

Pobreza intergeneracional en el estado de Oaxaca

Intergenerational poverty in the state of Oaxaca

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Resumen

La pobreza ha aumentado en 24 estados de México. Durante el cuarto trimestre de 2014 el Consejo Nacional de Evaluación de la Política de Desarrollo Social (CONEVAL) informa que en cinco entidades el Índice de la Tendencia Laboral de la Pobreza (ITLP) reporta incrementos por arriba del 10 % anual, dentro de los cuales se encuentra el estado de Oaxaca. El objetivo general de este trabajo es identificar la pobreza intergeneracional en el periodo de estudio de 1990 a 2015 en el estado de Oaxaca, así como las consecuencias de la misma. La metodología de investigación es cuantitativa de gabinete con información de fuentes secundarias, el diseño del marco teórico se basó en trabajos de investigación de la Organización Internacional del Trabajo (OIT), la hipótesis que guía el trabajo es que el diseño de las políticas redistributivas implementadas en el combate a la pobreza en el estado de Oaxaca no han dado los resultados esperados dado que existe una pobreza que se ha heredado de generación en generación.

Palabras clave: pobreza, intergeneracional, políticas.

Abstract

Poverty has risen in 24 States of Mexico. During the fourth quarter of 2014 National Council of Evaluation of Social Development Policy (CONEVAL) informs that in five entities the Trend Labour Poverty Rate (ITLP) reports increases above 10% annually, within which lies the State of Oaxaca. The overall objective of this work is to identify

intergenerational poverty in the study period from 1990 to 2015 in the State of Oaxaca, as well as its consequences. The research methodology is quantitative cabinet with information from secondary sources, the design of the theoretical framework was based on research of the International Organization of Labour (ILO) the hypothesis that guides the work is that the design of the redistributive policies implemented in the fight against poverty in the State of Oaxaca have not produced the expected results since there is a poverty that has been inherited from generation to generation.

Keywords: poverty, intergeneracional, politics.

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Introduction

Conceptual framework

The definitions proposed for the term "poverty" generally relate concepts as scarcity of resources, low or zero income, quality of life, among others. Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC, 2014) considers a person in poverty when their income do not allow you to purchase the products of the basic basket. While for the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) is that part of the population which by their income level may not acquire housing, food, health and education, so that they fail to satisfy their economic, social and cultural needs.

The Ministry of Social Development defines poverty as "a standard of living that cannot be achieved" (SEDESOL, Ministry of Social Development, 2014); the standard of living of a person is measured through various factors, such as: "1) current income; 2) non-core assets and indebtedness of the household capacity; 3) the family heritage, understood as the set of assets and durable goods that provide basic services; 4) access to goods and free services; 5) the free time and the available for domestic work, education and rest, and 6) the knowledge of people, not as a means to obtain income but as direct satisfiers of the human need for understanding and as direct the degree of human cognitive development

indicators" "(Boltvinik, 2003) Poverty is related to these six points; however, for purposes of study is mainly used as parameter the income that individuals perceive.

However, it is worth mentioning that the concept of poverty not only you can set through the level of income, since the well-being of a person includes other aspects: food, education, basic services, housing, dressing, etc. According to CONEVAL (2014), a person is in poverty when you have at least one social deprivation (in the six indicators of educational gap, access to health services, access to social security, quality and living spaces, basic services in housing and access to food) and its income is insufficient to acquire the goods and services required to meet their food and non-food needs.

As mentioned Paul Spicker, "the debates on poverty have been encapsulated by an artificial academic formalism, which insisted that there must be a common core of meaning ... However, poverty does not have a single meaning. It contains a number of related meanings through a number of similarities. "

Three aspects have been part of the definitions of poverty and give guidelines to their greater clarification, according to Arriagada (2000), they are:

- a) a) Social Exclusion. This refers to those who are outside the development processes within a society. There are three types of exclusion:
 - - Economic: It originates from the non-integration of people into the labor market, either by age, sex, color, education, or religion; since this results in these fail satisfying their needs.
 - - Politics: The non-participation in decision-making.
 - - Cultural: The "precarious primary social networks" (Arriagada, 2000).
- b) Vulnerability. According to the Royal Spanish Academy, the word vulnerable apply to that "which may be injured or receive physical or moral injury"; are basically those population groups most sensitive to be affected by adverse circumstances. Vulnerability measures the amount of assets available to meet the changes.

