

## CAPÍTULO IV

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## CAPÍTULO IV

# **LAS FINANZAS ESTATALES**

En esta sección trataremos de ilustrar el comportamiento que han observado algunos rubros que impactan las finanzas de los estados. El periodo a revisar comprende de 1980 hasta 1993, en algunos casos por motivos de la disponibilidad de información es a 1995. Esta ilustración será a partir de una revisión histórico-estadística de una serie de variables ya determinadas en el capítulo 2.

## **4.1 LOS DETERMINANTES DE LOS INGRESOS ESTATALES**

Iniciaremos con el análisis de la evolución de los ingresos totales de los estados a partir de 1980<sup>105</sup> relacionándola con el comportamiento de otras variables que de alguna forma pueden afectarla. Como podemos observar en la gráfica 2, el ingreso bruto de los estados ha experimentado un comportamiento ciertamente errático.<sup>106</sup>

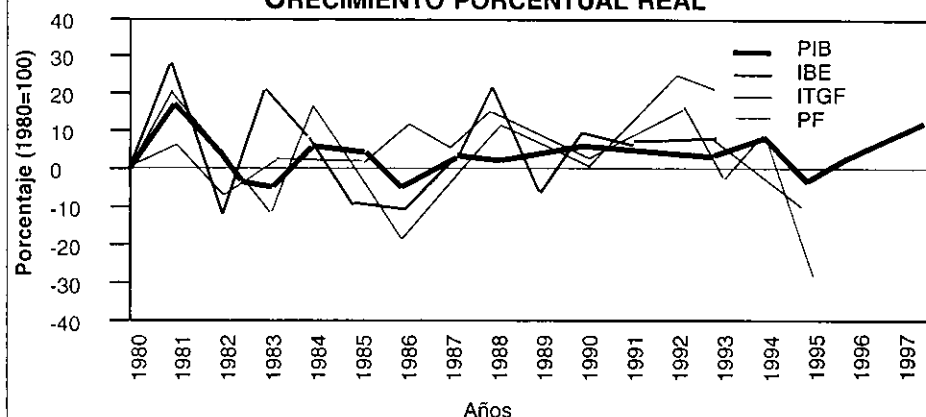
De acuerdo con la gráfica 2 la evolución de los ingresos brutos estatales está perfectamente explicada por el comportamiento de la economía (respecto a la cuantificación del Producto Interno Bruto Nacional), salvo para los años 1985, 1987 y 1990. Aunque los porcentajes no son en la misma magnitud, sí se observa una similitud en la tendencia de los cambios, es decir, siempre que el

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105 Las cantidades analizadas se han deflactado con base en 1980, utilizándose el índice de precios implícitos del Producto Interno Bruto.

106 Los ingresos brutos de los estados se integran por: impuestos, participaciones federales, derechos, productos, aprovechamientos, deuda pública, disponibilidades e ingresos por cuenta de terceros.

**GRÁFICA 2**  
**CRECIMIENTO PORCENTUAL REAL**



Fuente: elaboración propia con base en datos del INEGI, INDETEC y The Economist Intelligence Unit Limited.

- PIB= Producto Interno Bruto. IBE=Ingresos Brutos Estatales que incluye impuestos, participaciones, derechos, productos, aprovechamientos, deuda pública, disponibilidades y por cuenta de terceros. ITGF= Ingresos Tributarios del Gobierno Federal. PF= Participaciones Federales pagadas a los estados. - Incluye datos del D. F.

Producto Interno Bruto ha crecido, los ingresos brutos estatales han mostrado el mismo comportamiento y, por el otro lado, siempre que hubo decrementos en el PIB, existe la misma tendencia en los ingresos estatales.<sup>107</sup>

Esto hasta cierto punto era de esperarse, ya que la recaudación de los tributos está ligada al comportamiento económico. Los casos que no cumplen lo anteriormente expuesto (1985, 1987 y 1990) se deben al comportamiento de otras variables que también tienen influencia en la determinación de los ingresos estatales. Por ejemplo, para 1985, la caída de los ingresos estatales fue de un 2%, explicada por la caída en ese mismo año de las participaciones federales en un 8.27%.<sup>108</sup> 1987

<sup>107</sup> En dicho periodo se encuentra que el crecimiento más alto de los ingresos estatales se da en el año de 1992 con un 27% en términos reales y, por el otro lado, la caída más pronunciada ocurre en 1986 siendo ésta de un 15%.

<sup>108</sup> Esto se debió a que en ese año las participaciones federales representaban el 47.6% del total de los ingresos estatales.

es un año en el que los ingresos totales no presentan ningún cambio (crecen 0%), sin embargo, la economía crece un 2.11% y las participaciones pagadas un 2.39%, lo sucedido se explica porque la recaudación de los ingresos propios cae un 21%.

La causa para 1990 es similar, ya que para ese año creció el Producto Interno Bruto en un 4.44% y las participaciones crecieron en 9.77%, la diferencia estriba en que en este año la recaudación de impuestos experimenta un crecimiento importante, pero al mismo tiempo se descuida la recaudación de ingresos no tributarios,<sup>109</sup> generando una caída del 20.18% del total de ingresos propios estatales.<sup>110</sup> Lo anterior nos permite concluir que, en este año, los directamente responsables de dicha caída fueron únicamente las mismas administraciones estatales que descuidaron la optimización de sus bases locales de recaudación.<sup>111</sup>

La explicación de estos comportamientos la hemos ligado más directamente al comportamiento económico, ya que las participaciones federales, además de ser sólo una de las partes que integran el total de los ingresos estatales, se explican no sólo por el comportamiento de la economía, sino también por los lineamientos y características que en algunos años ha adoptado el sistema de coordinación fiscal para su determinación.<sup>112</sup>

Continuando con la explicación de la evolución de los ingresos estatales otro rubro importante, como ya lo mencionamos,

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109 En dicho año la recaudación vía impuestos crece en términos reales 42%, pero los ingresos no tributarios decrecen un 34%.

110 Los ingresos propios de los estados son los ingresos brutos descontadas las participaciones federales y la deuda pública.

111 Esto significa que, si bien en algunos años la dependencia que tienen los estados de las participaciones federales se incrementa, es también producto del descuido en la recaudación de ingresos propios.

112 Obviamente, en un análisis a nivel particular de cada entidad debido a que las participaciones representan proporciones diferentes en el total de los ingresos de cada estado, el parámetro primero de comparación podrían ser éstas.

corresponde al de las participaciones federales pagadas a las entidades federativas, ya que éstas en algunos casos llegan a representar la mayor parte del total de los ingresos de los estados.<sup>113</sup>

Con la entrada en vigor de la nueva Ley de Coordinación Fiscal en 1980, se observa que para el primer año de su utilización representó un crecimiento real de los ingresos estatales vía participaciones de aproximadamente un 27%, siendo en el total de éstos un 18%. A partir de este año existe un comportamiento errático, algunas veces ligado, como ya hicimos mención, en una proporción mayor al comportamiento de la economía nacional y, en otras ocasiones, mayormente ligado a los cambios hechos a la misma Ley de Coordinación Fiscal. Por ejemplo, para el año de 1982, se observa la caída más dramática de las participaciones con un 13.39% en términos reales, seguida por un 10.01% en 1995, decrementos asociados a las crisis económicas de 1982 y de 1994.

Lo que llama la atención con respecto a estos años es que la crisis de 1982 significó una caída en términos reales en las participaciones mayor en un 3% que la de 1995, año en el cual se refleja la crisis económica más aguda de México desde la década de los ochenta, con una caída de casi un 7% en el PIB, comparado con la caída de 1982 que fue sólo de un 0.66%. Esto es debido a que el mayor impacto de la crisis de 1982 se da para el siguiente año, reflejándose en una caída de 4.15% del Producto Interno Bruto para 1983, año en el cual hay un crecimiento real de las participaciones de un 18.71%.

Este comportamiento no ligado al de la economía nacional es explicado por las características que en ese entonces presentaba la Ley de Coordinación Fiscal, ya que en aquellos años las

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113 Por citar un ejemplo, para el año de 1993, el estado en el cual las participaciones federales representaron la mayor proporción con respecto al total de ingresos brutos fue Veracruz, con un 93.16%, seguido por Zacatecas con un 85.80%.

participaciones estaban directamente ligadas a las correspondientes a 1979, y además también se asignaba el importe de aquellos impuestos y derechos que las entidades suspendieron al entrar en vigor la nueva Ley en 1980. Este año es un ejemplo de lo que establecíamos anteriormente de que las participaciones en determinado momento a veces no se explican por el comportamiento de la economía nacional.

También se destaca el comportamiento observado para 1985 y 1986, ligado este último directamente a la caída de 3.82% del Producto Interno Bruto en ese año. La razón que explica el comportamiento para 1985 es que a partir de 1984 ya se aplicaba el artículo tercero de la ley en la materia, y en dicho periodo el sistema de distribución premiaba el esfuerzo recaudatorio de cada entidad.

Ahora bien el crecimiento observado en 1988 se liga directamente a que a partir de ese año la fórmula de distribución cambia, estableciéndose que las participaciones correspondientes se integrarían con el 30% de la recaudación del Impuesto al Valor Agregado (IVA) de cada entidad.<sup>114</sup> A partir de las reformas establecidas para 1990 y aunado a que en esos años ya se presentan crecimientos en la economía y tasas de inflación de dos dígitos, se observa un crecimiento estable en las participaciones hasta 1993 ya que desde 1994 se ve una caída abrupta debido, como ya lo mencionamos, a la crisis que inicia en diciembre de ese mismo año.

Una vez hecha la revisión de los estados como conjunto, en las siguientes tablas se muestra una relación de todas y cada una de las entidades, para poder determinar cómo estos comportamientos se han presentado en cada una de ellas, y con esto poder apreciar la posición que guarda un estado con respecto a los demás.

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<sup>114</sup> Esto motivó la recaudación del IVA en cada entidad, ya que en parte sus participaciones dependían de ellos mismos. Claro está que esto no justifica, de ninguna forma, que si los estados no reciben una participación directa de algún impuesto recaudado dejarán de hacer lo necesario para optimizarla.

# EVOLUCIÓN DEL PRODUCTO INTERNO BRUTO POR ENTIDAD FEDERATIVA

(TASAS DE CRECIMIENTO REAL CON BASE EN 1980)

| ESTADO              | 1981   | 1982   | 1983    | 1984   | 1985   | 1986    | 1987    | 1988    | 1989   | 1990   | 1991   | 1992   | 1993   | 1994  | 1995    | promedio |
|---------------------|--------|--------|---------|--------|--------|---------|---------|---------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------|---------|----------|
| AGUASCALIENTES      | 15.62% | 1.50%  | -1.48%  | 5.99%  | 4.86%  | -2.19%  | 5.15%   | 3.38%   | 8.24%  | 10.15% | 7.94%  | 5.82%  | 2.68%  | 5.36% | -3.09%  | 4.66%    |
| BAJA CALIFORNIA     | 14.49% | 0.21%  | -3.08%  | 4.56%  | 3.51%  | -2.02%  | 5.47%   | 3.63%   | 2.43%  | 3.38%  | 2.82%  | 2.24%  | 0.52%  | 3.15% | -7.59%  | 2.25%    |
| BAJA CALIFORNIA SUR | 13.46% | -0.97% | -4.53%  | 3.25%  | 2.28%  | -0.15%  | 8.99%   | 6.33%   | 3.31%  | 4.40%  | 3.59%  | 2.78%  | 0.85%  | 3.48% | -6.91%  | 2.68%    |
| CAMPECHE            | 55.96% | 49.99% | 62.52%  | 60.65% | 55.69% | -16.29% | -19.84% | -16.42% | -4.21% | -4.29% | -3.09% | -1.96% | -2.05% | 0.52% | -12.78% | 13.63%   |
| CHIAPAS             | 11.09% | -3.65% | -7.83%  | 0.27%  | -0.52% | -7.86%  | -5.24%  | -4.71%  | 1.72%  | 2.55%  | 2.18%  | 1.79%  | 0.25%  | 2.87% | -8.15%  | -1.02%   |
| CP.HUAHUA           | 14.42% | 0.13%  | -3.17%  | 4.47%  | 3.44%  | -1.45%  | 6.53%   | 4.45%   | 0.77%  | 1.45%  | 1.34%  | 1.19%  | -0.12% | 2.50% | -8.89%  | 1.80%    |
| COAHUILA            | 14.24% | -0.07% | -3.43%  | 4.24%  | 3.22%  | -1.79%  | 5.89%   | 3.96%   | 1.48%  | 2.28%  | 1.98%  | 1.64%  | 0.16%  | 2.78% | -8.33%  | 1.88%    |
| COLIMA              | 15.99% | 1.93%  | -0.94%  | 6.47%  | 5.31%  | -3.93%  | 1.90%   | 0.87%   | 7.66%  | 9.46%  | 7.43%  | 5.46%  | 2.46%  | 5.14% | -3.54%  | 4.11%    |
| DISTRITO FEDERAL    | 10.67% | -4.13% | -8.42%  | -0.26% | -1.02% | -3.39%  | 2.91%   | 1.65%   | 6.44%  | 8.05%  | 6.36%  | 4.72%  | 2.02%  | 4.68% | -4.48%  | 1.72%    |
| DURANGO             | 16.34% | 2.33%  | -0.44%  | 6.91%  | 5.73%  | -6.55%  | -2.89%  | -2.86%  | 1.07%  | 1.80%  | 1.61%  | 1.38%  | 0.00%  | 2.62% | -8.65%  | 1.23%    |
| ESTADO DE MÉXICO    | 13.98% | -0.37% | -3.79%  | 3.92%  | 2.91%  | -3.20%  | 3.26%   | 1.92%   | 1.31%  | 2.08%  | 1.82%  | 1.53%  | 0.09%  | 2.71% | -8.46%  | 1.31%    |
| GUANAJUATO          | 15.26% | 1.09%  | -1.99%  | 5.53%  | 4.43%  | -2.93%  | 3.75%   | 2.31%   | 4.73%  | 6.05%  | 4.85%  | 3.66%  | 1.38%  | 4.03% | -5.81%  | 3.09%    |
| GUERRERO            | 14.43% | 0.14%  | -3.16%  | 4.48%  | 3.44%  | -1.92%  | 5.65%   | 3.77%   | 4.64%  | 5.95%  | 4.77%  | 3.61%  | 1.35%  | 4.00% | -5.87%  | 3.02%    |
| HIDALGO             | 13.99% | -0.36% | -3.78%  | 3.92%  | 2.92%  | -1.38%  | 6.67%   | 4.56%   | 1.57%  | 2.38%  | 2.05%  | 1.70%  | 0.19%  | 2.81% | -8.26%  | 1.93%    |
| JALISCO             | 13.97% | -0.38% | -3.80%  | 3.90%  | 2.90%  | -3.42%  | 2.85%   | 1.61%   | 2.60%  | 3.57%  | 2.96%  | 2.34%  | 0.58%  | 3.21% | -7.46%  | 1.70%    |
| MICHOACÁN           | 13.28% | -1.17% | -4.78%  | 3.02%  | 2.07%  | -1.86%  | 5.77%   | 3.86%   | 1.03%  | 1.75%  | 1.57%  | 1.36%  | -0.02% | 2.60% | -8.68%  | 1.32%    |
| MORELOS             | 15.35% | 1.20%  | -1.85%  | 5.66%  | 4.55%  | -2.13%  | 5.25%   | 3.46%   | 9.44%  | 11.55% | 8.99%  | 6.55%  | 3.11%  | 5.81% | -2.16%  | 4.99%    |
| NAYARIT             | 14.31% | 0.01%  | -3.33%  | 4.33%  | 3.30%  | -5.87%  | -1.65%  | -1.89%  | 3.28%  | 4.36%  | 3.57%  | 2.76%  | 0.84%  | 3.47% | -6.93%  | 1.37%    |
| NUEVO LEÓN          | 13.93% | -0.43% | -3.87%  | 3.84%  | 2.84%  | -2.44%  | 4.67%   | 3.02%   | 3.89%  | 5.07%  | 4.11%  | 3.14%  | 1.07%  | 3.71% | -6.46%  | 2.41%    |
| OAXACA              | 17.74% | 3.94%  | 1.57%   | 8.70%  | 7.41%  | -4.61%  | 0.65%   | -0.10%  | 3.35%  | 4.45%  | 3.63%  | 2.81%  | 0.86%  | 3.50% | -6.88%  | 3.13%    |
| PUEBLA              | 13.86% | -0.50% | -3.96%  | 3.76%  | 2.77%  | -5.02%  | -0.11%  | -0.69%  | 4.28%  | 5.53%  | 4.45%  | 3.38%  | 1.21%  | 3.86% | -6.15%  | 1.78%    |
| QUERÉTARO           | 18.59% | 4.92%  | 2.79%   | 9.79%  | 8.44%  | -2.71%  | 4.16%   | 2.62%   | 5.15%  | 6.54%  | 5.22%  | 3.92%  | 1.54%  | 4.19% | -5.48%  | 4.64%    |
| QUINTANA ROO        | 17.80% | 4.00%  | 1.65%   | 8.78%  | 7.48%  | 4.64%   | 18.26%  | 13.36%  | 20.56% | 24.69% | 18.71% | 13.18% | 7.03%  | 9.83% | 6.36%   | 11.76%   |
| SAN LUIS POTOSÍ     | 16.09% | 2.04%  | -0.80%  | 6.59%  | 5.43%  | -1.39%  | 6.65%   | 4.54%   | 2.24%  | 3.16%  | 2.65%  | 2.12%  | 0.44%  | 3.07% | -7.74%  | 3.00%    |
| SINALOA             | 14.79% | 0.55%  | -2.65%  | 4.94%  | 3.87%  | -3.58%  | 2.56%   | 1.38%   | 2.95%  | 3.98%  | 3.27%  | 2.56%  | 0.71%  | 3.34% | -7.19%  | 2.10%    |
| SONORA              | 14.61% | 0.35%  | -2.90%  | 4.71%  | 3.66%  | -2.27%  | 4.99%   | 3.27%   | 2.27%  | 3.19%  | 2.67%  | 2.13%  | 0.46%  | 3.08% | -7.72%  | 2.17%    |
| TABASCO             | 7.47%  | -7.73% | -12.81% | -4.25% | -4.79% | -12.35% | -13.15% | -11.00% | -2.37% | -2.17% | -1.45% | -0.78% | -1.32% | 1.26% | -11.34% | -5.12%   |
| TAMAULIPAS          | 12.75% | -1.77% | -5.52%  | 2.36%  | 1.44%  | -4.17%  | 1.46%   | 0.53%   | 1.59%  | 2.40%  | 2.07%  | 1.71%  | 0.20%  | 2.82% | -8.25%  | 0.64%    |
| TLAXCALA            | 19.63% | 6.12%  | 4.31%   | 11.13% | 9.69%  | -6.49%  | -2.77%  | -2.77%  | 2.68%  | 3.66%  | 3.03%  | 2.39%  | 0.61%  | 3.24% | -7.40%  | 3.14%    |
| VERACRUZ            | 13.37% | -1.07% | -4.66%  | 3.14%  | 2.18%  | -3.87%  | 2.02%   | 0.97%   | -0.19% | 0.35%  | 0.49%  | 0.59%  | -0.48% | 2.12% | -9.63%  | 0.36%    |
| YUCATÁN             | 13.40% | -1.03% | -4.61%  | 3.18%  | 2.21%  | -2.75%  | 4.09%   | 2.57%   | 5.45%  | 6.89%  | 5.48%  | 4.10%  | 1.65%  | 4.31% | -5.25%  | 2.65%    |
| ZACATECAS           | 16.43% | 2.43%  | -0.31%  | 7.03%  | 5.84%  | -1.55%  | 6.34%   | 4.30%   | -2.60% | -2.43% | -1.65% | -0.93% | -1.41% | 1.16% | -11.52% | 1.41%    |
| TOTAL NACIONAL      | 13.73% | -0.66% | -4.15%  | 3.59%  | 2.60%  | -3.82%  | 2.11%   | 1.04%   | 3.35%  | 4.44%  | 3.63%  | 2.80%  | 0.86%  | 3.50% | -6.87%  | 1.74%    |

Fuente: Elaboración propia con base en datos del INEGI y de The Economist Intelligence Unit Limited.

