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**PAPER PRESENTED AT THE
THIRD INTERNATIONAL POPULATION CONFERENCE
ON THE CENTRAL AMERICAN ISTHMUS, 2003**

**Migrations Among the Indigenous Language Speaking Population
in Southeastern Mexico**

(Translation of Spanish Version)

Dario Antonio Lopez Villar

Doubtless, México is a country of tremendous geographic, economic, demographic and cultural contrasts, where ethnic diversity and pluralistic cultural characteristics stand out among the country's main traits. One consequence of this is the enormous demographic heterogeneity, especially seen when dealing with ethnic groups; thus, the migration situation of this population sector, particularly among those established in the Isthmus, is less intensive than the migrations corresponding to sectors not belonging to a specific ethnic group.

Given the topic of the conference where this paper will be presented (Third International Population Conference of the Central American Isthmus, 2003), we have looked with particular interest at the states of Campeche, Quintana Roo, and Yucatan, which make up the economic zone of the Yucatan peninsula, together with the states of Tabasco and Chiapas, so that we will refer to the southeastern region of the country to evoke the conglomerate of these five states.

Introduction

Migration by indigenous peoples occurs under circumstances different from those in which the non-autochthonous speaking population migrates. Factors such as the loss of lands, lack of support in the field, etc., promote territorial mobility among these peoples; however, there are others of a social, economic, and cultural nature that operate within and beyond the society they reside in, which far from stimulating their mobility, favor their remaining in their areas of origin. For this reason, it is generally considered that migration occurs with reduced intensity among the ethnic groups from this zone.

We are not attempting to say here that the indigenous populations don't have motives to opt for a change of residence, as there are even fewer reasons to affirm that they would be able to satisfy all of their needs in their areas of origin; in fact, current evidence confirms the disadvantaged status and social inequality in which they live. Their reality is, rather, circumscribed to belonging to the community in which they live, lacking information that carries with it even a slight contact with the external milieu, and to the xenophobic factors arising from external society, to which those who call themselves indigenous are frequently the victims.

This paper shows that out-migration occurring in an indigenous language-speaking population (ILS) is scant, a characteristic that makes it appear like a closed population,

where demographic change occurs principally due to the effects of the two remaining variables, fertility and mortality.

In a first section, we will look at the relative weight of the ILS in the different states within this zone and the types of languages that are present therein. The second section offers a description of the migration situation among the indigenous peoples of this region of the country, as well as of the total population and the non-autochthonous speaking group.

The third section presents an analysis of reported international migration in those municipalities in Southeastern Mexico, as an approach to the international movements carried out by the indigenous population. Finally, the fourth section provides a series of conclusions on the topic as a whole.

Background

Ever since the first Mexican Census of modern times (1895), identification of the indigenous population has been a constant concern in each census enumeration; the way they have focused on this measurement has varied over time, being based on conceptual platforms founded on differing criteria such as footwear, clothing, foods, place where they sleep, language, and self-description or sense of belonging.

Until 1960, considering that the capacity to speak an indigenous language is one of the most viable methods for identifying an individual with his/her group, the indigenous population was considered as that group which was monolingual in an indigenous tongue. Between 1970 and 1995, the classification of the population speaking an indigenous tongue has undergone modifications, in the sense that the total includes not only those who are monolingual, but also the bilingual population as well.¹

In order to preserve data comparability and continue offering information that will allow us to establish the dimensions and characteristics of Mexico's tremendous ethnic diversity, in the 12th General Population and Housing Census of 2000 (Census 2000), the figures relating to Mexico's indigenous population are given with the same conceptual approach as 1995.

In the 2000 Census, this measurement was carried out using questions included in the Census form, so that the data related to all sub-populations, and in particular the indigenous population, were universal in coverage, which allows them to be associated with all Census variables, without restriction as to their level of detail.

As a result of the foregoing, this paper deals with the migration situation of the ILS population residing in the Southeastern section of the country, putting it into context with the migration patterns of the population as a whole and those groups that do not speak an autochthonous language (NILS).

Methodology

In Mexico, the only source of information reporting on all of the country's ethnic groups is the Population Census; thus, the information utilized in this report is that provided by Census 2000. This information is obtained through a questionnaire-guided direct interview, where the responses provided by each person interviewed are recorded.

Thus, the information on migration aspects among the indigenous communities was obtained on an individual basis, where each person aged five or more years that spoke an indigenous language, was questioned on his/her migration status, by means of a question regarding Place of Birth (state or country) and Place of Residence five years ago (state, municipality, or country).

The data derived from these two questions allowed us to ascertain the migration situation of the indigenous population, while at the same time permitting us to establish different migration categories referring not only to the indigenous population, but also to the total population: for example, inter-state, inter-municipal, and international migrants.

Additionally, the 2000 Census implemented an extended form that was applied to a sample of 2 million dwellings, which included a battery of questions to measure international emigration. The results obtained from this sample, although they do not allow us to distinguish the ILS's, they do permit a distinction of those in municipalities whose populations are primordially indigenous language speakers.

With these data, then, it is not only possible to describe the internal migration reality of these groups, but also, reach an approximation of their international migration experience during the period 1995 - 2000.

Indigenous Groups in the Southeastern Region

In order to ascertain the relative importance of the indigenous groups within the population of the states in this part of Southeastern Mexico, it is sufficient to examine the results provided by the 2000 Census.

According to the linguistic criterion, 37.3% of the population aged five or more years, resident in the state of Yucatan stated that they were ILS, in Chiapas, this same indicator was 24.6%, followed by Quintana Roo with 23.0%, Campeche with 15.5%, and finally Tabasco with just 3.7% (see Figure 1).

Thus, the relative importance of the indigenous groups in this region of the country stands out, emphasizing the importance of studying them. Before beginning to describe the migration aspects of these population groups, it is worth noting that the indigenous groups recognize and rely on geographic positioning in territorial terms that does not necessarily coincide with current state and municipal boundaries; in fact, in some instances, their territorial recognition extends beyond the nation's boundaries.

Furthermore, an indigenous person outside of his or her region tends to hide his or her language, a mechanism that they use to avoid the discrimination that they are subjected to.²

The preceding proposition indicates that, although it is true that the linguistic aspect is the most viable means for identifying the indigenous population, it is also true that it may be ineffective, at least in regard to indigenous populations outside their zone. Furthermore, it is important to note that in the face of such a reality, the means normally used to identify migrants (Place of Birth, prior Place of Residence without a fixed date, Place of Residence five years ago) may be insufficient for counting indigenous individuals that have undergone a change of residence.

However, in spite of acknowledging that measurements of the indigenous population derived from Censuses and Surveys are limited, they continue to be acceptable information sources for estimates.

– *Types of languages present in the Region*

In view of the fact that we are studying primarily the ILS population, it is important for us to briefly analyze the types of languages spoken in the Region, and among them identify those originating in each State. Thus, it will be possible to determine the population that speaks a language not native to the State, which therefore comes from another State in the Republic of Mexico or another country.

In accord with the foregoing, in Campeche, the 2000 Census identified an ILS population of 93,765 persons aged 5 or more years, among whom 80.9% were Mayan speakers (see Table 1), a language whose roots are shared in common with the States of Yucatan and Quintana Roo. *Chol* is the second language in the State of Campeche (9.4%), which is, as far as it has been possible to ascertain, native to the States of Chiapas and Tabasco. In third place, with 2.0% of the population aged 5 or more years speaking them, we have the Kanjobales, which are historically native to Guatemala; and finally, we find the Tzeltales, representing 1.8% of the ILS population, and which are native to Chiapas.

In the case of Chiapas, the population reported as ILS was 809,592 individuals aged 5 or more years; this number consists of Tzotziles, who represent 36.0% of the population, Tzeltales, with 34.4%, Choles, who signify 17.4%, Zoques, with 5.1%; and Tojolabales representing 4.7% (see Table 2). All of these languages can trace their origin to Chiapas, which means that 98% of the ILS population aged 5 or more years in Chiapas speaks a language native to that State.

In Quintana Roo, 173,592 ILS individuals aged 5 or more years were identified. Of this total, 94.2% declared that they were Mayan speakers, a language identified as native to that State (see Table 3). The remaining 5.8% corresponds to other languages coming from other states, and even from other countries, such as the Kanjobales, with 0.7%,

who are, as was mentioned above, of Guatemalan origin, Nahuatl, with 0.7%, and Tzotziles, who also represent 0.7%.

Tabasco is the State within the Region with the lowest proportion of ILS, with 62,027 persons aged five or more years who were identified as indigenous; 61.8% of this group speak Chontal de Tabasco and 16.2% were classified as Choles (see Table 4). Both of these languages are native to the State, i.e., 78% of the ILS population speak a language native to Tabasco. In addition, the Tzeltales, who represent 3.1% of the ILS population inhabit a border region between Tabasco and Chiapas, so that they may be allocated to either of the two states, a similar situation occurs with the Tzotziles, who constitute 1.5% of the inhabitants found in Tabasco, according to this distribution.

In the case of Yucatan, the State in this region where the indigenous population has the greatest relative weight within the resident population aged 5 or more years, the Census enumerated 549,532 ILS individuals aged 5 or more years of whom 99.6% declared that they spoke Mayan, a language considered native to Yucatan, i.e., almost all ILS in the state speak a language native to the state.

