

WELFARE STIGMA AFTER TAKE-UP

Rodrigo Nicolau Blanchet (rodrigonicolau@berkeley.com)

September 23, 2025

Development Lunch (University of California, Berkeley)

Motivation

- Social assistance programs have rapidly expanded in the developing world, covering about 2.5 billion people worldwide (Banerjee et al., 2024)
 - Cash transfers are a key driver of such an expansion, reaching over 1,000 programs across 200 countries (Gentilini et al., 2022)
 - Extensive evidence on their effectiveness in reducing poverty and improving well-being (Bastagli et al., 2019)
- As safety nets widen, so does the debate about whether they enable “lazy poor” (Banerjee et al., 2017), fostering “taxpayer resentment” (Besley & Coate, 1992) and “welfare stigma” (Moffit, 1983)
 - Latin America: 38 % agree that welfare recipients are lazy (LAPOP, 2012)
 - Europe: 42 % agree that welfare promotes idleness (ESS, 2016)
 - US: welfare recipients are the second most negatively viewed group (ANES, 2016)

This paper

- Research question: Do social assistance programs have welfare stigmatizing effects on their recipients?
- Uruguayan Context: prevalent negative views about the poor/those on welfare
 - Significant reduction of poverty and expansion of its welfare system (2005–2015)
 - 45 % think poverty is due to laziness and lack of willpower (WVS, 2011) [▶ Figures](#)
 - 45 % of people agreeing that “social welfare recipients are lazy” (LAPOP, 2012)
- I study the two largest social assistance programs in the country:
 - #1 Asignaciones Familiares - Plan de Equidad (AFAM-PE)
 - #2 Tarjeta Uruguay Social (TUS)
- Exploiting two key aspects in the programs’ designs:
 - #1 Assignment rules that follow an eligibility score
 - #2 Follow-up survey that covers non-eligible and eligible applicants

Preview of findings

- Welfare stigma: disutility of being on welfare *per se* (Moffit, 1983)
- Two different sources of stigma (Walker, 2014)
 - Personal stigma: internal feeling of **shame** (e.g., self-image concern)
 - Social stigma: external feeling of **humiliation** (e.g., social image concern)
- **Main result:** program participation increases personal and social stigma of programs' recipients:
 - #1 AFAM–PE increases the self-reported feeling of shame by around 0.45 SD
 - #2 TUS increases reported shame by 0.65 SD and humiliation by 0.65 SD approx.
- No significant effect (if anything, negative) of program participation on life satisfaction for either policy

Contribution to the literature

- Stigma widely studied in topics such as social norms (Hungerman, 2013; Bursztyn et al., 2020; Ghosal et al., 2022), voting or shopping behavior (Dellavigna et al., 2017; Cardinali et al., 2025), labor (Osman & Speer, 2024), and welfare programs (Currie, 2004; Kleven & Kopczuk, 2011; Bhargava & Manoli, 2015; Friedrichsen et al., 2018; Celhay et al., 2025; Anders & Rafkin, 2025)
 - First to provide causal evidence of welfare stigma after take-up
- Extensive work explores how self- and social-image shape behavior (Bénabou & Tirole, 2006, 2025; Kranton, 2016; Bursztyn et al., 2018; Butera et al., 2022; Bottan et al., 2025) but disentangling them remains challenging (Bursztyn & Jensen, 2017)
 - Separately measure personal and social stigma, finding both matter independently and may operate as complements for recipients' experiences
- Increasing literature analyzing the effects of cash transfers on SWB (Haushofer & Fehr, 2014; Haushofer & Shapiro, 2016; Haushofer et al., 2020; Romero et al., 2021)
 - Find no significant effects on life satisfaction, potentially reflecting offsetting effects: higher income vs. increased stigma

Outline

1 Background

2 Data

3 Identification

4 Results

5 Final Remarks

Background

AFAM-PE

- CCT targeted to vulnerable households with children who must attend health and education
- Approx. 37 % of households with children < 18 in 2017
- Amount for first child U\$S 50 (11 % the min. wage in 2017)
- Delivered through banks or cash
- Income and means-testing via "*Índice de Carencias Críticas*" (ICC): $cut-off \approx 0.2$

TUS

- "Near CT" targeted to the most vulnerable households restricted to food or hygiene purchases
- Aprox. 15 % of households with children < 18 in 2017
- Amount for first child U\$S 33 (8 % the min. wage in 2017 + no VAT)
- Delivered through a food card
- Means-testing, ICC: $cut-off \approx 0.6$
- Almost 90 % of households with children also receive AFAM-PE

Hypotheses

- #1 AFAM-PE and TUS increase the personal stigma (internal shame) perceived by their recipients
 - Targeted towards vulnerable households, make salient that beneficiary is poor
 - Non-contributory nature fosters negative views about the programs themselves as well as their beneficiaries' deservingness
- #2 Only TUS increases the social stigma (external humiliation) perceived by its recipients
 - Targeted towards even more vulnerable households, lower coverage
 - Restricts use (agency), judgment of purchases, and is publicly visible Comparison
 - Qualitative evidence from in-depth interviews and focus groups reveals discrimination in stores (Moreno, 2014) as well as stigmatizing views of the "undeserving poor" (Rivero, 2020). Similar findings for SNAP (Pukelis & Holcomb, 2025)

▶ Quotes: stigmatizers

▶ Quotes: stigmatized

Data

Data sources

Data come from two matched sources:

1. Governmental administrative records:

- Baseline socioeconomic characteristics and exact normalized ICC score for each program (2008-2010)
- Participation and benefit amounts (2008-2018)

2. Follow-up survey:

- First wave (2011-2012). Second wave (2016-2018)
- AFAM-PE: representative of applicants around the cut-off **N=995 (66 % eligible)**
- TUS: extended sample over the range where eligible and non-eligible TUS households are available **N=604 (51 % eligible)**
- Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative's (OPHI) **survey module on shame and humiliation in the context of poverty** (Alkire, 2007; Zavaleta, 2007)
 - Direct measure of a complex phenomena: stigma and associated feelings

OPHI module on shame and humiliation (Zavaleta, 2007)

- Seeks to capture deprivation in a “missing dimension” that is key to poverty and well-being: the ability to live without shame and humiliation
- Includes two scales of stigma-related feelings (Mills & Zavaleta, 2015) [▶ Items](#)
 - Shame: a personal emotion reflecting self-devaluation (personal stigma)
 - Humiliation: arising from interactions and judgments of others' (social stigma)
 - Adapted from validated scales from the Personal Feelings Questionnaire-2 and European Social Survey to systematically measure stigma-related feelings
- Conduct a PCA to reduce dimensionality and identify items that correlate most strongly with the latent construct of shame, retaining the following:
 - Self-conscious, ridiculed, embarrassed, humiliated, laughable, helpless
- Add items and create standardized indexes for each scale and sample

[▶ Summary Statistics](#)

[▶ PCA details](#)

[▶ Indices Descriptives](#)

[▶ Indices Distributions](#)

[▶ 0.43 Correlation](#)

Identification

Regression Discontinuity Design (RDD)

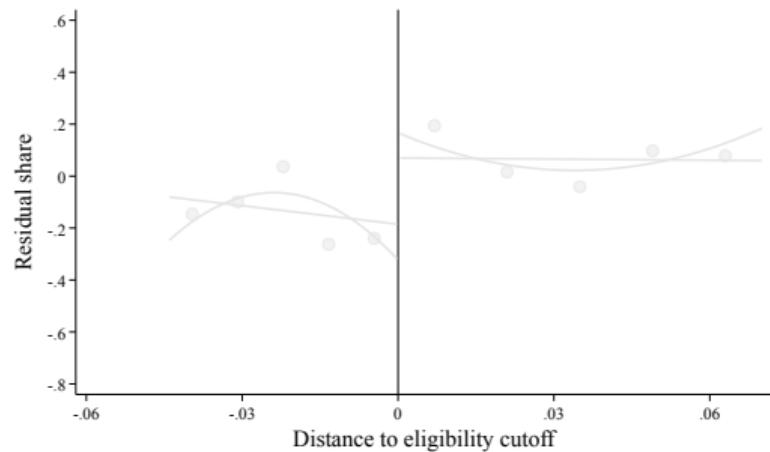
- Identification assumption: Eligibility thresholds over ICC* make assignment to programs *quasi-random* for a small enough segment around them \implies LATE
- Requirements for valid identification:
 - #1 Discontinuity in the probability of being treated at the cut-offs [▶ Figures](#)
 - Magnitude of the jumps: 0.76 for AFAM-PE and 0.66 for TUS
 - #2 Non-bunching around the eligibility cut-offs [▶ Figures](#)
 - McCrary (2008), Cattaneo et al., (2017), Bugni & Canay (2021) tests satisfied
 - #3 Local continuity in baseline covariates [▶ Table](#)
 - Strong discontinuity in sex for AFAM-PE and region (Montevideo) for TUS
 - Sub-sample analyses using biggest sub-group in each case to check whether requirements are met and point estimates are similar [▶ Req. for sub-samples](#)
 - #4 No other policy assigned at the cut-offs
- Estimation methods: OLS (Sharp) and 2SLS (Fuzzy) [▶ Specifications](#)
 - Strong first-stages: F-tests of 476 for the AFAM-PE sample and 75.4 for TUS

Results

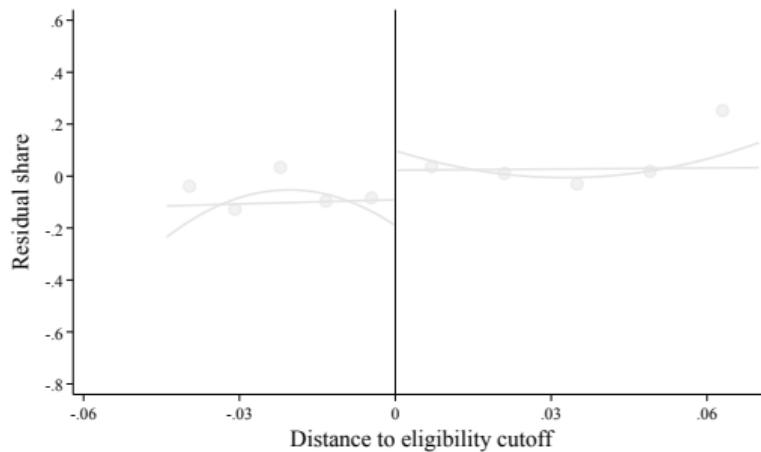
Impact estimates of AFAM-PE on welfare stigma

