

# The Migrant Phenomenon in Guanajuato: Diagnosis and Public Policy Proposals

Ministry of Migrant and International Affairs  
of the State of Guanajuato  
(Secretaría del Migrante y Enlace Internacional,  
Estado de Guanajuato)



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## RESEARCH TEAM

Dr. Jorge Durand (CIDE-UdG) • Dr. Jorge A. Schiavon (CIDE)  
Dra. Patricia Arias (UdG) • Dra. Nuty Cárdenas (CIDE)  
Dra. Mónica Jacobo (CIDE) • Dr. Diego Terán (COLMEX)  
Dr. Miguel Vilches Hinojosa (UdGTO)

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October 2020.



# **THE MIGRANT PHENOMENON IN GUANAJUATO: DIAGNOSIS AND PUBLIC POLICY PROPOSALS**

**Created for the Government of the State of Guanajuato  
Ministry of Migrant and International Affairs**

## **Government of the State of Guanajuato**

Diego Sinhue Rodríguez Vallejo  
Constitutional Governor of the State of Guanajuato

Juan Robert Hernández  
Secretary  
Ministry of Migrant and International Affairs

Susana Guerra Vallejo  
Under Secretary  
Hospitality and Interculturality Department  
Ministry of Migrant and International Affairs

Dr. Miguel Vilches Hinojosa  
Mtro. Vladimir Martínez Arango  
Research Area

Jocelyn Martínez Argüello  
Communications Manager

## **Research Team**

Dr. Jorge Durand (CIDE-UdG)  
Dr. Jorge A. Schiavon (CIDE)  
Dr. Patricia Arias (UdG)  
Dr. Nuty Cárdenas Alaminos (CIDE)  
Dr. Mónica Jacobo (CIDE)  
Dr. Diego Terán (COLMEX)  
Dr. Miguel Vilches Hinojosa (UdGTO)

## **Migrant Consulting Council**

C. Salvador Pedroza Moreno  
C. Delfino Arias Luna  
C. Ma. Guadalupe Martínez Carmona  
C. Tereso Ortiz  
C. Adriana María Cortés Jiménez

## **University of the Incarnate Word**

Dr. Thomas M. Evans  
President

Marcos Fragoso  
Vice-President for International Affairs

Dr. Rafael Hoyle  
Director, Lewis Center of the Americas

1st. Edition, October 2020.

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Printed and made in Mexico

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Dr. Miguel Vilches Hinojosa (UdGTO)

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October 2020





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# Introduction

## A Message from the Minister of Migrant and International Affairs,<sup>1</sup> State of Guanajuato

**T**he English translation of this study represents three horizons of action for subnational governments in Mexico. Firstly, it provides a comprehensive conversation on the migration dynamics of Mexico's "Bajío" region in order to share experiences generating greater understanding on international migrations. Secondly, it presents a commitment by a state government in Mexico that wishes to collaborate in the global governance of migration through public policy actions that integrate and dignify migrants. Finally, it shows a strategic alliance between government, academia and civil society organizations to promote international cooperation for the well-being of migrants and their families, globally and locally.

Developing science-based knowledge regarding the phenomenon of migration is fundamental for carrying out government interventions that will provide the greatest positive effects, while diminishing negative impacts of human displacement. In 2019, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) estimated that more than 272 million people had changed their place of residence, moving across national borders, and named Mexico as one of the main countries facing a growing complexity in terms of migration. In Guanajuato we are aware of the great benefits migration can have for social, economic, cultural, and political aspects of our lives. Thus, we are determined to create public migration policies that will dignify all migrant persons and support the development of their communities of origin.

Diego Sinhué Rodríguez Vallejo, the State Governor, has defined, as one of his principal guidelines, caring for the welfare of Guanajuato's migrant population both within Guanajuato's borders and beyond. For this reason, the Ministry of Migrant and International Affairs (SEMEI, initials in Spanish) was created on September 18, 2018 and was tasked with tending to all migrant persons, ensuring that their human rights be respected in our State.

It is vital that we stay connected with the 1.2 million "Guanajuatenses" who have migrated to the United States of America. Their migratory tradition has led to Guanajuato becoming one of the three states that sends most migrants abroad and, similarly, among the three states that receive the highest income in remittances. Guanajuato received approximately 4 billion dollars from family remittances in 2019.