"One of the main exponents of this school of thought (Moser, 1998) has argued that the focus should be on managing the assets available to low-income sectors to mitigate the effects of downside risks to their welfare" (Arriagada, 2000).

Some cepalinos as Katzman (1999), authors note three types of vulnerability:

- - A marginality: Joblessness in outlying areas.
- - A poverty: Risk of impoverishment.
- - The exclusion of modernity: This refers to the reproduction of poverty by young people.

"The vulnerability and consequently poverty, could be modified by positively support the process of mobilization of assets of the poor" (Barahona, 2006).

b) Human Security. Equity at the level of cities and poverty are related to this concept, since people with low incomes are more vulnerable when moving from one place to another.

In this regard, Arriagada mentions that if taken as reference elements that generate exclusion, vulnerability and insecurity in the poverty analysis can be more precise about this phenomenon results.

Poverty rates

Poverty is a phenomenon that has occurred over the years in different geographic locations; that is, although an urban area ¹ have competitive advantages over a rural, it does not mean that city dwellers have a better quality of life. Therefore, the study of these two types of poverty (urban - rural) is necessary because that way the causes and conditions of the problem can be countered with the right programs.

According Boltvinik (2000), poverty is predominantly a rural or urban phenomenon in function of three variables: the level of urban or rural court, the differential definition of the poverty lines between urban and rural areas and the absolute level of the lines poverty used.

The study by the International Fund for Agricultural Development, IFAD (1993), has been used as a reference in relation to the methodological approach adopted to meet the levels of

¹Rural areas are those localities that have less than 2 500 inhabitants populations. They are urban localities with a population greater than 2500 people.

"Our country has experienced in the last century, a transformation in the dynamics of the population who changed the existing pattern, as we went from being a predominantly rural country in the early twentieth century to a country where three out of four people living in a urban area, ie, an urban Mexico ". Source specified invalid.

rural poverty. "His conception of poverty is explicit in stating that poverty is not a condition of the people, but the effect of dynamic processes; poverty is a social condition, not a personal phenomenon "(Dubois, 2014).

The impoverishment of rural areas is due to the institutional processes, lack of access to land, unequal distribution of cropping systems and land tenure, underdeveloped markets, lack of access to credit and inputs, lack of basic institutions that promote popular participation, the factors affecting agricultural growth (such as the allocation of public spending and macroeconomic policies) and so on. Another of the causes of impoverishment, "dualism derived from the persistence of structures of production dependent on the world market makes the best land is allocated to export crops, while small and marginal farmers and shepherds must resign themselves to lands less productive "(Dubois, 2014).

Other factors generating rural impoverishment mentioned by IFAD (1993) are the following: growth of the population, low education levels, geographic isolation and lack of access to communications, management of resources and management the environment, gender discrimination against women, ethnic and cultural factors, operators intermediation mechanisms, internal political fragmentation and civil conflicts, and international factors.

Urban poverty as well as rural poverty is manifested at the same time, but the magnitude of each is different. One of the factors leading to the expulsion of people from the countryside to the city looking for a better quality of life, reason could be considered a cause of urban poverty since grown by new process of impoverishment, as there the entire population is moving opportunities in the labor market.

According to Moser (1993), there are four categories of analysis for the different dimensions of urban poverty:

- - Low income: The inability to participate in labor markets and lack of labor support, low income threshold even nominal poverty.
- - Low human capital: The low education and poor health, which can lead to chronic poverty.

- - Low capital: The shortage of social networks that help protection in homes during economic crisis.
- - Under financial capital: The loss of productive capital are used to generate income.

One factor considered cause of poverty in urban areas is the position of the head of household in the labor market, "which their employment is stable or not, the level of income received, their ability to perform various types of work more or less skilled, etc., it is the decisive references "(Dubois, 2014); Similarly, it is observed that the labor market plays an important role in the generation of urban poverty, meaning that the market environment of work comprises those "institutions, social organizations and political framework for understanding the behavior of the market short, medium and long term, with regard to the possibilities of the population to achieve the necessary income "(Dubois, 2014).

For Dubois (2014), urban impoverishment processes differ from those in rural areas:

- The establishment of factors that generate poverty, because by these are the levels at which a household or a person is considered poor defined.
- The changing purchasing power of the people, because in the cities the price of goods and services that are offered tend to be higher; Also, products that people need to survive are different according to their context (rural-urban). "Definitely, the urban population has money much more important to make your everyday life for the rural population" (Dubois, 2014).

