

Economic backwardness, migration and remittances: the case of the Soconusco region in Chiapas, Mexico

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Abstract: The present text discusses the links between agricultural activities, migration and remittances for the case of the Soconusco region, Chiapas. These links are approached from two perspectives: the first one places agricultural production as a point of attraction for migrants; and the second approach visualizes it as the ejector of the local-rural population. We conclude that the impasse affecting productive farming contributes to the increment of migration and its expression in the amount of remittances.

Key words: export agriculture, migration, remittances.

Resumen: En el presente texto se analizan los vínculos existentes entre las actividades agropecuarias, la migración y las remesas, para el caso de la región del Soconusco, Chiapas. Dichos vínculos se enfocan desde dos perspectivas; la primera ubica a la producción agrícola como punto de atracción de migrantes, y la segunda la visualiza como expulsora de población rural local. Se concluye que el estancamiento productivo que padece la actividad agropecuaria ha contribuido al aumento de la migración y su expresión en la cuantía de remesas enviadas.

Palabras clave: agricultura de exportación, migración, remesas.

Introduction

The Soconusco region¹ is located in the south-western part of Chiapas. It owns natural attributes such as the climate and the fertility of its lands. These attributes have contributed to exporting agriculture and, consequently, to establish a continuous link with the international market, this situation started with the colonial trade of exotic products aimed at the New World (cacao, annatto, etc).

From the time when the colonization took place, and by means of foreign investors by the end of the XIX century and beginning of the XX, it strengthened its external links through the coffee trade.

Unlike other agricultural regions of the country, which have seen their prosperity periods disappear due to the lack of competitiveness in the cultivation of the product on which their economy was based, the Soconusco region is still a niche for agricultural exporting production. This is so because of the fact it has not depended on a single product; this phenomenon has allowed it to recover the dynamic of its regional economy in short periods, especially when it faces the cyclical decreases in the prices of the agricultural products that are grown in the region, and certainly, when it tackles the drastic decrease in the amount sowed and harvested surfaces.

In the Soconusco region (taking advantage of the climate and productive conditions), agricultural producers have managed to counteract the adversities imposed by the geographic distance and the still limited infrastructure (Aubry, 2005: 21; Damiano, undated) they have to develop their commercial circuits. These circuits allow them to introduce their products to the market so that they take part subordinately in the global economy. On the other hand, some of these commercial circuits are built through agricultural manufacture (Gómez and Caraveo, 1990: 1193 and following).

¹ The Soconusco region is an area located in the southeast part of Chiapas. It consists of 5,776 square kilometers and includes municipalities such as: Acacoyagua, Acapetahua, Cacahoatan, Escuintla, Frontera Hidalgo, Huehuetan, Huixtla, Mapastepec, Mazatan, Metapa, Villa Comaltitlan, Suchiate, Tapachula, Tuxtla Chico, Tuzantan and Union Juarez. It bordered in the north by the Sierra Madre, in the south by the Pacific Ocean and Guatemala, in the west by the coastal region.

These and other restrictions have limited the productive evolution of the exporting agriculture, the agriculture for the national market and that for self-consumption. That is, they have limited the regional competitiveness in terms of its participation in the exporting agriculture of other commercial circuits; those different to the regional market ones (Álvarez, 1996: 165-201; López, 1995: 127; Villafuerte, 2001: 175-227).

In any case, exporting agriculture has been an essential base in the regional economic development. It has been so for more than a century, and it is almost independent from the development policies “applied” at national level. That is, throughout its long existence, exporting agriculture has always been an activity around which the regional economic development evolves (Santacruz, 2007: 101 and following).

Even in view of the change in economic model (from industrialization by substitution of imports to the exporting secondary and from the expression of them in the different economic policies) the agricultural exporting sector continues being the main productive economic feature in the region.

In the central nucleus of the current economic paradigm, the most important sectors are those related to the production of consumption goods derived from the industrial sector (mostly from that which imports raw materials, manufactures them and exports them). This situation would apparently cast doubt on the central role of the agricultural exporting activity. However, the same model, in the scope of the agricultural sector as a whole privileges the sectors that export fruits, vegetables and flowers (Schwentenius and Gomez, 2000:31 and following).