What we have been describing here is a reflection of the tremendous cultural diversity existing in this region of Mexico. We should also mention that the fact that a language is native to several states may make it more difficult to determine the place of origin of those that speak it, especially since, as we already indicated, these ethnic groups do not necessarily acknowledge their geographic location within current territorial divisions.³

However, questions on place of birth and residence five years ago, just like the other variables used in the Census questionnaire, do not explicitly express the conceptual background for which they were designed; their structure responds, rather, to a way of operationalizing this concept, to wit, even though their main purpose is to identify migrants, it is not possible to intuit this directly from the questions themselves, unless the question is posed to a person knowledgeable in these matters.

Thus, the person is not questioned directly about his/her migration status, the population is merely classified into special groups: native population, non-native population, and recent migrants, and by combining the variables, other categories can be formed, e.g., return migration.

The migration status of the population aged five or more years of age and resident in the Southeastern Region

As has already been indicated, in order to obtain migration statistics on the population resident in the country that would allow us to study it in a complementary manner, the Census questionnaire included two variables: place of birth and place of residence five years before. In this section we will describe the migration characteristics of the states within the region, taking into account the results from both approaches, aware of the

fact that each one of them allows us to obtain different measures, providing a richer analysis from different perspectives.

By place of birth⁴

– Cumulative migration for the region⁵

By comparing a person's place of birth with his/her current residence, we can determine the migrant population. According to the 2000 Census results, 86.3% of the population aged 5 or more years residing in these states lived in the same state where they were born, i.e., native population, and 13% were born in a different state (see Table 6).

By state, the migration status of the population as a whole entails significant differences; while in Quintana Roo, Campeche, and Tabasco the non-native population residing in these states was 62%, 26.4%, and 10.4%, respectively; in Yucatan it was 7.4% and in Chiapas 3.5%.

A description like that provides some idea of the contrasts that can be seen in the migration patterns in these states, leaving it clear that when we study migration among the total population, any scarcity of migration in the region is not a generalized situation, especially if we take into consideration the fact that the state with the greatest migration impact, Quintana Roo, is also within the region.⁶ However, analyzing only in-migration is insufficient to allow us to speak of the net impact of migration on the population resident in a specific area. We must also ascertain the out-migration component and construct an indicator that would allow us to derive a balance for this phenomenon with regard to the resident population.⁷

– Cumulative in-migration among the indigenous speaking inhabitants

Being an indigenous language speaker marks the difference in the data when we analyze it through the migration status of the whole ILS population. According to these results, in-migration captured through place of birth is less intense among the ILS.

Thus, 90.8% of the ILS population aged five or more years live in the same state where they were born, and 8.3% were born in a state other than the one of current residence; i.e., they are in-migrants into the state of current residence (see Table 6).

The situation by Federal State is highly contrasting, in the sense that while in Quintana Roo, Tabasco, and Campeche, 59.2%, 15.5%, and 15.2% of the ILS population were born in another state; in Chiapas only 0.6% and in Yucatan 1.6% of that population is a native of another state, i.e., is an in-migrant, which highlights the scant presence of migrants among the indigenous populations in these two states.

If inter-state migration among the indigenous population in some of these states is of negligible magnitude, it is even more so if we take into consideration the migration flows across the nation's borders; however, we must keep in mind that the states being

analyzed here are states proximate to the border shared by Mexico and Guatemala, and the Guatemalan territory that borders with Mexico has a considerable presence of ethnic groups.⁸ We will discuss this situation more in the section corresponding to international migration.

– *Cumulative in-migration among non-indigenous language speakers*

As could be expected, the migration status of the NILS population, as seen from the perspective of the population born in another state, is different from that of the ILS population. In this case, 85.0% of the NILS population aged five or more years were born in the state of current residence, i.e., they are natives. On the other hand, 14.4% were born in another state, so they can be considered in-migrants (see Table 6).

The differences observed by state between the in-migration of the total population and the in-migration among the ILS population from this part of the country are also evident in the migration flows among the NILS population. Thus, while 62.9% of the NILS population of Quintana Roo, aged five or more years, and 26.4% of that of Campeche were born in another state, in Yucatan, Tabasco, and Chiapas, only 10.9%, 10.2%, and 4.5%, respectively, of that population fell into this situation.

The foregoing is an example that the migration phenomenon has a varied impact depending on the type of population carrying it out. In this case, the data analyzed here confirm that there is greater mobility among the non-speakers.

– *Cumulative net migration balances (NMB)*

With the goal of offering demographic indicators that would allow us to build a more complete idea about cumulative migration among the populations that form the enclave in the southeastern region of Mexico, and in particular of the ILS, we will proceed to provide the net migration balances for the region as a whole and for each of the states that go to make up the region, differentiating among the balances corresponding to the total population, ILS, and NILS.

Before providing the results, it is worth noting that the net migration balance, as a relative indicator of migration, on the one hand allows us to determine the net population increases from migration that may accrue to any geographic area, and on the other hand, they show the impact that these migrations have on the population residing in these areas.

Table 7 presents the net balances relative to the total regional population aged five years or more. According to these figures, absolute migration represents a mere 1.1% of the total population in this zone of the country; however, by state, the situation presented is different, Quintana Roo (58.1%) is the state that underwent the largest increase in its population not only in the region, but in the country as a whole due to in-migration, followed by Campeche (10.5%), i.e., these states underwent positive growth since they picked-up new population.

A different situation is seen in the states of Yucatan, Chiapas, and Tabasco, where the interchange of population with other states had a negative effect, representing net migration balances of -10.4% , -6.4% , and -3.1% , respectively. These figures are indicative that the migration patterns in the states in this region of Mexico have different manifestations, at least if we analyze these patterns on the basis of the place of birth of the population.

The same indicator, but calculating it only for the ILS population, reveals that migration is expressed in forms and dimensions that are different in this population from those seen for the population as a whole; thus, the net migration balance of the indigenous population for the region in general is 0.1% , to wit, from the perspective of cumulative migration, the contribution made by migration to growth in this population is virtually non-existent (see Table 8).

By state, for Campeche, the net migration balance of the ILS population is about 50% less than the balance of the total population; Chiapas has a net negative balance of -2.3% , which reveals a greater equilibrium between the ILS in-migrants and out-migrants than between total in-migrants and out-migrants. Yucatan presents the opposite situation from that of Chiapas, the net balance of the ILS, -16.6% , reveals a greater loss of that population group than the relative loss of the total population.

We find a special situation in Tabasco; in this state, according to the cumulative migration approach, 10.6% of the ILS population is a product of in-migration, while in contrast, this same indicator for the total population is -3.1% , to wit, the migration effect (from a viewpoint of cumulative net balance) is positive for the ILS population but negative for the total population. In Quintana Roo, the migration situation presented by the cumulative net migration balance for the ILS population (57.6%) shows that this phenomenon is similar in both population groups.

The balances corresponding to the NILS population, as is generally found with all of the categories analyzed are very similar to those derived from the population aged five or more years as a whole. Thus, only 1.8% of the resident population in the isthmus is a product of an exchange of population among the states that make up the region and the rest of the states throughout the country (see Table 9).

An analysis of this indicator by state also reflects what is seen overall for the region. In this sense, Quintana Roo and Campeche with net migration balances (NMBs) of 58.3% and 11.4% , respectively, stand out as the only two states where this indicator has a positive effect on the NILS population; Chiapas, Yucatan, and Tabasco with NMBs of -7.7% , -6.7% , and -3.7% , respectively, are the states where net migration implies a population loss.

By place of residence five years previous

– Recent in-migration in the total population

Migration measured focusing on place of residence five years ago is usually known as “recent migration”.⁹ Thus, the migrants are those whose place of residence five years ago and current place of residence are different, to the contrary, non-migrants are those persons aged five or more years living in the same place.

In view of the foregoing, it would be obvious to consider the volume of migrants encountered this way, since it refers to only those migrations occurring in the last five years, would be smaller than those found by analyzing place of birth, even though both cases refer only to those five or more years of age. According to these indications, in the year 2000, 95.7% of the population five or more years of age from this region of the country was living in the same state as they had been five years previously, i.e., they are non-migrants (see Table 10); and 3.7% were residing in a different state, i.e., they are migrants.

From this point of view, Quintana Roo and Campeche are the states with the highest migration potential, where 16.4% and 5.6% of their populations aged five or more years, respectively, were living in another state five years prior, in 1995; on the other hand, in Yucatan, Tabasco, and Chiapas, this phenomenon is less intense, since only 3.0%, 2.6%, and 1.4% of their populations aged five or more years, respectively, had been living in a state different from their residence in 2000.

– Recent in-migration of indigenous language speakers

Recent in-migration among the indigenous groups present in the region appears to have little impact on these population groups. The data show that the changes in size of this population are little influenced by the migration variable; thus, in the year 2000, 98% of the ILS population from this zone maintained their residence in the same state where they had been residing in 1995, and only 1.5% stated that they were in-migrants, i.e., had come from another state (see Table 10).

In a state-by-state review, we can see that the situation varies little from what was seen for the region as a whole; the case of Quintana Roo, where 8.6% of the ILS population aged five or more years came from another state is the most outstanding, since in the other four states, the resident ILS population coming from another state varies from 3.7% in Tabasco to 0.2% in Chiapas.

In spite of the fact that this analysis is only made with recent in-migration, in view of the differences observed, we can refer to the scant mobility of the ILS population.