# EVOLUCIÓN DE LAS PARTICIPACIONES FEDERALES POR ENTIDAD FEDERATIVA

(TASAS DE CRECIMIENTO REAL CON BASE EN 1980)

| ESTADO              | 1981     | 1982    | 1983    | 1984    | 1985    | 1986    | 1987    | 1988   | 1989    | 1990   | 1991    | 1992    | 1993    | 1994    | 1995    | promedio |
|---------------------|----------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|--------|---------|--------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|----------|
| AGUASCALIENTES      | 1213.67% | 10.03%  | -13.27% | 31.30%  | -33.26% | 36.96%  | 6.70%   | 29.03% | -10.94% | 19.09% | 12.51%  | 14.81%  | -5.56%  | 3.29%   | -9.08%  | 87.02%   |
| BAJA CALIFORNIA     | 31.28%   | -17.05% | 25.50%  | 4.31%   | -4.01%  | -5.50%  | 4.83%   | 16.58% | 2.14%   | 8.44%  | 1.27%   | 3.67%   | -7.29%  | -9.49%  | -6.31%  | 3.23%    |
| BAJA CALIFORNIA SUR | 200.17%  | -60.85% | 27.95%  | 12.81%  | -4.37%  | -6.28%  | 6.48%   | 23.31% | -0.77%  | 8.70%  | 1.58%   | 2.43%   | 4.74%   | 1.24%   | -9.10%  | 13.87%   |
| CAMPECHE            | 32.66%   | -14.53% | 15.56%  | 29.39%  | -14.52% | 26.94%  | -21.81% | 22.75% | 0.41%   | 33.67% | 6.23%   | -0.10%  | 7.03%   | -6.57%  | -7.49%  | 7.31%    |
| CHIAPAS             | 87.48%   | -50.16% | 34.83%  | 2.63%   | -6.30%  | -14.12% | 11.72%  | 20.50% | -6.48%  | 10.39% | 3.83%   | 2.05%   | 3.00%   | 1.66%   | -9.71%  | 6.09%    |
| CHIHUAHUA           | 21.71%   | -10.14% | 25.38%  | 4.61%   | -4.61%  | -12.26% | 0.69%   | 22.51% | 4.56%   | -2.22% | 13.28%  | 13.14%  | -2.40   | -2.99%  | -14.08% | 3.81%    |
| COAHUILA            | 9.53%    | 4.72%   | 16.26%  | 17.03%  | -3.01%  | -14.24% | 14.88%  | -2.18% | -1.43%  | 10.97% | 1.26%   | 5.59%   | 2.88    | -5.17%  | -12.28% | 2.99%    |
| COLIMA              | 100.00%  | -7.40%  | 14.47%  | 32.58%  | 3.93%   | -14.84% | -4.13%  | 22.01% | -0.69%  | 13.99% | 3.96%   | 5.60%   | 1.22%   | 6.70%   | -10.86% | 4.44%    |
| DISTRITO FEDERAL    | 7.57%    | -9.01%  | 27.57%  | 0.47%   | -8.66%  | -18.52% | 9.27%   | 30.37% | -16.60% | 7.59%  | 1.28%   | -0.41%  | 3.82%   | -21.57% | -14.12% | -0.06%   |
| DURANGO             | -8.29%   | -19.14% | 13.94%  | 28.54%  | -4.82%  | -1.12%  | -10.50% | 22.98% | -5.58%  | 18.18% | 8.29%   | 8.81%   | 4.87%   | 9.98%   | -10.91% | 3.68%    |
| ESTADO DE MÉXICO    | 15.41%   | -10.16% | 16.04%  | 5.67%   | -11.31% | -5.38%  | 0.68%   | 11.20% | -9.08%  | 6.21%  | 11.36%  | 3.48%   | 21.40%  | -3.15%  | -8.81%  | 2.90%    |
| GUANAJUATO          | 25.44%   | -1.33%  | 17.58%  | 9.63%   | -7.49%  | -0.31%  | -2.21%  | 16.49% | -7.65%  | 11.50% | 20.16%  | 8.98%   | 7.82%   | 12.29%  | -10.56% | 6.69%    |
| GUERRERO            | 27.86%   | -15.41% | 24.98%  | 25.32%  | -8.71%  | -5.22%  | -3.11%  | 16.00% | -1.03%  | 16.37% | 15.80%  | 8.75%   | 13.24%  | 13.41%  | -11.67% | 7.77%    |
| HIDALGO             | 1740.71% | -12.82% | 29.35%  | 45.51%  | 0.53%   | -12.65% | 11.83%  | 9.10%  | -4.53%  | 27.84% | 3.57%   | 17.15%  | 4.57%   | 14.43   | -11.23% | 124.22%  |
| JALISCO             | 20.15%   | -21.81% | 29.30%  | 7.76%   | -14.94% | 0.47%   | -5.04%  | 14.35% | 2.99%   | 3.09%  | 12.41%  | 8.69%   | 3.21%   | -6.33%  | -5.98%  | 3.22%    |
| MICHOACÁN           | 4.35%    | 3.13%   | -34.97% | 129.97% | -6.65%  | -10.78% | -1.21%  | 33.61% | -12.65% | 15.40% | 22.35%  | 22.03%  | 3.73%   | 7.69%   | -11.53% | 10.96%   |
| MORELOS             | 122.67%  | -17.08% | 114.25% | -30.25% | 4.83%   | -13.88% | -1.49%  | 6.80%  | 16.15%  | 18.07% | 8.67%   | 0.84%   | 15.28%  | -1.83%  | -9.94%  | 15.67%   |
| NAYARIT             | -82.51%  | -19.72% | 20.39%  | 43.10%  | -14.63% | -5.88%  | 3.34%   | 16.61% | 0.90%   | 18.05% | -12.75% | 11.36%  | 7.64%   | 24.09%  | -11.04% | -0.07%   |
| NUEVO LEÓN          | 542.09%  | 15.78%  | -8.65%  | 2.74%   | -7.55%  | -11.13% | -3.60%  | 27.45% | -8.76%  | -2.94% | 5.35%   | 5.27%   | 9.49%   | 2.93%   | -5.06%  | 37.56%   |
| OAXACA              | 193.04%  | 2.82%   | 35.78%  | 15.22%  | 6.28%   | -8.95%  | -3.04%  | -3.20% | 24.83%  | 22.35% | 24.54%  | 15.53%  | 12.36%  | 20.71%  | -9.33%  | 23.26%   |
| PUEBLA              | 53.61%   | -15.37% | 28.53%  | 4.63%   | -4.90%  | -12.25% | 5.27%   | 22.38% | -7.29%  | 13.69% | 17.31%  | 18.86%  | 14.42%  | -4.30%  | -9.57%  | 8.33%    |
| QUERÉTARO           | 259.60%  | -8.08%  | 17.72%  | 19.89%  | -4.52%  | -23.86% | 12.55%  | 23.29% | -7.80%  | 17.01% | 21.00%  | 19.60%  | -0.02%  | -8.66%  | -8.20%  | 21.97%   |
| QUINTANA ROO        | 90.53%   | -19.12% | 58.44%  | -20.73% | 25.81%  | -33.28% | 27.76%  | 26.05% | 4.65%   | 29.74% | 6.99%   | -12.71% | 35.32%  | -1.74%  | -8.08%  | 13.97%   |
| SAN LUIS POTOSÍ     | 87.96%   | -9.41%  | 19.49%  | 20.37%  | 8.31%   | -6.75%  | -3.95%  | 23.90% | -2.51%  | 18.45% | 7.80%   | 12.59%  | 10.62%  | 3.84%   | -11.01% | 11.98%   |
| SINALOA             | 16.50%   | -10.91% | 20.75%  | 15.90%  | -19.77% | -6.64%  | 18.67%  | 37.09% | 0.72%   | 6.82%  | 3.60%   | 14.79%  | -12.36% | 0.21%   | -10.63% | 4.98%    |
| SONORA              | 46.66%   | -17.66% | 23.25%  | 6.66%   | -4.69%  | -8.46%  | 2.32%   | 20.81% | -3.24%  | 12.82% | 1.78%   | 5.60%   | -10.77% | -11.11% | -11.03% | 3.53%    |
| TABASCO             | 42.78%   | -19.80% | -2.68%  | 40.05%  | -15.57% | -14.17% | -2.54%  | 28.34% | -15.90% | 5.17%  | -12.50% | 6.19%   | -3.73%  | -12.23% | -0.70%  | 1.51%    |
| TAMAULIPAS          | 11.98%   | 0.07%   | -8.62%  | 22.07%  | -4.55%  | 7.62%   | -8.33%  | 29.44% | -10.18% | 9.71%  | 7.56%   | -7.06%  | -9.54%  | 2.98%   | -12.80% | 2.02%    |
| TLAXCALA            | 27.45%   | 66.76%  | -34.37% | 54.47%  | 31.96%  | -34.11% | 1.53%   | 41.06% | 6.16%   | 30.40% | 12.95%  | 2.61%   | -22.55% | 16.94%  | -10.64% | 12.71%   |
| VERACRUZ            | 15.25%   | -17.27% | 32.45%  | 7.49%   | -13.41% | 0.18%   | -0.84%  | 20.95% | -8.58%  | 14.34% | 7.86%   | 4.78%   | 47.22%  | -29.87% | -10.89% | 4.65%    |
| YUCATÁN             | 31.16%   | -40.79% | 46.88%  | 24.55%  | 2.56%   | -11.32% | 3.16%   | 1.28%  | 7.83%   | 10.01% | 4.69%   | 8.34%   | 5.22%   | 4.67%   | -11.03% | 5.81%    |
| ZACATECAS           | 61.89%   | -2.89%  | 4.81%   | 61.27%  | -5.96%  | -9.77%  | -1.09%  | 15.14% | 8.30%   | 15.85% | 4.81%   | 11.47%  | 14.11%  | 2.93%   | -12.58% | 11.22%   |
| TOTAL NACIONAL      | 27.36%   | -13.39% | 18.71%  | 10.82%  | -8.27%  | -9.79%  | 2.39%   | 21.58% | -7.31%  | 9.77%  | 6.23%   | 5.88%   | 7.07%   | -6.15%  | -10.01% | 3.66%    |

## EVOLUCIÓN DE LOS INGRESOS BRUTOS DE LOS ESTADOS

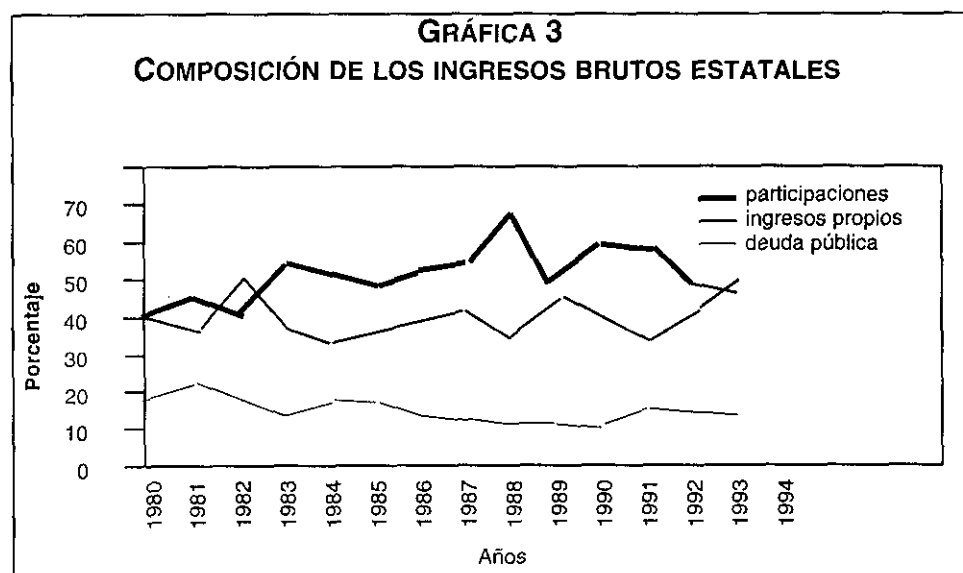
(TASAS DE CRECIMIENTO REAL CON BASE EN 1980)

| ESTADO              | 1981    | 1982    | 1983    | 1984    | 1985    | 1986    | 1987    | 1988    | 1989    | 1990    | 1991    | 1992    | 1993    | promedio |
|---------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|----------|
| AGUASCALIENTES      | 31.74%  | 6.08%   | -4.76%  | -3.93%  | -9.06%  | -3.20%  | -12.60% | 16.49%  | 6.58%   | 9.87%   | 21.87%  | 7.17%   | 40.08%  | 8.18%    |
| BAJA CALIFORNIA     | 22.54%  | -16.36% | -11.40% | -9.68%  | 24.18%  | -0.88%  | -6.45%  | 8.56%   | 11.37%  | 3.12%   | 13.71%  | 30.82%  | -0.17%  | 5.34%    |
| BAJA CALIFORNIA SUR | 29.86%  | -24.44% | -9.69%  | 1.28%   | -5.94%  | -6.24%  | 3.01%   | 14.63%  | -0.13%  | 11.09%  | 7.09%   | 58.14%  | 28.17%  | 8.22%    |
| CAMPECHE            | 67.91%  | -29.80% | -2.41%  | 37.19%  | -2.31%  | 0.20%   | -13.89% | -5.82%  | -20.94% | 25.31%  | 35.27%  | 44.43%  | 39.95%  | 13.47%   |
| CHIAPAS             | 43.00%  | -31.45% | 11.40%  | 66.50%  | -23.95% | -37.57% | 1.82%   | 20.86%  | -4.44%  | 14.22%  | 7.44%   | 13.51%  | 6.71%   | 6.76%    |
| CHIHUAHUA           | 14.01%  | -12.50% | 6.84%   | -0.08%  | -0.89%  | 6.25%   | 3.46%   | 0.08%   | 20.20%  | 8.05%   | 7.13%   | 72.62%  | -17.27% | 8.30%    |
| COAHUILA            | 11.09%  | -10.44% | 6.09%   | 10.86%  | -9.80%  | -8.42%  | 9.71%   | -0.86%  | 0.65%   | 6.85%   | 1.75%   | 9.37%   | 85.02%  | 6.60%    |
| COLIMA              | 47.93%  | 10.78%  | -36.01% | 156.21% | 26.18%  | -9.25%  | -33.72% | 12.62%  | -25.26% | 17.26%  | -4.04%  | 13.01%  | 36.42%  | 16.32%   |
| DISTRITO FEDERAL    | 11.94%  | 22.86%  | -36.78% | 14.33%  | -0.96%  | -22.71% | -2.99%  | 2.79%   | -1.91%  | 16.53%  | 2.01%   | 11.81%  | 3.54%   | 1.57%    |
| DURANGO             | 22.18%  | -2.56%  | -2.18%  | 11.46%  | 2.17%   | -23.62% | -6.77%  | 27.55%  | -12.22% | 15.53%  | 11.06%  | 14.84%  | 11.88%  | 5.33%    |
| ESTADO DE MÉXICO    | 15.28%  | -23.96% | -11.41% | 5.13%   | -6.33%  | -5.96%  | -6.94%  | -10.06% | 6.91%   | -3.52%  | 32.42%  | 23.86%  | 42.23%  | 4.43%    |
| GUANAJUATO          | 15.73%  | -6.73%  | 34.74%  | 15.74%  | -19.43% | 3.72%   | -8.47%  | -1.22%  | -12.62% | 16.70%  | 18.94%  | 13.36%  | 2.73%   | 5.78%    |
| GUERRERO            | 46.27%  | -8.33%  | 24.48%  | 15.66%  | -11.01% | 2.46%   | -0.48%  | 13.68%  | 16.79%  | -10.82% | 12.83%  | 100.80% | 19.42%  | 17.06%   |
| HIDALGO             | 13.52%  | -10.44% | 20.63%  | 9.94%   | 22.89%  | -20.14% | 119.64% | -40.87% | -6.75%  | 5.16%   | 23.17%  | 34.58%  | 73.29%  | 18.82%   |
| JALISCO             | 11.67%  | 18.46%  | 14.97%  | -11.19% | -8.16%  | -13.15% | -4.13%  | 12.43%  | 3.79%   | 11.29%  | -42.59% | 192.10% | 7.08%   | 14.81%   |
| MICHOACÁN           | 37.65%  | -3.67%  | -5.35%  | 6.16%   | -11.05% | -16.92% | -10.12% | 35.52%  | -4.82%  | 14.95%  | 15.10%  | 22.97%  | 2.79%   | 6.40%    |
| MORELOS             | 126.96% | 5.76%   | 20.87%  | 11.01%  | 0.33%   | -20.92% | -0.44%  | -34.75% | 33.84%  | 17.41%  | 12.72%  | 4.34%   | 27.25%  | 15.72%   |
| NAYARIT             | -29.90% | -5.50%  | -8.38%  | 32.35%  | -16.60% | -0.37%  | -0.81%  | 45.56%  | 28.06%  | -14.86% | 6.46%   | 9.41%   | 90.06%  | 10.42%   |
| NUEVO LEÓN          | 19.72%  | -8.75%  | 5.15%   | 4.42%   | 27.37%  | -21.71% | -2.79%  | -4.53%  | -9.57%  | 11.33%  | 5.69%   | 10.97%  | 22.39%  | 4.59%    |
| OAXACA              | 4.71%   | -33.17% | -3.43%  | 130.01% | -6.73%  | -15.43% | 40.37%  | -16.06% | 290.14% | -74.09% | 12.45%  | 13.09%  | -7.56%  | 25.72%   |
| PUEBLA              | 38.10%  | -12.92% | 20.42%  | 18.25%  | -8.09%  | -18.85% | 15.65%  | 8.74%   | -6.84%  | -1.05%  | 23.91%  | 31.91%  | 19.33%  | 9.89%    |
| QUERÉTARO           | 60.96%  | 15.94%  | 8.92%   | 12.45%  | -1.02%  | -16.01% | -21.49% | 19.26%  | -4.15%  | 21.92%  | 19.81%  | 17.67%  | 20.42%  | 11.90%   |
| QUINTANA ROO        | 28.79%  | 19.98%  | 3.18%   | -15.19% | 3.11%   | -24.06% | -1.75%  | 22.51%  | -6.71%  | 24.54%  | 12.02%  | 1.46%   | 106.45% | 13.41%   |
| SAN LUIS POTOSÍ     | 65.78%  | -51.09% | 5.31%   | 81.51%  | 5.41%   | 24.06%  | 49.31%  | -53.41% | -1.05%  | 10.25%  | 16.38%  | 52.89%  | 75.56%  | 21.61%   |
| SINALOA             | -9.26%  | -9.33%  | 15.02%  | 12.98%  | -12.63% | 4.07%   | -1.91%  | -2.79%  | 10.98%  | -4.90%  | 31.27%  | 22.41%  | 28.12%  | 6.46%    |
| SONORA              | 24.76%  | -18.95% | 12.99%  | 16.40%  | -6.41%  | 0.32%   | 1.78%   | -0.34%  | 5.74%   | 11.95%  | 15.60%  | 34.92%  | 22.77%  | 9.35%    |
| TABASCO             | 45.41%  | -7.90%  | -9.42%  | 60.42%  | -22.68% | -22.37% | -2.68%  | 25.69%  | -14.12% | 1.52%   | 18.96%  | -24.84% | 28.66%  | 5.76%    |
| TAMAULIPAS          | 26.68%  | -10.80% | 9.39%   | 10.22%  | -20.11% | -2.29%  | -2.56%  | 27.11%  | -3.34%  | 2.19%   | 8.79%   | 11.70%  | 60.11%  | 9.03%    |
| TLAXCALA            | 24.59%  | 9.13%   | -18.68% | 71.22%  | -16.01% | -9.01%  | 25.49%  | 8.83%   | 2.45%   | 3.96%   | 18.03%  | 6.23%   | -18.99% | 8.25%    |
| VERACRUZ            | -2.34%  | -8.70%  | -2.69%  | 12.96%  | 6.89%   | -23.86% | -14.33% | 29.03%  | 16.43%  | 1.89%   | 16.47%  | 3.60%   | 8.51%   | 3.39%    |
| YUCATÁN             | 21.38%  | -20.03% | 2.23%   | 35.65%  | 3.79%   | -17.81% | 0.14%   | 5.89%   | 11.19%  | 5.94%   | 6.74%   | 45.30%  | -2.78%  | 7.51%    |
| ZACATECAS           | 16.55%  | 1.34%   | 9.91%   | 60.63%  | -8.87%  | -11.73% | -4.43%  | 4.03%   | 16.00%  | 6.21%   | 31.34%  | -10.90% | -2.09%  | 8.31%    |
| TOTAL NACIONAL      | 17.66%  | -2.27%  | -10.74% | 15.27%  | -1.99%  | -15.22% | -0.06%  | 2.13%   | 14.31%  | -4.91%  | 7.27%   | 26.40%  | 16.63%  | 4.96%    |

Fuente: Elaboración propia con base en datos del INEGI.

## 4.2 LA ESTRUCTURA DE LOS INGRESOS ESTATALES

Es importante adentrarnos un poco más en la conformación del total de los ingresos estatales, para determinar qué tanto ha influido el sistema de coordinación en la dependencia de las finanzas estatales con respecto a las participaciones federales, y si ha existido una disminución de la recaudación de los ingresos propios en los estados, es decir, que las entidades hayan aflojado el paso en cuanto a la recaudación de ingresos propios a sabiendas de que obtendrían un ingreso seguro vía participaciones. Como se muestra en la gráfica 3, a partir de 1980, las participaciones federales como proporción del total de ingresos brutos de los estados han mantenido un peso entre el 39% y el 62%, los ingresos propios entre un 33% hasta casi un 47%, y la deuda pública se sitúa entre un 5% hasta un 20%. Como ya sabemos, estos porcentajes difieren para cada una de las entidades federativas.



Fuente: Elaboración propia con base en datos del INEGI.

- Ingresos propios se refiere a los ingresos brutos menos participaciones federales y deuda pública.

- Incluye datos del D. F.

Es muy importante observar que a partir de la nueva Ley de 1980 las participaciones federales siempre mantuvieron mayor importancia en el total de ingresos, excepto en 1982 y 1993.<sup>115</sup> Un análisis un poco más detallado para el periodo podemos enunciarlo así: a inicios de la década de los ochenta el peso que mantenían los ingresos propios del total de ingresos de los estados superaba en casi 1% a las participaciones. Para 1981, dos años después de la entrada en vigor de la nueva Ley de Coordinación Fiscal, éstos pesos cambian radicalmente situándose las participaciones alrededor de un 9% arriba; esto puede ser atribuido a que, para este año, los ingresos propios decrecieron en términos reales 1.36% y las participaciones crecieron un 27.36%. Ahora bien, combinando estos dos comportamientos, el total de ingresos brutos de los estados crecieron un 18% en términos reales.

En 1982, nuevamente, se revierten los porcentajes superando los ingresos propios en casi un 6% a las participaciones, debido en parte a que el comportamiento de la economía nacional impacta en un decremento de las participaciones en términos reales de un 13.39% acompañado con un crecimiento real de los ingresos propios de un 25.6%, a pesar de esto, los ingresos totales de los estados decaen en un 2%. En 1983, en lo más profundo de la crisis de esta década, los ingresos propios y brutos de los estados se ven afectados, decreciendo en 29.39% y 11% respectivamente; lo destacable aquí es que las participaciones crecen en términos reales casi 19%.