It all points to the fact that the agroexporting sector will continue being the essential pillar for regional development, although it shows signs of certain exhaustion, given the fact that some factors allow supposing its competitiveness has decreased.

The economic activity of the Soconusco region depends, to a great extent, on agricultural activities. The population who works in the primary sector is more than the 50%. Coffee, banana and mango represent more than 80% of the total agricultural production. Coffee and corn areas represent 37% and 25% of the total, respectively. This as a whole represents 62% of the total of the cultivated area; followed by those of mango, cacao and sesame. The crop whose cultivation surface has decreased most is soy.

Crops that have more fluctuation in their area of production are corn, bean, rice and melon.

The production of “exotic” flowers and foliage has been promoted in the last five years. These activities started in the coffee plantations located in the high zones of the Soconusco, such as the case of Irlanda, Hamburgo and Argovia which have developed this activity in association with agrotourism. Other activities in which the region has increased their participation is the production of organic products and African palm.

In that context, the essential purpose of this study is to analyze the agricultural production of the Soconusco region in Chiapas from two converging perspectives. This is done considering it as a generator of employment and unemployment, and hence, in its relationship to the migration processes.

The former perspective is focused on the description of the agricultural activity as a point of attraction for farming workers who migrate from Guatemala; and the latter is focused on the analysis of the crisis in the agricultural production and its resulting effects in terms of migration of the local population, especially that of farming workers, to states from the center and north of the Republic as well as to the U. S.

It is worth mentioning that exporting agriculture has represented an essential factor in the conformation of rural labor markets, having characteristics such as: salaried work, lowly paid, without social rights and inadequate working conditions; increase of seasonal, station, occasional, casual and flexible work with massive population displacements.

Several specialists in Mexico and Latin America have referred to labor markets, employment, unemployment and rural migrations. Some of the ones who stand out are Rodolfo Stavenhagen, Luisa Paré, Armando and Roger Bartra, Hubert Carton de Grammont, Enrique Astorga, Sara Lara, Antonieta Barrón, Mónica Bendini, Roberto Benencia, Sergio Gómez, Guillermo Neiman, Mauricio Tubio, Cristóbal Kay, Emilio Klain and some others.

This analysis considers the problems related to the impact of the processes of restructuration and flexibilization of the rural market (Carton de Grammont and Lara, 2000: 122-130; Lara, 2001: 369-370).

So that this article is part of a more extensive piece of work on the economic transformations of the exporting agriculture in the Soconusco region during the second half of the XX century, and it allow us to consider that region as a global one.

Agricultural stagnation in Chiapas

Several authors consider the economic situation in Chiapas as a crisis in terms of structural nature (Villafuerte, 2006: 104; Escobar *et al.*, 2006: 5; López Arévalo, 2007). Based on the fact that the term crisis, in its basic definition, refers to the concurrence of a series of factors, we consider that the phenomenon in the Chiapas economy is not a crisis, but economic backwardness;² bearing in mind that the productive activities of the entity have taken place at slow paces for more than two decades and they have occurred, in some cases, recording performance rates that are negative in economic terms (Table 1).

This situation is even worse in the primary sector of Chiapas economy. As a whole, the agricultural sector shows structural productive stagnation. With the exception of year 1999, the GDP in that sector has growth at rates that are below five percent points; rates close to zero are seen in many cases and several years record productive stagnation.

Data from the Secretariat of Economy from the Chiapas State show that the balance of the trade is deficit (Government of the Chiapas State, 2007: 41). Export goods are the following: cherry coffee, mango, papaya, banana, among others.

The Soconusco region is the one that traditionally provides larger volumes of said products. In it, the agroexporting sector continues being the motor of regional economy, nevertheless such a sector also provides signs of stagnation

² “A specific moment in which the country is neither organized nor used by its resources, so that it provides its inhabitants with an adequate level of material wellbeing within the scope of the feasible possibilities that are considered for that country in that moment” (Baquero, 1962: 130).

The regional impact of the agroexporting

As mentioned earlier, from the beginning of the XIX century until the beginning of the XXI, the exporting agriculture has been the essential pillar for the economic development of the Soconusco region. In the state and regional economic structure, this sector has been significant given its participation in the GDP. It has been, so to say, the most dynamic element of the regional economy and it has performed as a connection to the world.

