Crisis and rural poverty in Latin America



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This report is part of the Crisis and Rural Poverty in Latin America series. It summarizes the contributions of eleven studies that discuss the possible effects of the present global financial crisis on the rural population, particularly rural poverty in Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Paraguay and Peru (Baudoin 2009; Buainain and Neder 2009; Perfetti 2009; Delgado and Salgado 2009; Rosada and Bruni 2009; Villa and Lovo 2009; Chiapa 2009; Baumeister and Rocha 2009; Ramírez and González 2009; Yancari 2009; Del Rosario, Morrobel and Martínez 2009).

All the documents can be accessed in their electronic format at: www.rimisp.org/dtr/documentos.

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Executive Summary

The Global Financial Crisis will directly affect Latin America, although the consequences for each country will differ. In this adverse setting, an analysis is needed of how the continent's rural sector, particularly the rural poor, will be affected. This document attempts to respond to the possible outcomes for the rural population in the present financial crisis, particularly the rural poor in the following 11 countries: Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Paraguay and Peru.

Two criteria were used to select the countries studied in this report. First, countries that have high poverty rates that are above the regional average. Second, those countries identified as having the largest number of rural poor in the region, specifically Brazil and Mexico.

The effects of the crisis on the 11 countries studied

The financial crisis will be stronger than anticipated, and it is possible that its effects will last longer than originally thought. However, it is arriving during a five-year period that has witnessed the fastest rate of expansion and sustained growth in the last 30 years in Latin America, with an average growth rate of 5% between 2005 and 2007 (Global Economic Prospects 2008, World Bank), and when important goals have been achieved to reduce poverty and indigence (ECLAC, 2009).1

The financial crisis will be felt most by those countries and households with the least amount of resources in three ways:

- meduced incomes as a result of fewer labor opportunities caused by a drop in demand or investments, particularly for infrastructure;
- lower incomes as a result of reductions in remittances from migrants and;
- reductions in public spending, especially in the social area which may affect the poorest inhabitants via reductions in their income or consumption.

The biggest effects will be felt in urban areas. The level of disconnection of rural economies with the different goods and factors markets means that the financial crisis will have less affect on the rural sector than on urban areas. The main disadvantage of rural economies during boom periods has today become their main relative advantage in this period of crisis particularly, if we take into account that rural territories have proved to be relatively less responsive to economic growth than urban areas. It is likely that a slow-down in economic growth may have moderate effects on the rural poor.

The incidence of rural poverty will possibly increase. The financial crisis may push at-risk rural households over the poverty line, although possibly with reductions in rural inequality and the poverty gap. As those who are better off are likely to lose more than the poor, and those who are at risk will become poorer but will remain relatively close to, albeit below, the poverty line. Such households are more dependent on labor income and the growth of urban markets.

¹ Particularly urban poverty and levels of indigence.

Almost all countries have posted a drop in the flow of remittances. This reduction has been greater in the countries of Central America, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico and Nicaragua together with the Dominican Republic, where the percentage of households receiving remittances represents 20% of all households at the national and rural level, making up 25% of household income. In the countries of South America, the effect is more moderate.²

The greatest negative impact is the drop in overseas demand for agricultural and mining products as well as those from the industrial sector (textiles, especially those produced by maquilas) leading to fewer jobs. There have been clear consequences for urban employment reported in each country; specifically, in the case of the industrial sector and part of the mining sector, which will lead to changes in the composition of rural income. For different segments of those affected by changes in employment, agriculture will become a refuge during the crisis.

Although the countries generally have favorable fiscal accounts, their capacity to maintain or increase public spending in order to counteract the effects of the financial crisis, depends on the full scale of the crisis and its duration. The majority of countries have established countercyclical policies to offset the crisis, which include maintaining or increasing social spending. However, the fiscal and financial capacity to continue these policies is still an issue open to debate. Moreover, it is likely that such policies will focus on programs to assist new groups of poor, who are likely to be urban rather than rural.

Measures implemented and their deficiencies

As a consequence of the global financial crisis, the countries in the region reacted by announcing and implementing a diverse range of measures. The majority of the measures are centered on the expansion of countercyclical fiscal policies to combat the recession. Specifically, the policies are the reduction of taxes and increased spending.

The majority of the countries chose to increase spending or public investment, rather than reduce taxes or increase direct subsidies. The majority of the countries have taken action in the infrastructure sector with housing, public works and road building, given the influx that construction provides to the economy and the creation of new jobs. Furthermore, most countries have reinforced their social programs, highlighted by the widening in the amount of attention given to conditional cash transfer programs to minimize the effects of the crisis in the poorest zones.³

In countries where specific anti-crisis policies have been created for the agricultural sector, such as Peru or Nicaragua, such policies have been reduced to the creation of temporary jobs, or help to cover the production costs (inputs) of agricultural producers.

Areas for taking action

In all of the countries studied there is a need to encourage assistance policies for small farmers and subsistence farming. The objective of such policies is to improve the ability of these activities to act as a refuge during the crisis and

² In fact, in the case of Brazil and Peru there has been no discernible effect.

³ Progresa/Oportunidades (Progress/Opportunities) in Mexico, Bolsa Familia (Family Grant) in Brazil, Juntos (Together) in Peru, Familias en Acción (Families in Action) in Colombia, Red Solidaria (Solidarity Network) in El Salvador, Red de Protección Social (Social Protection Network) in Nicaragua, PRAF (Family Assignment Program) in Honduras, Solidaridad (Solidarity) in the Dominican Republic.

to help revitalize the sector. Consequently, the policies being developed offer the opportunity to promote and renew rural territories.

In spite of the urgency of dealing with the short-term effects of the crisis, there is a need to complement these measures with medium-term actions that are able to: (a) improve protection mechanisms for rural households, and; (b) establish new opportunities to broaden strategies for the diversification of rural incomes in the future.

Based on studies for each country, the following are proposed as key areas for interventions in the short term: compensation policies to counteract reductions in remittances, temporary employment strategies and social policies. These are all measures that can be implemented quickly to deal with the consequences of the financial crisis and avoid increased poverty levels. As well, prevent the reduction in the transfer of household assets, thus preventing households from falling into poverty traps.

However, the opportunity should not be lost to complement these short-term mitigation measures with medium-term actions aimed at revitalizing rural territories. Policies are needed that are focused on the development of new alternatives for the generation of agricultural and non-agricultural income, and which do not abandon the linkages between different programs. An example would be job creation programs that include production training to promote the creation of rural businesses. Such policies should focus on poor and at-risk areas which, as we have seen from the country reports, are easily identifiable.

Unfortunately, coordination between transitory support programs and programs to promote family agriculture, when they exist, has not been achieved. The later seeks to improve small-scale agriculture. This translates into improved options

for food, increased income as a result of goods sold, and less dependency on social policies. This is achieved through training, technical assistance and business advice programs. This implies implementation strategies that are complex to set up and run, and which require medium and long-term implementation periods. However, it is these types of policies that can help rural households overcome poverty.

The challenge for the public sector

The precarious approach of public institutions to rural territories and the agricultural sector makes it hard to imagine that complex policies combining short-term mitigation strategies with more long-term interventions will ever be developed. However, if such policies are not developed within a context in which states are seeking to invest, as part of a framework of countercyclical policies, it is difficult to see them appearing within other contexts.

The challenge is to not just implement temporary mitigation policies but to create a joint effort to mobilize resources towards policies that promote and support small-scale agriculture, family agriculture, and the development of new non-agricultural rural activities.

In order to face this challenge, there is a need for clear leadership that lobbies for resources in public sector budgets and anti-crisis plans, and which does so using innovative ideas. In an ideal world, the natural leader for this task should be the ministries of agriculture and/or rural development. However, in most countries these are weak ministries with a limited capacity for carrying out this role. We also face the challenge of generating action in these agencies to coordinate coalitions and mobilize ideas and resources. Therefore, it is necessary that a more complex and sustained action plan is developed which is geared towards reducing rural poverty, starting from the rural.

Introduction

¬ he Global Financial Crisis will affect different countries along with their rural sectors in a variety of forms. A central concern is what will happen to Latin American rural territories, and particularly the rural poor, within the context of this crisis. This document has summarized the contributions of 11 studies that have discussed the possible effects of the present crisis on the rural population, particularly the rural poor in Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Paraguay and Peru (Baudoin, 2009; Buainain and Dantas, 2009; Perfetti, 2009; Delgado and Salgado, 2009; Rosada and Bruni, 2009; Villa and Lovo, 2009; Chiapa, 2009; Baumeister and Rocha, 2009; Ramírez and González, 2009; Yancari, 2009; Del Rosario, Morrobel and Martínez, 2009).

Each one of the 11 documents focused on four issues:

- the characteristics of rural poverty in each one of the countries,
- the main affects of the financial crisis on the rural territories of each country,
- a review of the principal measures adopted by governments to mitigate the crisis (anticrisis plans),
- and the main recommendations for policies and actions that would lead to the effects of the crisis at least not worsening the situation of rural populations.

It should be noted that the 11 case studies present the work of a team of researchers regarding an on-going process, and thus contain a large amount of speculation. As we shall see further on, there is still a lot of doubt as to the mechanisms that will transmit the financial crisis and of its real effects on different rural environments.

The 11 countries analyzed were selected on the basis of two criteria. First, countries that had high levels of rural poverty, meaning an incidence of poverty higher than the regional average. Second, countries recognized for having the highest numbers of rural poor in the region, specifically Brazil and Mexico. In each case, a group of consultants worked on short documents based on a common index and prepared a collection of quantitative information as a back-up, which was based on a common scheme.⁴

This report presents a crosscutting perspective of the 11 studies. In the first section, we shall briefly examine the main channels through which the financial crisis could affect rural groups that are poorer and more at risk. This will be followed by the main reactions to the crisis by governments. Lastly, a series of proposals regarding issues and areas of intervention where influence could be exerted that favors the reduction of rural poverty, and not just actions to mitigate the effects of the crisis.

⁴ See annex 1 for details of the consultants. All the documents produced are available to those who wish to examine them.

1. Latin America and the Global Financial Crisis

1.1. The context

The present financial crisis surprised Latin America during a historic phase of prosperity. Latin America had undergone a five-year period that registered the fastest and probably most sustained growth in the last 30 years, with an average growth rate of 5% between 2005 and 2007 (World Bank GEP, 2008), where important goals were met regarding the reduction

of poverty and indigence (Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, ECLAC, 2009). As shown in Table 1, poverty in Latin America dropped from 45.7% in 1994 to 34.1% in 2007, and extreme poverty from 20.8% to 12.6%. Although these achievements in regards to poverty reduction are certainly important, rural poverty and indigence levels have remained high in Latin America (52.1% and 28.1% respectively).

Table 1. Latin America: % of population living in poverty and indigence

Total poverty			i	Extreme pove	rty	
	National	Urban	Rural	National	Urban	Rural
1994	45.7	38.7	65.1	20.8	13.6	40.8
2007	34.1	28.9	52.1	12.6	8.1	28.1

Estimates based on 19 countries: Argentina, Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru and Uruguay.