A partir de 1984 y hasta 1988, el crecimiento de los ingresos brutos de los estados es explicado directamente por el comportamiento de las participaciones federales, debido a que en este periodo el peso de éstas siempre fue superior al de los ingresos propios, en el mejor de los casos en un 10%. 1989 y 1990 son años en que el comportamiento es inverso, siendo a partir de 1991 cuando nuevamente el comportamiento es en la misma

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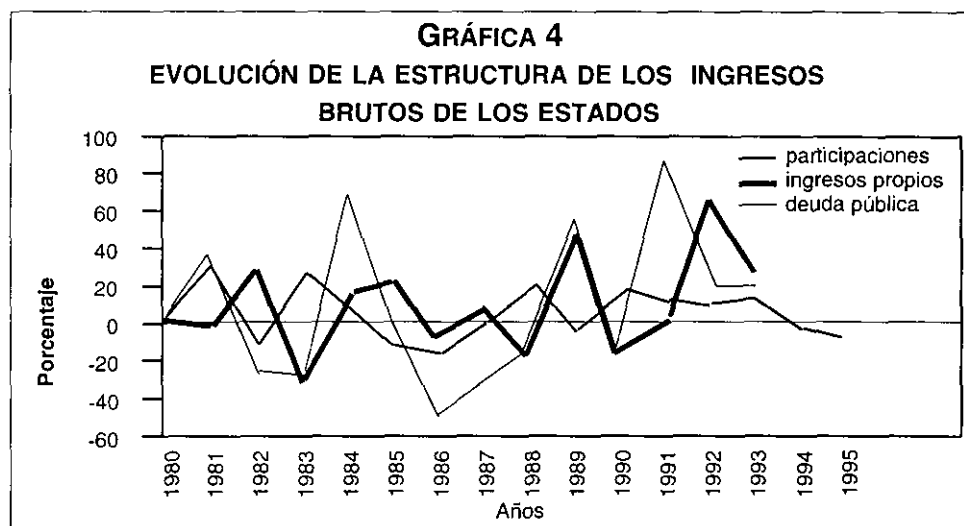
<sup>115</sup> También sería muy importante poder verificar si a partir de 1993 continúa esta misma tendencia, para este trabajo por motivos de la disponibilidad de información no fue posible presentarlos.

dirección. A partir de 1991 y hasta 1993 el crecimiento de los ingresos brutos de los estados es positivo, siendo en promedio de 16.66%. Es importante señalar también que el dato para los ingresos propios y las participaciones federales son en promedio 29% y 19% de crecimiento, respectivamente.

De todo esto podemos concluir que, en algunos años de este periodo, el comportamiento de los ingresos propios no es determinado por el comportamiento de la economía nacional, resaltándose más en 1990, cuando la economía crece 4.44% y los ingresos propios decrecen en 20%. Esto significa que, si bien en algunos años la dependencia que tienen los estados de las participaciones federales se incrementa, es también producto del descuido en la recaudación de ingresos propios. Por otra parte, se encuentra que el comportamiento de las participaciones federales, excepto en 1983, 1985 y 1989, se explica perfectamente por el comportamiento de la economía nacional y el de las políticas de gasto público establecidas en periodos recesivos. En cuanto a los ingresos brutos totales de los estados, pareciera que el comportamiento está más ligado al de la economía nacional que a las mismas participaciones, debido a que en algunos años tanto las participaciones como los ingresos propios se comportan en sentido opuesto al de la economía.

En el año de 1993, aunque las participaciones crecen en términos reales 7.07%, el peso que representaba en el total de los ingresos de los estados vuelve a ser inferior al de los ingresos propios, debido a que para ese mismo año los ingresos propios crecen un 27.25% y la deuda pública crece a un 17% (ver gráfica 4). Es decir, se observa que a partir de este año los estados en conjunto tienden a eficientar la recaudación de sus ingresos propios, lo cual dicho de paso, los puede hacer paulatinamente menos dependientes de los ingresos vía el sistema de coordinación fiscal.<sup>116</sup>

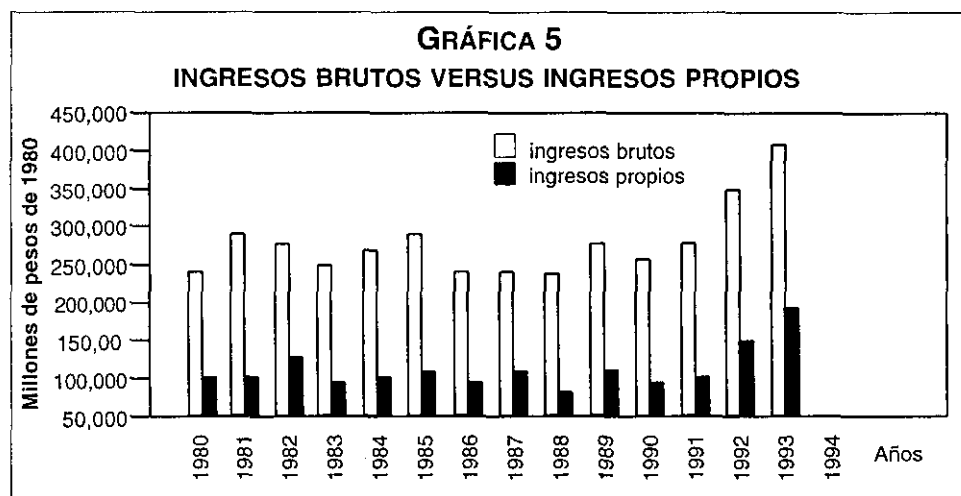
116 Algo muy importante aquí es determinar si es que ha existido una eficientización de la recaudación, y esto puede hacerse midiendo el crecimiento en términos per cápita. Además no hay que olvidar que éstos son datos para el conjunto de los estados, y que éstos no necesariamente reflejan la realidad de cada uno de ellos.



Fuente: Elaboración propia con base en datos del INEGI.

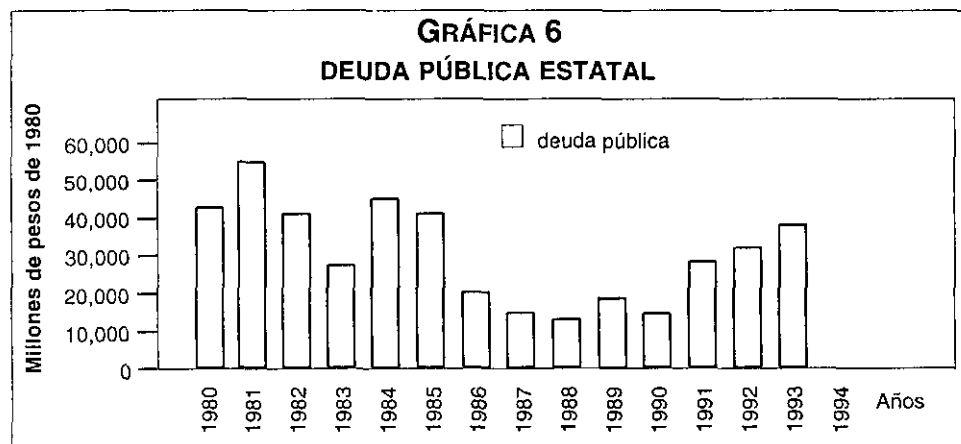
En cuanto a la deuda pública como elemento estructural de los ingresos estatales, presenta hasta 1993 niveles por debajo de 1980 tanto en términos de proporción del total de ingresos, como en términos de moneda a precios constantes. De esto podemos decir que 1981 es el año en que se presenta el mayor nivel de endeudamiento tanto en términos absolutos de moneda de 1980, como en términos de proporción del ingreso estatal. La tendencia tiende a irse reduciendo hacia la segunda mitad de la década de los ochenta; en 1988, se tienen los niveles más bajos tanto en porcentaje como en monto de moneda constante a precios de 1980. Nuevamente, en 1990, se observa que la tendencia de la deuda pública es hacia mayores niveles, llegando en términos de moneda constante a niveles de 1982, y en términos de la importancia en el total de ingresos representando en promedio de 1990 a 1993, casi un 9.5% de éste. Es importante hacer mención que las deudas se han contraído en diferentes condiciones en el transcurso de este periodo: en casi toda la década de los ochenta la deuda contraída es con el gobierno federal, ya sea como anticipo de participaciones o mediante adeudos con BANOBRAS; ya para la década de los noventa, gran parte de los créditos se contrataron con la banca comercial, con lo cual las repercusiones probables debidas al

impacto de las amortizaciones de los créditos contraídos son totalmente diferentes. Una prueba de esto es el impacto que tienen los montos de deuda a partir de 1994, cuando debido a los ajustes en las tasas de interés significaron compromisos no previstos por los estados. Las siguientes gráficas (5 y 6) nos dan una idea en términos de moneda constante a 1980 de los niveles que presentan los ingresos propios para los estados y los montos de deuda como ingreso estatal.



Fuente: Elaboración propia con base en datos del INEGI.

- ingresos propios se refiere a los ingresos brutos estatales menos participaciones federales y deuda pública. - Incluye datos del D.F.



Fuente: Elaboración propia con base en datos del INEGI.

- Incluye datos para el D. F.

De la misma forma, las tablas siguientes muestran los datos para cada entidad.

## PROPORCIÓN QUE REPRESENTAN LAS PARTICIPACIONES FEDERALES EN EL TOTAL DE INGRESOS DE LOS ESTADOS

| ESTADO              | 1980   | 1981   | 1982   | 1983   | 1984   | 1985   | 1986   | 1987   | 1988   | 1989   | 1990   | 1991   | 1992   | 1993   | promedi |
|---------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|---------|
| AGUASCALIENTES      | 4.37%  | 43.61% | 45.23% | 41.19% | 56.30% | 41.31% | 58.45% | 71.36% | 79.04% | 66.05% | 71.59% | 66.10% | 70.81% | 47.74% | 54.51%  |
| BAJA CALIFORNIA     | 22.38% | 23.98% | 23.78% | 33.68% | 38.90% | 30.07% | 28.67% | 32.12% | 34.50% | 31.64% | 33.27% | 29.63% | 23.48% | 21.81% | 29.13%  |
| BAJA CALIFORNIA SUR | 38.38% | 88.71% | 45.97% | 65.13% | 72.54% | 73.75% | 73.72% | 76.20% | 81.97% | 81.45% | 79.70% | 75.60% | 48.96% | 40.01% | 67.29%  |
| CAMPECHE            | 48.39% | 38.23% | 46.55% | 55.13% | 51.99% | 45.50% | 57.64% | 52.34% | 68.21% | 86.64% | 92.42% | 72.58% | 50.20% | 38.39% | 57.44%  |
| CHIAPAS             | 67.73% | 88.79% | 64.56% | 78.14% | 48.16% | 59.34% | 81.63% | 89.57% | 89.45% | 87.55% | 84.61% | 81.76% | 73.51% | 70.95  | 76.12%  |
| CHIHUAHUA           | 66.28% | 70.75% | 72.66% | 85.28% | 89.29% | 85.93% | 70.96% | 69.06% | 84.53% | 73.54% | 66.55% | 70.37% | 46.12% | 54.41% | 71.84%  |
| COAHUILA            | 63.74% | 62.85% | 73.49% | 80.53% | 85.01% | 91.41% | 85.60% | 89.63% | 88.44% | 86.61% | 89.95% | 89.52% | 86.42% | 48.06% | 80.09%  |
| COLIMA              | 0.00%  | 57.99% | 48.47% | 86.72% | 44.87% | 36.96% | 34.68% | 50.17% | 54.35% | 72.22% | 70.20% | 76.06% | 71.07% | 52.73% | 54.03%  |
| DISTRITO FEDERAL    | 36.90% | 35.46% | 26.26% | 52.98% | 46.56% | 42.94% | 45.27% | 50.99% | 64.67% | 54.98% | 50.76% | 50.40% | 44.90% | 45.02% | 46.29%  |
| DURANGO             | 72.90% | 54.72% | 45.41% | 52.90% | 61.00% | 56.83% | 73.58% | 70.63% | 68.10% | 73.25% | 74.93% | 73.06% | 69.23% | 64.89% | 65.10%  |
| ESTADO DE MÉXICO    | 41.00% | 41.05% | 48.50% | 63.52% | 63.85% | 60.45% | 60.83% | 65.81% | 81.37% | 69.20% | 76.18% | 64.06% | 53.52% | 45.68% | 59.64%  |
| GUANAJUATO          | 56.99% | 61.77% | 65.35% | 57.03% | 54.02% | 62.02% | 59.61% | 62.33% | 73.50% | 77.69% | 74.23% | 74.99% | 72.09% | 75.66% | 66.23%  |
| GUERRERO            | 62.63% | 54.75% | 50.52% | 50.72% | 54.96% | 56.38% | 52.15% | 50.77% | 51.81% | 43.90% | 57.29% | 58.79% | 31.84% | 30.19% | 50.48%  |
| HIDALGO             | 3.91%  | 63.44% | 61.75% | 66.21% | 87.63% | 71.68% | 78.41% | 39.92% | 73.66% | 75.41% | 91.67% | 77.09% | 67.10% | 40.49% | 64.17%  |
| JALISCO             | 37.90% | 40.78% | 26.91% | 30.27% | 36.73% | 34.02% | 39.35% | 38.98% | 39.64% | 39.34% | 36.44% | 71.35% | 26.55% | 25.59% | 37.42%  |
| MICHOACÁN           | 54.35% | 41.20% | 44.11% | 30.30% | 65.65% | 68.90% | 73.99% | 81.33% | 80.18% | 73.58% | 73.87% | 78.52% | 77.92% | 78.63% | 65.89%  |
| MORELOS             | 51.35% | 34.09% | 39.50% | 70.01% | 43.99% | 45.97% | 50.07% | 49.54% | 82.61% | 71.69% | 72.09% | 69.51% | 67.17% | 60.86% | 57.75%  |
| NAYARIT             | 91.48% | 68.05% | 57.81% | 75.96% | 82.13% | 84.08% | 79.42% | 82.75% | 66.29% | 52.23% | 72.42% | 59.36% | 60.42% | 34.22% | 69.05%  |
| NEUVO LEÓN          | 4.07%  | 21.83% | 27.70% | 24.06% | 23.67% | 17.18% | 19.51% | 19.34% | 25.82% | 26.06% | 22.71% | 22.64% | 21.48% | 19.21% | 21.09%  |
| OAXACA              | 4.96%  | 13.88% | 21.36% | 30.03% | 15.05% | 17.14% | 18.46% | 12.75% | 14.70% | 4.70%  | 22.21% | 24.60% | 25.13% | 30.54% | 18.25%  |
| PUEBLA              | 62.35% | 69.35% | 67.40% | 71.95% | 63.66% | 65.87% | 71.23% | 64.83% | 72.97% | 72.61% | 83.42% | 78.97% | 71.16% | 68.23% | 70.29%  |
| QUERÉTARO           | 33.57% | 75.01% | 59.47% | 64.28% | 68.53% | 66.11% | 59.92% | 85.91% | 88.81% | 85.43% | 81.99% | 82.80% | 84.17% | 69.88% | 71.85%  |
| QUINTANA ROO        | 28.36% | 41.96% | 28.29% | 43.44% | 40.60% | 49.54% | 43.52% | 56.60% | 58.23% | 65.32% | 68.05% | 65.00% | 55.92% | 36.65% | 48.68%  |
| SAN LUIS POTOSÍ     | 38.50% | 43.64% | 80.84% | 91.71% | 60.82% | 62.50% | 46.98% | 30.22% | 80.36% | 79.18% | 85.07% | 78.80% | 58.03% | 36.56% | 62.37%  |
| SINALOA             | 42.94% | 55.13% | 54.17% | 56.86% | 58.33% | 53.56% | 48.05% | 58.13% | 81.98% | 74.39% | 83.56% | 65.95% | 61.84% | 42.31% | 59.80%  |
| SONORA              | 59.80% | 70.30% | 71.41% | 77.90% | 71.38% | 72.69% | 68.33% | 66.68% | 80.83% | 73.97% | 74.54% | 65.63% | 51.37% | 37.33% | 67.16%  |
| TABASCO             | 91.00% | 89.36% | 77.82% | 83.61% | 72.99% | 79.70% | 88.12% | 88.26% | 90.12% | 88.25% | 91.42% | 67.24% | 94.75% | 72.01% | 83.90%  |
| TAMAULIPAS          | 71.30% | 62.88% | 70.54% | 58.92% | 65.26% | 77.97% | 85.87% | 80.79% | 82.27% | 76.44% | 82.07% | 81.14% | 67.52% | 38.15% | 71.51%  |
| TLAXCALA            | 44.70% | 45.73% | 69.88% | 56.40% | 50.88% | 79.94% | 57.89% | 46.84% | 60.71% | 62.91% | 78.91% | 75.51% | 72.94% | 69.73% | 62.35%  |
| VERACRUZ            | 52.08% | 61.47% | 55.70% | 75.81% | 72.15% | 58.44% | 76.69% | 88.77% | 83.21% | 65.34% | 73.32% | 67.89% | 68.66% | 93.16% | 70.91%  |
| YUCATÁN             | 74.83% | 80.86% | 59.87% | 86.02% | 78.99% | 78.05% | 84.21% | 86.75% | 82.97% | 80.46% | 83.55% | 81.94% | 61.10% | 66.12% | 77.55%  |
| ZACATECAS           | 47.02% | 65.31% | 62.59% | 59.69% | 59.93% | 61.84% | 63.21% | 65.42% | 72.40% | 67.60% | 73.74% | 58.84% | 73.61% | 85.80% | 65.50%  |
| TOTAL NACIONAL      | 40.79% | 44.69% | 39.77% | 52.90% | 50.86% | 47.60% | 50.65% | 51.89% | 61.77% | 50.09% | 57.82% | 57.26% | 47.96% | 44.03% | 49.86%  |

Fuente: Elaboración propia con base en datos del INEGI y del INDETEC.

## PROPORCIÓN DE LOS INGRESOS ESTATALES QUE SE OBTIENEN VÍA DEUDA

| ESTADO              | 1980   | 1981   | 1982   | 1983   | 1984   | 1985   | 1986   | 1987   | 1988   | 1989   | 1990   | 1991   | 1992   | 1993   | promedio |
|---------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|----------|
| AGUASCALIENTES      | 32.90% | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 4.31%  | 7.82%  | 4.35%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.08%  | 9.01%  | 1.95%  | 3.98%  | 4.60%    |
| BAJA CALIFORNIA     | 8.18%  | 15.40% | 24.02% | 13.90% | 6.82%  | 0.33%  | 0.25%  | 1.53%  | 24.67% | 27.19% | 24.62% | 31.26% | 3.07%  | 3.38%  | 13.19%   |
| BAJA CALIFORNIA SUR | 43.73% | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 15.93% | 9.42%  | 2.32%  | 0.79%  | .28%   | 1.81%  | 1.56%  | 33.65% | 0.07%  | 8.61%    |
| CAMPECHE            | 15.49% | 31.08% | 13.11% | 4.75%  | 13.51% | 0.00%  | 7.24%  | 0.00%  | 2.18%  | 7.84%  | 0.53%  | 7.27%  | 29.78% | 24.17% | 11.21%   |
| CHIAPAS             | 0.00%  | 1.36%  | 1.65%  | 0.58%  | 8.20%  | 18.29% | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.15%  | 0.62%  | 0.01%  | 5.81%  | 10.27% | 6.34%  | 3.81%    |
| CHIHUAHUA           | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.50%  | 9.84%  | 5.62%  | 8.38%  | 5.52%  | 5.56%  | 2.53%    |
| COAHUILA            | 3.60%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 1.26%  | 0.00%  | 7.65%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.68%  | 0.94%    |
| COLIMA              | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 1.08%  | 0.00%  | 3.39%  | 2.80%  | 3.62%  | 2.92%  | 6.21%  | 5.52%  | 11.83% | 6.72%  | 7.64%  | 14.93% | 4.76%    |
| DISTRITO FEDERAL    | 41.37% | 37.29% | 27.57% | 29.17% | 38.75% | 37.05% | 13.52% | 6.79%  | 1.29%  | 0.27%  | 1.32%  | 0.56%  | 1.20%  | 2.85%  | 17.07%   |
| DURANGO             | 12.85% | 0.00%  | 21.60% | 21.52% | 12.37% | 30.90% | 17.79% | 10.96% | 13.59% | 7.15%  | 6.59%  | 16.06% | 18.46% | 8.85%  | 14.19%   |
| ESTADO DE MÉXICO    | 25.88% | 42.28% | 31.51% | 16.49% | 20.55% | 17.94% | 25.96% | 12.79% | 2.73%  | 17.37% | 6.88%  | 14.16% | 17.65% | 15.02% | 19.09%   |
| GUANAJUATO          | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 1.33%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 4.29%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 1.22%  | 0.00%  | 0.49%    |
| GUERRERO            | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 7.07%  | 4.86%  | 15.82% | 9.91%  | 17.69% | 28.70% | 55.89% | 10.00%   |
| HIDALGO             | 11.87% | 0.00%  | 8.85%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.06%  | 0.07%  | 0.37%  | 1.52%    |
| JALISCO             | 0.00%  | 13.56% | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.97%    |
| MICHOACÁN           | 0.00%  | 28.26% | 0.00%  | 13.91% | 10.93% | 17.62% | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 3.51%  | 12.11% | 0.00%  | 6.60%  | 7.52%  | 0.32%  | 7.20%    |
| MORELOS             | 0.00%  | 50.44% | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 3.20%  | 2.14%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.05%  | 4.61%    |
| NAYARIT             | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 1.09%  | 4.33%  | 0.00%  | 1.73%  | 1.06%  | 21.91% | 41.84% | 14.61% | 3.72%  | 0.89%  | 4.82%  | 6.86%    |
| NUEVO LEÓN          | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 5.28%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 5.45%  | 10.27% | 7.71%  | 2.05%    |
| OAXACA              | 48.17% | 45.72% | 44.23% | 17.62% | 60.74% | 57.77% | 57.05% | 28.98% | 44.87% | 11.45% | 55.97% | 56.21% | 57.39% | 62.68% | 46.35%   |
| PUEBLA              | 0.66%  | 4.95%  | 3.51%  | 4.05%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 14.57% | 4.33%  | 2.87%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 2.51%    |
| QUERÉTARO           | 0.00%  | 1.52%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 5.92%  | 10.10% | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 4.08%  | 3.17%  | 16.78% | 2.97%    |
| QUINTANA ROO        | 1.91%  | 0.00%  | 1.45%  | 12.55% | 8.54%  | 6.03%  | 7.06%  | 0.00%  | 10.56% | 7.53%  | 17.78% | 3.25%  | 3.59%  | 13.25% | 6.68%    |
| SAN LUIS POTOSÍ     | 0.00%  | 0.47%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 20.31% | 0.00%  | 4.87%  | 1.63%  | 0.00%  | 33.82% | 0.45%  | 4.40%    |
| SINALOA             | 15.33% | 7.65%  | 4.89%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 16.74% | 13.00% | 8.79%  | 11.95% | 0.00%  | 14.16% | 21.76% | 14.58% | 9.20%    |
| SONORA              | 0.00%  | 6.76%  | 2.75%  | 3.23%  | 11.09% | 16.75% | 6.30%  | 0.00%  | 1.04%  | 0.60%  | 0.00%  | 15.91% | 20.58% | 10.71% | 6.84     |
| TABASCO             | 0.63%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 7.60%  | 10.67% | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 20.24% | 0.00%  | 13.76% | 3.78%    |
| TAMAULIPAS          | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 13.57% | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 8.31%  | 0.00%  | 4.70%  | 7.41%  | 2.88%  | 2.63%    |
| TLAXCALA            | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 2.88%  | 0.49%  | 8.42%  | 17.05% | 3.62%  | 8.48%  | 3.28%  | 7.19%  | 4.28%  | 5.48%  | 4.37%    |
| VERACRUZ            | 0.00%  | 0.13%  | 0.44%  | 0.00%  | 9.92%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 3.48%  | 10.26% | 10.48% | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 2.48%    |
| YUCATÁN             | 0.11%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 7.95%  | 4.60%  | 2.39%  | 2.14%  | 21.32% | 2.75%    |
| ZACATECAS           | 2.81%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 4.12%  | 1.32%  | 11.48% | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 1.41%    |
| TOTAL NACIONAL      | 18.10% | 19.84% | 14.88% | 11.23% | 15.85% | 15.00% | 8.74%  | 5.85%  | 4.96%  | 6.68%  | 5.90   | 9.98%  | 9.27%  | 9.31%  | 11.11%   |

Fuente: Elaboración propia con base en datos del INEGI.