This way, it can be unmistakably said that the region has been more linked and integrated to the international trade circuits than to those of the national market. It is important to consider, as a significant situation, that the agroexporting sector has an essential base in the exploitation of natural resources, and this has occurred by means of products that have been under international demand (Villafuerte, 2001: 175-227).

Both, at regional and interregional levels, the importance of the agricultural sector is seen in terms of its “potential” to create employment (as described below). Along with this, the sector has been important given the links that it has created; they unfortunately do not have an essential expression in the regional context, considering that their effects have been “exported”.

Growth in exporting agriculture from the Soconusco has had variations in terms of magnitude, temporality, stability and kind of product: even though it has not occurred in the centrality of the market that receives its exporting offer (more than 90% to the U.S.). It has had significant moments in terms of prosperity, but they have not always resulted in continuous growth. A factor that can explain this is that a stable exporting base has not been developed.

It is also necessary to mention that the nature of the agricultural products that are exported, the interactions between the expansion of the exports and the internal economic, social, political and cultural conditions have been permeated by the fact that such expansion has been supported at different times by the migrating (national and foreign) capital and labor force.

Agroexporting and demand of labor force

In the years after the Spanish colonization, in the current Soconusco region a depopulation process occurred; it came from the annihilation of the native population, due to the incidence of illnesses and the migration from high lands (Voorhies, 1991: 10).

In the last quarter of the XIX century a process of migration promoted by the policies of Porfiriato took place. This process mainly comprised Germans, North Americans, Swiss, French, Italians and Chinese, who, with the exception of the last ones, became landowners of great land proportions, giving rise to the so called coffee plantations; whereas Chinese migration was directed to contribute as labor force in the construction of the railroad (Martínez, 1992: 17 and following).

At their beginning, the great coffee plantations lacked the required labor force so they had to develop strong ties with the governing elite in order to recruit indigenous people from the Altos and Sierra Madre of Chiapas. This was done by means of a forced “hooking” (finely described by Ricardo Pozas in Juan Pérez in *Jolote*). The migration flow from Guatemalan agricultural workers started at the same time and to such extent it occurred that indigenous workers from Chiapas were displaced (Ángeles, 2004: 316) changing their migration destinies (Peña *et al.*, 2000: 153 and following).

Guatemalan migration, whose original destinations were coffee plantations, has experienced changes considering that it also occurs in other commercial crops at present (Ángeles, 2004: 316; Ruiz, 2004: 4-6).

There is an irregular tendency towards the decrease in the number of migrating agricultural workers in the recent decade (Table 2). It is stressed as from 1999, a year when the largest number of migrating workers is reached and it seems to show signs of recovery in 2003, however estimations from the National Institute of Migration (INIM) point out that the number in 2004 was lower to the one of the previous year in 7.22%. This demonstrates a slight recovery in 2005 and falls of considerable amount in 2006 and 2007.

The profound fall recorded in 2006 and 2007 undoubtedly finds its explanation in the fact that Chiapas is not able to absorb the migrating labor force any longer, due to the fact that the coffee and banana sectors were drastically affected by the disasters produced by Stan hurricane in October 2005.

On the other hand, data from the INIM point out that the age for most of the Guatemalan workers in the agriculture who are legally in the country ranges from 15 to 48 years (Table 3). They are employed to a 63.5% in activities related to coffee production (mainly harvesting) and 15.9% to banana production (Table 4). Data from the same source point out that almost 90% are men and the rest are women. As in many cases, feminine hand labor is being absorbed by two essential reasons: women are paid lower wages and are occupied in activities that require “more care”, such as the packing of bananas, mango and papaya.³

Guatemalan migration in the global context (the share directed toward Mexico) hardly constitutes 4% of the total,⁴ which is far from that arriving in the U. S. (92%). In this regard, it is important to point out that remittances sent from the U. S.⁵ are enormously superior to those sent from Mexico and thereby those sent from the Soconusco. There has been extensive research on the former, not so on the latter, given the fact that most of the financial resources—derived from salary—are taken to the country as cash money by migrants when they travel to their communities.

In that regard, the remittances migrants sent, mostly from the U. S., have increased in a considerable way (more than 926%) in a decade, changing from 205,281.0 to 2,106,509.6 thousand USD (Table 5).⁶ There was an “explosive” increase in remittances from 2001 to 2007.

