

Rural Reform in Mexico

TRANSFORMATION OF RURAL MEXICO SERIES, Number 4
EJIDO REFORM RESEARCH PROJECT
CENTER FOR U.S.-MEXICAN STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO

David Myhre, Series Editor

PRINTED WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF THE FORD FOUNDATION

Rural Reform in Mexico: The View from the Comarca Lagunera in 1993

by

Raúl Salinas de Gortari and José Luis Solís González

Translated by Aníbal Yáñez Chávez

Printed in the United States of America by the Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies University of California, San Diego

1994

Cover: Linoleum block print by Annika Nelson

ISBN 1-878367-22-6

No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopy, recording or any information storage and retrieval system, without permission of the Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies.

NB: The information and analysis presented herein are the responsibility of the authors.

... the property [of the ejido] belongs in common to the collectivity. Why? Because the collectivity has the right to impose modalities upon that property, rather, on that usufruct; because of this, use is private since the parcel is granted so that all its products, all its harvests belong to the person that receives it. But does this person have the private property of Roman law, the property that is typical of the capitalist? Clearly no . . . he does not, because of the absence of the third characteristic of the integral notion of property . . . [that is to say] the right to dispose [of it] . . .

Antonio Díaz Soto y Gama
 Zapatista ideologue

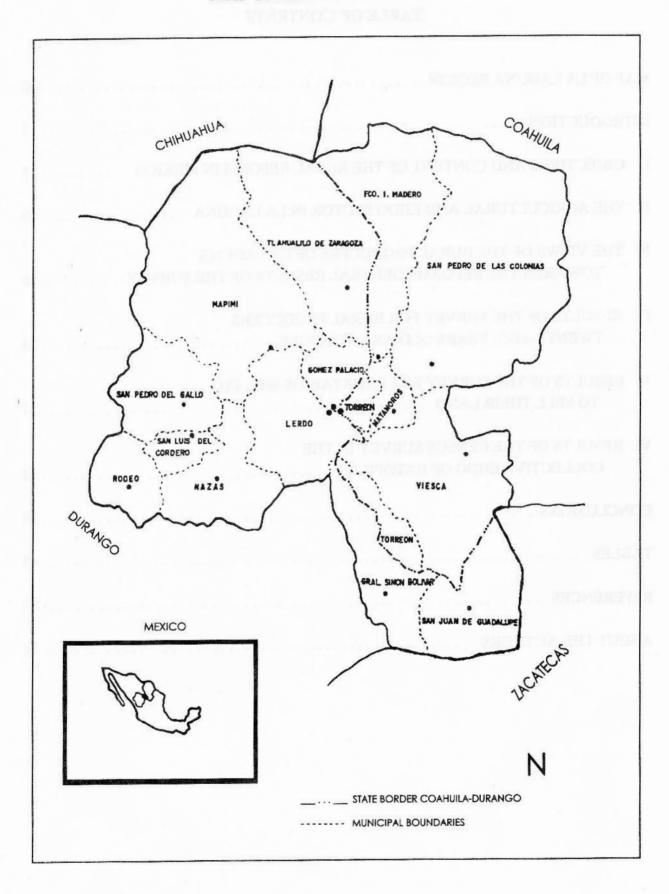
the property is a the right to impose meanthing appropriate party of the filterials who collectively is a the right to impose meanthing appropriate party; the collectively is a this to private sance the party is granted on that all its provise belong to the period that receives in that these this period has period that receives in that these this period has period for the private for the private for the capitalist? The does not because of the observed of the distriction of property . Itself is to say find the right to draw for the capitalist.

Antonio Diaz Solo y Glond Zugenova ukoblenia

TABLE OF CONTENTS

MAP OF LA LAGUNA REGION	viii
INTRODUCTION	1
I. OBJECTIVES AND CONTENT OF THE RURAL REFORM IN MEXICO	5
II. THE AGRICULTURAL AND EJIDO SECTOR IN LA LAGUNA	9
III. THE VIEWS OF THE RURAL PRODUCERS OF LA LAGUNA TOWARDS THE REFORM: GENERAL RESULTS OF THE SURVEY	16
IV. RESULTS OF THE SURVEY FOR RURAL PRODUCERS TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OLD AND YOUNGER	23
V. RESULTS OF THE SURVEY FOR EJIDATARIOS WILLING TO SELL THEIR LAND	
VI. RESULTS OF THE CENSUS SURVEY IN THE COLLECTIVE EJIDO OF BATOPILAS	32
CONCLUSIONS	38
TABLES	43
REFERENCES	52
ABOUT THE AUTHORS	54

MAP OF LA LAGUNA REGION



by all the *ejidatarios* of the collective ejido of Batopilas (including women residents) in Coahuila's Laguna region,⁵ and we held open meetings with the members and authorities of the ejido in order to more fully know their opinion on the reform and the rural situation in their region. One part of our fieldwork was devoted to carrying out a series of interviews (13 in all) with representatives of private enterprise and of federal and state agencies connected to agriculture in the region. As a result of all this, we obtained a rich set of direct testimonies that are reflected in the present work.

Besides the objective criteria which could justify our selection of La Laguna as a region for study, we should mention the background of our own previous work of more than ten years in the area. Specifically, we have followed closely the process of creation and consolidation of the Batopilas ejido (cf. R. Salinas de Gortari *et al*, 1993). Although Batopilas certainly does not represent the ejido sector in La Laguna in general (and in many aspects it is an exception), the views of its members have been particularly valuable because of their knowledge of the regional reality, their organizational and participatory experience, and the capacity for reflection that they have acquired in this regard.

Furthermore, our methodological approach to the reality of Mexican rural producers owes much to the contributions of authors such as Luis González, Gustavo Gordillo and William Hinton. González (1968) showed us the importance of microhistory in the analysis of social processes and provided us with a fundamental point of reference for the form and the methods used to approach a community. Respect for the views of the participants, their preferences and contradictions, as well as what they forget and their omissions, is a key element of the method González followed. Gordillo's contribution, for its part, is a rare example of an effort at reflection based on direct personal participation in the campesino⁶ movement and political struggle. Besides allowing us to understand the nature of the state-campesinado relationship (and therefore the dual character of the ejido as a state apparatus and as an organ of campesino representation), Gordillo's work revaluates the potentialities of democracy and self-managed organization within rural communities, situating them in a strategic perspective from the angle of the producers themselves. Lastly, but no less important, Hinton's (1966) contribution has been an extremely valuable guide for observing a community exposed to permanent external political impositions; in the case of Batopilas this type

^{5.} We utilized the questionnaire administered by INEGI in the abovementioned survey, and following the useful suggestion by Ann Craig, professor at UCSD, we added a specific questionnaire for the women of the Batopilas ejido in order to determine the degree of their access to land and their views on the future of this land under the reforms in the countryside. See the last part of section VI below.

^{6.} In this paper, campesino and campesinado are used in lieu of peasant and peasantry, small farmers, and family farmers. Campesino refrers to persons from rural households that cultivate land mostly through household labor or mechanisms of labor exchange. Campesinado is used when referring to campesinos as a collectivity.

^{7.} See Gordillo (1988a and 1988b), as well as Fox and Gordillo (1989).

INTRODUCTION

The research¹ whose results we present here has a well-defined objective: to analyze the views of the agricultural producers of La Laguna region regarding the rural reform that is now underway in Mexico, as well as the expectations that they have of this rural reform in the social and economic spheres. For this purpose, we have based our work on the results of an opinion survey carried out in April 1993 by the *Instituto Nacional de Estadística*, *Geografía e Informática* (National Institute for Statistics, Geography and Informatics [INEGI]) in the region of La Laguna,² as well as on our own fieldwork in the area.

We attempt here to analyze the rural reform, a process that is underway and whose success largely depends on the initial attitudes and expectations of those it is aimed at, as well as on the consensus that may or may not be generated by its results.³ Consequently, we defined our research in terms of these expectations and the formation of this consensus at the level of a specific region, La Laguna, which in various aspects is representative of the Mexican rural situation. We did not set ourselves the task of studying the consensus-building process itself, but instead aimed to obtain a cross-section view of the rural reform one and one-half years after its initiation. From this perspective, our work led to, among other things, an analysis of expectations which, as such, has certain inherent limitations: the ever-present difference between what social actors expect and what actually takes place in the real world.⁴ Because of this, we want to make it clear at the outset that we are not attempting here an exhaustive study of the effects of the reform on the ejido sector of La Laguna, but rather aim to analyze the perceptions and attitudes of rural producers *vis-à-vis* this reform in April and May of 1993.

In order to do this, our point of departure is a methodological criterion which is central to us: to let the social actors, the rural producers of La Laguna, speak for themselves. Besides analyzing the results of the regional INEGI survey, we gathered on-site the opinions on the rural reform held

^{1.} The research reported here was undertaken while the authors were, respectively, Guest Scholar and Visiting Research Fellow at the Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies. We would like to thank the Center and its director, Dr. Wayne Cornelius, for providing a supportive environment for our research and writing. We also acknowledge the helpful comments on our research offered by David Myhre, coordinator of the Center's Ejido Reform Research Project. Solís acknowledges partial fellowship support from the Tinker Foundation, awarded through the Ejido Reform Research Project.

^{2.} See INEGI (1993). For a detailed description of sample design and survey techniques, see section III below.

^{3.} For an analysis of the process of transition that Mexican society is currently undergoing, see Gordillo (1990), particularly part three. Also see Middlebrook (1985). For a presentation of the problems of the agricultural sector and current policies, see Téllez (1993).

^{4.} As was correctly pointed out by Stephen Haber, then Visiting Research Fellow at the Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, during the question and answer session that followed our presentation in June 1993.

SALINAS & SOLÍS

of interference was a fundamental, constant element throughout its process of creation and development (see R. Salinas de Gortari et al, 1993).

Taking into account the above, we utilized the following hypotheses to orient our research questions and obtained the following principal results:

Hypothesis 1: The reform is not perceived as antagonistic to the interests of the different agents in rural society, but rather is viewed as an opportunity to resolve problems that hitherto have been unsolvable in the Mexican countryside (e.g. the problem of capitalization through associations between ejidatarios and private capital, or the illegal leasing of ejido parcels, among others).

Results of the survey: Approximately 30% of the ejido producers declared they had no knowledge of the modifications to Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution or of the existence of a new Agrarian Law. Of those ejidatarios who knew about the legal reforms, 77% said they agreed with it, 11% said they disagreed, and the remaining 12% said they had no opinion.

Hypothesis 2: In light of the rural reform, the sale of land is not a priority for the campesinos. Their decisions about the use and purpose of the land are clearly based on production and agricultural criteria. Therefore, the reform is not synonymous with privatization of the countryside nor with the forcible disappearance of the ejido system.

Results of the survey: 81.5% of the ejidatarios declared that they intended to continue farming their land, even under the assumption that the assembly of their ejido should opt to convert their individual parcels to private property. Only 4.3% declared that they intended to sell all or part of their land; 9.5% said that they would opt for full or partial leasing of their parcels, and the remaining 4.5% said they did not know what they would decide in this regard.

Hypothesis 3: State support is required to strengthen the rural reform and the role of the campesinos in markets. In the framework of globalization and an open trade policy, the campesinos are subject to structural disadvantages vis-à-vis other social agents.

Results of the survey: 90.8% of the ejidatarios and 90.2% of the private landowners declared that the government should provide subsidies to rural producers. About one-quarter of both groups thinks that this would permit an increase in their incomes and at the same time improve the quality of their products. 18% of the ejidatarios expected to increase their production and to be able to export, 30% of the private landowners think they would increase their production, but only 11% think they could export.

^{8.} As was noted earlier, the INEGI survey was carried out in April 1993, while PROCAMPO, the new program of direct payments to producers of corn, beans, wheat, rice, soybeans, sorghum, and cotton was not officially announced until October 1993.

Hypothesis 4: In the case of La Laguna region, the reform has marked the end of a stage and the start of a process of transition, basically due to new policies of the Banco Nacional de Crédito Rural (National Rural Credit Bank, [Banrural]). This transition is characterized by the search for a new pattern of crops in the region, for different modalities of access to and management of productive resources, and by a new type of relationship between the state and rural producers.

Results of the survey: 22% of the ejido producers in La Laguna planted cotton in the 1992 spring-summer season. For the 1993 season, no ejido producers declared that they would plant or that they intended to plant cotton. In contrast, 53% of the producers planted basic grains (maize and beans) in the previous cycle and the proportion grew to 72% in 1993. The lack of credit was cited by 34% of the producers as the reason for changing crops, while 41% declared that it was due to high production costs for cotton.

Hypothesis 5: The view rural producers have of the reform today is basically that held by the "old" ejidatarios, that is, those older than 40 years of age but who are still predominant in terms of numbers and decision-making. Thus, although the reform is aimed at the new generations of producers, the responses to the reform are being provided by the previous generation since the corresponding generational leadership change has yet to take place. ¹⁰

Results of the survey: 78% of the ejidatarios surveyed declared that their age was over 40 years, while 16% said they were between 26 and 40 years old. Only 7% of those interviewed were 25 years old or younger.

Given the objectives and the methodological criteria outlined above, we have divided the remainder of this paper into six sections and conclusions. The first two sections contextualize our work. We first broadly lay out the objectives and the content of the Mexican rural reform, then we present the main characteristics of the agricultural and ejido sector in La Laguna. Although each topic merits more extensive treatment to be fully understood, space considerations limit us to presenting them in summary form.

^{9.} As shown below in the second section, the lack of credit and the high costs of production can be associated respectively with the change in Banrural's credit policy and the disappearance of the previous system of agricultural subsidies.

^{10.} During our June 1993 presentation, Wayne Cornelius of UCSD pointed out that there is very probably a difference between the expectations of the young rural producers (those 25 years-old and younger) and the expectations of those who are over 40 years old and are in the majority. We certainly think that the expectations about the reform are different for ejidatarios educated in the previous ideology: they do not know much about markets and their abiding reaction is very probably to seek previous solutions such as Banrural subsidies or the protection of the Agrarian Reform Ministry (Secretaría de la Reforma Agraria, SRA). Among the youth, on the other hand, one would expect a more dynamic and aggressive attitude towards the market and, possibly, less attachment in the land and in the rural world. However, as shall be seen below (in the fourth section), the results of the INEGI survey cited earlier are surprising in this regard.

The third section is devoted to the presentation and analysis of the *principal* findings of the regional opinion survey mentioned earlier. These results are divided into six sub-sections dealing with: (a) production decisions and expectations, (b) credit policy towards the countryside, (c) legal reform and certification of ejido rights, (d) trade opening and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), (e) agricultural subsidy policy, and (f) land tenure and employment.

The fourth and fifth sections concern respectively the findings related to two subsets of the regionwide sample: rural producers 25 years of age and under, and producers who expressed a desire to sell their land. The results we obtained in Batopilas, where we applied the INEGI questionnaire to all members of the ejido and those living in it (as we noted above) are presented in the sixth and final section of this work. Finally, since most works on the Mexican countryside overlook campesinas, we also include in this section the results of interviews we carried out with the women of Ejido Batopilas. These findings basically have to do with their access to land and their opinions regarding how the land will be used in light of the reform; they are important to the extent that they reflect a significant factor in the formation of expectations and in decision-making among rural producers, a factor which is often neglected in analysis.

I. OBJECTIVES AND CONTENT OF THE RURAL REFORM IN MEXICO

Beginning in 1989, the administration of President Carlos Salinas put in motion a broad and deep process of reforms concerning the agricultural sector and rural society as a whole. These reforms, all of which are generically termed "reform of the countryside" or "rural reform" aim to modernize the rural sector by creating a system of legal guarantees that can give security to property rights in agriculture.¹³

^{11.} José Antonio Crespo, then a Visiting Research Fellow at the Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, during our June 1993 presentation asked if age could explain both the expectations of the majority group of ejidatarios who do not want to sell their land (among whom those over 40 years old predominate) as well as the small minority that would be willing to sell all or part of their land (among whom presumably the younger ejidatarios would predominate). The purpose behind including this group separately was therefore to prove this hypothesis, highlighting the profile it presents according to the survey results.

^{12.} The insights of Ann Craig were fundamental for this section.

^{13.} For a strategy for economic and social modernization in the Mexican rural sector, see Salinas de Gortari 1989a.

Thus, the rural reform provides a new legal order with regard to property in land. This new legal order is basically represented by January 1992 amendment of Article 27 of the Constitution and the February 1992 Agrarian Law (the implementing legislation for the modified Article 27).¹⁴

The implementation of the new Agrarian Law has resulted in a series of complementary institutions: the *Procuraduría Agraria* (Agrarian Ombudsman), the *Registro Agrario Nacional* (National Agrarian Registry), and the *Tribunal Superior Agrario* (Superior Agrarian Tribunal). The role of the first is to defend the individual and collective rights of the various agents within rural society. The second is in charge of registering the legal rights, descriptions, and boundaries of ejidos and agrarian communities, as well as of their members. In addition, it also records transactions and contracts involving ejido and communal property. The third is a national-level court responsible for the administration of agrarian justice, complemented by *Tribunales Agrarios* (Agrarian Tribunals) located in each state.

Faced with an acute and chronic crisis of Mexican agriculture, ¹⁵ and the need to revive it in the current context of globalization and regional integration, the reform aims to achieve higher levels of production and productivity, to open the countryside to domestic and foreign private investment, to orient the agricultural productive apparatus towards open and competitive markets, to raise income and welfare levels in rural society, and to reduce and make more selective the intervention by state agencies in rural development. However, the reform also explicitly aims to achieve greater justice and equity in the rural sphere, goals which long have been present in the demands of Mexico's campesino population and which guided the 1910 revolutionary movement. ¹⁶

Therefore, at the same time that the goals of the rural reform are higher levels of production, productivity and investment in agriculture, it also attempts to provide the producers in the social sector -- the ejidatarios and comuneros -- with the ability to exercise greater decision making power within their own economic and social space, basically in questions related to land tenure and the organization of production.

