What is Chronic Poverty?
The distinguishing feature of chronic poverty is extended duration in absolute poverty. Therefore, chronically poor people always, or usually, live below a poverty line, which is normally defined in terms of a money indicator (e.g., consumption, income, etc.), but could also be defined in terms of wider or subjective aspects of deprivation. This is different from the transitorily poor, who move in and out of poverty, or only occasionally fall below the poverty line.

Website: www.chronicpoverty.org

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Policy Brief
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No.20

Do social transfer programmes have long-term effects on poverty reduction?

Lessons from Mexico’s Oportunidades and challenges ahead

Key points

- Social transfers with long-term objectives have a better chance of supporting exits from chronic poverty.
- Mexico’s Oportunidades, the longest-running social transfer programme, shows that participation in the programme translates into improved long-term productive capacity of poor households.
- To guide the adaptation of existing programmes, and the design of new programmes, programme designers should assess the long-term impact of interventions now, rather than measuring outcomes when existing programmes have completed a longer run.
- Further research is needed, in particular developing methodological strategies to enable researchers to simulate long-term effects of social transfer programmes in conditions where data constraints are strong.

Introduction

In the last decade, large-scale non-contributory social transfer programmes have become central in reducing extreme poverty and vulnerability in many developing countries. They include among others, Mexico’s Oportunidades, the longest running social transfers programme.¹

Social transfers have proved effective in increasing schooling, improving nutrition and health, developing local infrastructure, guaranteeing work, and transferring assets among poor and poorest households. A key issue for researchers and policy makers is how to translate these short-term gains into longer-term improvements in the productive capacity of households, to help secure permanent exit from poverty.²

Many social transfer programmes specifically target extreme and chronic poverty. For instance, in Latin America, social transfer programmes focused on human development explicitly aim to break the intergenerational persistence of poverty through investments in nutrition, education and health. Such social transfers with long-term objectives have
a better chance of supporting exits from chronic poverty. Determining whether social transfers have long-term effects is important.

This policy brief addresses the importance of the longer-term effects of social transfers in poverty reduction through assessing current knowledge and mapping out the challenges ahead.

The challenges of assessing long-term effects

The growth of social transfer programmes in developing countries is very recent and existing programmes have a relatively short life span. Few programme designers have considered collecting appropriate data necessary to evaluate both its impact and the longitudinal datasets suitable for the analysis of medium-term effects, let alone longer-term effects. The lack of data availability severely constrains the assessment of long-term social transfers in developing countries.

Research on the longer-term effects of social transfers has to overcome these methodological and data limitations. The main challenge is to identify strategies which could employ current information to ascertain future long-term effects. At least two approaches are possible:

The first is to focus on single indicators known to provide information on long-term wellbeing and deprivation. For example, stunting, poor cognitive development, early school dropout, full-time work in early life, ill-health, and depletion of physical and financial assets have been identified as factors that undermine poor households’ productive capacity and long term wellbeing. Exploring current information on the impact of transfer programmes on these indicators could provide clues as to the effects of social transfers on reducing long-term deprivation.

The second approach is to focus on measures of (chronic) poverty, and to explore associations between programme participation and changes in the poverty status of households.

Programme designers should consider spending time and resources to assess the long-term impact of interventions now, rather than measuring outcomes when existing programmes have completed a longer run. Assessing the long-term impact of social transfers today can generate knowledge which can inform and guide the adaptation of existing programmes, and the design of new programmes. Neglecting the study of long-term effects precludes these gains, as it will be harder to re-construct data needed to assess longer term effectiveness.

Learning from Mexico’s Oportunidades

A large measure of what we know about the long-term effects of social transfers comes from Mexico’s Oportunidades experience, which was launched in 1997. The design of Oportunidades involved a longitudinal experimental survey between 1997 to 2000 and a further evaluation survey in 2003, when the programme was extended to urban areas, and again in 2007. This made available the valuable information needed to estimate programme outcomes in the short run. The longitudinal surveys have also provided the best dataset available for the assessment of longer-term effects of social transfer programmes in developing countries.

Several evaluations of Mexico’s Oportunidades programme have shown positive outcomes that impact on the poor. First, improvements in nutrition among children participating in Oportunidades have an impact on child development, school attainment and, in the longer-term, on labour
productivity. Evaluating height for age suggests a long-term impact of improvements in nutrition: children in Oportunidades gained one centimetre after two years, and in 2003 children who joined the programme in 1998 were still 0.65 centimetres taller on average than those who joined in 2000 (Gertler and Fernald, 2005).

School achievements and performance in maths and reading tests among long-term Oportunidades beneficiary children also confirm a significant improvement in schooling. The benefits from long-term improvements in labour productivity also mean that Oportunidades pays for itself, as studies calculate that the cost of the programme (about 0.3 percent of GDP) will be more than offset by increases in the income of beneficiaries in the future (Parker and Behrman, 2008).

The impact of Oportunidades on household consumption and investment shows that households with long-term participation enjoyed higher food consumption than those with a shorter period of treatment (Arroyo Ortiz, et al., 2008). Furthermore, households who joined the programme in 1998 showed gains in land, livestock and productive assets of around four percent compared to households joining in 2003.

Finally, children participating in Oportunidades are predicted to complete the schooling cycle with almost one extra year of education (Todd and Wolpin, 2006). Figure 3 shows predicted completed years of schooling for the existing design of Oportunidades compared with an alternative supply-side policy, which focuses instead on school infrastructure. It suggests that the mix of demand

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**Figure 2: Longer-term impact on food consumption**
Mean gain in food consumption for nine-year Oportunidades participants compared to three-year participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gains in components of food consumption (M$)</th>
<th>Gains as % of 2007 consumption levels of those who joined in 1998</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Purchased food</td>
<td>Self-produced food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>393</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126</td>
<td>17.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Arroyo Ortiz et al. (2008)

**Figure 3: Schooling outcomes from alternative interventions in rural Mexico**
Mean completed years of schooling

- Mean completed schooling - boys
- Mean completed schooling - girls

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intervention</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PROGRESA subsidy</td>
<td>6.55</td>
<td>6.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior secondary school in each village</td>
<td>6.39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baseline</td>
<td>6.29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Todd and Wolpin (2006)
Endnotes

1 Other social transfers programmes include Brazil’s Bolsa Familia; South Africa’s Old Age and Child Support Grant; India’s National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (NREGA) and Ethiopia’s Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP), Chile’s Chile Solidario and Bangladesh’s Challenging the Frontiers of Poverty Reduction: Targeting the Ultra Poor Programme.

2 The term productive capacity is used here to include human capital as well as physical or financial productive assets.

3 The scarce literature employs simulation methods and structural dynamic models to predict future effects.

References