³ This situation is described in the analysis on the rural labor market made by Lara (2004: 370) and Carton de Grammont and Lara (2000: 127) when they refer to flower agroexporting companies.

⁴ It is important to point out that the population of migrants that arrives to the Soconusco region includes men who perform activities which are different to those from the agriculture and women who perform domestic services or sexual commerce.

⁵ Data from the remittances survey from 2007 show that in that country lives 97.7% of the migrants that send remittances, in Mexico live 0.5% (5,682 people).

⁶ The numbers are presented in an illustrated way: as pointed out previously, from Mexico comes only 0.5% percent of said amount. This number is equivalent to 20,642.038 USD. That means that each person living in Mexico sends 40 pesos, an amount that could be said to underestimate the monetary flows coming from Mexico and especially those from Chiapas.

Agro-exporting and labor force ejection

The exporting agriculture from the Soconusco region has had different moments. Some which could be considered prosperous and other of crisis. From the latter, the “most important” was the crisis in the coffee sector experienced as a consequence in the fall of the international prices of coffee in 1989, heightened by the dismantlement of the International Coffee Organization (ICO).

In the case of cacao, the surface used for its sowing and harvesting had been already reduced time ago. In this period, other products such as banana and mango were not affected by the crisis and they have not appealed local population as a source of employment. A small amount of it is even migrating toward the cities in the state (Tuxtla Gutierrez, Tapachula, Huixtla) looking for better employment opportunities.

Before this situation occurred, state and regional migration was, above all, internal. People who migrated made it basically to find better education opportunities, that is, they moved to the cities of the State or to those in the center of the Republic (mainly Puebla and Mexico City).

At this critical point occurred the first migration wave that looked for better living opportunities. Its destination was Mexico City, where, for instance, it is easy to find migrants from different communities of the municipality of Union Juárez who live in Ciudad Azteca and in other areas of the metropolitan zone. A second wave took place later, its destination were the farming fields of commercial products from Jalisco, Nayarit and Sonora (Ángeles, 2004: 318).

This phenomenon brought about the creation of uncountable “travel agencies” in most of the 16 administrative municipalities and in several cooperative communities of the region. The third migration wave in the Soconusco population occurred (according to Ángeles, 2004: 318) after one of the most recent and serious phenomenon: the floods from September 1998 which affected more than 200 hectares (Najar, 2002:1-7). However, the most important factor is still the constant crisis in agricultural production, that affected only coffee and cacao production, but it has now extended to the production of banana and mango (Santacruz and Pérez, 2004).

The destination of the migrants who took part in this third wave is now the cities of the north of the country as well as some cities of the U. S., where they aim to be employed in the manufacturing industry and in the provision of services (Najar, 2002:1-7; Peace Brigades International, 2003; Ángeles, 2004: 318).

The National Population Council characterizes the state of Chiapas as a federative entity with low or very low migration intensity toward the U.S. According to data from this council (based on the XII Population and Housing Census) 0.8% of the households, i.e., approximately 6,576, has migrants in the U. S. and 0.76% receives remittances from that country.

More recent data point out that circa 50 thousand people have migrated toward the U.S. (Calabró, 2004: 2), whereas the Bank of Mexico points out that Chiapas migrants sent 800.1 million USD in 2008. This number constitutes 3.2% of the total of the remittances Mexico receives from migrants in the U. S. (Bank of Mexico, 2008)

Table 6 shows migration data of the Soconusco region with a level of municipal disaggregation. Out of the 16 municipalities, 14 have a very low degree in terms of migration intensity and only two have a low degree of intensity.

In the aforementioned table (that also contains the percentage of households by municipality that receive remittances from U. S. migrants) it is easily observable that the municipality of Frontera Hidalgo is the one with the highest percentage in that regard; notably higher than the average state level. It is important to highlight that with the exception of two (Mazatán and Tuzantán), all the municipalities have percentages above the state average in this item.

