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*Artículos Científicos*

## **Política social, desarrollo territorial o trampa de pobreza: Caso Mártir de Cuilapan, Guerrero**

*Social Policy, Territorial Development or Poverty Trap: Case of Mártir de  
Cuilapan, Guerrero*

*Política social, desenvolvimento territorial ou armadilha da pobreza: Caso Mártir  
de Cuilapan, Guerrero*

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**Resumen**





La política social es un mecanismo cuyo propósito es establecer o crear condiciones de equidad social, promoviendo el ejercicio de los derechos sociales y la incorporación de los beneficiarios a un modelo de desarrollo basado en el emprendimiento. El objetivo de la presente investigación es analizar si el gasto público ejercido en Mártir de Cuilapan, Guerrero, en el marco de la Cruzada Nacional contra el Hambre (CNCH), cumplió con la finalidad de desarrollar y fortalecer las principales ramas económicas del municipio. Para ello se revisaron planteamientos teóricos en torno a la política social, sustentabilidad, territorio, territorialización y trampa de pobreza, conceptos básicos para el análisis de la política social. Asimismo, se recopiló información a través de entrevistas estructuradas y semiestructuradas; y bases de datos de los beneficiarios de dependencias federales, así como información del censo económico 2014 de Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía (Inegi).

Como resultado de las entrevistas y la elaboración de la tipología de las actividades económicas del municipio, se observa que el impacto del gasto público realizado en el marco de la CNCH no fue el esperado: La mayoría de los sectores económicos del municipio son parte del sector no básico de la economía, tienen una posición no dinámica y no tienen un desempeño competitivo; solo los sectores económicos 31-32, referentes a industrias manufactureras, son parte del sector básico de la economía. Por lo tanto, la mayoría de los sectores económicos tienen una posición dinámica y un desempeño no competitivo. El mayor gasto público se orientó a las comunidades rurales de la localidad, y los resultados obtenidos muestran que el territorio y su realidad son elementos que imponen la necesidad de repensar los enfoques de la política social.

**Palabras claves:** política social, territorio, desarrollo, trampa de pobreza.

## Abstract

Social policy is a mechanism whose purpose is to establish or create conditions of social equity, promoting the exercise of social rights and the incorporation of the beneficiaries to a development model based on entrepreneurship. The objective of this research is to analyze whether the public expenditure exerted in Mártir de Cuilapan, Guerrero, in the framework of the National Crusade Against Hunger (CNCH), met the purpose of developing and strengthening the main economic branches of the municipality. Theoretical approaches to social policy, sustainability, territory, territorialization and poverty trap were reviewed, basic concepts for the analysis of social policy. In addition, information was collected through structured and semi-structured interviews; and databases of the beneficiaries of federal agencies, as well as information from the 2014 economic census of the Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía (Inegi).

As a result of the interviews and the elaboration of the typology of the economic activities of the municipality, it is observed that the impact of the public expenditure carried out within the framework of the CNCH was not as expected. Most of the economic sectors of the municipality are part of the non-basic sector of the economy, have a non-dynamic position and do not have a competitive performance; only economic sectors 31-32, referring to manufacturing industries, are part of the basic sector of the economy. Therefore, most economic sectors have a dynamic position and non-competitive performance. The highest public expenditure was directed to the rural communities of the municipality, and the results obtained show that the territory and its reality are elements that impose the need to rethink the approaches of social policy.

**Keywords:** social policy, territory, development, poverty trap.

## Resumo

A política social é um mecanismo cujo objetivo é estabelecer ou criar condições de equidade social, promovendo o exercício dos direitos sociais e incorporando os beneficiários a um modelo de desenvolvimento baseado no empreendedorismo. O objetivo da presente investigação é analisar se o gasto público exercido em Mártir de Cuilapan, Guerrero, no âmbito da Cruzada Nacional contra a Fome (CNCH), cumpriu o objetivo de desenvolver e fortalecer os principais ramos econômicos do município. Para tanto, foram revisadas abordagens teóricas sobre política social, sustentabilidade, território, territorialização e armadilha da pobreza, conceitos básicos para a

análise da política social. Da mesma forma, as informações foram coletadas por meio de entrevistas estruturadas e semiestruturadas; e bancos de dados dos beneficiários de órgãos federais, além de informações do censo econômico de 2014 do Instituto Nacional de Estatística e Geografia (Inegi). Como resultado das entrevistas e da elaboração da tipologia das atividades econômicas do município, observa-se que o impacto do gasto público realizado no âmbito do CNCH não foi o esperado: a maioria dos setores econômicos do município faz parte do setor economia não básica, posição não dinâmica e desempenho competitivo; Somente os setores econômicos 31-32, referentes às indústrias de transformação, fazem parte do setor básico da economia. Portanto, a maioria dos setores econômicos tem uma posição dinâmica e desempenho não competitivo. O maior gasto público foi direcionado às comunidades rurais da localidade, e os resultados obtidos mostram que o território e sua realidade são elementos que impõem a necessidade de repensar as abordagens das políticas sociais.