Thus, what is proposed is the elimination of the previous excessive and unjustified intervention of governmental agencies in the internal life of the ejidos (see R. Salinas de Gortari 1988), circumscribing this intervention to the promotion of production and organizational efforts, to the conservation of natural resources, to the registry of operations related to land ownership and

^{14.} See Gaceta de Solidaridad (1992).

^{15.} See R. Salinas de Gortari (1988), particularly Chapters X and XI. See also R. Salinas de Gortari (1989b).

^{16.} See C. Salinas de Gortari (1991). See also the introductory sections of the 1992 Agrarian Law and President Salinas's November, 1991 initiative to reform Article 27.

the association of producers, and to the administration of justice and the defense of the rights of agrarian groups and their members.

At the same time, the reform recognizes for the first time the ejidatarios' legal standing as proprietors with full rights to the land that they have received, putting an end to the ambiguity in the earlier legislation regarding their status as proprietors or mere usufructuaries of that land. In this manner, the assembly takes on faculties to decide the use and the forms (individual or collective) of productive exploitation of the land in question, as well as the eventual transformation or termination of the ejido regime.¹⁷

While the ejido assembly now has gained the power to determine how the common land will be used and how it can be contributed to a joint venture ("asociación en participación"), the titular heads of individual plots likewise have gained the right to use or to freely sell them within the ejido. In contrast with what is established in the earlier legislation, they may rent their land, use it as collateral, or use it as their share in an association with individuals (personas físicas) or corporations and partnerships (personas morales) from inside or outside of the ejido. With the approval of the ejido assembly, individual ejidatarios may even obtain full domain over their parcels and therefore sell them to third parties, with the condition that they respect the right of preference that the law establishes for other members of the ejido itself and for those non-ejidatarios (avecindados) who live in it.¹⁸

The promoters of the reform have said that it seeks to break the traditional tutelage of the state over rural society, restoring control over social and productive processes to the campesino producers themselves. However, the new codes relieve the state of its obligation -- previously enshrined in the Constitution -- to grant lands to groups of the rural population, thus putting an end to land distribution and with it, to the process of atomization of the land which led among other things to the excessive growth of small-sized farms (*minifundios*) in Mexico.

^{17.} In other words, the assembly can determine what part of the ejido land will be devoted to individual usufruct plots, to common lands, and to lots for housing. See Article 23 in the new Agrarian Law.

^{18.} The law establishes a minimum quorum of three-quarters of the members of the ejido for an ejido assembly's first meeting, and an affirmative vote of at least two-thirds of those in attendance to resolve questions related to the full domain of individual parcels. If a quorum is not achieved, then for subsequent meeting called on the same agenda these figures are one-half plus one of the members of the ejido and two-thirds of those in attendance, respectively. See Articles 23, 26 and 27 of the new Agrarian Law.

^{19.} It is important to note that at the same time that the tutelage of the state over campesino society is dismantled, state support has tended to decline in response to the perceived inefficiency of the previous scheme of support and stimulus to agricultural activities, as well as to the current policy of rationalization of public finances. Nevertheless, as we noted earlier, on October 5, 1993, the Mexican federal government announced the establishment of a program of direct subsidies to producers (PROCAMPO) for a period of 15 years, which beginning in 1994 aims to cover 70% of the country's cultivated land and 3.3 million rural producers.

Despite the possibility of assumptions to the contrary, the reform is not officially conceived as a shortcut to a new process of concentration of landed property, since the limits on private property holdings remain in place, the prohibition on the existence of large estates (*latifundia*) is ratified, and individual concentration of ejido property is limited to 5% of the total land of the ejido in question (or to what is established for private property, whichever is less).²⁰

In another break with earlier legislation, the new legal terms for the agrarian sector authorize the acquisition of rural parcels by corporations, with a limit of up to 25 times the size established for private property. These companies must have a sufficient number of shareholders so that their extension of land per capita does not go beyond the limits set for individual private property holdings. Foreigners may participate in these companies, with the limitation that they may not own more than 49% of the company's landholdings (known as "T" series shares). The aim of this is to foster private investment in the countryside, while at the same time avoiding the concentration of rural property.

The reform no doubt opens up the possibility for the privatization of ejido lands. But it also formally opens the door to new modalities of association of the rural producers from the social sector (i.e., ejidos and agrarian communities) with other economic agents. This, if it materializes, should allow the survival and eventual consolidation of the ejido.²¹ It is said, then, that the reform thus lays the basis for the capitalization and productive reactivation of the campesino economy and the ejido system, which up until now had no real options in an economic context dominated by the forces of the market and competition.

According to the promoters of the reform, the constitutional recognition of the three types of property existing in the Mexican countryside (ejido, communal, and private property), its regulation and flexibilization, in addition to the ending of land distribution, represent the beginning of a solution to the traditional problem of uncertainty in land tenure. The reform thus removes what arguably has been one of the main obstacles to making the rural sector more dynamic.

^{20.} In the case of agricultural private property, its individual size is limited to 100 hectares of irrigated or first class rainfed lands, or its equivalent in other types of less-productive land. For cattle-raising, the private property limit is set at what is needed to graze up to 500 head of cattle, or the equivalent for small livestock such as sheep and goats. See section XV of the reformed constitutional Article 27 and Articles 115-124 of the new Agrarian Law.

^{21.} Article 50 of the new Agrarian Law establishes that "the ejidatarios and the ejidos may form ejido unions, rural associations of collective interest (asociaciones rurales de interés colectivo, [ARICs]), and any other type of commercial or civil or other type of societies that are not forbidden by law . . ." This gives legal status to so-called contract agriculture, joint ventures, and the formation of share companies in the rural sector. Legal grounds are also established (Article 111) for rural production societies (sociedades de producción rural) in their different forms. It should be noted, however, that not all the ejidos in Mexico have the same possibilities of access to these types of associations, given the heterogeneity of the ejido system and the different endowments of productive resources each has.

Given its dimensions and its importance for the reform's advance, the backlog of land claims and petitions (rezago agrario)²² is being attacked by the recently created Agrarian Ombudsman with the aid of the National Agrarian Registry and the new Agrarian Tribunals. The Agrarian Ombudsman has the task of regularizing the property of land in the ejidos that freely decide to do so. To this end, the Program for the Certification of Ejido Rights and the Titling of Urban Lots (Programa de Certificación de Derechos Ejidales y de Titulación de Solares Urbanos, [PROCEDE]) has been set in motion. This, of course, is a necessary but not sufficient condition for eventually providing legal property titles to the individual ejido parcels and their transformation into private holdings.²³ But above all it represents the possibility of ending ancient litigations and rivalries within and outside of the ejidos, which created uncertainty and insecurity in rural life.

Two years after the start of the legal reform, we are interested in analyzing the rural producers' perception of this reform, as well as their expectations with regard to their land, their production processes, their insertion in markets, and state policies towards the agricultural sector. For this purpose, we have chosen the region of northern Mexico known as La Laguna, or the *Comarca Lagunera*. This region has historically been a laboratory of sorts for key aspects of Mexico's agrarian issues; all things considered, it can allow for a local-level analysis of the phenomena we have discussed above.

II. THE AGRICULTURAL AND EJIDO SECTOR IN LA LAGUNA

La Laguna, an area that includes the southwestern part of the state of Coahuila and the northeastern part of the state of Durango (see map), is one of the regions of Mexico that has an agricultural sector of importance as well as a history of agrarian struggle.²⁴ Traditionally

^{22.} The so-called agrarian backlog (rezago agrario) refers to the accumulation of unresolved agrarian litigation and of unimplemented or partially implemented presidential resolutions granting lands to ejidos and communities. Over time (four or five decades), this resulted in the fact that at the start of the current administration the overwhelming majority of the country's ejidos did not have clear legal rights to their land and the members of the ejidos were not protected by a legal document (certificate of agrarian rights) that could sanction their rights over individual parcels and urban lots. Thus, it is calculated that along with the two million ejidatario and comunero campesinos who had their rights in order, there were at least another two million before the current rural reform who had problems with the regularization of their agrarian rights.

^{23.} Once a given ejido property has been regularized and a certificate of rights to the property has been drawn up, the approval of the ejido assembly is required (as was noted above) in order for an ejidatario to acquire full domain protected by a title to the property. See footnote 18 above.

^{24.} It was in La Laguna that the Cardenista agrarian reform actually began in 1936, with the distribution of close to 150,000 hectares to campesinos demanding land. In this regard see the introductory essay ("Antecedentes Históricos") by José Luis Solís in De la Fuente *et al* 1991.

concentrating on the production of cotton and more recently on forage crops for the purebred dairy cattle in the area, ²⁵ agriculture in La Laguna -- despite its productivity -- nevertheless faces great challenges. On the one hand, there are problems resulting from the fact that regional development is concentrated in the Torreón-Gómez Palacio-Ciudad Lerdo metropolitan zone and therefore is profoundly uneven and destructive of the area's fragile ecosystem (characterized by its aridity and limited water resources). ²⁶ On the other, there are problems associated with the effects of a rapidly changing and increasingly competitive national and international economic context. All of this has made the region's previous productive specialization in cotton cultivation to a great extent unviable.

At the same time, the various policies of the Salinas administration have been aimed at a redefinition of production patterns, access to resources, and the relationship between the state and the producers. The change in Banrural's credit policy²⁷ has been particularly decisive in modifying the regional crop pattern, orienting it now towards the production of basic grains (maize and beans) and forage crops.²⁸ Furthermore, there is underway the gradual transfer of the administration of the irrigation district (Number 17) to the users themselves, who with this obtain control over their water resources but also assume the costs of their utilization and conservation. The disappearance of the previous scheme of subsidies to agriculture through low input prices (particularly the price of electrical energy, given the importance of pump irrigation in the area) has also affected the profitability of the agricultural sector, forcing producers to redefine their productive rationale.²⁹

^{25.} Up until 1990, La Laguna was one of Mexico's most important cotton regions, producing approximately 280,000 to 300,000 bales of cotton per year during the 1980s. Currently, it is the most important dairy region in the country, with an average production of 1.8 million liters of milk per day in 1992. Unless otherwise noted, all the figures on regional agricultural production that are presented in this section are taken from the database of the Ministry of Agriculture and Water Resources (Secretaría de Agricultura y Recursos Hidráulicos, SARH) offices in La Laguna region.

^{26.} For a comprehensive and detailed analysis of the economic, social, and ecological issues of La Laguna region, see Solís (1988).

^{27.} This change has consisted basically of denying credit to ejido producers with overdue loans and channeling Banrural's financing towards crops other than cotton, principally basic grains (maize and beans). The latter is due to: (a) the downward trend in the world price of cotton in recent years; (b) low yields per hectare due to the exhaustion of the soils and to pests; and (c) the significant increase in the costs of production for local cotton growers.

^{28.} Thus, the surface area devoted to cotton cultivation declined from 47,000 hectares in 1990 to less than 500 hectares in 1992, while that devoted to basic grains (maize, beans and wheat) grew almost fourfold over the same period, increasing from 16,000 to 63,000 hectares. Of course, this crop substitution is not only the result of Banrural's new policies; it is also due to the policy of high guaranteed prices for maize and beans in recent years (the only currently existing guaranteed prices).

^{29.} As noted earlier, the federal government recently announced a new program of direct subsidies to the country's agricultural producers (PROCAMPO), to go into effect in the fall-winter 1993 agricultural cycle. Support will be granted to those expanses of land planted with maize, beans, wheat, soybeans, sorghum, rice and cotton over the last three years. Given La Laguna region's previous productive specialization in cotton, according to our calculations this will benefit a bit more than 26,000 hectares and about 10,000 producers; and it may well be the point of departure for the reactivation of this crop in the region.

Finally, although no less significant, the policy of trade liberalization followed in recent years has had negative repercussions on the agricultural sector, as it has made the producers face the imperatives of competition in the context of a downturn in regional economic activity, without being prepared technologically or productively.

Within the agricultural sector as a whole, for some years now there has been an observable displacement of productive resources and investment towards livestock activities -- primarily dairy and poultry farming. The growing predominance of livestock activities ("ganaderización") in La Laguna has given a new slant to the economic life of the region's ejidos, since it has resulted in a significant process of agroindustrial development that accounts for a good part of the current dynamism of the regional economy. Thus, major agroindustrial complexes have arisen (among them the LaLa dairy products complex and the Trasgo poultry products complex), which developed linkages between the private farm sector and the ejido sector even before the current reform. These complexes have taken on increasing importance.

Although La Laguna is one of the regions of the country with predominantly commercial agriculture and with a highly dynamic and modern livestock subsector, the latter contributed only 8% of the value of gross regional production in 1992 and agriculture *strictu sensu* only 2%. However, the rural sector as a whole accounts for 19.4% of the area's economically active population, according to data from the 1990 population census (*XI Censo General de Población*). The negative rates of growth observed in recent years in agricultural activities (although not in livestock activities, which grew at a yearly average of 4.4% between 1990 and 1992) make it possible to affirm that there is a major recession in the countryside of La Laguna region. This recession is no doubt associated with a process of transition characterized by the search for a new regional pattern of crops, by new forms of operation and intervention by the government agencies involved in agriculture, and by new ways of organizing the units of production in the ejido sector.

In this framework, the new agrarian legislation and the on-going process of certification of ejido rights are generating important expectations of change in the rural milieu, particularly among the ejido producers. These expectations have been heightened by the trade opening and by the prospects of implementation of the NAFTA, which poses new challenges for the region's agricultural and livestock sector.

^{30.} For an analysis of the recent development of livestock activities in La Laguna region, see De la Fuente et al. 1991.

^{31.} From 1982 to 1991 the value of regional agricultural production declined in real terms by 56%. However, in recent years the livestock subsector has experienced dynamic behavior in contrast to the rest of the agricultural sector. In 1992, livestock activities represented 80% of the value of regional agricultural production (39% in 1974) while the non-livestock subsector represented 20% (versus 61% in 1974). Nevertheless, the agricultural sector as a whole does not represent more than 10% of the value of regional production, compared to 35% for industry and 55% for services.

According to preliminary results of the 1991 Agricultural and Livestock Census, there are in La Laguna 41,842 rural producers, of whom 38,555 are ejidatarios, 2,872 are private producers, and 415 are mixed producers — in other words, ejidatarios who are also owners of private plots (INEGI forthcoming). According to the same source, there are 625 ejidos in the region, distributed over 15 municipalities (10 in Durango and five in Coahuila)³² and three Rural Development Districts (*Distritos de Desarrollo Rural*). They cover approximately 446,000 hectares, of which 40% are arable lands, 46% grazing lands, and the remaining 14% are lands not suited for agriculture, livestock or forestry production.³³

It is estimated that out of the total surface of arable ejido lands, 54% are irrigated and 46% are rainfed; approximately one quarter of these irrigated lands are pump-irrigated.³⁴ The scarcity of water resources is manifest in the fact that during the spring-summer agricultural season about two-thirds of arable ejido land is planted, while in the fall-winter season this proportion is reduced to only 8%. This raises a recurrent problem of acute unemployment in agricultural activities during this time of the year, which is one of the most vulnerable moments of ejido life in the region. The lack of water is cited by 71% of the producers as the cause for the non-utilization of arable lands, while 25% and 21% of them cite the cause as poor rains and the lack of credit, respectively.

The ejido sector represents about 75% of the area under cultivation in the region, as well as 72% of the irrigated area under cultivation (basically gravity-fed water from the Lázaro Cárdenas and Francisco Zarco dams) and 89% of the rainfed area under cultivation. The ejido sector also contributes 71% of the gross value of agricultural production; its share of the value of the main crops is particularly important (48% of alfalfa production, 90% of maize for human consumption, 93% of beans, 56% of pecans, and 53% of melons in 1991). In 1991, the last year with significant cotton production, the ejido sector contributed 82% of the value generated by that crop. However, yields per hectare are in general lower than those of the private sector, given the lower capital intensity, use of inputs, availability of water and access to credit when compared to the plots of private landowners.

^{32.} The municipalities of La Laguna in Coahuila are: Torreón, San Pedro de las Colonias, Matamoros, Franciso I. Madero, and Viesca. The La Laguna region municipalities in Durango are: Gómez Palacio, Lerdo, Tlahualilo, Mapimí, Nazas, Rodeo, San Luis del Cordero, San Pedro del Gallo, San Juan de Guadalupe and Simón Bolívar. See map.

^{33.} See Proyecto SARH-CEPAL 1992. We have taken the results of the 1990 SARH-CEPAL survey as the basis to carry out the analysis that follows.

^{34.} In the case of the region's private agriculture, three-quarters of the irrigated lands use pumps, which contrasts with the situation of the ejido sector. This difference, together with the greater utilization of more advanced inputs and technology on the part of the private sector, is the basis for the lower yields per hectare that is observable for most of the crops of the ejido sector.

In general, we are dealing with a region characterized by minifundia, since more than half (57%) of ejido producers possess no more than 4 hectares per capita of arable land, and since only 7% of the ejido producers possess plots larger than 10 hectares. In the case of irrigated ejido lands, this phenomenon is even more pronounced, since more than three-quarters (81%) of ejido producers are on plots less than or equal to 4 hectares and not even 1% of the producers hold plots larger than 10 hectares. In fact, according to the SARH-CEPAL survey, the bulk of the producers of the ejido sector are on plots whose size is between 2 and 4 hectares, which has limited the economic viability of the production units in this sector.