It is important to point out that in the last five-year period, the migrating behavior has been stressed in Chiapas starting in the 90's and by changing from a very low degree of migration intensity to low and middle levels. In terms of remittances, Chiapas has changed in a decade (1995 to 2005) from the 27th place to the 11th in their reception, at national level and exceeding by far states such as Zacatecas, Morelos and San Luis Potosí, states with very high indexes of migration intensity, which reflects the increase in the index of migration intensity of the state (Table 7).

Considering that there are not data referring to the level of disaggregation at a municipal scale, it is hard to define the amounts which are remitted by ejected migrants of the Soconusco region. However, as it has been pointed out from Table 6 (which contains the percentage of households by municipality that receive remittances of migrants in the U. S.), it can be said that the municipality of Frontera Norte has the highest percentage in this regard, much higher above that the state average level.

As it can be seen in Table 8, the amount of the remittances with regard to GDP has increased considerably up to reach more than 6%. This occurs despite the fact that its total amount has decreased in growth in the last two years. The magnitude in absolute terms at regional and municipal level, and their final destination and impact on the economy of the households that receive the remittances is already in the research agenda.

Exporting agriculture, “natural” disasters and migration

In October 2005, Stan hurricane caused the loss of more than 65% of the surface sowed with banana (Table 9). Most of the surface that was affected is located in the municipalities of Suchiate and Mazatan. The loss of this surface creates a real situation of productive crisis which directly and essentially affects the heart of the regional economy. This occurs that way because the banana GDP is of a considerable amount, apart from the effects caused from the severe decrease in the number of direct and indirect sources of employment (between four and five thousand direct jobs), which represents significant social pressure on the region and on Guatemala (the place from which almost all labor force comes). This also promotes the increase in the index of migration toward the U. S., or a higher instability and impoverishment of the population.

Final considerations

The economy of Chiapas shows signs demonstrating that its economic backwardness and productive stagnation are far from being solved. On the contrary, the indicators allow stating that backwardness can become more profound. However, the exporting agriculture continues being the main productive feature of the Soconusco region, and it implies that rural work and migration will remain. Material for another piece of research is

to observe and analyze the characteristics that they acquire under the new and current world conditions.

However, if decision makers do not seriously tackle the problem the increase in the state's migration implies and its correlation in the remittances, the economy of the state will fall in a kind of "Dutch disease"; this would occur because they consider that remittances are a "never-depletable seam" in terms of resources that can finance development. The national experience shows that such a seam has started to run out.

The phenomenon of the migration toward the Soconusco region is a long lasting phenomenon, with broad historical and economic roots. It faces now one of its most profound inflection points, finding in the lack of dynamic of the agricultural sector of the region one of its factors of decrease; conversely, this situation promotes migration from the region.

On the other hand, it is important to observe that the current U. S. and world economic crisis might have adverse effects on the behavior of the migration flows and the remittances related to the origin regions.

Appendix

Table1
Mexico and Chiapas. Total Gross Domestic Product and Primary Gross Domestic Product (1993-2006)*

Year	National Total	AAGR	Total Chiapas	AAGR	National Primary	AAGR	Chiapas Primary	AAGR
1993	1,155,132,189	---	20,644,398	---	72,702,941	---	3,276,049	---
1994	1,206,135,039	4.41	21,480,509	4.05	72,833,904	0.18	3,098,123	-5.43
1995	1,131,752,762	-6.16	21,423,329	-0.26	74,168,209	1.83	3,178,923	2.60
1996	1,190,075,547	5.15	21,641,397	1.01	76,983,581	3.79	3,233,520	1.71
1997	1,270,744,065	6.77	22,643,158	4.62	77,105,776	0.15	3,283,430	1.54
1998	1,334,586,475	5.02	23,711,975	4.72	79,438,586	3.02	3,301,600	0.55
1999	1,384,674,491	3.75	24,322,080	2.57	80,627,331	1.49	3,769,173	14.16
2000	1,475,927,095	6.59	25,296,965	4.00	80,934,684	0.38	3,938,463	4.49
2001	1,475,438,954	-0.03	25,657,678	1.42	85,742,277	5.94	3,864,214	-1.88
2002	1,486,792,334	0.77	26,438,496	3.04	84,932,998	-0.94	3,962,027	2.53
2003	1,508,240,009	1.44	26,978,080	2.04	88,195,715	3.84	4,165,529	5.13
2004	1,570,126,305	4.10	28,196,635	4.52	91,043,662	3.23	4,380,549	5.16
2005	1,613,526,995	2.76	27,951,275	-0.87	88,673,845	-2.60	4,226,534	-3.51
2006	1,691,168,729	4.81	28,752,131	2.86	93,364,857	5.29	4,301,913	1.78

Source: INEGI, National Accounting System of Mexico. Gross Domestic Product for each federative entity

* The amounts are expressed in thousands of Mexican pesos in 1993.