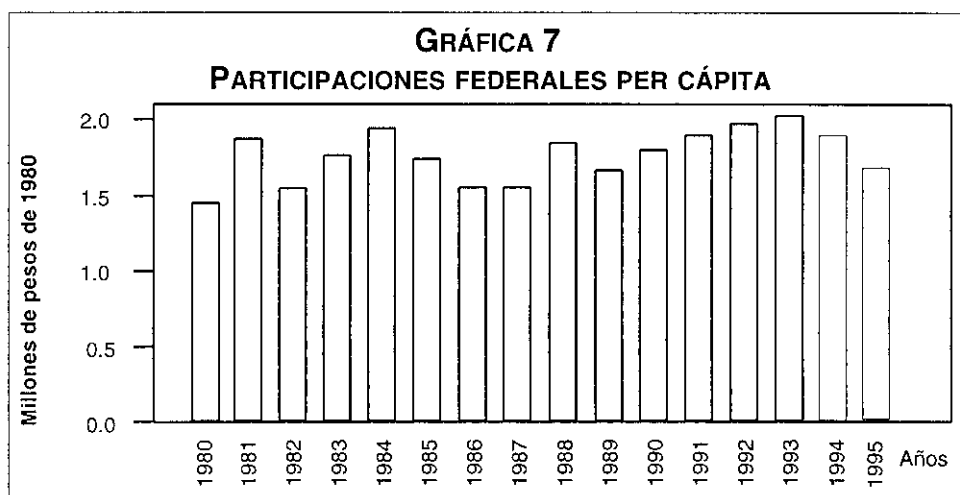
## PROPORCIÓN QUE DEL TOTAL DE INGRESOS DE LOS ESTADOS REPRESENTAN LOS INGRESOS PROPIOS

| ESTADO                | 1980          | 1981          | 1982          | 1983          | 1984          | 1985          | 1986          | 1987          | 1988          | 1989          | 1990          | 1991          | 1992          | 1993          | promedio      |
|-----------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| AGUASCALIENTES        | 62.73%        | 56.39%        | 54.77%        | 58.81%        | 39.39%        | 50.87%        | 37.20%        | 28.64%        | 20.96%        | 33.95%        | 28.33%        | 24.89%        | 27.24%        | 48.28%        | 40.89%        |
| BAJA CALIFORNIA       | 69.45%        | 60.63%        | 52.20%        | 52.42%        | 54.28%        | 69.60%        | 71.08%        | 66.34%        | 40.84%        | 41.17%        | 42.11%        | 39.11%        | 73.45%        | 74.82%        | 57.68%        |
| BAJA CALIFORNIA SUR   | 17.89%        | 11.29%        | 54.03%        | 34.87%        | 27.46%        | 10.32%        | 16.86%        | 21.48%        | 17.24%        | 7.27%         | 18.49%        | 22.84%        | 17.38%        | 59.92%        | 24.10%        |
| CAMPECHE              | 36.12%        | 30.69%        | 40.34%        | 40.12%        | 34.50%        | 54.50%        | 35.12%        | 47.66%        | 29.61%        | 5.52%         | 7.06%         | 20.15%        | 20.02%        | 37.44%        | 31.35%        |
| CHIAPAS               | 32.27%        | 9.85%         | 33.80%        | 21.28%        | 43.63%        | 22.37%        | 18.37%        | 10.43%        | 10.40%        | 11.83%        | 15.38%        | 12.43%        | 16.22%        | 22.72%        | 20.07%        |
| CHIHUAHUA             | 33.72%        | 29.25%        | 27.34%        | 14.72%        | 10.71%        | 14.07%        | 29.04%        | 30.94%        | 14.97%        | 16.62%        | 27.83%        | 21.25%        | 48.36%        | 40.03%        | 25.63%        |
| COAHUILA              | 32.66%        | 37.15%        | 26.51%        | 19.47%        | 14.99%        | 8.59%         | 14.40%        | 9.10%         | 11.56%        | 5.74%         | 10.05%        | 10.48%        | 13.58%        | 51.26%        | 18.97%        |
| COLIMA                | 100.00%       | 42.01%        | 50.44%        | 13.28%        | 51.74%        | 60.24%        | 61.69%        | 46.91%        | 39.44%        | 22.26%        | 17.96%        | 17.23%        | 21.29%        | 32.33%        | 41.20%        |
| DISTRITO FEDERAL      | 21.74%        | 27.26%        | 46.17%        | 17.84%        | 14.69%        | 20.01%        | 41.21%        | 42.22%        | 34.04%        | 44.75%        | 47.92%        | 49.04%        | 53.90%        | 52.14%        | 36.64%        |
| DURANGO               | 14.25%        | 45.28%        | 32.99%        | 25.58%        | 26.63%        | 12.27%        | 8.63%         | 18.41%        | 18.32%        | 19.60%        | 18.48%        | 10.88%        | 12.31%        | 26.26%        | 20.71%        |
| ESTADO DE MÉXICO      | 33.12%        | 16.67%        | 19.99%        | 19.99%        | 15.60%        | 21.60%        | 13.22%        | 21.40%        | 15.90%        | 13.43%        | 16.94%        | 21.78%        | 28.83%        | 39.30%        | 21.27%        |
| GUANAJUATO            | 43.01%        | 38.23%        | 34.65%        | 41.65%        | 45.98%        | 37.98%        | 40.39%        | 37.67%        | 22.21%        | 22.31%        | 25.77%        | 25.01%        | 26.69%        | 24.34%        | 33.28%        |
| GUERRERO              | 37.37%        | 45.25%        | 49.48%        | 49.28%        | 45.04%        | 43.62%        | 47.85%        | 42.16%        | 43.33%        | 40.28%        | 32.80%        | 23.51%        | 39.46%        | 13.92%        | 39.52%        |
| HIDALGO               | 84.21%        | 36.56%        | 29.39%        | 33.79%        | 12.37%        | 28.32%        | 21.59%        | 60.08%        | 26.34%        | 24.59%        | 8.33%         | 22.85%        | 32.83%        | 59.13%        | 34.31%        |
| JALISCO               | 62.10%        | 45.66%        | 73.09%        | 69.73%        | 63.27%        | 65.98%        | 60.65%        | 61.02%        | 60.36%        | 60.66%        | 63.56%        | 28.65%        | 73.45%        | 74.41%        | 61.61%        |
| MICHOACÁN             | 45.65%        | 30.54%        | 55.89%        | 55.78%        | 23.42%        | 13.48%        | 26.01%        | 18.67%        | 16.31%        | 14.30%        | 26.13%        | 14.88%        | 14.56%        | 21.05%        | 26.91%        |
| MORELOS               | 48.65%        | 31.79%        | 60.50%        | 29.99%        | 56.01%        | 54.03%        | 46.74%        | 48.32%        | 17.39%        | 28.31%        | 27.91%        | 30.49%        | 32.77%        | 30.46%        | 38.81%        |
| NAYARIT               | 8.52%         | 31.95%        | 42.19%        | 22.94%        | 13.53%        | 15.92%        | 18.84%        | 16.19%        | 11.80%        | 5.93%         | 12.96%        | 36.92%        | 38.69%        | 60.96%        | 24.10%        |
| NUEVO LEÓN            | 95.93%        | 78.17%        | 72.30%        | 70.66%        | 76.33%        | 82.82%        | 80.49%        | 80.66%        | 74.18%        | 73.94%        | 77.29%        | 71.91%        | 68.25%        | 73.08%        | 76.86%        |
| OAXACA                | 46.86%        | 40.39%        | 34.41%        | 52.35%        | 24.22%        | 25.08%        | 24.49%        | 58.27%        | 40.43%        | 83.84%        | 21.81%        | 19.19%        | 17.48%        | 6.78%         | 35.40%        |
| PUEBLA                | 36.79%        | 25.70%        | 29.09%        | 24.00%        | 36.34%        | 34.13%        | 28.77%        | 20.60%        | 22.70%        | 24.52%        | 16.58%        | 21.03%        | 28.84%        | 31.77%        | 27.20%        |
| QUERÉTARO             | 66.43%        | 23.47%        | 40.53%        | 35.72%        | 31.47%        | 27.97%        | 29.98%        | 14.09%        | 11.19%        | 14.57%        | 18.01%        | 13.12%        | 12.66%        | 13.34%        | 25.18%        |
| QUINTANA ROO          | 69.73%        | 58.04%        | 70.26%        | 44.01%        | 50.86%        | 44.43%        | 49.41%        | 43.40%        | 31.21%        | 27.15%        | 14.17%        | 31.75%        | 40.50%        | 50.10%        | 44.64%        |
| SAN LUIS POTOSÍ       | 61.50%        | 55.89%        | 19.16%        | 8.29%         | 39.18%        | 37.50%        | 53.02%        | 49.48%        | 19.64%        | 15.95%        | 13.30%        | 21.20%        | 8.15%         | 62.98%        | 33.23%        |
| SINALOA               | 41.74%        | 37.23%        | 40.94%        | 43.14%        | 41.67%        | 46.44%        | 35.21%        | 28.87%        | 9.23%         | 13.65%        | 16.44%        | 19.89%        | 16.40%        | 43.11%        | 31.00%        |
| SONORA                | 40.20%        | 22.94%        | 25.84%        | 18.87%        | 17.52%        | 10.56%        | 27.38%        | 33.32%        | 18.13%        | 25.43%        | 25.46%        | 18.46%        | 28.05%        | 51.95%        | 26.01%        |
| TABASCO               | 8.37%         | 10.64%        | 22.18%        | 16.39%        | 19.41%        | 9.63%         | 11.88%        | 11.74%        | 9.88%         | 11.75%        | 8.58%         | 12.52%        | 5.25%         | 14.22%        | 12.32%        |
| TAMAULIPAS            | 28.70%        | 37.12%        | 29.46%        | 27.50%        | 34.74%        | 22.03%        | 14.13%        | 19.21%        | 17.73%        | 15.24%        | 17.93%        | 14.16%        | 25.07%        | 58.97%        | 25.86%        |
| TLAXCALA              | 55.30%        | 54.27%        | 30.12%        | 43.60%        | 46.23%        | 19.57%        | 33.69%        | 36.12%        | 35.67%        | 28.62%        | 17.81%        | 17.30%        | 22.78%        | 24.79%        | 33.28%        |
| VERACRUZ              | 47.92%        | 38.40%        | 43.86%        | 24.19%        | 17.93%        | 41.56%        | 23.31%        | 11.23%        | 16.79%        | 31.18%        | 16.43%        | 21.63%        | 31.34%        | 6.84%         | 26.61%        |
| YUCATÁN               | 25.06%        | 19.14%        | 40.13%        | 13.98%        | 21.01%        | 21.95%        | 15.79%        | 13.25%        | 17.03%        | 11.59%        | 11.85%        | 15.67%        | 36.77%        | 12.56%        | 19.70%        |
| ZACATECAS             | 50.17%        | 34.69%        | 37.41%        | 40.31%        | 40.07%        | 34.04%        | 35.47%        | 23.11%        | 27.60%        | 32.40%        | 26.26%        | 41.16%        | 28.39%        | 14.20%        | 33.09%        |
| <b>TOTAL NACIONAL</b> | <b>41.40%</b> | <b>35.56%</b> | <b>45.34%</b> | <b>35.87%</b> | <b>33.30%</b> | <b>37.40%</b> | <b>40.61%</b> | <b>42.26%</b> | <b>33.27%</b> | <b>43.23%</b> | <b>36.28%</b> | <b>32.76%</b> | <b>42.77%</b> | <b>46.66%</b> | <b>39.05%</b> |

Fuente: Elaboración propia con base en datos del INEGI.

### 4.3 EL ANÁLISIS EN TÉRMINOS POR HABITANTE

Una cuestión importante también es el análisis de estos datos tomando en cuenta el crecimiento poblacional, ya que si estamos hablando de finanzas estatales éstas están íntimamente ligadas a la provisión de servicios públicos, donde la variable población es sumamente determinante. Además, esto nos ayudará a eliminar las distorsiones atribuibles al tamaño relativo de cada entidad y con esto, a tener una base de comparación más justa.



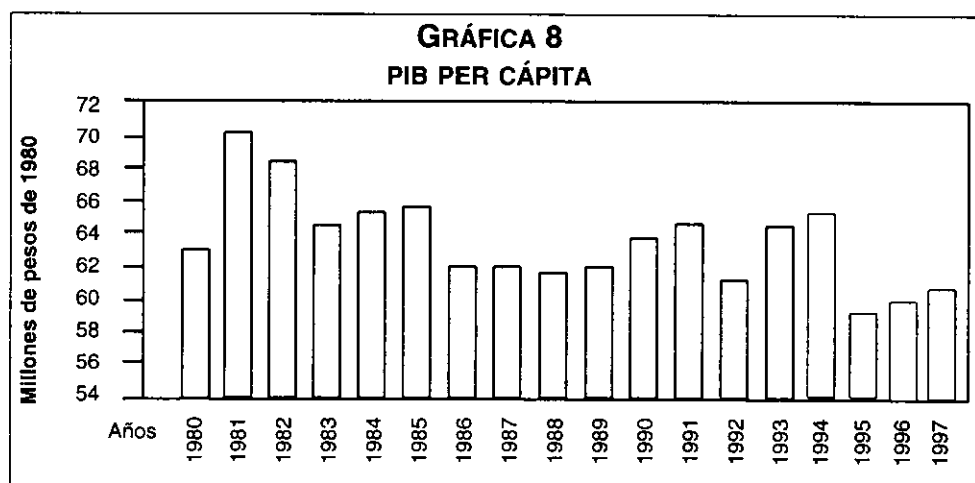
Fuente: Elaboración propia con base en datos del INEGI y del INDETEC.

La gráfica anterior nos muestra la evolución de participaciones por habitante, podemos ver que ésta ha presentado en promedio desde 1980 un incremento importante.

Lo más destacable aquí es que a pesar de las crisis que ha sufrido el país, la última en diciembre de 1994, en ningún año después de 1980, en que inicia el nuevo sistema de coordinación fiscal, las participaciones federales por habitante han sido menores a ese año. Esto quiere decir que el sistema de coordinación fiscal, en cuanto a incrementos de ingresos para los estados, ha sido muy eficiente, el único problema, y no poco importante, es

el relacionado a su distribución. Es decir, de nada sirve que el monto absoluto de las participaciones federales se incremente, si no existe una distribución equitativa que beneficie a todos los estados.

Ahora bien, si ya hemos determinado que en gran parte existe una relación muy estrecha con el comportamiento de las participaciones y la evolución de la economía nacional, en la siguiente gráfica podremos ver un poco de lo acontecido desde 1980 y un poco de lo que vendrá para los próximos años.



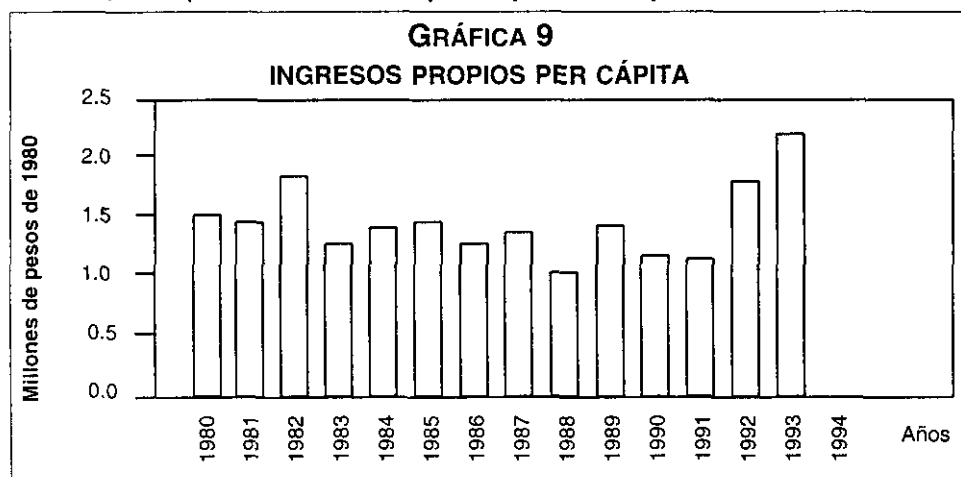
Fuente: Elaboración propia con base en datos del INEGI y de The Economist Intelligence Unit Limited.

Claramente podemos darnos cuenta de que la situación de la economía nacional para estos próximos años no es nada alentadora. En términos de la cuantificación del PIB per cápita, el país se encuentra aún más atrasado que en 1980. Esto representa por lo menos un atraso en la economía del país de 15 años. A estos datos nada reconfortantes habría que añadir también que la distribución del ingreso presenta todavía altos índices de concentración. De acuerdo con las estimaciones del gobierno federal de crecimientos importantes del Producto Interno Bruto a partir de 1996, podemos concluir que para 1998 estaremos en niveles similares a los de 1988. Es claro pues que el horizonte no es nada motivante y que los márgenes que tendrán los gobier-

nos, tanto federal como estatales, para atender las necesidades de la población serán cada vez más estrechos.

En cuanto a los ingresos propios para determinar si ha existido una constante eficientización en la recaudación por parte de los estados, el análisis por habitante es muy útil y necesario. El comportamiento de los ingresos propios como se puede ver en la gráfica 5 es errático, y como ya mencionamos, en casi la mitad del periodo analizado presenta comportamientos opuestos al de la economía en su conjunto. Un ejemplo de esto son 1988 y 1990, cuando a pesar de haber crecimientos en la economía, la recaudación de ingresos locales per cápita cae en un 21.23% y 21.82%, respectivamente. La explicación que podemos encontrar para estos dos años es que estas caídas se deben, principalmente, al bajo esfuerzo mostrado por los propios estados en cuanto a la recaudación de los ingresos de jurisdicción local.

Aun con estos datos, para 1992 se observa un repunte muy importante en este rubro, lográndose la recaudación por habitante más alta de todo el periodo en 1993 (ver gráfica 9). Esto explica que los estados han logrado en los últimos años eficientizar la recaudación local, llegando a representar el mayor peso en sus ingresos totales, aun por arriba de las participaciones para 1993.



Fuente: elaboración propia con base en datos del INEGI

-Incluye datos para el D.F.

Como en los apartados anteriores, por medio de las siguientes tablas podremos observar las diferencias que muestran entre sí las entidades federativas.