Moser (1998) mentions three other differences:

- • The levels of commercialization: In the cities the most important asset is work, because by this families earn income and consumption is encouraged.
- • The environmental conditions: poor housing, sanitation, distance to work
- • social fragmentation

Intergenerational poverty

Especially intergenerational poverty is due to education and the economy. With regard to education, a well-educated population reduces their chances of living in poverty. Householders people with only high school diploma or equivalent, can contribute to their households are more likely to be poor. If urban schools are systematically less qualified teachers than their suburban counterparts, it follows that they do not offer quality education, increasing the likelihood of their students living in poverty. Also, it is presumed that the children of people in urban areas are impoverished as a result of social and economic deprivation that lived during his childhood and adolescence, which has a lasting effect on individuals, making it difficult for children growing up in families low income to escape poverty when they reach adulthood. That way it sets in motion the cycle of intergenerational poverty. The father, who has been a victim of circumstances, did not receive quality education and, therefore, could not find a better paying job so I could not escape poverty. The child, living in the same area, in turn lacks a quality education, thus perpetuating poverty (ILO).

Measuring poverty

In Mexico, the National Council for Evaluation of Social Development Policy (CONEVAL) is the government agency responsible for measuring poverty. This body is based on eight indicators:

- Current per capita income.
- Average levels of education in the home.
- Access to health services.
- Access to social security.
- Quality and housing space.
- Access to basic housing services.
- Access to food.

The method used to measure poverty to over the years has not been uniform, since according to the context in which the measurements were made not a few elements that influence their behavior were included.

a) poverty line.

The poverty line in annual expenditure of a person in food and non-food goods (housing, transportation, education, health, etc.) is measured.

Measuring poverty from household income is subject to a number of important discussions. "Given that poverty lines are automatically transformed into poverty lines it has been suggested that this model obviates the need to quantify the cost of a basket of additional regulations to food satisfactions, a situation that results in an underestimation of poverty non- homeless, particularly in urban areas where costs can be considerably higher than the supposed limit "(Arriagada, 2000).

For the poverty line, Julio Boltvinik developed in 1982 a variant: "Rules Canasta essential needs (CBSE)", with which the non-durable and durable goods differ. The sum of annual costs is the annual cost of CNSE. This is the poverty line, compared to income or household consumption to determine whether the household is poor or not.

The result of the poverty line compared to household income. This calculation is performed for each decile, depending on the size and composition of households.

As already mentioned, the method measures poverty from the minimum income received by a person. The incidence of poverty is the most used and is the number or percentage of individuals indicator whose income is insufficient to meet their basic needs.

Larrañaga (2007) mentions that one of the advantages of measuring the satisfaction of needs by income, is that the information is obtained from a single indicator.

Some of the indicators used as a supplement in the analysis of income poverty are:

- Health: This can be measured by life expectancy or by micro data from surveys of households or persons. However, life expectancy is one of the most used indicators; an example is the World Health Organization (WHO), which uses it as an indicator to compare the levels of health among countries.

The best indicator of health in the context of multidimensional poverty is "life expectancy and quality-adjusted disaggregated by socioeconomic status" (Larrañaga, 2007). This indicator requires combining information from the two types of data described.

- Education: In the analysis of multidimensional poverty indicators that can be referenced are the coverage of the educational system, the dropout rate and graduation of the different educational levels, and level of education.

- Housing and environment: The quality of life is clearly related to the housing conditions and the environment where it is located.

Among the characteristics of a dwelling it is taken from the floor area reference, quality of materials used and access to basic infrastructure. "Good housing is one that facilitates family life, gives opportunities for privacy, provides security, contributes to health care through temperate and hygienic environments, while providing adequate spaces for study" (Larrañaga, 2007).

- a) Unsatisfied Basic Needs (NBI).
- b) According to the National Institute of Statistics and Census (INDEC, 1984), NBI method is to verify whether households have satisfied a series of previously established requirements, poor to those who have failed considering.
- c) Within this the characteristics of households that have some deprivation and are associated with poverty (with reference to the six indicators of living standards Boltvinik) are used. Not only are used as parameters conditions of households but also the country, using indicators such as overcrowding, inadequate housing, inadequate water, lack of sanitation or inconvenience, not attending primary schools by children of school age, and an indirect indicator of economic capacity; ECLAC also draws on these indicators to measure the basic needs of households, whose data are obtained from the accounts made (in the case of Mexico can be obtained by population and housing censuses).

d) Integrated Method.