▶ Table

(a) Personal stigma

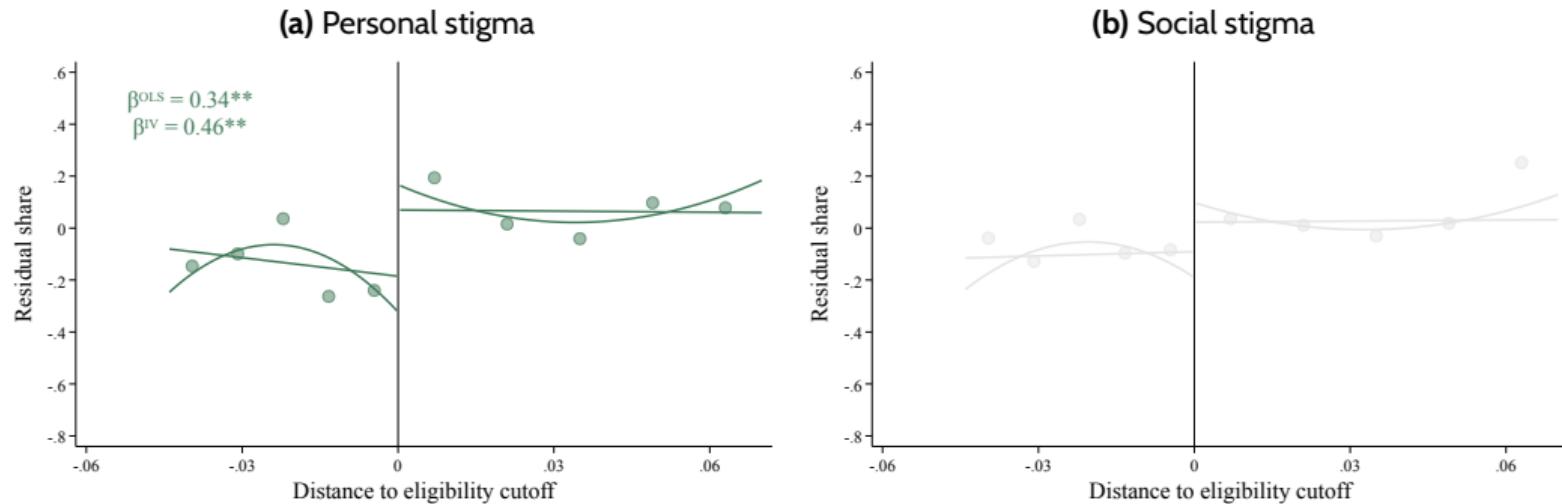


(b) Social stigma



Impact estimates of AFAM-PE on welfare stigma

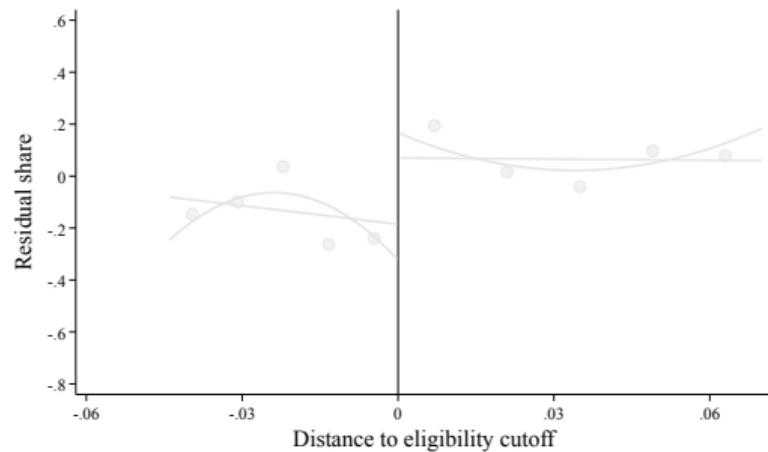
▶ Table



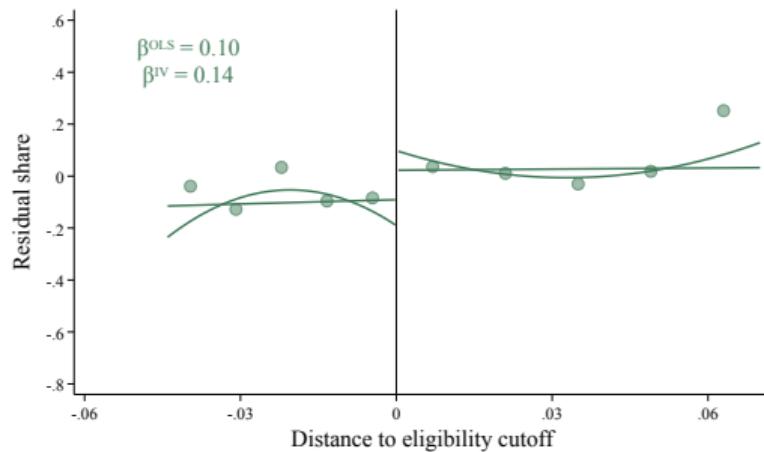
Impact estimates of AFAM-PE on welfare stigma

▶ Table

(a) Personal stigma



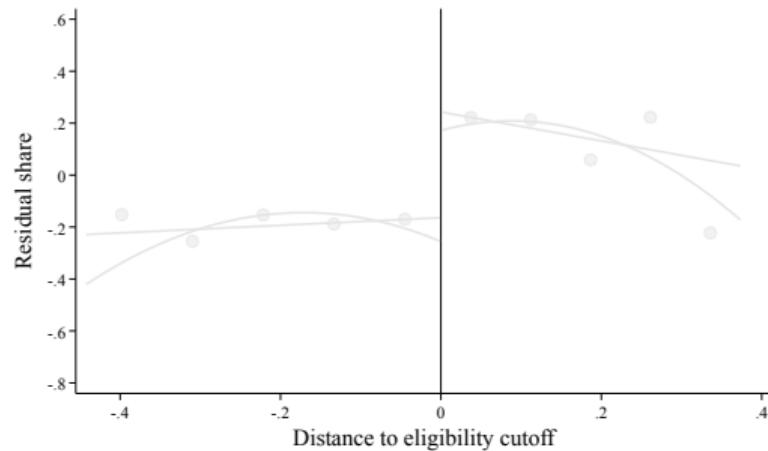
(b) Social stigma



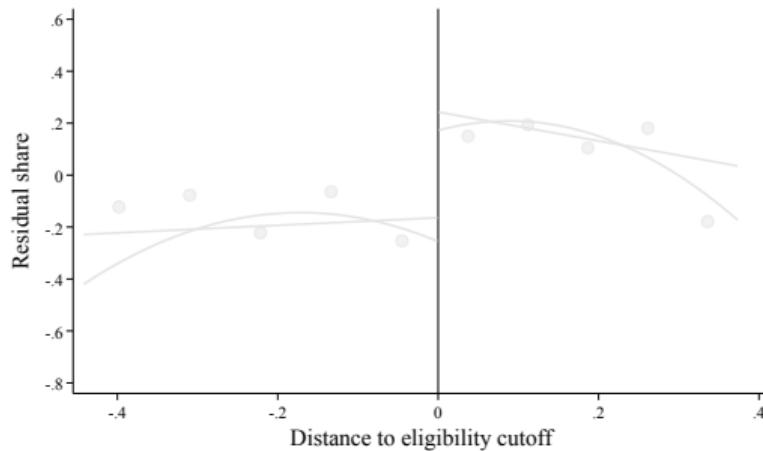
Impact estimates of TUS on welfare stigma

▶ Table

(a) Personal stigma



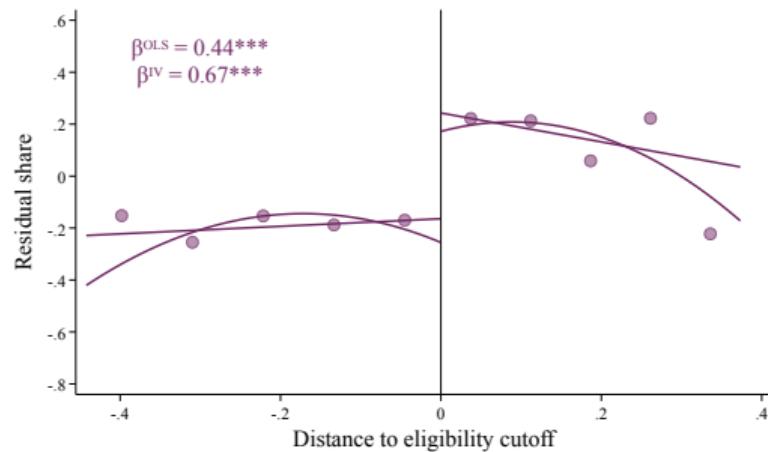
(b) Social stigma



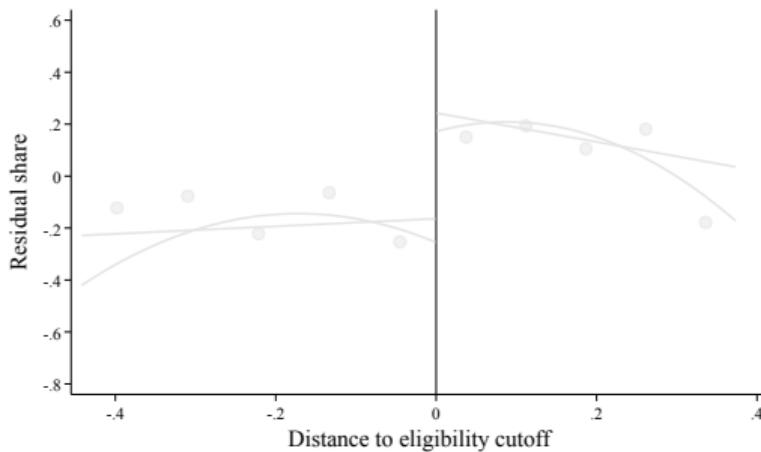
Impact estimates of TUS on welfare stigma

▶ Table

(a) Personal stigma



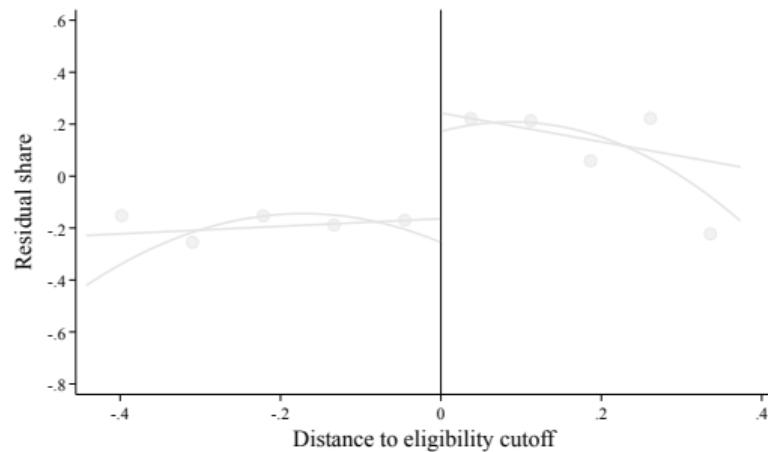
(b) Social stigma



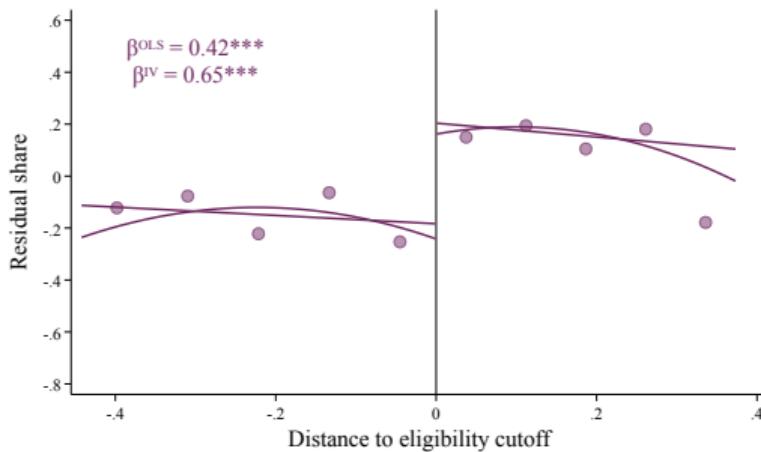
Impact estimates of TUS on welfare stigma

