generally designed to explicitly include accountability and citizen participation mechanisms, specific mechanisms along these lines have been introduced in some of these programmes. A distinction can be made between indirect mechanisms (through complaint and grievance systems) and direct mechanisms (through the participation of the beneficiaries in commissions, committees, or deliberative bodies) (Hevia, 2009a). These participatory bodies can be collective or individual, and local or national in scale. A case by case look at the mechanisms that have been implemented indicates the main forms that participation takes in government policy, which range from consultative participation to a form of participation that assumes more active control in the management of social programmes (Gruenberg and Pereyra, 2009a).

With respect to the indirect mechanisms, some CCTs have incorporated mechanisms for responding to programme-related complaints and grievances by citizens. Complaints may mention irregularities committed in the different components of the programmes: allocation of benefits and failure to meet requirements or conditions. This is the case with the Citizen Services System (SAC) of the *Oportunidades* programme in Mexico, which is administratively attached to the Citizen Services and Social Oversight Directorate (DAC) of the Ministry of Social

⁷⁵ Takahashi (2009a) points out the importance of internal mechanisms for intrastate monitoring and for external evaluations of programmes to limit patronage practices and promote transparency and accountability. In the case of *Progresas/Oportunidades* in Mexico, the author alludes to the intensification of electoral competition in that country and the emergence of a stronger civil society as key factors for the incorporation of diverse control mechanisms for the programme.

Development and is financed under the national budget. SAC fields citizen petitions in the form of requests, enquiries, complaints and grievances and provides advisory services and information at its central and state offices. Complaints are filed variously by regular mail, drop boxes, email, telephone, fax, in person and Internet (Gruenberg and Pereyra, 2009b).

Hevia and Gruenberg (2010) note the enhanced capacity of SAC to process the various petitions it receives, which speaks to the possibility of strengthening this type of institutional structure. An analysis of the period 2003-2009 finds that SAC experienced a 130% increase in the number of petitions it received. Of a total of 786,617 petitions received during the period, 83% were requests and enquiries, 14% were complaints and grievances and 3% were classified under the "other" category, which includes expressions of congratulations and appreciation. These authors identify three areas in which systems like the SAC can be strengthened: (i) decrease in underreporting of citizen complaints, whether due to lack of personnel or fear among citizens to lodge complaints; (ii) incorporation of gender information so data are available on the magnitude and importance of gender in cases of abuse of power; and (iii) generation of consistent institutional responses to complaints.

When the complaints received through this mechanism are related to electoral processes, they are forwarded to the Office of the Special Prosecutor for Electoral Crimes (FEPADE). According to the FEPADE report on electoral shielding, the *Oportunidades* programme generated more election-related complaints in 2006 than any other programme run by the Ministry of Social Development, making it the vehicle that was most commonly used to influence the vote (Hevia and Gruenberg, 2010). When the complaints involve possible cases of corruption of federal officials, the information is remitted to the Citizen Affairs Directorate of the Department of Public Administration.

In the framework of the Unemployed Heads of Household programme in Argentina, a Complaints Committee for Employment Programmes (CODEM) was established in the Employment Secretariat of the Ministry of Labour. CODEM fields complaints by telephone, mail, or memo and in person, at its offices as well as at the local Employment and Job Training Centres. In this case, complaints are directly entered into a computer programme that classifies them for subsequent processing.⁷⁶ When a complaint reports a crime, it is forwarded to the Office of the Attorney General's Unit for the Investigation of Crimes related to Social

⁷⁶ This includes the following categories: "extortion, corruption, ineligible beneficiaries, irregular registration, consultative councils, irregular consideration, irregular payment process, other" (Gruenberg and Pereyra, 2009b).

Security (UFISES), and the case is handled in accordance with Argentina's penal code (Hevia and Gruenberg, 2010).

These mechanisms are crucial in the case of complaints concerning errors of inclusion and programme operations, as well as complaints indicating abuses related to the imposition of conditions. Of the complaints filed with SAC by *Oportunidades* beneficiaries, 39% are related to errors of inclusion and exclusion, 22% to the suspension or incomplete delivery of economic assistance, 13% to errors in programme operations, 9% to abuse of power, 6% to inconsistencies in design and 11% to other reasons (Hevia and Gruenberg, 2010).⁷⁷

Gruenberg and Pereyra (2009a) also analysed 5,000 complaints received by UFISES between 2002 and 2008 concerning the Unemployed Heads of Household and Community Employment programmes in Argentina. Eighty percent of these complaints corresponded to the condition fulfilment stage (including cases of unjustified collection of money, demands for participation in political activities and threats), while 10% corresponded to the cash transfer payment stage and 8% to the programme registration stage. In the authors' opinion, extortion practices would not be neutral in terms of gender relations (see section V.F). They also show how some measures to increase the transparency of the process, such as the introduction of a magnetic stripe card for the payment of benefits, have had a limited impact given that they have no bearing on the other stages (beneficiary selection and, especially, oversight and monitoring). The authors therefore maintain that timely and effective access to information is crucial for dealing with patronage and corruption.

As for direct control mechanisms, in the case of programmes in Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Mexico and Peru, a specific collective control mechanism has been created in which programme beneficiaries and various deliberative government entities participate. In Mexico, this mechanism takes the form of community promotion committees composed of members designated by the beneficiaries they represent. These committees seek to establish a better link between the beneficiary families and social services personnel in health and education, as well as *Oportunidades* personnel, by referring requests and strengthening the different programme actions. In the case of Colombia's Families in Action programme, a "mother leader" is elected at a meeting of the programme beneficiaries. For the Unemployed Heads of Household programme in Argentina, nearly 1,800 local consultative councils were created within the municipal governments (Gruenberg, 2006, in Pereyra, 2010). In Brazil,

⁷⁷ As described in section V.F, complaints related to abuse of power primarily affect the health sector, as well as members of community promotion committees and programme staff, in situations involving mistreatment, requests for money and proselytism.

Bolsa Família Regulation 246 of 2005 established the creation of social control committees for the programme at the local level. Since 2005, a total of 5,500 committees have been created, 44% of which focus exclusively on *Bolsa Família*. The rest, in addition to their social control functions, run the Municipal Social Assistance Councils (Hevia, 2009b). In both cases, representatives from the local governments as well as from civil society participate. The responsibilities of these social control committees include: verifying that errors of inclusion or exclusion have not been made during the beneficiary registration process, confirming the existence of adequate health and education services for the fulfilment of co-responsibilities and performing programme oversight activities.

In the case of Peru, the entity in charge of control and reporting functions for the *Juntos* programme is the National Supervision and Transparency Committee. This is a national public-private committee that includes representatives from the Office of the President, the Church, the private sector, regional and local governments and the Coalition for the Eradication of Poverty. Together with the Office of the Ombudsman, the National Committee acts autonomously, in accordance with a rights- and participation-based approach, to ensure: (i) effective fulfilment of the targeting criteria, registration of targeted households, verification of co-responsibilities and payment of benefits; (ii) the availability of the social services required to attain programme objectives, with special attention on education, health, nutrition and identification services; and (iii) the transparency of programme actions and operations, as well as the use of resources and access to information. To that end, it acts on the basis of direct complaints and grievances, outreach campaigns and regular analyses of programme operations based on the information produced in a semi-annual random sampling of beneficiaries. In addition to the National Committee, there are 638 local supervision and transparency committees in charge of identifying aspects that require attention for local implementation of the programme and referring them to regional entities and, subsequently, to the national level. In 2008, a total of 1,441 complaints were processed, and 47% were resolved, although not without some delays (Ascue Meléndez, 2009).