This method was developed by Katzman, who related it to the poverty line and NBI method. According Boltvinik (2014) is based on:

- 1. The current income
- 2. The rights of access to government services or goods free of charge (or subsidized).
- 3. The property, or rights to use assets that provided basic consumer services (accumulated basic assets).

4. Education levels, skills and abilities, understood not as a means of obtaining revenue, but as expressions of the ability to understand and do.
5. The time available for education, recreation, leisure and housework.
6. The non-core assets and debt capacity home.

Why the poverty line is integrated with NBI? One of the main reasons is because these two methods only measures the satisfaction of human needs by entering a person gets, and because in his "usual applications, select indicators of satisfaction of needs that depend primarily on Latin America Property consumer assets (housing) or rights of access to government services, which implicitly stop taking into account other sources of welfare "(Larrañaga, 2007).

Research results

The study area includes the state of Oaxaca, located in the Southeast region of Mexico, currently has 3,801,962 inhabitants (INEGI, 2015).

Table 1 shows that poverty levels over the mitas of the population of Oaxaca in the study period amounted to 76.5%, and for 2000 decreased to 71.9%. According to the geographical division of Oaxaca in 570 municipalities in eight geographical regions, in 2000 the region of Canada is showing the highest percentage with 90.2%, followed by the Sierra Norte and Sierra Sur regions meanwhile , the region had a lower percentage of poverty was Valleys, where significantly reduced in the decade from 1990 to 2000 (from 71.7% to 57.4%).

In three regions of the study area it increased the level of poverty in that decade: the Isthmus in 1990 with 63.7% and 68.8% in 2000; in the Sierra Norte, 86.4% of the population lived in poverty in 1990 and increased to 89.1% in 2000; Cañada last positioned with increased 88.9% to 90.2%.

Table 1. Percentage of population in poverty.

Concepto	1990	2000
México	63.2	51.0
Oaxaca	76.5	71.9
Valles Centrales	71.7	57.4
Istmo	63.7	68.8
Tuxtepec	77.4	76.2
Mixteca	83.1	76.8
Costa	79.3	77.1
Sierra Sur	86.4	85.4
Sierra Norte	87.4	89.1
Cañada	88.9	90.2

Source: Authors' calculations based on census INEGI.

One of the causes of intergenerational poverty is education. As shown in Table 2, the level of education of the state of Oaxaca in the first decade of study averaged 5.6% while the Glen Region showed the lowest level of schooling 3.6%, which It means that the population has completed until the third or fourth grade level.

Table 2. Indicators of education

Concepto	Porcentaje de la población analfabeta de 15 años o más		Porcentaje de la población de 6 a 14 años que no sabe leer ni escribir		Grado promedio de escolaridad	
	1990	2000	1990	2000	1990	2000
México	12.4	9.5	12.3	12.3	6.6	7.5
Oaxaca	27.5	21.5	17.0	18.3	4.6	5.6
Valles Centrales	16.8	12.1	11.3	12.3	4.8	5.8
Istmo	24.3	20.0	14.1	13.8	5.2	6.0
Tuxtepec	25.3	21.0	18.4	21.0	3.9	4.6
Mixteca	31.3	24.2	15.8	17.2	3.8	4.8
Sierra Norte	33.0	27.5	19.9	21.6	3.8	4.5
Sierra Sur	35.2	27.6	20.2	21.5	3.3	4.2
Costa	36.0	27.7	20.5	22.4	3.7	4.8
Cañada	44.6	38.7	28.0	29.1	2.9	3.6

Source: Authors' calculations based on census INEGI.

CONEVAL shows the results of measuring poverty at the municipal level. Estimate poverty level municipality contributes to strengthening accountability in the country and improve the planning of social development policy.

The municipalities that in 2010 had the highest percentage of population in poverty were: San Juan Tepeuxila, Oaxaca (97.4%); Aldama, Chiapas (97.3%); San Juan Cancuc, Chiapas (97.3%); Mixtla Altamirano, Veracruz (97.0%); Chalchihuitán, Chiapas (96.8%); Santiago Textitlán, Oaxaca (96.6%); Duraznal San Andrés, Chiapas (96.5%); Santiago el Pinar, Chiapas (96.5%); Sitalá, Chiapas (96.5%) and San Simon Zahuatlán, Oaxaca (96.4%).