Source: Generated by the report authors based on information from ECLAC (2008a).

An important part of the region's growth in recent years has been based on the high price of commodities and the high demand from the developed countries (Izquierdo et al, 2008; Calvo and Talvi, 2007). This has allowed the majority of countries to generate fiscal surpluses with a sustained increase of international reserves and relatively low and/or controlled inflation. The reasonably good macroeconomic situation of the majority of countries has become a key characteristic in order to understand the effects of the present crisis. The countries included in this study are not the exception.

As can be seen from Table 2, all countries increased their international reserves due to the economic boom period. However, it should be noted that the countries of Central America are relatively small and cannot easily apply countercyclical policies because of the level of their reserves and GDPs. These countries will have relatively limited room to increase spending in order to offset the recession caused by the present financial crisis.

Table 2. International reserves and GDP of the 11 countries studied (In millions of dollars)

	2005	2006	2007	2008- IV trimester	National GDP
Bolivia	1,795	3,193	5,319	7,615	11,336
Brazil Colombia	53,799 14,957	85,839 15,440	180,334 20,955	207,205 23,169	1,313,902 207,780
Dominican Republic El Salvador	1,929 1,833	2,251 1.908	2,946 2,198	2,495 2.413	41,315 20.373
Guatemala	3,782	4,061	4,320	4,726	38,961
Honduras Mexico	2,330 74.110	2,633 76,330	2,733 87,211	2,505 87.063	12,322 1,081,358
Nicaragua	730	924	1,103	1,115	5,726
Paraguay Peru	1,297 14,120	1,703 17,329	2,462 27,720	2,999 30,795	11,991 107,497
		,	·	,	,

Source: ECLAC (2008b). Country reports Generated by the report authors

This positive period together with the persistence of high rates of poverty, allowed the Latin American states to allocate greater public funds for social policies. In the countries studied, we can see that public social spending as a percentage of GDP rose or remained stable in the majority of cases. The GDP of the countries

has grown in absolute terms which implies more resources in absolute terms for such policies. This offers a minimum level of financial guarantees, stability, and greater institutional legitimacy to social policies for Latin America.

Table 3. Public Social Spending as a percentage of GDP, Latin America and 11 countries studied

	2003	2005	2006
Bolivia	13.6	18.6	16.6
Brazil	19.1	22.1	23.0
Colombia	13.7	13.4	13.6
Dominican Republic	7.4	7.1	8.5
El Salvador	7.1	n.a.	11.6
Guatemala	6.5	6.3	7.7
Honduras	13.1	11.6	11.4
Mexico	10.5	10.2	10.6
Nicaragua	8.8	10.8	11.1
Paraguay	9.0	7.9	8.7
Peru	8.0	8.9	8.5
Latin America	15.8	15.9	16.1

n.a. Not available Source: ECLAC (2007). Generated by the report authors

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However, during the period prior to the crisis, from the end of 2007 up to mid-2008, many Latin American countries, if not all, witnessed significant inflationary trends. This was a result of the escalating price of food, oil and its derivatives. In 2008, the countries in the region that had maintained an inflation-

goal regime such as Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, Paraguay and Peru, or an inflation target range, including Guatemala and Honduras, witnessed higher inflation than was forecasted by the respective central banks (see Table 4).

Table 4. Total inflation and food price inflation in the 11 countries studied

Inflation GDP		Food price	inflation
2007	2008	2007	2008
11.7	11.8	n.a.	n.a.
4.5	5.9	10.2	12.4
5.7	7.7	8.5	n.a.
8.9	4.5	8.8	12.4
4.9	5.5	6.2	12.0
6.8	11.4	n.a.	n.a.
8.9	11.3	6.7	16.9
3.8	5.8	6.0	8.2
16.9	13.8	16.2	28.4
6.0	7.5	9.0	7.5
3.9	6.2	6.0	9.5
	2007 11.7 4.5 5.7 8.9 4.9 6.8 8.9 3.8 16.9 6.0	2007 2008 11.7 11.8 4.5 5.9 5.7 7.7 8.9 4.5 4.9 5.5 6.8 11.4 8.9 11.3 3.8 5.8 16.9 13.8 6.0 7.5	2007 2008 2007 11.7 11.8 n.a. 4.5 5.9 10.2 5.7 7.7 8.5 8.9 4.5 8.8 4.9 5.5 6.2 6.8 11.4 n.a. 8.9 11.3 6.7 3.8 5.8 6.0 16.9 13.8 16.2 6.0 7.5 9.0

n.a.. Not available Source: Country reports. Generated by the report authors

The highest inflation figures were for food. In countries such as El Salvador, Honduras and Nicaragua inflation in 2008 doubled from its level in 2007. In the Andean countries, Colombia and Peru, food price rises were more moderate, although still higher than overall inflation. It is highly likely that in this period, due mainly to food inflation, conditions for the poor would have worsened, particularly in urban areas, as a result of the higher cost of food. It is also certain that such inflation is linked to the increasing cost of agricultural products including soybean, corn, sorghum, rice and wheat. This would have

had a positive impact particularly for rural inhabitants dedicated to farming activities and who sold such products on the market.⁵

Up to mid-2008 the main concern of Latin American countries was to control inflation. The present financial crisis resolved this problem, but also caused new sources of concern regarding the sustainability of economic progress in the region.

⁵ It is important to take into account that in each country the group of beneficiaries of these high prices may be different, depending on the agricultural structure and the relationship of producers with different markets. There are also indirect effects; in Peru, for example, as a result of higher prices for wheat and rice, traditional potato producers benefited from much improved prices.

From January 2009 onwards there was a slowdown in inflation levels compared to the same period in 2008. This climate of lower inflation has allowed the central banks of each country to lower interest rates and ensure the necessary liquidity for public and private investments within the context of the financial crisis.

1.2 The crisis

Although there are uncertainties as to the scale and duration of the global financial crisis, it

is clear that it will have a significant and differential impact on the countries of Latin America. Each new report and projection for GDP growth rates underscores an increasingly difficult scenario, at least for 2009. The latest figures posted by different international organizations (World Bank, ECLAC, IMF), offer lowered expectations for GDP growth in the region, and recognize that various countries will enter a recession, which is the case in Brazil, Mexico and Paraguay. Table 5 shows the changes in growth projections both for the region, as well as the 11 countries of the study.

Table 5. Changes in projections for GDP growth

Update of growth expectations for the region's countries (ECLAC)						
	Dec-08	Mar-09	Dec-08 / Mar-09			
Bolivia	3.0%	3.0%	0.0%			
Brazil	2.1%	-1.0%	-3.1%			
Colombia	2.0%	0.5%	-1.5%			
Dominican Republic	1.5%	1.5%	0.0%			
El Salvador	1.0%	0.5%	-0.5%			
Guatemala	2.0%	1.5%	-0.5%			
Honduras	2.0%	1.5%	-0.5%			
Mexico	0.5%	-2.0%	-2.5%			
Nicaragua	2.0%	1.0%	-1.0%			
Paraguay	2.0%	-0.5%	-2.5%			
Peru	5.0%	3.5%	-1.5%			

Source: Preliminary overview of the economies of Latin America and the Caribbean, ECLAC (2008) and Press release update (2009)
Generated by the report authors

Update of growth projections for the region (World Bank, IMF, ECLAC)

	2008	Mar-09	2008 / Mar-09
World Bank ^{a/}	1.9%	-0.6%	-2.5%
IMF ^{b/}	3.2%	< -0.0%	< -3.2%
ECLAC ^{c/}	1.9%	-0.3%	-2.2%

a/ World Bank, Global Economic Prospects 2009 (Dec 08), Update (Mar 09) b/ Regional Economic Outlook: Western Hemisphere «Grappling with the Global Financial Crisis» (Oct 08); last press release (26 March 2009)

c/ Preliminary overview of the economies of Latin America and the Caribbean (Dec 08), Press release (1 April, 2009) Generated by the report authors The most recent estimates reflect a significant change in the belief that the effects of the crisis would be more moderate and that Latin America would continue its course of economic growth. It is now accepted that the crisis will have harsher and longer lasting effects on the region's economies. Today it is clear that given the level

of integration of Latin America's economies with those of the developed world, Latin America will be one of the regions most affected within the developing world, although the brunt of the crisis will be felt by developed countries (see Table 6).

Table 6. Expected growth performance at global level

				Variation	Mar-09 / Nov-07	
	Nov-07	Nov-08	Mar-09	Slight change	Var %	
World	3.6%	1.9%	-0.6%	-4.2%	-117%	
Developed Countries OECD Non OECD	2.6% 5.0%	-0.3% 3.1%	-3.0% -2.0%	-5.6% -7.0%	-215% -140%	
Developing Countries East Asia and the Pacific Europe and Central Asia Latin America & the Caribbean Middle East & North Africa South Asia Sub-Saharan Africa	9.6% 5.7% 4.3% 5.3% 8.1% 5.8%	6.7% 2.7% 2.1% 3.9% 5.4% 4.2%	5.3% -2.0% -0.6% 3.3% 3.7% 2.4%	-4.3% -7.7% -4.9% -2.0% -4.4% -3.4%	-45% -135% -114% -38% -54% -59%	

Source: World Bank, Global Economic Prospects 2008, 2009, Update 2009 (March 2009); Generated by the report authors

1.3. Transmission channels of the crisis

Clarity and consensus exists as to how the crisis will affect the region's countries.

- There will be a drop in foreign demand for exports from Latin America;
- falling prices of some export products (example, copper) and lower trade volumes;
- reduced investment and capital flows;
- a tightening of credit, specifically in credit volumes and finance costs,
- along with a fall in private remittances from migrants.

Essentially, the crisis will be channeled mainly through the linkages established with the most developed economies at the trade and financial level, and at the level of national economies and household economies. There will be direct consequences for different economic sectors, in fiscal accounts and direct household income either through the effects on employment or changes in remittance flows.

One of the advantages presented by the region is the diversification of its economic relations with the rest of the world. Over the last few

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years, along with the United States and European Union, the Chinese market has become an important option for the export of mainly agricultural and mining products. In 2007, total Latin American exports were equal to US\$ 762.6 billion, of which approximately US\$ 51 billion or 7% went to China. Moreover, China is now the second largest export market for Peru and the second most important trading partner for Brazil, after the United States.

The countries of Latin America entered the financial crisis with positive trade balances. However, from mid-2008 these have been declining, particularly in El Salvador and Mexico, whose economies are much more dependent on the economies worst affected by the crisis, specifically that of the United States.