– *Recent in-migration of non-indigenous language speakers*

With regards to in-migration among the NILES population, although slightly more intensive, it is very similar to that of the total population aged five or more years, insofar as 95.3% of the NILES population aged five or more years was living in the same state that it had five years prior, i.e., 1995, and 4.4% had come from another state (see Table 10).

As was expected, the situation changes on a state-by-state basis, while in Quintana Roo and Campeche 18.7% and 6.2% of the population aged five or more years, respectively, has come from another state, in Yucatan 4.3%, Tabasco 2.6%, and Chiapas 1.8% of that population was in this situation.

The migration experience shown by the NILES population also points up different migration patterns among the populations aged five or more years, since at least from the perspective of recent in-migration, the NILES have a greater propensity to migrate than the ILS.

Participation of recent migration in total growth of the population during the period 1995-2000

– *Average total annual growth rate (ATAGR)*

Seeking greater support to confirm the minimal impact of migration on population growth in southeastern Mexico, we proceeded to construct an indicator that would be “homogeneous” for the annual average net migration rate for the five-year period 1995-2000, and that would allow us to establish the participation of the migration phenomenon in defining the size of the population in this set of states.

To this end, we took several options into account, among which the average total annual growth rate (ATAGR) was selected as the most appropriate.¹⁰ It was calculated with the working hypothesis that population growth in this zone of the country can be modeled correctly with geometric growth.

Tables 11, 12, and 13 in the Appendices present the results of these rates for the three types of populations (total, ILS, and NILES), and respond to three core questions: first, the results certify that, overall, and for four of the five states in the region, the growth of the ILS is half of that shown by the total population aged five or more years, to wit, while the ILS grew at a rate of 11 per thousand for the period 1995-2000, the total population grew at 22 persons per thousand residents during the same period. By state, the same ratio occurs in Campeche, Chiapas, and Quintana Roo. In the first case the ratio was 12 to 24 per thousand, in the second state, it was 12 to 22 per thousand, and in the third it was 23 to 52 per thousand residents.

In Yucatan, the forgoing situation is emphasized; there, the total population grew, on the average, by 15 persons per thousand residents per year, while the ILS population did so

at an *ATAGR* of 2 persons per thousand residents, i.e., the growth was negligible. A contrary effect was seen in the state of Tabasco, while the total population aged five or more years grew at a rate of 19 persons per thousand residents between 1995 and 2000, during the same period, ILS increased by 46 persons per thousand residents, i.e., in contrast to all the other situation, the ILS increased at a rate more than double that of the whole population.

The second conclusion found while analyzing the three tables is that Quintana Roo is the state with the highest *ATAGR* 52.3 per thousand among the states studied here, except for the ILS population, where Tabasco presents the highest values, with an average annual growth rate of 45 persons per thousand residents.

A third aspect, although obvious, is worth mentioning: the growth shown by total and the NILS populations are quite similar: however, in Campeche and Chiapas, the NILS population was growing at rates of 20.5 per thousand and 17.9 per thousand, respectively, a rhythm below that of the total population, where growth was occurring at rates of 23.8 and 21.2 per thousand, respectively. A different situation is found in Yucatan, where the NILS population was growing almost twice as fast as the total population.

In order to understand some of these “irregularities” that can be observed, particularly with regard to the development of the size of the ILS population, it is important to remember that several aspects are involved in its growth. For example, the size of this population in 2000 was the result of the following:

- The population aged 0-4 years reported in the 1995 Count, surviving to 2000, which at that time was residing in households whose head or spouse spoke an indigenous language, and that inherited and maintained during those five years his/her parent’s language.
- The population aged five or more years reported in the 1995 Count, that spoke any indigenous language and did not abandon it during the period between 1995-2000,¹¹ and
- The population aged five or more years that in 1995 did not speak any indigenous language and acquired it during that period.

Thus, the growth of the indigenous population is influenced by social and cultural factors beyond those of a demographic nature, whose major repercussion appears when an estimate of the ILS population is based on linguistic characteristics. From this point of view, it is possible to suppose that the precision of these estimates, under this criterion, will depend on the magnitude of the confounding phenomena,¹² and it is not possible to generate any information on these with currently available statistics.

Furthermore, as was indicated in the National Program for Development of Indigenous Groups, 2001-2006: *“in the case of the ILS with very few speakers, population*

dispersion due to internal migration has a direct impact on the durability of these population groups". As a result of this implication, we could expect that even though migration is not the most important factor for population growth in this region, it might mean the disappearance of some of the minority language groups, not because the few speakers have died off, but because they have abandoned their original language to acquire another, merely because it is convenient for their goals of survival.

– *Average annual net migration rate (AANMR)*

One very precise way of ascertaining the effect of migration on the growth of a specific area or population is to calculate net migration rates, which refer to recent migration movements, and it is only possible to obtain them when a question has been included on place of residence five years prior to the Census date, for the resident population aged five or more years.

Table 14, 15, and 16 in the Appendices include the *AANMR* for the period 1995-2000 for the whole region under study, and for each of the constituent states. Since this is one of the most refined indicators that we can generate, the results produced complement the hypothesis proposed in this document regarding the low incidence of this phenomenon in the growth of the population in this area of the country.

The evidence presented here clearly indicates that migration in that area of the country has scant weight in defining the size of the population, since for the whole zone, the *AANMR* between 1995 and 2000 is below 1 per thousand residents, this is the case for the total, NILS and ILS populations.

Although there are some similarities, at the state level in general the situation is different. For example, in Quintana Roo, Campeche, and Yucatan we find net positive rates: in the first state there is a rate of 22.2 per thousand residents, the largest net population gain from migration during the last five-year period prior to the Census, not only within the region, but within the country as a whole. In Campeche and Yucatan, the phenomenon also presents a positive balance, however, with levels that are close to unity (1.6 and 0.1 per thousand respectively). Migration has a negative impact on the populations of Tabasco and Chiapas, where the *AANMRs* were equivalent to -3.3 and -2.3 per thousand residents, respectively (see Table 14).

Although the migration phenomenon is not an important part of total population growth in the zone, it is even less so for the ILS population. In this population segment, the *AANMR* was -0.03 per thousand residents, which means that in global terms, the migration effect is practically non-existent (see Table 15).

Quintana Roo, with an *AANMR* of 13.57 and Tabasco at 2.38 per thousand residents are the only states where the ILS population has been modified by migration effects; in Yucatan, Chiapas and Campeche, similar to the total ILS population, there were negative rates of -2.69 , -1.20 , and -0.18 per thousand residents, respectively, which indicates, first, that the ILS population migration patterns vary by state and second, that in these states the population turnover occurs under very balanced conditions.

With regards to the NILS population, their migration panorama is similar to that of the total population,¹³ which means that ILS population migration subsumed under the migration of the total population five or more years of age, is so low, that the trends are stable and unchanging whether the former is taken into account or not.

- *Average annual net migration rate (AANMR) versus Average total annual growth rate (ATAGR)*

We proceed to analyze the curve formed by the *AANMR* with the curve formed by the *ATAGR* for each of the five states that make up the region. Under this analysis it is possible to identify with greater clarity and precision the specific weight of migration in overall growth of the population aged five or more years.

This exercise is made in order to obtain the *m* and the *r*, the value of the *m* is the equivalent of the contribution of migration the total population growth.

Thus, Figure 2 reveals that the *ATAGR* of the population in this zone during the period from 1995 to 2000 was 21.9 per thousand residents, the *AANMR* was a mere 0.5 per thousand residents, i.e., since we are dealing with directly comparable indicators and the second is subsumed in the first, the migration phenomenon has practically nothing to do with changes in population size in this region of the country.

In particular, this same Figure 2 allows us to affirm that similar to the zone as a whole, in Campeche, Chiapas, Yucatan, and Tabasco, the migration effect has a negligible participation in defining population size in these states. The only outstanding case is Quintana Roo, where the results indicate that almost 50% of this state's demographic growth was due to migration, since the *ATAGR* was 52.3 per thousand residents for the period 1995-2000, while the *AANMR*, for the same period, was 22.2 per thousand residents.

Figure 3 presents the behavior of the *ATAGR* and *AANMR* regarding the total ILS population in the zone. This information provides support for several aspects; first of all, it is possible to establish reduced growth in this population as it relates to the total population aged five or more years; secondly, we should highlight that migration among the total population in these states is very balanced, since it contributes very little to its total growth. This balance is much more evident in the ILS population, since the *ATAGR* in this population segment is 10.8 per thousand residents, while the *AANMR* is -0.03 per thousand residents.

This relationship by state shows a similar behavior to that of the total ILS population; this is so because in the growth of the ILS population of Campeche, Chiapas, Tabasco, and Yucatan, by migration has an insignificant participation; what is worth mentioning in this distribution is the case of Quintana Roo, where similar to what occurs with the total population of the state, the migration contribution to demographic growth is slightly over 50%, since the *ATAGR* for the ILS population in Quintana Roo is 22.6 per thousand,

migration appears with an *AANMR* of 13.57 per thousand persons during the same period.

The panorama observed in the NILS population coincides completely with what was shown for the total population, where Quintana Roo is the only state where migration has a considerable impact on population totals, representing around 50% of its growth (see Figure 4).