Table 2
**Mexico; Guatemalan legal workers in agriculture,
1995-2005⁷**

Year	Number of workers	Annual change rate
1995	67,737	---
1996	66,728	-1.49
1997	67,633	1.36
1998	49,655	-26.60
1999	79,253	59.60
2000	70,626	-10.88
2001	42,475	-39.86
2002	39,321	-7.42
2003	45,055	14.60
2004	41,894	-7.22
2005	45,518	8.65
2006	40,244	-11.58
2007	27,840	-30.82

Source: This table was made by the author using data from the Ministry of Interior, National Migration Institute (2004).

Table 3
Workers in the agricultura divided by age group

Age group	Percentage
Younger than 14 years	3.5
From 15 to 48 years	89.4
49 years or older	7.1
Total	100.00

Source: This table was made by the author based on *El INIM en Números, 2006. México: País de origen, tránsito y destino de migrantes* (The INIM in numbers, 2006, Mexico: Country of origin, transit and destination of migrants), Secretariat of Government, National Migration Institute (2004). Available at: <<http://www.inami.gob.mx/imagenes/comunicacion/presentaciones/INMparte2eneoct06.swf>> [July 30th 2008].

⁷ The numbers provided by the INIM for different periods are inconsistent, different query dates show different data. This occurs especially in the 1989-1998 period given the fact that the numbers of the agricultural visitors cannot be found. Thus, for example, in the current data provided for 1999, 69,691 and for 2000, 69,036 agricultural workers (identified under the FMVA migratory form) are reported. This amount contrasts with the data presented in this table for the same years which were taken from the same source.

Table 4
Legal workers in the agricultural by crop category

Crop	Percentage
Coffee	63.5
Banana	15.9
Sugar cane	5.2
Others	15.4
Total	100.00

Source: This table was made by the author based on *El INIM en Números, 2006. México: País de origen, tránsito y destino de migrantes* (The INIM in numbers, 2006, Mexico: Country of origin, transit and destination of migrants), Ministry of the Interior, National Migration Institute (2004). Available at: <http://www.inami.gob.mx/imagenes/comunicacion/presentaciones/INMparte2eneoct06.swf>, July 30th 2008].

Table 5
Guatemala. Income by familial remittances 1993-2007
(Thousand USD)

Year	Totals	Annual change rate
1993	205,281.0	---
1994	302,047.4	14.72
1995	416,455.5	37.88
1996	375,417.8	-9.85
1997	407,996.7	8.68
1998	456,433.9	11.87
1999	465,520.3	2.00
2000	563,438.7	21.03
2001	592,399.1	5.14
2002	1'579,391.8	166.61
2003	2'106,509.6	33.37
2004	2'550,623.1	21.09
2005	2'992,822.5	17.34
2006	3'609,813.2	20.61
2007	4'128,407.6	14.36

Source: Bank of Guatemala, Institutional Market of Currencies (2008).