# PARTICIPACIONES FEDERALES POR HABITANTE (MILLONES DE PESOS DE 1980)

|                       | 1980   | 1981   | 1982   | 1983   | 1984   | 1985   | 1986   | 1987   | 1988   | 1989   | 1990   | 1991   | 1992   | 1993   | 1994   | 1995   | Promedio |
|-----------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|----------|
| ESTADO AGUASCALIENTES | \$0.13 | \$1.50 | \$1.71 | \$1.43 | \$1.81 | \$1.17 | \$1.55 | \$1.80 | \$2.00 | \$1.72 | \$1.98 | \$2.16 | \$2.38 | \$2.18 | \$2.18 | \$1.92 | \$1.72   |
| BAYA CALIFORNIA       | \$2.30 | \$2.92 | \$2.34 | \$2.83 | \$2.86 | \$2.65 | \$2.41 | \$2.44 | \$2.75 | \$2.71 | \$2.84 | \$2.78 | \$2.78 | \$2.49 | \$2.17 | \$1.97 | \$2.58   |
| BAYA CALIFORNIA SUR   | \$2.08 | \$5.89 | \$2.25 | \$2.77 | \$2.99 | \$2.48 | \$2.54 | \$3.00 | \$2.87 | \$2.90 | \$2.92 | \$2.87 | \$2.87 | \$2.80 | \$2.81 | \$2.46 | \$2.92   |
| CAMPECHE              | \$1.93 | \$2.50 | \$2.09 | \$2.35 | \$2.97 | \$2.48 | \$3.07 | \$2.34 | \$2.81 | \$2.75 | \$3.56 | \$3.72 | \$3.62 | \$3.78 | \$3.45 | \$3.11 | \$2.81   |
| CHAPAS                | \$1.97 | \$3.54 | \$1.89 | \$2.18 | \$2.14 | \$1.92 | \$1.57 | \$1.88 | \$1.94 | \$1.74 | \$1.83 | \$1.82 | \$1.78 | \$1.75 | \$1.70 | \$1.47 | \$1.92   |
| CHIHUAHUA             | \$1.31 | \$1.57 | \$1.38 | \$1.69 | \$1.68 | \$1.74 | \$1.62 | \$1.40 | \$1.38 | \$1.65 | \$1.69 | \$1.82 | \$1.80 | \$2.00 | \$1.93 | \$1.82 | \$1.63   |
| COAHUILA              | \$1.51 | \$1.61 | \$1.65 | \$1.87 | \$2.14 | \$2.02 | \$1.69 | \$1.90 | \$1.81 | \$1.74 | \$1.89 | \$1.87 | \$1.82 | \$1.81 | \$1.82 | \$1.53 | \$1.63   |
| COLIMA                | \$2.00 | \$1.86 | \$1.69 | \$1.89 | \$2.45 | \$2.49 | \$2.08 | \$1.95 | \$2.33 | \$2.26 | \$2.52 | \$2.57 | \$2.65 | \$2.62 | \$2.74 | \$2.39 | \$2.15   |
| DISTRITO FEDERAL      | \$2.87 | \$3.10 | \$2.64 | \$3.86 | \$3.70 | \$3.40 | \$2.79 | \$3.07 | \$4.04 | \$3.39 | \$3.67 | \$3.75 | \$3.76 | \$3.93 | \$3.10 | \$2.89 | \$3.36   |
| DURANGO               | \$1.26 | \$1.14 | \$0.91 | \$1.02 | \$1.30 | \$1.22 | \$1.19 | \$1.05 | \$1.27 | \$1.18 | \$1.36 | \$1.46 | \$1.47 | \$1.58 | \$1.64 | \$1.78 | \$1.56   |
| ESTADO DE MÉXICO      | \$1.52 | \$1.71 | \$1.50 | \$1.69 | \$1.74 | \$1.50 | \$1.39 | \$1.36 | \$1.47 | \$1.30 | \$1.35 | \$1.46 | \$1.47 | \$1.74 | \$1.64 | \$1.46 | \$1.31   |
| GUANAJUATO            | \$0.77 | \$0.94 | \$0.90 | \$1.03 | \$1.10 | \$0.99 | \$0.96 | \$0.91 | \$1.03 | \$0.92 | \$1.00 | \$1.17 | \$1.18 | \$1.32 | \$1.32 | \$1.46 | \$1.27   |
| GUERRERO              | \$0.65 | \$0.81 | \$0.87 | \$0.82 | \$1.01 | \$0.90 | \$0.84 | \$0.78 | \$0.80 | \$0.87 | \$0.99 | \$1.12 | \$1.18 | \$1.36 | \$1.40 | \$1.57 | \$1.36   |
| HIDALGO               | \$0.04 | \$0.65 | \$0.56 | \$0.71 | \$1.01 | \$1.00 | \$0.85 | \$0.83 | \$1.00 | \$0.93 | \$1.17 | \$1.19 | \$1.36 | \$1.40 | \$1.57 | \$1.36 | \$0.96   |
| JALISCO               | \$1.46 | \$1.72 | \$1.32 | \$1.67 | \$1.76 | \$1.47 | \$1.45 | \$1.35 | \$1.51 | \$1.53 | \$1.54 | \$1.70 | \$1.81 | \$1.83 | \$1.83 | \$1.68 | \$1.55   |
| MICHOACÁN             | \$0.81 | \$0.62 | \$0.63 | \$0.40 | \$0.90 | \$0.82 | \$0.72 | \$0.89 | \$0.91 | \$0.77 | \$0.87 | \$1.05 | \$1.25 | \$1.27 | \$1.34 | \$1.18 | \$1.58   |
| MORELOS               | \$0.59 | \$1.29 | \$1.04 | \$2.18 | \$1.49 | \$1.52 | \$1.28 | \$1.23 | \$1.31 | \$1.48 | \$1.71 | \$1.81 | \$1.79 | \$2.01 | \$1.93 | \$1.70 | \$1.52   |
| MAYAGÜIT              | \$7.40 | \$1.28 | \$1.01 | \$1.20 | \$1.70 | \$1.43 | \$1.33 | \$1.36 | \$1.56 | \$1.81 | \$1.56 | \$1.72 | \$1.83 | \$2.08 | \$2.10 | \$1.96 | \$1.97   |
| NEUVO LEÓN            | \$0.36 | \$2.29 | \$2.60 | \$2.32 | \$2.33 | \$2.11 | \$1.84 | \$1.73 | \$2.18 | \$1.83 | \$1.83 | \$1.88 | \$1.95 | \$2.08 | \$2.10 | \$1.96 | \$1.97   |
| PUERTO RICO           | \$0.16 | \$0.46 | \$0.46 | \$0.61 | \$0.69 | \$0.72 | \$0.64 | \$0.60 | \$0.57 | \$0.69 | \$0.82 | \$1.00 | \$1.13 | \$1.24 | \$1.46 | \$1.29 | \$0.78   |
| QUERÉTARO             | \$0.64 | \$0.96 | \$0.80 | \$1.00 | \$1.03 | \$0.95 | \$0.82 | \$0.84 | \$1.01 | \$0.82 | \$1.02 | \$1.17 | \$1.36 | \$1.53 | \$1.43 | \$1.27 | \$1.05   |
| QUINTANA ROO          | \$0.49 | \$1.70 | \$1.50 | \$1.71 | \$1.98 | \$1.82 | \$1.34 | \$1.45 | \$1.73 | \$1.53 | \$1.73 | \$2.02 | \$2.33 | \$2.25 | \$1.98 | \$1.78 | \$1.71   |
| SAN LUIS POTOSÍ       | \$1.31 | \$2.30 | \$0.88 | \$2.51 | \$1.84 | \$2.13 | \$1.31 | \$1.55 | \$1.80 | \$1.74 | \$2.08 | \$2.06 | \$1.66 | \$2.07 | \$1.88 | \$1.60 | \$1.45   |
| SINALOA               | \$0.42 | \$0.77 | \$0.69 | \$0.80 | \$0.95 | \$1.01 | \$0.82 | \$0.87 | \$1.08 | \$1.01 | \$1.18 | \$1.26 | \$1.28 | \$1.52 | \$1.53 | \$1.33 | \$1.04   |
| SONORA                | \$1.22 | \$1.40 | \$1.22 | \$1.65 | \$1.30 | \$1.19 | \$1.39 | \$1.87 | \$1.85 | \$1.85 | \$1.94 | \$1.98 | \$2.23 | \$1.92 | \$1.89 | \$1.66 | \$1.64   |
| TABASCO               | \$1.96 | \$2.82 | \$2.28 | \$2.75 | \$2.88 | \$2.89 | \$2.42 | \$2.43 | \$2.88 | \$2.73 | \$3.02 | \$3.02 | \$3.13 | \$2.74 | \$2.39 | \$2.08 | \$2.64   |
| TAMAULIPAS            | \$1.65 | \$1.82 | \$1.79 | \$1.81 | \$1.84 | \$1.84 | \$1.83 | \$1.74 | \$1.74 | \$1.96 | \$2.11 | \$2.24 | \$2.05 | \$1.82 | \$1.85 | \$1.59 | \$1.61   |
| TLAXCALA              | \$0.84 | \$1.04 | \$1.67 | \$1.06 | \$1.59 | \$2.03 | \$1.30 | \$1.27 | \$1.74 | \$1.79 | \$2.26 | \$2.47 | \$2.46 | \$1.84 | \$2.09 | \$1.80 | \$1.70   |
| VERACRUZ              | \$1.17 | \$1.32 | \$1.08 | \$1.41 | \$1.49 | \$1.27 | \$1.28 | \$1.23 | \$1.46 | \$1.32 | \$1.46 | \$1.58 | \$1.67 | \$1.71 | \$1.75 | \$1.62 | \$1.46   |
| YUCATÁN               | \$1.25 | \$1.59 | \$0.82 | \$1.32 | \$1.80 | \$1.80 | \$1.28 | \$1.39 | \$1.37 | \$1.44 | \$1.55 | \$1.58 | \$1.67 | \$1.77 | \$1.80 | \$1.56 | \$1.18   |
| ZACATECAS             | \$0.48 | \$0.77 | \$0.74 | \$0.77 | \$1.22 | \$1.13 | \$1.01 | \$0.99 | \$1.13 | \$1.20 | \$1.38 | \$1.43 | \$1.57 | \$1.71 | \$1.80 | \$1.56 | \$1.48   |
| TOTAL NACIONAL        | \$1.46 | \$1.82 | \$1.55 | \$1.80 | \$1.96 | \$1.76 | \$1.56 | \$1.56 | \$1.86 | \$1.89 | \$1.82 | \$1.90 | \$1.97 | \$2.06 | \$1.90 | \$1.68 | \$1.77   |

Fuente: Elaboración propia con base en datos del INEGI y del INDETEC.

# **INGRESOS PROPIOS DE LOS ESTADOS EN TÉRMINOS POR HABITANTE** **(MILLONES DE PESOS DE 1980)**

| ESTADO                | 1980          | 1981          | 1982          | 1983          | 1984          | 1985          | 1986          | 1987          | 1988          | 1989          | 1990          | 1991          | 1992          | 1993          | promedio      |
|-----------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| AGUASCALIENTES        | \$1.91        | \$2.07        | \$2.06        | \$2.04        | \$1.27        | \$1.44        | \$0.99        | \$0.64        | \$0.53        | \$0.88        | \$0.78        | \$0.81        | \$0.92        | \$2.21        | \$1.32        |
| BAJA CALIFORNIA       | \$7.15        | \$7.39        | \$5.14        | \$4.41        | \$3.98        | \$6.12        | \$5.98        | \$5.04        | \$3.26        | \$3.53        | \$3.59        | \$3.66        | \$8.69        | \$8.53        | \$5.46        |
| BAJA CALIFORNIA SUR   | \$0.97        | \$0.76        | \$2.64        | \$1.48        | \$1.13        | \$0.39        | \$0.57        | \$0.71        | \$0.63        | \$0.26        | \$0.69        | \$0.88        | \$1.02        | \$4.34        | \$1.18        |
| CAMPECHE              | \$1.44        | \$2.01        | \$1.81        | \$1.71        | \$1.97        | \$2.97        | \$1.87        | \$2.13        | \$1.22        | \$0.18        | \$0.27        | \$1.03        | \$1.44        | \$3.69        | \$1.70        |
| CHIAPAS               | \$0.94        | \$0.39        | \$0.88        | \$0.59        | \$1.94        | \$0.72        | \$0.35        | \$0.20        | \$0.23        | \$0.23        | \$0.33        | \$0.28        | \$0.39        | \$0.56        | \$0.57        |
| CHIHUAHUA             | \$0.67        | \$0.65        | \$0.52        | \$0.29        | \$0.21        | \$0.27        | \$0.57        | \$0.62        | \$0.29        | \$0.38        | \$0.68        | \$0.54        | \$2.10        | \$1.41        | \$0.66        |
| COAHUILA              | \$0.77        | \$0.95        | \$0.59        | \$0.45        | \$0.38        | \$0.19        | \$0.28        | \$0.19        | \$0.24        | \$0.12        | \$0.21        | \$0.22        | \$0.30        | \$2.06        | \$0.50        |
| COLIMA                | \$2.22        | \$1.35        | \$1.75        | \$0.29        | \$2.83        | \$4.06        | \$3.70        | \$1.82        | \$1.69        | \$0.70        | \$0.64        | \$0.58        | \$0.79        | \$1.61        | \$1.72        |
| DISTRITO FEDERAL      | \$1.69        | \$2.39        | \$5.00        | \$1.23        | \$1.17        | \$1.59        | \$2.54        | \$2.54        | \$2.12        | \$2.76        | \$3.47        | \$3.64        | \$4.51        | \$4.55        | \$2.80        |
| DURANGO               | \$0.25        | \$0.94        | \$0.66        | \$0.49        | \$0.57        | \$0.26        | \$0.14        | \$0.27        | \$0.34        | \$0.32        | \$0.34        | \$0.22        | \$0.28        | \$0.66        | \$0.41        |
| ESTADO DE MÉXICO      | \$1.23        | \$0.70        | \$0.62        | \$0.53        | \$0.43        | \$0.54        | \$0.30        | \$0.44        | \$0.29        | \$0.25        | \$0.30        | \$0.50        | \$0.79        | \$1.50        | \$0.60        |
| GUANAJUATO            | \$0.58        | \$0.58        | \$0.48        | \$0.75        | \$0.94        | \$0.61        | \$0.65        | \$0.55        | \$0.31        | \$0.27        | \$0.35        | \$0.39        | \$0.46        | \$0.42        | \$0.52        |
| GUERRERO              | \$0.39        | \$0.67        | \$0.66        | \$0.80        | \$0.83        | \$0.70        | \$0.77        | \$0.66        | \$0.75        | \$0.80        | \$0.57        | \$0.45        | \$1.48        | \$0.61        | \$0.72        |
| HIDALGO               | \$0.78        | \$0.38        | \$0.27        | \$0.36        | \$0.14        | \$0.39        | \$0.23        | \$1.41        | \$0.36        | \$0.30        | \$0.11        | \$0.35        | \$0.67        | \$2.04        | \$0.56        |
| JALISCO               | \$2.39        | \$1.92        | \$3.57        | \$3.84        | \$3.03        | \$2.85        | \$2.23        | \$2.11        | \$2.30        | \$2.35        | \$2.69        | \$0.68        | \$5.01        | \$5.33        | \$2.88        |
| MICHOACÁN             | \$0.51        | \$0.46        | \$0.80        | \$0.74        | \$0.32        | \$0.16        | \$0.25        | \$0.16        | \$0.18        | \$0.15        | \$0.31        | \$0.20        | \$0.23        | \$0.34        | \$0.34        |
| MORELOS               | \$0.56        | \$1.20        | \$1.60        | \$0.93        | \$1.89        | \$1.79        | \$1.20        | \$1.20        | \$0.28        | \$0.59        | \$0.66        | \$0.80        | \$0.87        | \$1.01        | \$1.04        |
| NAYARIT               | \$0.69        | \$0.60        | \$0.74        | \$0.36        | \$0.28        | \$0.27        | \$0.32        | \$0.27        | \$0.28        | \$0.18        | \$0.32        | \$0.97        | \$1.10        | \$3.25        | \$0.69        |
| NUEVO LEÓN            | \$8.59        | \$8.20        | \$6.77        | \$6.82        | \$7.52        | \$10.18       | \$7.58        | \$7.23        | \$6.21        | \$5.48        | \$6.24        | \$6.01        | \$6.19        | \$7.94        | \$7.21        |
| OAXACA                | \$1.53        | \$1.34        | \$0.75        | \$1.07        | \$1.11        | \$1.05        | \$0.84        | \$2.75        | \$1.56        | \$12.32       | \$0.81        | \$0.78        | \$0.79        | \$0.27        | \$1.93        |
| PUEBLA                | \$0.38        | \$0.36        | \$0.34        | \$0.33        | \$0.59        | \$0.49        | \$0.33        | \$0.27        | \$0.31        | \$0.31        | \$0.20        | \$0.31        | \$0.55        | \$0.71        | \$0.39        |
| QUERÉTARO             | \$0.97        | \$0.53        | \$1.03        | \$0.95        | \$0.91        | \$0.77        | \$0.67        | \$0.24        | \$0.22        | \$0.26        | \$0.38        | \$0.32        | \$0.35        | \$0.43        | \$0.57        |
| QUINTANA ROO          | \$3.21        | \$3.17        | \$4.25        | \$2.54        | \$2.30        | \$1.91        | \$1.49        | \$1.19        | \$0.97        | \$0.72        | \$0.43        | \$1.01        | \$1.20        | \$2.84        | \$1.94        |
| SAN LUIS POTOSÍ       | \$0.67        | \$0.98        | \$0.16        | \$0.07        | \$0.61        | \$0.60        | \$1.04        | \$1.42        | \$0.26        | \$0.20        | \$0.18        | \$0.34        | \$0.19        | \$2.58        | \$0.67        |
| SINALOA               | \$1.19        | \$0.94        | \$0.92        | \$1.10        | \$1.18        | \$1.13        | \$0.87        | \$0.69        | \$0.21        | \$0.34        | \$0.38        | \$0.60        | \$0.59        | \$1.96        | \$0.86        |
| SONORA                | \$1.32        | \$0.92        | \$0.82        | \$0.67        | \$0.71        | \$0.39        | \$1.00        | \$1.21        | \$0.65        | \$0.94        | \$1.03        | \$0.85        | \$1.71        | \$3.81        | \$1.14        |
| TABASCO               | \$0.59        | \$1.06        | \$1.97        | \$1.27        | \$2.33        | \$0.86        | \$0.80        | \$0.74        | \$0.76        | \$0.74        | \$0.53        | \$0.89        | \$0.27        | \$0.90        | \$0.98        |
| TAMAULIPAS            | \$0.66        | \$1.08        | \$0.75        | \$0.75        | \$1.03        | \$0.51        | \$0.32        | \$0.41        | \$0.48        | \$0.39        | \$0.46        | \$0.39        | \$0.76        | \$2.82        | \$0.77        |
| TLAXCALA              | \$1.04        | \$1.23        | \$0.72        | \$0.82        | \$1.44        | \$0.50        | \$0.75        | \$0.98        | \$1.02        | \$0.81        | \$0.51        | \$0.57        | \$0.77        | \$0.65        | \$0.84        |
| VERACRUZ              | \$1.07        | \$0.83        | \$0.85        | \$0.45        | \$0.37        | \$0.90        | \$0.38        | \$0.16        | \$0.30        | \$0.63        | \$0.33        | \$0.50        | \$0.74        | \$0.17        | \$0.55        |
| YUCATÁN               | \$0.42        | \$0.38        | \$0.62        | \$0.21        | \$0.43        | \$0.45        | \$0.26        | \$0.21        | \$0.28        | \$0.21        | \$0.22        | \$0.30        | \$1.00        | \$0.33        | \$0.38        |
| ZACATECAS             | \$0.51        | \$0.41        | \$0.44        | \$0.52        | \$0.82        | \$0.62        | \$0.57        | \$0.35        | \$0.43        | \$0.58        | \$0.49        | \$1.00        | \$0.56        | \$0.29        | \$0.54        |
| <b>TOTAL NACIONAL</b> | <b>\$1.48</b> | <b>\$1.44</b> | <b>\$1.77</b> | <b>\$1.22</b> | <b>\$1.28</b> | <b>\$1.39</b> | <b>\$1.25</b> | <b>\$1.27</b> | <b>\$1.00</b> | <b>\$1.46</b> | <b>\$1.14</b> | <b>\$1.08</b> | <b>\$1.75</b> | <b>\$2.18</b> | <b>\$1.41</b> |

Fuente: Elaboración propia con base en datos del INEGI.