**Palavras-chave:** política social, território, desenvolvimento, armadilha da pobreza.

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## Introduction

The Mexican State, at different historical moments, has implemented targeted social policies to combat extreme poverty in rural and urban areas. At the end of the 80s of the 20th century, for example, the National Solidarity Program was implemented (Advisory Council of the National Solidarity Program, 1994). Its main objective was to establish a social policy scheme based on the coordination and sum of efforts of the three levels of government and the agreement with social groups, respecting and recovering the traditions, cultural patterns and forms of organization existing in communities, neighborhoods and villages. Undoubtedly, the economic crisis at the end of 1994 affected the actions of the federal government. In this context, President Zedillo institutes the Education, Health and Food Program (Progresá). As a result of the political transition of the year 2000, President Fox redesigned the social policy and applies the Human Development Opportunities Program, which is maintained during the six-year term of President Calderón. For Fox and Calderón, the premise of social policy was that the target population (particularly the population in a situation of lack of income below the minimum welfare line) should strengthen their economic freedom through monetary transfers, which It would improve



your living condition. However, instead of achieving economic freedom, they were caught in the poverty trap.

The theoretical support of social policy has its origin in the West. Part of the premise that given the gaps that are generated in the satisfaction of the basic needs of some sectors of society as a result of the development of capitalism, it is necessary to redistribute wealth to mitigate the possibility of social conflict. During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the idea of distributing the economic value of the land as the sole asset generating wealth prevailed, and for the second half of the nineteenth century it is argued that basic income is the appropriate mechanism to end poverty, a vision that alludes to the public economy from the notion of theories of welfare economics and public choice (Rallo, 2015).

The objective of this research is to analyze whether the public expenditure that was allocated to Mártir de Cuilapan (pilot municipality in the state of Guerrero for the implementation of the Hunger Free program in 2013), within the framework of the National Crusade Against Hunger (CNCH), met objective III, namely, “Increase food production and the income of peasants and small agricultural producers” (Official Gazette of the Federation [DOF], January 22, 2013, p. 5 ). That is, if it impacted on the development and strengthening of economic branches and local productive spaces, and if it managed to incorporate the target population into a development model based on entrepreneurship, which from a socio-territorial perspective seeks to increase the production of small local producers, promoting forms of community participation that allow local productive actors to participate in the design, implementation and evaluation of actions to strengthen their economic activity in order to increase their income and improve their living conditions.

### **The debate on social policy in Mexico**

In Mexico, social policy has gone through different approaches. The programs have been comprehensive, partial or sectoral; its scope has gone from the universal to the focused, with the intention of achieving the established goals, seeking to strengthen the relationship between rural and urban in the search for regional development. Although the objectives of social policy are aimed at strengthening local producers and improving their living conditions, there is a tendency towards productive stagnation, which adds to the inadequate coordination between the different government orders, the multiplicity of programs, the concentration and centralization of resources,



which causes inefficiency in the execution of social policies to combat poverty. It is clear that there is no precise concept in government programs regarding what social development can be considered (Moctezuma, Robles y de la Fuente, 2013).

The social policy in Mexico aims to fill the gaps left by economic policy. For this reason, programs have been created that focus on access to social benefits with the purpose of creating a cycle of prosperity that allows to combat the vices of political patronage, a practice that contributes to segmentation and inequality in the fulfillment of social rights, by providing poor quality services and products (Yaschine, 2015).

Four years after the implementation of Hunger, various evaluation and studies have been carried out. For example, the Evaluation Report of the Social Development Policy in Mexico 2014, published by the National Council for the Evaluation of Social Development Policy [Coneval] (2015) and Two moments of participation in poverty reduction programs in Mexico: The National Solidarity Program and the National Crusade Against Hunger, edited by the University Program for Development Studies of the National Autonomous University of Mexico [UNAM] (Gómez, 2015). In addition, the Sub-Directorate of Internal Policy Analysis of the LXII Legislature of the Chamber of Deputies of the Congress of the Union published "Crusade Against Hunger." Conceptual theoretical analysis, legal framework, public policies, comparative law and specialized opinions (2013), which states that Without Hunger is inspired by the Zero Hunger program, implemented in Brazil. Evaluations and studies have focused on the macro perspective, without considering the socioterritorial, and the dimensions, scope and limitations of social policy are not clearly identified.

In this sense, as Tello (2010) points out: "The Mexican economy is already serving several decades of neoliberal experimentation, of long and painful periods of adjustment and stabilization" (p. 249). And as a result, poverty has increased in Mexico. To cope with such a situation of poverty, social programs designed based on premises that aim to serve social groups have been implemented, seeking the productive organization of the beneficiaries, in order to establish a direct link between the Government, communities and communities. actors. Given the low impact of this strategy, an economic transfer scheme was established to create a new link between poor families and the Government, focusing support on the so-called target population, setting aside the forms of organization of established local actors in communities, neighborhoods and towns.



## Poverty and social sustainability

The analysis of poverty has a long history in the fields of economic, sociological and philosophical reflection. In Europe, it begins with economist Adam Smith (1958), who outlined the phenomenon as follows: “The poor are those who can only sustain themselves by their wage labor, but a worker 'is rich or poor, right or wrong, in proportion to the real price of his labor 'and this price is related to the quantities of goods that he can acquire ”(p. 31). Which is the fundamental basis of his economic theory by stating that the highest level of social welfare is generated through the market.

For Marx (2014), the nascent English capitalist class changed the feudal exploitation system to that of capitalist exploitation, where a mass of men is suddenly and violently stripped of their livelihoods (land and means of production) and are launched into the market. of work as free and disinherited men, which makes men and women poor who have nothing to sell but their labor force.