Compared to the ejido system in Mexico as a whole, La Laguna has a dynamic, predominantly commercial ejido agricultural and livestock sector, with high levels of mechanization, use of wage-labor and utilization of inputs. Nearly all ejido producers (96%) have access to agricultural machinery and equipment, notably tractors, which is explained by the scant slope of the lands and by the demands of the commercial development of cotton. In terms of its ownership or mode of use, 66% of ejido producers rent the machinery and equipment they utilize, 18% use it as the collective property of the ejido, and only 10% own it individually. This is due in good part to the small average size of plots, which are not large enough to make individual acquisition of fixed assets profitable.

In regards to labor force dynamics, 64% of ejido producers utilize wage-labor entirely (10%) or partially (54%) in their agricultural and livestock activities. Only 36% carry out their production exclusively with family labor. In terms of the demand for day-labor, it is almost entirely generated in the spring-summer season when 59% of day-laborers are hired for the harvest. These 1990 survey results correspond of course to the characteristics of cotton production then in vogue but currently nearly non-existent, which created a demand for day-labor for eight or nine months of the year. This situation contrasts with the low generation of day-labor opportunities in the production of basic grains (only four months per year) which is currently predominant in the regional pattern of cultivation. The resulting unemployment has been absorbed in part by the day-labor connected with construction work for re-fitting the hydraulic infrastructure (which was built to meet the requirements for the production of cotton) and other agricultural and livestock activities, but it continues to be one of the central concerns of the Laguna region agricultural sector.

The use of agricultural inputs was very widespread in the days of cotton cultivation, when about 90% of the ejido producers of the fiber utilized improved seeds, fertilizers and agrochemicals; importantly, they also had access to technical assistance. In contrast, the producers of basic grains generally used fewer inputs, since nine out of ten maize producers utilized non-hybrid seeds and did not employ agrochemicals, seven of every ten bean producers used non-hybrid seeds and did not use fertilizers, and 60% of the former and 90% of the latter did not utilize fertilizers or agrochemicals. The reduced access to sources of credit and the elimination of subsidies on inputs predictably have

tended to reduce their use on ejido farmlands, with consequent reductions in yields.³⁵ However, it should be understood that the pattern of crops (and their corresponding technological packages) is still in the process of being redefined, as are the ways agricultural inputs are employed in the ejido sector.

Unlike other regions of Mexico, the production of the ejido sector in the Laguna region is predominantly oriented towards the market. In 1990, 81% of the production measured in value of the four main crops (that is, cotton, alfalfa, maize and beans) was commercialized; in the case of cotton and alfalfa, this proportion was practically 100%. Although a high proportion (about two-thirds) of the production of maize and beans was for ejido consumption (by humans and animals), the recent orientation of crop patterns towards these products has changed this situation. The current production of maize and beans now basically responds to profitability criteria, given the lack of economic alternatives in the traditional production of cotton and given the high guaranteed prices of these basic grains.

The problem of credit has been a constant in the history of the ejido system in La Laguna (see Rello 1986). Local producers' dependence upon credits granted by Banrural and the bureaucratic and administrative criteria applied by that institution led to a culture of inefficient production and indebtedness that gravely damaged rural economy and society in the region. A vicious circle of inefficiency and debt resulted when non-payment of loans occurred due to Banrural's tolerant attitude towards the ejidatarios with delinquent loans or because credit was not applied to the productive uses for which it was granted -- often being diverted towards family consumption and other uses or applied to other crops. The undeclared corollary of this was Banrural's permanent tutelage over the producers, which had significant political and social implications.³⁶

Therefore, the change that Banrural policy has undergone during the Salinas administration has been of decisive importance, since it has forced producers to be more rational in their production decisionmaking (e.g., breaking the inertia of cotton cultivation) and to assume greater individual and collective responsibilities away from the bank's paternalistic tutelary eye. The cost has undoubtedly been very high. According to Banrural's own figures, during the 1988 spring-summer season the institution granted financing to a bit more than 34,000 producers (that is, 88% of the total number

^{35.} To counteract this situation, and in order to promote the modification in the regional pattern of crops, a program to stimulate maize, bean and wheat production has been put into effect in recent years.

^{36.} A similar situation arose with regard to agricultural and livestock insurance. The previous parastatal institution in charge of this function (Aseguradora Nacional Agrícola y Ganadera, S. A.[ANAGSA]) in practice allowed and fostered the improper use of the criteria for payment for damages, which ended up discouraging production and fostering corruption and parasitism. ANAGSA's elimination during 1989-1990, its replacement by AGROASEMEX and the support for the formation of self-insurance funds (Fondos de Autoaseguramiento) have represented significant changes in this area.

of ejido producers) covering 76,619 hectares, with 93% of these resources being channeled towards cotton cultivation. By 1992, credit was granted to only 13,000 producers (33% of the total number of ejido producers) covering 30,000 hectares, and the resources were channeled towards the production of basic grains and other crops that were not cotton. Of the total number of producers who were excluded from receiving credit from Banrural in 1992, a bit more than 30% were excluded for total or partial diversions of credit or of crops, 60% were denied credit for having sold their rights to land and water (i.e., they were not directly responsible for farming parcels ostensibly in their name), or because they were ejidatarios who were too old and feeble to work the land. The remaining 10% apparently do not require Banrural support because they have alternative sources of financing.³⁷

Finally, but no less important for understanding the problems of the ejido sector in the region, there are the aspects related to the organization of the producers. La Laguna is one of the regions of Mexico characterized by a high degree of organization among the rural producers of the social sector and by their high level of political awareness. In 1990, more than two thirds of the ejido producers in the area were members of some type of economic organization. Of these, 77% declared that they had organized to obtain credit, 43% gave the acquisition of inputs as the reason, and 39% the purchase of machinery and equipment. Only 15% of the organized producers stated that their motive for organizing was the regularization of land tenure, although 23% cited the petition of land. Other, less often cited reasons for organizing, included marketing of farm products and the construction of infrastructure.

Ejido unions are the predominant form of organization in the ejido sector of the Laguna region, except for the acquisition of inputs, when the Rural Associations in the Collective Interest (Asociaciones Rurales de Interés Colectivo, ARICs) are in the forefront. Following in importance are credit unions and the ARICs; whereas rural production societies, cooperative societies, and agricultural cooperatives have scant significance. In fact, the rural production societies are of some importance in organizing to obtain credit, inputs, and machinery and equipment, but are of little or no significance for other organizational objectives. Cooperative forms are practically non-existent in the region, judged by the small number of producers that belong to them. However, in the last three years new forms of producers' organizations have taken on significant importance, such as the

^{37.} In this regard see Banco de Crédito Rural del Centro-Norte, S.N.C. 1992. The growing presence of the National Solidarity Program (PRONASOL or *Solidarity*) in the financing of agricultural and livestock activities of the ejido sector should also be mentioned: the inter-season production program financed by this institution covered a bit more than 16,000 hectares in 1992, benefitting a total of 9,645 producers.

^{38.} In this regard see Aguilar and Araujo (1984). See also Craig (1990).

^{39.} After a significant historical experience of collective ejidos in the region from the 1930s through the 1960s, collective ejido forms have practically disappeared. Batopilas in this sense is an exception in its economic and organizational success. On this point see Eckstein and Restrepo (1979).

self-insurance funds (Fondos de Autoaseguramiento) and the Social Solidarity Societies (Sociedades de Solidaridad Social). Further, the joint venture agreements (convenios de asociación en participación) and contract agriculture (above all in the poultry sector) are taking shape as alternatives for the organization of the local producers under the new rules of the game that have been put in practice.

III. THE VIEWS OF THE RURAL PRODUCERS OF LA LAGUNA TOWARDS THE REFORM: GENERAL RESULTS OF THE SURVEY

The survey which served as the basis for our research was carried out by the INEGI as part of a program of opinion surveys on the impact of the new agrarian policy currently being implemented and already underway in the Laguna region.⁴⁰ The design of the sample for the Laguna region as a whole established a sample size of 1,000 informants divided into three groups: a) ejidatarios, (500 informants); b) private producers (400); and c) mixed (100). This sample size was calculated to have estimators with proportions greater than 20%, with a level of confidence of 90% and a relative error of 10% for the regional whole.

To obtain our corresponding subsample of ejido producers, the 625 ejidos that exist in La Laguna were ranked according to the number of ejidatarios per ejido, so that five strata were established.⁴¹ The number of required ejidos (50) was selected with systematic sampling, random start and proportional probability, and within each ejido 10 ejidatarios were selected at random.

In the case of the mixed and private producers, their productive units were ranked according to size (in hectares), so that five strata were also established.⁴² Producers within each strata were ranked according to the number of hectares they manage, and the required number of producers were selected on the basis of probability proportional to the size of their productive units, also with random start and systematic sampling.

The design of this sample allowed estimates to obtain percentages at the level of the Laguna region as a whole. In this way, the results of the survey appear in reference to four groups -- the whole

^{40.} See INEGI 1993; from here on it will be referred to as the survey.

^{41.} The strata were: a) ejidos with up to 100 ejidatarios; b) ejidos with from 101 to 200 ejidatarios; c) ejidos with 201 to 300 ejidatarios; d) ejidos with 301 to 500 ejidatarios; and e) ejidos with 501 or more ejidatarios.

^{42.} In this case, the strata by area were: a) plots of up to 10 hectares; b) plots between 11 and 50 hectares; c) plot between 51 and 100 hectares; d) plots between 101 and 300 hectares; and e) plots of 301 or more hectares.

set of rural producers, the ejidatarios, the private producers, and the mixed producers. Since the first group is in fact a weighted average of the rest, and since the group of mixed producers has a small specific weight in the universe of producers (close to 1%), we shall concentrate basically on the results having to do with the ejido producers and the private producers.

To the results of these two groups (which correspond strictly to the INEGI survey), we have added the results of three other subgroups: a) those of the subgroup made up of rural producers 25 years old and younger; b) those of the subgroup made up of ejidatarios who expressed their intent to sell all or part of their land; and c) those corresponding to the census survey we carried out ourselves in the Batopilas ejido, where we applied the INEGI questionnaire to all ejidatarios and residents (avecindados). We have devoted separate sections to these subgroups, presenting the main findings in each case. At the end of the section on Batopilas, we also decided to include a separate section with the results corresponding to the opinions of the women of Ejido Batopilas concerning their access to land and what should be done with it under the reform.

The survey is divided into six sections: 1) production decisions and expectations; 2) credit policy towards the countryside; 3) legal reform and certification of ejido rights; 4) trade opening and Free Trade Agreement; 5) agricultural subsidies policy; and 6) land tenure regime and employment expectations. For reasons of conciseness we decided to keep this structure and present the results of each section in this order. Therefore, this section presents the *general* results of the survey, which follow.

3.1. Production Decisions and Expectations

Fifty-five percent of ejido producers stated that they had planted maize during the 1993 spring-summer season, compared to 41% in the preceding year's agricultural season. Seventeen percent planted beans (versus 12% in the previous season) and close to 9% planted melons, compared to 4% in the 1992 cycle (see table 1). Only 3% of these producers planted alfalfa and/or sorghum for feed, which represents a proportion similar to that of previous seasons. For 1993, no ejido producers stated that they had planted cotton, while during the previous 1992 cycle, 22% of this group of producers indicated that they still grew the fiber.

In the group of private producers, 39% planted maize for human consumption in the cycle for 1993 (31% during 1992). Eighteen percent planted alfalfa (versus 15% in 1992); 5% stated that they had planted sorghum in this cycle and in the last. In relation to cotton, 20% of this group of producers still planted this crop in 1992, but during 1993 it also had disappeared from their production decisions.

According to the survey, the high costs of production, the lack of credit and the lack of market are the main causes why more than 37% of the rural producers have changed crops in recent

years (see tables 2 and 3), moving from cotton cultivation to the production of basic grains (maize and beans). This situation is basically the same among the ejidatarios and among the private producers, although in the case of the former the lack of credit has greater relative weight than among the latter. As we noted above, this is consistent with various phenomena that have occurred in recent years: the drop in the price of cotton on the world market, the increase in the cost of inputs (electrical energy, fertilizers, pesticides), the concommittant reduction in subsidies, Banrural's new policy (which excludes ejidatarios with overdue loans from receiving credit), and on the other side of the balance sheet, the high guaranteed prices for maize and beans. These are facts that have drastically changed the pattern of cultivation in the region, where only the importance of forage crops seems to have remained steady due to the dynamic livestock subsector that exists.

3.2. Credit Policy Towards The Countryside

Only 43% of the ejidatarios and 32% of the private producers obtained credit last year. Of the former, 68% obtained it from Banrural and 24% from Solidarity, while commercial banks were the main source of financing for 72% of the private producers (see tables 4 and 5). It should be noted that the relative importance of so-called *prestamistas* (moneylenders) is similar in both groups (6 to 8%), although slightly higher among private producers.

The producers who were surveyed stated that, aside from the sources of financing already mentioned, their production is financed with their own resources or secondarily with family loans. Only the private producers stated that they resorted to agroindustrial partners as a source of resources.

In the case of credits that did not come from Banrural, 88% of the ejido producers declared that they used them to purchase inputs, 19% for the construction or repair of installations and 18% to pay for day-labor. These proportions are similar among the private producers, although among the latter the purchase of machinery and breeding stock appear as important items.

Forty-six percent of the ejidatarios applied to Banrural for credit during the last agricultural year, and 34% of them obtained it. Of these, 36% were of the opinion that it was timely and sufficient, 40% that it was timely although insufficient, and the remaining 24% that it was not timely (see table 6). As of the date of the survey (April 1993), 61% of the ejidatarios financed by Banrural stated that they had paid off the credits they had received in 1992 from that institution entirely, using basically their own resources to do so. Those ejidatarios who have not yet liquidated their debts with the banks gave as their main reasons the loss of their crops (63%) and the low prices for their products (22%). The main use to which the Banrural credits were put, according to two-thirds of the ejidatarios who received them, was the purchase of inputs, while 6% also used them to pay for daylabor and 5% for family consumption.

It should be noted that only 60% of the ejidatarios declared that they knew about the conditions required by Banrural for granting credit. They stated that their main sources of information were government officials, other ejidatarios, and ejido authorities (see tables 23 and 24). Sixty-nine percent said that among these conditions are to not plant cotton and/or not have overdue loans, while 56% mentioned having collateral as a requirement for the granting of these loans.

Eighty-nine percent of the ejido producers expressed their conviction that the government has the obligation to provide credit to ejidatarios, although 52% of them stated that they could continue farming without depending upon Banrural for credit and 58% said that association with other economic agents would be an alternative source of financing for their productive activities (see tables 7, 8 and 9). On the other hand, after maize and beans, cotton continues to be mentioned by 21% of the producers as the crop they would plant if they had access to "optimum" credit, that is, timely and sufficient credit (see table 1), while 47% of them believe that Banrural should continue granting credit for cotton cultivation in the region. Finally, 42% of the ejidatarios and 38% of the private producers applied for or intend to apply for credit for the 1993 spring-summer season.

3.3. Legal Reform and Certification of Ejido Rights

Approximately 70% of the ejido producers and a bit more than 60% of the private ones know about the reform to Article 27 of the Constitution and about the existence of a new agrarian law (see table 24). Forty-three percent of the former found out through television, 36% through government officials, and 22% through the authorities of their ejido. In the case of the private producers, 57% found out through the newspaper, 56% through television, and 23% through government officials (see table 23). Sixty percent of the ejidatarios have discussed the reforms with their fellow ejidatarios, while 68% stated their belief that the latter support the reforms. These proportions are more or less similar in the case of private producers.

Ninety per cent of the *ejidatarios* know they could receive a certificate certifying their individual ejido rights, in case their ejido applies to PROCEDE. Nevertheless only 26% of them are informed about whether or not process of ejido rights certification is begun in their own ejidos, and only 28% say they know which governmental agencies will carry out this process.

Eighty-seven percent of the ejido producers and 85% of the private ones agree with the process of certification of ejido rights, although lower proportions in both groups (77% and 79% respectively) expressed their agreement with the reform to Article 27 of the Constitution and the new Agrarian Law (see tables 10 and 12). This allows us to assume that there exists a certain degree of confusion regarding the content of the legal reform on the part of the producers.⁴³

^{43.} In this regard see the text of Arturo Warman's paper at the Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego (Warman 1993).

As to the expectations awakened by the reform, 77% of the ejidatarios responded that with the certification of ejido rights they would be able to freely enter into associations with whomever they choose to in order to continue producing on their land. Eight percent noted that they will be able to sell their plots and another 8% that they will be able to rent them (see table 11). However, when this question was formulated in a more categorical manner in section 6 of the survey, where they were asked what they would do specifically with their plots, 82% of the ejido producers responded that they would continue to work their lands, 2.3% that they would sell all their land, 2% that they would sell part of their land, and 9.5% said that they would rent all or part of their land (see table 20).

3.4. Trade Opening and the North American Free Trade Agreement

Sixty-one percent of the ejidatarios and 52% of the private producers have not heard of the trade opening. In contrast, only 15% of the former and 13% of the latter have not heard of the NAFTA (see table 24). In the case of the producers who knew about these two subjects, close to 80% of each of the two groups learned about them through television; 30% of the ejido producers and 62% of the private producers stated that they had heard through the newspapers; and 30% of the ejidatarios and 36% of the private producers knew through the radio. The authorities of the ejido or the government officials are less important sources of information on these subjects for the ejidatarios, as only 5% learned about them through either of these sources (see table 23).