The municipalities that in 2010 had the lowest percentage of poor population were: Benito Juarez, Mexico City (8.7%); San Nicolas de los Garza, Nuevo Leon (12.8%); Guadalupe, Nuevo Leon (13.2%); Miguel Hidalgo, Federal District (14.3%); San Pedro Garza Garcia, Nuevo Leon (15.2%); San Sebastian Tutla, Oaxaca (16.7%); San Pablo Etna, Oaxaca (17.3%); Apodaca, Nuevo Leon (18.0%); Corregidora, Queretaro (18.7%), and San Juan de Sabinas, Coahuila (19.0%).

Municipalities with the largest number of people in poverty in 2010 were: Puebla, Puebla (732 154); Iztapalapa, Mexico City (727 128); Ecatepec de Morelos, Mexico (723 559); Leon, Guanajuato (600 145); Tijuana, Baja California (525 769); Juarez, Chihuahua (494 726); Nezahualcoyotl, Mexico (462 405); Toluca, Mexico (407 691); Acapulco, Guerrero (405 499), and Gustavo A. Madero, Distrito Federal (356 328).

According to these data it is in the top municipalities that belong to the state of Oaxaca: Tepeuxila San Juan, and San Simon Zahuatlán Oaxaca, Oaxaca.

In 2012, the state of Oaxaca in respect of the 32 states ranked third in percentage of population in poverty and percentage of population living in extreme poverty. So, Oaxaca is located within the five states with the greatest poverty in the country. The total population in poverty and extreme poverty at the state level is the sum of the population in poverty and extreme poverty (CONEVAL, 2012). In 2010, the total population living in the state, 67.4% were in poverty, that is, 2,566,157 people out of a total of 3,807,784 had at least one social deprivation and did not have enough income to meet their basic needs; The average gap in this population was 3.2%. 29.8% of the state's population was in extreme

poverty, which means that 1.13523 million people had three or more social needs and did not have a sufficient income to acquire a food basket; The average gap in this population was 4.0%.

From the above it follows that the percentage of population living in moderate poverty was 37.6%, ie 1,430,927 people, who were on average 2.6 shortcomings. By 2010, the percentage of vulnerable people by social deprivation was 22.4%, equivalent to 852 654 people, which even when they had a higher income than needed to cover its needs had one or more social deprivation; 1.2% of the population was vulnerable to income, equivalent to 45 797 people who did not have social needs but whose income was less than or equal to the income needed to meet basic needs. Finally, the percentage of population poor and vulnerable was 9.0%, ie 343 176 people.

Moreover, the municipalities that concentrated the highest number of people in poverty are:

1. Oaxaca, with 104 035 people (30.9% of its population).
2. San Juan Bautista Tuxtepec, 84 213 people (56.2% of its population).
3. Heroic city of Juchitan de Zaragoza, with 47 662 people (60.2% of its population).
4. Salina Cruz, with 42 424 people (46.1% of its population).
5. Santa Cruz Xoxocotlan, with 38 207 people (50.4% of its population).
6. Villa Tututepec Melchor Ocampo, 35 838 people (82.5% of its population).
7. Heroic City Huajuapán de León, with 35 601 people (52.7% of its population).
8. Santiago Pinotepa Nacional, with 35 042 people (73.3% of its population).
9. Miahuatlán of Porfirio Díaz, with 32 551 people (76.3% of its population).
10. Acatlan de Perez Figueroa, with 31 217 people (74.9% of its population).

Conclusions

Once the measurement of poverty determined begins the design of policies, which are called social policy because their purpose of attending and as far as possible be the instrument to solve social problems or presented in the components Measurement used.

In Mexico, social policy has its main reference in the aftermath of the Mexican Revolution, assuming a paternalistic character in the period of the welfare state, which implied a high cost for this; however, from the industrialization process of the country and its consequent economic openness, its design is improved.

From what was observed in the investigation, these policies have not been sufficient to reduce poverty levels since in the main towns of the state of Oaxaca are still seeing a high percentage of poverty. By its population can be classified as urban areas Tututepec Villa Melchor Ocampo with 82.5% poverty; Miahuatlán of Porfirio Diaz with 76.3%; Acatlan de Perez Figueroa with 74.9% and Santiago Pinotepa Nacional with 73.3%. On the other hand, has the lowest number of poor is the city of Oaxaca with 30.9%.

Intergenerational poverty has persisted in the state of Oaxaca for over two decades. Although some of their geographical areas the problem has decreased in others has increased, which suggests a transfer of rural population to urban areas, increasing the number of urban poor.

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