Table 7. Trade balance (FOB) for Latin America, 2007 (millions of dollars)

Trade Balance (FOB)						
	Exp. Imp. Total					
Latin America	762,605	696,994	65,610			

Source: ECLAC (2008a)
Generated by the report authors

Table 8. Trade balance and the 10 principal export products of the 11 countries studied (millions of dollars)

	Trac	le Balance	(FOB)	10 Principal export
	Ехр.	lmp.	Total	products
Bolivia	4,458	3,455	1,004	Mining: natural gas, zinc, crude oil, silver, tin and its alloys, gold, precious metal jewelry. Agriculture: soybean oil, flours from oleaginous fruits, coconuts, Brazilian walnuts and cashew nuts
Brazil	160,649	120,621	40,028	Mining: iron, crude oil and its derivatives. Agriculture: soybeans, poultry, beef, green or toasted coffee Industrial: aircraft, motor vehicles, car parts
Colombia	30,579	31,173	-594	Mining: crude oil and its derivatives, ferro-alloys, coal, gold. Agriculture: green or toasted coffee, cut flowers and buds, fresh plantains (including bananas) Industrial: products made via polymerization and copolymerization, motor vehicles
Dominican Republic	7,237	13,817	-6,580	Agricultural: sugar and tobacco, coffee, cocoa
El Salvador	4,035	8,108	-4,073	Mining: oil derivatives. Agriculture: green or toasted coffee, cane and beet sugar. Industrial: ethanol, plastic articles, medicinal products, prepared and conserved fish, paper and cardboard cut-outs, lemonades and non-alcoholic soft drinks, paper bags, cardboard boxes and other paper and cardboard containers
Guatemala	7,012	12,482	-5,470	Mining: crude oil. Agricultural: green or toasted coffee, cane and beet sugar, fresh plantains (including bananas), nutmeg, mace and cardamoms, rubber and similar products, palm oil. Industrial: medicinal products, artificial plastic articles, perfumery products, cosmetics, toothpaste and other toiletries.
Honduras	5,594	8,556	-2,962	Mining: natural gas, zinc, gold. Agricultural: green or toasted coffee, fresh plantains (including bananas), palm oil. Fishery: fresh, refrigerated, frozen, salted or dried shellfish and mollusks. Industrial: wires and cables with insulation, cigars, artificial plastic articles

Mexico	271,875	281,949	-10,074	Mining: crude oil. Industrial: television sets, motor vehicles and parts, electrical phone appliances and wiring, trucks and pick-ups, statistical machines, insulated wires and cables, electrical mechanisms for connecting, cutting or protecting electrical circuits, electrical generators
Nicaragua	2,313	4,078	-1,765	Mining: gold. Agricultural: green or toasted coffee, beef, beet and cane sugar (unrefined), green peanuts (with or without shell), cattle (including buffalos), peas, beans, lentils and other dried legumes, milk and cream. Fishery: fresh, refrigerated, frozen, salted or dried crustaceans and mollusks
Paraguay	5,463	6,008	-545	Agricultural: soybean, beef, ungrounded maze, flours from oleaginous fruits, soybean oil, cotton on the branch, oleaginous seeds, nuts and almonds, wheat, cattle and horse hides, leather Industrial: tongued, grooved and planed boards
Peru	27,956	19,599	8,356	Mining: copper mineral and concentrates, gold, zinc, refined copper, oil and its derivatives, titanium, vanadium, molybdenum, tantalum, zirconium, lead. Industrial: beef meal (including fat residue) and fish meal, non-elastic underwear

Source: ECLAC (2008a). Country reports Generated by the report authors

One effect of the fall in demand for the region's export goods, along with the drop in the international price of commodities, is the slowdown in the most dynamic sectors of the economies. In turn, this creates strong repercussions for tax revenues and employment. The financial crisis will have important impacts on households where incomes are highly dependent on labor earnings. These impacts will be particularly significant in urban areas and specific sectors such as mining for example.

There is general consensus that some of the main problems caused by this crisis concern the creation of new jobs, the loss of jobs and the precarious situation of existing jobs regarding employment quality. It is to be expected that the slowdown, and in some cases contraction of economies, will generate an increase in unemployment and underemployment rates, in turn, increasing the informal sector. This occurs as a result of changes in external demand for Latin American exports (prices and the quantities ordered) as well as financial restrictions (reduced credit facilities, rising cost of credit, reduced tax revenues). These economic changes can paralyze on-going projects and reduce private and public investments, particularly for production and social infrastructures.

A significant reduction in remittances sent from abroad is to be expected creating changes in the work situation of families. Although the impact of reduced remittances will vary from country to country in the region, according to World Bank projections, a contraction of remittances inflows of 2.5% of GDP could translate into an 18% increase in the poverty levels of those households that depend on remittances.

The fall in labor income and in remittances will also lead to a reduction in the growth of domestic markets. In some cases the fall in employment caused by the financial crisis may generate an inverse migratory effect, from the city to the countryside, or from non-agricultural employment to agricultural jobs, particularly small-scale. This return to the rural lifestyle may become significantly important for minimizing the effects of the crisis on poverty levels. It may convert agricultural subsistence activities into mechanisms that reduce the fluctuations in the consumption of at-risk households. In this sense, the agricultural policies of our countries play a key role, allowing agriculture to become a shelter during this period of financial crisis, as well as a potential driver of development (World Bank, 2008; FAO, 2006).

Another risk factor linked to the climate created by the financial crisis concerns its effects on the social spending of Latin America's economies. An important proportion of the income and consumption of households in the poorest quintile of the economies depend on social programs and public transfer programs. Although at present the economies of the region have the financial resources to avoid cuts in social spending, maintaining such expenditure may be dependent on the duration and severity of the crisis. A contraction of the economy, (reduced tax revenues) and credit availability, as well as international cooperation both in the public and

private sector may have a direct effect on the public spending ability of the countries, particularly on social spending.

In short, the global financial crisis will be stronger than expected and it is possible that it will have longer lasting effects than anticipated. The effects of the crisis will be felt by countries and households with limited resources in different ways through at least three mechanisms:

- There will be a drop in foreign demand for exports from Latin America; consequence of falling demand and reduced investments, particularly in infrastructure);
- lower incomes due to reductions in remittances sent by migrants, and;
- reductions in social public spending (which may affect the poorest through reductions in income or in consumption).

However, given the economic structure of the countries, particularly in their post economicliberalization phase, and the characteristics of the financial crisis, the biggest impact will be in urban areas. The high level of disconnection of rural economies with different goods and factors markets will lessen the impact of the crisis on the rural sector, particularly if we take into account that a large percentage of rural households receive their income from a range of sources (remittances from waged and informal activities, agricultural and non-agricultural work). Consequently, the main disadvantage of rural economies during boom periods today becomes their main relative advantage during a time of crisis. Especially, if we consider that rural territories have proved to be relatively less susceptible to economic growth than urban areas.

⁶ In some countries, along with reducing family incomes, the reduction of remittances will also affect external accounts (in some of the countries of Central America, for example).

⁷http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/BANCOMUNDIAL/EXTSPPAISES/LACINSPANISHEXT/0,,contentMDK:21724741~menuPK:508626~pagePK:2865106~piPK:2865128~theSitePK:489669,00.html

2. The Global Financial Crisis and the rural sector in Latin America

I t should be recognized that this crisis, as opposed to the problems caused by high oil and food prices, has a less direct relationship with the rural domain and the poorest sectors of the population. However, neither is there clarity regarding the relationship between the growth of national economies and poverty reduction in the 11 countries included in this study. Although it is true that in the countries with high growth levels reductions were recorded in rural poverty, such reductions were always inferior to economic growth and comparatively lower than the reductions in urban poverty.⁸

Consequently, it is hopeful that a slowdown in economic growth may have a moderate affect on rural poverty, ⁹ although it is also possible that the numbers of rural poor increase. This is mainly because the crisis may push the most atrisk rural households over the poverty line, although possibly with reductions in rural inequality (as those who are relatively better off will lose more than the poor) and in the poverty gap (because those at risk will fall into poverty, but will remain relatively close to, albeit below, the poverty line).

To analyze the effects of the financial crisis in rural zones and among the at-risk household group in the 11 countries studied; we have formed a description of the rural sector, the poverty it contains and the group of at-risk households.

2.1. Similarities and differences at rural level

In Latin America, different criteria are used by each country to define the rural population. Most counties adopt criteria based on census or population, ¹⁰ such as Bolivia, Mexico and Peru. Other countries employ criteria where the sectoral importance¹¹ or territorial delimitations are used to define the rural. Colombia, for its part, uses mixed criteria combining territorial delimitation and the weight of agricultural activities in the population's income. In spite of such diverse approaches to define the rural, 9 of the 11 countries included in this study, identified more than a quarter of their respective populations as being rural inhabitants¹² (see Table 9).

⁸ Except in Paraguay, according to the country reports, owing to the prices of the main agricultural export products such as soybean, wheat and oleaginous fruits.

⁹ As we shall see further on, it is likely that the effects will be concentrated in those sectors with greater levels of integration with goods and factors markets.

¹⁰ Areas with a population below 2,000 or 2,500 inhabitants.

¹¹ Percentage of workforce employed in agriculture, participation of agricultural production in the territory's GDP.

¹² Brazil and Mexico are the exceptions; however, both countries have over 20 million inhabitants living in rural zones, and an intense debate is taking place in both nations regarding the official definition of what is rural.

Table 9. Population of the 11 countries studied

	Total Population	% of population that is rural
Nicaragua	5,142,098	44.2
El Salvador	5,744,575	37.3
Paraguay	6,054,976	41.7
Honduras	7,748,230	54.4
Dominican Republic	9,361,000	36.1
Bolivia	10,227,299	33.6
Guatemala	12,987,829	51.9
Peru	29,124,335	34.8
Colombia	45,195,756	26.2
Mexico	103,263,388	23.5
Brazil	189,820,330	16.5

Source: Country reports
Generated by the report authors

Although each country considered in this study has its own particular conditions, such as GDP levels, population and economic activities, ¹³ they do share certain rural characteristics:

which in spite of having a decreasing importance in the income of rural households, still form a central part of household life and in the mechanisms used to manage risks (consumption by the producer, for example). In the countries in South America incorporated in this study, more than 75% of rural households are at least partially involved in agricultural activities, 15 while in the countries of Central America, the percentage of rural households partially or totally involved in such activities never drops below 35%. 16 However, the

percentage of income derived from informal agricultural activities fluctuates between 42% (the case of Paraguay) and 5% (the case of Mexico). Thus, we find that agricultural GDP (as an approximate calculation of rural production) represents less than 17% of national GDP in the countries of the region, reducing in importance when a country's GDP is greater. In the cases of Brazil, Colombia, Mexico and Peru, where national GDP is over a US\$ 100 billion, agricultural GDP represents less than 9%.¹⁷

 Agricultural activities at multiple scales, where different scales of production exist side by side. From agricultural consumption by producers, to commercial family agriculture for the internal market, up to business agriculture of export and industrial

¹³ See Table A.1 of annex 2 to view some economic indicators for the countries studied.

¹⁴ Agricultural, fishing and/or forestry activities (including those activities related to the production of agricultural and fishing sub-products) as the main and/or secondary activity.