# PRODUCTO INTERNO BRUTO POR HABITANTE (MILLONES DE PESOS DE 1980)

| ESTADO              | 1980     | 1981     | 1982     | 1983     | 1984     | 1985     | 1986     | 1987     | 1988     | 1989     | 1990     | 1991     | 1992     | 1993     | 1994     | 1995     | pro |
|---------------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|-----|
| AGUASCALIENTES      | \$49.11  | \$54.92  | \$53.98  | \$51.38  | \$52.68  | \$53.46  | \$50.52  | \$51.39  | \$51.37  | \$53.74  | \$57.28  | \$59.82  | \$61.15  | \$60.72  | \$61.87  | \$57.98  | \$  |
| BAJA CALIFORNIA     | \$79.77  | \$88.19  | \$85.30  | \$79.84  | \$80.60  | \$80.53  | \$76.16  | \$77.57  | \$77.62  | \$76.73  | \$76.60  | \$76.05  | \$75.05  | \$72.83  | \$72.53  | \$64.70  | \$  |
| BAJA CALIFORNIA SUR | \$78.63  | \$85.72  | \$81.35  | \$74.86  | \$74.02  | \$72.91  | \$69.95  | \$73.11  | \$74.68  | \$74.23  | \$74.44  | \$73.98  | \$73.06  | \$70.91  | \$70.35  | \$63.05  | \$  |
| CAMPECHE            | \$47.62  | \$72.40  | \$105.94 | \$168.06 | \$263.15 | \$400.39 | \$327.05 | \$255.47 | \$208.62 | \$194.97 | \$181.83 | \$172.14 | \$164.66 | \$157.46 | \$154.34 | \$131.35 | \$1 |
| CHIAPAS             | \$53.90  | \$57.30  | \$52.83  | \$46.59  | \$44.70  | \$42.54  | \$37.51  | \$34.00  | \$31.00  | \$30.17  | \$29.61  | \$28.94  | \$28.19  | \$27.03  | \$26.61  | \$23.39  | \$  |
| CHIHUAHUA           | \$59.34  | \$66.55  | \$65.29  | \$61.96  | \$63.44  | \$64.31  | \$62.11  | \$64.83  | \$66.38  | \$65.55  | \$65.16  | \$64.71  | \$64.20  | \$62.84  | \$63.12  | \$56.36  | \$  |
| COAHUILA            | \$71.81  | \$80.07  | \$78.09  | \$73.64  | \$74.92  | \$75.47  | \$72.38  | \$74.81  | \$75.91  | \$75.20  | \$75.08  | \$74.71  | \$74.15  | \$72.48  | \$72.72  | \$65.05  | \$  |
| COLIMA              | \$57.32  | \$65.00  | \$64.81  | \$62.84  | \$65.50  | \$67.40  | \$63.46  | \$63.24  | \$62.42  | \$65.78  | \$70.35  | \$74.05  | \$76.38  | \$76.59  | \$78.67  | \$74.32  | \$  |
| DISTRITO FEDERAL    | \$122.42 | \$136.45 | \$131.75 | \$121.53 | \$122.08 | \$121.71 | \$118.42 | \$122.74 | \$125.67 | \$134.72 | \$146.60 | \$157.04 | \$165.63 | \$170.19 | \$179.44 | \$172.63 | \$1 |
| DURANGO             | \$45.65  | \$52.37  | \$52.89  | \$51.93  | \$54.77  | \$57.14  | \$52.69  | \$50.46  | \$48.36  | \$48.22  | \$48.44  | \$48.55  | \$48.56  | \$47.91  | \$48.51  | \$43.71  | \$  |
| ESTADO DE MÉXICO    | \$60.67  | \$67.33  | \$65.32  | \$61.20  | \$61.92  | \$62.04  | \$58.47  | \$58.79  | \$58.34  | \$57.55  | \$57.20  | \$56.71  | \$56.06  | \$54.64  | \$54.64  | \$48.70  | \$  |
| GUANAJUATO          | \$40.54  | \$45.40  | \$44.59  | \$42.46  | \$43.54  | \$44.18  | \$41.66  | \$42.01  | \$41.75  | \$42.49  | \$43.79  | \$44.60  | \$44.92  | \$44.26  | \$44.73  | \$40.93  | \$  |
| GUERRERO            | \$33.28  | \$37.24  | \$36.48  | \$34.55  | \$35.30  | \$35.72  | \$34.26  | \$35.40  | \$35.94  | \$36.77  | \$38.11  | \$39.05  | \$39.57  | \$39.22  | \$39.89  | \$36.72  | \$  |
| HIDALGO             | \$41.18  | \$46.00  | \$44.91  | \$42.33  | \$43.12  | \$43.48  | \$42.01  | \$43.93  | \$44.98  | \$44.77  | \$44.90  | \$44.91  | \$44.74  | \$43.93  | \$44.25  | \$39.78  | \$  |
| JALISCO             | \$63.33  | \$70.77  | \$69.12  | \$65.19  | \$66.40  | \$67.00  | \$63.44  | \$63.97  | \$63.74  | \$64.11  | \$65.10  | \$65.73  | \$65.95  | \$65.02  | \$65.80  | \$59.70  | \$  |
| MICHOACÁN           | \$34.77  | \$38.54  | \$37.28  | \$34.73  | \$35.00  | \$34.97  | \$33.57  | \$34.75  | \$35.32  | \$34.91  | \$34.76  | \$34.55  | \$34.27  | \$33.52  | \$33.66  | \$30.07  | \$  |
| MORELOS             | \$48.00  | \$54.08  | \$53.42  | \$51.17  | \$52.84  | \$53.92  | \$51.53  | \$52.95  | \$53.52  | \$57.20  | \$62.29  | \$66.26  | \$68.95  | \$69.42  | \$71.75  | \$68.52  | \$  |
| NAYARIT             | \$44.83  | \$50.62  | \$49.95  | \$47.66  | \$49.08  | \$50.05  | \$46.52  | \$45.18  | \$43.73  | \$44.62  | \$45.95  | \$46.97  | \$47.65  | \$47.43  | \$48.41  | \$44.50  | \$  |
| NUEVO LEÓN          | \$98.90  | \$110.30 | \$107.47 | \$101.15 | \$102.81 | \$103.46 | \$98.81  | \$101.23 | \$102.08 | \$103.79 | \$106.75 | \$108.76 | \$109.79 | \$108.60 | \$110.24 | \$100.95 | \$1 |
| OAXACA              | \$24.93  | \$28.63  | \$29.03  | \$28.76  | \$30.50  | \$31.96  | \$29.73  | \$29.19  | \$28.44  | \$28.67  | \$29.21  | \$29.54  | \$29.62  | \$29.14  | \$29.42  | \$26.72  | \$  |
| PUEBLA              | \$40.80  | \$45.47  | \$44.29  | \$41.63  | \$42.29  | \$42.54  | \$39.54  | \$38.67  | \$37.58  | \$38.37  | \$39.63  | \$40.52  | \$41.01  | \$40.63  | \$41.30  | \$37.94  | \$  |
| QUERÉTARO           | \$53.40  | \$61.07  | \$61.79  | \$61.26  | \$64.88  | \$67.87  | \$63.72  | \$63.99  | \$63.33  | \$64.24  | \$66.05  | \$67.03  | \$67.16  | \$65.82  | \$66.12  | \$60.29  | \$  |
| QUINTANA ROO        | \$72.13  | \$78.41  | \$75.17  | \$70.63  | \$70.99  | \$70.32  | \$68.05  | \$74.32  | \$77.74  | \$86.47  | \$99.50  | \$109.10 | \$113.98 | \$112.78 | \$114.37 | \$112.27 | \$  |
| SAN LUIS POTOSÍ     | \$36.67  | \$41.81  | \$41.88  | \$40.78  | \$42.68  | \$44.17  | \$42.76  | \$44.77  | \$45.97  | \$46.13  | \$46.72  | \$47.08  | \$47.21  | \$46.56  | \$47.12  | \$42.67  | \$  |
| SINALOA             | \$47.64  | \$53.71  | \$53.06  | \$50.74  | \$52.29  | \$53.36  | \$50.54  | \$50.90  | \$50.68  | \$51.25  | \$52.34  | \$53.10  | \$53.50  | \$52.92  | \$53.71  | \$48.96  | \$  |
| SONORA              | \$68.22  | \$76.73  | \$75.50  | \$71.96  | \$73.90  | \$75.15  | \$72.08  | \$74.21  | \$75.22  | \$75.45  | \$76.39  | \$76.93  | \$77.07  | \$75.96  | \$76.82  | \$69.54  | \$  |
| TABASCO             | \$155.81 | \$161.66 | \$143.94 | \$121.15 | \$111.94 | \$102.90 | \$87.04  | \$72.94  | \$62.68  | \$59.07  | \$55.78  | \$53.06  | \$50.81  | \$48.39  | \$47.30  | \$40.49  | \$  |
| TAMAULIPAS          | \$64.79  | \$71.91  | \$69.51  | \$64.61  | \$65.11  | \$64.98  | \$61.28  | \$61.20  | \$60.56  | \$60.53  | \$61.01  | \$61.28  | \$61.35  | \$60.49  | \$61.20  | \$55.27  | \$  |
| TLAXCALA            | \$34.36  | \$39.84  | \$40.89  | \$41.35  | \$44.47  | \$47.24  | \$42.77  | \$40.30  | \$37.91  | \$37.69  | \$37.88  | \$37.77  | \$37.47  | \$36.48  | \$36.48  | \$32.72  | \$  |
| VERACRUZ            | \$45.66  | \$51.00  | \$49.71  | \$46.70  | \$47.46  | \$47.78  | \$45.25  | \$45.49  | \$45.26  | \$44.50  | \$44.00  | \$43.57  | \$43.18  | \$42.34  | \$42.60  | \$37.93  | \$  |
| YUCATÁN             | \$44.84  | \$49.57  | \$47.81  | \$44.47  | \$44.73  | \$44.57  | \$42.28  | \$42.89  | \$42.90  | \$44.10  | \$45.96  | \$47.26  | \$47.96  | \$47.55  | \$48.35  | \$44.65  | \$  |
| ZACATECAS           | \$29.74  | \$34.24  | \$34.65  | \$34.13  | \$36.11  | \$37.77  | \$36.73  | \$38.62  | \$39.81  | \$38.31  | \$36.95  | \$35.89  | \$35.16  | \$34.24  | \$34.23  | \$29.94  | \$  |
| TOTALES             | \$63.07  | \$70.31  | \$68.46  | \$64.32  | \$65.31  | \$65.69  | \$61.93  | \$61.99  | \$61.39  | \$62.19  | \$63.67  | \$64.68  | \$65.18  | \$64.44  | \$65.38  | \$59.68  | \$6 |

Fuente: Elaboración propia con base en datos del INEGI y de The Economist Intelligence Unit Limited.

## 4.4 EL DESTINO DE LOS INGRESOS

Otra cuestión importante es la referida a cómo los estados están destinando sus ingresos. Para ejemplificar esto hemos escogido tres rubros del gasto estatal que son: el gasto en administración, el gasto en obra pública y gasto social,<sup>117</sup> todos referidos a términos por habitantes.

Como podemos darnos cuenta de acuerdo con la gráfica 10, de los tres rubros escogidos sólo dos muestran comportamientos crecientes en este periodo: el gasto administrativo, que se ha incrementado casi en un 65% con respecto a 1980, pasando de 790,000 pesos a 1,300,000 pesos constantes de 1980 por habitante. Por su parte, el gasto social también ha observado este comportamiento con un incremento del gasto destinado por habitante de alrededor de un 48% para 1993 con respecto a 1980, pasando de 290,000 pesos a 430,000 pesos constantes de 1980. El único rubro con comportamiento descendente es el gasto en obra pública, pasando de 1,230,000 pesos en 1981 a 530,000 pesos para 1993, representando esto una caída de casi 57% en un lapso de 12 años. De esto podemos concluir que, desafortunadamente, el rubro de gasto administrativo se ha consolidado como una carga cada vez más pesada para el presupuesto de los estados, y de acuerdo con los datos podemos concluir que en términos de productividad medida por gasto administrativo-habitante, las entidades federativas cada vez muestran menores niveles.

En cuanto a los otros dos rubros, que de los tres mencionados son los que directamente pudieran reflejarse en beneficios para la sociedad, llegan a ser inferiores con respecto al gasto administrativo en proporción de 2 a 1, con relación al gasto en obra

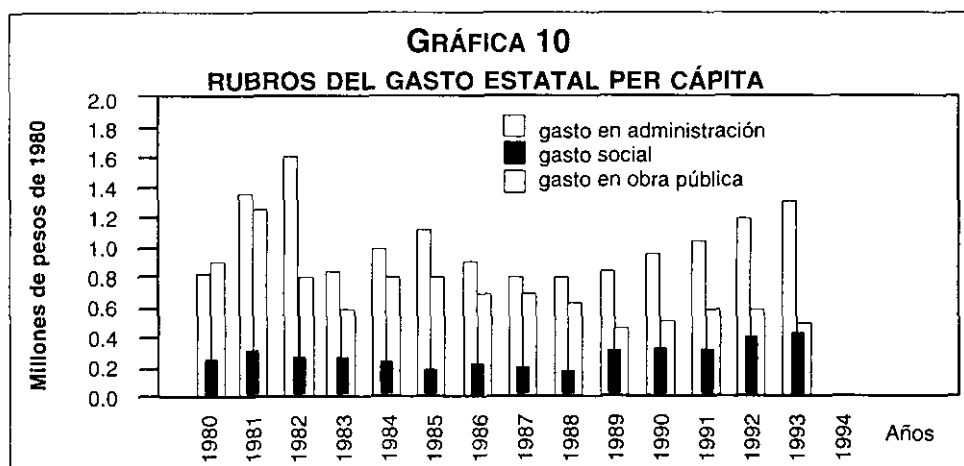
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117 Como hemos mencionado ya, en el capítulo 2, el gasto administrativo se refiere a los gastos realizados por las oficinas superiores administrativas: como son el poder legislativo, ejecutivo y judicial. El gasto en obra pública engloba los gastos en obras materiales, edificios, caminos, irrigación y agua potable. En gasto social estamos incluyendo el gasto (que no sea salario) en educación, salud y seguridad pública.

pública, y de 3 a 1 con relación al gasto social. Ello nos indica que aún si existiera un aumento importante de los ingresos estatales, ya sea a través de las participaciones o de la eficientización de la recaudación de impuestos locales, etc., el impacto que tenga directamente en la provisión de los servicios públicos no será en la misma proporción, debido al destino que se le está dando a los recursos con que cuentan las entidades.

Pareciera que los ingresos generados (vía impuestos y otros), que debieran ser para la provisión de los servicios públicos, estuvieran subsidiando esta ineficiencia. Dicho de otra forma, "sale más caro administrar el negocio, que los réditos que produce".

Esto indica que en términos de desarrollo económico y sobre todo de bienestar social, habría que reestructurar la política de gasto de las administraciones estatales, para que cuando menos las disparidades proporcionales de los ingresos destinados a cada rubro no sean tan grandes.



Fuente: Elaboración propia con base en datos del INEGI.

Para cerrar esta parte, en las siguientes tablas se muestra la estructura de los gastos por cada entidad federativa. Esto es muy importante ya que, como hemos mencionado, el resultado arro-

jado para el conjunto de éstas no necesariamente se refleja en lo particular. Al mismo tiempo, podremos darnos cuenta de cuál sería el impacto que pudiera tener un incremento en el flujo de ingresos para cada estado, debido a sus políticas de gasto mostradas en los últimos años. También será necesario mostrar los pesos destinados del total del presupuesto de un estado para complementar lo anterior, ya que entre las mismas entidades federativas existen diferentes tasas de crecimiento poblacional

# **GASTO ADMINISTRATIVO POR ENTIDAD FEDERATIVA POR HABITANTE** **(MILLONES DE PESOS DE 1980)**

| ESTADO              | 1980   | 1981   | 1982   | 1983   | 1984   | 1985   | 1986   | 1987   | 1988   | 1989   | 1990   | 1991   | 1992   | 1993   | promedio |
|---------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|----------|
| AGUASCALIENTES      | \$0.52 | \$1.43 | \$0.90 | \$0.60 | \$0.76 | \$0.76 | \$0.79 | \$0.77 | \$0.56 | \$0.54 | \$0.62 | \$0.71 | \$0.83 | \$0.74 | \$0.75   |
| BAJA CALIFORNIA     | \$2.38 | \$1.82 | \$2.89 | \$0.99 | \$0.67 | \$0.78 | \$0.83 | \$0.86 | \$0.75 | \$1.01 | \$0.96 | \$1.08 | \$1.39 | \$1.46 | \$1.28   |
| BAJA CALIFORNIA SUR | \$2.66 | \$2.96 | \$2.25 | \$2.07 | \$1.78 | \$1.63 | \$1.68 | \$1.65 | \$1.85 | \$2.00 | \$1.69 | \$1.94 | \$2.01 | \$2.04 | \$2.01   |
| CAMPECHE            | \$0.82 | \$1.34 | \$0.86 | \$0.73 | \$0.46 | \$0.88 | \$0.85 | \$0.96 | \$1.14 | \$0.83 | \$0.88 | \$1.53 | \$1.87 | \$1.76 | \$1.07   |
| CHIAPAS             | \$0.50 | \$1.59 | \$1.23 | \$1.26 | \$0.86 | \$1.67 | \$0.50 | \$0.41 | \$0.63 | \$0.45 | \$0.51 | \$0.59 | \$0.56 | \$0.57 | \$0.81   |
| CHIHUAHUA           | \$0.39 | \$0.40 | \$0.33 | \$0.25 | \$0.22 | \$0.16 | \$0.19 | \$0.33 | \$0.37 | \$0.38 | \$0.30 | \$0.36 | \$0.48 | \$0.51 | \$0.33   |
| COAHUILA            | \$0.93 | \$0.97 | \$0.66 | \$0.29 | \$0.37 | \$0.78 | \$0.37 | \$0.84 | \$0.59 | \$0.72 | \$0.72 | \$0.76 | \$0.90 | \$0.98 | \$0.71   |
| COLIMA              | \$0.83 | \$1.01 | \$0.92 | \$0.81 | \$0.96 | \$1.29 | \$1.07 | \$0.79 | \$1.28 | \$1.24 | \$1.28 | \$1.47 | \$1.61 | \$1.65 | \$1.16   |
| DISTRITO FEDERAL    | \$1.76 | \$5.18 | \$7.23 | \$2.83 | \$3.45 | \$4.24 | \$3.33 | \$2.35 | \$2.38 | \$2.35 | \$3.08 | \$3.40 | \$3.82 | \$3.97 | \$3.53   |
| DURANGO             | \$0.19 | \$0.46 | \$0.69 | \$0.75 | \$0.51 | \$0.46 | \$0.50 | \$0.67 | \$0.49 | \$0.42 | \$0.43 | \$0.54 | \$0.67 | \$0.67 | \$0.53   |
| ESTADO DE MÉXICO    | \$0.65 | \$0.98 | \$0.97 | \$0.86 | \$0.70 | \$0.72 | \$0.73 | \$0.67 | \$0.65 | \$0.73 | \$0.86 | \$0.97 | \$1.20 | \$1.29 | \$0.86   |
| GUANAJUATO          | \$0.32 | \$0.30 | \$0.30 | \$0.69 | \$0.23 | \$0.29 | \$0.32 | \$0.44 | \$0.59 | \$0.31 | \$0.32 | \$0.19 | \$0.49 | \$0.85 | \$0.40   |
| GUERRERO            | \$0.43 | \$0.48 | \$0.50 | \$0.62 | \$0.46 | \$0.49 | \$0.56 | \$0.51 | \$0.52 | \$0.55 | \$0.54 | \$0.67 | \$0.70 | \$0.96 | \$0.57   |
| HIDALGO             | \$0.28 | \$0.44 | \$0.51 | \$0.33 | \$0.36 | \$0.69 | \$0.41 | \$1.02 | \$0.41 | \$0.34 | \$0.34 | \$0.50 | \$0.52 | \$0.56 | \$0.48   |
| JALISCO             | \$0.64 | \$0.42 | \$0.44 | \$0.27 | \$0.39 | \$0.34 | \$0.33 | \$0.29 | \$0.33 | \$0.31 | \$0.46 | \$0.46 | \$0.45 | \$0.49 | \$0.40   |
| MICHOACÁN           | \$0.24 | \$0.26 | \$0.51 | \$0.56 | \$0.78 | \$0.77 | \$0.55 | \$0.34 | \$0.45 | \$0.47 | \$0.50 | \$0.57 | \$0.67 | \$0.68 | \$0.52   |
| MORELOS             | \$0.42 | \$0.44 | \$0.49 | \$0.48 | \$0.77 | \$0.87 | \$0.81 | \$0.77 | \$0.60 | \$0.71 | \$0.79 | \$0.95 | \$0.98 | \$1.17 | \$0.73   |
| NAYARIT             | \$0.58 | \$0.64 | \$0.60 | \$0.62 | \$0.67 | \$0.66 | \$0.66 | \$0.60 | \$0.70 | \$1.17 | \$1.18 | \$0.84 | \$0.96 | \$1.07 | \$0.78   |
| NUEVO LEÓN          | \$0.85 | \$0.87 | \$0.99 | \$0.78 | \$1.61 | \$1.85 | \$2.23 | \$0.70 | \$0.83 | \$1.67 | \$1.77 | \$1.75 | \$2.76 | \$4.61 | \$1.66   |
| OAXACA              | \$0.34 | \$0.33 | \$0.33 | \$0.34 | \$0.41 | \$0.26 | \$0.44 | \$0.36 | \$0.41 | \$0.49 | \$0.58 | \$0.68 | \$0.73 | \$0.76 | \$0.46   |
| PUEBLA              | \$0.61 | \$0.72 | \$0.62 | \$0.37 | \$0.49 | \$0.35 | \$0.43 | \$0.43 | \$0.46 | \$0.54 | \$0.51 | \$0.60 | \$0.72 | \$0.84 | \$0.55   |
| QUERÉTARO           | \$0.69 | \$0.64 | \$0.69 | \$0.31 | \$0.45 | \$0.48 | \$0.69 | \$0.60 | \$0.70 | \$0.65 | \$0.70 | \$0.75 | \$0.84 | \$1.12 | \$0.66   |
| QUINTANA ROO        | \$1.28 | \$2.73 | \$1.91 | \$1.95 | \$2.19 | \$1.35 | \$1.12 | \$0.90 | \$0.98 | \$1.08 | \$0.99 | \$0.95 | \$0.80 | \$1.12 | \$1.38   |
| SAN LUIS POTOSÍ     | \$0.22 | \$0.36 | \$0.14 | \$0.23 | \$0.25 | \$0.35 | \$0.21 | \$0.19 | \$0.34 | \$0.40 | \$0.41 | \$0.47 | \$0.84 | \$0.64 | \$0.36   |
| SINALOA             | \$0.97 | \$0.84 | \$0.72 | \$0.47 | \$0.52 | \$0.49 | \$0.69 | \$0.69 | \$0.63 | \$0.64 | \$0.63 | \$0.69 | \$0.84 | \$0.76 | \$0.68   |
| SONORA              | \$1.28 | \$1.95 | \$2.11 | \$1.61 | \$2.70 | \$1.11 | \$1.16 | \$1.07 | \$0.93 | \$1.06 | \$0.99 | \$1.21 | \$2.66 | \$2.20 | \$1.58   |
| TABASCO             | \$1.20 | \$1.95 | \$1.93 | \$2.56 | \$1.65 | \$2.27 | \$1.80 | \$1.52 | \$2.27 | \$1.30 | \$1.39 | \$0.97 | \$0.82 | \$1.07 | \$1.62   |
| TAMAULIPAS          | \$0.74 | \$0.84 | \$0.78 | \$0.67 | \$0.63 | \$0.54 | \$0.51 | \$0.55 | \$0.73 | \$0.69 | \$0.77 | \$0.76 | \$0.77 | \$0.78 | \$0.70   |
| TLAXCALA            | \$0.44 | \$1.04 | \$1.16 | \$0.71 | \$0.69 | \$1.20 | \$0.77 | \$0.69 | \$0.74 | \$0.91 | \$0.89 | \$1.04 | \$1.04 | \$1.14 | \$0.89   |
| VERACRUZ            | \$0.85 | \$0.92 | \$0.86 | \$0.60 | \$0.68 | \$0.62 | \$0.57 | \$0.59 | \$0.63 | \$0.68 | \$0.65 | \$0.81 | \$0.94 | \$0.34 | \$0.70   |
| YUCATÁN             | \$0.29 | \$0.31 | \$0.32 | \$0.26 | \$0.31 | \$0.59 | \$0.44 | \$0.38 | \$0.37 | \$0.45 | \$0.78 | \$0.90 | \$0.44 | \$0.60 | \$0.46   |
| ZACATECAS           | \$0.18 | \$0.18 | \$0.14 | \$0.12 | \$0.20 | \$0.28 | \$0.38 | \$0.30 | \$0.23 | \$0.43 | \$0.47 | \$0.66 | \$0.39 | \$0.73 | \$0.34   |
| TOTAL NACIONAL      | \$0.79 | \$1.34 | \$1.57 | \$0.91 | \$0.99 | \$1.10 | \$0.94 | \$0.77 | \$0.79 | \$0.82 | \$0.93 | \$1.02 | \$1.21 | \$1.30 | \$1.03   |

Fuente: Elaboración propia con base en datos del INEGI.