▶ Table

(a) Personal stigma



(b) Social stigma



Additional analyses

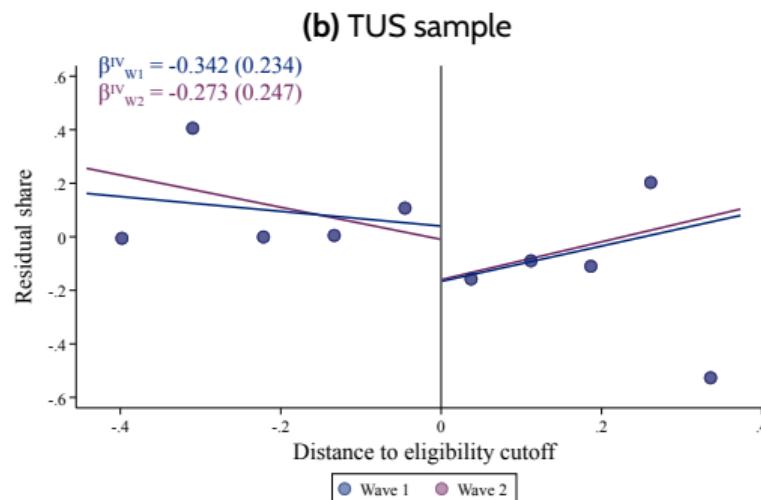
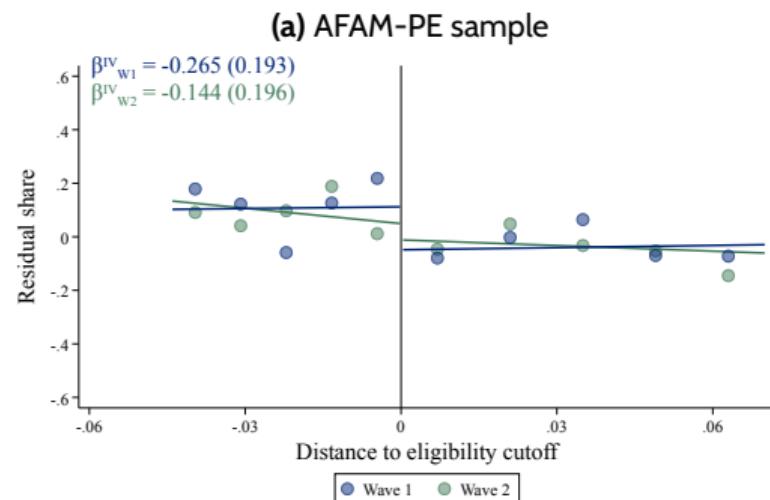
- Robustness checks:
 - ▶ Sub-sample estimates
 - ▶ "Drop most significant" test (Hoynes et al., 2016)
 - ▶ Placebo tests
 - ▶ Alternative bandwidths
 - ▶ Semi-parametric estimates (Cattaneo et al., 2018)
 - ▶ 10-bin figures
 - ▶ Donut RDDs
- Individual items:
 - ▶ Tables
 - TUS significantly increases the freq. of feeling humiliated, mocked, helpless, treated unfairly, and discriminated against (0.43 to 0.68 SD), and “disgusting” (excl. item)
 - AFAM-PE’s personal stigma effect is driven by the “self-conscious” item (0.5 SD)
- Additional survey question: TUS increases belief that people who are not poor make poor people feel bad, though not robust to quadratic specification [▶ Figures](#)
- Perceptions other than stigma:
 - ▶ Further Details
 - ▶ Questions
 - ▶ Summary Stats
 - ▶ Impact Estimates
 - Alternative explanation: Do non-eligible feel less poor for having been rejected and report less shame? **⇒ No significant effects**
 - Alternative explanation: Do the effects of shame and humiliation come from factors other than the program? **⇒ No robust effects**

Impact estimates on subjective well-being

- Correlation of shame and life satisfaction is comparable to that of life satisfaction and income (Hojman & Miranda, 2018) [▶ Data](#)
- Life satisfaction: “On a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 is very dissatisfied and 10 is very satisfied, how satisfied are you in relation to your life in general”

Impact estimates on subjective well-being

- Correlation of shame and life satisfaction is comparable to that of life satisfaction and income (Hojman & Miranda, 2018) [▶ Data](#)
- Life satisfaction: “On a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 is very dissatisfied and 10 is very satisfied, how satisfied are you in relation to your life in general”



Final Remarks

Next steps

- Currently using administrative records to test for under-reporting, following Celhay et al. (RESTAT, 2025)
- Test visibility channel “in the field:” In talks (though slow...) with MIDES to run a RCT substituting debit cards for TUS
 - Randomize TUS vs. other types of cards, including mobile money
 - Measure same outcomes, other survey experiments, WTP for a “masked” delivery
 - Develop a model to measure net welfare of a visible, stigmatized transfers
- If not possible, shift to other settings (e.g., US, Guatemala, others with “food-stamps” policies in place)
 - US: Interesting variation across states (e.g., different card layouts) and over time (e.g., allowing online purchases, chip adoption) and data on consumption behavior

Conclusion

- Causal evidence that program participation increases welfare stigma, although effects are program-specific
 - AFAM-PE increases internal feeling of shame (0.45 SD)
 - TUS increases both internal and external feelings of shame (0.65 SD) and humiliation (0.65 SD)
- **Framing matters!** Relevant to consider these stigma effects in policy design
 - Mask in-kind delivery with a non-visible instrument
 - Unify different transfers targeted to households with children with *a priori* varying levels of welfare stigma into one “universal” transfer (e.g., AFAM-PE, TUS, personal income tax deductions, etc.)

WELFARE STIGMA AFTER TAKE-UP

Rodrigo Nicolau Blanchet (rodrigonicolau@berkeley.com)

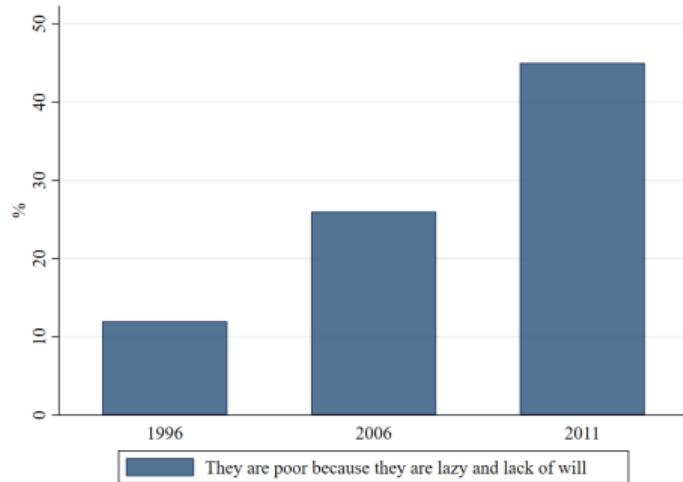
September 23, 2025

Development Lunch (University of California, Berkeley)

Appendix Slides

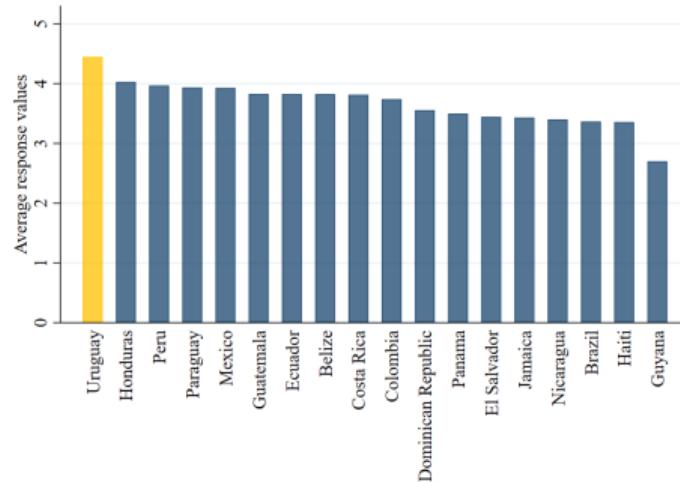
Uruguayan context

▶ Back



Q: Why are there people in need in Uruguay?

Source: WVS (1996, 2006, 2011)



Q: Do you agree that those on welfare are lazy?

Source: Americas Barometer (2012)

Negative testimonies towards the poor and those on welfare (Rivero, 2020):

- *"I think that those who really need it are not helped. There are single mothers, who have four hundred children and get the allowance, but you work, you have your wage, and your daughter is not entitled to it. (...) They help the scoundrel, not the poor."*
- *"The State helps those who do nothing, not to the poor. You don't have to do formal work. If you are a single mother and you do not have a job (...) you go to MIDES, you apply, and they just give you money on the side."*
- *"MIDES gives them money not to work, they do not teach them how to work, or give them a plot to work the land (...). People are getting used to not work."*

Qualitative evidence II

Back

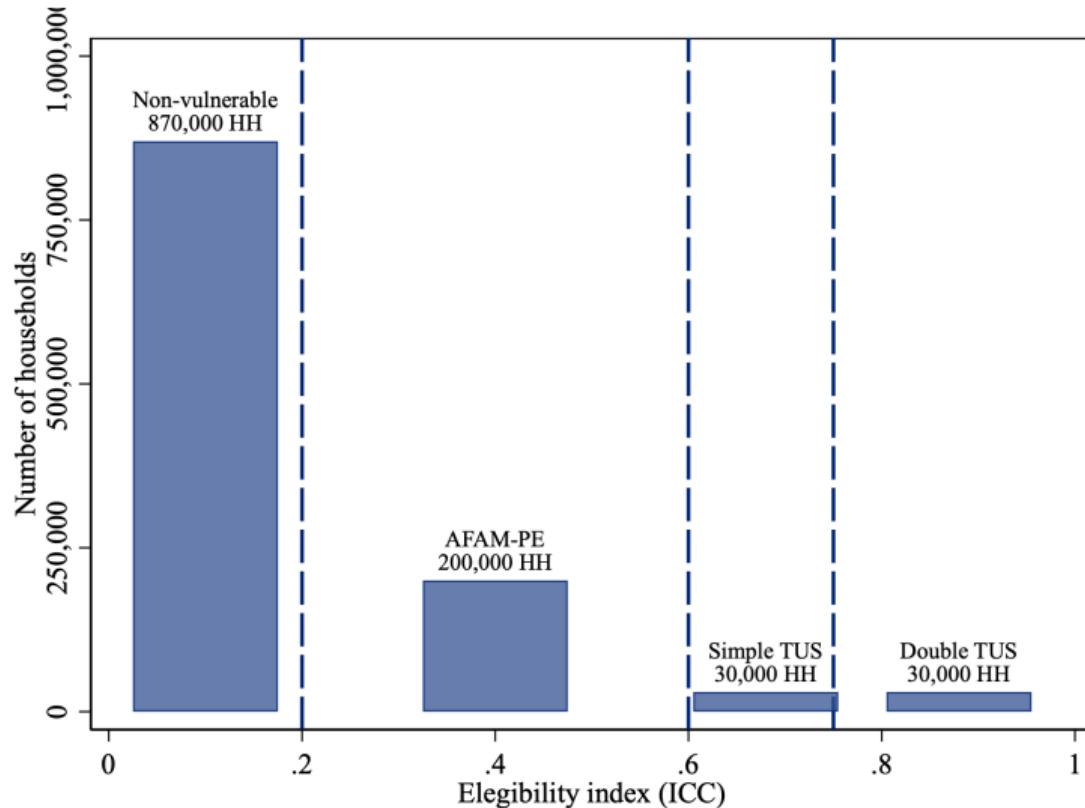
Testimonies from TUS beneficiaries reporting discrimination and unjust treatment in grocery stores where they use the food card (Moreno et al., 2014):