¹⁵ In fact, 85% of rural households in Peru are dedicated to agricultural activities.

¹⁶ Except in the case of the Dominican Republic, where the main economic activity both in rural and urban zones is tourism, which represents 9.8% of national GDP.

¹⁷ Agricultural GDP is around 10% of national GDP in countries such as Guatemala and Honduras, where over 50% of the population is rural.

Crisis and rural poverty in Latin America

crops at the medium and large scale. Rural households in Latin America tend to form linkages with different goods markets and domestic markets, particularly those at the local or regional level because these are the most important for the poor and at-risk sectors of the population.

- Low level of access to public and private services. All indicators for access to public services (drinking water, sewerage, electricity) and private services (fixed-line telephone, mobile phones) indicate that rural households have limited access to such amenities, owing to limited investment policies for rural infrastructure and other reasons. In El Salvador, for example, 50.5% of households in rural areas were found to have access to potable water, while in urban areas this figure stood at 86.2% of households. A similar situation was found
- concerning sanitary services, where 3.2% of urban households had no access to such services, compared to 17.7% of rural households.
- Integration with different goods and factors markets. ¹⁸Although there are a diverse range of relationships with the markets, in general, more than 40% of household consumption takes place in the goods markets, and more than 35% of total agricultural expenditure takes place in the supply markets. ¹⁹ Moreover, and as can be seen in Figure 1, at least a quarter of rural household income is derived from the waged labor market. In countries such as Colombia, El Salvador and Mexico, over 50% of income is derived from the waged labor market.

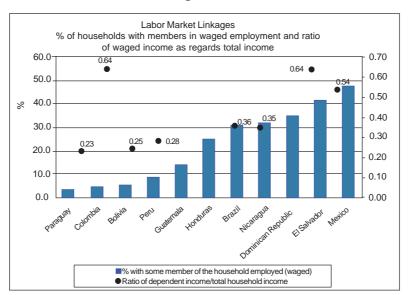


Figure 1

Source: Country reports
Generated by the report authors

¹⁸ See Table A.2 of annex 2 for some social indicators of the countries studied.

¹⁹ Agricultural expenditure considers the cost of seeds, fertilizers, pesticides, labor rates and irrigation water.

- An older population. Heads of households in rural areas have an average age of 47 years. 20 Additionally, in all the countries studied, we found that migratory flows to urban areas or other countries have created a lower population among the 14 to 30 year-old age groups. Colombia, where there is violent conflict, is a clear example of population displacement towards urban zones. In the last few years, the rural population has dropped from almost 50% to 26% of the national total. In Peru, this is a characteristic of small
- commercial agriculture, linked to the process of land struggles and agrarian reform, along with the migratory phenomena over the last few decades.²¹
- Apart from all the aforementioned characteristics, it is common to find that a high percentage of the population in rural zones lives in conditions of poverty. In 10 of the 11 countries studied, rural poverty affects over 40% of the rural population²² (see Figure 2).

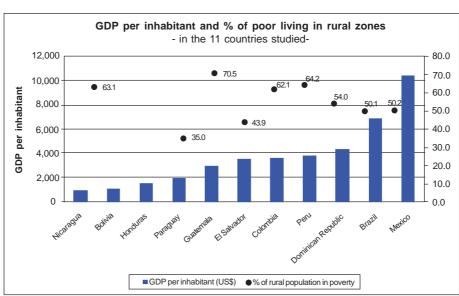


Figure 2

Source: Country reports
Generated by the report authors

There are also key differences between the 11 countries, particularly regarding the weight of remittances for rural households. Country reports show that remittances are very important in Central American countries. In the case of El Salvador, 21.6% of rural households receive remittances, making up on

average 12.5% of household income. In Honduras, 13% of rural households receive remittances, representing also 12.5% of total household income. In Mexico and the Dominican Republic, 25% of households receive remittances, an average of 21% and 26%, respectively, of household incomes. In

²⁰ See Table A.3 in annex 2 for some social characteristics of the households in the countries studied.

²¹ See Trivelli et al (2007).

²² Except for Paraguay, where the poverty rate in rural areas was always higher than in urban areas until 2005, when there was a turn around and urban poverty became more dominant.

countries such as Brazil, Colombia and Peru, however, less than 10% of rural households receive remittances, or 5% of household income.

2.2. Rural poverty

The rural territories of the countries studied are characterized as being areas of 'hard' poverty, where more than 20% of households face a situation of extreme poverty,²³ a situation that has changed little over the last decade ²⁴ (see

Table 10). Rural zones also present high levels of inequality. In all cases studied, the Gini index for income or consumption is above 40%. Levels of severe poverty (FGT 2)²⁵ are more than 10%. ²⁶ Moreover, the distance of the average household spending from the rural poor to the poverty line (poverty gap – FGT1) is more than 20%, or rather, average spending (or income, depending on the definition of poverty in each country) of the poor was at least 20% lower than the value of the poverty line. ²⁷

Table 10. Percentage of the population living in poverty and indigence in the 11 countries studied (Provisional comparison)

Country	Year	Pove	rty	Extreme P	overty
		National	Rural	National	Rural
Bolivia	1999	60.6	80.7	36.4	64.7
	2005	62.7	75.8	24.9	59.0
Brazil	1996	35.8	55.6	13.9	30.2
	2007	34.3	50.1	10.0	21.3
Colombia	1994	52.5	62.4	28.5	42.5
	2006	45.0	62.1	12.0	21.5
El Salvador	1995	54.2	64.4	21.7	29.9
	2007	34.6	43.8	10.8	20.1
Dominican	2002	47.1	55.9	20.7	28.6
Republic	2004	44.2	54.0	16.8	22.0
Guatemala	1998	61.1	69.0	31.6	41.8
	2005	51.0	70.5	15.2	24.4
Honduras	1994	77.9	80.5	53.9	59.8
	2008	59.2	63.1	36.3	49.5
Mexico	1994	45.1	56.5	16.8	27.5
	2006	38.0	50.2	12.0	16.1
Nicaragua	1993	73.6	82.7	48.4	62.8
	2005	59.2	63.1	36.3	46.1
Paraguay	2001	61.0	73.6	33.2	50.3
	2007	35.6	35.0	19.4	24.4
Peru	1997	47.6	72.7	25.1	52.7
	2007	38.9	64.3	13.6	32.7

Source: ECLAC (2008a). Country Reports Generated by the report authors

²³ Honduras and Peru are the countries with the highest percentage of the rural population living in extreme poverty, accounting for 49.5% and 32.7%, respectively.

²⁴ Although over the course of time, levels of rural poverty and extreme poverty have been progressively albeit slowly going down.

²⁵ FGT 2 (severe) measures inequality in the spending of the poor.

²⁶ See Table A.4 of annex 2 for some economic indicators of the countries studied.

²⁷ Except in Paraguay, where the value of FGT1 stands at 15%.

These characteristics have led governments to invest in policies focused on poverty in rural sectors. The predominant strategy adopted has focused on interventions to alleviate poverty, ²⁸ with only a few measures for interventions geared towards the type of rural development that could provide inhabitants with instruments to integrate into markets much more effectively. The present relationship between the rural population and the markets is plagued by imperfections, increasing the population's susceptibility to different types of shocks.

The results of studies for each country show that this is a central issue, as the households most susceptible to falling into the poverty trap are those whose incomes depend largely on agricultural activities linked to the markets, and which have low educational levels among household members. Additionally, one result we should highlight in the majority of countries is that the amounts for public or private transfers do not demonstrate a close association with poverty reduction (except in the cases of Brazil and Paraguay). ²⁹

One important issue which has not received proper attention in the analysis per country is the relationship between rural poverty and the indigenous population. Specific studies on this area such as Hall and Patrinos (2006) found that the indigenous population does not only represent a significant proportion of Latin America's overall population, but also tends to be poorer than any other population group. What is more, this specific sector has not benefited from poverty

reduction programs or has been the focus of programs that do not take into account (or in the best of cases remain neutral) the conditions faced by indigenous peoples. These conditions tend to be discrimination, unequal opportunities, and restricted access to education and health. In the case studies we find that in Brazil, Guatemala and Peru the households most susceptible to fall into poverty are those which are predominantly indigenous. Furthermore, in the case of Bolivia, most of the indigenous population lives in the poorest territories.³⁰

2.3. The at-risk inhabitants of rural areas

Apart from the group of rural poor in the 11 countries covered by this study, we identified a group of households in an at-risk condition with a high possibility of falling below the poverty line. These at-risk households in rural areas are very similar to the poor households within the context of the present financial crisis, as a result of their limited access to public and private services, low levels of education amongst household members, and limited possession of assets. This is to say, these non-poor households (according to poverty measurements) are very similar to poor households, as they are much closer to the latter than they are to the upper quintile which is formed by the wealthiest inhabitants of rural territories.

As regards the educational levels of the members of at-risk households, we found that they barely equaled a primary educational level or less,

²⁸ Apart from some important initiatives, such as Procampo in Mexico, or targeted programs in Peru such as Sierra Sur, a Puno-Cusco Corridor Development Project, and Incagro, etc. There is a growing tendency in Latin America towards the development of Conditional Cash Transfer Programs, with schemes to mobilize grassroots savings, which seek to reduce poverty via the creation of assets.

²⁹ See Table A.5 of annex 2 for the results of estimates for the probability of being poor in rural zones in the counties studied.
³⁰ In 2006 and within the framework of its National Development Plan, the Ministry of Planning for Development of Bolivia carried out an experiment to group together municipalities in five territories according to the conduct of the index of non-satisfied basic needs, poverty threshold, moderate poverty, indigence and marginality, discovering that in territories 1, 2 and 3, the majority of the population was indigent, being also predominantly indigenous (93%, 87% and 80%, respectively).

placing them in the labor market as part of the non-skilled labor force, and so reducing any chances of social mobility. However, this shared characteristic of low educational levels has differential effects on the labor income received by households in El Salvador, Honduras and Nicaragua. This is because approximately 40% are employed in manufacturing (mainly maquila industries). In Mexico, 20% work in the agricultural sector, and 22% have waged work in secondary activities (manufacturing/maquilas). In Peru, only 10% of households in this group are linked to the formal labor sector.31 This is to say, the differences in access to the wage labor market will influence the labor income associated with manufacturing activities or formal agricultural work in the export sector, which are both activities likely to suffer the effects of the financial crisis.

Furthermore, these at-risk households have a higher consumption level in the goods market. For example, in El Salvador it was found that the cost of water and electricity services and other combustibles represented 15.9% of household spending, while transport costs represented 10.4% of spending. Respectively in Mexico and Peru, we found that 59% and 68% of consumption is affected by the goods market, and 67% of agricultural expenditure passes through the supplies market, making such expenditure vulnerable to inflationary shocks as a result of higher prices for oil and its derivatives.