Although these mechanisms provide opportunities for social control, both types entail risks and weaknesses. Indirect mechanisms that allow information about complaints and concerns to be submitted discreetly are important for protecting CCT programmes from possible electoral or other types of manipulation, but they are insufficient for guaranteeing social control of the programmes (Olvera, 2009). These systems are highly dependent on the skills and availability of the personnel in charge of handling the complaints and are often subject to

financial constraints. Furthermore, there is the challenge of how best to handle the information that arrives.⁷⁸

In the case of direct mechanisms, there are challenges related to cyclical factors, such as constraints of a more structural nature with respect to possible lack of operational autonomy and the risk of co-optation by the local governments. The operational capacity of Peru's National Supervision and Transparency Committee, for instance, has been compromised by the recent economic crisis and diminished funding streams. Challenges related to climate and physical access, as well as local instability and conflict situations in areas affected by drug trafficking and terrorism, further limit their scope of action (Ascue Meléndez, 2009). In Mexico, both the General Social Development Law and the Comprehensive Social Oversight System (SICS) specifically provide for the incorporation of control mechanisms in the monitoring of public programmes, but these are not able to guarantee adequate citizen representation in the discourse on social programmes (Hevia, 2009a; Olvera, 2009). According to Hevia (2009a), the community promotion committees have limited coverage: as of late 2005, 32% of the beneficiaries were not represented by this structure, committee rules were defined unilaterally by the programme⁷⁹ and the only available control mechanism was to file complaints and grievances with SAC.⁸⁰ For this programme, there were no opportunities for citizens to participate in the planning, targeting or evaluation process, and the community promotion committees do not have the authority needed to convene the technical and political actors responsible for programme implementation.

In the case of Mexico, there is also evidence of scarce communication for the purposes of coordinating efforts between the committees and the public agencies in charge of horizontal social control mechanisms (audits or inspections). The general public has little knowledge of the existing committees, which are mostly viewed as an administrative formality. Moreover, it has been observed that a number of organized actors in the places where *Oportunidades* is implemented do not participate in the

⁷⁸ A good practice in this regard is the one employed by *Bolsa Familia*, where in response to the huge volume of telephone calls that were being received daily at the Ministry of Social Development's call centre, technical missions were organized to visit the municipalities with the highest complaint rates to gather information, ensuring the safety of the complainants and generating appropriate recommendations (Gruenberg and Pereyra, 2009b).

⁷⁹ These include rules on the conformation of the groups, number of participants, requirements for the selection of members, duration of positions and powers and duties. For example, only *Oportunidades* personnel are authorized to replace or appoint members.

⁸⁰ The low rate of resolution of complaints received by agencies such as SAC should be considered. Hevia (2009a) indicates that of a total of 225 complaints received in the second half of 2004 and the first half of 2005, only 34 cases were closely examined and only one resulted in a penalty (the removal of a municipal liaison). In 48% of the cases, the complainants were instructed to present their concerns to other agencies.

entities set up for social control of the programme, which is an area that requires strengthening (Hevia, 2010).

Lastly, complaints alleging proselytism have been filed against members of the community promotion committees. These committees do not have funding, and members are required to donate considerable time and money to be able to participate. As a result, members often request a fee from the other participants, which violates programme rules and the purpose of the cash transfers (Hevia, 2010).

D. Transparency of beneficiary records

The transparency and accessibility of CCT beneficiary records for the different people who may be interested in seeing them is another key element for guaranteeing the accountability of the executing agencies and boosting the sustainability of the programmes (Schedler, 2007, and Fox, 2006, in Pereyra, 2010).⁸¹

Making information about the beneficiaries of certain programmes publicly available facilitates programme monitoring and evaluation efforts, both by the executing government agencies and by external organizations, the academic community and civil society as a whole, in order to verify that the programmes are in compliance with their operating regulations. This information helps to identify possible errors of inclusion or exclusion in targeting, as well as the duplication of benefits delivered through one or more social programmes. Lastly, the transparency of the information is important for curbing potential cases of political patronage and ensuring that benefits are not collected by certain interest groups, through the elimination or at least the correction of the discretionary use of public resources (Fox and Haight, 2009; Gómez-Álvarez, 2009; Pereyra, 2010; Székely, 2010).

However, the publication of beneficiary records should be done in a way that ensures the protection of personal information —based on the personal privacy laws in force in many countries— through appropriate technology solutions.

In the case of *Bolsa Família* in Brazil, *Oportunidades* in Mexico and Solidarity Chile, beneficiary records are available for public consultation. In Brazil, the information is presented by identification number and annual subsidy.⁸² The beneficiary rolls of Solidarity Chile are also

⁸¹ As indicated by López Ayllón (2009), transparency entails access to the records, as well as matters related to the timeliness, relevance, consistency and completeness of the information.

⁸² See [online] www.portaltransparencia.gov.br.

published, in accordance with that country's transparency requirement.⁸³ In the case of the Universal Child Allowance for Social Protection in Argentina, the National Social Security Administration (ANSES) allows beneficiaries to be identified through their identity card. In Costa Rica, citizens may only review nonidentifying statistical data from the Target Population Information System (SIPO) and the Beneficiary Services System (SABEN), owing to the principle of confidentiality established in Article 21 of Costa Rica's Constitution (Viquez, 2011). In Colombia, systems have been implemented in which beneficiaries included in the System for the Identification of Potential Social Programme Beneficiaries (SISBEN) are not identified by name, but rather by a personal identification number (Pereyra, 2010).

The institutional framework that is created to ensure correct and transparent handling of beneficiary records is particularly important. Thus, in the case of *Oportunidades* and *Bolsa Familia*, there is a national coordination office that handles these records.

Mexico has a Federal Law on Transparency and Access to Public Governmental Information (enacted on 30 April 2002) that establishes the obligation to disclose information on the beneficiary registries of social programmes. The Records Administration Unit, created in 2001 in the Geostatistics and Beneficiary Registries Directorate of the Ministry of Social Development, is in charge of producing a master registry of beneficiaries.⁸⁴ In the case of the *Oportunidades* programme, the National Coordination Office treats beneficiary information as confidential—although pursuant to laws in force, a list of beneficiaries by name is available on the Internet, including their places of residence—and establishes hierarchical consultation modules to protect the information from any attempt at manipulation. The National Coordination Office also has sole responsibility for administering, populating and updating the beneficiary registry, and is the only entity authorized to accept or reject beneficiaries (Gómez Hermosillo, 2011).⁸⁵

In Brazil, a government network has been created specifically to oversee *Bolsa Familia*. Among other activities, it is responsible for reviewing the quality of the databases and *CadÚnico*.⁸⁶ In addition, the Ministry of Social Development has internal and external control mechanisms

⁸³ See [online] <http://ris.mideplan.cl/transparencia/views/listados/index.php>.

⁸⁴ See [online] http://sedesol2006.sedesol.gob.mx/subsecretarias/prospectiva/main_cgp.htm.

⁸⁵ According to Takahashi (2009b), the legal and procedural mechanisms that were implemented for the selection and registration of beneficiaries helped to significantly reduce cases of patronage in the 2006 elections.