- “*The people [from the store] look at you as if you were stealing... as if he was discriminating you.*”
- “*The guy [grocery store employee] looks at you as if you were stealing... as if he is discriminating against you.*”
- “*If the supermarket is very crowded, they say no, and you have to wait several days.*”
- “*They make a face [grocery store employees], like, I don't know what... they tell you: oh no, are you going to pay with the food card?*”
- “*Discrimination is there... It's not that they treat you badly, but yes, you can feel it.*”

- Eligibility index: *Índice de Carencias Críticas (ICC)* (Amarante & Vigorito, 2011; Lavalleja & Tenenbaum, 2020)
 - Probit model that predicts the probability that a household belongs to the first income quintile
 - Regressors include variables regarding education, household composition, housing infrastructure and possession of durable goods
 - Exact specifications are not publicly known
 - Cut-offs: for AFAM-PE ≈ 0.2 and for TUS ≈ 0.6
 - Households with children that receive TUS also receive AFAM-PE (around 90 %)
- Non take-up estimates for AFAM-PE: (Ghazarian, 2021)
 - Low incomplete take-up at 14 % in 2011 (although it increased to 24 % in 2018)
 - Welfare stigma not found to be a determinant of take-up

ICC Thresholds Across MIDES Cash Transfers

[Back](#)



Card comparison

▶ Back

▶ Hypotheses



Source: Banco de la República Oriental del Uruguay



Source: Banco de la República Oriental del Uruguay

Shame: “For each of the following listed feelings, please place a number from 0 to 3, reflecting how frequent the feeling is for you”

- Self-conscious → Stupid
- Ridiculous → Laughable
- Embarrassed → Blushed
- Humiliated → Helpless
- Laughable → Disgusting

Humiliation: “Have you felt that you have been treated [...] during the last three months?”

- Without respect → Unfairly → Discriminated against

Summary Statistics

▶ Back

		AFAM-PE sample			TUS sample		
Please place a number from 0 to 3 reflecting how frequent the feeling is for you		Obs. (1)	Mean (2)	S.D. (3)	Obs. (4)	Mean (5)	S.D. (6)
Panel A: Shame indicators							
Self-conscious	Feeling self-conscious	965	0.368	0.733	592	0.478	0.874
Ridiculous	Feeling ridiculous	952	0.176	0.499	587	0.286	0.703
Embarrassed	Feeling embarrassed	966	0.251	0.559	593	0.337	0.701
Humiliated	Feeling humiliated	966	0.196	0.537	593	0.250	0.635
Laughable	Feeling laughable	944	0.198	0.543	579	0.328	0.744
Stupid	Feeling stupid	951	0.183	0.507	587	0.216	0.576
Childish	Feeling childish	961	0.362	0.719	585	0.368	0.740
Blushing	Feeling blushed	969	0.733	0.908	589	0.801	0.999
Helpless	Feeling helpless	961	0.203	0.545	587	0.213	0.576
Disgusting	Feeling disgusting	937	0.085	0.374	572	0.121	0.464
Have you felt that you have been treated [...] during the last three months?							
Panel B: Humiliation indicators							
Disrespect	Without respect	982	0.426	0.783	596	0.487	0.833
Unfairness	Unfairly	967	0.415	0.731	594	0.51	0.877
Discrimination	With discrimination	985	0.142	0.459	600	0.222	0.624

▶ PCA details

▶ Indices descriptives

▶ Indices distributions

- Run a PCA in order to retain the items that most correlate with the latent construct of shame (not humiliation since it has the minimum item amount)
- Retain the set of items:
 - Explain the highest portion of the variance of the PC (**62 %**)
 - Have high Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) scores (**0.83**)
 - Have high Cronbach Alpha values (**0.77**)
 - Present loadings higher than (**0.3**) in the PC (Yin & Etilé, 2019)
- Exclude “feeling stupid” item since it does not directly apply to the context of poverty and welfare recipiency, and has a low inter-item correlation with the rest
- I retain the set of six items for the shame scale: self-conscious, ridiculous, embarrassed, humiliated, laughable, helpless, adding these up and then standardizing for each group

Descriptive statistics

Back

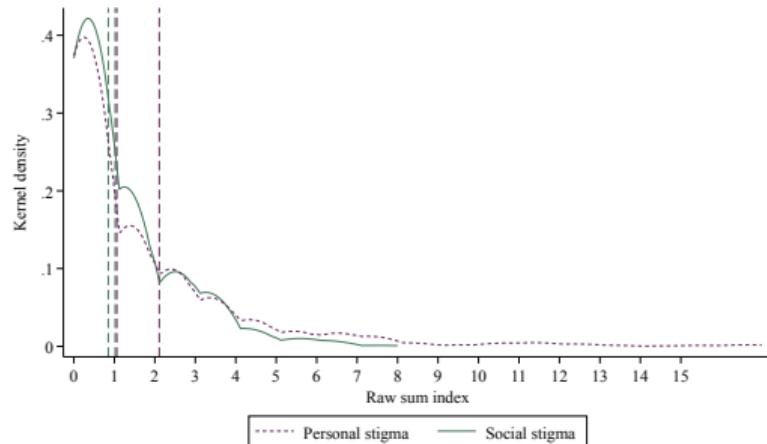
	N	Mean	S.D	Min	Max	N-E	E	Diff.
AFAM-PE								
<i>Raw sum</i>								
Personal stigma	917	1.37	2.30	0.00	17.0	1.06	1.53	-0.47***
Social stigma	917	0.97	1.31	0.00	8.00	0.85	1.02	-0.17*
<i>Standardized</i>								
Personal stigma	917	0.00	1.00	-0.60	6.79	-0.14	0.06	-0.20***
Social stigma	917	-0.02	0.98	-0.74	5.24	-0.10	0.03	-0.13*
TUS								
<i>Raw sum</i>								
Personal stigma	560	1.88	2.97	0.00	18.0	1.33	2.39	-1.06***
Social stigma	560	1.24	1.70	0.00	9.00	0.96	1.51	-0.55***
<i>Standardized</i>								
Personal stigma	560	0.00	1.00	-0.64	5.43	-0.19	0.17	-0.36***
Social stigma	560	0.01	1.02	-0.73	4.65	-0.16	0.17	-0.33***

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10.

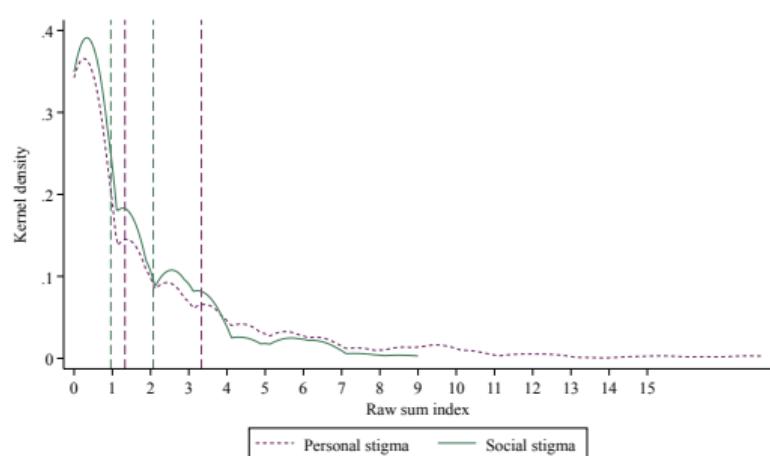
Descriptive statistics

[Back](#)