In the case of the producers who knew about the trade opening, 53% of the ejido producers and 44% of the private ones think that this opening has not benefitted them as producers, while 15% in both groups declared that they did not know. Thirteen percent in both groups declared that the opening has meant better prices for their products, but 23% of the ejidatarios and 19% of the private producers note that, on the contrary, the opening has meant lower prices for their products and higher production costs. Only 9% in both groups think that the opening has meant greater market potential, while 12% of the ejidatarios and 21% of the private producers state that it means greater competition for their products.

As consumers, 44% of the ejidatarios who have heard of the trade opening and 29% of the private producers who have heard about it stated that the opening has not benefitted them, while 17% and 11% respectively said they did not know. On average, 16% of the rural producers who knew about the trade opening think that as consumers it has meant cheaper goods for them, and 10% are of the opinion that it has meant higher quality, a better supply, and a greater variety of goods. However, 15% said that the opening has meant low quality goods, and 30% believe that it has resulted in more expensive goods.

As to the trade opening's effects on the regional agricultural and livestock sector, 34% of the ejido and private producers think that it has benefitted them, but 41% of the former and 33% of the

latter said they did not know. As to the NAFTA, 46% of both groups said that it would be positive for the region's agriculture were it to go into effect, while 26% expressed that they could not have an opinion on the subject. In any case, close to one-fourth of the producers, on average, think that both the trade opening and the NAFTA do not benefit or will not benefit the Laguna region's countryside (see table 13).

Forty-nine percent of the ejidatarios think that with the trade opening and the NAFTA, the regional crop pattern will undergo changes. These changes, in their opinion, will be toward maize, beans and cotton, and secondarily wheat, fruit and vegetables (see table 1). For their part, 58% of the private producers think that the crop patterns will be modified as a result of the above-mentioned phenomena. For this group, the change will also be towards maize, fruit and vegetables, beans and cotton, although they also concede certain importance to the production of nuts, forage crops and melon, all of which are commercial crops that are well-known in the region. However, these results are not that different compared to the pattern of crops currently in place, so that it can be said that among the producers there is not yet a comprehensive vision of their productive options in the framework of integration and trade liberalization, or that the region is moving within a limited number of productive options.

3.5. Agricultural Subsidy Policy44

Close to 90% of the ejido producers and 75% of the private producers stated that they did not know about agricultural prices, costs or subsidies in other countries (see table 24). Of those who indicated that they did know, in the case of the ejidatarios they had found out primarily through television, while the private producers found out through the newspapers. Here too we see the scant importance of the ejido authorities or of government officials as sources of information on these topics, since almost the entirety of the ejidatarios and private producers stated that they had not found out through those channels (see table 23). However, a majority in both groups expressed that it should be the government that provides the rural producers with adequate information on the conditions of international markets.

In relation to subsidies, 90% of the producers, whether social or private, think that the government should support them through these means. But while 41% of the ejidatarios and 57% of the private producers think that this should be through input prices, 42% of the former and 31% of the latter are of the opinion that they should be granted directly in cash (see tables 14 and 15).

In response to queries about the then potential policy of direct subsidies to producers (unveiled six months after the survey was completed under the rubric PROCAMPO), only 16% of ejidatarios and 23% of private producers had heard of the proposal and of the fact that it was

^{44.} The INEGI survey was carried out in April 1993, that is, before PROCAMPO went into effect.

expected to be implemented soon after the date of the survey (April 1993) (see table 24). Here television also appears as the main source of information in this regard, since 54% of both groups said they had heard about the potential new subsidy policy through this means (see table 23). Sixtyone percent of the ejidatarios who knew about it said that they had discussed it with their fellow ejidatarios, while the private producers said in their entirety that they had not discussed it. At the time of the survey, 28% of all the producers expect that the quality of their products will improve should this policy be implemented, and a similar proportion believes that they will be able to raise their income level. Eighteen percent of the ejidatarios and 30% of the private producers expect to be able to raise their production, although only 19% of the former and 11% of the latter expect to be able to export as a result of the policy (see table 16).

3.6. Land Tenure and Employment

Eighty-three percent of the ejidatarios and 72% of the private producers have their land and their livestock as their only source of income (see table 17). Forty-seven percent of the ejidatarios who have another source of income stated that it comes from employment as agricultural day-laborers, 15% from employment as wage-workers, and 9% from trade (comerciantes). In the case of the private producers, these proportions were respectively 14%, 19% and 26%. Only 4.5% of the ejido producers and 3.4% of the private producers stated that they supplemented their income through employment as braceros, that is as migrant agricultural workers in the United States (see table 18).

Thirty percent of the ejidatarios stated that they were convinced that their fellow ejidatarios would sell their land should the assembly of their ejido opt for individual titles (*titulación*) (see table 19). However, when they were asked what each one would do themselves, 82% said that they would continue to work their land. Only 2.3% stated that they would sell all their land and 2% that they would sell part of it. In contrast, 9.5% would be willing to rent part or all of their land (see table 20).

On the side of the private producers, 51% are of the opinion that the ejidatarios would sell their land, which of course appears to be consistent with their expectations to acquire these lands under given conditions.

On the other hand, 47% of the ejidatarios said that they would continue to live in their current population center if they sold or rented their land. Twenty-seven percent would go elsewhere and 26% declared that they did not know at present what decision they would take in those circumstances. Within the group of probable migrants, 57% of them said that they would go to the U.S.-Mexico border or to another country, while 28% stated that they would go to the Torreón-Gómez Palacio-Ciudad Lerdo urban area. These proportions are relatively similar in the case of the private producers (see table 21).

Finally, in case they sold or rented their plots, 52% of the ejidatarios declared that they would find employment as agricultural day-laborers, 13% as industrial or craft wage-workers, and 11% as established or travelling tradesmen (*comerciantes*). Only 2.4% said they would find employment as *braceros* if they sold or rented their land (see table 22).

The preceding results suggest, in our opinion, that there exists a strong attachment to the land among the producers. It should not be forgotten, of course, that almost 78% of the ejidatarios are over 40 years old (and therefore prone to preserve their rural and ejido condition) (see table 25). But it may be affirmed that there is a tendency among the ejido producers of La Laguna region to preserve their lands and to continue to reside in their places of origin. This tendency depends, however, among other things, upon two factors: one is external, having to do with the orientation of agricultural policy and efficiency of the system of support and stimulus to production; the other is internal, and has to do directly with the ability of the producers themselves to develop a solid, autonomous organizational base, which can allow them to successfully face the challenges of the present economic environment.

IV. RESULTS OF THE SURVEY FOR RURAL PRODUCERS TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OLD AND YOUNGER

Using the information from the survey carried out by INEGI, we obtained results regarding the rural producers of La Laguna region who are 25 years old and younger and represent 6.5% of the surveyed population. As we explained earlier, the importance of analyzing this subgroup of the sample separately lies in the fact that the profile and the expectations of La Laguna region rural producers towards the reform are biased by the great specific weight of the "old" ejidatarios (over 40 years old), while it is to be expected that the changes resulting from the reform will have the new generations of the rural population as the main targets. The main results for this group follow.

4.1. Production Decisions and Expectations

Fourteen percent of the ejidatarios and 23% of the private producers 25 years old and younger have changed crops in recent years (compared to 38% and 35% of all ejidatarios and of all private producers, respectively) (see table 2). Eighty-seven percent of the young ejidatarios gave high costs of production as the reason for the change in crop and the remaining 13% cited the lack of credit (which contrasts with 41% and 34% respectively for all ejidatarios). For their part, the private producers 25 years old and younger in their entirety said that the reason for the change in their crops was the high cost of production, which also contrasts with the 45% of all private producers who gave this reason. The greater weight of the cost variable among the younger producers may indicate a different economic rationality, based above all on profitability criteria.

4.2. Credit Policy Towards the Countryside

As to the financing of their productive activities, all of the rural producers 25 years old and younger (ejidatarios as well as private producers) obtained credit in 1992 (versus 43% and 32% of all ejidatarios and private producers, respectively) (see table 4). In the case of the young ejidatarios, their sources of financing were Banrural (which gave credit to 60% of this type of producers) and Solidarity (40%) (see table 5). Meanwhile, the sources of financing for young private producers were commercial banks (which covered 41% of them) and Solidarity (which covered the remaining 59%). 45

As may be observed, the three significant variables here are: a) complete access to credit on the part of young producers; b) a greater weight of Solidarity in the financing of their activities (which paradoxically is greater among private than among ejido producers); and c) the non-dependence on moneylenders. This could be interpreted as a greater link between the young producers and the new institutions and a rejection of the traditional mechanisms of financial dependence.

This idea is reinforced when we note that only 35% of the young ejidatarios applied to Banrural for credit in 1992 (versus 46% of all ejidatarios). Seventy-eight percent of those that applied received loans (versus 73% of all ejido producers who applied) (see table 6). However, a greater proportion (62%) of this type of producer declared that they did not know about Banrural's requirements for granting credit, which contrasts with 40% of all ejidatarios who said they did not know (see table 24).

Like the group of all ejidatarios, 90% of young ejidatarios declared that the government should provide credit to rural producers, although about half think that they could continue farming without credit from Banrural. Similar proportions among the group of all ejidatarios and the young (close to two-thirds in both cases) can be observed with regard to their expectations in favor of associations as a credit alternative (see tables 7, 8, and 9); these proportions are slightly higher among private producers.

4.3. Legal Reform and Certification of Ejido Rights

With reference to the reform, the levels of knowledge about it are similar among the young ejidatarios and all ejidatarios (close to three-fourths of them declared that they knew about it) (see tables 23 and 24). The main sources of this information were the mass media (press, radio, and above

^{45.} Here we also see a significant difference compared with all producers of both types, since for all ejido producers the weight of Banrural is greater (69%), that of Solidarity is less (24%), and a bit more than 6% depend on moneylenders (see table 5). In the case of the private producers, the difference is similar, with the circumstance that all producers of this type depend basically on commercial banks (72%), 13% on Solidarity, and 8% on moneylenders.

SALINAS & SOLÍS

all, television). Like all ejidatarios, more than half the young ejidatarios have discussed the reform among themselves, and about 70% of them think that their fellow ejidatarios support it.

Like all ejido producers, 90% of the group of young ejidatarios know about PROCEDE, but only 12% know when this program will begin in their ejidos (versus 26% of all ejidatarios). Only 17% know about the institution that will carry it out (versus 28% of all ejidatarios) (see tables 23 and 24), but almost all (98%) of the young ejidatarios are in agreement with the certification of their rights (versus 87% of all ejido producers) (see table 10).

Eighty-eight percent of the young ejidatarios declared that they were in favor of the reform (77% in the case of all ejidatarios) (see table 12), indicating that once their rights were certified they would be able to freely associate with whomever they chose (84%) or sell their land (10%). Only 3% said there was a possibility that they might rent their land, contrasting with 8% of all ejidatarios who said that.

4.4. Trade Opening and the North American Free Trade Agreement

In relation to the trade liberalization policy, 38% of the ejidatarios and 85% of the private producers 25 years old and younger have heard about it. These proportions are greater in the case of the NAFTA, where 86% of the former and 100% of the latter declared that they knew about it (see table 24). Their main sources of information were, as in the case of the reform, the mass media (primarily television).

Forty-one percent of the ejidatarios and 53% of the private producers think that the trade opening is beneficial for regional agriculture, but in relation to the NAFTA these proportions are 68% and 41% respectively (see table 13). The levels of information as well as the consensus regarding trade liberalization and economic integration are greater among the young producers in relation to the producers as a whole, with the exception of the reservations that the young private producers seem to have towards the NAFTA.

Finally, 63% of the ejidatarios and 74% of the young private producers think that both the trade opening and the NAFTA will change (or are already changing, in the case of the former) the current pattern of crops in the region.

4.5. Agricultural Subsidies Policy

In relation to agricultural subsidies policy, 100% of the ejidatarios and 61% of the private producers 25 years old and younger think that the government should provide subsidies to rural

^{46.} These figures are slightly higher than those corresponding to all ejidatarios, which are 77% and 8%, respectively. See table 11.

producers (for the producers as a whole, both ejido and private, this figure is 90%) (see table 14). As to the form of the subsidy, 90% of the former and 42% of the latter think that it should be in cash, while the remaining 10% and 58% are of the opinion that it should be through the price of inputs (see table 15).

As to the potential policy of direct subsidies to producers, only 20% of the young ejidatarios had heard of it, while no young private producers stated that they knew about it.⁴⁷ In this case, the main sources of information for the ejido producers were their own fellow ejidatarios and government officials. Fifty-three percent think that were this policy to go into effect it could improve the quality of their products and the remaining 47% think that it could increase their income (see table 16).

4.6. Land Tenure Regime and Employment Expectations

Finally, in relation to land tenure and employment and income expectations, 69% of the ejidatarios and 61% of the private producers 25 years old and younger declared that they had their land or their livestock as the sole source of income. Eighty-six percent of the young ejidatarios who have other sources of income said they were employed as agricultural day-laborers and 8% as self-employed workers (see table 18). For their part, 33% of the private producers in the same situation said they were employed as agricultural day-laborers and a similar percentage as wage workers. It is significant that the activity of *bracero* does not appear in either group of young producers as an alternative source of income, while it does appear (although to a limited extent) among the group of both types of producers as a whole.

With regard to the sale of land, only 12% of the young ejidatarios think that their fellow ejidatarios would sell their plots if the ejido assembly were to decide in favor of individual titles (versus 30% of the ejidatarios as a whole) (see table 19). This proportion is much greater (almost 80%) in the case of the young private producers, who were asked this question in reference to the ejidatarios in their immediate surroundings. This, of course, reflects the difference in perspective and expectations between both groups of producers.

When asked about their own particular decision regarding the sale of their land, 87% of the young ejidatarios declared that they would continue working their plots and 12% said that they would rent all or part of them. Only 1% stated that they would sell their plot entirely, and there was not one respondent who stated his desire to sell his land in part (see table 20).

^{47.} In the case of the private producers this contrasts with the figure corresponding to this type of producers as a whole, among whom 23% declared they knew about it. See table 24.

^{48.} This represents figures below the 83% and 72% of the ejido producers and private producers as a whole, respectively. See table 17.

Lastly, 42% of the young ejidatarios who were interviewed said that if they sold or rented their land they would leave their place of origin. Eighty-one percent of these potential migrants indicated that they would go to another country (presumably the United States) or to the border with the United States, and the remaining 19% said they would go to the Torreón-Gómez Palacio-Ciudad Lerdo urban area (see table 21). Seventy percent said they would find employment as agricultural day-laborers and 17% said they would be self-employed (see table 22).

From our point of view, the preceding panorama permits drawing a conclusion that may seem paradoxical: although they are apparently less willing to definitely sell their land, the young ejidatarios are permeated by the need for change and are willing to run the risks that this entails, among others those that imply participating in the outside world.

V. RESULTS OF THE SURVEY FOR EJIDATARIOS WILLING TO SELL THEIR LAND

In the course of the discussion that followed our June 1993 seminar,⁴⁹ it was pointed out that it would be pertinent to analyze the characteristics of the group of ejidatarios who, when they responded to the survey questionnaire, expressed their intention to sell all or part of their land. Since the majority of the ejidatarios who were interviewed (82%) expressed their intention to not sell their land and to continue working it, and also since the majority of them (78%) are older than 40 years of age, an assumption that was appealingly logical was that the group of ejidatarios who wanted to sell was presumably made up of young ejidatarios.⁵⁰

On the other hand, the expectations of selling their land among this group might well have been conditioned by a different situation in terms of production, credit, income derived from their current occupation, etc. Therefore it seemed very important to know the profile of the group that wishes to sell, not only from the point of view of their age,⁵¹ but also from the productive, credit and occupational angle, as well as their levels of information and their attitude towards the reform.

^{49.} See above, note 10.

⁵⁰. However, as was seen in the preceding section, only 1% of the producers 25 years old and younger expressed a willingness to sell their land.

^{51.} This group represents, as was already noted, 4.3% of the ejido producers of La Laguna region, that is, 1,683 producers out of a total of 38,970 ejidatarios. Seventy-four percent of the ejidatarios who want to sell are older than 40 years of age. One-fourth are between 26 and 40 years old. It is in general a "mature" population, since only 2% are younger than 26 years of age. See table 25.

Because of this, using the database of the INEGI survey, we obtained results for this subgroup of the sample, which we present below.

5.1. Production Decisions and Expectations

Forty-eight percent of the group of ejidatarios willing to sell their land has changed crops in recent years (versus 38% of all ejidatarios). According to those willing to sell, their decision was due basically to the high costs of production (40% of respondents), the lack of water (20%) and the lack of credit (13%). From our point of view, this indicates a difference with regard to the whole group of ejidatarios who have changed crops. Although 41% of the latter also pointed to the high costs of production as the reason for changing crops, the lack of credit was mentioned by 34% and the lack of water only by 12% (see tables 2 and 3).

Without other elements of analysis, the preceding outline seems to suggest the fact that a good part of the ejidatarios willing to sell are those whose lands suffer from a lack of water (aside from the common problem of high costs of production which agricultural and livestock activities in general face). Because of administrative or financial reasons, 52 this problem cannot be solved through digging new wells or with new assignments of gravity-fed water. However, only a more detailed analysis of their situation could provide a more conclusive answer in this regard. 53

5.2. Credit Policy Towards the Countryside

Seventy-two percent of the ejidatarios willing to sell their land obtained credit during 1992 (versus 43% of the ejido producers as a whole). Forty-three percent obtained it from Banrural, 17% from moneylenders and 8% from some agroindustrial partner. Practically all of them are producers who do not have access to credit from commercial banks, a characteristic they share with the ejido producers as a whole. However, while one-fourth of the latter have access to resources from Solidarity, only 3% of the producers who want to sell declared that they had received financing from this source. On the other hand, these are producers who depend relatively more on informal sources

^{52.} Given the scarcity of water in the region, a large part of the territory of La Laguna region is under a ban, that is, the SARH and the National Water Commission (*Comisión Nacional del Agua*, Conagua) will not authorize the perforation of new wells for pumping in the areas under the ban.