International migration in the indigenous population in the southeastern region

– International immigration

Mexico has traditionally been recognized as a country of origin for international migration, i.e., for decades, it has presented a net negative international migration balance, where the volume of population leaving the country to settle in another is considerably greater than that arriving in Mexico to settle there. In this context, the 2000 Census encountered 343,790 individuals aged five or more years that declared they were residing in another country in 1995, i.e. international immigrants. Of this total, only 3.7% (12,610 immigrants) were found in the five states in the region of interest, while in the states of Jalisco, Michoacan, Baja California, Mexico D.F., Chihuahua, Guanajuato, and the State of Mexico concentrate 53.9% of this population.

More than a third of the international immigrants (4,948 immigrants) arriving in this part of southeastern Mexico during the five years prior to the 2000 Census came to live in the state of Chiapas, and 67.7% of them came from Guatemala. Quintana Roo, with 29.5% of the international immigrants (3,724 persons) is in second place as a destination for international migrants. In third place, Yucatan received 2,535 immigrants (20.1%). Campeche and Tabasco are the states with the lowest proportions of international immigrants, since the remaining 11.1% settled there.

Among the international immigrants that settle in Campeche, Chiapas, Quintana Roo, Tabasco, and Yucatan, only 7.4% (932 individuals) are ILS and 92.6% (11,678) are NILS. One-half of the international ILS immigrants (48.1%) have settled in Chiapas and 88.6% of them came from Guatemala; 32.5% (303 persons) of the international ILS immigrants settled in Yucatan and among this group, in contrast to those settling in Chiapas, five years ago, 89.1% of them lived in the United States of America. The remaining 19.4% of international ILS immigrants selected to settle in Quintana Roo, Campeche, and Tabasco.

The foregoing reflects, on the one hand, the high concentration of international immigrants in their geographical distribution, and on the other hand, in spite of the scant presence of these immigrants in the southeast of Mexico, a certain diversity with regards to the origin of these immigrants can be seen: in the case of Quintana Roo, for example, 38.5% of them came from the USA, but 60.1% came from other countries.

– *International emigration*

To date, Mexico does not have a nationwide project to provide statistics that would allow the direct generation of data on the number of ILS that emigrate to another country to settle there. However, the 2000 Census, repeating an experience from migration surveys carried out during the 90's,¹⁴ included in the extended questionnaire (which was applied to more than 2 million households) a section with questions aimed at arriving at an estimate of the volume of international emigration.

Although the results on international emigration from the 2000 Census do not allow us to ascertain directly the number of ILS that emigrated to settle in another country between 1995 and 2000, it is possible to distinguish from the estimated volume of international emigrants, those that are declared from primordially ILS municipalities. Thus, taking advantage of this possibility with the data, and in order to achieve an indirect estimate of the number of ILS emigrants, a ratio was established between the proportion of ILS per municipality and the number of international emigrants per declaration municipality for each of the states in the region.

Thus, what follows is, on the one hand the relative weight of the ILS with regard to the total population per state and municipality. For ease of intelligibility, this information is presented in maps; and on the other hand, also using maps, we present the international emigrants in absolute numbers by municipality of declaration. It is worth clarifying that the information presented in these maps does not refer to international ILS emigrants, it simply represents those declared in municipalities classified according to their proportion of ILS. However, the intention is to demonstrate that there is an inverse relationship between the percent ILS by municipality and the number of emigrants declared in each one.

As a result of the foregoing, Figure 5 presents the results of this analysis for the state of Campeche. This figure clearly shows that in those municipalities with a greater proportion of ILS population, there are fewer declared international emigrants, which leads to the conclusion that there are fewer international emigrants in those municipalities with a majority indigenous population.

The situation observed in Campeche remains constant throughout the other four states, in order to verify this situation, one merely needs to review Figures 6, 7, 8, and 9 in the Appendices. Special mention is due for Chiapas and Yucatan, where it is possible to distinguish municipalities where no international emigrant was declared, and it is particularly noteworthy as these are municipalities with a 60% or greater ILS population.

In Chiapas, only two municipalities were uncovered where the number of international emigrants was between 600 and 1085 individuals; in Yucatan only one municipality was found with 2,124 emigrants, and Quintana Roo only one municipality reported 2,161 emigrants. In Campeche and Tabasco, there were no municipalities with a declared number of emigrants surpassing one thousand. If the situation in these states is compared with that of the states such as Mexico, Jalisco, Guanajuato, Michoacan, and

the Federal District, where there are municipalities declaring upwards of 15 thousand international emigrants, it is sufficient to emphasize the scant impact of international migration in the region under study.

Some Final Reflections

From the point of view of inequity, the indigenous groups are the most vulnerable in Mexico, for this reason this paper has approached the migration reality of the indigenous population in one Mexican region. The context within which this exercise was carried out has allowed us to emphasize this migration reality and the findings truly are noteworthy, as are the importance and diversity of these population groups within the region.

The migration situation of the ethnic groups in the country's southeastern region, placed into the national context, where migration has generally been of significant importance among the variables responsible for demographic change, shows that the region has a behavior that is heterogeneous and within which the following can be observed:

- The behavior of these population groups in the internal migration streams in a majority of the states in Mexico's southeast has an insignificant impact on the evolution of the size of the population in part of this region. Although the characteristics are not exactly those of a closed population, it is a population where migration phenomena play a minor role in determining volumes.
- Contrasting with the preceding situation, population growth in the state of Quintana Roo is highly influenced by in-migration, since approximately 60% of the total increase in population has been defined by migration, which is congruent with the level of development attained by that state, one of the country's most important poles of development, especially for surrounding populations and in particular for the ILS within the region.
- The ILS population is growing at a slower rate than the total population; nevertheless, this is not generalized throughout the region.
- In Tabasco, the ILS population has an *ATAGR* de 45.5 per thousand, while the NLS population is growing by 18.6 per thousand residents, if we consider that this state has the highest proportion of ILS population originating in other states, it would be logical to expect a large migration component in that population. However, only 2.4% of its total growth is defined by migration, which means that similar to what has occurred in the rest of the states in the region, fertility and mortality are the most important components modifying its size.

- In those municipalities with a higher proportion of resident ILS, the volume of international emigrants declared will be lower, allowing us to infer that there is a low participation of ethnic groups from this region in international migration.
- If international immigration is low for the country as a whole, it is much lower in this region; for the region as a whole it was a mere 3.7% of recent international immigrants, and among these only 7.4% were ILS; a situation that expresses to some degree the negligible impact of international immigration among the ethnic groups in this region of the country.

In summary, although the population in this region of Mexico is not totally closed to internal migration, the truth is that this phenomenon takes place under very balanced conditions, i.e., the best indicators that we can generate for this region on this topic are very close to unity, where the volume of in-migrants and out-migrants are essentially similar, except for the state of Quintana Roo, where a considerable contribution from in-migration was seen in state population growth. This is not the case with international migration, where the values corresponding to international immigrants and emigrants are different, but very scant, and the situation in this regard is even clearer when dealing only with the ethnic groups, to wit, any exercise with regard to the ILS population in the region hypothesizing a population closed to international migration would have results to confirm the hypothesis.

Finally, a socio-economic description must still be prepared for the ILS internal migrants and their impact in the definition of the age and sex structure of the total population, materials that are important to complement what we have seen here; however, given the space available for this presentation, it was impossible to deal with those topics, leaving the option of handling them in a future, separate document.

Notes:

¹ The bilingual population is the one that in addition to speaking an autochthonous language also speaks Spanish.

² This is an element that must be identified as one of the latent problems when estimating the ILS population by means of linguistic criteria.

³ In the face of a reality such as this, it is worth considering the fact that a person speaks a language native to the state where s/he lives, does not necessarily imply that s/he was born there, insofar as this person may come from another state where this language is also spoken.

⁴ Before delving into the material, it is worth noting that although this section deals with place of birth, we are dealing with the population aged five or more years, since this is the population whose condition as native speakers is known; henceforward, the reader will encounter reference to the total population in reference to the population aged five or more years.

⁵ Cumulative in-migration corresponds to that population residing in one state but born in another. It is indicated this way, since the determination of migration is limited to two points, the place of birth and current residence. According to this approach, the person is a migrant if these two points are different, and non-migrant when they are the same, independent of what may have occurred in-between.

⁶ The state of Quintana Roo has been known for several decades as the greatest or one of the most important population attractors in Mexico. According to the 2000 Census results, more than 50% of the population residing there came from another state or country.

⁷ The net migration balance, as an indicator related to the migration phenomenon, on the one hand indicates the net population exchange among states, and on the other, helps to visualize the impact of population mobility with regards to the number of inhabitants in each state.

⁸ From an analysis of the types of languages present in this region of Mexico, it was possible to determine the presence of ethnic groups originating in Guatemala, where the Kanjobales are most prominent; they were found most often in Campeche, where they were reported as constituting 2.0% of the ILS population.

⁹ Recent migration is defined as that taking place during the five years prior to the Census; in this case, it is the migration occurring between January 1995 and February 2000.

¹⁰ We considered that the *ATAGR* was the most appropriate option, because it is the result of the interaction of the three demographic variables, fertility, mortality, and migration.

¹¹ In 2000, this population consisted of those aged 10 years or more that spoke an indigenous language, without taking into consideration those in this age group acquiring the language during the period.

¹² These are the ones that have no direct demographic impact in the definition of the size and structure of a population, such as the abandonment or acquisition of a language due to social contact or for convenience.

¹³ To verify this affirmation, it is sufficient to revise the *AANMR* for each of the five states, which are presented in Tables 14 and 16 of the appendices.