In addition to the emigration phenomenon, the current economic development of Guanajuato has caused immigration to our state from a variety of places around the world. Guanajuato's geographic location, natural ecosystems, international industrial development, as well as the culture and architecture of cities such as San Miguel de Allende and the city of Guanajuato, have made our State a great magnet for many to settle in our territory. More than 10 different foreign communities live and work in Guanajuato, with the American community being the most numerous, at over 31 thousand people.

In this migratory reality we find vulnerable migrants, such as Central American migrants in transit, agricultural day-laborers from other Mexican states such as Guerrero and Chiapas, and Guanajuato natives deported back to Mexico from the USA. All these migrants—children, women, young and elderly adults—require attention and protection. As an example of Guanajuato's new public policies, our Ministry has created Mexico's first state "Protocolos de Atención", outlining the care we should give transit migrants, caravans, and agricultural day-laborers.

<sup>1</sup> In Spanish: Secretaría del Migrante y Enlace Internacional

Furthermore, faced with the challenges of migration in the 21st Century, our Ministry has developed a strategic relationship with the Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas A.C. (CIDE) in order to provide the best academic research regarding the migratory phenomenon in Guanajuato. Our efforts have been strengthened with the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung Foundation (KAS) through promotion of our studies, with expert discussion forums and the translation of the current document.

We present below, six topics focused on a better understanding of migration: 1) the process of migration within Mexico, particularly migration within the State and between Mexican states; 2) the emigration of Guanajuato's people abroad; 3) the immigration of foreigners into the State; 4) the flow of transit migrants across the State; 5) the migrants returning to Guanajuato and; 6) the administrative infrastructure available to care for the State's migratory phenomenon.

The Ministry of Migrant and International Affairs hopes that this publication and our strategic relationship with CIDE will serve to design, develop, and evaluate public policies related to international migration in and outside Guanajuato, integrating, protecting, and ultimately dignifying all migrant persons.

**Dr. Juan Hernández**  
*Minister*



# Presentation

## A Message from the President of the University of the Incarnate Word

**M**ore than 700 miles separate the state of Guanajuato, Mexico and city of San Antonio, Texas, the historic home of the University of the Incarnate Word. On paper, the distance –for the unaffected reader– appears vast, making Guanajuato seem far-removed from the sprawling South Texas city. In reality, for some, it is walking distance. This expanse has been traversed on foot by thousands upon thousands of migrant travelers from the region, and as far south as Honduras, with many intent on reaching the United States where they hope to find asylum or a better, safer, quality of life. For those who travel farthest, the road presents many dangers, especially to the most vulnerable, including the children who undertake the journey alone.

These travellers migrate from many regions and for many reasons, sometimes in large waves and with varied destinations, such as a neighboring country or state, often moving through Guanajuato as a crossroads. Understanding the migratory phenomenon is as complicated as it is critical to crafting more effective and humane immigration policies that recognize the dignity of the people at their focus. When Dr. Juan Hernández, Minister of Migrant and International Affairs for the State of Guanajuato, informed us of the development of this study and its efforts to work toward a similar end, we were compelled to offer our support.

At the heart of our University Mission is the charge to educate concerned and enlightened citizens in the global community. These are men and women who understand that they do not reside in a world apart, but in an interconnected society. In keeping with the charism of our founders, the Sisters of Charity of the Incarnate Word, our students are challenged to see global issues through the lens of Catholic Social Justice and identify where and how they may serve the greater good.

Through our locations in Mexico City and Irapuato, Guanajuato, and the significant relationship between South and Central Texas and Guanajuato, our institution is invested in Mexico and its people. Universidad Incarnate Word Campus Bajío resides just outside the fast-growing city of Irapuato, a vital point for the state of Guanajuato as well as the neighboring states of Jalisco and Michoacán. Through bilingual and dual-degree programs that align with the region's economic, cultural and civic development, students are prepared to address evolving needs such as increasingly critical international mobility.