^{53.} The other issue that also demands more specific analysis is related to the relationship that could be established between the group of ejidatarios who wish to sell and the practically urban or suburban location of their plots. This phenomenon, resulting from the explosive growth of the Torreón-Gómez Palacio-Ciudad Lerdo urban area, has led to an accelerated increase in the value of the ejido lands contiguous to the urban sprawl, which tend to be assimilated by the latter as a function of the growing demand for housing or lots for industrial, commercial or public service installations, etc. In light of this, it is very likely that there does exist a functional connection between the expectations of sale of their land among this group of producers and the current urban or semi-urban condition of a good part of these lands. However, for thematic and space reasons we do not develop this point here.

of credit (moneylenders) or on association with an agroindustrial firm than the ejido producers as a whole.⁵⁴

In terms of their relationship with Banrural, 48% of the ejidatarios willing to sell their land applied for credit to this institution during the previous agricultural year (1992). Of these, 75% obtained loans (see table 6), which, they indicated, were utilized for the purchase of inputs and planting their crops. Only 3% of these producers said they had used the Banrural credit to pay for day-labor (which contrasts with 6% of all ejido producers), so that it may be said that they basically depend on the use of family labor to carry out their productive activities. Fifty-six percent of these producers stated that they knew about Banrural's requirements for granting credits, having learned about them primarily from the authorities of their ejido, from other ejidatarios, or from government officials.⁵⁵

Finally, 87% of the ejidatarios who want to sell believe that the government has the obligation to grant credit to the rural producers, although 65% think that they can continue to work their plots without depending on credit from Banrural. However, only 45% of these producers see association with other economic agents as an alternative when faced with the lack of credit for the countryside (versus 58% of all ejidatarios) (see tables 7, 8 and 9). When asked about the type of crops that they would plant if they had timely and sufficient credit, these producers pointed to maize, beans and cotton. These results overall are very similar to those obtained for the ejido producers as a whole.

5.3. Legal Reform and Certification of Ejido Rights

Ninety-three percent of the ejidatarios who want to sell have heard of the reform to Article 27 of the Constitution and the new Agrarian Law (versus 70% of all ejidatarios) (see table 24). They declared that their main sources of information for this were government officials, authorities in their ejido, and newspapers. Half of these producers have discussed the reform with their fellow ejidatarios and 84% think that the ejidatarios agree with it. Ninety-seven percent know about PROCEDE (90% in the case of ejido producers as a whole), but only 35% know when the certification of rights will begin in their ejido. On the other hand, 65% said that they knew which institution was implementing PROCEDE, which contrasts with 28% of the ejidatarios as a whole (see table 24).

Ninety-four percent expressed their agreement with the certification of rights (versus 87% of all ejidatarios), and 29% indicated that once this certification is carried out the ejidatarios will be

^{54.} According to the survey, only 6% of the ejido producers as a whole were financed by moneylenders in 1992, and less than 1% financed their activities through some agroindustrial partner. See tables 4 and 5.

^{55.} For the ejido producers as a whole, these figures are very similar. See table 24.

able to freely sell their land (8% in the case of the ejidatarios as a whole). Lastly, 77% of this type of producers indicated that they agreed with the reform, a figure equal to that for all ejidatarios interviewed (see tables 10, 11 and 12).

As a conclusion for this point, we can say that the ejidatarios willing to sell their land in general are better informed about the reform than the rest of ejido producers. Although their agreement with the reform is practically equal to that of all ejidatarios, this consensus is appreciably higher in reference to the certification of rights, perhaps because certification is viewed as a concrete action that may make the realization of their expectations to sell viable.

5.4. Trade Opening and the North American Free Trade Agreement

Fifty-nine percent of the ejido producers willing to sell their land have heard of the trade opening. In contrast, 96% said they knew about the fact that NAFTA would probably go into effect.⁵⁶ These producers mentioned the mass media -- primarily television -- as their main source of information in this regard, a similar pattern to that observed among the ejido producers as a whole.

About 40% think that the liberalization policy and the probable NAFTA do not benefit or will not benefit the regional agricultural and livestock sector (versus approximately 25% of all ejidatarios), but 45% have no opinion on the effects of the former and 29% said they did not know what the consequences would be of the latter (see table 13).

According to these producers, the trade opening and the NAFTA will modify or are already modifying the regional crop pattern towards the production of basic grains (maize and beans) and towards a return to cotton, as well as, secondarily, towards fruits and vegetables. These results, overall, are similar to those observed for all the ejido producers interviewed.

5.5. Agricultural Subsidies Policy

Ninety percent of the producers who want to sell their land have no knowledge of international agricultural prices and costs and slightly more than 80% do not know about agricultural subsidies in other countries.⁵⁷ In general, their main sources of information on international agricultural variables are the press, radio, and above all television. However, they pointed to the government as the source that should provide information to producers about international agricultural markets. Like the ejido producers as a whole, this group of ejidatarios does not know about the existence or the functions of the new agency Supports and Services to Agricultural and

^{56.} These figures are higher than the ones for ejido producers as a whole, which are 39% and 85%, respectively. See tables 23 and 24.

^{57.} These figures are very similar to those observed for all ejido producers. See table 24.

Livestock Marketing (Apoyos y Servicios a la Comercialización Agropecuaria, ASERCA), since it was not mentioned in practically any case.

Ninety-four percent of these producers are of the opinion that the government should provide subsidies to rural producers (a figure that is slightly higher than that for ejidatarios as a whole). Of them, 56% said that subsidies should be channeled through input prices, while the remaining 44% indicated that they should be granted in cash (see tables 14 and 15).

Three-fourths of this group of ejidatarios declared that they did not know, at the time of the survey, about the proposed policy of direct subsidies to agricultural producers (see table 24). Those who did know pointed to television and other ejidatarios as their main sources for the information. Their expectations regarding this policy are that it will increase their income (40% of these producers) and increase their production (26%). Only 12% believe that they will be able to export and/or improve the quality of their products as a result of the implementation of this policy (see table 16).

5.6. Land Tenure Regime and Employment Expectations

Seventy-eight percent of the ejidatarios willing to sell their plots have their land and their livestock as a sole source of income (versus 83% for ejidatarios as a whole). Of the remaining 22% who have another source of income, a bit more than one third declared that they were employed as agricultural day-laborers, one fourth as wage-workers, and 7% as *braceros* (see tables 17 and 18).

Sixty-two percent of these producers think that the ejidatarios would sell their land if the assembly were to opt for individual titles to plots (which contrasts with the 30% observed for ejido producers as a whole). Only 10% think that they would not sell and 29% said that they did not know (see table 19). However, when asked about their decision in particular, 54% declared that they would sell all their land, and the remaining 46% expressed their willingness to sell part of it (see table 20). Sixty percent said that if they sold their land they would continue living in their current place of residence. Ten percent said they would go to the border with the United States, and 12% to their state capital (see table 21). Of those producers who would remain in their current place of residence, 47% said they would find employment as agricultural day-laborers, 34% as industrial or craft wageworkers, and 9% declared that they would find employment as *braceros*. 58

As a conclusion, we may say that this group of producers shows a greater tendency to change their productive options and to resort to other sources of financing aside from the official ones

^{58.} See table 22. As may be supposed, they would keep their place of residence. This type of apparently contradictory responses were recorded under the category of "Other" in the INEGI questionnaire. However, it permits including those producers who would sell their land and find employment as *braceros* but who would not definitely move elsewhere.

(Banrural and Solidarity). Also, they seem to depend less on their lands and livestock than the ejido producers as a whole, seeking alternative sources of income, basically of a wage nature. This may reflect, among other things, a meager and unproductive resource endowment (little water, little land and poor quality land).

However, although this group is similar to the ejidatarios as a whole in terms of their favorable attitude towards the reform, they have a greater level of information about it and about the mechanisms through which it will be implemented (among them above all PROCEDE) than the others. Apparently, their degree of information about liberalization and integration is higher, but so are their reservations about the benefits of these policies. They share with the ejido producers as a whole a low level of information about world agricultural and livestock prices, costs and subsidies. Nevertheless, they seem to be a type of producer who is more in search of employment options within or outside of the rural sector than the rest of the ejidatarios, which to a large extent conditions their willingness to sell their land.

VI. RESULTS OF THE CENSUS SURVEY IN THE COLLECTIVE EJIDO OF BATOPILAS

As we noted in our Introduction, the bulk of our fieldwork in La Laguna region took place in the collective ejido of Batopilas, which we found propitious because of the features of organization and participation among its members and our previous research work there extending over a period of more than ten years. ⁵⁹ With the ejido's agreement, we took the INEGI questionnaire to all ejidatarios and residents. Of the 79 people who were interviewed, 49% are older than 40 years of age, 41% are between 26 and 40 years old, and 10% are less than 26 years old. ⁶⁰ Seventy-six percent of those interviewed were ejidatarios and the rest were residents.

Additionally, in order to analyze the role of women in ejidatarios' decisions within the context of the reform, we have included at the end of this section a discussion of the results of a

^{59.} The collective ejido of Batopilas is located in the municipality of Francisco I. Madero in Coahuila's Laguna region. It is an ejido of recent creation (April 1976) which unlike the majority of the ejidos in the region functions on a collective and self-management basis. It is the result of a strike movement that in the mid-1970s pitted the wine and vineyard firm Bodegas Batopilas, S.A. against its wage-workers in a fight over labor demands. As a result of a long and difficult process of mobilization, 76 wage-workers became ejidatarios through a presidential decree that granted them an area of 375 hectares of pump-irrigated land. For a detailed presentation of the process in Batopilas, see Salinas et al 1993.

^{60.} See table 25. As may be observed, the average age is lower in Batopilas than among the ejido producers surveyed as a whole, with a greater proportion of "young" ejidatarios.

questionnaire that we distributed to the women of Ejido Batopilas ejidatarios at the same time that the census survey was carried out in that ejido.

To adequately understand the results of the census survey carried out in Batopilas it is necessary to consider that due to its nature as a collective ejido there is no assignment of individual plots within the ejido. Therefore, decisions regarding production, credit, marketing, etc., are not taken in an individual manner but collectively by the ejido assembly, made up of all the members of the ejido. In this sense, the lack of unanimity apparent in some of the results should be interpreted as the product of a lack of information on the part of some of those interviewed and/or because non-ejidatarios resident in the ejido (and thus who normally do not participate in the ejido's decisionmaking) were included in the survey.

6.1. Production Decisions and Expectations

In this regard, the results of the census indicate that the ejido is oriented primarily towards the production of forage crops (alfalfa and, to a lesser extent, maize for feed) and maize for human consumption, having abandoned cotton cultivation just like the ejido producers of the region as a whole. This is due to the fact that they have taken as a productive option the raising of purebred dairy cattle, and for this purpose have built a stable that can currently handle about 600 head. The production of forage crops is due basically to the feed requirements of this herd, so that there has been an integration of productive activities around the aforementioned stable.⁶¹

Since this project has been in place for a number of years, 85% of the Batopilas producers declared that the ejido has not changed crops. The remaining 15% stated that the change in crops has been due basically to high costs of production. Since they have pump irrigation and gravity-fed water, the lack of water was not mentioned as a cause for the change.

6.2. Credit Policy Towards the Countryside

Eighty-one percent of those interviewed said that the ejido did not obtain any credit during 1992. For the 19% who stated that credit was obtained, two-thirds think that it came from Banrural, slightly more than one-fourth think that it was granted by Solidarity, and 7% think that it came from commercial banks (see tables 4 and 5). All of those interviewed stated that the credit was channeled to the purchase of inputs.

Sixty-four percent of those interviewed stated that the ejido did not apply for credit to Banrural during the past agricultural year of 1992. Of the remaining 36%, nearly 60% think that the

^{61.} To ensure the marketing of their milk production, Batopilas became a stockholder of the LaLa dairy products consortium, the most important in the region and in the country. However, the profitability of this activity has diminished as a result of imports of significant amounts of powdered milk from abroad.

credit was not granted (see table 6). A large majority (90%) of those who believe that the ejido did have access to Banrural credit last year think that it has not yet been paid, and the reasons given were high interest, loss of crops and low sale prices for their products. Fifty-six percent of those interviewed said that they did not know what Banrural's requirements are for granting credit (see table 24), while the 44% who stated that they did know pointed to the ejido authorities, other ejidatarios or government officials as their sources for this information. Not having overdue loans, not planting cotton, and having collateral were among the requirements that they said Banrural demands.

Seventy-eight percent of the members of the Batopilas ejido think that the government has the obligation to grant credit to the rural producers, although 56% believe that they could continue farming without depending upon the Banrural credit. A bit more than two-thirds of them are of the opinion that association with other producers is an alternative to obtain financing (see tables 7, 8 and 9). The crops that they would plant if they had access to timely and sufficient credit are basic grains (maize and beans) and forage crops. Lastly, nearly 70% of those interviewed expressed the view that the ejido has not applied for or will not apply for credit for the 1993 spring-summer season.

6.3. Legal Reform and Certification of Ejido Rights

More than 50% of those interviewed stated that they had no knowledge of the changes to Article 27 of the Constitution nor of the existence of a new Agrarian Law.⁶² About half of those who stated that they did know about the changes and the new law indicated that their source of information was television, and 40% mentioned the ejido authorities as their source.⁶³ Eighty percent of those who knew said they had discussed the content of the reform with their fellow ejidatarios, and 73% believe that these fellow ejidatarios agree with it.

With regard to PROCEDE, 68% of those interviewed said they knew about it. Seventy-four percent said they did not know when this program would begin in the ejido and 68% did not know what institution is implementing it (see table 24). Ninety-four percent said that they agreed with the certification of rights and 74% think that, once carried out, they will be able to freely associate with whoever is most convenient for them in order to produce. Eight percent think that they will be able to sell the land and 4% think that they will be able to rent it. Finally, 81% of the members of

^{62.} See table 24. This figure is clearly higher than that for the ejido producers of the region as a whole, where about 30% said they did not know about the existence of the legal reform. This is explained in part by the fact that both ejidatarios and residents were included in the survey in Batopilas.

^{63.} This proportion is practically double that observed for the ejido producers of La Laguna region as a whole, which suggests that in Batopilas there is a different relationship between ejido authorities and ejidatarios than that which apparently prevails in other ejidos.

Batopilas, ejidatarios and non-ejidatario residents (*avecindados*), expressed their agreement with the reform (see tables 10, 11 and 12).

6.4. Trade Opening and the North American Free Trade Agreement

On the other hand, 86% said they had heard about the probable implementation of a NAFTA with the United States and Canada (see table 24). They said that their sources of information on these topics were primarily television, followed by the press and radio.

Thirty-six percent think that the trade opening has not benefitted them as producers, and 26% think that it has not hurt them. About one-third of those interviewed responded that they did not know how it had affected them. One-third think that they have not received any benefits as consumers, a similar proportion think that they have not been hurt, and nearly three-fourths do not know whether it has benefitted them or not. About one-third think that the trade opening has been beneficial for the region's agricultural and livestock sector and nearly 60% expressed the opinion that the NAFTA will have a positive effect on this sector if it goes into effect (see table 13).

Slightly more than half of those interviewed believe that the current crop pattern in La Laguna region is changing or will change with the trade opening and the eventual NAFTA, stating that this change is towards maize, fruits and vegetables, beans and cotton.

6.5. Agricultural Subsidies Policy

Nearly all of those interviewed said that they did not know about agricultural and livestock prices, costs or subsidies in other countries (see table 24). The few respondents who said they knew about these topics said they had heard about them primarily through television, the press or the ejido authorities. These respondents said that the government should be the one to provide information on international agricultural and livestock market conditions.

Seventy-three percent believe that the government has the obligation to provide subsidies to rural producers. Nearly two-thirds of those who think so are of the opinion that these subsidies should be granted through input prices and one-fourth believe that they should be given in cash (see tables 14 and 15). More than 80% do not know about the federal government's proposed policy of direct subsidies to agricultural and livestock producers (see table 24). Twenty percent stated that they did know about it, and gave as their sources of information television, the ejido authorities, and government officials, while 87% of those that knew said they had discussed this policy with their fellow ejidatarios. Thirty-six percent expect that as a result of the implementation of this policy they will increase their income and/or their production, while 18% expect that they will be able to export (see table 16).

6.6. Land Tenure Regime and Employment Expectations

Ninety percent of those interviewed in Batopilas said that their land and their livestock were their sole source of income. Those that have other sources of income said they were employed as agricultural day-laborers (57%) and wage-workers (29%). Fourteen percent said they practiced their profession. None of the respondents in the survey said that they found employment as *braceros* (see tables 17 and 18).

Eighty-one percent of those interviewed think that the ejidatarios are not willing to sell their land, even if the ejido assembly were to decide in favor of individual titles (and, therefore, for ending the status of Batopilas as a collective ejido). Only 5% believe that they would sell the land and 14% declared that they did not know one way or another (see table 19). When asked about their own particular decision regarding the sale of the land, 92% of the respondents said that they were not willing to sell and that they were willing to continue to work the land. Only 1% said that they were willing to sell and another 1% willing to rent their land (see table 20). Almost half of those who would be willing to sell would stay in Batopilas, 8% would go to the border with the United States, and 5% would move to Torreón, Gómez Palacio or Ciudad Lerdo. Thirty-six percent said, however, that they did not know what decision they would take if faced with this situation (see table 21). Lastly, half of those willing to sell their land and stay to live in Batopilas said that they would find employment as agricultural day-laborers, while the other half said that they would find employment as industrial or craft workers (see table 22).