¹⁴ During the decade of the 90's, three surveys were carried out in Mexico (Encuesta Nacional de la Dinámica Demográfica 1992 -ENADID 92- (National Population Dynamics Survey), Encuesta del Conteo de Población y Vivienda 1995 -CONTEO 95 (Population and Housing Count Survey), and ENADID 97), each of these incorporated a battery of questions to estimate directly the volume of Mexican international emigrants.

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Table 1. Campeche: Relative Distribution of the Indigenous Language Speaking Population by Language

Table 1

Language	Percentage*
Total	93 765
Maya	80.9
Chol	9.4
Kanjobal	2.0
Tzeltal	1.8
Other languages	5.4

*Excludes 0.5% of the population aged 5 or more years and indigenous language speakers, who did not specify the language spoken.

Table 2. Chiapas: Relative Distribution of the Indigenous Language Speaking Population by Language

Language	Percentage*
Total	809 592
Tzotzil	36.0
Tzeltal	34.4
Chol	17.4
Zoque	5.1
Tojolabal	4.7
Cluj	0.2
Kanjobales	0.7
Mame	0.7
Other language	0.8

*Excludes 0.1% of the population aged 5 or more years and indigenous language speakers, who did not specify the language spoken.

Table 3. Quintana Roo: Relative Distribution of the Indigenous Language Speaking Population by Language

Language	Percentage*
Total	173 592
Maya	94.2
Kanjobal	0.7
Náhuatl	0.7
Tzotzil	0.7
Other languages	3.3

*Excludes 0.4% of the population aged 5 or more years and indigenous language speakers, who did not specify the language spoken.

Table 4. Tabasco: Relative Distribution of the Indigenous Language Speaking Population by Language

Language	Percentage*
Total	62 027
Chontal de Tabasco	61.8
Chol	16.2
Tzeltal	3.1
Tzotzil	1.5
Other languages	8.3

*Excludes 9.2% of the population aged 5 or more years and indigenous language speakers, who did not specify the language spoken.

Table 5. Yucatan: Relative Distribution of the Indigenous Language Speaking Population by Language

Language	Percentage*
Total	549 532
Maya	99.6
Other languages	0.4

*Does not include 212 cases of the population aged 5 or more years and indigenous language speakers, who did not specify the language spoken.

Table 6. Percentage Distribution of the Population Aged 5 or more Years by Federal State and Condition as Indigenous Language Speaker, According to Place of Birth

State of Residence	Population aged 5 or more years	Same state	Other state	Other country
Total of all states	7 788 153	86.3	13.0	0.4
Campeche	606 699	74.3	24.6	0.7
Chiapas	3 288 963	95.6	3.5	0.5
Quintana Roo	755 442	36.7	62.0	1.0
Tabasco	1 664 366	89.3	10.4	0.1
Yucatan	1 472 683	92.2	7.4	0.2
Speakers	1 688 508	90.8	8.3	0.5
Campeche	937 65	81.7	15.2	2.9
Chiapas	809 592	98.4	0.6	0.5
Quintana Roo	173 592	39.8	59.2	0.8
Tabasco	62 027	84.2	15.5	0.0
Yucatan	549 532	98.2	1.6	0.0
Non-speakers	6 067 070	85.0	14.4	0.4
Campeche	510 812	73.0	26.4	0.4
Chiapas	2 463 489	94.8	4.5	0.5
Quintana Roo	578 548	35.7	62.9	1.1
Tabasco	1 595 310	89.5	10.2	0.1
Yucatan	918 911	88.6	10.9	0.3

Source: XII Censo General de Población y Vivienda, 2000.

Note: Does not include those born in another country or those whose place of birth was not specified.

Table 7. In-migrants, Out-migrants and Net Migration Balance for the Total Population Aged 5 or More by State.

State	Population aged 5 or more years	In-migrants	Out-migrants	Net balance (%)
TOTAL	7 788 153	1 013 986	927 085	1.1
Campeche	606 699	149 458	85 863	10.5
Chiapas	3 288 963	115 291	325 361	- 6.4
Quintana Roo	755 442	468 155	29 530	58.1
Tabasco	1 664 366	172 492	224 411	- 3.1
Yucatan	1 472 683	108 590	261 920	- 10.4

Source: XII Censo General de Población y Vivienda, 2000.

Table 8. In-migrants, Out-migrants and Net Migration Balance of the Indigenous-speaking Population Aged 5 or More Years by State

State	Population aged 5 or more years	In-migrants	Out-migrants	Net balance (%)
TOTAL	1 688 508	139 941	138 209	0.1
Campeche	93 765	14 262	9 114	5.5
Chiapas	809 592	4 724	23 633	- 2.3
Quintana Roo	173 592	102 802	2 769	57.6
Tabasco	62 027	9 606	3 017	10.6
Yucatan	549 532	8 547	99 676	- 16.6

Source: XII Censo General de Población y Vivienda, 2000.

Table 9. In-migrants, Out-migrants and Net Migration Balance of the Non-Indigenous-speaking Population Aged 5 or More Years by State

State	Population aged 5 or more years	In-migrants	Out-migrants	Net balance (%)
TOTAL	6 067 070	870 979	786 150	1.4
Campeche	510 812	134 755	76 488	11.4
Chiapas	2 463 849	110 108	300 808	- 7.7
Quintana Roo	578 548	363 985	26 586	58.5
Tabasco	1 595 310	162 373	220 54	- 3.7
Yucatan	918 911	99 758	161 614	- 6.7

Source: XII Censo General de Población y Vivienda, 2000.

Table 10. Percentage Distribution of the Population Aged 5 or More Years by State and Condition as Indigenous Language Speaker by Place of Residence in 1995

State of residence	Population aged 5 or more years resident	Same state	Other state	Other country
All states	7 788 153	95.7	3.7	0.2
Campeche	606 699	94.1	5.6	0.1
Chiapas	3 288 963	98.0	1.4	0.2
Quintana Roo	755 442	82.8	16.4	0.5
Tabasco	1 664 366	97.0	2.6	0.0
Yucatan	1 472 683	96.6	3.0	0.2
Speakers	1 688 508	98.0	1.5	0.1
Campeche	937 65	97.5	2.3	0.0
Chiapas	809 592	99.1	0.2	0.1
Quintana Roo	173 592	91.1	8.6	0.1
Tabasco	620 27	96.0	3.7	0.0
Yucatan	549 532	98.9	0.8	0.1
Non-speakers	6 067 070	95.3	4.4	0.2
Campeche	510 812	93.6	6.2	0.1
Chiapas	2 463 489	97.8	1.8	0.2
Quintana Roo	578 548	80.5	18.7	0.6
Tabasco	1 595 310	97.2	2.6	0.0
Yucatan	918 911	95.3	4.3	0.2

Source: XII Censo General de Población y Vivienda, 2000.

Note: Does not include those residing in another country or that did not specify place of residence in 1995.

Table 11. Calculation of Annual Average Growth Rates by State for the Total Population, 1995 -2000

State	Total population 1995	Total population 2000	Average annual growth rates per 1000 (r)
TOTAL	8 236 229	9 036 583	21.9
Campeche	642 516	690 689	23.8
Chiapas	3 584 786	3 920 892	21.2
Quintana Roo	703 536	874 963	52.3
Tabasco	1 748 769	1 891 829	18.6
Yucatan	1 556 622	1 658 210	14.9

Source: XII Censo General de Población y Vivienda, 2000.

$$r = \frac{\frac{N_{2000}}{N_{1995}} - 1}{t} \times 1000$$

Table 12. Calculation of Annual Average Growth Rates by State for the Indigenous Language Speaking Population, 1995 -2000

State	Total population 1995	Total population 2000	Average annual growth rates per 1000 (r)
TOTAL	1 612 936	1 688 508	10.8
Campeche	89 180	93 765	11.8
Chiapas	768 720	809 592	12.2
Quintana Roo	157 770	173592	22.6
Tabasco	51 364	62027	45.5
Yucatan	545 902	549 532	1.6

Source: XII Censo General de Población y Vivienda, 2000.

Table 13. Calculation of Annual Average Growth Rates by State for the Total Population, 1995 -2000

State	Total population 1995	Total population 2000	Average annual growth rates per 1000 (r)
TOTAL	5 497 227	6 067 070	23.3
Campeche	468 299	510 812	20.5
Chiapas	2 283 483	1 463 489	17.9
Quintana Roo	444 074	578 548	63.8
Tabasco	1 474 423	1 595 310	18.6
Yucatan	826 948	918 911	25.0

Source: XII Censo General de Población y Vivienda, 2000.

Table 14. Average Annual Migration Rates for the Total Population by State, 1995 - 2000

State	Mean population ^{a/} $\frac{5}{2} N_{2000} + N_{1995}$ (a)	Net balances (b)	Average annual growth rates from migration (m ? b/a)? 1000
TOTAL	43 182 030	20 229	0.5
Campeche	3 333 012	5 349	1.6
Chiapas	18 764 195	- 44 004	- 2.3
Quintana Roo	3 946 248	87 702	22.2
Tabasco	9 101 495	- 29 797	- 3.3
Yucatan	8 037 080	979	0.1

Source: XII Censo General de Población y Vivienda, 2000.

^{a/} Average of the population residing between 1995 and 2000 in each state.