As driving forces change, migration across the Americas will continue to shift and, consequentially, new issues will emerge. This presents a significant challenge that requires collaboration between government officials, social scientists, academic scholars, humanitarian advocates and private entity representatives. Leveraging our particular areas of expertise, together we can foster comprehensive understanding and develop innovative solutions to complex issues that are simultaneously humanitarian, political, societal, economic and environmental.

This approach is core to the work of the Liza and Jack Lewis Center of the Americas. Established by the University in 2019, the Lewis Center is designed to serve as a central resource for information and analysis on critical issues of common concern –such as migration– by bringing people together through cooperative study, research, service and dialogue. Publishing and distributing an English-version language of this important study is a critical step in the efforts of the Center to facilitate an exchange of ideas, and more specifically, to broaden perspectives and inform international migration policy.

I extend thanks to the experts and scholars from the State of Guanajuato, the Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas, and Konrad Adenauer Stiftung for making this work possible. We are proud to collaborate by sharing this in-depth study with new audiences, and in doing so, help demonstrate that while hundreds of miles lie between us, we are closely connected by people, a global phenomenon and our collective desire to care for one another.

**Thomas M. Evans, PhD**  
*President*

# 1. Technical Report

## Justification

This project analyzes the migration phenomenon in the State of Guanajuato, Mexico, which forms part of the Meso-North American migratory system. This system is comprised by Mexico, the United States, Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador, all countries with a long experience and tradition of human mobility. The most important migration flows are national (internal migration) and international (emigration, immigration, transit, return, and asylum). The case of the State of Guanajuato replicates the regional situation, insofar as it presents at least four of the components of international migration (historically, emigration and return migration, and more recently immigration and transit) as well as internal migration (country-city migration, within and between states).

The project aims to characterize and quantify the migratory phenomenon in the State of Guanajuato. This task was a complex endeavor because accessing precise information regarding the number of migrants is not always possible, and this often consists of estimates that include several information gaps. The above is due to several reasons. Among them is that countries, at a national and sub-national level, employ different methodologies and indicators for measuring the flow of people, which are often not readily comparable. In other instances, systematic statistics are barely available. This is particularly true when trying to gather information and take measurements of irregular migration flows, such as undocumented migration and transit migration, which make up a substantial portion of the region's human movements. This being so, the more and more precise information and knowledge available on migration flows, the better will our understanding be, and the better the establishment of norms and assertive public policies that can regulate the phenomenon, promoting a regulated, safe, and orderly migration.

Mexico and Northern Central America are characterized by a net negative migratory balance. In other words, emigration is higher than immigration. The majority of migrants head towards the United States, whether they are searching for better living standards, family reunification, or as a result of the insecurity and violence present in their countries of origin. At the same time these countries have transit migration; especially Mexico, and Guanajuato State in particular, have become thoroughfares on the way for Central Americans and people from other countries who wish to reach U.S. territory. Indeed, transit migration has prevailed over other movements of Central Americans towards Mexico and Guanajuato as permanent residents, temporary workers, or refugees. The majority of these transit migrants travel with no documents, a practice that goes back at least thirty years, although they have gained visibility in recent years due to their massive size. The movement of Guatemalan, Salvadoran, and Honduran migrants towards the United States passing through Mexico, and through Guanajuato in particular, has become more relevant over the last 15 years, not only due to the size of these flows but to the risks and constant violations of human rights migrants suffer throughout their journey. Furthermore, these violations have become more visible in recent years due to the increase, in both absolute and relative terms, of unaccompanied children and teenagers as part of this migration flow.

In parallel, the detention of undocumented migrants has increased substantially both along the borders and in migrants' destination countries. This has brought the deportation of migrants up to levels not seen since the 1930s, with cases increasing particularly after 2007. The U.S. Department of Homeland Security (DHS) distinguishes two avenues for deportation: return and removal. The former avenue refers to migrants departing without a deportation order, but rather being offered a chance to return to their home countries voluntarily. In contrast, removal implies the departure of migrants following a judicial order, which has both administrative and penal consequences in cases where the person expelled attempts to return to U.S. territory. Within a decade, removals have increased by more than 100%. Following the pattern seen in the U.S., Mexico has also tightened restrictions in its migration policy. One

result has been the growth in detentions of Central Americans within Mexico's territory, and their deportation to their home countries. Since 2011 there has been an increase in the number of Central Americans returned by Mexican immigration authorities: from 61,202 events recorded in 2011, to 80,878 in 2014. By the year 2018 this number had surpassed 250,000 people. Of the total number of deportation events recorded during this period, 96.42 percent correspond to Guatemalan, Salvadoran, and Honduran citizens, while the remaining 3.56 percent corresponded to migrants from all other countries entering Mexican territory.