(a) AFAM-PE

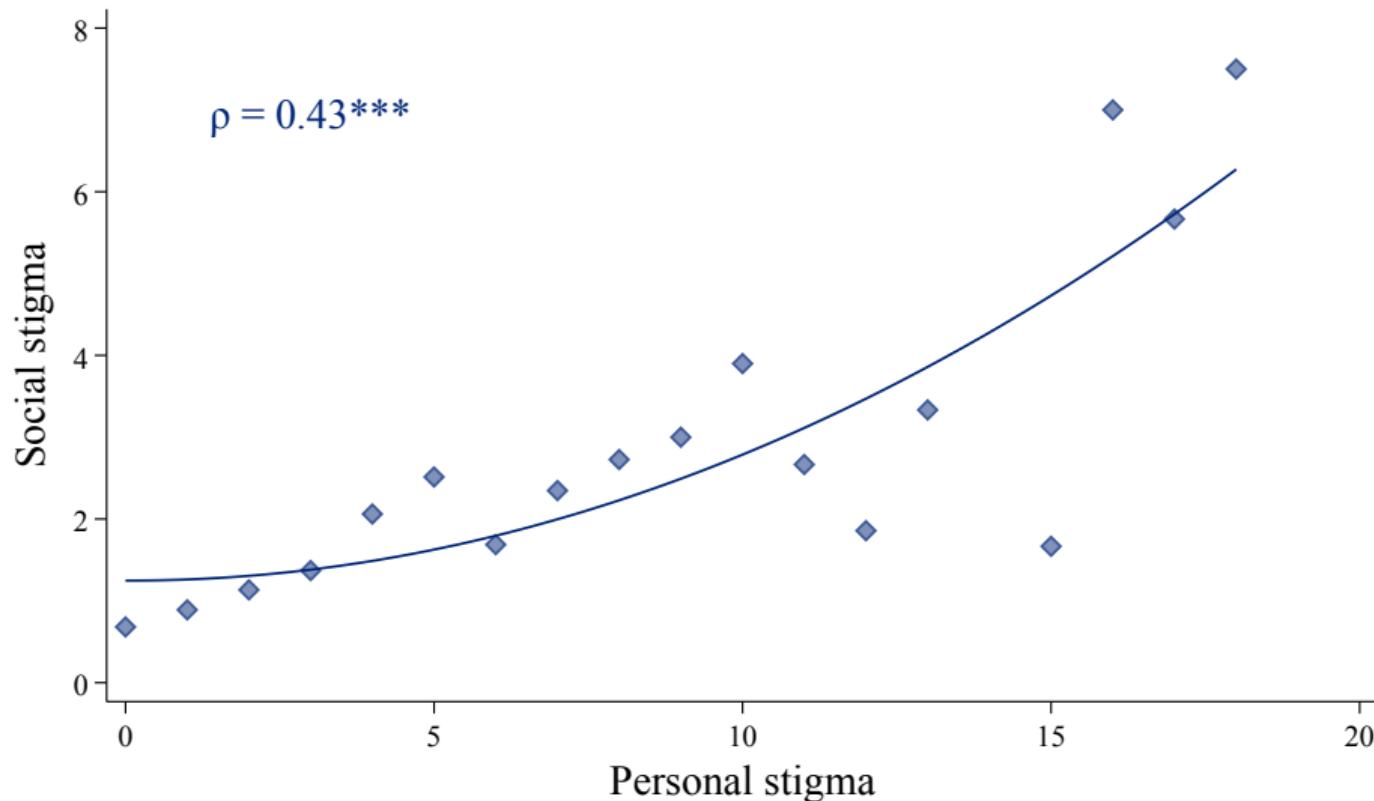


(b) TUS



Correlation between social and personal stigma

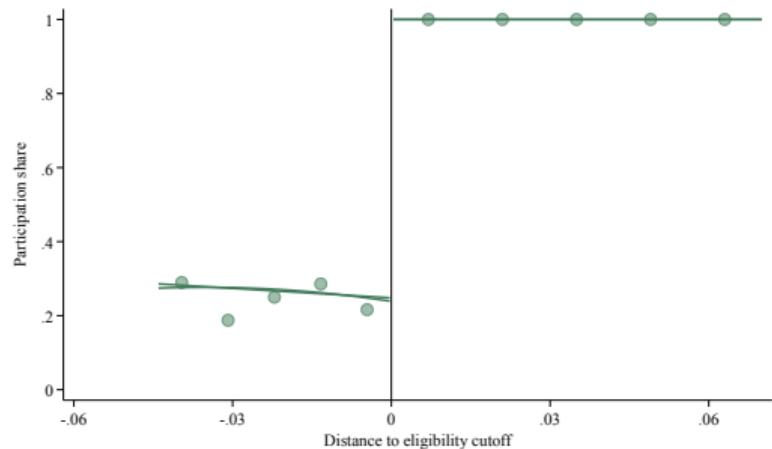
[Back](#)



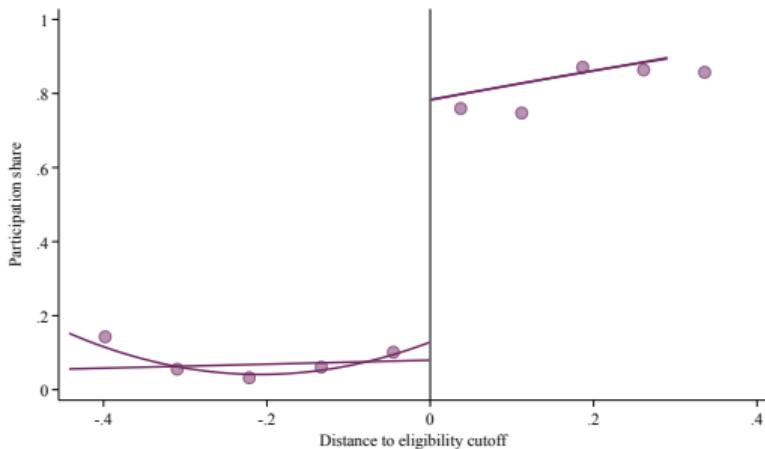
RDD identification requirement #1: Jump at the cut-offs

[Back](#)

(a) AFAM-PE



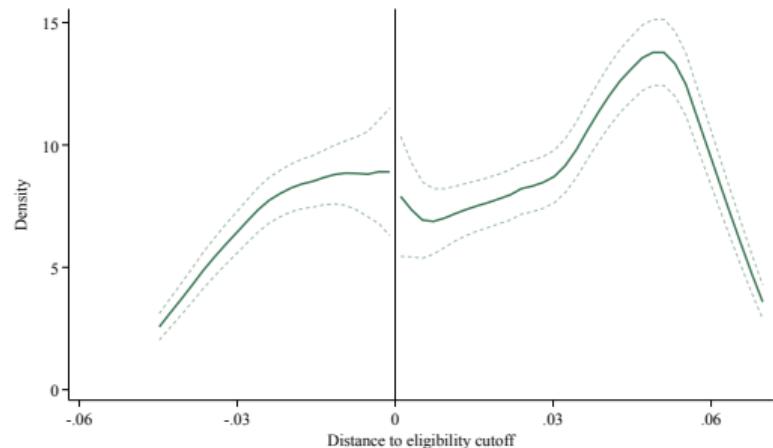
(b) TUS



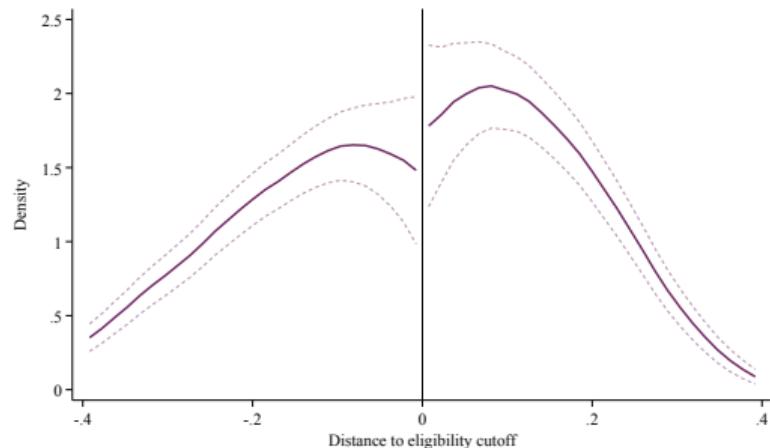
RDD identification requirement #2: McCrary Density Test

[Back](#)

(a) AFAM-PE



(b) TUS



RDD identification requirement #3: Balance Tests

[Back](#)

	AFAM-PE sample				TUS sample			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Sex (woman = 1)	0.160** (0.067)	0.267*** (0.099)	-	-	-0.049 (0.057)	0.012 (0.090)	-0.079 (0.059)	-0.087 (0.102)
Age	-5.65*** (2.149)	-2.127 (3.170)	-6.776*** (2.269)	-3.975 (3.341)	-3.794 (2.448)	-2.112 (3.919)	-4.436 (2.654)	-1.873 (4.550)
Region (Montevideo = 1)	-0.623*** (0.114)	0.043 (0.171)	-0.575*** (0.124)	0.065 (0.189)	0.038 (0.104)	0.527** (0.221)	- (0.211)	- (0.211)
Ethnicity (white = 1)	-0.006 (0.136)	-0.152 (0.210)	-0.006 (0.153)	-0.127 (0.230)	0.004 (0.206)	0.067 (0.332)	0.109 (0.208)	0.090 (0.333)
Education (years)	-1.076* (0.583)	-0.864 (0.867)	-1.200* (0.623)	-1.292 (0.932)	-0.938 (0.593)	-1.268 (0.937)	-0.468 (0.615)	-0.424 (0.951)
Household income (log)	-0.497 (0.649)	-0.866 (0.900)	-0.061 (0.718)	-0.229 (0.989)	-1.065 (0.761)	-0.481 (1.181)	-0.900 (0.797)	0.002 (1.356)
Household size (#)	-0.058 (0.235)	-0.009 (0.356)	-0.021 (0.260)	-0.032 (0.399)	-0.143 (0.382)	-0.063 (0.575)	-0.375 (0.407)	-0.072 (0.614)
Control variables	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Polynomial degree	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
F-test	50.17***	13.64*	35.98***	4.87	7.30	12.77*	6.01	1.25
Subsample	Full	Full	Women	Women	Full	Full	Interior	Interior
Observations	900	900	806	806	545	545	396	396

Notes: Control variables include: sex, age, region at baseline and ethnicity at wave 2 (since its not available at baseline). ***
 p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10.

Impact estimates on welfare stigma

▶ Back

	AFAM-PE sample					TUS sample		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Panel A: Sharp RDD estimates								
Personal stigma	0.255*	0.342**	0.490**	0.518**	0.407**	0.437***	0.428*	0.456*
	(0.165)	(0.168)	(0.234)	(0.229)	(0.191)	(0.213)	(0.234)	(0.242)
Social stigma	0.113	0.101	0.289	0.257	0.387***	0.418***	0.404*	0.398*
	(0.144)	(0.159)	(0.234)	(0.229)	(0.147)	(0.148)	(0.209)	(0.205)
Panel B: Fuzzy RDD estimates								
Personal stigma	0.337*	0.456**	0.631**	0.684**	0.624**	0.674***	0.759*	0.773*
	(0.191)	(0.213)	(0.299)	(0.305)	(0.254)	(0.260)	(0.421)	(0.410)
Social stigma	0.151	0.136	0.372	0.344	0.605***	0.654***	0.714*	0.675*
	(0.181)	(0.193)	(0.273)	(0.282)	(0.230)	(0.231)	(0.382)	(0.352)
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Polynomial	1	1	2	2	1	1	2	2
Observations	917	917	917	917	560	560	560	560

Control variables include sex (woman = 1), age, region (Montevideo = 1) and ethnicity (white = 1).

Standard errors clustered by ICC*. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10.