Table 15. Average Annual Migration Rates for the Indigenous Language Speaking Population Aged 5 or More Years

State	Average population ^{a/} $\frac{5}{2} N_{2000} + N_{1995}$ (a)	Net balances ΔE (b)	Average annual growth rates from migration $(m + b/a) \cdot 1000$
TOTAL	8 253 611	- 263	- 0.03
Campeche	457 363	- 81	- 0.18
Chiapas	3 945 780	- 4 716	- 1.20
Quintana Roo	828 405	11 238	13.57
Tabasco	283 478	675	2.38
Yucatan	2 738 585	- 7 379	- 2.69

Source: XII Censo General de Población y Vivienda, 2000.

^{a/} Average of the population residing between 1995 and 2000 in each state.

Table 16. Average Annual Migration Rates for the Non-Indigenous Language Speaking Population Aged 5 or More Years

State	Average population ^{a/} $\frac{5}{2} N_{2000} + N_{1995}$ (a)	Net balances ΔE (b)	Average annual growth rates from migration $(m + b/a) \cdot 1000$
TOTAL	28 910 744	20 485	0.71
Campeche	2 447 778	5 389	2.20
Chiapas	11 867 430	- 39 182	- 3.30
Quintana Roo	2 556 555	76 210	29.81
Tabasco	7 674 333	- 30 333	- 3.95
Yucatan	4 364 648	8 401	1.92

Source: XII Censo General de Población y Vivienda, 2000.

^{a/} Average of the population residing between 1995 and 2000 in each state.