Despite the changes to immigration policy brought by the López Obrador government, the number of deportations for January, February, and March of 2019 are similar to those for 2018. In January 2018 a total 9,248 migrants were detained and deported, while in January 2019 the number was 7,547; In February 2018 there were 11,549, while in February 2019 there were 9,894, and in March 2018 there were 11,779 cases with 12,746 in March 2019, all according to data from the Migration Policy Unit of Mexico's Government Ministry (SEGOB). As a result of the agreement struck with the United States to help contain Central American migration in return for avoiding the imposition of tariffs on Mexican exports, the López Obrador administration has increased migration controls, deploying up to 25,000 elements of the National Guard for this purpose. This has led detentions and deportations to increase substantially in more recent months.

Guanajuato on the other hand, along with Jalisco and Michoacán, are the three states with the longest tradition of migration to the United States, dating back to the late 19th Century and with a constant presence in all statistics throughout the 20th Century. Currently, there are municipalities within the state with very high indexes for migratory intensity, according to the National Population Council (Consejo Nacional de Población, CONAPO), which is reflected in the very intense relationship between migrants' communities of origin and their final destinations. Hometown associations and Casas Guanajuato shelters, along with remittances, are highly visible signs of the persistent relationship and ongoing communication that exists between those who remain in Guanajuato's cities, towns and communities, and their diaspora.

At the same time, Guanajuato is a state of many regions and landscapes, but also of intense industrial, agricultural, commercial, and service-based activity, which can be seen in the number of fully interconnected cities of different sizes, with the "Bajío" region as its central axis. This characteristic, which sets Guanajuato apart from other states in Mexico, allows it to provide multiple options for labor and strengthens the population's attachment to their birthplace, while also offering opportunities for internal and international migrants.

## Objectives and Methodology

This research project carried out a diagnostic and mapping for the current state of the migratory phenomenon in the State of Guanajuato in order to develop public policy recommendations that will encourage migration within the state to be increasingly regulated, orderly, and safe. To this aim, a comprehensive and in-depth study was performed, including all the components of the migration phenomenon in the State of Guanajuato. Namely:

1. The process of migration within Mexico, particularly migration within the state and between states, as well as migration to and from Guanajuato (particularly agricultural laborers);
2. Emigration of Guanajuato citizens abroad
3. Immigration by foreigners into the state of Guanajuato
4. The flow of migrants in transit through Guanajuato
5. Returning migrants and their families to Guanajuato
6. The administrative infrastructure available to tend to the State's migration phenomenon



A study of historical flows was performed in all cases, along with an analysis of the current situation. Likewise, destinations were identified and quantified (in the case of internal and international emigration), as well as places of origin (for internal and international immigration, transit, and return migration). Finally, we calculated, using available and systematized information, the composition of these flows in terms of their migratory status (documented or undocumented).

The investigation was carried out in close coordination with the Ministry of Migrant and International Affairs of the State of Guanajuato, both in designing the project and in defining the appropriate methodology, the questionnaires, and field work, as well as in defining the strategy for communicating the results.