⁸⁶ This network consists of the federal, state, and federal district Offices of the Attorney General, the Office of the Comptroller General (CGU), and the Federal Auditing Office (TCU).

to improve the quality of the databases and investigate complaints originating at the local level that allege errors of inclusion (Hevia de la Jara, 2009b).

E. Cross-sector integration

A number of authors have drawn attention to the demonstrated ability of CCT programmes to promote cross-sector actions (Cecchini and Martínez, 2011; Repetto, 2009). The multidimensional view of poverty taken by CCT programmes and the coordination of interventions related to income and consumption, as well as human capacity development, necessitate deeper integration of the various social policy sectors. The existence of conditionalities, which entail specific coordination with the health and education sectors, is an incentive for cross-sector collaboration (Cecchini and Martínez, 2011). This is easier when the programmes have their own resources and relatively well-defined operating regulations (Repetto, 2009).

One example of cross-sector coordination is the Solidarity Chile system, whose Executive Secretariat has had to: (i) coordinate the institutions responsible for delivering social benefits and ensuring that they work smoothly as part of a network; (ii) expand existing social programmes or create new ones to address needs not met by the regular providers; (iii) make sure that information is handled properly, maintaining an integrated support system. To that end, it operates on the basis of direct interagency agreements and under a legal framework that governs the functioning of the entire system and regulates the regime of guarantees (MIDEPLAN, 2009). This programme is characterized by the use of budget management as a control mechanism for the progress and commitments made by the various participating agencies. Although the Secretariat does not have specific political or monetary resources to create incentives for the different institutions and ensure that they contribute to the performance of the entire system, it is able to retain the sector allocations earmarked for each participating ministry and service, which has become a key strategy for strengthening progress. At the same time, the fact that the Secretariat positions itself as a relevant partner for sector agencies in the effort to maintain and increase funding from the Ministry of Finance has become a powerful catalyst for collaboration and coordination.⁸⁷ Despite the opportunities that this creates for cross-sector coordination, in this case major sustainability constraints have emerged due to the fragility of

⁸⁷ Interview with Verónica Silva, Executive Secretary of Solidarity Chile, on 14 December 2009. As mentioned in the interview, the budget management strategy is also used to coordinate actions nationwide with the municipios that will gradually take over management of the *Puente* programme.

the institutional framework and practices in a context of political change, which recalls the point made in the preceding paragraph.

In the case of the Solidarity programme in the Dominican Republic, the supply and demand mismatch for services prompted efforts to establish coordination mechanisms between the sector and social assistance policies, at both the central and local level (Gámez, 2010). This led to the creation of the Cross-Sector Coordination Committee (CCS), composed of the Ministries of Health, Education and Finance, the National Health Insurance System, the Solidarity programme and the Technical Office of the Social Cabinet. From this Committee, common objectives have been established in health, education and nutrition, so the CCT acts to strengthen the sector plans. Thanks to the Committee's work, progress has also been made in areas such as identifying coverage gaps at the local level in collaboration with the local agencies, establishing the budget allocation mechanisms needed to ensure the long-term financing required to expand supply ("budget lock-ins"), redefining the responsibilities of local officials and executing agencies for the sector plans in the context of Solidarity and training and providing orientation to these officials and agencies on how the programme works (Gámez, 2010).

In the case of *Bolsa Família*, the cross-sector dialogue that took place around the conditionalities helped to identify the problems that families face in meeting them, which are often due to factors that are not directly addressed by the programme.⁸⁸ These problems include the weak labour market integration of the adults, the lack of literacy opportunities and poor housing. Based on this assessment, synergies were sought with interventions in other sectors, giving rise to what are known as "complementary programmes," which are intended to tailor sector services to the specific poverty and vulnerability situation of the *Bolsa Família* families, in order to scale up the impact of the income transfers in the areas addressed by each sector. Accordingly, *Bolsa Família* actions have been coordinated with other benefits and programmes in the ministries responsible for education, labour and employment and agricultural development, for example.

Nevertheless, even in the case of programmes that have an explicit idea of coordination and cross-sector integration and establish specific arrangements to connect the different social programmes and services with the beneficiaries, setting up working networks continues to be a complicated and problematic endeavour. In the case of Solidarity Chile, for

⁸⁸ In 2010, this dialogue took place, for example, at an intersectoral and intergovernmental forum on conditions in the *Bolsa Família* programme, organized by the Ministry of Social Development, the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Health in the five regions of the country (Brazil, Ministry of Social Development and the Fight against Hunger, 2010).

example, there are still major hurdles to setting up a network at the local level (MIDEPLAN, 2009) and securing the participation of the municipal entities responsible for managing it, under the decentralized programme design. Some of the aspects identified as involving major coordination challenges are (Nun and Trucco, 2008): the task of clearly defining the functions of each component of the network, whether in terms of the participating actors or geographic levels of operation, problems associated with information flows and getting officials and executing agencies to buy into the programme guidelines and objectives and the management-related problems of the very units that make up the network. Thus, “the interventions often fail to coalesce as a network of services, but rather work to meet the minimum conditions in a fragmented way, thereby losing the synergistic potential that would result from system-wide effort” (Nun and Trucco, 2008). Given that the final outcomes of the programme depend on a multitude of factors that design cannot effectively control or that are difficult to anticipate, the coordination and cross-sector integration objective continues to be a weak element, with little progress made in relation to other components in these same programmes, such as psychosocial support for the families.

Along these same lines, Levy and Rodríguez (2005) show, in the case of implementation of *Progresa*, the importance attributed not only to technical and institutional learning aspects but also and especially to the need to generate a set of institutional modifications and readjustments to be able to situate the new programme. This programme was part of a political strategy that was broad in terms of both the reformulation of poverty reduction programmes and the redistribution of public investment, which necessitated a reallocation of budgets among the departments and administrative levels.

Lastly, it should be noted that cross-sector collaboration should take place at the different administrative levels, from the central level (ministries and departments) to the local level, among the different sectors and actors that operate in the country and have direct contact with the beneficiaries (Cecchini and Martínez, 2011).

Chapter VII

Final observations

Conditional cash transfer (CCT) programmes represent an important step forward in the field of social protection in Latin America and the Caribbean, inasmuch as they provide income transfers and facilitate access to social services for traditionally excluded poor sectors. However, these programmes are just one of many non-contributory social protection instruments in the countries' poverty reduction toolkits, which also include social pensions, emergency jobs, educational scholarships and subsidies for home purchases. Thus, CCT programmes are not a replacement for the functions of other instruments, and that is the lens through which they should be analysed. It is also essential to note that the effectiveness of these programmes largely depends on the presence of well-established universal health and education systems, as well as on a robust economy that is able to create quality jobs on a sustainable basis.

As seen throughout this document, the CCTs operating in the different countries in the region share some common features. They are non-contributory programmes aimed at reducing income poverty and strengthening the human capacities of the beneficiaries. Their basic design consists of a cash transfer to poor families with children, in exchange for commitments in the areas of education, health and nutrition. A central role is assigned to the mother of the family, who has primary responsibility not only for handling the transfers but also for fulfilling the co-responsibilities. However, there is no single model because each country has tailored the programmes to its local political conditions and institutional environment. As a result, alternate operational approaches and features have emerged, according to whether strict or lenient conditions and penalties are applied,

whether transfers are cash or in kind and whether job placement, family guidance and other services are provided directly or indirectly.