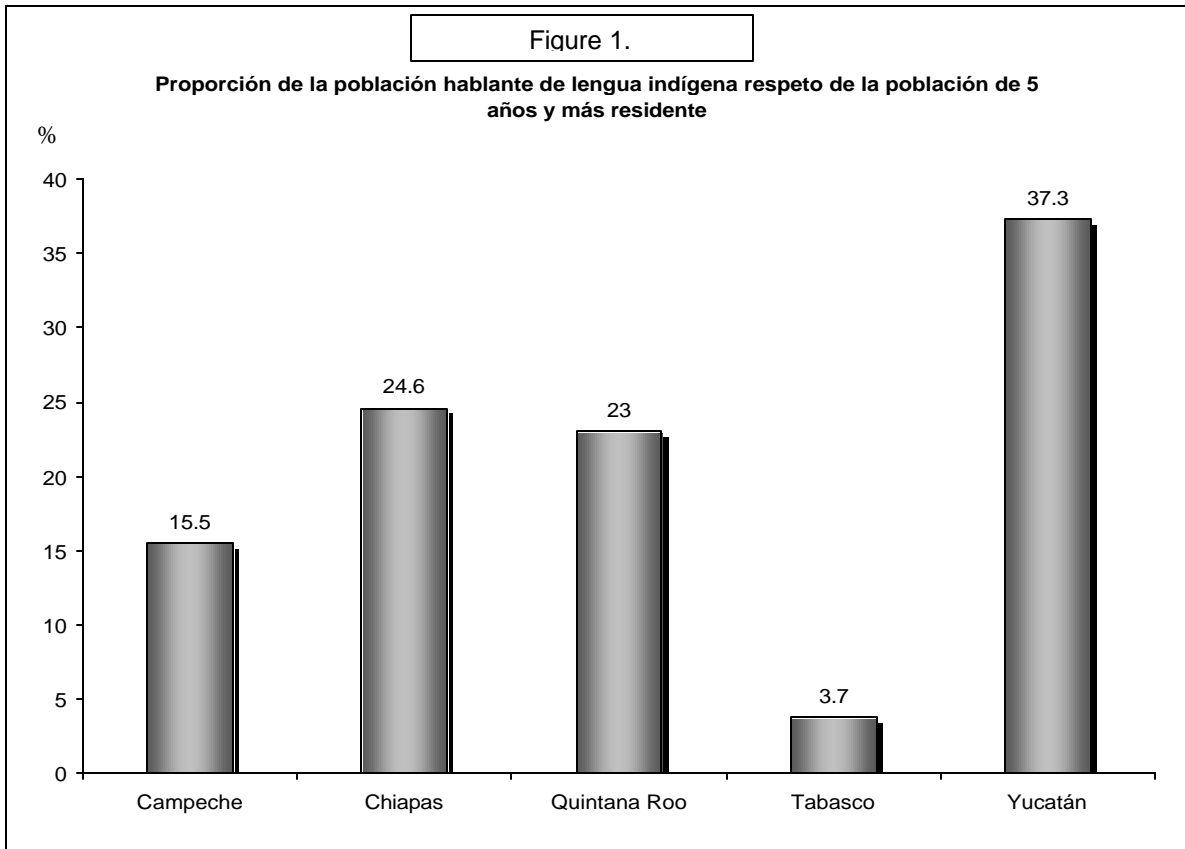


Figure 2

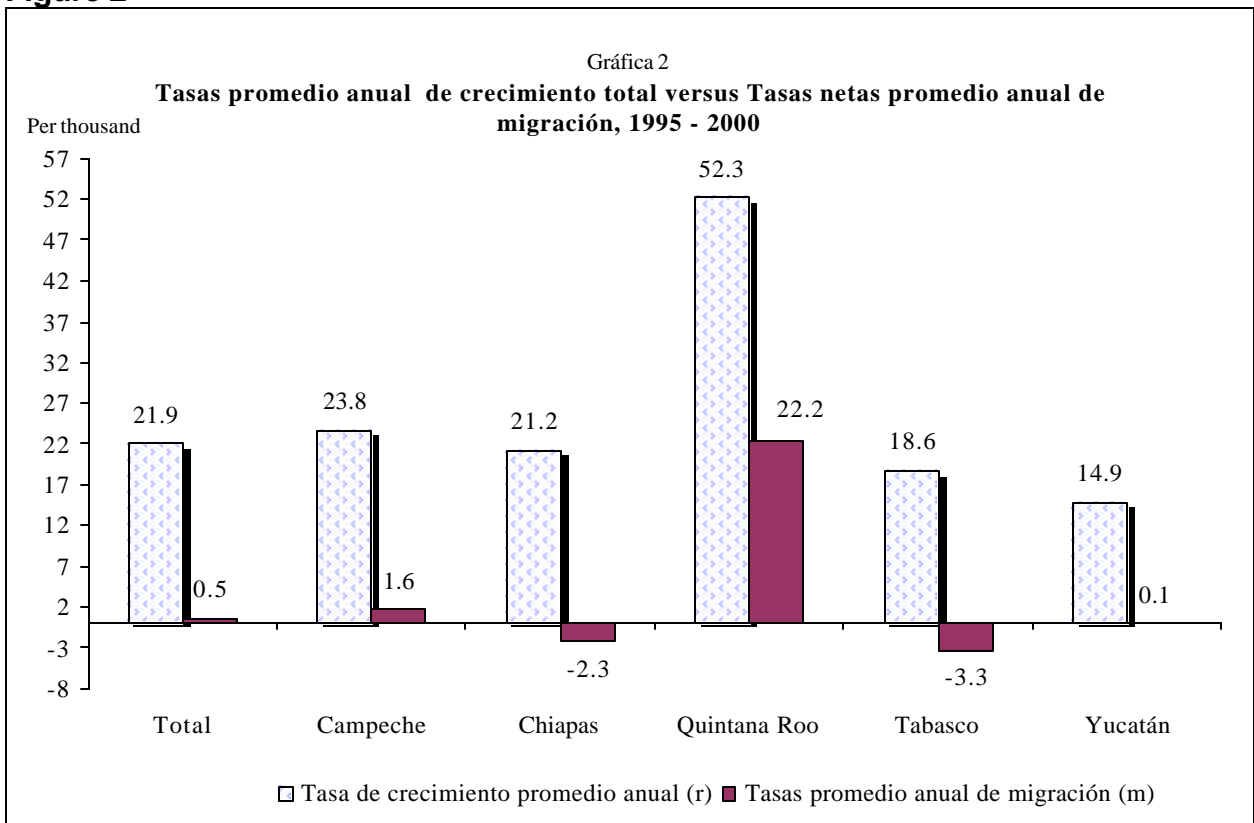


Figure 3

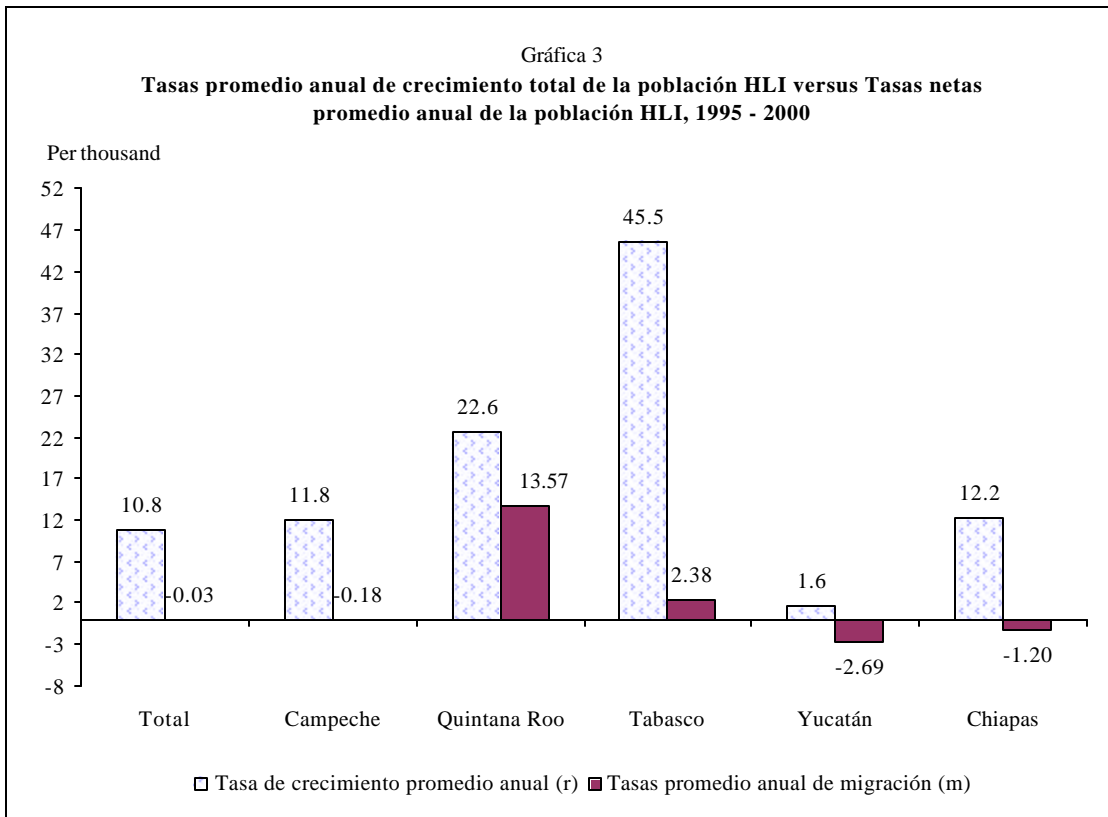


Figure 4

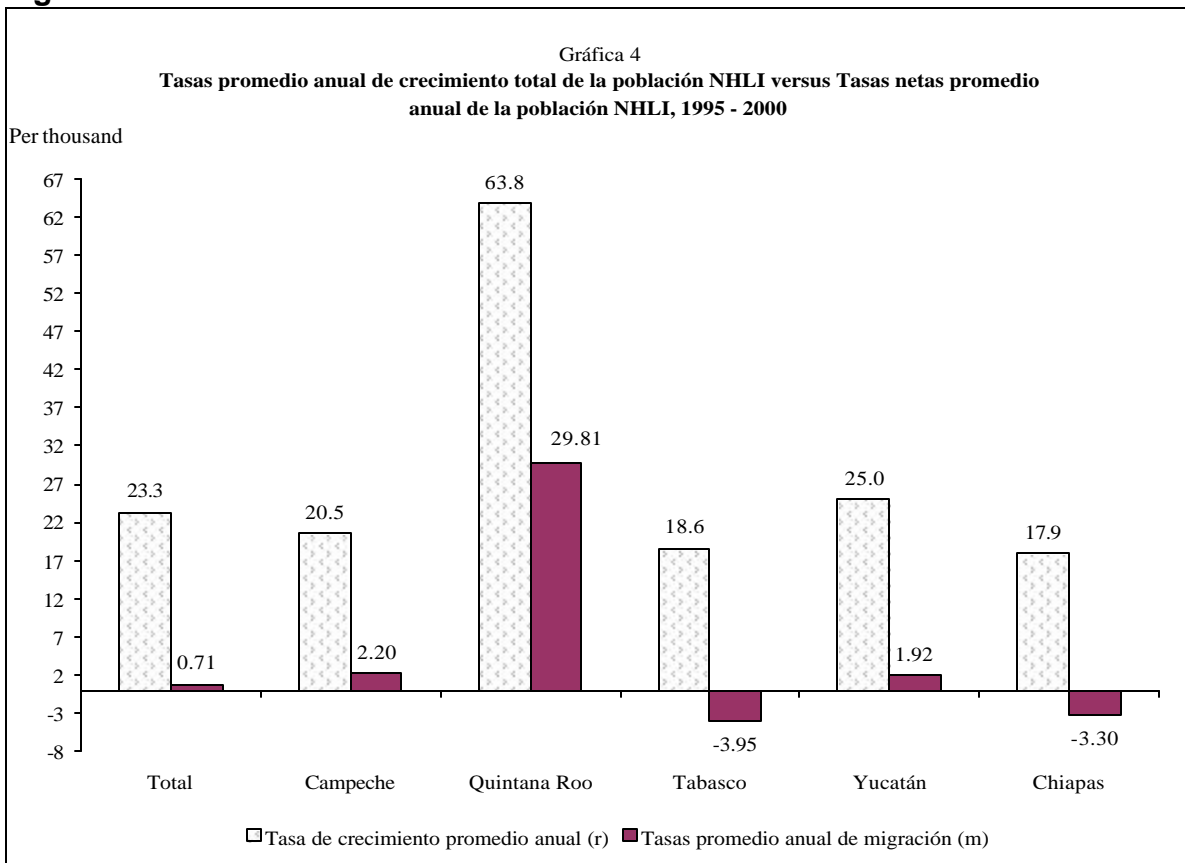
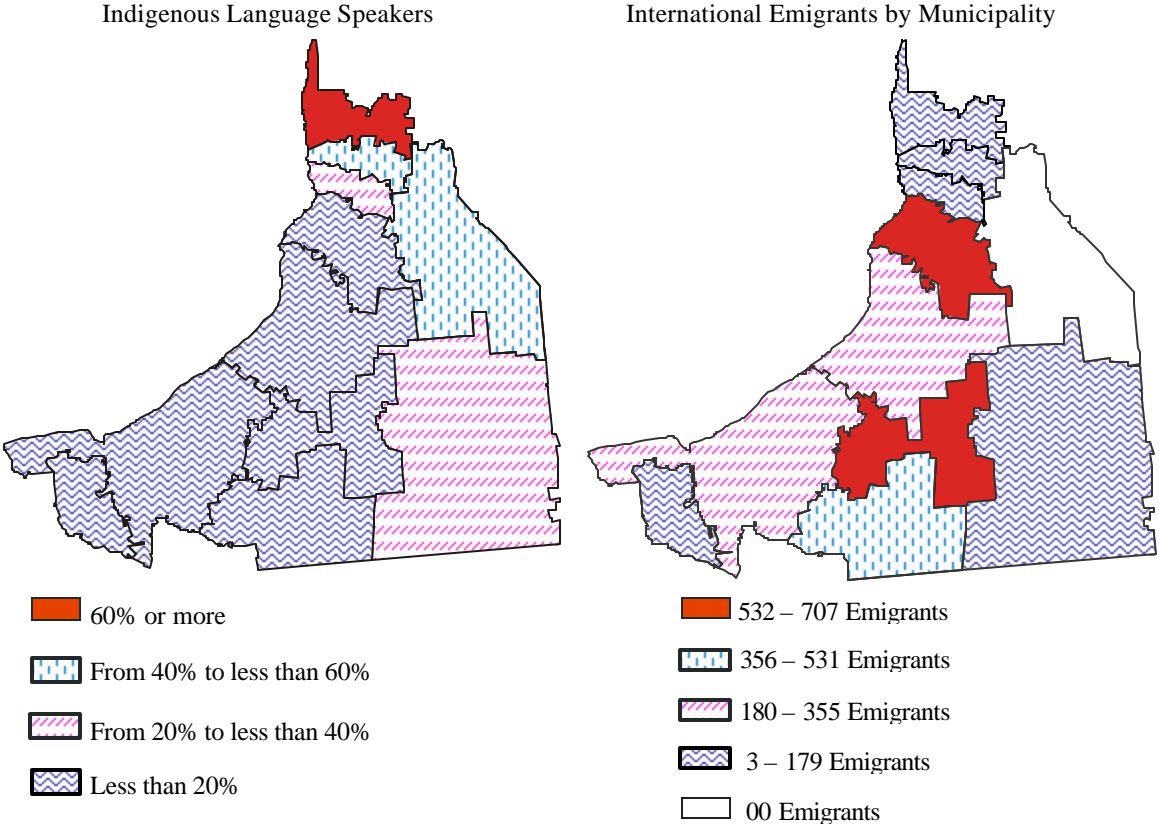