▶ Estimation equations

▶ Indices Distributions

Sharp RDD: OLS

$$Y_i = \alpha_1 + \beta_1 D_i + \gamma_1 f(ICC_i^*) + \gamma'_1 D_i \times f(ICC_i^*) + \delta_1 X_i + \epsilon_i \quad (1)$$

Where D_i is the eligibility indicator, such as:

$$D_i = \begin{cases} 1 & \text{if } ICC^* \geq 0 \\ 0 & \text{if } ICC^* < 0 \end{cases}$$

Fuzzy RDD: 2SLS (IV)

$$Y_i = \alpha_2 + \beta_2 \widehat{T}_i + \gamma_2 h(ICC_i^*) + \gamma'_2 T_i \times \widehat{h}(ICC_i^*) + \delta_2 X_i + \mu_i \quad (2)$$

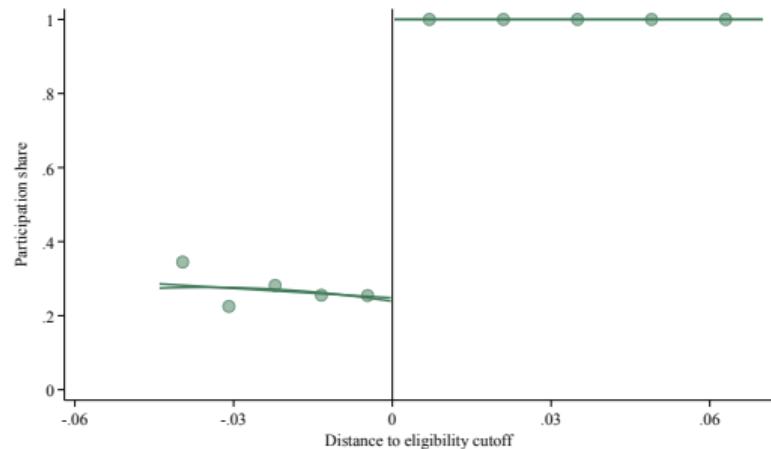
Where \widehat{T}_i is the effective treatment indicator that is instrumented by the eligibility indicator D_i , while the same applies for the interaction terms.

$$\beta_2 = \frac{E[Y|D=1] - E[Y|D=0]}{E[T|D=1] - E[T|D=0]} \approx \frac{\beta_1}{\lambda_0}$$

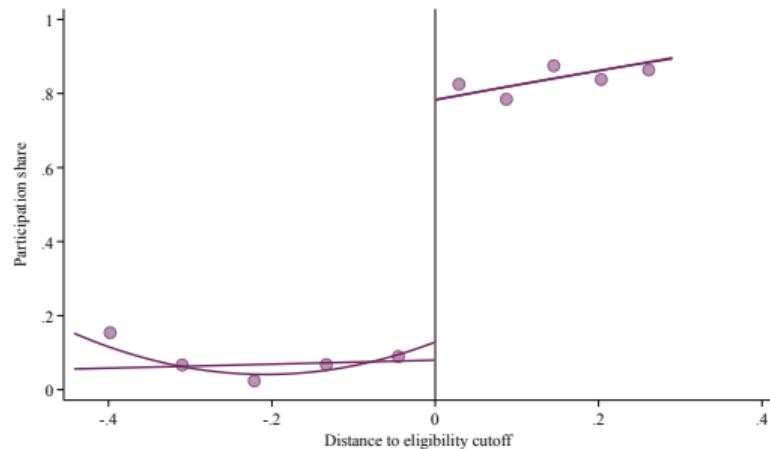
Sub-Sample analyses: Jump at the cut-offs

[Back](#)

(a) AFAM-PE



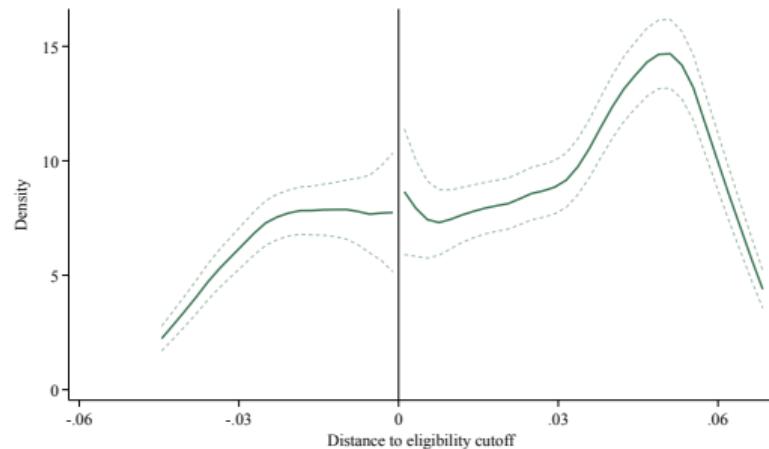
(b) TUS



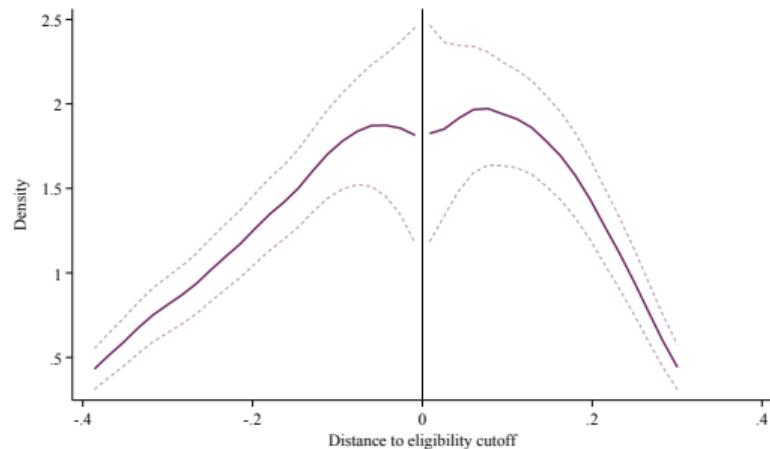
Sub-Sample analyses: McCrary Density Test

[Back](#)

(a) AFAM-PE



(b) TUS



Sub-Sample analyses: Balance Tests

[Back](#)

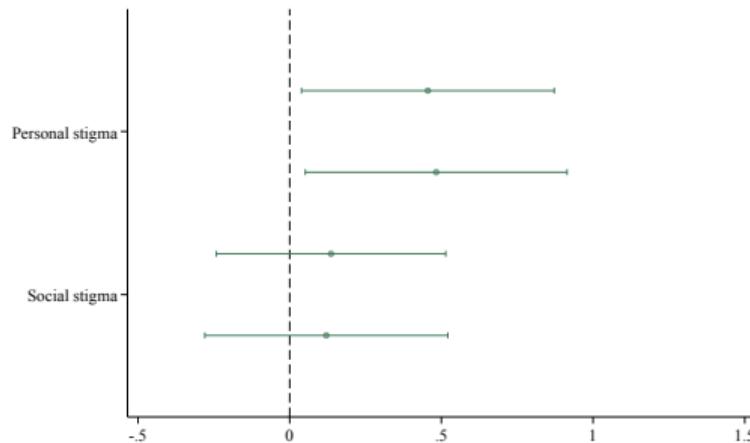
	AFAM-PE sample				TUS sample			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Sex (woman = 1)	0.160** (0.067)	0.267*** (0.099)	-	-	-0.049 (0.057)	0.012 (0.090)	-0.079 (0.059)	-0.087 (0.102)
Age	-5.65*** (2.149)	-2.127 (3.170)	-6.776*** (2.269)	-3.975 (3.341)	-3.794 (2.448)	-2.112 (3.919)	-4.436 (2.654)	-1.873 (4.550)
Region (Montevideo = 1)	-0.623*** (0.114)	0.043 (0.171)	-0.575*** (0.124)	0.065 (0.189)	0.038 (0.104)	0.527** (0.221)	- (0.211)	- (0.211)
Ethnicity (white = 1)	-0.006 (0.136)	-0.152 (0.210)	-0.006 (0.153)	-0.127 (0.230)	0.004 (0.206)	0.067 (0.332)	0.109 (0.208)	0.090 (0.333)
Education (years)	-1.076* (0.583)	-0.864 (0.867)	-1.200* (0.623)	-1.292 (0.932)	-0.938 (0.593)	-1.268 (0.937)	-0.468 (0.615)	-0.424 (0.951)
Household income (log)	-0.497 (0.649)	-0.866 (0.900)	-0.061 (0.718)	-0.229 (0.989)	-1.065 (0.761)	-0.481 (1.181)	-0.900 (0.797)	0.002 (1.356)
Household size (#)	-0.058 (0.235)	-0.009 (0.356)	-0.021 (0.260)	-0.032 (0.399)	-0.143 (0.382)	-0.063 (0.575)	-0.375 (0.407)	-0.072 (0.614)
Control variables	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Polynomial degree	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
F-test	50.17***	13.64*	35.98***	4.87	7.30	12.77*	6.01	1.25
Subsample	Full	Full	Women	Women	Full	Full	Interior	Interior
Observations	900	900	806	806	545	545	396	396

Notes: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10.

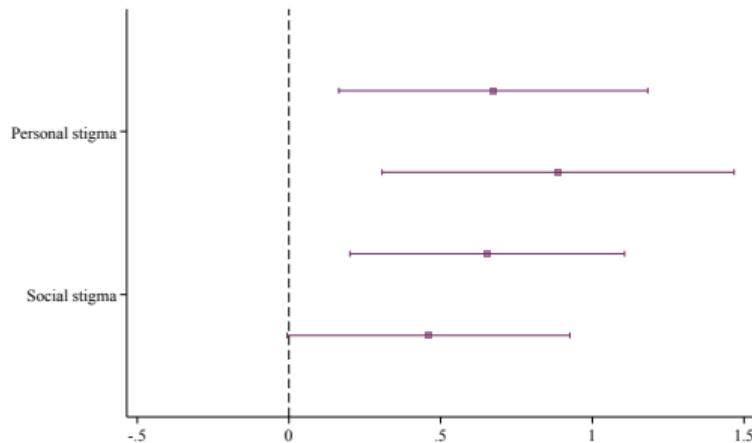
Robustness: Sub-sample estimates

[Back](#)

(a) AFAM-PE



(b) TUS

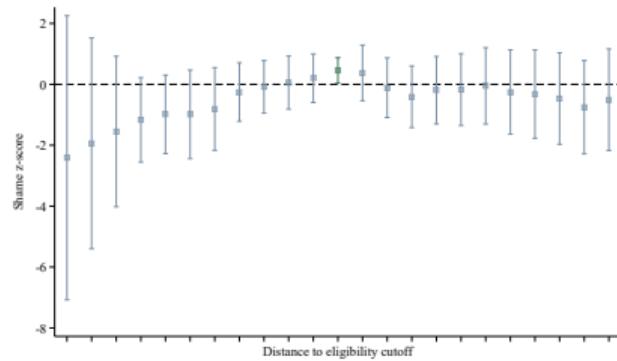


- To assess the sensitivity of the aggregated scales, I conduct a drop-test (Hoynes et al., 2016)
- For TUS, excluding “helpless” yields a robust effect of 0.61 SD (significant at the 5 % level)
- For AFAM-PE, excluding “self-conscious” reduces the effect from 0.46 to 0.37 and lowers statistical significance to the 10 % level ($p = 0.088$), confirming the centrality of this item to AFAM-PE’s impact, though other items still contribute meaningfully to the scale

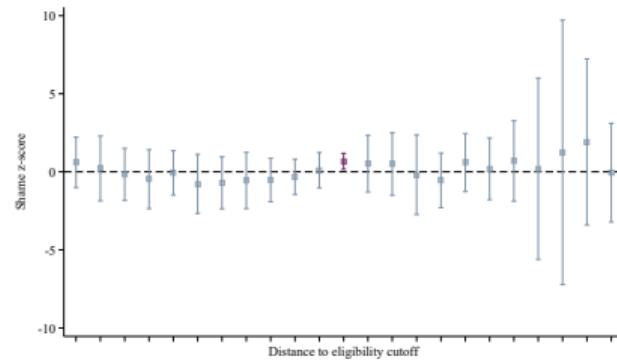
Robustness: Placebo estimates

[Back](#)