In this regard, Cecchini and Martínez (2011) suggest that CCTs can be analytically classified into three main categories, which helps elucidate the different ways in which these programmes function in relation to their objectives, the instruments used and the expected outcomes. According to this approach, CCT programmes can be categorized as: (i) income transfer programmes with soft conditionality; (ii) programmes that foster demand through strong conditionality; and (iii) systems or networks of coordinated programmes with conditionalities.⁸⁹ In the first case, the main objective is to guarantee a basic level of consumption for poor families through a cash transfer. In the second, the overarching objective is to promote human development for the poor through expanded use of health and education services. In the third case, the purpose is to connect poor families with the different benefits provided by specific programmes and thus generate a minimum standard of inclusion.

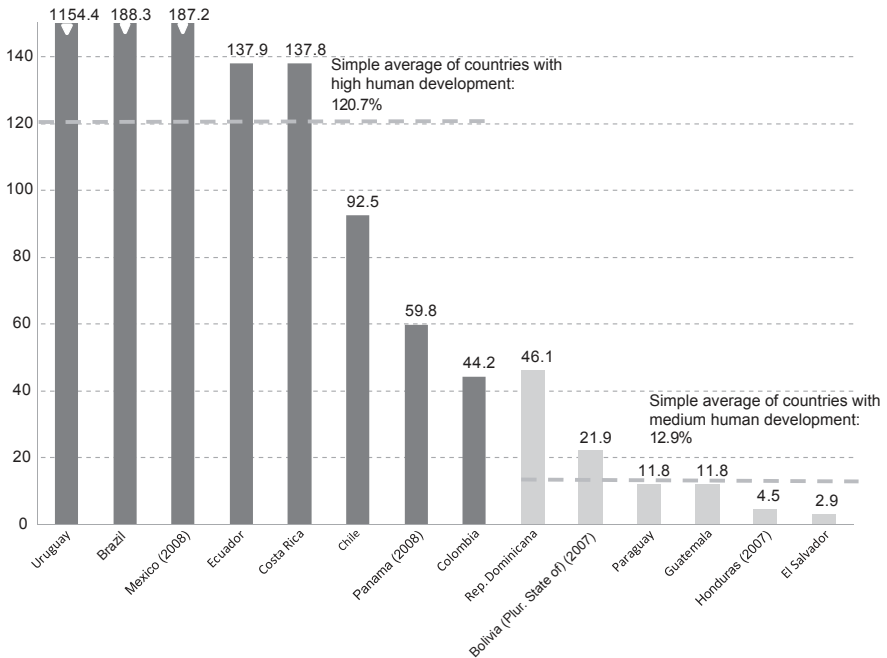
One of the greatest challenges for CCT programmes is maintaining clear objectives and precise functions, adopting effective instruments (benefits and conditions) for the achievement of those objectives and delineating programme competencies and responsibilities. Particularly in countries that do not have real social protection systems or where these systems are very weak, there is a risk that CCT programmes “will become a type of Christmas tree, to which new benefits are mechanically added and on which more and more requirements are strung, giving rise to a structure that is fully comprehensive but has little precision or efficacy and that tends to drift away from public sector policy and its specific objectives” (Cecchini and Martínez, 2011).

The diversity of experiences is also reflected in the varying levels of investment and coverage of the population by CCTs from country to country. It is especially troubling that the countries with lower levels of human development are also the ones that have lower levels of investment and coverage of poor and indigent groups through CCT schemes, and thus less of an impact. As shown in figures VII.1 and VII.2, CCT coverage of the aggregate income deficit of the indigent and poor (see section IV.A) differs markedly between the countries in the region with high human development indices and those with medium human development indices. On average, in the countries with high human development indices, cash

⁸⁹ Although this classification is based on the three main benchmark programmes in the region (*Bolsa Familia*, *Oportunidades* and *Solidarity Chile*, respectively), it represents more of an analytical than an empirical instrument, so there may be programmes that do not fit into any of the categories, or situations in which the categories will tend to overlap (Cecchini and Martínez, 2011).

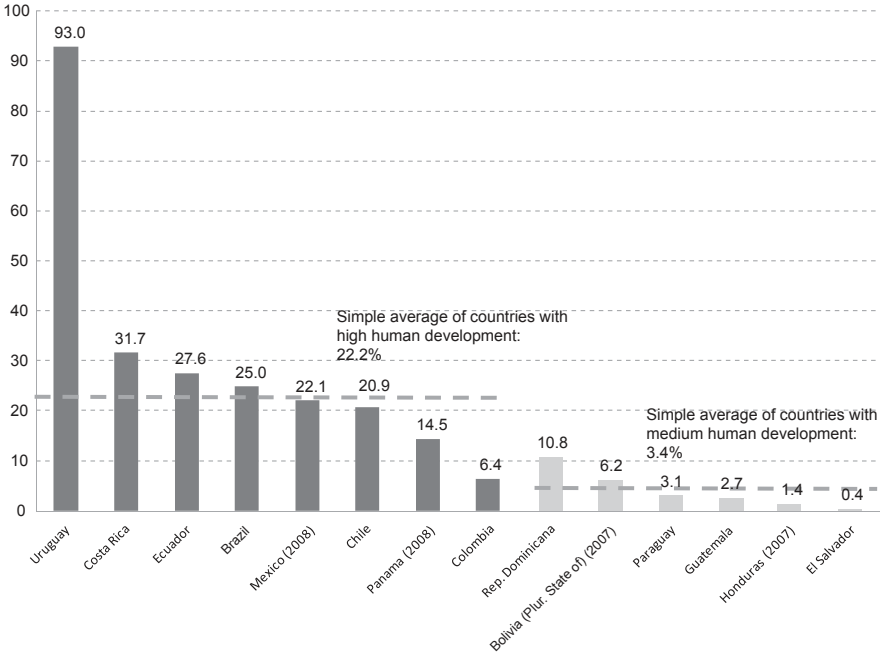
transfers cover over 100% of the income deficit of the extremely poor and 22.2% of the income deficit of the poor. In the countries with medium human development indices, cash transfers cover just 12.9% of the aggregate income deficit of the extremely poor and 3.4% of the deficit of the poor.

Figure VII.1
LATIN AMERICA (14 COUNTRIES): SPENDING IN CONDITIONAL CASH TRANSFER PROGRAMMES ON THE ANNUAL AGGREGATE INCOME DEFICIT OF THE INDIGENT POPULATION, 2009
(Percentages)



Source: Prepared by the authors using data from the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) database on non-contributory social protection programmes in Latin America and the Caribbean; *Social Panorama of Latin America*, 2010 (LC/G.2481-P), Santiago, Chile, 2011. United Nations publication, Sales No. S.10.II.G.6; and the CEPALSTAT database.

Figure VII.2
 LATIN AMERICA (14 COUNTRIES): SPENDING IN CONDITIONAL CASH TRANSFER PROGRAMMES ON THE ANNUAL AGGREGATE INCOME DEFICIT OF THE POOR POPULATION, 2009
 (Percentages)



Source: Prepared by the authors using data from the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) database on non-contributory social protection programmes in Latin America and the Caribbean; *Social Panorama of Latin America*, 2010 (LC/G.2481-P), Santiago, Chile, 2011. United Nations publication, Sales No. S.10.II.G.6; and the CEPALSTAT database.