The American philosopher John Rawls (2006) considers that the least advantaged are those who face a shortage of primary social goods and as citizens can not develop properly to fully exercise their moral powers by not having rights, freedoms, opportunities, powers, income and wealth. The determination of primary goods depends on human needs and abilities, on their normal phases and requirements of nutrition and on relationships of social interdependence, among other things (Rawls, 2006).

While for Amartya Sen (2000) an acceptable equal proposal should not only focus on access to primary social goods, but also, suggests this Indian economist, focus attention on people's basic abilities. According to its approach, poverty is conceived as the deprivation of basic abilities, which has several manifestations: premature mortality, a significant degree of malnutrition, high morbidity, high level of illiteracy, low life expectancy, sex and roles social, among other aspects; that are not exclusively due to lack of income, but that are part of the usual criteria with which poverty is identified.

Galo and Zeira (citados en Mayer-Foulkes, 2007) They suggest that the poverty trap is the credit constraint that does not allow the population to access food, education and health, and places them in the vicious circle that causes transgenerational poverty. And returning to Sen (2000), the poverty trap is determined by the deprivation of the basic abilities of individuals, which is reflected in the deficiency of human capital development and impacts on productive capacities, the main livelihood of capital related to Reproduction and growth of the economy.



Thus, poverty represents a multidimensional problem that has to do with culture, economy, public policies, the environment and the exercise of economic and social rights of individuals, a necessary condition for social sustainability. In this regard, social sustainability is an active element that develops naturally within rural and urban areas, where formal and informal processes occur that encourage the creation of human, social, institutional, productive and natural capital, capable of establishing communities where individuals enjoy equal opportunities and social rights that guarantee them to improve their quality of life.

The concept of social sustainability contains a clear social mandate. Vallance, Perkins and Dixon (2011) suggest addressing it based on capacity building by society, to cover their basic needs and services necessary for their development. This implies taking into account the decisive role of the participation of the State and society in achieving these goals. Foladori (2002) starts from the “double path” hypothesis, which establishes the need to combat poverty through economic transfers, promoting entrepreneurship and human development in the territories. For Mckenzie (2004) it is “a positive condition for the market with a strong sense of social cohesion and equal access to basic services (including health, education, transportation, housing and recreation)” (p. 15).

### **Main approaches to sustainable development and development**

The concept of development is and will continue to be studied by the social sciences, mainly by economics, an area in which several theories have been developed with different approaches: from the classics to the neoclassical, Marxist, neo-Marxist and liberals, among others, including the perspective of other sciences, in particular sociology, where problems and development achievements for good living have been analyzed.

Smith (1958) in his book *On the causes of progress in the productive faculties of work*, and the way in which a product is naturally distributed among the different classes of the product, argues that the individual's work contributes to progress, and in principle provides all things necessary and convenient for life. Then, when the division of labor emerges as the most important part of productivity, it allows the individual to develop and improve their aptitudes, dexterity and good sense for production. This division of labor is limited by the extension of the market, which causes that the producers are not stimulated to dedicate themselves entirely to an occupation due



to lack of market conditions to change the surplus of the product of their labor; therefore, there is no constant occupation and self-consumption is encouraged (Smith, 1958).

In the mid-40s of the last century, after World War II, the countries that participated in it faced market contractions, which did not allow economic growth to guarantee the social rights of the population, and before the need of industrialized countries to supply raw materials for the production of industrialized goods, economic policy models oriented to reconstruction and development were implemented.

For Sen (2000) the concept of development is defined as follows:

As a process of expansion of fundamental freedoms, it focuses attention on the ends for which development becomes important and not only on some of the means that play, among other things, a prominent role in the process. (p. 19)

The crisis of paradigms in the area of economics has forced to change the vision of development and to redefine the relationship between human beings and nature. The neo-liberal economic model has expanded beyond national borders, and has affirmed the role of underdeveloped countries as suppliers of natural resources and raw materials for the production of manufactured goods and high technology generated by developed countries, which undoubtedly it has strengthened relations of unequal exchange between countries and regions. The concept of development has been subject to debate for 40 years and there is no current of thought that clearly redefines it. And there are still several pending aspects: quality of life, sustainability, disparity of territories, reconstruction of the social fabric. Therefore, the concept of development has been in constant reformulation and rehabilitation, because the concept of economic growth is not enough to consider the satisfaction of the needs of the population.

In the decade of the 70s the first world meeting on environment was held. The topics that were incorporated into the international agenda were the environmental crisis and human development. In the 1980s, the United Nations World Commission on Environment and Development presented a report called Our Common Future. There, the concept of sustainable development is introduced and defined as follows: "That development that meets the needs of the present generations without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (United Nations World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987). An innovative vision that includes three basic dimensions: ecological, economic and social sustainability.

In the early 1980s, discussions were held on the nature of the concept of sustainable development. For Rojas and Parra (2003), for example:

It must be based on environmental ethical values: respect for nature and its own conservation and reproduction laws; respect for human rights, respect for freedom; guarantee of equal access to education, health, infrastructure and recreation; right to participate democratically and to decide on the fundamental public issues that concern him as a subject and citizen (p. 27).

Sustainable development has a multidisciplinary vision by creating a common space of integration and participation between different local subjects or groups to contribute to equal opportunities, equity in access to goods and services, respect for cultural, economic, political and social rights. , as well as access to technological knowledge that allows the rational use of natural resources to contribute to local development and the strengthening of cohesion and reconstruction of the social fabric for good living.