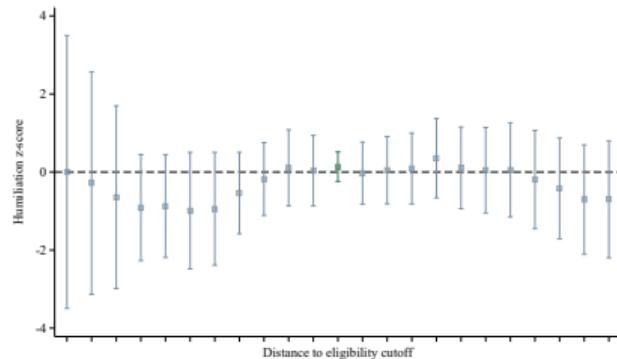
(a) AFAM-PE - personal stigma



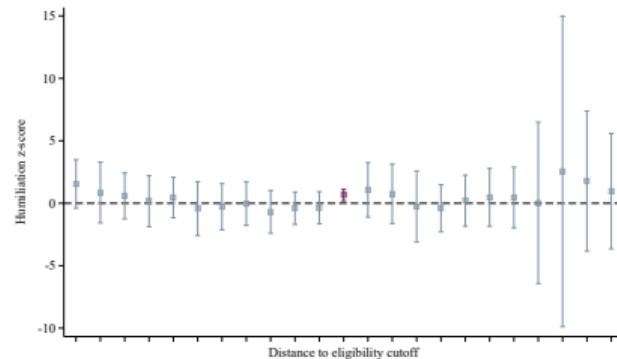
(b) TUS - personal stigma



(c) AFAM-PE - social stigma



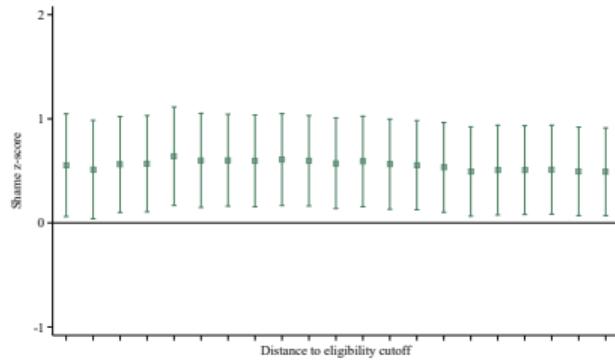
(d) TUS - social stigma



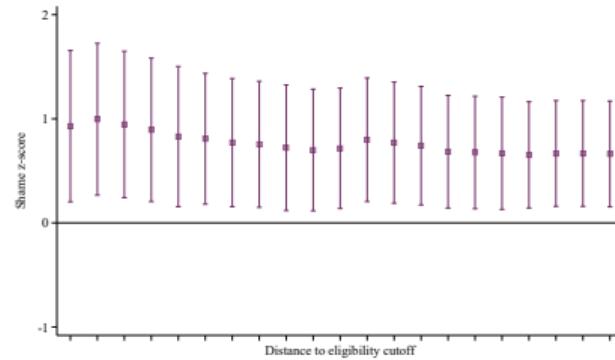
Robustness: Different bandwidth estimates

Back

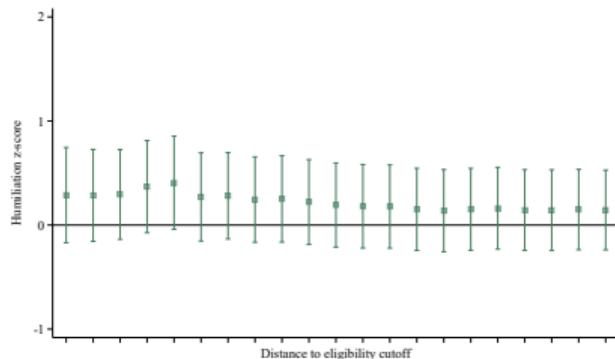
(a) AFAM-PE - personal stigma



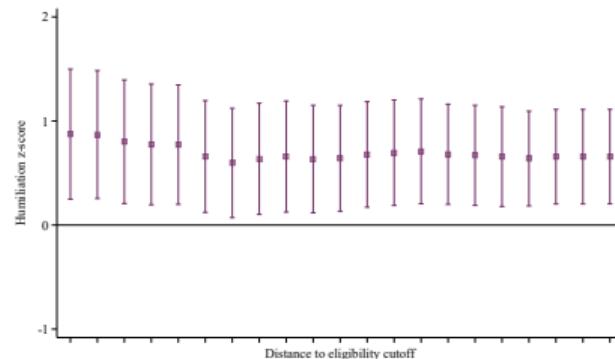
(b) TUS - personal stigma



(c) AFAM-PE- social stigma



(d) TUS - social stigma



Robustness: Different bandwidth estimates

[Back](#)

	AFAM-PE sample		TUS sample	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Panel A:	<i>Cut 0.01 from tails</i>		<i>Cut 0.1 from tails</i>	
Personal stigma	0.494** (0.217)	0.573*** (0.222)	0.671** (0.290)	0.716** (0.295)
Social stigma	0.223 (0.203)	0.192 (0.206)	0.609** (0.264)	0.641** (0.260)
Bandwidth	[−0.03, 0.06]	[−0.03, 0.06]	[−0.3, 0.3]	[−0.3, 0.3]
Observations	811	811	515	515
Panel C:	<i>Cut 0.02 from tails</i>		<i>Cut 0.2 from tails</i>	
Personal stigma	0.493** (0.248)	0.554** (0.252)	0.882** (0.365)	0.929** (0.371)
Social stigma	0.311 (0.232)	0.288 (0.233)	0.907*** (0.338)	0.873*** (0.304)
Bandwidth	[−0.02, 0.05]	[−0.02, 0.05]	[−0.2, 0.2]	[−0.2, 0.2]
Observations	567	567	405	405
Control variables	No	Yes	No	Yes
Polynomial degree	1	1	1	1

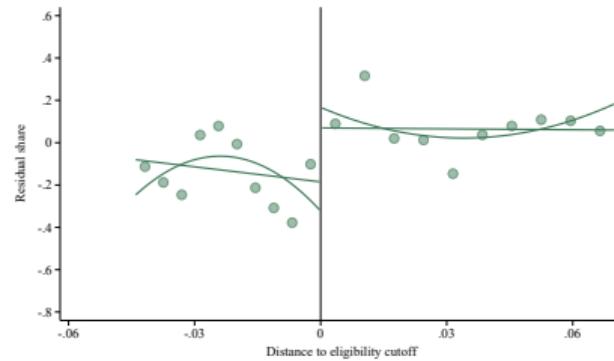
Controls: sex (woman = 1), age, region (Montevideo = 1) and ethnicity (white = 1).

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10.

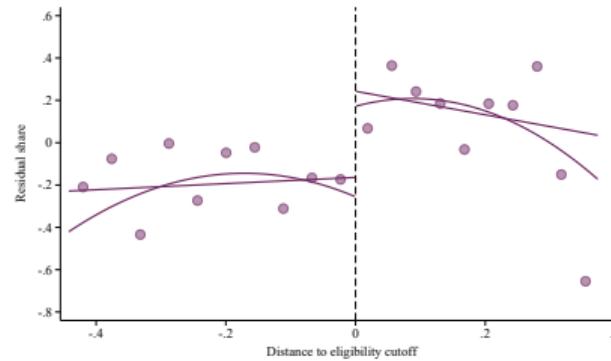
Robustness: Impact estimates on welfare stigma (10-bins)

▶ Back

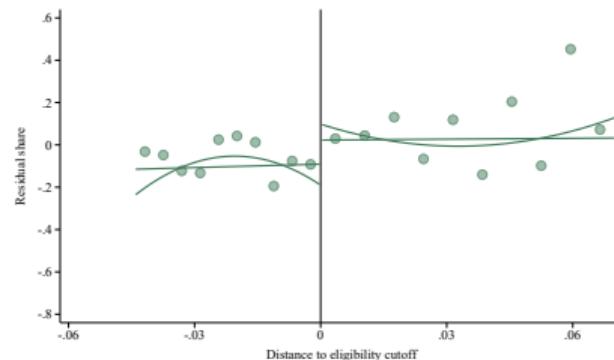
(a) AFAM-PE - Personal stigma



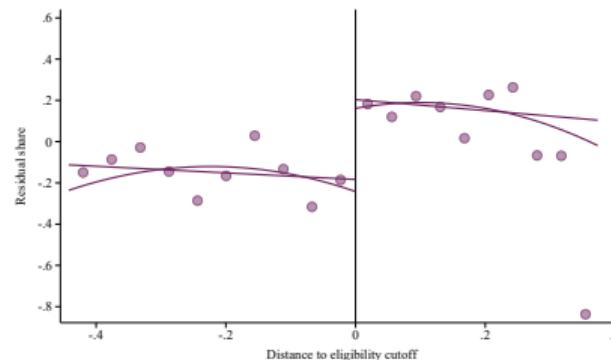
(b) TUS - Personal stigma



(c) AFAM-PE - Social stigma



(d) TUS - Social stigma



Robustness: Donut RDD estimates

[Back](#)

	AFAM-PE sample		TUS sample	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Panel A:	$n \notin [-0.001, 0.001]$		$n \notin [-0.01, 0.01]$	
Personal stigma	0.434** (0.195)	0.566*** (0.218)	0.568** (0.257)	0.620** (0.264)
Social stigma	0.104 (0.188)	0.090 (0.200)	0.638*** (0.230)	0.680*** (0.232)
Observations	904	904	541	541
Panel B:	$n \notin [-0.005, 0.005]$		$n \notin [-0.05, 0.05]$	
Personal stigma	0.457** (0.214)	0.580** (0.228)	0.767** (0.327)	0.830** (0.334)
Social stigma	0.079 (0.217)	0.043 (0.224)	0.643** (0.299)	0.707** (0.304)
Observations	840	840	472	472
Control variables	No	Yes	No	Yes
Polynomial degree	1	1	1	1

Controls: sex (woman = 1), age, region (Montevideo = 1) and ethnicity (white = 1). *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10.

Robustness: Non-parametric estimates

[Back](#)

	AFAM-PE sample		TUS sample	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Panel A: Uniform kernel				
Personal stigma	0.641** (0.307)	0.686** (0.308)	0.732* (0.379)	0.757** (0.374)
Social stigma	0.379 (0.278)	0.340 (0.277)	0.692** (0.342)	0.667** (0.336)
Panel B: Triangular kernel				
Personal stigma	0.634** (0.308)	0.679** (0.308)	0.785* (0.411)	0.816** (0.399)
Social stigma	0.377 (0.277)	0.340 (0.278)	0.705* (0.377)	0.687* (0.362)
Panel C: Epanechnikov kernel				
Personal stigma	0.641** (0.307)	0.686** (0.308)	0.799** (0.400)	0.829** (0.391)
Social stigma	0.379 (0.277)	0.340 (0.278)	0.729** (0.364)	0.705** (0.352)
Control variables	No	Yes	No	Yes
Polynomial degree	1	1	1	1
Observations	917	917	560	560

Usual controls. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.10$.