Given that CCT programmes are regarded as a successful innovation in the area of social protection, it is important to point out under which circumstances good outcomes have been achieved. These programmes have worked sufficiently well and produced their expected outcomes in large countries with considerable resources at their disposal, such as Brazil and Mexico, but this does not mean that they can be exported to any country and produce the same results, nor that they should be the top social investment priority, especially in the poorer countries. In the countries with low human development indices in Latin America and the Caribbean, CCTs reach only a small portion of the families living in extreme poverty, and the small transfer amounts are not sufficient to help them rise out of that condition or even get them substantially closer to the

indigence line. Even though transfers are seen as essential for incentivizing the use of health and education services, and thus achieving human development objectives, in the poorest countries, it is imperative to reflect on the need to use poverty reduction funds not only to increase demand for health and education services, but also to expand and strengthen the supply of services (Cecchini, 2009).

We also wish to underscore the importance of adopting a rights-based approach to social protection, particularly in the case of non-contributory social protection programmes such as CCTs, which involves taking a different look at problems and solutions in this sphere. The poor and vulnerable can see in the CCTs a port of access to a comprehensive and inclusive social protection system. In such a system, people are able to exit individual programmes—and thus “graduate” from the CCTs—without having to relinquish their right to protection (Cecchini and Martínez, 2011), so these programmes must be viewed as a set of policies for the realization of social rights and full citizenship. Viewing the CCTs in terms of entitlement and rights, which makes it hard to interpret them as instruments of patronage that can be manipulated by different political actors (Cecchini and Martínez, 2011), can also contribute to achieving the institutional stability and long-term agreements needed to ensure funding and the continuity of the programmes, which can cease being government policy and instead become true State policy.

Lastly, regarding the role of the CCTs in relation to job placement for the poor and the possible disincentives at work in this area—currently one of the most debated issues with respect to these programmes—we contend that CCTs can help to create a “virtuous circle” for poor and vulnerable families, in contrast to the assertion made by Levy (2009) regarding the “vicious circle” of social programmes that would create subsidies for the informal sector, lowering productivity and contributing to the creation of bad jobs.⁹⁰

Income transfers, when constant over time, provide a basic safety net for the poor, who by having a guaranteed minimum level of subsistence will have greater opportunities to enter the labour market. Considering the small size of the cash transfers made under these programmes, no negative effects are observed on the labour supply, so the poor and vulnerable continue to try to climb out of poverty on their

⁹⁰ Although we share Levy’s concern about the lack of coordination between the different social protection actions (whether contributory or non-contributory), we do not believe that the increase in informality can be attributed to CCTs in a region where the informality rate in 1990 (long before these programmes were first implemented) was 54.6% of the employed. By 2008, the rate had fallen to 49.8% (United Nations, 2010). It should also be noted that CCTs do not target on the basis of employment status.

own initiative. In fact, thanks to non-contributory transfers, they could have more bargaining power in relation to very low wages, as well as more opportunities to invest in productive activities.

Moreover, some CCT programmes have attempted to bring the beneficiary population into the labour market in a more direct way through various job placement and incomegenerating interventions (see section III.A.3.a). Although it is hard for CCT beneficiaries to find jobs and remain in the formal labour market, the fact that they work in informal jobs has more to do with the limitations of the productive structure in Latin American countries than with these programme's supposed incentives to informality.

Annex

Table 1
LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN (19 COUNTRIES): CONDITIONAL CASH TRANSFERS, POPULATION COVERED, BUDGET AND GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS OF INTERVENTION

Country	Programmes (Starting year)	Population covered			Budget	Financing sources	Geographical area of intervention
		Percentages of total population	Percentages of indigent population ^{a,b}	Percentages of poor population ^{a,b}				Percentages of GDP	Percentages of social investment^{c}
Programmes in operation							
Argentina	Universal Child Allowance for Social Protection (2009)	8.3 (2009)	>100 (2009)	46.4 (2009)	0.20 (2009)	0.88 (2009)	Nationwide
	Porteña Citizenship Programme (2005)	9.6 (2009) ^e	>100 (2009) ^f	>100 (2009) ^g	0.14 (2009) ^g	3.38 (2009) ^h	Guarantee Fund of the Argentine Integrated Social Security System; Integrated Pension and Retirement System Government of the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires Local Autonomous City of Buenos Aires
Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	Juancito Pinto Grant (2006)	17.5 (2009)	50.7 (2009)	32.4 (2009)	0.33 (2009)	2.05 (2009)	National
	Juana Azurduy de Padilla Mother-and-Child Grant	3.5 (2009)	10.0 (2009)	6.4 (2009)	0.22 (2009)	1.41 (2009)	Government of the Plurinational State of Bolivia National
							World Bank Inter-American Development Bank (IDB)

Table 1 (continued)

Country	Programmes (Starting year)	Population covered			Budget		Financing sources	Geographical area of intervention
		Percentages of total population	Percentages of indigent population ^{a b}	Percentages of poor population ^{a b}	Percentages of GDP	Percentages of social investment ^c		
Programmes in operation								
Brazil	<i>Bolsa Família</i> (2003)	26.4 (2009) ^e	>100 (2009)	84.6 (2009)	0.47 (2009) ⁱ	1.91 (2009)	Federal Government World Bank	National
	Child Labour Eradication Programme (PETI) (1996)	0.5 (2008)	5.2 (2008)	1.6 (2008)	0.01 (2008) ⁱ	0.04 (2008)	Federal Government	National
Chile	Solidarity Chile (2002)	6.8 (2008) ⁱ	>100 (2009)	51.7 (2008)	0.11 (2009)	0.87 (2009)	Government of Chile	National
Colombia	Families in Action (2001)	25.2 (2009) ^e	>100 (2009)	56.5 (2009)	0.39 (2009)	3.14 (2009)	Government of Colombia World Bank IDB	National
	Conditional Subsidies for School Attendance (2005) ^k	0.6 (2006)	3.2 (2006)	1.4 (2006)	0.02 (2007) ⁱ	...	...	Local (Mayorality of Bogota)
Costa Rica	<i>Avancemos</i> (2006)	3.3 (2006)	52.2 (2009)	17.4 (2009)	0.39 (2009)	2.27 (2009)	Government of (2009) World Bank	National Costa Rica
Ecuador	Human Development Grant (2003) ^m	44.3 (2009) ^{e m}	>100 (2009)	>100 (2009)	1.17 (2009)	18.37 (2009)	Government of Ecuador	National

Table 1 (continued)