# **GASTO EN OBRA PÚBLICA ESTATAL POR HABITANTE** **(MILLONES DE PESOS DE 1980)**

| ESTADO              | 1980   | 1981   | 1982   | 1983   | 1984   | 1985   | 1986   | 1987   | 1988   | 1989   | 1990   | 1991   | 1992   | 1993   | promedio |
|---------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|----------|
| AGUASCALIENTES      | \$1.16 | \$0.44 | \$0.96 | \$0.78 | \$1.21 | \$0.98 | \$0.99 | \$0.37 | \$0.94 | \$0.52 | \$0.54 | \$0.89 | \$0.83 | \$0.25 | \$0.78   |
| BAJA CALIFORNIA     | \$0.39 | \$0.76 | \$0.00 | \$0.40 | \$0.36 | \$0.50 | \$0.10 | \$0.17 | \$0.17 | \$0.24 | \$0.41 | \$0.55 | \$0.62 | \$0.57 | \$0.37   |
| BAJA CALIFORNIA SUR | \$0.41 | \$0.82 | \$0.66 | \$0.35 | \$0.30 | \$0.43 | \$0.59 | \$0.11 | \$0.08 | \$0.13 | \$0.06 | \$0.10 | \$0.54 | \$0.09 | \$0.33   |
| CAMPECHE            | \$2.04 | \$2.71 | \$1.43 | \$1.43 | \$0.92 | \$0.08 | \$2.00 | \$1.24 | \$0.26 | \$0.61 | \$0.65 | \$0.36 | \$0.66 | \$0.25 | \$1.04   |
| CHIAPAS             | \$1.15 | \$1.74 | \$0.71 | \$0.00 | \$0.31 | \$0.15 | \$0.11 | \$0.38 | \$0.46 | \$0.30 | \$0.42 | \$0.49 | \$0.56 | \$0.47 | \$0.52   |
| CHIHUAHUA           | \$0.35 | \$0.24 | \$0.28 | \$0.43 | \$0.37 | \$0.55 | \$0.64 | \$0.29 | \$0.26 | \$0.43 | \$0.31 | \$0.30 | \$0.23 | \$0.35 | \$0.36   |
| COAHUILA            | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.41 | \$0.71 | \$0.49 | \$0.38 | \$0.36 | \$0.21 | \$0.14 | \$0.35 | \$0.06 | \$0.04 | \$0.16 | \$0.24   |
| COLIMA              | \$0.60 | \$1.04 | \$0.99 | \$0.60 | \$0.96 | \$2.38 | \$0.39 | \$0.48 | \$0.46 | \$0.40 | \$0.32 | \$0.35 | \$0.33 | \$0.43 | \$0.70   |
| DISTRITO FEDERAL    | \$3.22 | \$4.74 | \$3.78 | \$2.43 | \$3.08 | \$2.96 | \$2.80 | \$2.77 | \$2.46 | \$1.29 | \$1.36 | \$1.55 | \$1.71 | \$1.48 | \$2.54   |
| DURANGO             | \$0.08 | \$0.46 | \$0.32 | \$0.30 | \$0.60 | \$0.39 | \$0.33 | \$0.14 | \$0.46 | \$0.21 | \$0.32 | \$0.42 | \$0.28 | \$0.45 | \$0.34   |
| ESTADO DE MÉXICO    | \$1.34 | \$1.59 | \$0.60 | \$0.58 | \$0.64 | \$0.52 | \$0.58 | \$0.62 | \$0.39 | \$0.14 | \$0.45 | \$0.41 | \$0.51 | \$0.50 | \$0.63   |
| GUANAJUATO          | \$0.20 | \$0.24 | \$0.15 | \$0.04 | \$0.15 | \$0.65 | \$0.56 | \$0.57 | \$0.55 | \$0.36 | \$0.49 | \$0.38 | \$0.50 | \$0.44 | \$0.38   |
| GUERRERO            | \$0.01 | \$0.01 | \$0.04 | \$0.15 | \$0.25 | \$0.18 | \$0.13 | \$0.12 | \$0.07 | \$0.07 | \$0.04 | \$0.23 | \$0.30 | \$0.09 | \$0.12   |
| HIDALGO             | \$0.13 | \$0.13 | \$0.10 | \$0.13 | \$0.18 | \$0.16 | \$0.20 | \$0.81 | \$0.12 | \$0.07 | \$0.31 | \$0.03 | \$0.03 | \$0.03 | \$0.17   |
| JALISCO             | \$0.01 | \$0.50 | \$0.32 | \$0.18 | \$0.65 | \$0.67 | \$0.32 | \$0.28 | \$0.51 | \$0.35 | \$0.39 | \$0.47 | \$0.25 | \$0.36 | \$0.38   |
| MICHOACÁN           | \$0.13 | \$0.26 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.10 | \$0.19 | \$0.00 | \$0.05 | \$0.17 | \$0.14 | \$0.17 | \$0.25 | \$0.35 | \$0.39 | \$0.16   |
| MORELOS             | \$0.22 | \$0.35 | \$0.25 | \$0.01 | \$0.14 | \$0.36 | \$0.45 | \$0.29 | \$0.34 | \$0.06 | \$0.44 | \$0.40 | \$0.42 | \$0.55 | \$0.31   |
| NAYARIT             | \$0.14 | \$0.43 | \$0.21 | \$0.29 | \$0.48 | \$0.28 | \$0.14 | \$0.24 | \$0.30 | \$0.43 | \$0.30 | \$0.07 | \$0.08 | \$0.06 | \$0.25   |
| NUEVO LEÓN          | \$0.82 | \$0.99 | \$0.83 | \$0.70 | \$0.90 | \$0.82 | \$0.50 | \$0.52 | \$1.13 | \$0.86 | \$0.35 | \$0.44 | \$0.66 | \$0.84 | \$0.74   |
| OAXACA              | \$0.17 | \$0.12 | \$0.14 | \$0.11 | \$0.13 | \$0.15 | \$0.13 | \$0.11 | \$0.14 | \$0.11 | \$0.20 | \$0.20 | \$0.17 | \$0.18 | \$0.15   |
| PUEBLA              | \$0.00 | \$0.22 | \$0.14 | \$0.18 | \$0.24 | \$0.18 | \$0.15 | \$0.19 | \$0.35 | \$0.25 | \$0.25 | \$0.00 | \$0.44 | \$0.09 | \$0.19   |
| QUERÉTARO           | \$0.61 | \$1.58 | \$0.65 | \$0.76 | \$1.00 | \$0.99 | \$0.50 | \$0.38 | \$0.40 | \$0.28 | \$0.37 | \$0.76 | \$0.57 | \$0.94 | \$0.70   |
| QUINTANA ROO        | \$2.39 | \$1.57 | \$2.68 | \$2.19 | \$0.69 | \$0.53 | \$0.52 | \$0.29 | \$0.62 | \$0.06 | \$0.26 | \$0.64 | \$0.00 | \$0.83 | \$0.95   |
| SAN LUIS POTOSÍ     | \$0.05 | \$0.24 | \$0.39 | \$0.36 | \$0.67 | \$0.75 | \$0.27 | \$0.42 | \$0.43 | \$0.37 | \$0.30 | \$0.43 | \$0.60 | \$0.16 | \$0.39   |
| SINALOA             | \$1.13 | \$0.29 | \$0.22 | \$0.56 | \$1.23 | \$0.73 | \$0.53 | \$0.34 | \$0.33 | \$0.50 | \$0.37 | \$0.81 | \$1.05 | \$0.37 | \$0.61   |
| SONORA              | \$0.59 | \$0.81 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.74 | \$0.70 | \$1.07 | \$1.32 | \$1.49 | \$0.59 | \$0.68 | \$0.79 | \$1.30 | \$0.72   |
| TABASCO             | \$4.07 | \$5.46 | \$4.30 | \$1.76 | \$2.03 | \$2.55 | \$1.08 | \$1.68 | \$1.34 | \$1.09 | \$1.50 | \$2.02 | \$1.39 | \$0.76 | \$2.22   |
| TAMAULIPAS          | \$0.60 | \$1.21 | \$1.00 | \$1.50 | \$1.63 | \$0.69 | \$0.45 | \$0.29 | \$0.57 | \$0.68 | \$0.44 | \$0.47 | \$0.80 | \$0.77 | \$0.79   |
| TLAXCALA            | \$0.92 | \$0.63 | \$0.85 | \$0.44 | \$1.26 | \$1.02 | \$0.53 | \$0.46 | \$0.61 | \$0.71 | \$0.59 | \$0.79 | \$0.70 | \$0.83 | \$0.74   |
| VERACRUZ            | \$0.36 | \$0.31 | \$0.29 | \$0.15 | \$0.67 | \$0.97 | \$0.53 | \$0.34 | \$0.56 | \$0.38 | \$0.58 | \$0.50 | \$0.63 | \$0.50 | \$0.48   |
| YUCATÁN             | \$0.31 | \$0.33 | \$0.27 | \$0.40 | \$0.13 | \$0.43 | \$0.38 | \$0.25 | \$0.19 | \$0.25 | \$0.09 | \$0.05 | \$0.11 | \$0.21 | \$0.24   |
| ZACATECAS           | \$0.09 | \$0.18 | \$0.23 | \$0.31 | \$0.47 | \$0.62 | \$0.36 | \$0.48 | \$0.39 | \$0.55 | \$0.51 | \$0.92 | \$0.56 | \$0.37 | \$0.43   |
| TOTAL NACIONAL      | \$0.90 | \$1.23 | \$0.85 | \$0.62 | \$0.85 | \$0.85 | \$0.68 | \$0.66 | \$0.66 | \$0.45 | \$0.49 | \$0.54 | \$0.60 | \$0.53 | \$0.71   |

Fuente: Elaboración propia con base en datos del INEGI.

# **GASTO SOCIAL ESTATAL POR HABITANTE** **(MILLONES DE PESOS DE 1980)**

| ESTADO              | 1980   | 1981   | 1982   | 1983   | 1984   | 1985   | 1986   | 1987   | 1988   | 1989   | 1990   | 1991   | 1992   | 1993   | promedio |
|---------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|----------|
| AGUASCALIENTES      | \$0.01 | \$0.00 | \$0.01 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.01 | \$0.01 | \$0.01 | \$0.01 | \$0.01 | \$0.02 | \$0.01   |
| BAJA CALIFORNIA     | \$1.55 | \$1.82 | \$0.00 | \$1.25 | \$0.83 | \$0.91 | \$0.65 | \$0.63 | \$0.63 | \$0.70 | \$0.77 | \$0.84 | \$0.80 | \$0.80 | \$0.87   |
| BAJA CALIFORNIA SUR | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.01 | \$0.01 | \$0.01 | \$0.03 | \$0.01 | \$0.13 | \$0.03 | \$0.03 | \$0.02 | \$0.07 | \$0.02   |
| CAMPECHE            | \$0.32 | \$0.37 | \$0.30 | \$0.15 | \$0.08 | \$0.11 | \$0.36 | \$0.08 | \$0.09 | \$0.14 | \$0.10 | \$0.20 | \$0.18 | \$0.24 | \$0.20   |
| CHIAPAS             | \$0.55 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.46 | \$0.45 | \$0.45 | \$0.48 | \$0.42 | \$0.41 | \$0.50 | \$0.57 | \$0.31   |
| CHIHUAHUA           | \$0.75 | \$0.87 | \$0.84 | \$0.61 | \$0.64 | \$0.71 | \$0.70 | \$0.69 | \$0.70 | \$0.72 | \$0.82 | \$1.04 | \$1.21 | \$1.32 | \$0.83   |
| COAHUILA            | \$0.56 | \$0.49 | \$0.73 | \$0.54 | \$0.50 | \$0.00 | \$0.39 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.03 | \$0.03 | \$0.04 | \$0.05 | \$0.24   |
| COLIMA              | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.01 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.03 | \$0.03 | \$0.06 | \$0.07 | \$0.10 | \$0.02   |
| DISTRITO FEDERAL    | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.87 | \$0.90 | \$0.98 | \$1.10 | \$1.25 | \$3.36   |
| DURANGO             | \$0.49 | \$0.56 | \$0.54 | \$0.39 | \$0.36 | \$0.38 | \$0.35 | \$0.01 | \$0.28 | \$0.33 | \$0.36 | \$0.41 | \$0.58 | \$0.62 | \$0.40   |
| ESTADO DE MÉXICO    | \$0.04 | \$0.03 | \$0.07 | \$0.07 | \$0.03 | \$0.03 | \$0.02 | \$0.01 | \$0.01 | \$0.03 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.02   |
| GUANAJUATO          | \$0.34 | \$0.33 | \$0.40 | \$0.30 | \$0.29 | \$0.19 | \$0.27 | \$0.26 | \$0.00 | \$0.27 | \$0.29 | \$0.37 | \$0.42 | \$0.00 | \$0.27   |
| GUERRERO            | \$0.01 | \$0.01 | \$0.01 | \$0.01 | \$0.01 | \$0.01 | \$0.01 | \$0.00 | \$0.01 | \$0.01 | \$0.02 | \$0.03 | \$0.04 | \$0.00 | \$0.01   |
| HIDALGO             | \$0.00 | \$0.01 | \$0.01 | \$0.01 | \$0.02 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00   |
| JALISCO             | \$0.50 | \$0.65 | \$0.51 | \$0.39 | \$0.40 | \$0.50 | \$0.49 | \$0.47 | \$0.50 | \$0.51 | \$0.47 | \$0.55 | \$0.86 | \$0.97 | \$0.55   |
| MICHOACÁN           | \$0.16 | \$0.29 | \$0.26 | \$0.16 | \$0.01 | \$0.16 | \$0.13 | \$0.10 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.09   |
| MORELOS             | \$0.16 | \$0.16 | \$0.19 | \$0.02 | \$0.00 | \$0.01 | \$0.01 | \$0.01 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.01 | \$0.02 | \$0.00 | \$0.04   |
| NAYARIT             | \$0.24 | \$0.28 | \$0.27 | \$0.18 | \$0.17 | \$0.20 | \$0.17 | \$0.17 | \$0.16 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.13   |
| NUEVO LEÓN          | \$1.89 | \$2.06 | \$1.86 | \$1.29 | \$1.23 | \$0.60 | \$0.53 | \$0.55 | \$0.55 | \$0.58 | \$0.56 | \$0.64 | \$0.85 | \$0.91 | \$1.01   |
| OAXACA              | \$0.02 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.06 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.02 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.01   |
| PUEBLA              | \$0.31 | \$0.44 | \$0.42 | \$0.34 | \$0.35 | \$0.35 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.03 | \$0.16   |
| QUERÉTARO           | \$0.00 | \$0.04 | \$0.02 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.01   |
| QUINTANA ROO        | \$0.49 | \$0.17 | \$0.24 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.01 | \$0.01 | \$0.12 | \$0.12 | \$0.05 | \$0.20 | \$0.04 | \$0.16 | \$0.05 | \$0.12   |
| SAN LUIS POTOSÍ     | \$0.16 | \$0.20 | \$0.13 | \$0.12 | \$0.13 | \$0.13 | \$0.23 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.03 | \$0.08   |
| SINALOA             | \$0.06 | \$0.53 | \$0.52 | \$0.53 | \$0.37 | \$0.32 | \$0.33 | \$0.35 | \$0.31 | \$0.36 | \$0.35 | \$0.38 | \$0.43 | \$0.51 | \$0.38   |
| SONORA              | \$0.87 | \$0.92 | \$0.80 | \$0.62 | \$0.58 | \$0.69 | \$0.74 | \$0.70 | \$0.84 | \$0.95 | \$1.04 | \$1.28 | \$1.57 | \$0.00 | \$0.83   |
| TABASCO             | \$0.01 | \$0.09 | \$0.15 | \$0.07 | \$0.50 | \$0.01 | \$0.51 | \$0.22 | \$0.38 | \$0.23 | \$0.22 | \$0.38 | \$0.39 | \$0.00 | \$0.23   |
| TAMAULIPAS          | \$0.01 | \$0.01 | \$0.06 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.01 | \$0.01 | \$0.03 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.01   |
| TLAXCALA            | \$0.30 | \$0.03 | \$0.31 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.32 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.07   |
| VERACRUZ            | \$0.00 | \$0.01 | \$0.00 | \$0.01 | \$0.01 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.01 | \$0.01 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$1.21 | \$0.09   |
| YUCATÁN             | \$0.55 | \$0.61 | \$0.53 | \$0.39 | \$0.40 | \$0.46 | \$0.30 | \$0.32 | \$0.33 | \$0.37 | \$0.01 | \$0.01 | \$0.56 | \$0.69 | \$0.40   |
| ZACATECAS           | \$0.24 | \$0.25 | \$0.29 | \$0.25 | \$0.17 | \$0.17 | \$0.16 | \$0.14 | \$0.14 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.00 | \$0.13   |
| TOTAL NACIONAL      | \$0.29 | \$0.32 | \$0.28 | \$0.23 | \$0.21 | \$0.18 | \$0.19 | \$0.16 | \$0.16 | \$0.27 | \$0.26 | \$0.30 | \$0.37 | \$0.43 | \$0.26   |

Fuente: Elaboración propia con base en datos del INEGI.