Robustness: Individual shame item outcomes

[Back](#)

	AFAM-PE sample		TUS sample	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Self-conscious	0.395 (0.172)** (0.172)	0.497 (0.177)*** (0.177)**	0.441 (0.256)* (0.256)	0.482 (0.258)* (0.258)
Ridiculous	0.056 (0.186) (0.186)	0.153 (0.202) (0.202)	0.012 (0.232) (0.232)	0.035 (0.241) (0.241)
Embarrassed	0.247 (0.182) (0.182)	0.334 (0.196)* (0.196)	0.469 (0.248)* (0.248)	0.490 (0.252)* (0.252)
Humiliated	0.163 (0.168) (0.168)	0.205 (0.178) (0.178)	0.460 (0.240)* (0.240)	0.544 (0.239)** (0.239)*
Laughable	0.276 (0.170) (0.170)	0.369 (0.191)* (0.191)	0.636 (0.228)*** (0.228)**	0.640 (0.234)*** (0.234)**
Helpless	0.154 (0.198) (0.198)	0.203 (0.221) (0.221)	0.632 (0.271)** (0.271)*	0.677 (0.273)** (0.273)**
Control variables	No	Yes	No	Yes
Polynomial degree	1	1	1	1
Observations	917	917	560	560

Controls: sex (woman = 1), age, region (Montevideo = 1) and ethnicity (white = 1). *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10.

Robustness: Individual humiliation item outcomes

[Back](#)

	AFAM-PE		TUS	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Disrespect	0.232 (0.174) (0.174)	0.119 (0.179) (0.179)	0.366 (0.263) (0.263)	0.367 (0.262) (0.262)
Unfairness	0.009 (0.190) (0.190)	0.049 (0.201) (0.201)	0.499 (0.249)** (0.249)	0.563 (0.249)** (0.249)*
Discrimination	0.028 (0.183) (0.183)	0.115 (0.200) (0.200)	0.433 (0.228)* (0.228)	0.472 (0.229)** (0.229)*
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes
Polynomial	1	1	1	1
Observations	917	917	560	560

Controls: sex (woman = 1), age, region (Montevideo = 1) and ethnicity

(white = 1). *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10.

Robustness: Individual excluded shame items

[Back](#)

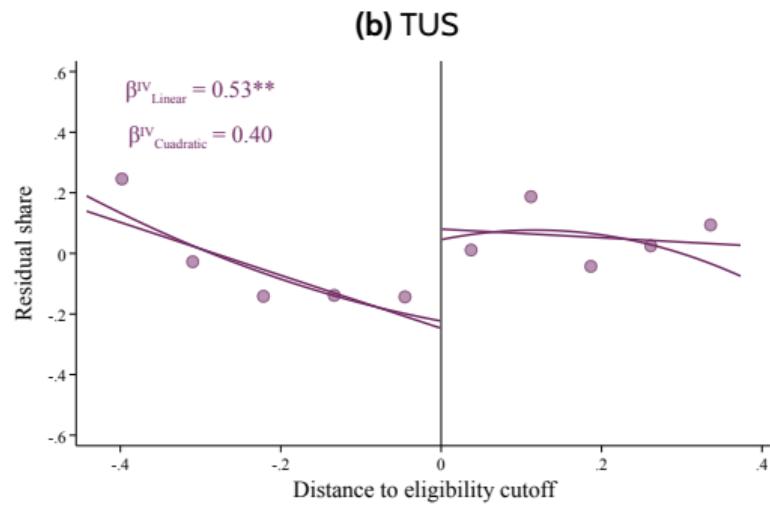
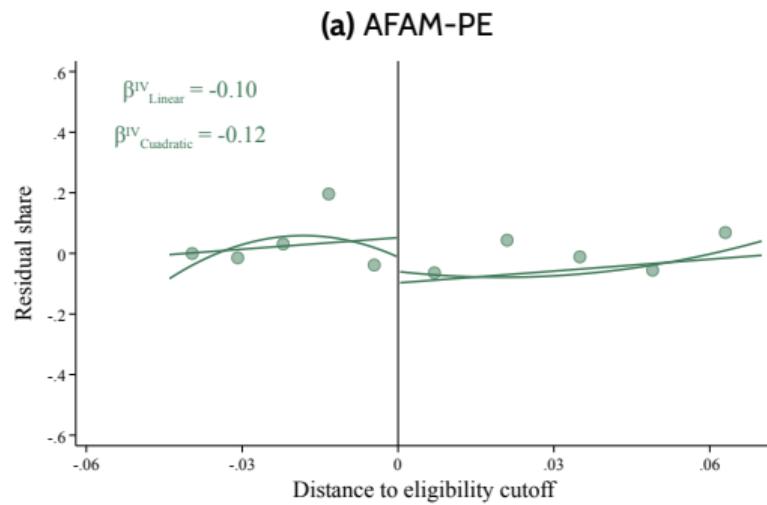
	AFAM-PE sample		TUS sample	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Stupid	-0.094 (0.184) (0.184)	0.066 (0.182) (0.182)	0.134 (0.227) (0.227)	0.125 (0.231) (0.231)
Childish	-0.266 (0.203) (0.203)	-0.113 (0.196) (0.196)	0.240 (0.240) (0.240)	0.297 (0.238) (0.238)
Blushing	-0.045 (0.182) (0.182)	-0.021 (0.187) (0.187)	0.032 (0.252) (0.252)	0.017 (0.249) (0.249)
Disgusting	0.220 (0.186) (0.186)	0.282 (0.192) (0.192)	0.499 (0.202)** (0.202)*	0.534 (0.207)*** (0.207)**
Control variables	No	Yes	No	Yes
Polynomial degree	1	1	1	1
Observations	917	917	560	560

Controls: sex (woman = 1), age, region (Montevideo = 1) and ethnicity (white = 1). *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10.

Impact estimates on belief that non-poor make poor feel badly

[Back](#)

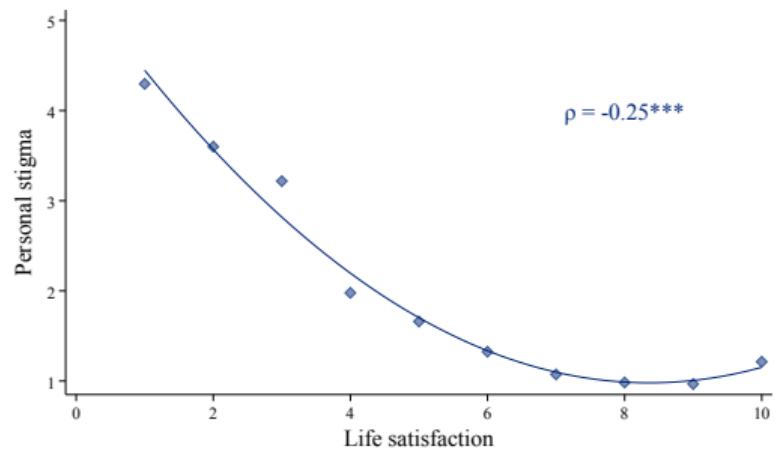
→ Question: Do you agree that people who are not poor make poor people feel bad?
(Yes or No)



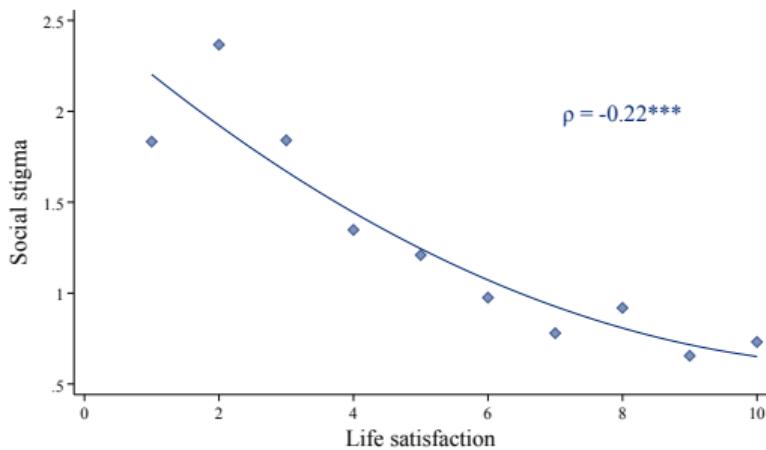
Correlation between stigma and life satisfaction

[Back](#)

(a) Personal stigma



(b) Social stigma



- Do non-eligible feel less poor or more proud for being rejected and report less shame? **⇒ No statistically significant effects found**
 - They do not seem to believe they are relatively less poor
 - They do not seem to feel more resentment towards recipients
 - They do not seem to feel more resentment towards the program
- Do these shame and humiliation effects come from sources other than the program? **⇒ No robust effects found**
 - They do not seem to feel more ashamed because of their clothes or appearance in public settings

Other perceptions questions

[Back](#)

- Perceived position in income distribution: "*Imagine a scale from 1 to 10, where in 1 are the poorest and in 10 the richest people, where do you place yourself?*"
- Recipients should feel ashamed of themselves: "*Do you agree with the statement that people who receive AFAM-PE (or TUS) should be ashamed of themselves?*". Possible answers are 0 (No) or 1 (Yes)
- Grade of support towards the program:
 - For AFAM-PE: "*Do you think that AFAM-PE benefits should be provided less in cash and a part should be given through a food card? (It is always the same money)*" The answer scale goes from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree)
 - For TUS: "*Do you think that TUS is a...?*". The possible responses range from 1 (very bad benefit) to 5 (very good benefit)
- Ashamed of appearance: "*Have you thought about not attending or have you not attended a work, family or social event during the last month because you felt you did not have the clothes or appearance required for that venue?*". Possible answers are 0 (No) or 1 (Yes)

Other perceptions descriptive statistics

[Back](#)

	AFAM-PE sample			TUS sample		
	Obs. (1)	Mean (2)	Std. Dev. (3)	Obs. (4)	Mean (5)	Std. Dev. (6)
Perceived position in distribution	917	4.230	1.436	560	3.705	1.617
Recipients should feel ashamed	905	0.049	0.215	555	0.032	0.177
Support towards the program	889	2.708	1.126	552	4.062	0.728
Ashamed of appearance	915	0.149	0.357	556	0.288	0.453

Impact estimates on other perceptions

[Back](#)

	AFAM-PE sample					TUS sample		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Perceived position in distribution	0.328 (0.280)	0.174 (0.294)	0.085 (0.673)	-0.047 (0.413)	-0.698* (0.404)	-0.723* (0.397)	-0.025 (0.973)	-0.021 (0.636)
Observations	917	917	917	917	560	560	560	560
Recipients should feel ashamed	-0.007 (0.043)	0.008 (0.044)	-0.042 (0.062)	-0.044 (0.065)	-0.027 (0.032)	-0.034 (0.033)	-0.009 (0.054)	-0.023 (0.051)
Observations	905	905	905	905	555	555	555	555
Support towards the program	0.016 (0.160)	-0.123 (0.171)	0.039 (0.213)	-0.084 (0.227)	-0.264 (0.274)	-0.275 (0.276)	-0.451 (0.457)	-0.493 (0.430)
Observations	878	878	878	878	554	554	554	554
Ashamed of appearance	0.105 (0.078)	0.113 (0.075)	0.228** (0.109)	0.248** (0.114)	0.055 (0.109)	0.056 (0.109)	-0.029 (0.178)	-0.008 (0.165)
Observations	915	915	915	915	556	556	556	556
Control variables	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Polynomial degree	1	1	2	2	1	1	2	2

Controls: sex (woman = 1), age, region (Montevideo = 1) and ethnicity (white = 1). *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10.