Country	Programmes (Starting year)	Population covered				Budget			Financing sources	Geographical area of intervention
		Percentages of total population	Percentages of indigent population ^{a,b}	Percentages of poor population ^{a,b}	Percentages of GDP	Percentages of social investment ^c	Percentages of investment ^c			
Programmes in operation										
El Salvador	Solidarity in Rural Communities (formerly the Solidarity Network) (2003)	8.2 (2009) ^e	38.7 (2009)	17.1 (2009)	0.02 (2009) ⁱ	0.20 (2009)	World Bank IDB	Rural		
Guatemala	<i>Mi Familia Progres</i> a (2008) ^e	22.6 (2009) ^e	70.5 (2008)	39.7 (2009)	0.32 (2009)	4.29 (2009)	Government of Guatemala IDB	National		
Honduras	Family Allowance Programme (PRAF) (1990)	8.7 (2009) ^e	17.2 (2009)	12.3 (2008)	0.24 (2009)	2.12 (2009)	Government of Honduras IDB	National		
Jamaica	Programme of Advancement Through Health and Education (2002)	11.3 (2009) ^{e,o}	>100 (2007) ^p	>100 (2007) ^p	0.40 (2009)	4.69 (2009)	Government of Jamaica World Bank	National		
Mexico	<i>Oportunidades</i> (2001)	24.6 (2009) ^e	>100 (2009)	62.8 (2009)	0.51 (2009)	4.52 (2009)	Government of Mexico World Bank IDB	National		
Panama	Opportunities Network (2006)	10.9 (2009) ^q	81.0 (2009)	39.5 (2009)	0.22 (2008)	2.33 (2008)	Government of Panama	National		

Table 1 (continued)

Country	Programmes (Starting year)	Population covered			Budget		Financing sources	Geographical area of intervention
		Percentages of total population	Percentages of indigent population ^{a b}	Percentages of poor population ^{a b}	Percentages of GDP	Percentages of social investment ^c		
Programmes in operation								
Paraguay	<i>Tekoporá</i> (2005)	8.6 (2009) ^e	5.2 (2009)	13.9 (2009)	0.36 (2009) ⁱ	3.21 (2009)	IDB World Bank	National
	<i>Abrazo</i> (2005)	0.03 (2009)	0.09 (2009)	0.05 (2009)	0.02 (2009)	0.17 (2009)	Other bilateral and multilateral sources United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)	National
Peru	<i>Juntos</i> (2005)	22.6 (2009) ^e	60.6 (2009)	21.2 (2009)	0.14 (2009)	1.68 (2009)	Republic of Peru	National
Dominican Republic	<i>Solidarity</i> (2005)	21.2 (2009) ^e	89.0 (2009)	46.3 (2008)	0.51 (2009) ⁱ	6.3 (2009)	Government of the Dominican Republic	National
Trinidad and Tobago	Targeted Conditional Cash Transfer Programme (2006)	2.4 (2009)	>100 ^f (2009)	14.6 (2009) ⁱ	0.19 (2009)	2.15 (2009)	Government of Trinidad and Tobago	National
Uruguay	Family Allowances (2008)	11.6 (2009)	>100 (2009)	84.6 (2009)	0.45 (2009)	2.11 (2009)	Government of Uruguay	National
Programmes concluded								
Argentina	Families for Social Inclusion (2005) ^s	7.8 (2009) ^e	>100 (2009)	43.1 (2009)	0.20 (2009)	0.91 (2009)	Government of Argentina IDB	National
	Unemployed Heads of Household (2002-2005)	5.7 (2008)	98.5 (2008)	33.2 (2008)	0.16 (2008)	0.71 (2008)	Government of Argentina IDB	National

Table 1 (continued)

Country	Programmes (Starting year)	Population covered				Budget		Financing sources	Geographical area of intervention
		Percentages of total population	Percentages of indigent population ^{a,b}	Percentages of poor population ^{a,b}	Percentages of GDP	Percentages of social investment ^c			
Programmes concluded									
Brazil	<i>Bolsa Escola</i> school grant (2001-2003) ^f	7.3 (2004) ^e	60.2 (2004)	19.3 (2004)	0.04 (2004) ⁱ	0.20 (2004) ^u	Federal Government	National	
	<i>Bolsa Alimentação</i> food grant (2001-2003) ^{l,v}	0.4 (2004) ^e	3.2 (2004)	1.0 (2004)	0.01 (2004) ⁱ	0.11 (2004)	Federal Government	National	
Costa Rica	<i>Superémos</i> (2000-2006)	0.3 (2003)	3.5 (2003)	1.4 (2003)	0.02 (2002)	0.11 (2002) ^w	Government of Costa Rica IDB	National	
Ecuador	Solidarity Grant (1998-2002)	32.7 (2000) ^h	>100 (2000)	51.6 (2000)	0.58 (2002)	10.46 (2002) ^w	Government of Ecuador	National	
Honduras	PRAF/IDB III (2007-2009) ^e	1.5 (2009) ^e	2.9 (2009)	2.1 (2009)	0.07 (2009)	0.64 (2009)	Government of Honduras IDB	Rural	
	PRAF/IDB II (1998-2005) ^x	1.9 (2005) ^e	3.8 (2005)	2.6 (2005)	0.08 (2005)	0.66 (2005) ^y	Government of Honduras IDB	Rural	
Mexico	<i>Progres</i> a (1997-2000) ^e	12.5 (2000) ^e	82.3 (2000)	30.4 (2000)	0.18 (2000)	1.58 (2000) ^e	Government of Mexico	Rural	
Nicaragua	Social Protection Network (RPS) (2000-2006) ^{aa}	2.5 (2006) ^e	7.7 (2006)	4.0 (2006) ^e	0.14 (2006)	1.22 (2006) ^y	Government of Nicaragua IDB	Rural	

Table 1 (concluded)

Country	Programmes (Starting year)	Population covered			Budget		Financing sources	Geographical area of intervention
		Percentages of total population	Percentages of indigent population ^{a,b}	Percentages of poor population ^{a,b}	Percentages of GDP	Percentages of social investment ^c		
Programmes concluded								
	Crisis Response System (SAC) (2005-2006)	0.3 (2006) ^e	1.0 (2006)	0.5 (2006)	...	...	Government of Nicaragua IDB	Local
Uruguay	National Social Emergency Response Plan (2005-2007)	9.6 (2007)	>100 (2007)	54.2 (2007)	0.43 (2007) ⁱ	2.04 (2007)	Government of Uruguay	National

Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), on the basis of database of non-contributory social protection programmes in Latin America and the Caribbean.

^a Does not include errors of inclusion and exclusion in the programmes.

^b Poverty and indigence figures obtained from ECLAC projections on the basis of special tabulations of household surveys conducted in the respective countries.

^c Simple average for the biennium 2006-2007 was used for social investment (or "social spending").

^d Calculated as a function of the population of the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires, according to the 2001 census.

^e Coverage estimated on the basis of the number of beneficiary families and the average urban household size in the poorest income quintile, for the closest year (CEPALSTAT-BADEINSO).

^f Data used are official INDEC figures on poverty and indigence for the city of Buenos Aires for 2009.

^g Calculated as a function of the geographical gross product of the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires for 2009, according to the treasury of the City Government.

^h Data for public social investment as a percentage of GDP from 2008 (latest year available) for the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires, according to the Ministry of Economic and Financial Affairs of the federal government.

ⁱ Figure corresponds to executed budget.

^j Users of the *Puerite* programme up to November.

^k Calculated as a function of the population of the city of Bogota (2006). National level data for poverty and indigence were used for the same year.

^l Projection of GDP for the department of Bogota published by the National Administrative Department of Statistics (DANE) for 2007.

^m Number of households estimated on the basis of the number of women users.

ⁿ Includes PRAF/IDB III.

^o Programmed coverage.

^p Calculated on the basis of data that are not comparable with the ECLAC estimates for poverty and indigence for the countries of Latin America.

^q Includes the programme of grants for families to buy food which operates in indigenous districts.