The concept of development has mutated into sustainable development and has been quickly incorporated into political speeches and government planning as a fashion phrase. Thus, through its substantive actions, it has impacted the ways of life and the production processes of rural societies and local knowledge, an articulating element with nature. According to Leff (2000), sustainable development is revaluing the culture of the peasant-indigenous productive system: local knowledge is being excluded due to scientific-technological rationality in the production process established under the logic of the market, resignifying the ethnic modes of production management and organization: the process of self-management of production is to meet your basic needs and is not intended for the market.

### **Social policy, space, territory and territorialization**

In Europe, after the Second World War, actions were implemented to promote collective well-being through what was defined as a welfare state or welfare state, which, according to Esping-Andersen (1993), is presented as a social democratic model and compulsory social security to organize the fight against poverty, and justifies government intervention through social policies that oblige to provide assistance and support for every citizen who had needs.

Therefore, social policy seems to have two specific functions: a) to be an instrument of the State to mitigate social conflicts through a set of substantive actions and b) as an intervention



mechanism that drives development to contribute to market strengthening, combining key elements such as investment and economic transfers.

For José Adelantado (2000), social policy is an instrument that provides adequate conditions for the development and well-being of people through social action. In addition, he considers that "social policy relies on the methods and theories used in sociology, history, economics, law, political science, geography, statistics, philosophy and social psychology, to help understand well-being" (p. 6). In this sense, the State must create an institutional and legal structure that recognizes social rights, encourages links with citizens and contributes to the generation of opportunities to improve individual and family well-being.

Ortíz (2007), meanwhile, considers the following:

Social policy is to place citizens at the core of public policies, no longer by providing residual social assistance, but incorporating their needs and voice in all sectors. Social policy is also instrumental, and has been used pragmatically by many governments to gain political support from citizens, generate social cohesion and enhance greater economic development, improving human capital and productive employment. (p. 9).

Social policy plays a fundamental role in structural processes, particularly that of establishing a relationship with organized social actors or implementing actions to organize them. These, it should be noted, contribute to the institutions to identify the vulnerable population, defined by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) as a state that may be associated with life cycles or structural conditions of poverty, deprivation and inequalities and that places people and population groups at risk either temporary or permanent (Fuentes, September 22, 2015). While the Coneval (2016) defines the vulnerable population as the one with social and income deficiencies.

This implies that the vulnerable population is the target of social policy programs. This would mean the opportunity of empowerment of this population and social actors, and that these subjects go from being passive to becoming active, which would enable the construction of a new logic of social participation for the development of good living, committed to the preservation of the environment, local knowledge, the achievement of justice and equity.

The main objective of the institutions is to be the main thread of coordination and collaboration between different governmental orders, social actors and citizens who participate in



the development of the diagnosis of the social problems of the territory, to strengthen and design the development programs sustainable local. These social policies exert an important influence for territorialization, understood as the establishment and respect of the representative forms of social relations established collectively or individually with the main institutions, and in turn reconfigure the territory based on three main elements: reconstruction of the social fabric, potentialization of economic branches in productive spaces and nature.

However, the concept of social policy does not take into account the categories of space, territory and territorialization, which contribute to the understanding of society's behavior in the identification of its social problems and needs, as well as in the design of its main actions for the integration and solidarity organization of society, with the aim of ensuring social welfare.

Space, territory and territorialization are basic categories that must be taken into account to analyze the implementation of a social policy, in order to understand the processes that constitute the essence of the spatiality of social life and the aspects that affect it. It should also be taken into account that investments must establish where benefits are guaranteed and profitable, and provided that the conditions of basic infrastructure, social stability, communication channels and a dynamic local market are met, aspects that are considered necessary also to implement social policies.

The space approach has been gaining importance from different perspectives of analysis. This allows us to observe the integrative nature of knowledge of nature and society in territorial research. Daniel Hiernaux (1993) defines space “as a set of representative forms of social relations of the past and present and by a structure that can be expressed in social relations, in turn indicative of processes” (p. 103). From the Latin American critical geography, Santos's contributions (2000) outline a definition of space as an indissoluble set of object systems and action systems; Its internal analytical categories are: landscape, territorial configuration, territorial division of labor, produced or productive space, rugosities and content-forms. In sum, space is understood as a set of processes and linkages where social relations with nature are articulated, expressed collectively and individually with their own territoriality.

The concept of territory, on the other hand, has become the place of confluence of the great national problems. It is attracted by different disciplines of the social and natural sciences that contribute with its discussion to the development of an approach in its definition. At first, geography defines the territory as a geographical space qualified by a legal belonging, not addressing more than the sovereignty and the powers that derive from it. To understand the



dynamics that develop in the territory, according to Rodríguez (2010), the revitalization of a territory is made up of a set of objective and subjective, material and immaterial elements, built by social organizations based on collective projections and individual.

Santos (2011) conceives the territory as a result of the superposition of a set of natural systems and a set of systems of things created by man. The territory is the land plus the population, that is, an identity, the fact and the feeling of belonging to what belongs to us. The territory is the basis of work, of residence, of material and spiritual exchanges and of life, on which it influences.

Montañez (cited in Rodríguez, 2010) expresses the following: "Territoriality is the degree of control of a certain portion of geographic space by a person, a social group, an ethnic group, a multinational company, a state or a block of states" ( p. 6). On the other hand, following Sack (1997), territoriality is understood as the "control of an area", which encourages the reflection that the instruments of social policy are the means through which the State seeks to influence or control social relations and reproductions, fragmenting and exercising control over its territory, building forms of social organization in accordance with the logic of the market.