Country reports show that income from remittances is important in these groups of atrisk households in rural zones, but not as much

as in the core of rural households (although such incomes are equally important for at-risk as they are for poor households, i.e. quintiles 1 and 2), given that in the countries of Central America remittances represent 10% of household income (El Salvador, Honduras and Nicaragua, for example). In the countries of South America such as Peru, income from remittances represents less than 3% of household income.

2.4. Effects of the financial crisis on rural areas

As mentioned previously, the main effects of the financial crisis in the countries studied are related to a contraction of external demand. This will affect countries according to their level of trade liberalization, and the shortage of international liquidity, which will heighten domestic interest rates and restrict the flow of remittances. Both situations will affect the countries of Latin America by constricting internal demand, raising unemployment, and will have a negative impact on fiscal receipts due to reduced internal and external demand. This will result in a consequence of reductions in social spending and investment by the governments.³²

Table 11 summarizes the main negative effects of the crisis that have been identified in the 11 countries studied. We find that almost all the countries show a fall in remittance flows, although this reduction is more pronounced in the countries of Central America (El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico and Nicaragua) and the Dominican Republic, where the

³¹ We consider formal work to be that which is represented by waged work and where the person involved receives some form of insurance.

³² The international crisis has meant a reduction from oil revenues (owing to the fall in the international price of petroleum) in countries such as Ecuador and Venezuela (countries that do not form part of this study), which has already had an effect of lowering the public sector budget. In the case of Ecuador, oil revenues make up 38% of the budget income, and the state has now reduced public spending through reductions in public-sector wages, including those of the armed forces.

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percentage of households receiving remittances represents more than 20% of households at both national and rural level, and where remittances make up more than 25% of household income. In the countries of South America, the effect is more moderate.³³

Undoubtedly, the greatest negative impact in the economies of the countries analyzed is the fall in external demand for goods produced by agriculture, mining and manufacturing (textiles, mainly from maquilas). There have been clear effects on urban employment reported in each one of the countries studied (in the industrial sector and part of the mining industry) and on rural employment (the agricultural export and mining sectors). This will lead to changes in the distribution of rural income and in the inequality levels of households at both the national and rural level. There are clear indications that in countries such as El Salvador,

Honduras and Mexico, the drop in demand in the textile sector (maquilas) will affect urban and rural employment.³⁴ In the case of mining production in countries such as Bolivia and Peru, the reduction in mining activities will cause a drop in urban and rural employment, affecting the income of households that combine agricultural income with waged employment.³⁵ In Bolivia, for example, redundant mine workers are expected to return to the agricultural activity of consumption by the producer.

In total, 10 of the 11 countries considered in this study have not modified their social policies or their levels of government investment for 2009, except the Dominican Republic, where government transfer programs are pro-cyclical in nature, and social spending has been reduced from 39% of the state budget in 2007, to 37.7% in 2008, and an estimated 37.3% of the budget in 2009.³⁶

³³ Even in the case of Brazil and Peru there has been no effect.

³⁴ In the case of Mexico, for example, the unemployment rate is estimated to reach 5.1%, and the underemployment rate 7.8%

³⁵ Which in the case of Peru corresponds to quintile 4, and to quintile 2 in the case of Bolivia

³⁶ According to the country report for the Dominican Republic.

Table 11. Summary of main negative effects by country

Country	Indicator	Expected Situation	Possible Effect	Group Affected
Bolivia FGT 0 = n.a. FGT 1 = n.a.	Contraction of internal demand	Decrease in the price of minerals and hydrocarbons	Decrease in mining employmentReturn of mining labor force to agricultural sector/consumption by producer	Households in the second income quintile, where 18% of income is derived from waged labor in the mining industry
		Decrease in volume of agricultural exports	Increase of agricultural activities for consumption by producer	Affects 41% of households that produce export crops
	Lower flow of capital	Decrease in flow of remittances	Decrease in family income of households that receive remittancesDecrease of internal demand	Rural households in quintiles 4 and 5, or rather, the sector's non-poor, and where remittances represent around 10% of total income
Brazil FGT 0 = 0.51 FGT 1 = 0.25	Lower flow of capital	Decrease in investment flows for agricultural activities	Decrease of seeded areas and less use of fertilizers	Affects rural households of small commercial producers of export and industrial crops
Colombia FGT 0 = 0 62	Contraction of external demand	Decrease in volume of industrial exports	Decreased employment in different industrial sectors such as assembly plants for motor vehicles and clothing industry	Unemployment has grown, from 13.1% in January 2008 to 14.2% in January 2009, affecting above all urban households, where approximately 28% of income is from nonagricultural waged labor
FGT 1 = 0.30	90	Decrease in flow of remittances	Decrease of family income in households that receive remittancesDecrease of internal demand	Middle-income and low-resource households, although moderately, as remittances represent less than 5% of household income.
_	capital	Decrease in flow of investment	Uncertain: up to now investment levels have remained stable owing to the reduction in interests rates	If there is a fiscal adjustment, the social programs (except Families in Action and Together) will suffer cuts, affecting poor rural households
- - (Contraction of external demand	Decrease in volume of <i>maquila</i> exports	Decreased employment in the manufacturing sector (maquila)Decrease of wages in this sector	Households in the 3rd quintile of per capita spending, or rather, the at-risk non-poor, where the income for non-agricultural waged labor represents 38% of total income
El Salvador FGT 0 = 0.44 FGT 1 = n.a	Contraction of internal demand	Decrease in government tax revenues	Elimination of subsidies for electricity, propane gas and public transportIncrease of household spending	All households, especially the at-risk non-poor (directly affected at their consumption level of basic services)

Country	Indicator	Expected Situation	Possible Effect	Group Affected
	Lower flow of	Decrease in flow of remittances	Decrease of family income in households that receive remittances Decrease of internal demand	22.7% of urban households and 21.6% of rural households that receive remittances from abroad, where 7.4% and 12.5% (respectively) of their income is derived from such transfers.
	capital	Decrease in flow of investment for maquila and construction	Decrease of employment in manufacturing sector (maquila) and construction sector	All households, particularly the at-risk non-poor and the rural households
	Contraction of internal demand	Decrease in government's fiscal income	Reduction in regional policies to support the rural poor	All households
Guatemala FGT 0 = 0.71 FGT 1 = 0.29	Lower flow of	Decrease in flow of remittances	Decrease in the family income of households that receive remittances Decrease in internal demand	Households in quintile 3
	כמטומו	Decrease in flow of investment in infrastructure	Decreased employment	Priority population in the 125 municipalities with the greatest amount of poverty
	Contraction of	Decrease in volume of <i>maquila</i> exports	Decrease in formal urban employment in the manufacturing (maquila) industry.Return of unemployed workers to rural areas	Formally employed urban households that depend on manufacturing.At the national level, 23% of all household income comes from dependent non-agricultural activities.
Honduras FGT 0 = 0.63 FGT 1 = 0.31	internal demand	Decrease in volume of agricultural and livestock exports	Decrease in agricultural employment linked to agro exports and decrease in sales of the homes linked to crops for exportation	Reduction in employment will affect 14% of households in quintile 4 and 24.6% of quintile 5, where 15% of household income comes from dependent agricultural activities. Reduction in exports will affect 24% of the households that produce crops for export.
	Lower flow of capital	Decrease in flow of remittances	Decrease in the family income of households that receive remittances Decrease in internal demand	Households in rural and urban areas. Specifically, 13% of rural households that receive remittances, which represent 12.5% of the income of rural households.
Mexico FGT 0 = 0.50 FGT 1 = 0.21	Contraction of internal demand	Decrease in volume of maquila exports	Decrease in employment in the manufacturing (maquila) sector Decrease in internal demand	All households. Unemployment is expected to reach 5.1% in 2009 and underemployment 7.8%. 65% of income comes from dependent non-agricultural activities at the national level.

Country	Indicator	Expected Situation	Possible Effect	Group Affected
	Lower flow of capital	Decrease in flow of remittances	Decrease in the family income of households that receive remittances. Decrease in internal demand	Households in rural and urban areas. The flow of remittances dropped by 11.9% during January 2009 alone as compared to the same month during the previous year. Remittances represent approximately 21% of the income of rural households.
	Contraction of internal demand	Decrease in volume of agricultural and livestock export	Decrease in employment in the agricultural and livestock sector	40% of the rural population that has dependent employment 15% of all rural household income comes from dependent agricultural activities.
	Contraction of internal demand	Uncertain, though a decrease in the government's fiscal income is anticipated	Decrease in donations and government transfers in the rural context	All rural households, where transfers from public and/or private donations represent 4.8% of total income.
		Decrease in flow of remittances	Decrease in the family income of households that receive remittances. Decrease in internal demand	The 20% of the rural population that receives remittances from abroad
Nicaragua FGT 0 = 0.63 FGT 1 = 0.31	Lower flow of capital	Decrease in flow of transfers from the public sector	Decrease in the petroleum fund contributed by Venezuela	All rural households, where transfers from public and/or private donations represent 4.8% of total income.
		Decrease in flow of funding for agricultural activities	Decrease in surface area planted by small agricultural producers	68% of rural households that work in agricultural and livestock activities, where selfgenerated income for such work represents 32.8% of the families' total income
		Decrease in volume of export by manufacturers in sectors like textiles and footwear	Decrease in employment in the manufacturing sector	Urban households. At the national level, income from non-agricultural dependent activities represents 26.6% of total income.
Paraguay FGT 0 = 0.35 FGT 1 = 0.15	Contraction of external demand	Decrease in volume of agricultural exports (cotton and soy)	Decrease in employment in the agro-export sector and decrease in sales by homes linked to export crops	Reduction in rural employment where 5% of income comes from dependent agricultural activities Reduction of agro exportation will affect 70% of agricultural households that cultivate crops for export.
	Lower flow of capital	Decrease in flow of remittances	Decrease in the family income of households that receive remittances. Decrease in internal demand	Rural and urban households. Remittances are expected to decrease by 11% to 13%.

Country	Indicator	Expected Situation	Possible Effect	Group Affected
Peru FGT 0 = 0.65 FGT 1 = 0.25	Contraction of external demand	Decrease in volumes of traditional (mineral) exports and manufacturing and textiles	Direct decrease in urban employment with a direct impact on dependent incomes (decrease in the same)	Layoffs in the textile and manufacturing sector will affect urban coastal households. Layoffs in the mining sector will affect urban households in the mountains. At the national level, non-agricultural dependent income represents 39% of total household income.
	Contraction of external demand	Decrease in volume of textile exports	Decrease in employment in the textile sector	Rural households employed by the textile sector
Dominican Republic	Contraction of external demand	Decrease in activities of rural, urban micro and small businesses	Decrease in employment in this sector	All rural households have micro or small non-agricultural businesses, particularly those led by women. This is especially true of families in the first quintile that are led by women or senior citizens (26 and 27%, respectively).
FGT 1 = 0.19		Decrease in flow of transfers from the public sector	The government refused to grant 10% of the national budget (as established by law) to the ayuntamientos (local governments).	Rural residents receive fewer transfers.
	Lower flow of capital	Decrease in flow of remittances	Decrease in the family income of households that receive remittances Decrease in internal demand	25% of all households that receive remittances, which represent 25% of the household income. Specifically, 6% of the rural population, or 202,980 people, 54.4% of whom are poor.