## PROPORCIÓN QUE DEL TOTAL DE GASTO ESTATAL REPRESENTA EL DESTINADO A GASTO ADMINISTRATIVO

| ESTADO              | 1980   | 1981   | 1982   | 1983   | 1984   | 1985   | 1986   | 1987   | 1988   | 1989   | 1990   | 1991   | 1992   | 1993   | promedio |
|---------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|----------|
| AGUASCALIENTES      | 17.95% | 39.09% | 23.86% | 17.17% | 23.54% | 26.81% | 29.69% | 34.39% | 22.23% | 20.82% | 22.31% | 21.69% | 24.63% | 16.25% | 24.32%   |
| BAJA CALIFORNIA     | 23.11% | 14.96% | 29.40% | 11.75% | 9.08%  | 8.89%  | 9.81%  | 11.34% | 9.43%  | 11.76% | 11.25% | 11.48% | 11.79% | 12.84% | 13.35%   |
| BAJA CALIFORNIA SUR | 49.16% | 43.79% | 46.09% | 48.66% | 43.18% | 43.53% | 49.80% | 49.53% | 50.40% | 56.80% | 44.90% | 50.18% | 34.30% | 28.23% | 45.61%   |
| CAMPECHE            | 20.51% | 20.44% | 19.19% | 17.17% | 8.04%  | 16.20% | 15.92% | 21.53% | 27.64% | 26.03% | 22.78% | 29.92% | 25.91% | 17.90% | 20.66%   |
| CHIAPAS             | 17.29% | 39.95% | 47.15% | 45.08% | 19.48% | 51.88% | 26.01% | 22.01% | 28.85% | 22.48% | 23.63% | 26.35% | 23.26% | 23.27% | 29.76%   |
| CHIHUAHUA           | 19.84% | 18.18% | 17.47% | 12.55% | 11.11% | 8.44%  | 9.71%  | 16.51% | 18.82% | 16.63% | 12.23% | 13.92% | 10.97% | 14.95% | 14.38%   |
| COAHUILA            | 39.33% | 37.90% | 29.61% | 12.34% | 14.79% | 35.14% | 18.90% | 39.88% | 28.91% | 35.58% | 34.43% | 36.20% | 40.21% | 24.43% | 30.55%   |
| COLIMA              | 37.23% | 31.40% | 26.34% | 36.97% | 17.62% | 19.09% | 17.81% | 20.39% | 29.84% | 39.52% | 35.74% | 43.70% | 43.16% | 33.10% | 30.85%   |
| DISTRITO FEDERAL    | 22.70% | 59.20% | 66.72% | 40.97% | 43.42% | 53.48% | 53.91% | 39.04% | 38.09% | 38.16% | 42.54% | 45.79% | 45.67% | 45.53% | 45.37%   |
| DURANGO             | 10.86% | 22.26% | 34.23% | 38.78% | 24.17% | 21.31% | 31.10% | 45.43% | 25.97% | 26.24% | 23.56% | 26.88% | 29.32% | 26.58% | 27.62%   |
| ESTADO DE MÉXICO    | 17.55% | 23.42% | 31.42% | 32.40% | 25.78% | 28.97% | 32.23% | 32.50% | 35.76% | 38.93% | 48.66% | 42.44% | 43.81% | 33.90% | 33.41%   |
| GUANAJUATO          | 23.88% | 19.49% | 21.85% | 38.24% | 11.34% | 18.46% | 19.82% | 30.26% | 41.85% | 26.35% | 23.71% | 12.07% | 28.64% | 49.65% | 26.12%   |
| GUERRERO            | 41.27% | 32.30% | 37.24% | 38.31% | 25.22% | 30.61% | 34.84% | 32.45% | 30.16% | 27.71% | 31.15% | 35.36% | 18.82% | 21.98% | 31.25%   |
| HIDALGO             | 30.68% | 42.23% | 56.26% | 31.18% | 31.38% | 50.00% | 37.37% | 43.51% | 30.07% | 27.79% | 26.87% | 32.26% | 25.75% | 16.16% | 34.39%   |
| JALISCO             | 16.73% | 9.95%  | 9.06%  | 4.93%  | 8.10%  | 7.94%  | 9.03%  | 8.39%  | 8.76%  | 8.10%  | 10.92% | 19.35% | 6.54%  | 6.79%  | 9.61%    |
| MICHOACÁN           | 21.57% | 17.11% | 35.97% | 42.77% | 57.05% | 64.29% | 56.67% | 39.59% | 39.64% | 44.70% | 41.94% | 42.68% | 41.76% | 41.86% | 41.97%   |
| MORELOS             | 36.60% | 17.26% | 18.38% | 15.43% | 22.77% | 26.26% | 31.74% | 31.11% | 38.02% | 34.48% | 33.46% | 36.44% | 36.98% | 35.30% | 29.59%   |
| NAYARIT             | 21.48% | 34.23% | 34.03% | 38.94% | 32.54% | 38.50% | 39.23% | 36.63% | 29.85% | 39.30% | 47.14% | 31.93% | 33.94% | 19.99% | 34.12%   |
| NUEVO LEÓN          | 9.51%  | 8.28%  | 10.55% | 8.08%  | 16.32% | 15.08% | 23.64% | 7.86%  | 9.89%  | 22.54% | 21.88% | 20.92% | 30.39% | 42.37% | 17.67%   |
| OAXACA              | 10.28% | 10.05% | 15.32% | 16.47% | 8.91%  | 6.31%  | 12.84% | 7.68%  | 10.70% | 3.36%  | 15.65% | 16.70% | 16.21% | 18.80% | 12.09%   |
| PUEBLA              | 59.71% | 52.19% | 52.17% | 26.64% | 30.20% | 24.49% | 37.21% | 32.83% | 33.33% | 42.98% | 41.40% | 40.41% | 37.43% | 37.47% | 39.18%   |
| QUERÉTARO           | 47.24% | 28.38% | 27.09% | 11.83% | 15.77% | 17.36% | 30.85% | 35.75% | 38.15% | 35.95% | 33.15% | 30.78% | 30.14% | 34.68% | 29.65%   |
| QUINTANA ROO        | 27.73% | 49.97% | 31.59% | 33.81% | 48.54% | 31.39% | 37.16% | 32.73% | 31.76% | 40.74% | 32.29% | 29.95% | 27.07% | 19.72% | 33.89%   |
| SAN LUIS POTOSÍ     | 20.01% | 20.73% | 16.15% | 26.10% | 16.23% | 21.64% | 10.80% | 6.58%  | 25.45% | 31.57% | 29.52% | 30.03% | 35.38% | 15.60% | 21.84%   |
| SINALOA             | 34.06% | 33.09% | 31.98% | 18.47% | 18.33% | 20.18% | 27.93% | 28.96% | 27.44% | 25.57% | 27.29% | 22.91% | 23.29% | 16.85% | 25.45%   |
| SONORA              | 39.14% | 48.73% | 66.06% | 45.48% | 66.99% | 29.98% | 31.89% | 29.33% | 26.20% | 28.75% | 24.41% | 26.32% | 43.70% | 29.99% | 38.35%   |
| TABASCO             | 16.88% | 19.58% | 21.77% | 32.99% | 13.75% | 25.33% | 26.86% | 24.19% | 29.65% | 20.50% | 22.33% | 13.54% | 15.83% | 16.83% | 21.43%   |
| TAMAULIPAS          | 31.91% | 29.04% | 30.61% | 24.64% | 21.12% | 23.25% | 22.89% | 25.59% | 27.09% | 27.07% | 30.05% | 27.43% | 25.51% | 16.43% | 25.90%   |
| TLAXCALA            | 23.24% | 45.73% | 48.64% | 37.56% | 21.97% | 47.10% | 34.46% | 25.39% | 25.96% | 32.07% | 31.22% | 31.91% | 30.74% | 43.17% | 34.23%   |
| VERACRUZ            | 38.04% | 42.54% | 44.50% | 32.36% | 32.75% | 28.37% | 34.54% | 42.85% | 35.84% | 33.95% | 32.09% | 34.71% | 39.51% | 13.45% | 34.68%   |
| YUCATÁN             | 17.63% | 15.84% | 21.12% | 16.76% | 15.33% | 28.70% | 26.80% | 23.96% | 22.14% | 25.09% | 41.82% | 46.52% | 16.08% | 23.27% | 24.36%   |
| ZACATECAS           | 17.55% | 15.31% | 12.20% | 9.69%  | 9.60%  | 15.41% | 23.50% | 19.87% | 14.78% | 24.15% | 25.39% | 27.17% | 18.12% | 35.29% | 19.14%   |
| TOTAL NACIONAL      | 22.35% | 32.96% | 40.28% | 26.76% | 25.78% | 29.76% | 30.55% | 25.56% | 26.35% | 24.42% | 29.55% | 30.69% | 29.44% | 27.75% | 28.73%   |

Fuente: Elaboración propia con base en datos del INEGI.

## PROPORCIÓN QUE DEL TOTAL DEL GASTO ESTATAL REPRESENTA EL DESTINADO A OBRA PÚBLICA

| ESTADO              | 1980   | 1981   | 1982   | 1983   | 1984   | 1985   | 1986   | 1987   | 1988   | 1989   | 1990   | 1991   | 1992   | 1993   | promedio |
|---------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|----------|
| AGUASCALIENTES      | 40.40% | 12.07% | 25.40% | 22.63% | 37.50% | 34.71% | 37.24% | 16.56% | 37.31% | 20.12% | 19.58% | 27.17% | 24.61% | 5.55%  | 25.78%   |
| BAJA CALIFORNIA     | 3.81%  | 6.20%  | 0.00%  | 4.80%  | 4.84%  | 5.67%  | 1.22%  | 2.25%  | 2.16%  | 2.79%  | 4.81%  | 5.90%  | 5.23%  | 5.04%  | 3.91%    |
| BAJA CALIFORNIA SUR | 7.53%  | 12.21% | 13.53% | 8.21%  | 7.32%  | 11.39% | 17.50% | 3.30%  | 2.14%  | 3.56%  | 1.67%  | 2.54%  | 9.13%  | 1.22%  | 7.23%    |
| CAMPECHE            | 50.96% | 41.38% | 31.98% | 33.58% | 16.05% | 1.54%  | 37.48% | 27.75% | 6.24%  | 19.07% | 16.83% | 7.04%  | 9.09%  | 2.51%  | 21.54%   |
| CHIAPAS             | 39.57% | 43.66% | 27.00% | 0.00%  | 7.03%  | 4.64%  | 5.94%  | 20.24% | 21.01% | 14.88% | 19.27% | 22.04% | 23.20% | 19.19% | 19.12%   |
| CHIHUAHUA           | 17.73% | 10.70% | 15.02% | 21.52% | 19.08% | 28.85% | 32.69% | 14.50% | 13.37% | 18.80% | 12.80% | 11.86% | 5.30%  | 9.85%  | 16.58%   |
| COAHUILA            | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 17.61% | 28.39% | 22.05% | 19.35% | 17.13% | 10.19% | 6.83%  | 16.68% | 3.00%  | 1.58%  | 3.97%  | 10.48%   |
| COLIMA              | 26.96% | 32.51% | 28.47% | 27.65% | 17.49% | 35.40% | 6.56%  | 12.39% | 10.78% | 12.73% | 8.80%  | 10.47% | 8.91%  | 8.58%  | 17.69%   |
| DISTRITO FEDERAL    | 41.46% | 54.10% | 34.86% | 35.18% | 38.73% | 37.29% | 45.34% | 45.88% | 39.38% | 20.92% | 18.84% | 20.81% | 20.47% | 16.93% | 33.58%   |
| DURANGO             | 4.80%  | 22.01% | 16.10% | 15.31% | 28.36% | 18.19% | 20.32% | 9.35%  | 24.56% | 13.17% | 17.57% | 20.87% | 12.17% | 17.96% | 17.20%   |
| ESTADO DE MÉXICO    | 36.09% | 38.14% | 19.37% | 21.63% | 23.52% | 21.10% | 25.62% | 30.14% | 21.77% | 7.67%  | 25.39% | 18.06% | 18.63% | 13.01% | 22.87%   |
| GUANAJUATO          | 14.46% | 15.55% | 10.57% | 2.45%  | 7.60%  | 41.01% | 34.86% | 39.12% | 39.25% | 30.08% | 24.24% | 28.86% | 25.96% | 25.03% | 22.87%   |
| GUERRERO            | 0.63%  | 0.51%  | 3.35%  | 8.99%  | 13.50% | 11.44% | 8.35%  | 7.39%  | 4.10%  | 3.63%  | 2.60%  | 11.99% | 7.97%  | 2.00%  | 6.18%    |
| HIDALGO             | 14.48% | 12.57% | 11.25% | 11.91% | 16.01% | 11.25% | 18.63% | 34.52% | 9.18%  | 5.53%  | 24.12% | 2.13%  | 1.47%  | 0.88%  | 12.42%   |
| JALISCO             | 0.23%  | 11.93% | 6.57%  | 3.19%  | 13.57% | 15.60% | 8.75%  | 8.07%  | 13.45% | 8.92%  | 9.13%  | 19.83% | 3.70%  | 5.02%  | 9.14%    |
| MICHOACÁN           | 11.26% | 17.18% | 0.00%  | 0.09%  | 7.43%  | 16.05% | 0.00%  | 5.67%  | 15.47% | 13.33% | 14.46% | 19.02% | 21.77% | 24.28% | 11.86%   |
| MORELOS             | 18.71% | 9.34%  | 9.64%  | 0.38%  | 4.17%  | 10.99% | 17.71% | 11.83% | 21.58% | 2.86%  | 18.41% | 15.15% | 15.76% | 16.51% | 12.36%   |
| NAYARIT             | 1.77%  | 23.12% | 11.87% | 18.14% | 23.00% | 16.34% | 8.46%  | 14.74% | 12.88% | 14.39% | 11.83% | 2.84%  | 2.84%  | 1.08%  | 11.66%   |
| NUEVO LEÓN          | 9.11%  | 9.41%  | 8.85%  | 7.29%  | 9.13%  | 6.67%  | 5.27%  | 5.76%  | 13.43% | 11.65% | 4.30%  | 5.27%  | 7.25%  | 7.69%  | 7.93%    |
| OAXACA              | 5.18%  | 3.68%  | 6.38%  | 5.52%  | 2.82%  | 3.48%  | 3.76%  | 2.23%  | 3.58%  | 0.75%  | 5.29%  | 4.80%  | 3.84%  | 4.42%  | 3.98%    |
| PUEBLA              | 0.00%  | 16.08% | 11.95% | 12.95% | 14.94% | 12.69% | 13.44% | 14.62% | 25.09% | 19.84% | 20.56% | 0.00%  | 22.74% | 4.00%  | 13.49%   |
| QUERÉTARO           | 41.99% | 69.88% | 25.87% | 28.64% | 34.73% | 36.10% | 22.45% | 22.29% | 20.38% | 15.57% | 17.67% | 31.00% | 20.53% | 29.30% | 29.74%   |
| QUINTANA ROO        | 51.91% | 28.63% | 44.36% | 37.97% | 15.24% | 12.45% | 17.36% | 10.58% | 20.06% | 2.16%  | 8.60%  | 20.18% | 0.00%  | 14.58% | 20.29%   |
| SAN LUIS POTOSÍ     | 4.25%  | 13.68% | 46.42% | 40.90% | 43.15% | 46.78% | 14.01% | 14.54% | 32.48% | 29.04% | 21.82% | 27.44% | 25.32% | 3.91%  | 25.98%   |
| SINALOA             | 39.82% | 11.55% | 9.68%  | 22.13% | 43.39% | 29.93% | 21.42% | 14.18% | 14.66% | 20.22% | 16.02% | 27.16% | 29.15% | 8.23%  | 21.97%   |
| SONORA              | 17.99% | 20.23% | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 0.00%  | 20.00% | 19.19% | 29.36% | 37.00% | 40.41% | 14.46% | 14.86% | 12.93% | 17.68% | 17.44%   |
| TABASCO             | 57.25% | 54.75% | 48.57% | 22.74% | 16.91% | 28.49% | 16.13% | 26.65% | 17.48% | 17.15% | 24.23% | 28.26% | 26.90% | 12.06% | 28.40%   |
| TAMAULIPAS          | 25.70% | 41.89% | 39.19% | 54.90% | 54.79% | 29.57% | 20.12% | 13.57% | 21.11% | 26.47% | 17.16% | 17.02% | 26.23% | 16.05% | 28.84%   |
| TLAXCALA            | 49.11% | 27.76% | 35.59% | 23.45% | 40.41% | 40.26% | 23.74% | 16.82% | 21.41% | 25.02% | 20.77% | 24.10% | 20.70% | 31.51% | 28.62%   |
| VERACRUZ            | 16.22% | 14.58% | 14.79% | 8.26%  | 32.42% | 44.68% | 32.62% | 24.38% | 32.06% | 19.06% | 28.59% | 21.39% | 26.41% | 19.64% | 23.93%   |
| YUCATÁN             | 18.40% | 16.64% | 17.88% | 26.06% | 6.25%  | 21.17% | 23.22% | 15.62% | 11.77% | 13.78% | 5.07%  | 2.34%  | 4.07%  | 8.05%  | 13.60%   |
| ZACATECAS           | 8.94%  | 15.49% | 19.45% | 24.25% | 23.20% | 33.85% | 22.66% | 31.48% | 24.81% | 30.62% | 27.16% | 37.88% | 26.41% | 18.14% | 24.60%   |
| TOTAL NACIONAL      | 25.07% | 30.21% | 21.76% | 18.15% | 22.20% | 23.01% | 21.97% | 22.00% | 21.92% | 13.30% | 15.70% | 16.16% | 14.60% | 11.29% | 19.81%   |

Fuente: Elaboración propia con base en datos del INEGI.

## PROPORCIÓN QUE DEL TOTAL DE GASTO ESTATAL REPRESENTA EL DESTINADO A GASTO SOCIAL

| ESTADO                | 1980         | 1981         | 1982         | 1983         | 1984         | 1985         | 1986         | 1987         | 1988         | 1989         | 1990         | 1991         | 1992         | 1993         | promedio     |
|-----------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| AGUASCALIENTES        | 0.20%        | 0.04%        | 0.16%        | 0.14%        | 0.00%        | 0.03%        | 0.05%        | 0.03%        | 0.37%        | 0.52%        | 0.34%        | 0.23%        | 0.17%        | 0.46%        | 0.20%        |
| BAJA CALIFORNIA       | 15.09%       | 14.94%       | 0.00%        | 14.91%       | 11.36%       | 10.29%       | 7.71%        | 8.22%        | 7.89%        | 8.23%        | 9.04%        | 8.99%        | 6.74%        | 7.01%        | 9.31%        |
| BAJA CALIFORNIA SUR   | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 0.02%        | 0.17%        | 0.16%        | 0.23%        | 0.78%        | 0.32%        | 3.71%        | 0.74%        | 0.89%        | 0.32%        | 1.00%        | 0.60%        |
| CAMPECHE              | 8.12%        | 5.69%        | 6.80%        | 3.46%        | 1.37%        | 2.09%        | 6.78%        | 1.73%        | 2.21%        | 4.53%        | 2.60%        | 3.98%        | 2.54%        | 2.41%        | 3.88%        |
| CHIAPAS               | 18.74%       | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 24.05%       | 23.83%       | 20.61%       | 24.19%       | 19.30%       | 18.24%       | 20.65%       | 22.90%       | 13.75%       |
| CHIHUAHUA             | 37.82%       | 39.38%       | 44.15%       | 30.77%       | 32.91%       | 37.68%       | 35.61%       | 34.39%       | 35.53%       | 31.40%       | 33.81%       | 40.74%       | 27.91%       | 37.54%       | 35.69%       |
| COAHUILA              | 23.75%       | 19.00%       | 32.70%       | 23.35%       | 19.77%       | 0.11%        | 19.66%       | 0.04%        | 0.16%        | 0.12%        | 1.63%        | 1.65%        | 1.84%        | 1.18%        | 10.35%       |
| COLIMA                | 0.13%        | 0.00%        | 0.12%        | 0.22%        | 0.02%        | 0.09%        | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 0.08%        | 1.02%        | 0.75%        | 1.79%        | 1.96%        | 1.96%        | 0.58%        |
| DISTRITO FEDERAL      | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 14.04%       | 12.41%       | 13.23%       | 13.12%       | 14.36%       | 4.80%        |
| DURANGO               | 28.31%       | 26.67%       | 26.78%       | 20.09%       | 16.87%       | 17.53%       | 21.58%       | 0.61%        | 15.25%       | 20.32%       | 19.78%       | 20.50%       | 25.21%       | 24.61%       | 20.29%       |
| ESTADO DE MÉXICO      | 0.97%        | 0.75%        | 2.22%        | 2.69%        | 1.26%        | 1.09%        | 1.02%        | 0.70%        | 0.74%        | 1.38%        | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 0.92%        |
| GUANAJUATO            | 24.92%       | 21.35%       | 29.20%       | 16.44%       | 14.07%       | 11.99%       | 17.08%       | 17.94%       | 0.00%        | 22.59%       | 21.34%       | 24.01%       | 24.72%       | 0.00%        | 17.55%       |
| GUERRERO              | 0.49%        | 0.44%        | 0.73%        | 0.61%        | 0.42%        | 0.60%        | 0.55%        | 0.29%        | 0.46%        | 0.64%        | 1.15%        | 1.68%        | 1.10%        | 0.00%        | 0.65%        |
| HIDALGO               | 0.07%        | 0.53%        | 0.63%        | 0.99%        | 1.46%        | 0.23%        | 0.19%        | 0.06%        | 0.08%        | 0.07%        | 0.02%        | 0.07%        | 0.04%        | 0.01%        | 0.32%        |
| JALISCO               | 12.88%       | 15.44%       | 10.52%       | 7.09%        | 8.26%        | 11.57%       | 13.19%       | 13.54%       | 13.22%       | 13.14%       | 11.13%       | 22.97%       | 12.58%       | 13.52%       | 12.79%       |
| MICHOACÁN             | 14.11%       | 19.42%       | 18.37%       | 11.87%       | 0.53%        | 13.27%       | 13.27%       | 12.29%       | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 7.37%        |
| MORELOS               | 13.49%       | 6.26%        | 7.02%        | 0.54%        | 0.00%        | 0.40%        | 0.57%        | 0.32%        | 0.31%        | 0.05%        | 0.14%        | 0.20%        | 0.58%        | 0.13%        | 2.14%        |
| NAVARRIT              | 8.75%        | 14.75%       | 15.46%       | 11.40%       | 8.29%        | 11.64%       | 10.16%       | 10.09%       | 6.72%        | 0.00%        | 0.20%        | 0.10%        | 0.02%        | 0.01%        | 6.97%        |
| NEUVO LEÓN            | 21.07%       | 19.68%       | 19.90%       | 13.42%       | 12.49%       | 4.88%        | 5.62%        | 6.13%        | 6.59%        | 7.76%        | 6.97%        | 7.68%        | 9.38%        | 8.33%        | 10.71%       |
| OAXACA                | 0.51%        | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 1.52%        | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 0.13%        | 0.00%        | 0.06%        | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 0.16%        |
| PUEBLA                | 30.41%       | 31.74%       | 35.88%       | 24.14%       | 22.04%       | 23.99%       | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 1.26%        | 12.10%       |
| QUERÉTARO             | 0.00%        | 1.74%        | 0.98%        | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 0.05%        | 0.06%        | 0.15%        | 0.02%        | 0.02%        | 0.00%        | 0.01%        | 0.01%        | 0.22%        |
| QUINTANA ROO          | 10.64%       | 3.03%        | 3.97%        | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 0.21%        | 0.42%        | 4.41%        | 3.75%        | 1.92%        | 6.61%        | 1.27%        | 5.52%        | 0.83%        | 3.04%        |
| SAN LUIS POTOSÍ       | 14.89%       | 11.09%       | 15.75%       | 13.84%       | 8.19%        | 8.16%        | 11.82%       | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 0.65%        | 6.03%        |
| SINALOA               | 2.01%        | 20.75%       | 22.87%       | 20.80%       | 13.06%       | 13.35%       | 13.12%       | 14.57%       | 13.50%       | 14.34%       | 15.05%       | 12.63%       | 11.91%       | 11.28%       | 14.23%       |
| SONORA                | 26.45%       | 22.89%       | 25.08%       | 17.59%       | 14.34%       | 18.68%       | 20.30%       | 19.16%       | 23.54%       | 25.84%       | 25.75%       | 27.82%       | 25.81%       | 0.00%        | 20.95%       |
| TABASCO               | 0.15%        | 0.92%        | 1.69%        | 0.89%        | 4.19%        | 0.13%        | 7.67%        | 3.52%        | 5.01%        | 3.71%        | 3.55%        | 5.31%        | 7.42%        | 0.00%        | 3.15%        |
| TAMAULIPAS            | 0.62%        | 0.30%        | 2.32%        | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 0.50%        | 0.31%        | 1.57%        | 0.17%        | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 0.41%        |
| TLAXCALA              | 15.84%       | 1.25%        | 12.81%       | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 12.43%       | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 3.02%        |
| VERACRUZ              | 0.08%        | 0.29%        | 0.00%        | 0.55%        | 0.70%        | 0.18%        | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 0.48%        | 0.32%        | 0.17%        | 0.14%        | 47.92%       | 3.63%        |
| YUCATÁN               | 32.98%       | 31.13%       | 34.75%       | 25.68%       | 19.86%       | 22.59%       | 18.17%       | 19.79%       | 19.96%       | 20.51%       | 0.39%        | 0.39%        | 20.38%       | 26.67%       | 20.95%       |
| ZACATECAS             | 23.85%       | 21.17%       | 24.29%       | 19.70%       | 8.32%        | 9.24%        | 9.93%        | 9.57%        | 8.86%        | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 0.00%        | 9.64%        |
| <b>TOTAL NACIONAL</b> | <b>8.09%</b> | <b>7.86%</b> | <b>7.19%</b> | <b>6.73%</b> | <b>5.44%</b> | <b>5.00%</b> | <b>6.25%</b> | <b>5.36%</b> | <b>5.19%</b> | <b>7.86%</b> | <b>8.27%</b> | <b>8.97%</b> | <b>8.93%</b> | <b>9.10%</b> | <b>7.16%</b> |

Fuente: Elaboración propia con base en datos del INEGI.