For Boisier (2003), man is a "territorial animal" rather than the Aristotelian "political animal." Consequently, the territorial reconfiguration caused by social policy programs will influence the reconstruction of the social fabric, which is fragmented by the abyss of economic and social inequality. For this reason, social policy is a decisive actor to potentiate local productive sectors through strategic agents of production, and to transform their worldview of production and use of natural capital through techniques that allow a more effective and efficient production with sustainability. However, unlike urban communities, in rural communities the processes of production and reproduction are limited by the extension of the market. Small rural markets contribute to local producers not being stimulated to engage in productive activities that allow them to exchange the surplus of the product of their labor, therefore, there is no constant occupation and production and self-consumption is used.

However, in general terms, social policies have been constructed with a homogeneous approach to face social phenomena (poverty, inequality and social discrimination), without considering the economic, social and territorial differences that exist in the country, federal entities and municipalities.

In this sense, the centralization in the design and execution of social policies is reflected in a decoupling with the territory. Therefore, one cannot think of promoting social policies without



the participation of social actors in the different stages: design, operation, management, evaluation and monitoring. In addition, more symmetrical local development agreements that reflect the interests of the community should be encouraged, as a mechanism to reverse the distance between citizens and the Government, considering the particularities of their territory.

## Methodology

For the fulfillment of the general objective of the present investigation, the mixed approach was applied. According to Hernández, Fernández and Baptista (2010) it is “a set of systematic, empirical and critical research processes and involve the collection and analysis of quantitative and qualitative data, as well as their integration and joint discussion” (p. 546). This set allows identifying and assessing aspects of socioeconomic and territorial nature.

The collection of field information was carried out through the interview technique, which, in terms of Guber (2001), is the following:

A face-to-face situation where different reflexivities are found, but also where a new reflexivity occurs. Then the interview is a social relationship through which you get a statement and verbalization in an instance of direct observation and participation (p. 76).

It also classifies it in an informal semi-structured or non-directive interview, structured and pre-established questionnaire, groups focused on a theme, and clinics.

In the investigation, structured and semi-structured interview techniques were used. In the first, the researcher formulates the questions and the interviewee is subordinated to the conception of the context, dynamics and categories determined by him; and in the second, the researcher develops a dynamic with the informant that allows him to discover access to his cultural universe (Guber, 2001).

To analyze the impact of public spending on social policy Without Hunger, the use of techniques for regional economic analysis is used, and data from the 2014 Economic Census of the National Institute of Statistics and Geography [Inegi] (2014) were used, for the municipality of Mártir de Cuilapan and the state of Guerrero. The use of the mentioned information supports the quantitative analysis and allows the construction of the typology of the economic activities of the municipality. The above through the index of productive specialization and the ratio of productivity.

The economic-based analysis indicates that a local economy can be divided into two sectors: basic and non-basic.

Basic sector: it is made up of productive and service activities that depend fundamentally on external demand, manufacturing, mining, agricultural export activities, and tourism.

Non-basic sector: Formed by activities that depend mainly on domestic demand, oriented to the local economy and local government activities.

Location coefficients (CL): it is a regional economic analysis to determine the relative circumstance of a territorial unit with respect to another. Allowing to compare the relative size of a sector within a region:

$$CL = \frac{\frac{E_{ij}}{E_i}}{\frac{N_j}{N}}$$

$E_{ij}$  = Population employed in branch j in region i.

$E_i$  = Total population employed in the region i.

$N_j$  = Population employed in branch j nationwide.

$N$  = Population employed nationwide.

(...) If  $CL = 1$ , is that there is sufficient local production to supply its demand, but there are no surpluses to export, it can be concluded that the activity is located.

If  $CL < 1$ , means that there is inadequacy in local production, therefore, it is necessary to import goods and / or services to supply local demand, the activity is poorly located.

If  $CL > 1$ , It implies that the local economy has a specialization in this activity, production is greater than local demand, therefore, there are possibilities to export (Torres, Rozga, García and Delgadillo, 2009, pp. 42).

The basic employment estimation method is carried out through the ratio between productivity  $V_i^t$ , and it is calculated as:  $V_i^t = p_i^t / P_i^t$ .

As  $p_i^t$  It is the productivity at the municipal level, it is estimated as follows:

$$p_i^t = vab_i^t / e_i^t$$

$vab_i^t$ : Municipal gross value added in activity i in year t.

$e_i^t$ : Municipal employment in activity i in year t.

$P_i^t$ : It is the productivity at the state level, it is estimated as follows:

$$P_i^t = vab_i^t / E_i^t$$

$vab_i^t$ : Gross state value added in activity i in year t.

$E_i^t$ : State employment in activity i in year t (Morales, 1998, p. 27).

After estimating productivity at the municipal and state level, the ratio between productivity continues, the results of which express whether  $V_i^t$  is equal to, greater than or less than 1.

If municipal productivity is higher than state productivity:  $V_i^t > 1$ , less jobs are required locally to generate a unit of product than those required at the state level.

If municipal productivity is lower than state productivity:  $V_i^t < 1$ , municipal participation in state production would be overestimated and with it the corresponding basic employment (Morales, 1998, p. 28).

Table 1 shows the structure of the typology of economic activities, where each municipal economic sector with respect to the state sector is identified by its position of specialization in the basic or non-basic sector of the economy and by its productive performance (Morales, 1998).