FGT 0 and FGT 1 correspond to indicators of the poverty rate and gap (respectively) in the rural context. Source: Country reports. Generated by the report authors

3. Plans for dealing with the crisis and the response of governments

The countries of the region reacted to the global financial crisis and increasingly negative forecasts of growth in the world economy by announcing and implementing diverse types of measures. The macroeconomic foundations of most of the countries are a good deal more solid than they have been during previous crises. The region recognizes that it is by no means immune to the impact of the crisis and that there is a need to make counter-cyclical public policy efforts in order to minimize the effects of the projected decrease in global and regional growth to the greatest extent possible.

Similarly, during the G-20 meeting in London, a decision was made to increase the provision of resources in order to better face the crisis.³⁷ In the case of Latin American economies, the announcement of an increase in IDB capital reflects this decision. This offer of resources can be an opportunity to impact social programs and productive projects designed to improve conditions for generating income in the poorest sectors, thus creating employment and a basis for future development. But these greater external resources represent a challenge for governments in that they will require a more dynamic, proactive, sophisticated, and wellorganized public apparatus that can absorb funding efficiently and effectively. This is particularly relevant in the case of resources that go to the rural context, which generally have more precarious institutional structures.

The measures that the countries in the region are adopting differ from one another because

they respond to each country's specificities and thus have unique characteristics. However, they also differ in regards to the actions they can take, which are determined by the availability of resources (fiscal space, international reserves, lines of credit from the exterior, institutional capacity within the public sector) and the institutional sophistication that is available for implementing them.

In general, the monetary policies adopted by the countries respond to an effort to increase liquidity so as to maintain the necessary flow of credit to the private sector. However, this greater liquidity does not guarantee more credit, and more credit does not guarantee a greater demand for local goods. As a result, the greater efforts are concentrated in counter-cyclical expansive fiscal policies.

Changes to fiscal policies can involve either lowering taxes or implementing spending increases. Lowering taxes does not necessarily guarantee a greater demand for goods given that the increase in disposable income can be used for savings, particularly in a context of uncertainty like the current one.

On the other hand, the option that involves an increase in spending has two characteristics with differing reaches. The first is direct cash transfers, which may be more efficient but also requires a good focalization system. The second is investment in infrastructure. Here the impact of the projects or actions in employment and the demand for local goods will vary depending on the type of investment. It also depends on the existence of projects that are properly evaluated

³⁷ It is likely that the increase in assigned resources for the IMF will have repercussions in developed economies before it will in Latin America.

and approved on a timely basis. In this case, it is important to recall that public sectors tend to have complex processes for approving and especially for implementing new projects.

We will focus on the analysis of fiscal policy given its relative importance for the rural context. Table 12 shows that:

 Most of the countries analyzed in this document opted to increase spending or public investment rather than lowering taxes or increasing direct cash transfers (except in the case of the Dominican Republic).

- Also, most countries have taken action mainly in the infrastructure sector (housing, public works, and especially roads) due to the boost that construction gives the economy and job creation.
- Finally, most countries opted for social programs, except for Mexico, which has developed specific employment programs.

Table 12. Measures adopted by 11 countries studied*

Country	Policy	Actions
Bolivia	Increased public investment	Increase in public investment of 20.6% over 2008 (\$1,871 million)-\$690 million for building roads-\$200 million in urban and housing projects
Brazil	Maintaining social spending	Federal and state governments decided not to cut spending in view of the 2010 elections.
2.02	Maintaining investment in infrastructure	Maintained through the Growth Acceleration Program
Colombia	Maintaining or increasing investment in infrastructure	The government announced the execution of a Shock Plan valued at around \$25 billion. There have been no new announcements, clarifications or developments as of yet.
El Salvador	Increase in social spending	It is expected that the Solidarity Network will be strengthened through increases in cash transfers to households.
Guatemala	Maintaining or increasing social spending	Priority will be placed on funding infrastructure in education and health as well as a conditional cash transfer program.
	Maintaining or increasing investment in infrastructure	Public investment in roads and highways (Northern Transversal Strip)
Honduras	Maintaining or increasing social spending	Broadening of conditional cash transfer program from 150,000 to 220,000 families in the country's poorest municipalities (compensation program). \$20 million for conditional cash transfer program for families living in extreme poverty

Mexico	Increasing social spending	 Budgetary increases for the National Employment and Training System and the Temporary Employment Program. Creation of the Job Preservation Program. Strengthening of the National Employment Service. Extension of coverage for medical and prenatal care for unemployed workers and their families.
Mexico	Increasing investment in infrastructure	Additional spending on infrastructure Reform of the PEMEX investment structure to accelerate spending on infrastructure. Construction of an oil refinery. Increase in resources destined to public investment in infrastructure. BANOBRAS and National Fund for Infrastructure will grant credits for guaranteeing the execution of the main projects with private participation for this year.
	Maintaining or increasing social spending	Conditional cash transfer program to benefit 120,000 families living in extreme poverty: US\$50 million.
Paraguay	Maintaining or increasing investment in infrastructure	Investment in social road and housing infrastructure in the amount of US\$223.4 million
	Maintaining or increasing social spending	 The government has assigned an additional US\$190 million to social programs and support for workers. A line of US\$2010 million is being generated as a contingency in the World Bank Social programs are being restructured.
Peru	Maintaining or increasing investment in infrastructure	Accelerating spending on investments in projects that the government already had planned in the amount of US\$1,725 million. Maintaining construction through the financing of mortgage credits and water and drainage projects involving US\$1,076 million.
	Maintaining or increasing investment in infrastructure	 The government is assigning US\$192 million for a competitive fund (FONIPREL) for regional governments. US\$134 million is being set aside for the rehabilitation of medical facilities and catering channels run by local governments. Approximately US\$186 million will be put into regional trusts in order to maintain transfers during 2009 and 2010.

Domin Repul	 Maintaining or increasing social spending	1. The government has generated \$380 million with the World Bank and \$350 million with IDB for budgetary support. 2. The government has granted a subsidy of RD\$700 per month per household for the consumption of basic foods for 462,000 households. 3. The government has promised to increase the budget for education by RD\$4,500 million, subject to an external loan.
	Maintaining or increasing investment in infrastructure	Highway construction program (VIADOM 2007) that will cover 990 kilometers of roadways and involve an investment of US\$70 million.

^{*} Even though the study took place in 11 countries, data on measures adopted by Nicaragua was not available.

Source: Country Reports

Related data for Nicaragua was not available.

Generated by the report authors.

It is important to emphasize that the majority of countries have decided to broaden their conditional cash transfer program in order to minimize the effects of the crisis in the poorest areas. Progresa/ Oportunidades in Mexico, Bolsa Familia in Brazil, Juntos in Peru, Familias en Acción in Colombia, Red Solidaria in El Salvador, Red de Protección Social in Nicaragua, PRAF in Honduras, and Solidaridad in the Dominican Republic have increased or maintained their levels of services for those living in extreme poverty. One would expect most of this increase to be concentrated in urban areas. In any case, it is important for the conditional cash transfer program to include exit strategies, particularly in the current context in which 'temporary' poor community members will appear. The exit strategy will ensure that the increase in fiscal spending will not be permanent, particularly in light of uncertainty regarding the duration of the crisis.

Many of the anti-crisis initiatives that involve productive sectors come from ministries of the economy or social ministries. This puts pressure on the sustainability of these initiatives if we consider that the productive sectors are to lead the growth of countries in the long-term. Even in countries in which specific anti-crisis policies have been developed in the agricultural sector, as occurred in Peru and Nicaragua, these policies only generate temporary employment or help cover production costs and supplies for agricultural producers rather than allowing rural community members to develop alternative sources of income.

In the case of Brazil and Paraguay, direct support for agriculture is observed through the financial sector. In both cases, the governments have ensured the provision of credit for the sector. Even so, in both countries sectoral support is minor when compared to the entire set of efforts being deployed by governments, in which social policy measures take central stage (as is the case in Mexico and Peru).

The greatest challenge in rural areas is identifying the mechanisms of transmission of the crisis in each country and policies that can be used to counteract them. In these contexts, there is a need to induce support projects for agrarian policies, particularly those directed at small agriculture and family farms. The objective of these policies for the rural population is clear. First, to ensure that the crisis does not cause more problems, particularly for the rural poor, and second to allow the population that will fall into poverty temporarily to take refuge in independent productive activities such as agricultural.

New policies present an opportunity to promote and renew the rural context. This is done by improving protection mechanisms that are already available to rural households, promoting new opportunities for broadening strategies for diversifying future income, and improving levels of food safety. While these are medium-term actions, they complement existing short-term initiatives.

As we see in Table 13, based on the country studies, we propose as key topics of short-term intervention measures to mitigate the effects

of the crisis that coincide to a greater or lesser degree with the actions that the governments are implementing. These include: compensation policies for reductions in the flow of support from family members living abroad (remesas), temporary employment structures through public investment stimuli (particularly infrastructure), and social policies (especially the widely spread conditional cash transfer programs). These reactions require rapid implementation in order to ameliorate the impact of the crisis and avoid increases in poverty. As well, avoid reductions in the availability of assets of households in order to ensure that they do not fall into poverty traps.

However, our main message is that we must not lose the opportunity to complement these short-term mitigation measures with mediumterm actions. These measures should be directed at revitalizing the rural environment through efforts to develop new income generation options in agricultural and non-agricultural sectors. The role of small commercial agriculture and family farming is key in this context both as a refuge for those that are directly affected by the crisis (such as through job loss) and as an opportunity for future development.

Table 13. Recommended actions for confronting the crisis

	erm (for mitigating for the poor)	In the medium -an (for revitalizing the	
Action	Objective	Action	Objective
Support reception programs	To reduce the cost of sending support from abroad so that the household will have a greater part of the income.	Programs to improve family farming (technical assistance, agrarian insurance, etc.)	To increase food safety, reducing vulne-rability to future negative shocks and offering refuge from
Public investment and employment programs	To generate employment and diminish the effects of unemployment in some sectors		dips in non- agricultural employment.
Broadening coverage of conditioned transfer programs	To respond to the population that is falling into poverty and extreme poverty	Programs to support non- agricultural rural busines- ses	To diversify income for rural households, improving opportunities for accessing financial
Non-contributory pensions	Given that rural homes are relatively 'old,' this option is an alternative to conditional cash transfer program		services and increasing/ improving rural labor markets

Generated by the report authors.

Furthermore, these policies need to coordinate the various programs focusing on poor and at risk territories, which as seen in the reports are easily identified. The policies should include developing employment programs that have productive training and promote the creation of rural businesses.