- r Calculated on the basis of poverty and indigence data for 2005, which are not comparable with the ECLAC estimates for the countries of Latin America.
- s Period of reference: September.
- t Although the programme officially ended in 2003, it continued to pay benefits in the following years and was gradually wound down as the number of *Bolsa Família* users increased.
- u Includes the *Cartão Alimentação* food card programme which operated during the same years.
- v Biennium 2004-2005.
- w Biennium 2002-2003.
- x Total investment (US\$ 50.3 million) divided by the number of years for which the programme operated.
- y Biennium 2005-2006.
- z Biennium 2000-2001.
- aaa Total investment in phase II of the programme (US\$ 27.2 million) divided by the number of years for which the programme operated (2003-2006).

Table 2
SOLIDARITY CHILE

Area	Programme	Institution(s) responsible	Description
Health	Family health plan	National Health Fund (FONASA)	Includes health programmes for children, adolescents, women, adults and older adults, and oral health programmes, with respective specialties. Includes explicit health-care guarantees which are dealt with at the primary care level.
	Oral health programme	National School Support and Scholarships Board (JUNAEB)	Promotes oral health in children aged 6-14 (first to eighth primary grades) through education, preventive care and treatment.
Food and nutrition	School meals programme (PAE)	JUNAEB	Provides an extra daily ration to all pupils in the Solidarity Chile system who are enrolled in educational establishments.
Education	Secondary education programme (BARE), formerly "High school for all" scholarship	JUNAEB	Provides a monetary contribution to pupils to finance part of their study expenses.
Income generation	Programme to support family production for own consumption	Solidarity and Social Investment Fund (FOSIS)	Provides technical assistance to families for the production of goods for their own consumption, nourishment and nutrition. Supports the implementation of technologies for food production.
	Urban indigenous microenterprise programme	National Indigenous Development Association (CONADI); Office of the Deputy Minister for Labour	Finances productive initiatives among the indigenous population using the system.
	Employment support programme	National Forestry Association (CONAF); Education, Training and Employment Association (PROFOCAP); Office of the Deputy Minister for Labour	Supports entry to the labour market in activities associated with local productive development, especially in the agricultural and forestry sectors.
	Labour-hiring subsidy programme	National Training and Employment Service (SENCE)	Susidizes hiring of Solidarity Chile participants to support entry to the waged labour market, encourages the hiring of young people covered by Solidarity Chile and promotes social and labour rehabilitation.
	Youth employment support programme	FOSIS	Provides specialized services to unemployed youth to help them develop a personalized labour-market entry plan.

Table 2 (concluded)

Area	Programme	Institution(s) responsible	Description
	Microenterprise support programme	FOSIS	Provides technical assistance and support for training within a self-managed, participatory scheme.
	Work skills development for women	Foundation for the Advancement and Development of Women (PRODEMU); National Institute for Agricultural Development (INDAP)	Provides training on labour skills and specific competencies to improve women's labour-market position.
Infrastructure	Habitability programme	FOSIS; Municipalities	Improves dwelling standards (materials, household equipment and land tenure) on the basis of an assessment conducted with each family in the household.
	Solidarity Chile habitability programme	Ministry of National Assets	Regularizes housing tenure documentation.
Psychosocial development	National Family Dynamics Support Programme	PRODEMU	Strengthens parenting skills and skills for other adults responsible for child-rearing.
	Life Skills Programme	JUNAEB	Provides mental health support for children in the education system and promotes better strategies and conditions in the teaching environment.
Childhood	Know your Child programme and Improving Childhood programme	National Kindergartens Board (JUNJI)	Provides support for rearing, care and education of children who are not in the formal education system and who belong to vulnerable families. Conducted through community projects run by trained mothers.
	Nurseries and extension of care hours	Integra Foundation	Caters to different preschool groups (from babies through to last year of nursery education) and offers attendance during extended hours (until 8 p.m.). Includes assessment of family situation and of children's psychoeducational development by means of follow-up and personalized attention in high-risk situations (malnutrition, psychomotor retardation, situations of intrafamily abuse)
Disability	Technical assistance programme	National Disability Fund (FONADIS)	Finances technical assistance for persons for disabilities, with no funding limit.

Source: Prepared by the authors on the basis of Solidarity Chile [online] <http://www.chilesolidario.gov.cl/>.

Table 3
LATIN AMERICA (14 COUNTRIES): DATA FOR THE CALCULATION OF ANNUAL AGGREGATE RESOURCE DEFICIT OF THE INDIGENT POPULATION WITH RESPECT TO THE INDIGENCE LINE, URBAN AREAS, 2009

Country	Indigence line (Dollars per person per month)	Population (Thousands of persons)	Population below the indigence line (Percentages)	Population below the indigence line (Thousands of persons)	Indigence gap (Percentages)	Average distance from the indigence gap ^a	Average monthly resource deficit of indigent population (Dollars)	Annual aggregate resource deficit of indigent population (Millions of dollars)
(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)=(b)*(c)	(e)	(f)=(e)/(c)	(g)=(f)*(a)	(h)=(g)*(d)*12	
Bolivia (Plurinational State of) ^b	29.6	6 117	16.2	991	5.6	0.35	10.2	121.4
Brazil	54.8	164 737	5.5	9 061	2.6	0.47	25.7	2 795.4
Chile	61.9	14 852	3.5	520	1.5	0.43	26.7	166.5
Colombia	59.4	35 848	12.4	4 445	5.4	0.43	25.6	1 365.9
Costa Rica	59.9	3 021	5.4	163	2.2	0.40	24.2	47.3
Dominican Republic	57.5	6 698	19.4	1 299	7.0	0.36	20.7	323.3
Ecuador	50.4	8 858	15.5	1 373	5.0	0.32	16.2	266.8
El Salvador	47.7	3 715	12.8	476	3.9	0.31	14.6	83.6
Guatemala	71.3	8 028	14.8 ^c	1 188	5.2 ^c	0.35	25.1	357.2
Honduras ^b	50.0	3 435	26.2	900	10.6	0.40	20.2	218.2
Mexico ^d	87.1	84 638	6.4	5 417	1.6	0.25	21.5	1 397.7
Panama ^d	54.8	2 336	4.6	107	1.6	0.35	19.4	25.0
Paraguay	65.3	3 900	19.0	741	7.1	0.37	24.2	215.3
Uruguay	73.2	3 106	2.0	62	0.4	0.22	15.7	11.7

Source: Prepared by the authors, on the basis of Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), *Social Panorama of Latin America*, 2010 (LC/G.2.481-P), Santiago, 2011; United Nations publication, Sales No. E.10.II.G.6; and CEPALSTAT database.

^a Distance between the average income of indigent persons and the indigence line, expressed as a fraction of the indigence line (the higher the value of the indicator, the worse the situation).

^b 2007.

^c 2006

^d 2008.