**Tabla 1.** Tipología de las actividades económicas

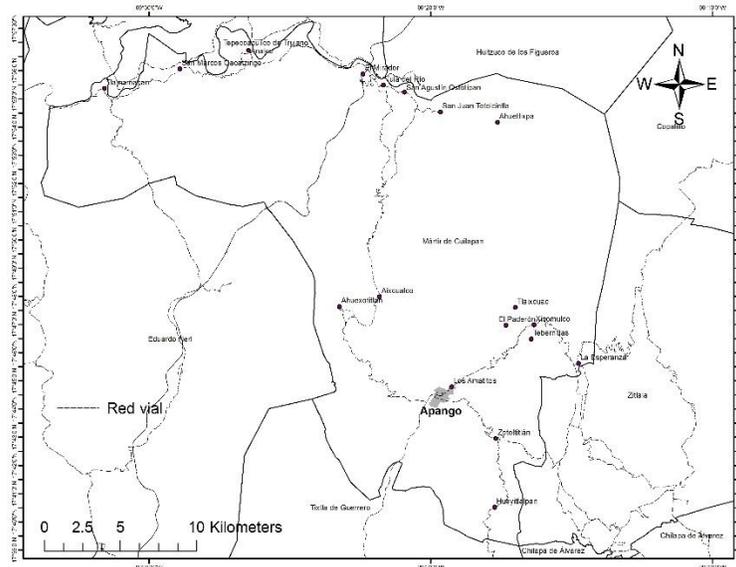
		Desempeño (productividad)	
		$V_i^t < 1$	$V_i^t > 1$
<b>Posición (especialización)</b>	Sector básico	II Posición dinámica y desempeño no competitivo	I Posición dinámica y desempeño competitivo
	Sector no básico	III Posición no dinámica y desempeño no competitivo	IV Posición no dinámica y desempeño competitivo
<p>I. Posición dinámica y desempeño competitivo: actividades con ventajas para impulsar a la economía local.</p> <p>II. Posición dinámica y desempeño no competitivo: actividades que requieren inversiones para mejorar su productividad y aprovechar su posición.</p> <p>III. Posición no dinámica y desempeño no competitivo: actividades en las que debe inducirse el crecimiento de la productividad.</p> <p>IV. Posición no dinámica y desempeño competitivo: actividades cuyo desempeño puede inducir la especialización, es decir, modificar su posición de no dinámica a dinámica</p>			

Fuente: Elaboración propia

### The CNCH in the municipality of Mártir de Cuilapan

In 2013, Mártir de Cuilapan (see figure 1) was selected as a pilot municipality to begin the work of the CNCH. Mr. José Guadalupe Rivera Ocampo (April 21, 2017, interview), who served as municipal president (2012-2015), said that the municipality was selected “for being small, for being a poor municipality, for being a municipality that has a mixture of languages, we have indigenous areas and also one of the great reasons I think it was, the proximity and the security issue that was taken into account”.

**Figura 1.** Mapa de ubicación del Municipio de Mártir de Cuilapan, Guerrero



Fuente: Elaboración propia con base al Marco Geoestadístico 2016, INEGI.

For the first time, the federal government took into account the municipality to promote a community participation strategy based on the identification of the basic needs of the population, which was supported by statistical information provided by Coneval, the National Population Council (Conapo), the Inegi and various government agencies. The data obtained were sent to the Intersecretarial Commission, which had the task of “coordinating, articulating and complementing the actions, programs and resources necessary for the fulfillment of the objective of the No Hunger program” (DOF, January 22, 2013), and the which, in turn, would refer it to the delegations of the federal agencies for analysis, as well as to execute coordinated actions.

The Crusade Against Hunger, to meet the objective of increasing the production and income of rural producers, channeled the demands for funding through federal agencies such as the National Institute of Social Economy (Inaes) of the Ministry of Economy, the National Commission for the Development of Indigenous Peoples (CDI), the Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock, Rural Development, Fisheries and Food (Sagarpa), the Ministry of Agrarian, Territorial and Urban Development (Sedatu) and the Ministry of Social Development (Sedesol), who granted economic support in order to improve the indicator of lack of income by the target population, which was below the minimum welfare line, as well as with the goal of promoting the strengthening of local productive spaces.

Following the call of the president of Mexico to begin the work of the CNCH in March 2013, the municipal government of Mártir de Cuilapan requested the federal government that the population had a direct participation in the programs, due to the degree of distrust I had the latter regarding federal and state programs and agencies (Rivera, April 21, 2017, interview). In this context, one of the main actions promoted by Sedesol was the formation of community committees, which were in charge of identifying the target population and their needs, to be incorporated into federal programs.

According to the Population and Housing Census 2010 (Inegi, 2010), the municipality of Mártir de Cuilapan had a population of 17,702 inhabitants, of which 48% were men and 52% women. In addition, 43.4% of the population five years and older was an indigenous language speaker. The number of communities in the municipality was 19: 5% urban (the municipal capital) and 95% rural.