4.1 Four key areas to work on

Development policies should be focused on decreasing the effects of the reduction in support sent by family members who live elsewhere, generating temporary employment and other strategies that allow households to generate income in the future. They also should promote family farming, including subsistence farming, without leaving social policies aside. As Table 13 shows, we can identify three topics on which to work on in a rapid and creative manner in the short-term: family support reception programs, temporary employment, and social

policies. In the medium-term, we should work on sectoral policies for promoting agricultural business. Specifically, we should develop subsistence farming and non-agricultural businesses that favor new sources of income for rural households.

Family Support

As has been widely documented, support received from family members who have migrated to a city or foreign country represents a significant flow of resources in many countries in the region. This occurs in Central American countries both on aggregate (as the entry of capital) and private levels (as additional income for the families at the household level). One effect of the crisis is that the quantity and frequency of such support will decrease. This will affect both the external accounts of several countries and household income, with significant effects on rural poverty. Table 14 presents this impact.

Table 14. Impact of reduction in family support *

	External accounts	Rural families	Measures adopted
Bolivia	Support reception programs	Moderate effect: family support from abroad represents approximately 10% of total household income	None
Colombia	n.a.	Moderate effect: family support from abroad represents less than 5% of total household income	None
El Salvador	Family support represents nearly 20% of the national GDP, and there has been a 15% decrease since January 2009	Severe effect: Family support represents 12.5% of the income of rural households, where 21.6% of households receive such support (nearly one fourth of the population)	Current government: none Government-elect: Subsidies for individuals who receive family support
Guatemala	There has been an 11.9% drop in family support since January 2009.	Severe effect: In low-income households (1st-3rd quintiles)	External funding to ensure resources for social protection networks and offer of public services (education and health) in order to complement the conditional cash transfer program.
Honduras	There has been an 11% decrease in family support since late 2009.	Severe effect: Family support represents 12.5% of the income in rural households. Such support is received by 13% of rural families.	None
Mexico	The amount of family support received in January 2009 was 11.9% lower than the amount from the same month in 2008.	Severe effect: Family support from abroad represents approximately 21% of the income of rural households.	None
Nicaragua	During the last quarter of 2008, family support increased by only 0.14% as compared to the same quarter during the previous year.	Severe effect on the 20% of the rural population that receives such support.	The government is making an effort to reach agreements with Costa Rica in order to facilitate legal temporary migration so that workers can obtain salaries in Costa Rica.
Paraguay	10-15% decrease in family support.	Moderate effect on the population that receives such support.	None

Areas to work on in order to avoid a deteriorating situation for rural inhabitants and/or how to manipulate the crisis to favor rural development

Republic	There has been a 10% decrease in family support from abroad during 2009.	country's families receive this	None
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^{*} Even though the study took place in 11 countries, data on the impact of reduction in family support was not possible to obtain for Brazil and Peru.

n a Not available

Source: Country reports.

Generated by the report authors.

As Table 14 shows, in 9 of the 11 countries studied, the decrease in family support sent from abroad will have a significant impact on the poverty rate (except in Peru and Brazil, where the effect is nil). As a result, steps should be taken in those countries that allow households that receive family support from abroad to compensate for the decrease in such income. The priority is Central American countries in which family support represents an average of 12% of the income of rural households. The main issue is generating simple, temporary actions that will ideally generate adequate incentives for developing other activities for generating income. These actions will include automatic mechanisms for closing the programs once the crisis has passed. For example, countries could implement conditional cash transfer programs for those who currently receive family support that could also encourage participants to receive those monies through the financial system. This would be done by coordinating policies with the goal of including more people in the system.

Temporary rural employment and new opportunities for generating income

One of the most important effects of the crisis will be reduced opportunities for employment in rural communities, and will be felt more intensely in the households that are vulnerable. These families are most dependent on their labor income and relationships with urban and external markets.

As we have seen, the vulnerable group obtains between 10% and 40% of its income through employment that is dependent on agricultural and non-agricultural labor activities. The decrease in both sectors, particularly manufacturing and agricultural exports, will not only lead to a drop in income but also will allow them to have more availability of labor in the home. It is highly probable that this surplus labor will be utilized in agricultural activities in the family farm. This is clear in the case of Bolivia with the transfer of mining workers to agriculture for private consumption. This is also an opportunity for these families to launch or strengthen non-agricultural rural activities that generate income. It will allow them to diversify their sources of income and partially recover their levels of consumption, while reducing their levels of vulnerability to future economic shocks.

In difficult economic times, the options for diverse sources of income are essential in strategies for managing the vulnerability of rural households. It is important to recall that rural families in every country complement their agricultural and livestock activities with other economic initiatives like businesses. This is especially true in countries like the Dominican Republic, where approximately 26% of rural households have micro or small businesses.

While it is desirable for the families to try out new ways of generating income on their own, it is important to mitigate the impact of the changes that have taken place in the job market. As a result, there is an important opportunity for generating options for temporary employment in rural areas, as several countries in the region have been promoting. Temporary employment is generally associated with maintaining infrastructure projects or building new infrastructure and helps compensate for the drop in income. However, unlike initiatives oriented towards the development of new sources of income, its temporary nature limits its sustainability.

There is a need to implement structures of transfers of assets to these households. As has been widely documented in the literature, families that become impoverished may fall into traps that keep them from recovering from their situation, even during a favorable period.³⁸ In other words, there is a need to keep the families that fall into poverty because of the crisis from becoming permanently poor.

An additional point in favor of diversifying income sources by increasing income in traditional activities of the households, (agricultural and livestock activities in particular) is the impact that these activities have on the entire territory in which the households are located. Many of these families are consumers of local products, and the crisis also impacts urban and rural providers. Their success in developing economic activities means that their markets, most of which are rural, will be met with success. As a result, it is important to

analyze the local and regional impact of the policies that are implemented. Stimuli for specific markets can generate significant impacts in larger territories.

It is therefore important to emphasize the need to complement measures for facing the crisis effectively with rural development strategies. This can be achieved with a broad territorial focus. Specifically, a focus that allows for the generation of sustainable opportunities for rural households in better conditions for implementing development strategies that comes from those families.

The opportunity to improve social policy

As shown, the issue of rural poverty is mainly addressed through social policies in nearly every country in the region.³⁹ While social programs in general and conditional cash transfer programs in particular do not remove people from poverty and only alleviate the situation of the chronic poor, they are relevant for this segment.⁴⁰ Such programs are exclusively for the rural population in countries like Peru and Guatemala.⁴¹

In the majority of the countries, social policy is concentrated on the lower two quintiles of income distribution (or expenditures). These groups are those living in extreme poverty. However, with a few exceptions, these same groups do not have access to programs designed to generate income or promote the development of their agricultural and livestock activity. Similarly, family

³⁸ See the work that has been done by Carter and Barrett (2006), Adato, Carter and May (2006) and Barrett, Carter and Little (2006) on this topic.

³⁹ This is most likely true of the 11 countries studied with the exception of Brazil, where there is a sectoral program. Policies linked with the development of family farming and those oriented towards low income sectors are most common. In the rest of the countries there are specific examples but no general policies in this sense.

⁴⁰ Cash transfers may double liquidity in the poorest households.

 $^{^{41}}$ Though it is quite probable that urban areas will be expanded in the context of the current crisis.

farmers do not tend to receive support through social policies.

It is also possible that the conditional cash transfer programs will be expanded in the context of the crisis. They are inexpensive to implement, fast acting, and generate relatively few negative collateral effects. It is possible that they will be expanded to incorporate new segments of the poor. The greatest challenge of expanding the programs is ensuring that from the outset they will remain temporary and will include termination mechanisms or graduation of beneficiaries once they move past their critical condition.

This is the weak point of the region's current conditional cash transfer programs. As a result, an important risk of their expansion is the limited ability to close those programs in the future.

Furthermore, given the demographic characteristics of the rural households in the region, this is a good opportunity to discuss the issue of non-contributory pensions for the rural context. Those that may be of interest include pension structures like that of Brazil, which can substitute for the conditional cash transfer programs, or pension programs that could include conditions. For example, transferring land to younger, more educated members.

Sectoral policies for promoting subsistence farming and small commercial agriculture

It is clear that in addition to interacting with social programs, poor rural households, extreme and otherwise engage in subsistence agriculture and livestock activities. In many ca-

ses there is also some movement towards the market, particularly local and regional ones. These activities are an important refuge for the poorest families and those that are at risk of becoming poor (as occurs in Bolivia). Thus, the transitional support programs for subsistence farming that involve the coverage of production costs (distribution of agricultural supplies, monetary subsidies for the purchase of fertilizers) are essential for strengthening the role of social protection of agricultural activity when there are economic shocks. Two examples of this are the efforts that are being developed by Peru and Nicaragua. However, this type of policy does not necessarily help to reduce the poverty of these rural households.

In the 11 case studies that were conducted, the importance of subsistence agriculture is highlighted in the context of the families' risk management strategies and as a refuge during times of crisis. However, the contribution of this activity to the generation of income for the home is fairly heterogeneous.

Unfortunately, there continues to be a lack of coordination among transitional programs, when they exist, for supporting agriculture and programs for promoting family farming. The latter looks to improve small agriculture. This leads to better nutritional options, more income through the sale of products, and less dependence on social policy. This is achieved through training, technical assistance and marketing support programs, which in turn requires complex structures for implementing the programs and relatively long execution periods. But these are the type of medium and long-term programs aimed at increasing opportunities for generating income in these households that can help rural families escape poverty.

5. Last thoughts: challenges for the public sector within this context

Infortunately, the precariousness of the public institutional structure related to the rural agriculture and livestock sector makes it hard to imagine that complex policies that combine short-term mitigation strategies with more medium-term actions will be developed. However, if they are not developed in a context in which the governments are looking to spend using counter-cyclical policies, it will be difficult to launch such actions because they require longer maturing periods.

The challenge is to generate a coalition of forces to mobilize resources towards policies of promotion and support of small family farming. Furthermore, the challenge is the development of new non-agricultural rural undertakings instead of only policies of temporary mitigation. The proposals contained in the final chapter of the World Bank's 2008 World Development Report are appropriate for the current circumstances.

In order to face this challenge, we need an innovative coalition that will lobby for resources in public budgets and anti-crisis plans where the pressure for resources oriented towards the urban will be very strong. There is therefore a need for clear leadership and innovative ideas.

In an ideal world, the natural leader for this task should be the ministries of agriculture and/ or rural development. However, in most countries these are weak ministries with a limited capacity for carrying out this role. We also face the challenge of generating action in these agencies to coordinate coalitions and mobilize ideas and resources. Therefore, it is necessary that a more complex and sustained action plan is developed which is geared towards reducing rural poverty, starting from the rural.