Table 6
Chiapas, Soconusco Region, Municipal migration intensity, 2000

	Total of Households	Households that receive remittances (%)	Households which already had migrants in the previous five-year period (%)	Households which already had circular migrants in the previous five-year period (%)	Households which already had returning migrants in the previous five-year period (%)	Index of migration intensity	Rate of migration intensity
Chiapas	832 111	0.76	0.79	0.11	0.07		
Soconusco	150.009	1.96	1.71	0.13	0.16		
Acacoyagua	2.653	1.88	1.96	0.19	0.23	0.65666	Very low
Acapetahua	5.333	2.08	1.65	0.15	---	-0.70452	Very low
Cacahoatan	8.072	2.81	3.62	10.40	0.11	-0.54027	Bajo
Escuintla	5 642	1.35	1.42	---	--	-0.76168	Very low
Frontera Hidalgo	2 393	5.81	6.06	---	0.13	-0.35294	Low
Huehuetan	6 693	2.63	1.66	0.15	0.46	- 0.60526	Very low
Huixtla	10 555	1.83	1.50	---	---	- 0.73871	Very low
Mapastepec	8 718	2.11	2.48	0.62	0.15	- 0.58794	Very low
Mazatan	5 635	0.69	0.55	0.28	0.11	-0.77690	Very low
Metapa	1 076	1.30	0.93	---	---	-0.78542	Very low
Villa Comaltitlan	5 655	1.01	0.85	0.19	0.34	- 0.72291	Very low
Suchiate	6 766	2.78	3.12	---	---	- 0.62773	Very low
Tapachula	65 334	1.51	0.94	0.09	0.19	- 0.73460	Very low
Tuxtla Chico	7 363	1.32	0.54	---	0.11	- 0.78403	Very low
Tuzantán	5 042	0.54	0.14	---	---	- 0.85172	Very low
Union Juarez	3 079	1.66	1.62	---	0.75	- 0.61605	Very low

Source: This table was made by the author with estimations from Conapo based on the 10% sample of the General Population and Housing Census from 2000. CONAPO (2002), *Índice de Intensidad Migratoria México-Estados Unidos, 2000*. Available at: <http://www.conapo.gob.mx/publicaciones/intensidadmig/CUA_AB_IIM2000.XLS>.

Table 7
Foreing income from familial remittances
Distribution by Federal State

State	Position					Structural Percentage				
	1995	2001	2005	2006	2007	1995	2001	2005	2006	2007
Michoacan	1	1	1	1	1	16.25	11.69	11.83	10.19	9.44
Guanajuato	3	2	2	2	2	10.25	8.31	8.53	8.85	8.94
State of Mexico	7	4	3	3	3	4.39	7.16	8.4	8.4	8.44
Jalisco	2	3	4	4	4	12.7	7.89	8.29	8.24	8.08
Puebla	6	9	7	7	5	4.84	3.97	5.41	5.79	6.24
Veracruz	15	6	6	6	6	2.07	5.99	5.79	6.05	6.15
Federal District	5	7	5	5	7	5.34	5.67	6.67	6.48	5.72
Oaxaca	8	8	9	9	8	4.34	4.03	4.65	4.97	5.31
Guerrero	4	5	8	8	9	6.11	6.27	4.82	5.08	5.17
Hidalgo	16	10	10	10	10	1.95	3.89	3.42	3.51	3.97
Chiapas	27	15	11	11	11	0.54	2.51	3.36	3.47	3.25
San Luis Potosi	10	12	12	12	12	3.26	2.82	2.44	2.62	2.79
Zacatecas	11	17	14	13	13	3.12	2.1	2.36	2.48	2.48
Rest of the States						24.84	27.7	24.03	23.87	24.02
TOTAL						100	100	100	100	100

Source: Bank of Mexico, Annual report 2007.

Table 8
Chiapas; Gross Domestic Product and remittances (2000-2007)

Year	GDP (Millions of pesos at market values)	% Variation	Exchange rate	GDP (Millions of dollars)	REMITTANCES (Millions of dollars)	% Variation	REMITTANCES% of the GDP
2000	81195		9.456	8586.6	13.1		0.15
2001	86694	6.77	9.343	9279	55.8	326	0.6
2002	96802	11.66	9.656	10025.06	256	359	2.55
2003	106025	9.53	10.789	9827.1	367	43.4	3.73
2004	118079	11.37	11.286	10462.4	498.9	35.9	4.76
2005	122646	3.87	10.898	11253.99	681.9	36.7	6.05
2006	132835	8.31	10.901	12195.579	824.5	2.5	6.76
2007	141747	6.7	10.932	12966.245	779.4	-5.5	6.01

Source: National Accounting System of Mexico (INEGI) and Bank of Mexico.

Table 9
**Surface cultivated with banana which was affected by Stan
 Soconusco, Chiapas**

Municipality	Affected surface
Suchiate	2,283-80
Tapachula	948-50
Tuxtla Chico	7-00
Mazatán	1,493-71
Huehuetan	537-80
Acapetahua	553-36
Total	5,844-77

Source: Agricultural Association of Banana Producers from the Soconusco (2005).

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