In 2011, Coneval released estimates of the 2010 social lag index at the municipal level and by location. In the case of the municipality of Mártir de Cuilapan, 18 localities were taken into account (the locality of Los Amatitos was not considered) to determine the index and degree of social lag. The results showed that 5.6% of the localities had a low social lag, 50% a medium social lag and 44.4% a high social lag. If we take into account the population, 24.6% lived in a community with low social lag, 49% in localities with medium social lag and 25.7% in localities with high social lag. This reflects that 74.2% of the population had the ability to access educational, health, basic housing and quality housing services as a result of the coverage of federal and state social programs; However, taking into account that 95% of the towns in the municipality were rural, they placed them in a situation of vulnerability to economic and social disturbances that made it impossible for them to travel the horizons of economic and social inequality.

Table 2 describes the support granted to the municipality and its communities within the framework of the Hunger program of the CNCH in 2013. The concepts served by Sedesol, Sagarpa, the Ministry of Communications and Transportation (SCT), the Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources (Semarnat), the Ministry of Economy and the CDI were:

- Money transfers,
- Support for non-agricultural production and income generation,
- Support for the increase and improvement of agricultural, beekeeping, animal husbandry and exploitation, forestry, for income generation and



- Support for the promotion of productive chains for income generation.

As can be seen in Table 2, the public expenditure destined to the municipality of Mártir de Cuilapan in monetary transfers received the amount of 26,445,917.51 pesos, of which 17.4% was distributed in the municipal seat and the rest of the communities received 82.6 %. To support non-agricultural production and income generation, 14 265 469.38 pesos were received, of which 41.7% went to the municipal seat and 58.3% to the rest of the localities. For the improvement of agricultural production, beekeeping, breeding and exploitation of animals and forest use for income generation, 11,224,888.30 pesos were allocated, of which 11% was distributed in the municipal seat and 89% in rural locations. Finally, the support for the promotion of productive chains for income generation (mezcal) was 1,782,840 pesos, of this amount 55.3% went to the municipal seat and 44.7% to the rest of the communities.

**Tabla 2.** Gasto público destinado al municipio de Mártir de Cuilapan en el marco del programa Sin Hambre de la CNCH, 2013

Indicador	Concepto	Dependencias participantes	Municipio de Mártir de Cuilapan		Cabecera municipal		Resto del municipio	
			Gasto Total	%	Gasto	%	Gasto	%
<b>Carencia por ingresos por debajo de la línea de bienestar mínimo</b>	Transferencias monetarias	Sedesol, Sagarpa, SCT y Semarnat	26 445 917.51	49.2	4 606 689.50	17.4	21 839 228.01	82.6
	Apoyo a la producción no agrícola y generación de ingreso.	Sedesol, Sagarpa y Secretaría de Economía	14 265 469.38	26.6	5 950 537.40	41.7	8 314 931.98	58.3
	Apoyo al aumento y mejoramiento de producción agropecuaria, apícola, cría y explotación de animales, aprovechamiento forestal, para generación de ingreso.	Sagarpa, Semarnat, CDI y Secretaría de Economía	11 224 888.30	20.9	1 239 781.66	11.0	9 985 106.64	89.0
	Apoyo para el impulso de cadenas productivas para generación de ingresos: Mezcal	Secretaría de Economía	1 782 840.00	3.3	985 070.00	55.3	797 770.00	44.75
<b>Inversión total</b>			<b>53 719 115.19</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>12 782 078.56</b>	<b>23.8</b>	<b>40 937 036.63</b>	<b>76.2</b>

Fuente: Elaboración propia con base en Secretaría de Bienestar (s. f.)

One of the first actions carried out by Sin Hunger in 2013, through the Opportunities, Temporary Employment, Procampo and Priority Zone Development programs to address the lack of income, the main poverty indicator in the pilot municipality, was the delivery of economic transfers, which represented 49.2% of the total public expenditure incurred. While to improve and increase production, agricultural, beekeeping, animal husbandry and exploitation, and forestry, only 20.9% was allocated, which together with the support for the promotion of productive chains for income generation (mezcal) represented 25.2%. It follows that support for the development and strengthening of productive activities was less than direct transfers to beneficiaries. Consequently, instead of generating ventures that diversify and strengthen local agricultural activities,

dependency ties that inhibit the possibility of the population breaking the poverty trap were strengthened.

In order to observe the impact of public spending made under the CNCH, the productivity and specialization indicators of the municipal economic sectors were calculated, based on the information provided by the 2014 Inegi Economic Census (2014).

Table 3 shows the results referring to the specialization coefficients and productivity ratios by economic sector, which allows to elaborate a typology of the productive activities, in accordance with the established in the methodology.

**Tabla 3.** Coeficientes de especialización y razones de productividad por sectores económicos en el municipio de Mártir de Cuilapan, Gro., 2014

Sectores económicos*	Coeficiente de especialización (CI)	Razón de productividad ( $V_i^t$ )
31-33	4.46	0.18
43	0.12	0.10
46	0.56	0.19
48-49	0.12	0.98
56	0.44	0.08
62	0.19	0.10
71	0.32	0.12
72	0.42	0.35
81	0.76	0.55

\* Sectores económicos: 31-33: Industria manufacturera. 43: Comercio al por mayor. 46: Comercio al por menor. 48-49: Transportes, correos y almacenamiento. 56: Servicio de apoyo a los negocios y manejo de desechos y servicios de remediación. 62: Servicios de salud y de asistencia social. 71: Servicios de esparcimiento, culturales y deportivos, y otros servicios recreativos. 72: Servicios de alojamiento temporal y de preparación de alimentos y bebidas. 81: Otros servicios excepto actividades gubernamentales

Fuente: Elaboración propia con base en Inegi (2014)

The results obtained for economic sectors 31-32, referring to manufacturing industries, show that the economic activities of this sector are part of the basic economy of the municipality; that is, productive and service activities that depend fundamentally on external demand, although its productivity ratio shows that municipal productivity is lower than state productivity.