In short, a larger proportion of the ejidatarios and residents of Batopilas agree with the reform than the ejidatarios of La Laguna region as a whole. Compared to the latter, a greater percentage have discussed it with their fellow ejidatarios. However, since the survey also included the non-ejidatarios, the levels of information about the reform as well as about trade liberalization and international markets are in general lower than for the ejido producers of La Laguna as a whole.

As far as their sources of information, these are basically the same as those of the ejidatarios as a whole, although in the case of the reform and the policy of direct subsidies the ejido authorities played the most important role.

In relation to land tenure, a greater proportion of Batopilas ejidatarios compared to the proportion of all ejidatarios (which was itself high) are not willing to sell or rent their land. Their dependence upon the income derived from the exploitation of ejido resources is greater than that for the regional group as a whole, although their occupational profile (agricultural day-laborers, industrial or craft wage-workers) is basically the same.

Their levels of migration and *bracerismo* are apparently quite low, which is due to the fact, as they indicated, that the stable and a recently-opened workshop (*maquiladora*) that makes cotton

denim clothing offer employment to the ejidatarios' children. In general, it is an ejido which thanks to its levels of organization and its collective form of production has achieved greater autonomy and better alternatives in terms of production, employment and income.⁶⁴ Their support for the reform apparently has not weakened their deep attachment to the land, and they see the reform as a means to achieve security in land tenure.⁶⁵

6.7. Land Use and Expectations of Campesinas Facing the Reform: The Case of Batopilas

One of the often overlooked aspects in analyses of the Mexican countryside is the issue of women and their participation in collective decisions. From a male-centered view of these processes, the issues of gender are forgotten, although they often are of decisive importance. In relation to the formation of opinions and attitudes among rural producers facing the reform, we consider it relevant to try to understand the role of ejido women in this process. Thus, two aspects appeared to us to be crucial. First, what access do ejido women have to land, and in general to the ejido's productive resources, and how will this access be modified with the reform. Second, what is the attitude of ejido women towards the probable consequences of the reform (primarily those having to do with property regime of the land) and how is this attitude reflected in the decisions their male companions may take in this regard.

To answer these questions we decided to develop a specific questionnaire, which we distributed to the women of Ejido Batopilas when we carried out the survey in that ejido. Without laying any claim to completeness, we limited ourselves to some questions aimed at providing us with an overall image of the points mentioned above; the results are as a follows:

a) Twenty-six percent of the women of Batopilas use the ejido's arable land. From our point of view, this constitutes limited access even in the context of collective exploitation of the land. Three-fourths of this group of women use these lands to plant some crop, one fifth to gather some wild products and the remaining 5% for some other purpose.

^{64.} As Mr. Gerardo Aguilera, a Batopilas ejidatario, told us in the open meeting we held last April 1993 with the members of the ejido: "... the collective system is one of the most difficult systems of work, because you have to be organized all year and your whole life, as long as one belongs to the collective. But that also provides the satisfaction that here nobody gets fatter than anybody else, because here everything that is accomplished is with the work of each one of us."

^{65.} In this regard, when we asked Mr. Gerardo Ríos, a Batopilas ejidatario, if he would be willing to sell the ejido lands, he responded: "no, never, now less than ever. Because if we did not do it before, when there was a lot of insecurity in the countryside about land tenure, at this stage we are even less likely to do it"

^{66.} As we noted in the Introduction, the contents of this section owes a lot to Ann Craig, whose thoughts oriented us in the elaboration of the questionnaire that we distributed to the women of Batopilas. The gaps and shortcomings that the reader may find are, however, exclusively our responsibility.

- b) With regard to the non-arable communal lands, the picture does not appear to be much different, since only 22% of the women use them. Within this group, 53% use them to gather firewood, 41% to gather wild plants, and 6% to take their livestock to pasture.
- c) Seventy-one percent of the women of Batopilas have a backyard in their houses. Slightly more than half use it to plant some horticultural products and the other half use it to raise and/or lock up their livestock. In the context of the campesino economy, these activities are important to the extent that they represent a way to supplement family income and consumption levels.
- d) When asked about the possible use they would make of the land should their ejidatario husbands or male companions decide to become private owners in the context of the current reform (assuming that this was sanctioned by the ejido assembly and that the collective regime of the ejido were transformed), all of the women responded that they would continue using the land they way they do now. In other words, they do not see new forms of access and use of the land resulting from a possible change in the property regime.
- e) Finally, when they were asked what advice they would give their husband or companion should he decide to become the owner of an individual plot of land, 95% answered that they would advise him to continue working the land as he has up until now and 2% said that they would recommend that he enter into an association with other producers or investors. In no case did the women say that they would advise him to sell his land, so that women thus appear to be a factor contributing to attachment to the land and to the stability of the campesino family.

CONCLUSIONS

In light of the results that we have presented, and taking into consideration that they refer to a specific region and not to the country as a whole, our research reaches the following conclusions:

1. There is a consensus among the rural producers of La Laguna region, ejidatarios as well as non-ejidatarios, in favor of the reform of the countryside. In particular, the reform of Article 27 of the Constitution and the new Agrarian Law are viewed as a good means to provide security in land tenure, to resolve ancient boundary disputes between plots and between ejidos, to guarantee the campesino family's patrimony, and to make different forms of association and organization for production viable. This phenomenon has to do, as Arturo Warman (1993) has noted, with the enormous demand for legalization and putting things in order in the countryside raised by the rural population itself.

SALINAS & SOLÍS 39

2. The certification of ejido rights is not viewed by the campesinos of La Laguna region as a process that will necessarily lead to the privatization of the ejido and to its eventual disappearance. Their expectations regarding the sale of land are limited, since a large majority (81.5%) expect to continue working their plots. Only a tiny minority (4.3%) would sell all or part of their land, so that this tendency is not a priority on the agenda of the campesinos of the region. The campesinos of La Laguna seem to be more concerned now with decisions of a productive nature than with the sale of their plots. The sale of plots is a phenomenon that has been taking place illegally (and which will now occur legally), but at a very reduced scale, particularly on the ejido lands that are on the edge of urban centers and that have been subjected to a different process of valorization of land through the urban-demographic dynamic when compared to agricultural lands.

- 3. However, despite the consensus that it has created, the rural reform suffers from an absence or insufficiency of mechanisms to spread greater knowledge of its specific contents and of its accompanying legal and administrative procedures among the campesinos. Although more than two-thirds of the producers knew about the changes to Article 27 of the Constitution and the new Agrarian Law at the time of the survey, only slightly more than one-fourth of them knew about the process of certification of ejido rights and about the government institutions that are carrying it out. The same is the case with other measures that are part of the legal reform, such as the announcement of the then proposed policy of direct subsidies to the producers, which a large majority of the ejidatarios did not know about, or even the new requirements for credit established by Banrural in La Laguna region (more than 40% of the ejidatarios said they did not know about these requirements). The problem of lack of knowledge and lack of information may bog down the process of reform if not corrected.
- 4. In the case of La Laguna there is also a marked lack of knowledge among rural producers (ejidatarios and non-ejidatarios) about the conditions that prevail in world agricultural and livestock markets. Except for general information having to do with the NAFTA, a large majority (close to 90% on average) do not have access to information concerning agricultural and livestock prices, costs or subsidies in other countries. Their information networks are built around a pattern characterized by the predominance of the mass media (press, radio, television), television in particular, and by the relatively lesser importance of ejido authorities and government agencies as sources of information. This pattern is of course more marked in the case of the private landowners, who are slightly better informed and have greater access to the mass media. This suggests the need to develop ad hoc information mechanisms in the countryside, with the active participation of the rural population, that can provide the knowledge base necessary to consolidate the reform.
- 5. The rural producers in general, despite their lack of information, are conscious of the fact that they need additional conditions and support from the state in order to be viable both economically and productively. The demand for credit and subsidies is a constant in a situation where access to them has been considerably reduced, costs of production have risen, and foreign competition is increasingly stronger. The existence of overdue loans is a major problem that makes access to credit and coverage by agricultural insurance more

- difficult. In this sense, the establishment of PROCAMPO may contribute to the strengthening of the campesino economy, especially among its least fortunate strata.
- 6. Nearly two-thirds of the producers declared that they were thinking about entering into associations with other producers or social agents as an alternative to the lack of financing. In these conditions, the direction that may be taken by the policies for the organization of production and for promoting various modes of association, as well as agricultural and livestock price, credit insurance, and subsidy policies will be crucial for the economic reactivation of the rural sector and for a more efficient insertion of the campesinos into the market.
- 7. Their land and livestock are the sole source of income for a large majority (83%) of the ejidatarios who were surveyed. The rest supplement their income finding employment as agricultural day-laborers, wage-workers or tradesmen. Only a small proportion (0.8%) of all ejidatarios declared that they supplemented their income working as *braceros* in the United States, which is consistent with the fact that only 2.8% of the ejidatarios would be willing to sell their land and emigrate to another country (obviously the United States). This means that despite the slowdown in the campesino economy, there is not yet a significant trend towards an increase in migratory flows to the United States (at least not in La Laguna region). However, the absence or the insufficiencies of a policy to reactivate the countryside would very likely tend to increase the sale of plots and with this the migratory flows towards the north.
- 8. A large majority (78%) of the ejidatarios who were surveyed are older than 40 years of age, versus only 22% who are younger. This means that the conclusions and results presented here are marked by the inertia of a generation of campesinos who were formed in the ideology of *agrarismo* and the revolutionary nationalism of previous decades. Thus, although the campesinos indicated their decision to not sell their lands, it is likely that this picture will change when the generational change takes place in the countryside and the young campesinos make the decisions in the ejidos. This phenomenon of the predominance of the "old" is slightly less marked among the group of private landowners, where 74% are older than 40 years of age.
- 9. However, the results of the survey for the "young" ejidatarios (that is, those who are younger than 26 years of age and who represent 6.8% of the ejidatarios surveyed) indicate that, at least at this time, there is no particular predisposition towards the sale of land associated with the age variable. Only 1% of this group of producers indicated their intention to sell their plots, although 12% said they would rent them should the possibility arise. Nevertheless, their levels of agreement with the reform are higher than those of the surveyed ejidatarios as a whole, as are, apparently, their links with the new institutions for support to the countryside, such as Solidarity.
- 10. The ejidatarios willing to sell their plots are less dependent upon the income derived from their land and their livestock than the ejido producers as a whole. They resort more frequently to alternative sources of income, basically wages. This may reflect the fact,

among other things, that they have a meager and unproductive resource allotment (little water, little land, poor quality land). But it may also be due, at least in part, to a process of speculation surrounding ejido lands contiguous to or in fact within the urban sprawl of the main population centers of the region. On the other hand, although the ejidatarios willing to sell their land agree with the ejidatarios as a whole in their high degree of consensus regarding the reform, this subgroup has a greater level of information about the reform and its implementation mechanisms.

- 11. There is a very marked lack of concern on the part of the campesinos for the preservation of the environment and the rational use of natural resources. Although the survey does not deal specifically with this issue, it is noteworthy that their productive decisions (crop changes, for example) are not influenced, at least not explicitly, by the lack of water in a region where the scarcity of water resources and the irrational use of water has threatened the region's very existence. This points to the need for permanent consciousness-raising campaigns among the rural population around the environment, natural resources and their conservation.
- 12. The results obtained in the collective ejido of Batopilas indicate a high degree of consensus towards the reform and a practically unanimous rejection of the idea of selling their land. However, the results also point to the fact that there is still a marked lack of participation within communities in the Mexican rural milieu. In general, women, young people and non-ejidatarios are excluded from discussions and decision-making. In the case of Batopilas, the levels of information regarding the legal reform, Banrural's new policy, trade liberalization, or the conditions of world agricultural and livestock markets are generally lower than those of the rest of the ejidatarios of the region. This apparent paradox can be explained in part by the fact that non-ejidatarios were included in the survey. But also because despite their high level of internal organization and their forms of collective organization and self-management, the ejido functions on the basis of participation that is limited to the male members of the community who also must be ejidatarios. This allows one to think that significant efforts are required to promote the participation and incorporation of the various sectors of the rural population in the internal process of decision-making in the communities. The institution of the Board of Residents (Junta de Pobladores) contained in the new Agrarian Law is no doubt a step forward in this direction.67
- 13. The education variable can play a significant role in the future evolution of the Mexican countryside. The analysis of the educational profile of the ejido producers in La Laguna region indicates that around two-thirds of them have had no formal instruction at all. In the case of the private landowners, a bit more than one-third have no formal instruction, 14% went to college, and 2% did postgraduate studies. However, when we analyze the

^{67.} The new Agrarian Law states, in its Article 41, that: "As an organ of participation of the community a Board of Residents (*Junta de Pobladores*) will be constituted on each ejido, and will be composed by the ejidatarios themselves and the non-ejidatarios residents (*avecindados*). This Board of Residents will have the faculty of making proposals on issues related to the population center, its public services and the community works required by the human settlement."

educational profile of the ejidatarios who are younger than 26 years of age, we see that the situation is very different: all of them have had access to the educational system. Only 3.5% did not complete elementary education. Sixty percent have at least gone to elementary school, 25% reached secondary school, and 9% completed college studies (see table 26). These figures show the new profile of the young ejido producers, with greater educational levels than their predecessors. On the other hand, the data for the group of ejidatarios who are willing to sell their land are apparently surprising: 71% of them have no formal education, nearly two-thirds began elementary school but did not complete it, only 16% finished elementary school but went no further, and only 13% completed secondary studies. Practically no ejidatarios in this group did preparatory school, college or postgraduate studies, so that they make up the group with the least education of all the producers analyzed. These results, in our opinion, make it necessary to be cautious about any facile association between privatization and educational level, at least in the case of the complex reality of the rural sector.

By way of general conclusion, we believe it is still too early to evaluate the results of the process of modernization of the countryside begun by the current administration in Mexico. However, roughly two years after the start of the rural reform, the social support for it and the expectations it has awakened among the rural population make it possible to say that it is an irreversible process that so far has the necessary consensus to reach fruition. Nevertheless, additional efforts are required on the part of the government as well as other sectors of society to reach the objectives of development with equity in the Mexican countryside.

TABLES

NB: The opinion and demographic data on agricultural and livestock producers of the La Laguna region that is reported in the following tables are from INEGI (1993) and the census survey of Ejido Batopilas described on pages 16-17 and pages 32-33, respectively. All reported figures are percentages by type and category of respondent (all columns sum to 100%). The category of private landowners includes both small (i.e., *minifundista*) and commercial farmers.

TABLE 1
DECISIONS AND EXPECTATIONS ON CROP PATTERNS OF LAGUNA REGION EJIDATARIOS

CROP	SPRING- SUMMER 1993 SEASON	CROPS IN PREVIOUS SEASONS	CROPS THEY WOULD PLANT WITH TIMELY AND SUFFICIENT CREDIT	CROPS INDUCED BY ECONOMIC LIBERALIZATION
MAIZE FOR HUMAN CONSUMPTION	54.9	40.5	59.3	23.8
BEANS	16.7	11.9	46.2	21.4
MELONS	8.7	3.8	4.1	2.7
BROOM SORGHUM	3.1	3.1	2.0	1.1
ALFALFA	3.0	2.1	5.1	1.2
COTTON	0.0	22.4	21.3	19.3
SORGHUM	2.4	4.7	11.4	2.6
TOMATOES	2.0	1.6	2.8	2.0
FEED CORN	1.3	0.6	1.0	0.4
NOTHING, NONE	2.7	1.5	0.4	0.0

QUESTIONS:

- 1) WHAT CROPS DID YOU PLANT OR WILL YOU PLANT IN THE 1993 SPRING-SUMMER SEASON?
- 2) WHAT CROPS DID YOU PLANT IN PREVIOUS AGRICULTURAL CYCLES?
- 3) WHAT CROPS WOULD YOU PLANT IF YOU HAD TIMELY, RELIABLE AND SUFFICIENT CREDIT?
- 4) TOWARD WHAT TYPE OF CROP IS THE CHANGE TAKING PLACE, OR WILL IT TAKE PLACE (INDUCED BY ECONOMIC LIBERALIZATION)?

TABLE 2
TIMING OF CROP CHANGE DECISIONS

CROP CHANGE DECISION	ЕЛDATARIOS	PRIVATE LAND- OWNERS	EJIDATARIOS 25 YEARS OF AGE AND YOUNGER	EJIDATARIOS WHO WANT TO SELL	BATOPILAS
HAVE CHANGED CROP	37.5	34.5	13.8	48.3	15.4
LESS THAN 2 YEARS AGO	11.6	12.2	3.4	6.7	1.3
FROM 2 TO 5 YEARS AGO	23.3	19.3	10.4	41.7	14.1
MORE THAN 5 YEARS AGO	2.6	3.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
HAVE NOT CHANGED CROP	62.5	65.5	86.2	51.7	84.6

QUESTION: HOW LONG AGO DID YOU CHANGE CROP?

TABLE 3

LAGUNA REGION AGRICULTURAL AND LIVESTOCK PRODUCERS' REASONS FOR CHANGING CROPS

REASON FOR CHANGING CROP	EJIDATARIOS	PRIVATE LANDOWNERS	EJIDATARIOS 25 YEARS OF AGE AND YOUNGER	EJIDATARIOS WHO WANT TO SELL	BATOPILAS
LACK OF CREDIT	34.0	18.7	13.4	12.9	0.0
LACK OF A MARKET	18.3	17.2	0.0	9.9	0.0
HIGH PRODUCTION COSTS	40.9	44.5	86.6	39.8	75.0
LACK OF WATER	11.6	13.8	0.0	19.8	0.0
OTHER CAUSES	21.2	24.4	13.4	51.3	25.0

QUESTION: WHY DID YOU CHANGE CROPS?