Table 4
LATIN AMERICA (14 COUNTRIES): DATA FOR THE CALCULATION OF ANNUAL AGGREGATE RESOURCE DEFICIT OF THE INDIGENT POPULATION WITH RESPECT TO THE INDIGENCE LINE, RURAL AREAS, 2009

Country	Indigence line (Dollars per person per month)	Population (Thousands of persons)	Population below the indigence line (Percentages)	Population below the indigence line (Thousands of persons)	Indigence gap (Percentages)	Average distance from the indigence gap ^a	Average monthly resource deficit of indigent population (Dollars)	Annual aggregate resource deficit of indigent population (Millions of dollars)
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)=(b)*(c)	(e)	(f)=(e)/(c)	(g)=(f)*(a)	(h)=(g)*(d)*12
Bolivia (Plurinational State of) ^b	22.9	3 407	59.0	2 010	34.6	0.59	13.4	323.7
Brazil	48.2	29 048	15.2	4 415	6.9	0.45	21.8	1 154.0
Chile	47.7	2 118	4.4	93	1.8	0.40	19.3	21.6
Colombia	44.0	9 812	29.2	2 865	12.9	0.44	19.5	669.2
Costa Rica	46.7	1 556	9.1	142	4.1	0.45	21.0	35.6
Dominican Republic	51.7	3 072	24.3	746	10.0	0.41	21.3	191.0
Ecuador	35.6	4 769	23.3	1 111	8.7	0.37	13.2	176.2
El Salvador	30.8	2 447	25.2	617	8.8	0.35	10.7	79.2
Guatemala	55.2	6 002	42.2 ^c	2 533	16.9 ^c	0.40	22.1	672.1
Honduras ^b	35.2	3 746	61.7	2 311	34.9	0.57	19.9	552.1
Mexico ^d	62.1	23 830	19.8	4 718	6.0	0.30	18.9	1 067.7
Panama ^d	42.4	1 063	22.3	237	10.7	0.48	20.4	58.0
Paraguay	50.0	2 449	46.6	1 141	21.0	0.45	22.5	307.9
Uruguay	57.5	255	1.3	3	0.3	0.20	11.5	0.5

Source: Prepared by the authors, on the basis of Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), *Social Panorama of Latin America, 2010* (LC/G.2481-P), Santiago, 2011. United Nations publication, Sales No. E.10.II.G.6; and CEPALSTAT database.

^a Distance between the average income of indigent persons and the indigence line, expressed as a fraction of the indigence line (the higher the value of the indicator, the worse the situation).

^b 2007.

^c 2006.

^d 2008.

Table 5
LATIN AMERICA (14 COUNTRIES): DATA FOR THE CALCULATION OF ANNUAL AGGREGATE RESOURCE DEFICIT OF THE POOR
POPULATION WITH RESPECT TO THE POVERTY LINE: URBAN AREAS, 2009

Country	Indigence line (Dollars per person per month)	Population (Thousands of persons)	Population below the poverty line (Percentages)	Population below the poverty line (Thousands of persons)	Poverty gap (Percentages)	Average distance from the indigence gap ^a	Average monthly deficit of poor population (Dollars)	Annual aggregate resource deficit of poor population (Millions of dollars)
(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)=(b)*(c)	(e)	(f)=(e)/(c)	(g)=(f)*(a)	(h)=(g)*(d)*12	
Bolivia (Plurinational State of) ^b	57.2	6 117	42.4	2 594	18.54	0.44	25.01	778.5
Brazil	130.7	164 737	22.1	36 407	9.06	0.41	53.57	23 405.0
Chile	111.0	14 852	11.7	1 738	3.98	0.34	37.77	787.6
Colombia	141.1	35 848	39.7	14 232	17.18	0.43	61.07	10 429.3
Costa Rica	109.4	3 021	18.5	559	6.28	0.34	37.14	249.1
Dominican Republic	108.6	6 698	39.3	2 632	17.62	0.45	48.70	1 538.5
Ecuador	94.2	8 858	40.2	3 561	15.59	0.39	36.53	1 561.0
El Salvador	94.8	3 715	42.3	1 571	15.81	0.37	35.43	668.1
Guatemala	137.5	8 028	42.0 ^c	3 372	17.10 ^c	0.41	55.99	2 265.3
Honduras ^b	99.1	3 435	56.9	1 955	26.5	0.47	46.14	1 082.1
Mexico ^d	169.3	84 638	29.2	24 714	9.18	0.31	53.22	15 784.1
Panama ^d	105.8	2 336	16.3	381	5.53	0.34	35.89	159.8
Paraguay	121.3	3 900	48.2	1 880	19.56	0.41	49.24	1 110.5
Uruguay	137.1	3 106	10.7	332	2.9	0.27	37.17	148.2

Source: Prepared by the authors, on the basis of Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), *Social Panorama of Latin America*, 2010 (LC/G.2.481-P), Santiago, Chile, 2011; United Nations publication, Sales No. E.10.II.G.6; and CEPALSTAT database.

^a Distance between average income of poor persons and the poverty line, expressed as a fraction of the poverty line (the higher the value of the indicator, the worse the situation).

^b 2007.

^c 2006.

^d 2008.

Table 6
LATIN AMERICA (14 COUNTRIES): DATA FOR THE CALCULATION OF ANNUAL AGGREGATE RESOURCE DEFICIT OF THE POOR
POPULATION WITH RESPECT TO THE POVERTY LINE, RURAL AREAS, 2009

Country	Indigence line (Dollars per person per month)	Population (Thousands of persons)	Population below the poverty line (Percentages)	Population below the poverty line (Thousands of persons)	Poverty gap (Percentages)	Average distance from the indigence gap ^a	Average monthly resource deficit of poor population (Dollars)	Annual aggregate resource deficit of poor population (Millions of dollars)
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)=(b)*(c)	(e)	(f)=(e)/(c)	(g)=(f)*(a)	(h)=(g)*(d)*12
Bolivia (Plurinational State of) ^b	39.1	3 407	75.8	2 583	49.36	0.65	25.44	788.2
Brazil	103.4	29 048	39.3	11 416	18.37	0.47	48.35	6 623.1
Chile	76.1	2 118	10.4	220	3.78	0.36	27.66	73.1
Colombia	94.4	9 812	64.5	6 329	31.86	0.49	46.61	3 539.9
Costa Rica	75.7	1 556	19.5	303	7.86	0.40	30.49	111.0
Dominican Republic	88.6	3 072	44.7	1 373	20.28	0.45	40.17	661.9
Ecuador	58.7	4 769	46.3	2 208	19.1	0.41	24.22	641.7
El Salvador	61.2	2 447	57.6	1 409	25.5	0.44	27.11	458.5
Guatemala	93.6	6 002	66.5 ^c	3 991	33.29 ^c	0.50	46.87	2 244.9
Honduras ^b	61.1	3 746	78.8	2 952	50.31	0.64	39.02	1 382.1
Mexico ^d	106.3	23 830	44.6	10 628	16.89	0.38	40.24	5 132.8
Panama ^d	72.6	1 063	43.9	467	21.13	0.48	34.92	189.9
Paraguay	82.2	2 449	67.1	1 643	35.15	0.52	43.04	849.0
Uruguay	95.2	255	5.9	15	1.47	0.25	23.71	4.3

Source: Prepared by the authors, on the basis of Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), *Social Panorama of Latin America*, 2010 (LC/G.2481-P), Santiago, Chile, 2011; United Nations publication, Sales No. E.10.II.G.6; and CEPALSTAT database.

^a Distance between average income of poor persons and the poverty line, expressed as a fraction of the poverty line (the higher the value of the indicator, the worse the situation).

^b 2007.

^c 2006.

^d 2008.

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CONDITIONAL CASH TRANSFER PROGRAMMES

The recent experience in Latin America and the Caribbean

Simone Cecchini
Aldo Madariaga

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