Consequently, the sectors in question have a dynamic position and non-competitive performance. Economic establishments in these sectors require investments to improve their productivity and take advantage of their position. It should be noted that the production of mezcal and honey are the most dynamic and competitive in the municipality.

Given that the municipality is characterized as a producer of handmade mezcal and honey, Inaes, through the Social Economy Promotion Program, supported the producers of mezcal and the CDI to honey producers, and granted financing for the development of these productive activities in 2013. Despite this, mezcal producers interviewed agreed that financial resources were needed to improve production techniques and process, to establish their own brands and packaging systems. This to be in a position to comply with the rules of the Mezcal Regulatory Council and to obtain certification as producers, which would allow the sale at national and abroad level of its production; Honey producers would use the financing granted to certify their product and be able to export to Europe.

The economic sectors 43, 46, 48-49, 56, 62, 71, 72 and 81, as shown in Table 4, are part of the non-basic sector of the municipal economy, which is composed of economic activities that depend mainly of domestic demand, oriented to the local economy. Therefore, they are placed in a non-dynamic position and with non-competitive performance. In these activities it is necessary to induce productivity. The productivity of economic activities can be increased by increasing the investment that allows to improve production techniques and product distribution mechanisms. Table 4 shows the absence of economic sectors located in the first quadrant, which indicates that productive activities are not characterized by boosting the development of the local economy. In general, the production of the municipality is for local consumption, except for the production of mezcal and honey.

**Tabla 4.** Tipología de las actividades económicas del municipio de Mártir de Cuilapan

		Desempeño (productividad)	
		$V_i^t < 1$	$V_i^t > 1$
Posición (especialización)	Sector básico	II 31-32	I
	Sector no básico	III 43, 46, 48-49, 56, 62, 71, 72 y 81	IV

Fuente: Elaboración propia

The previous data indicate that the social transfer economic policy model was continued, based on centralization and targeting (Keynes, 1943), with limited community participation in decision-making, which contributed to inhibit development in favor of them. Also, the absence of coordination by federal agencies was evidenced, which prevented unity in their action for the benefit of the population (Carlos Rojas Gutiérrez, 23 de enero de 2017, entrevista).

## Conclusions

Six years after the CNCH program was implemented in the municipality of Mártir de Cuilapan, in the state of Guerrero, its impact was not as expected. The evidence shows lack of coordination between the different government orders, coupled with the lack of technical and management capacity in the planning by the members of the H. City Hall. The interviews conducted with the municipal president and the director of Inaes project the effects of lack of a favorable environment that promotes inter-institutional coordination between government orders at the federal, state and municipal levels, as well as the inability to establish a relationship between the State and the population that allowed greater freedom of participation in decision-making, in order to break with the scheme of centralization in decision-making and focusing on the allocation of resources, all of which inhibited the possibilities of development from a territorial perspective .

Although the objective of the CNCH strategy was to combat poverty and strengthen productive activities, by giving greater emphasis to money transfers (49.2% of public expenditure allocated to the municipality of Mártir de Cuilapan under the No Hunger program of the CNCH,



2013), of which 82% was allocated to rural communities, unlike the expenditure destined to support the increase of production and promotion of productive chains, to which 24.2% was allocated (82.9% was directed to rural communities of the municipality), the financing of productive projects was carried out without analyzing their feasibility, without considering the complexity and dynamism of poverty at territorial level, and without taking into account the potential of natural resources and local knowledge with that count the communities. The foregoing prevented territorialization of the strategy for communities to achieve territorial economic development in the perspective of social sustainability.

The elaboration of a typology of the economic activities of the municipality of Mártir de Cuilapan allows us to observe the impact of the public expenditure that was carried out within the framework of the CNCH, for which the productivity and specialization indicators of the municipal economic sectors were calculated, with based on the information provided by the 2014 Economic Census conducted by the Inegi (2014). The majority of the economic sectors of the municipality are part of the non-basic sector of the economy, have a non-dynamic position and do not have a competitive performance; and therefore, establishments in these sectors require investments that stimulate the growth of their productivity. Only economic sectors 31-32, referring to manufacturing industries, are part of the basic sector of the economy. Consequently, the mentioned sectors have a dynamic position and a non-competitive performance; establishments in these sectors require investment to improve their productivity and take advantage of their position. Both Inegi data and interviews with former municipal officials and producers allow us to indicate that the production of mezcal and honey is the most dynamic and competitive in the municipality.

Despite the fact that the majority of public spending was directed to the rural communities of the municipality, the results obtained indicate that the territory and its reality are elements that impose the need to rethink the approaches of social policy. The social policy must be based on a territorial planning that allows the coordination between the different orders of government, actors and social sectors for the elaboration and strengthening of a territorialized social policy; that focuses on the how, where and for what of socio-territorial development. That is to say, they must adapt flexibly to the conditions of the territories, generating scenarios conducive to local development with a focus on social sustainability, in order to reduce the degree of vulnerability of the population, to achieve a lesser dependence on the social programs of economic transfer and propitiate its exit from the poverty trap.

In summary, the CNCH, instead of generating ventures that diversify and strengthen local agricultural activities, led to ties of economic and political dependence that inhibit the possibility of the population breaking the poverty trap.

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