TABLE 4
CREDIT OR LOANS OBTAINED DURING 1992 BY LAGUNA AGRICULTURAL AND LIVESTOCK PRODUCERS

CREDIT OR LOANS OBTAINED DURING 1992	EJIDATARIOS	PRIVATE LANDOWNERS	EJIDATARIOS 25 YEARS OF AGE AND YOUNGER	EJIDATARIOS WHO WANT TO SELL	BATOPILAS
DID OBTAIN	43.3	31.8	100.0	72.0	19.2
DID NOT OBTAIN	56.7	68.2	0.0	28.0	80.8

QUESTION: DID YOU OBTAIN CREDIT OR LOANS LAST YEAR?

TABLE 5
SOURCES OF CREDIT OR LOANS TO LAGUNA REGION PRODUCERS

SOURCE OF CREDIT OR LOAN	EJIDATARIOS	PRIVATE LANDOWNERS	EJIDATARIOS 25 YEARS OF AGE AND YOUNGER	EJIDATARIOS WHO WANT TO SELL	BATOPILAS
BANRURAL	67.8	7.2	59.8	43.0	66.7
BANK WITH FIRA GUARANTEE	0.8	51.8	0.0	0.7	6.7
BANK WITHOUT	0.8	31,6	0.0	0.7	6.7
FIRA GUARANTEE	0.0	20.4	0.0	0.0	0.0
PRONASOL	23.9	13.2	40.2	3.2	26.7
AGROINDUSTRY	0.8	1.9	0.0	7.8	0.0
MONEYLENDER	6.3	7.7	0.0	17.4	0.0

QUESTION: IF YOU OBTAINED CREDIT OR A LOAN, IT WAS GRANTED BY?

TABLE 6
CREDIT APPLICATIONS TO BANRURAL DURING THE LAST AGRICULTURAL YEAR

CREDIT APPLICATION TO BANRURAL	EJIDATARIOS	PRIVATE LANDOWNERS	EJIDATARIOS 25 YEARS OF AGE AND YOUNGER	EJIDATARIOS WHO WANT TO SELL	BATOPILAS
APPLIED TO BANRURAL	100				
FOR CREDIT	46.4	12.8	35.2	48.1	35.9
OBTAINED CREDIT	33.7	3.8	27.3	36.1	15.4
TIMELY	25.7	2.6	26.3	34.4	14.1
SUFFICIENT	12.3	1.8	18.4	0.0	12.8
INSUFFICIENT	13.4	0.8	7.9	60.2	1.3
NOT TIMELY	8.0	1.2	1.1	25.8	1.3
SUFFICIENT	2.2	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
INSUFFICIENT	5.8	0.9	1.1	46.0	1.3
DID NOT OBTAIN CREDIT	12.7	9.0	7.9	29.8	20.5
DID NOT APPLY TO BANRURAL FOR CREDIT	53.6	87.2	64.8	51.9	64.1

QUESTIONS: DID YOU APPLY TO BANRURAL FOR CREDIT LAST AGRICULTURAL YEAR? DID THEY GRANT IT?
WAS IT TIMELY? WAS IT SUFFICIENT?

TABLE 7OPINION ON THE GOVERNMENT'S OBLIGATION TO GRANT EJIDATARIOS CREDIT

GOVERNMENT'S OBLIGATION TO GRANT CREDIT TO EJIDATARIOS	EJIDATARIOS	PRIVATE LANDOWNERS	EJIDATARIOS 25 YEARS OF AGE AND YOUNGER	EJIDATARIOS WHO WANT TO SELL	BATOPILAS
YES, IT HAS AN OBLIGATION	88.9	71.6	92.1	86.8	78.2
NO, IT HAS NO OBLIGATION	7.1	23.1	7.9	5.0	12.8
DON'T KNOW	4.0	5.3	0.0	8.2	9.0

QUESTION: DO YOU THINK THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS AN OBLIGATION TO GRANT CREDIT TO EJIDATARIOS?

TABLE 8PRODUCERS' OPINION OF THEIR ABILITY TO CONTINUE FARMING WITHOUT BANRURAL CREDIT

ABILITY TO FARM WITHOUT BANRURAL CREDIT	EJIDATARIOS	PRIVATE LANDOWNERS	EJIDATARIOS 25 YEARS OLD AND YOUNGER	EJIDATARIOS WHO WANT TO SELL	BATOPILAS
YES	51.9	50.5	49.0	65.1	56.4
NO	43.0	43.1	35.2	31.2	30.8
DON'T KNOW	5.1	6.4	15.8	3.8	12.8

QUESTION: DO YOU THINK THAT YOU COULD CONTINUE FARMING WITHOUT DEPENDING UPON BANRURAL CREDIT?

TABLE 9
EXPECTATIONS OF ASSOCIATING WITH OTHER ECONOMIC
AGENTS AS AN ALTERNATIVE WAY TO ORTAIN CREDIT

EXPECTATION OF ASSOCIATING TO OBTAIN CREDIT	EJIDATARIOS	PRIVATE LANDOWNERS	EJIDATARIOS 25 YEARS OLD AND YOUNGER		BATOPILAS
YES	57.9	64.4	62.2	45.1	68.0
NO	35.5	29.8	36.7	41.1	19.2
DON'T KNOW	6.6	5.8	1.1	13.8	12.8

QUESTION: DO YOU THINK THAT ASSOCIATION WITH OTHER PRODUCERS WOULD BE AN ALTERNATIVE TO OBTAIN BANK CREDIT OR SOME OTHER TYPE OF LOAN?

TABLE 10
OPINIONS ABOUT THE CERTIFICATION OF EJIDO RIGHTS

EJIDO RIGHTS			25 YEARS OLD AND YOUNGER	WHO WANT	BATOPILAS
IN AGREEMENT IN DISAGREEMENT	86.8 13.2	85.2 14.8	97.6	94.0 6.0	94.3

QUESTION: DO YOU AGREE WITH THE PROCESS OF CERTIFICATION OF EJIDO RIGHTS?

TABLE 11
LAGUNA REGION EJIDATARIOS' EXPECTATIONS ABOUT THE CERTIFICATION OF EJIDO RIGHTS

EXPECTATIONS TOWARDS CERTIFICATION	EJIDATARIOS	EJIDATARIOS 25 YEARS OLD AND YOUNGER	EJIDATARIOS WHO WANT TO SELL	BATOPILAS
FREELY ASSOCIATE WITH WHOMEVER YOU WANT				
TO PRODUCE	76.6	83.6	49.8	73.6
SELL THE LAND	8.0	10.2	29.4	7.5
RENT THE LAND	7.9	2.9	3.3	3.8
OTHER	7.4	3.3	15.7	15.1
NO RESPONSE	0.1	0.0	1.8	0.0

QUESTION: DO YOU THINK THAT WITH THE CERTIFICATION OF EJIDO RIGHTS ON YOUR PLOT, YOU WILL BE ABLE TO \ldots ?

TABLE 12
OPINIONS ON THE REFORM TO ARTICLE 27 OF THE CONSTITUTION AND THE NEW AGRARIAN LAW

REFORM TO ARTICLE 27 AND THE NEW AGRARIAN LAW	EJIDATARIOS		EJIDATARIOS 25 YEARS OLD AND YOUNGER	WHO WANT	BATOPILAS
AGREE	77.2	78.5	88.1	77.1	81.1
DISAGREE	11.0	8.1	2.9	16.9	1.9
DO NOT KNOW	11.8	13.4	9.0	6.0	17.0

QUESTION: DO YOU AGREE WITH THE REFORM TO ARTICLE 27 OF THE CONSTITUTION AND THE NEW AGRARIAN LAW?

TABLE 13
IMPACT OF THE TRADE OPENING AND PROBABLE FREE TRADE AGREEMENT ON THE LAGUNA REGION COUNTRYSIDE

OPINION ON THE IMPACT OF THE TRADE OPENING AND THE PROBABLE FTA ON THE COUNTRYSIDE OF LA LAGUNA	EJIDATARIOS	PRIVATE LANDOWNERS	EJIDATARIOS 25 YEARS OLD AND YOUNGER	EJIDATARIOS WHO WANT TO SELL	BATOPILAS
TRADE OPENING:					
HAS BEEN BENEFICIAL	34.3	35.0	40.7	16.9	32.4
HAS NOT BEEN BENEFICIAL	24.4	32.4	11.4	38.5	19.1
DON'T KNOW	41.3	32.6	47.9	44.6	48.5
FREE TRADE AGREEMENT:	117				
WOULD BE BENEFICIAL	46.6	45.7	67.7	39.4	58.8
WOULD NOT BE BENEFICIAL	27	28.6	1.2	31.7	13.2
DON'T KNOW	26.4	25.7	31.1	28.9	28.0

QUESTIONS: DO YOU THINK THAT THE TRADE OPENING HAS BEEN BENEFICIAL FOR THE AGRICULTURAL AND AND LIVESTOCK SECTOR OF THE LAGUNA REGION?

DO YOU THINK THAT THE FREE TRADE AGREEMENT WILL BE BENEFICIAL FOR THE LAGUNA COUNTRYSIDE?

TABLE 14
THE GOVERNMENT'S OBLIGATION TO PROVIDE SUBSIDIES TO PRODUCERS

ON SUBSIDIES TO AGRICULTURAL AND LIVE- STOCK RODUCERS	EJIDATARIOS	PRIVATE LANDOWNERS	EJIDATARIOS 25 YEARS OLD AND YOUNGER	EJIDATARIOS WHO WANT TO SELL	BATOPILAS
THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD PROVIDE THEM THE GOVERNMENT HAS NO OBLIGATION TO	90.8	90.2	100.0	94.2	72.7
PROVIDE THEM	3.8	9.0	0.0	2.9	9.1
DON'T KNOW	5.4	0.8	0.0	2.9	18.2

QUESTION: DO YOU THINK THAT THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD PROVIDE SUBSIDIES TO RURAL PRODUCERS?

TABLE 15
TYPE OF SUBSIDY THAT SHOULD BE GIVEN TO PRODUCERS

TYPE OF SUBSIDY	EJIDATARIOS	PRIVATE LANDOWNERS	EJIDATARIOS 25 YEARS OLD AND YOUNGER	EJIDATARIOS WHO WANT TO SELL	BATOPILAS	
THROUGH PRICE OF INPUTS	40.7	56.5	10.5	55.5	62.5	
CASH	42.0	30.6	89.5	44.2	25.0	
OTHER TYPE	17.3	12.9	0.0	0.3	12.5	

QUESTION: WHAT TYPE OF SUBSIDIES DO YOU THINK THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD PROVIDE AGRICULTURAL AND LIVESTOCK PRODUCERS?

TABLE 16
EXPECTATIONS REGARDING THE POSSIBLE APPLICATION OF A POLICY OF DIRECT SUBSIDIES

PRODUCERS' EXPECTATIONS REGARDING DIRECT SUBSIDIES	EJIDATARIOS	PRIVATE LANDOWNERS	EJIDATARIOS 25 YEARS OLD OR YOUNGER	EJIDATARIOS WHO WANT TO SELL	BATOPILAS
INCREASE INCOME	26.6	23.8	46.9	40.1	36.4
INCREASE PRODUCTION IMPROVE PRODUCT	18.2	29.7	0.0	26.3	36.4
QUALITY	27.9	26.7	53.1	12.0	9.1
BE ABLE TO EXPORT	18.9	11.0	0.0	12.0	18.2
OTHER	0.6	3.6	0.0	0.0	0.0

QUESTION: IF THIS POLICY IS IMPLEMENTED, DO YOU EXPECT TO . . .?

TABLE 17
LAGUNA REGION PRODUCERS WHOSE AGRICULTURAL AND
LIVESTOCK RESOURCES ARE THEIR SOLE SOURCE OF INCOME

AGRICULTURAL AND LIVESTOC	EJIDATARIOS	PRIVATE	EJIDATARIOS	EJIDATARIOS	BATOPILAS
RESOURCES AS		LANDOWNERS	25 YEARS OLD	WHO WANT	2.7 1/20
SOLE SOURCE OF INCOME			AND YOUNGER	TO SELL	
YES	82.6	71.7	69.3	78.0	89.7
NO	17.4	28.3	30.7	22.0	10.3

QUESTION: DOES YOUR TOTAL INCOME COME FROM YOUR LAND OR LIVESTOCK?

TABLE 18
SUPPLEMENTARY SOURCES OF INCOME

SUPPLEMENTARY SOURCES	EJIDATARIOS	PRIVATE	EJIDATARIOS	EJIDATARIOS	BATOPILAS
OF INCOME FOR AGRICULTURA		LANDOWNERS	25 YEARS OLD	WHO WANT	
AND LIVESTOCK PRODUCERS			AND YOUNGER	TO SELL	
AGRICULTURAL DAY-LABORER	46.8	13.5	85.6	36.2	57.1
WAGE-WORKER	15.1	19.3	0.0	26.0	28.6
SALESPERSON	1.1	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
BRACERO	4.5	3.4	0.0	6.7	0.0
SELF-EMPLOYED	2.7	1.0	8.4	0.0	0.0
CONSTRUCTION WORKER	4.9	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
SHOPKEEPER	8.1	24.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
PROFESSION/TRADE	0.0	5.1	0.0	0.0	14.3
PENSION	3.3	2.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
OTHER OCCUPATIONS	1.2	12.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
OTHER	11.6	12.0	6.0	31.1	0.0

QUESTION: TO SUPPLEMENT YOUR INCOME, ARE YOU EMPLOYED AS ...?

TABLE 19OPINION ON THE LIKELIHOOD THAT THE MAJORITY OF EJIDATARIOS WOULD SELL THEIR LAND IF THEIR EJIDO OPTED FOR INDIVIDUAL TENURE

LIKELIHOOD OF LAND TO BE SOLD IF EJIDO OPTS FOR INDIVIDUAL TENURE	EJIDATARIOS	PRIVATE LANDOWNERS	EJIDATARIOS 25 YEARS OLD AND YOUNGER	EJIDATARIOS WHO WANT TO SELL	BATOPILAS
LAND WOULD BE SOLD	30.4	50.6	12.0	61.5	5.1
LAND WOULD NOT BE SOLD	51.7	32.6	58.7	9.7	80.8
DON'T KNOW	17.9	16.8	29.2	28.8	14.1

QUESTION: IF THE EJIDO ASSEMBLY WERE TO OPT FOR INDIVIDUAL TITLES,
DO YOU THINK THAT THE MAJORITY OF THE EJIDATARIOS WOULD SELL THEIR PLOTS?
NB: PRIVATE LANDOWNERS WERE ASKED QUESTION IN REFERENCE TO THE EJIDATARIOS OF THEIR AREA.

TABLE 20
INDIVIDUAL EXPECTATIONS OF LAGUNA REGION
EJIDATARIOS IF GRANTED INDIVIDUAL LAND TITLES

INDIVIDUAL EXPECTATIONS ABOUT LAND USE IF INDIVIDUAL TITLE HELD	EJIDATARIOS	EJIDATARIOS 25 YEARS OLD AND YOUNGER	EJIDATARIOS WHO WANT TO SELL	BATOPILAS
WOULD CONTINUE FARMING	81.5	87.0	0.0	92.3
WOULD SELL ALL	2.3	1.0	54.0	1.3
WOULD SELL PART	2.0	0.0	46.0	0.0
WOULD RENT ALL	2.0	2.6	0.0	1.3
WOULD RENT PART	7.5	9.4	0.0	0.0
DON'T KNOW	4.7	0.0	0.0	5.1

QUESTION: IN THE EVENT THAT TITLES ARE GRANTED FOR PLOTS IN YOUR EJIDO, WHAT WOULD YOU DO?

TABLE 21
PRODUCERS' PLACE OF RESIDENCE IF THEY WERE TO SELL OR RENT ALL OF THEIR LAND

PRODUCER'S RESIDENCE	EJIDATARIOS	PRIVATE	EJIDATARIOS	EJIDATARIOS	BATOPILAS
IF ALL HIS LAND WAS		LANDOWNERS	25 YEARS OLD	WHO WANT	
RENTED OR SOLD			AND YOUNGER	TO SELL	
WOULD NOT MOVE	47.1	50.8	33.2	60.0	46.2
WOULD GO	26.8	20.4	42.0	37.6	17.9
TO ANOTHER COUNTRY	4.2	3.3	24.7	0.0	3.8
TO MEXICO CITY	0.6	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
TO THE STATE CAPITAL	0.9	0.5	0.0	12.3	0.0
TO TORREON-GOMEZ-LERDO	7.4	5.4	7.9	3.1 ~	5.1
TO THE U.S. BORDER	11.2	7.3	9.4	9.5	7.7
TO ANOTHER COMMUNITY	0.7	1.9	0.0	0.0	1.3
TO SOMEWHERE ELSE	1.8	1.7	0.0	12.7	0.0
DON'T KNOW	26.1	28.8	24.8	2.4	35.9

QUESTION: IF YOU WERE TO SELL OR RENT ALL YOUR LAND, WHERE WOULD YOU GO?