Figure 5

Campeche



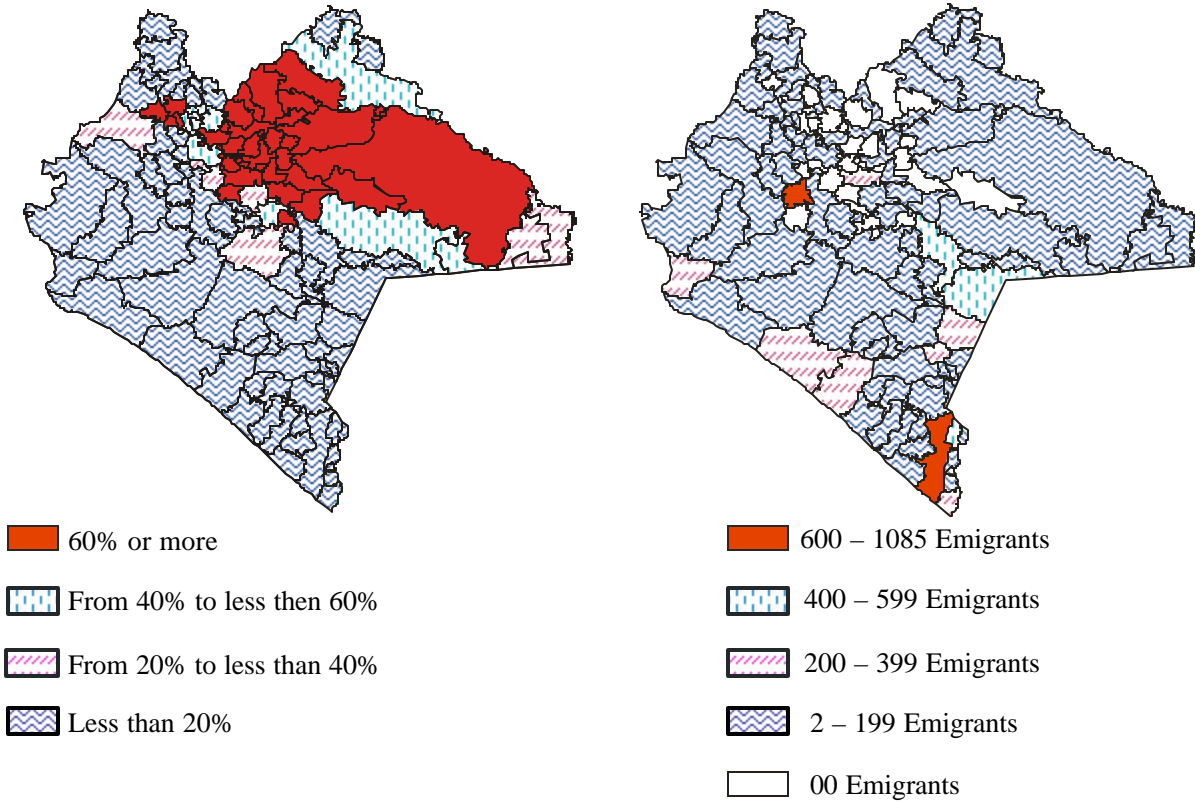
Source: XII Censo General de Población y Vivienda, 2000.

Indigenous Language Speakers

CHIAPAS

International Emigrants by Municipality

Figure 6



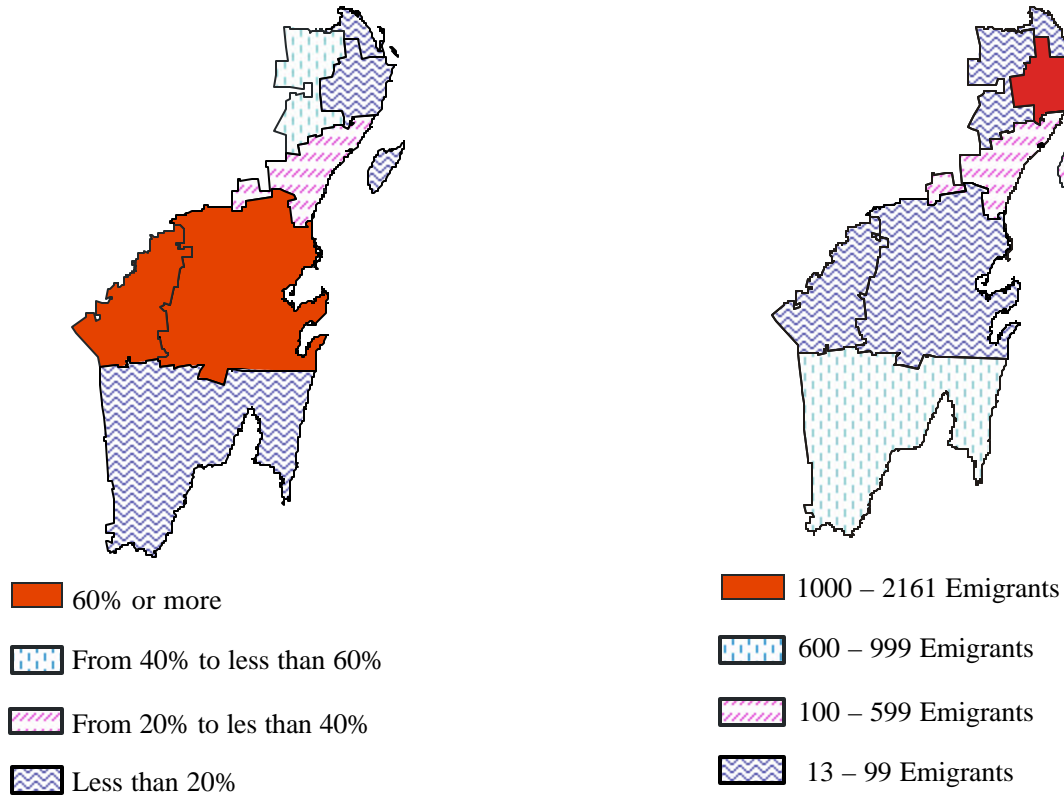
Source: XII Censo General de Población y Vivienda, 2000.

QUINTANA ROO

Figure 7

Indigenous Language Speakers

International Emigrants by Municipality



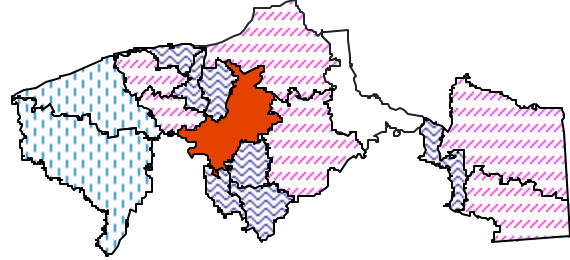
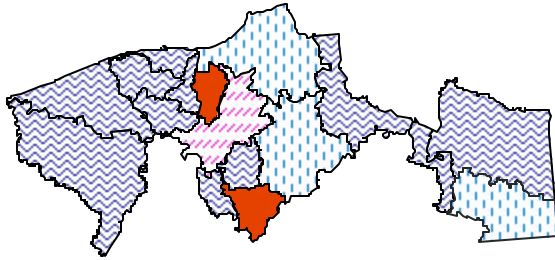
Source: XII Censo General de Población y Vivienda, 2000.

TABASCO

Figure 8

Indigenous Language Speakers

International Emigrants by Municipality



60% or more

From 40% to less than 60%

From 20% to less than 40%

Less than 20%

700 – 982 Emigrants

400 – 699 Emigrants

100 – 399 Emigrants

33 – 99 Emigrants

00 Emigrants

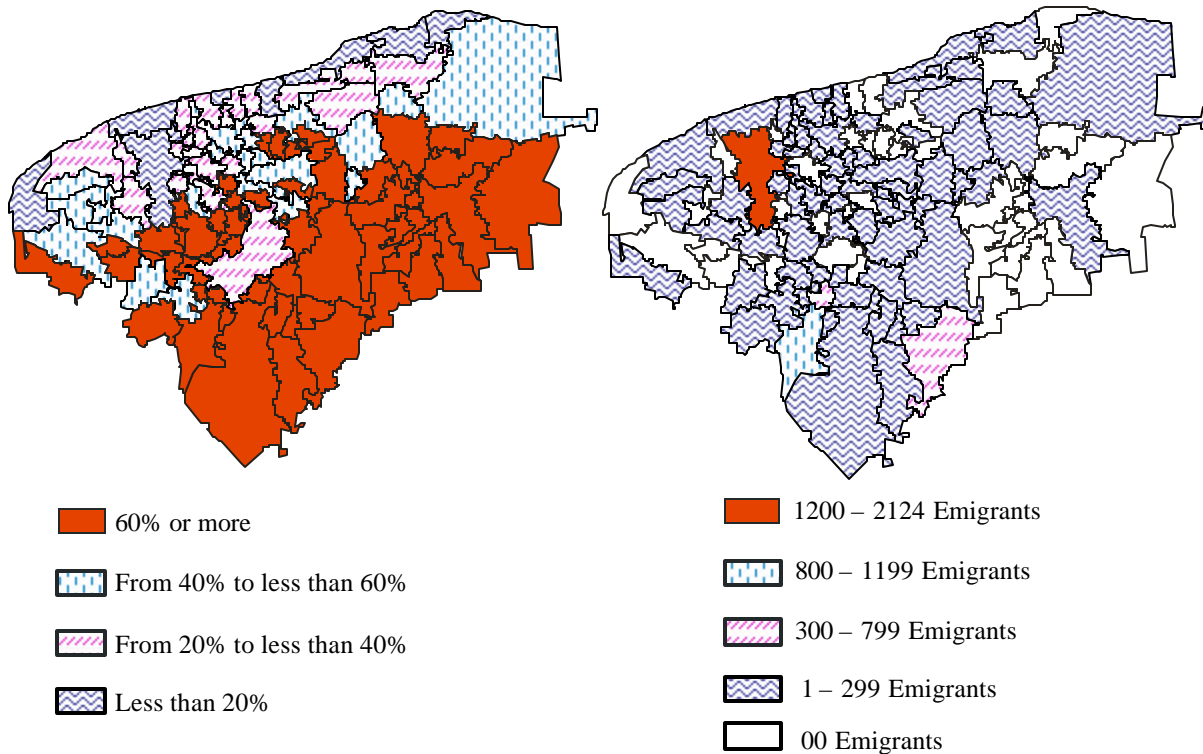
Source: XII Censo General de Población y Vivienda, 2000.

YUCATAN

Figure 9

Indigenous Language Speakers

International Emigrants by Municipality



Source: XII Censo General de Población y Vivienda, 2000.