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Annexes

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Annex 2. Comparative tables of the 11 countries included in the study

Table A.1. Economic data on the countries studied

	Bolivia	Brazil	Colombia	El Salvador	Guatemala Honduras	Honduras	Mexico	Nicaragua Paraguay	Paraguay	Peru	Dominican Republic
GDP (in millions of current USD)	11,336	1,313,902	207,780	20,373	38,96	12,322	1,081,358	5 ,726	11,991	107,497	41,315
% Agriculture GDP/ Total GDP	15.2	6.0	8.2	11.2	10.8	12.3	2.4	16.9	15.3	5.4	5.9
Per capita GDP (US\$)	1,130	6,938	3,628	3,546	n.d.	n.d.	10,472	1,023	1,959	3,809	4,413
2007 Inflation (annual %)	11.7	4.5	5.7	4.9	6.8	8.9	3.8	16.9	6.0	3.9	8.9
2008 Inflation (annual %)	11.8	5.9	7.7	5.5	11.4	11.3	5.8	13.8	7.5	6.2	4.5
Total population Rural population	10,227,299 3,437,215	10,227,299 189,820,330 3,437,215 31,367,772	45,1 11,8		-		103,263,388 5,142,098 6,054,976 29,124,335 24,266,896 2,271,071 2,522,423 10,123,619	5,142,098 2,271,071	6,054,976 2,522,423	6,054,976 29,124,335 2,522,423 10,123,619	9,361,000

n.a. Not available Source: Country Reports Generated by the report authors.

Table A.2. Link to markets of consumption, labor and supplies by country

	Bo	Bolivia	Br	Brazil	Colombia	nbia	El Salvador	ador	Guatemala	ıala	Honduras	ıras
	National	Rural	National Rural National Rural National Rural National Rural Rural	Rural	National	Rural	National	Rural	National	Rural	National	Rural
Ratio of market spending/total spending	0.99	0.97	p.n	p.u	p.n b.n	p.n b.n	p.n	p.u	p.n b.n	p.u	p.n p.d	n.d
Ratio of agricultural market spending/ total spending by hectare	n.d	n.d	p.n	n.d	p.u	p.u	p.u	n.d	n.d n.d	p.u	p.n	n.d
% with a member of the household employed in the formal sector	9.2	5.7	67.8	30.7	30.7 14.3	5.0	p.u	41.6	41.6 21.0	14.1	43.31/ 24.61/	24.61/
Ratio of independent income/total household income	0.24	0.25	0.50	0.36	0.36 0.59	0.64	0.64	0.64	0.64 n.d	p.n	n.d	n.d

n.a. Not available

1/ Corresponds to % of households with head of household employed in the formal sector. Source: Country Reports Generated by the report authors.

Table A.2. Link to markets of consumption, labor and supplies by country (continued)

	Mexico	8	Nicaragua	ıgua	Paraguay	guay	Peru	5	Dominican Republic	ican olic
	National Rural	Rural	National	Rural	National	Rural	National Rural National Rural National Rural National Rural	Rural	National	Rural
Ratio of market spending/total spending	69.0	0.68	0.87	0.76	p.n	p.u	n.d 0.68	0.56	0.56 n.d	0.43
Ratio of agricultural market spending/ total spending by hectare	n.d	p.u	0.39	0.37	n.d	n.d	n.d 0.65	0.64 n.d	n.d	0.75
% with a member of the household employed in the formal sector	56.51/	47.81/ 48.3	48.3	31.7	n.d	4.11	4.11/ 26.4	8.9	8.9 41.0	35.2
Ratio of independent income/total household income	0.70	0.54	0.42	0.35	0.35 0.35	0.23	0.42	0.28	0.28 n.d	p.u

n.a. Not available 1/2 Corresponds to % of households with head of household employed in the formal sector. Source: Country Reports

Generated by the report authors.

Table A.3. Social characteristics of households by country

	Bo	Bolivia	Brazil	liza	Colombia	oia	El Salvador	ador	Guatemala	mala	Honduras	ras
	National Rural		National Rural Nationa Rural	Rural	Nationa		National	Rural	National Rural National Rural	Rural	National	Rural
Average age of head of household	39	44	47	48	48	47	49	48	45	45	47	48
Average size of household	2	4	က	4	5	2	4	4	5	5	5	5
Rate of dependents (5< and >65)	16.7	19.0	n.d.	n.d.	17.7	19.7	27.8	18.1	n.d.	n.d.	32.9	33.6
Average number of years of school completed by head of household	5	∞	80	4	5	4	9	4	5	7	9	5
Greatest number of years of school completed by member of household (average)	n.d.	n.d.	10	7	10	7	6	7	5	ဗ	8	7
$\%$ of agricultural households $^{\prime\prime}$	34.8	78.1	n.d.	n.d.	28.6	77.5	18.2	43.0	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.

Table A.3. Social characteristics of households by country (continued)

	Mexico	cico	Nicaragua	agua	Para	Paraguay	Peru	2	Dominican Republic	an
	National	Rural	National Rural	Rural	National Rural National Rural	Rural	National	Rural	National Rural	Rural
Average age of head of household	47	49	49	48	48	48	49	49	43	46
Average size of household	47	49	49	48	48	48	49	49	43	46
Rate of dependents (5< and >65)	24.1	32.8	22.6	22.7	18.7	20.1	21.9	26.4	17.0	17.9
Average number of years of school completed by head of household	7	7	2	က	7	5	∞	5	7	က
Greatest number of years of school completed by member of household (average)	14	11	8	9	10	8	10	80	n.d.	n.d.
$\%$ of agricultural households $^{\prime\prime}$	10.6	35.2	32.6	8.89	44.2	78.5	40.9	85.9	5.8	11.9

n.a. Not available

1/ An agricultural household is one in which any member of the household engages in agricultural, livestock or forestry activities (including those related to the development of agricultural and livestock sub-products) as his or her main and/or secondary activity.
Source: Country Reports
Generated by the report authors.

Table A.4. Poverty indicators by country

	Bolivia National R	<i>r</i> ia Rural	Brazil National	rii Rural	Colombia National Ru	ıbia Rural	El Salvador National Ru	ador Rural	Guatemala National R	nala Rural	Honduras National F	as Rural
Povertv - FGT0	0.23	.d	0.35	0.51	0.45	0.62	0.35	0.44	0.51	0.71	0.59	0.63
Gap - FGT1	0.28	n.d.	0.16	0.25	0.20	0.30	n.d.	n.d.	0.19	0.29	0.28	0.31
Severity - FGT2	0.18	n.d.	60.0	0.16	0.12	0.19	n.d.	n.d.	0.10	0.15	0.17	0.19
Poverty by group												
% Not poor	37.3	n.d.	65.8	49.9	55.0	37.9	65.4	56.21/	49.0	29.5	40.8	36.9
% Poor but not extreme poverty	37.8	n.d.	24.2	28.8	33.0	40.6	23.8	23.7	35.8	46.1	22.9	13.6
% Extreme poverty	24.9	n.d.	10.0	21.3	12.0	21.5	10.8	20.1	15.2	24.4	36.3	49.5
Inequality indicators												
Gini Index Theil Index	0.57	n.d.	0.55	0.51	0.56	0.46	0.46 n.d.	0.40 n.d.	0.45	0.35	0.54	0.54

n.a. Not available
1/ Estimated using the EHPM 2007. Preliminary results.
Source: Country Reports
Generated by the report authors.

Table A.4. Poverty indicators by country (continued)

	Mexico	ico	Nicaragua	agna	Par	Paraguay	a	Peru	Dominical	Dominican Republic
	National	Rural	National	Rural	National Rural	Rural	National Rural	Rural	National	Rural
Poverty - FGT0	0.39	0.50	0.59	0.63	0.36	0.35	0.40	0.65	0.44	0.54
Gap - FGT1	0.15	0.21	0.28	0.31	0.14	0.15	0.13	0.25	0.15	0.19
Severity - FGT2	0.08	0.11	0.17	0.19	0.08	60.0	90.0	0.12	0.08	0.11
Poverty by group										
% Not poor	62.1	49.8	40.8	36.93/	64.4	65.0	61.1	35.8	55.8	46.0
% Poor but not extreme poverty	$26.0^{2/}$	n.a.	22.9	n.a.	16.3	10.6	25.4	31.6	27.4	32.0
% Extreme poverty	12.0	n.a.	36.3	n.a.	19.4	24.4		32.7	16.8	22.0
Inequality indicators										
Gini Index Theil Index n.a. Not available	0.52	0.50	0.54	0.54	0.51 n.a.	0.55 n.a.	0.52	0.53	0.52 n.a.	0.44 n.a.

n.a. Not available

^{2/} Estimate of poverty by food and capacities proportioned by consultant from Mexico.
3/ In the case of the central region (representative rural region): 37.1% live in extreme poverty, 39.7% are poor but do not live in extreme poverty, and 23.2% are not poor.

Source: Country Reports

Generated by the report authors.

Table A.5. Estimate of probability of being poor in rural areas by country (only countries with data available)

	B _I Sign	Brazil Meaning	Col	Brazil Colombia Sign Meaning Sign Meaning	El Sa Sign	El Salvado In Meaning	Sign	Mexico Meaning	Nic. Sign	Nicaragua Meaning	Par Sign	Paraguay Meaning	Sign	Peru Meaning
Ratio of the number of wage earners in the household to the total number of members		* * *	1	**	1	* * *	1	* * *	ı	* *		* * *	,	** ** **
Age of head of household		* * *	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	1	* *	+	* * *	n.d.	n.d.	,	* *
Gender of head of household (h=1)	+	* * *		* *	n.d.	n.d.	+	* * *	n.d.	n.d.	ı	*	+	* * *
Ratio of men over the age of 18 to total household members	-	* *	1	* * *	ı	* *	ı	* * *	-	* *	ı	* *		
Ratio of women over the age of 18 to total household members		* * *	1	* * *		* *	1	* * *	ı	* * *	ı	* * *		
Educational level of the head of household	ı	* * *	n.d.	n.d.	ı	* *	ı	* * *	ı	* * *	ı	* * *		
Highest educational level of a member of the household	ı	* *	ı	* * *	ı	* * *	ı	* * *	1	* * *	ı	* * *		
Portion of total spending that goes to food	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	+	* * *	+	*	+	* * *	n.a.	n.a.	т	
Amount of support received	n.d.	n.d.	n.a.	n.a.	n.d.	n.d.	+	* * *	+	* *	n.d.	n.d.		
Amount of public or private transfers	ı	* *	n.d.	n.d.	+	* * *	+	* * *	n.d.	n.d.	1	* * *	r	
Portion of total household income that comes from agriculture	+	* * *	+	* * *	+	* * *	+	* * *	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.		
Portion of income from working of the main income producer in the household of the total household income generated through work	+	* * *	+	* * *	+	* * *		* **	ı	*	ı	**		
Indigenous (i=1)	+	*	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.		

n.d. Not determined; n.a. Not applicable Levels of significance: (***) significant at 1 % (**) significant at 5 % (*) significant at 10 %. Source: Country Reports Generated by the report authors.

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