TABLE 22
EJIDATARIOS' EMPLOYMENT EXPECTATIONS IF THEY WERE TO SELL OR RENT THEIR LAND

EMPLOYMENT EXPECTATIONS IF EJIDATARIO'S LAND WAS RENTED OR SOLD	EJIDATARIOS	EJIDATARIOS 25 YEARS OLD AND YOUNGER	EJIDATARIOS WHO WANT TO SELL	BATOPILAS
AGRICULTURAL DAY-LABORER	52.0	70.3	47.4	50.0
INDUSTRIAL OR CRAFT WAGE-WORKER	13.2	0.0	34.3	50.0
TRAVELING OR STREET SALESMAN	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
BRACERO	2.4	0.0	9.1	0.0
SELF-EMPLOYED	2.0	17.3	0.0	0.0
CONSTRUCTION WORKER	3.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
ESTABLISHED TRADESMAN	9.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
PRACTICE HIS PROFESSION	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
OTHER OCCUPATIONS	4.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
NO LONGER WORKS	2.2	12.4	0.0	0.0
WOULD BUY LIVESTOCK	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
OTHER	9.5	0.0	9.1	0.0

QUESTION: IF YOU WERE TO SELL YOUR LAND AND STAY TO LIVE HERE, WHAT WOULD YOU DO?

TABLE 23
LAGUNA REGION AGRICULTURAL AND LIVESTOCK PRODUCERS' SOURCES OF INFORMATION (FOR EJIDATARIOS AND PRIVATE LANDOWNERS)

SOURCE OF INFORMATION	BANRURAL CREDIT RI REQUIREMENTS		RURAL REFORM		OPENING THE NAFTA	cos	D PRICES, TS AND SSIDIES	OF E	POLICY DIRECT SIDIES	
	EJIDAT.	PRIVATE	EJIDAT.	PRIVATE	EJIDAT.	PRIVATE	EJIDAT.	PRIVATE	EJIDAT.	PRIVATE
NEWSPAPER	1.7	6.5	18.4	57.2	29.5	61.7	3.5	16.7	25.6	47.7
RADIO	2.0	1.2	15.7	22.4	30.0	36.0	4.0	6.1	21.9	18.6
TELEVISION	4.7	3.2	43.0	55.6	80.1	77.8	11.5	13.2	54.2	54.2
EJIDO AUTHORITIES	24.8	0.2	21.6	5.2	5.3	0.7	0.2	1.1	16.9	5.3
OTHER EJIDATARIOS	28.8	13.0	19.4	2.0	5.7	12.0	1.7	1.4	24.7	5.5
GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS	53.8	57.7	36.1	23.4	1.0	11.5	0.1	3.4	7.9	26.4

QUESTIONS: HOW DID YOU LEARN ABOUT ...?

TABLE 24
LEVEL OF INFORMATION ABOUT NEW POLICIES AND INSTITUTIONS

HAS INFORMATION ABOUT	EJIDATARIOS	PRIVATE LANDOWNERS	EJIDATARIOS 25 YEARS OLD AND YOUNGER	EJIDATARIOS WHO WANT TO SELL	BATOPILAS
BANRURAL CREDIT REQUIREMENTS	59.7	31.6	38.1	55.6	43.6
CHANGES TO ARTICLE 27	70.7	64.3	72.7	93.4	48.7
NEW AGRARIAN LAW	69.9	61.6	80.6	93.4	47.4
PROCEDE	25.9	19.1	88.0	96.5	26.4
INSTITUTION RESPONSIBLE FOR PROCEDE	28.3	30.5	16.9	64.5	32.1
TRADE OPENING	39.3	48.1	37.8	58.9	25.6
NAFTA	84.6	86.9	86.2	95.6	85.9
INTERNATIONAL PRICES	9.7	25.2	10.0	10.8	2.6
INTERNATIONAL COSTS	7.1	17.3	7.9	8.8	1.3
SUBSIDY POLICY IN OTHER COUNTRIES	11.6	26.2	7.9	19.1	11.5
PROPOSED DIRECT SUBSIDY POLICY	15.8	22.7	19.6	25.4	19.2

QUESTIONS: HAVE YOU HEARD ABOUT OR DO YOU KNOW ABOUT?

TABLE 25AGE PROFILE OF THE AGRICULTURAL AND LIVESTOCK PRODUCERS OF THE LAGUNA REGION

AGE GROUPS	EJIDATARIOS	PRIVATE LANDOWNERS	EJIDATARIOS WHO WANT TO SELL	BATOPILAS	
25 YEARS OLD AND YOUNGER	6.8	2.3	1.7		
26 TO 40 YEARS OLD	15.6	23.9	24.0	41.0	
41 TO 60 YEARS OLD	46.4	45.3	59.1	38.5	
61 AND MORE YEARS OLD	31.2	28.5	15.2	10.3	

TABLE 26
EDUCATIONAL PROFILE OF THE AGRICULTURAL AND LIVESTOCK PRODUCERS OF THE LAGUNA REGION

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL	EJIDATARIOS	PRIVATE LANDOWNERS	EJIDATARIOS 25 YEARS OLD AND YOUNGER	EJIDATARIOS WHO WANT TO SELL	BATOPILAS
NO SCHOOLING	16.7	11.2	0.0	7.8	28.2
INCOMPLETE PRIMARY	47.3	26.5	3.5	63.3	39.7
COMPLETE PRIMARY	29.1	25.8	59.4	16.3	23.1
SECONDARY	4.6	5.9	24.9	12.5	6.4
PREPARATORY	0.5	9.1	3.1	0.0	0.0
TECHNICAL SCHOOL	0.3	5.9	0.2	0.0	0.0
COLLEGE (LICENCIATURA)	0.7	13.9	8.6	0.1	2.6
POSTGRADUATE	0.1	1.7	0.3	0.0	0.0
NOT SPECIFIED	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

REFERENCES

- Aguilar, Samuel, and Hugo A. Araujo. 1984. Estado y campesinos en La Laguna. La lucha campesina por la tierra y el excedente. Folleto de Divulgación No. 1. Saltillo, Coahuila: Universidad Autónoma Agraria Antonio Narro.
- Banco de Crédito Rural del Centro-Norte, S.N.C. 1992. Estrategia de financiamiento del campo en La Laguna de Coahuila y Durango. 1988-1992. Torreón, Coahuila: Banco de Crédito Rural del Centro-Norte, S.N.C.
- Craig, Ann. 1990. "Legal Constraints and Mobilization Strategies in the Countryside." In Ann Craig and Joe Foweraker, eds. *Popular Movements and Political Change in Mexico*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Reinner Publishers.
- De la Fuente, Juan, et al. 1991. La producción agropecuaria en la Comarca Lagunera (1960-1990). Mexico: Universidad Autónoma de Chapingo.
- Eckstein, Salomón, and Iván Restrepo. 1979. La agricultura colectiva en México. La experiencia de La Laguna. Mexico, DF: Siglo Veintiuno Editores.
- Fox, Jonathan, and Gustavo Gordillo. 1989. "Between State and Market: The Campesinos' Quest for Autonomy." In Wayne Cornelius, Judith Gentleman and Peter H. Smith, eds. *Mexico's Alternative Political Futures*. La Jolla, CA: Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego.
- Gaceta de Solidaridad. 1992. Nueva Legislación Agraria. Mexico, DF: PRONASOL.
- González y González, Luis. 1968. Pueblo en vilo. Microhistoria de San José de Gracia. Mexico, DF: El Colegio de México.
- Gordillo, Gustavo. 1988a. Campesinos al asalto del cielo (De la expropiación estatal a la apropiación campesina). Mexico, DF: Siglo Veintiuno Editores.
 - 1988b. Estado, mercados y movimiento campesino. Mexico, DF: Plaza & Valdés.
 - 1990. Reformando la Revolución Mexicana. Mexico, DF: Ediciones El Nacional.
- Hinton, William. 1966. Fanshen. A Documentary of Revolution in a Chinese Village. New York: Monthly Review Press.

- INEGI. 1993. Encuesta de opinión sobre la nueva política agraria. Comarca Lagunera (April). Aguascalientes: Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Informática.
 - In press. VII Censo Agropecuario 1991. Resultados por entidad federativa (Coahuila y Durango). Aguascalientes: Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Informática.
- Proyecto SARH-CEPAL. 1992. Encuesta de tipología de productores del agro nacional, 1990. Resultados para la Comarca Lagunera. Mexico, DF: Proyecto SARH-CEPAL.
- Middlebrook, Kevin. 1985. Political Liberalization in an Authoritarian Regime. The Case of Mexico. La Jolla, CA: Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego.
- Rello, Fernando. 1986. Estado y ejidos en México. El caso del crédito rural en La Laguna. Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.
- Salinas de Gortari, Carlos. 1991. Diez puntos para dar libertad y justicia al campo mexicano., Speech at Los Pinos, Mexico, D.F., November 14.
- Salinas de Gortari, Raúl. 1988. Agrarismo y agricultura en el México independiente y postrevolucionario. Mexico, DF: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
 - 1989a. "Basis for Mexican Agricultural Modernization." Talk at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, October.
 - 1989b. "Monarchs, Liberal Thinkers, Hacienda Owners, Revolutionary Men, Indians and Peasants in the Modernization of Mexican Agriculture." Talk at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, October.
- Salinas de Gortari, Raúl, et al. 1993. El Ejido Colectivo Batopilas. 6 vols. mimeo.
- Solís, José Luis, coord. 1988. Estudio del subsistema de ciudades La Laguna. 2 vols. Mexico, DF: CONAPO.
- Téllez, Luis. 1993. "Mexican Agriculture and Support Policy Reform." Paper presented to the seminar "Comparative Perspectives on Agricultural Subsidy and Support Programs" at the Center for U.S. Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego, May 13.
- Warman, Arturo. 1993. "Avances de la reforma jurídica en el campo mexicano." Paper presented at the Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego, May 19.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Raúl Salinas de Gortari has worked extensively in the Mexican public sector as a planner and administrator of road infrastructure projects and food distribution programs. Trained in civil engineering at the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM), he also holds Master's degrees in transport planning and project evaluation. He is the author of several books, including Agrarismo y agricultura en el México independiente y post-revolucionario (1988), and Tecnología, empleo y construcción en el desarrollo de México (1993). In addition, he has published several collections of stories and poems, including El secreto, un día (1990) and El amante (1990), which has been translated into French and Portuguese. He was a Guest Scholar at the Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies during 1992-93.

José Luis Solís González received his Ph.D. in economics from the University of Paris, and has held several academic positions, including Director of the Institute for Latin American Economic Studies at the Center for Economic Research and Teaching (CIDE) in Mexico City. He also has worked widely in research and advisory positions for Mexican government agencies and with the Economic Commission on Latin America and the Caribbean (CEPAL) of the United Nations. He is the author of numerous articles and reports about development processes in Mexico and Latin America, including a four-volume study of the La Laguna region prepared for and published in 1990 by Mexico's National Council on Population (CONAPO) and the U.N. Population Fund in the series Estudios de los sistemas de ciudades en México. He was a Visiting Research Fellow at the Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies during 1992-93.

THE EJIDO REFORM RESEARCH PROJECT CENTER FOR U.S.-MEXICAN STUDIES UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO

In December, 1991, Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution was reformed to permit - but not to require - the privatization of previously inalienable, communally-controlled ejido land. The ejido reform - in association with related constitutional amendments, revamped agrarian codes, and redesigned agricultural policies - changes key aspects of land tenure, state-campesino relations, and establishes the framework for how rural Mexicans participate in the national and international economies.

With financial support from the Ford Foundation and from the Tinker Foundation, the Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies has assembled a multidisciplinary research team to collect key data and to produce basic interpretations that will further medium- and long-term research on the epochmaking changes now underway in the Mexican countryside. More than thirty researchers from Mexican, U.S., and Canadian research institutions are members of the project, which began in July, 1992. By combining the talents of a diverse and highly-qualified body of researchers, complemented by students training to be the next generation of much-needed agrarian scholars, the project will result in information and analysis useful to persons interested in understanding the paths of change in rural Mexico.

The series, **The Transformation of Rural Mexico**, draws on the contributions of project members, as well as of other researchers, to offer policymakers, agricultural leaders, and scholars timely information on the emerging shape of the Mexican countryside in the form of papers, short monographs and books. At the conclusion of the project, an edited volume presenting major research findings will be published.

To obtain more information about the Ejido Reform Research Project, including descriptions of available and forthcoming publications, upcoming activities, and guidelines for the project's 1995 competition for small grants supporting graduate student field research in rural Mexico, please write to: David Myhre, Coordinator, Ejido Reform Research Project, Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, U.C.-San Diego 0510, La Jolla CA 92093-0510 (FAX: 619-534-6447).

AVAILABLE TITLES

Productores del Sector Social Rural en México

SARH-CEPAL. \$15.00 Order Code: DP-01 (In Spanish)

Economic Restructuring and Rural Subsistence in Mexico: Corn and the Crisis of the 1980s

Cynthia Hewitt de Alcántara, editor. \$18.00 Order Code: DP-02

The End of Agrarian Reform in Mexico: Past Lessons, Future Prospects

Billie R. DeWalt, Martha W. Rees, with Arthur D. Murphy. \$10.00 Order Code: DP-03

Rural Reform in Mexico: The View from the Comarca Lagunera in 1993

Raúl Salinas de Gortari and José Luis Solís González. \$8.00 Order Code: DP-04

Rebellion in Chiapas: Rural Reforms, Campesino Radicalism, and the Limits to Salinismo

Neil Harvey, with additional essays by Luis Hernández Navarro and Jeffrey W. Rubin. \$7.00 Order Code: DP-05

Viva Zapata!: Generation, Gender, and Historical Consciousness in the Reception of Ejido Reform in Oaxaca

Lynn Stephen. \$7.00 Order Code: DP-06.

THE EURO REPORD RESEARCH PROJECT CENTRES FOR U.S. MEXICAN STUBIES UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIFCO

In December, 1991. Anicle 27 of the Mexican Constitution was reformed to permit a but not the require. the persuaution of previously implientable, community controlled ejido jobel. The spide reform an association with related constitutional amendments, recomped agrarian codes; and redesigned agricultural policies - changes key reports of lead senare, state-campesino relations, and establishes the framework for how areal Mexicada participate in the national and international accommittee.

With imaneral support from the freed inducation and from the Binker Foundation, the Center for U.S. Mesocan Studies has accombined a multidisciplinary research to collect key data and to produce basic interpretations that will further medium, and long-term research on the apocitionating changes now underway in the Mexican countrywide. More than their researchers from Mexican, U.S., and Creachin research intuitions are normbers of the project which began to hilly. By combining the talents of a diverse and highly-qualified body of researchers, complemented by greatest transfer to be the next generation of much account agrarian scholars, the project will result in information and analysis metall to persons intensted in underestabiling the paths of change in tural Muxico.

The series, The Transformation of dural Mexico, draws on the sontehnions of preject merapers as well as of other researchers, to offer polecymakens, againstituted isolate, and delibered and the mergang shape of the Masteau country aids in the form of papers, about monographs and moist. At the conclusion of the project, an edited volume presenting maior research findings will be published.

To obtain more information about the Fijido Reform Research Project mointing descriptions of available and for Scorning publicational, agreeming activities, and guidelines for the project's 1995 compatition for small grasts supporting grasts student student field research in must Mexico, please write up. David Myture, Coordinator, Eputo Saferth Research Project, Center for U.S. Mexican Studies, U.C. San Diego, 0510, La Jolla CA 92092-0510 (FAX: 619-334-6447).

SALLILL BUILDING

- unlead to brood briggs support tak movement of
- CARD CONTACT STAND CARE DAME DE ON A STAND
- South of the Cartestant and Russi Substitutions in Meriter Care and the Crims of the Lands
 - TOTAL AND AND SOLD SOLD AND ADDRESS OF THE PARTY OF THE P
 - I seminared a county to make a four formation of the first property of the first party and the first party
 - AND THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PARTY OF THE PART
 - March Materials March 19 and Ward World of Communications for 1994
 - 10 All and "record to 25 and to act to the four four particles to the first to the
 - 10-70 Story territorial and the company of the story period the total story and the A
- fair Proc in Calculus. Physic flotter ma. Landgrafter Stational and the Limite in Salaria
- THE SECTION AND ASSESSED TO SECURITY AND ASSESSED TO A
- the States with infillment cases by Law Dammarz (particular for the States of Files Reform in Course
 - SATURE SERVICE COME COME COME DESCRIPTION AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE PARTY OF THE PA



Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies University of California, San Diego

The Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, established in 1979, is the nation's largest program devoted exclusively to the study of Mexico and U.S.- Mexican relations. It combines research in all of the social sciencies and history, graduate and undergraduate student training, continuing professional education, publications, public outreach activities, and information services to the international business community. The Center's programs address the full range of problems affecting economic and political relations between Mexico and the United States. The Center also studies the history, economy, political system, and social structure of Mexico; aspects of the U.S. economy and U.S. public policy that affect Mexico; and Mexico's economic interactions with Japan and other Pacific Basin countries.

Through its program of visiting research fellowships, the Center each year sponsors the research of twenty to twenty-five predoctoral and postdoctoral scholars, who spend three to twelve months in residence at the Center. Visiting fellows come from Mexico, other Latin American countries, the United States, Europe, Canada, and Japan. The Center's permanent academic staff also conducts long-term studies of political change in Mexico, Mexican migration to the United States, agricultural policy reform in Mexico, and the economic integration of Mexico, Canada, and the United States. The Center publishes much of the research conducted under its auspices in various formats.

Each summer, in collaboration with UCSD's American Political Institutions Project, the Center conducts a six-week seminar in studies of the United States, for twenty-three Latin American social scientists and nonacademic professionals.

The Center's interdisciplinary Seminar on Mexico and U.S.-Mexican Relations, which meets weekly throughout the academic year, and its research library attract leading researchers from throughout the United States, Mexico, and other countries. In addition, the Center holds several research workshops on specialized subjects each year.

The Center has a very active public education program, which includes frequent briefings for journalists, business executives, public officials, and community groups.