The research strategy was comprised of five components, all related to one another. Namely:

- 1. The available statistical sources were analyzed and systematically processed at the international, national, state, and municipal levels in order to quantify and characterize historical and contemporary flows. This included censuses, surveys, indexes, and other statistical sources such as the database created by the Mexican Migration Project. These sources consisted of databases that had to be worked upon, analyzed, and disaggregated into state and municipal levels for their correct interpretation.
- 2. A field study was carried out with surveys, interviews and focus groups directed to target populations within the state (immigrants, transit migrants and return migrants). As these are “atypical” populations from a statistical point of view several important methodological and logistical challenges were encountered. Nonetheless, the work team, drawing on ample methodological and fieldwork experience related to this subject in both qualitative and quantitative (mixed methods) techniques, was able to successfully overcome these challenges.
- 3. Statistical data and those gathered from the field work were integrated, systematized, and geo-referenced in order to create this comprehensive diagnosis of the migration phenomenon in Guanajuato at the state, regional, and municipal levels.
- 4. Public policy recommendations are presented relating to matters of migration, in order to encourage executive and legislative actions that will lead to an increasingly regulated, orderly, and safe migration within the State of Guanajuato, establishing best practices at the State level in Mexico that can be replicated by other states at the national level. Among these we propose public policy recommendations for strengthening the administrative infrastructure tending to the migratory phenomenon in the State of Guanajuato.

## Human Resources and Execution

The project was carried out by a group of researchers at CIDE-MIG (Interdisciplinary Program for Migration Studies at CIDE), all of whom have wide experience with field work and in the application of surveys in Mexico, the United States, and Latin America. Additionally, this project has benefited from information gathered by the *Mexican Migration Project* (MMP), the *Latin American Migration Project* (LAMP), and the survey *México, Las Américas y el Mundo*.

The MMP has over 30 years’ experience in applying surveys across Mexico and the United States (<http://mmp.opr.princeton.edu/>). The LAMP has over 25 years of experience performing field work in 10 different countries (<http://lamp.opr.princeton.edu>), while the *México, las Américas y el Mundo* project has over 15 years of experience performing surveys across eight Latin American countries (<http://www.lasamericasyelmundo.cide.edu>).

The following experts participated in the research project: Dr. Jorge Durand (CIDEUdG), Dr. Jorge A. Schiavon (CIDE), Dr. Patricia Arias (UdG), Dr. Nuty Cárdenas (CIDE), Dr. Mónica Jacobo (CIDE), Dr. Diego Terán (COLMEX), Dr. Miguel Vilches Hinojosa (UdGTO), along with a group of eight research assistants.

The research project was fully realized over five months of work between July and November 2019: one month for planning, elaborating survey questionnaires and interview formats, applying pilot instruments, and training the research teams; two months for field work in Guanajuato; one month for capturing information, interviews, focus groups, and qualitative analysis; and an additional month for qualitative analysis and the elaboration of deliverables.

## **Deliverables**

Final delivery of the project included six products:

1. Final report with in-depth analysis of the statistical information, the database, and information gathered during the fieldwork stage
2. Executive Summary
3. Technical Report for the project
4. Document with public policy recommendations
5. Quantitative report, including all tables, graphs, and maps showing variables for the field work and most relevant information in terms of internal migration, emigration, immigration, transit, and return migration for the State of Guanajuato
6. Catalogue and databases with statistical information and data from the fieldwork carried out in the State of Guanajuato (in the common formats for their use in statistical analysis)

## 2. Executive Summary

### Executive Summary on the Migration Phenomenon in Guanajuato

**T**he government of the State of Guanajuato, through the Ministry of Migrant and International Affairs, commissioned a team of experts at the CIDE-MIG (Interdisciplinary Program for Migration Studies at the Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas, CIDE) to carry out a project to analyze the migration phenomenon in Guanajuato, México. The central aim of this project is to provide a diagnosis on the migration phenomenon at the state level with current and reliable information on the most important migrant flows in the state, both nationally (internal migration) and internationally (emigration, immigration, return migration, and transit), in order to develop and implement better public policies in this area. In this regard, the State of Guanajuato is positioned at the forefront of Mexico's states in terms of migration, establishing best practices that may be replicated by other states at the national level.

This executive summary presents the main findings and public policy recommendations related to migration (internal migration, emigration, immigration, return migration, and transit for Guanajuato as a result of important and relevant information gathered from this project.

### Internal Migration

#### A. Main Findings

- The arrival of people from other states into Guanajuato has increased gradually from 90,112 in 2010 to 97,451 in 2010 and by 2015 - 88,484 new Mexican immigrants were recorded in the state.
- The states that send migrants have remained the same over time and four of these states share a border with Guanajuato. In 2015, the main sending states of migrants to Guanajuato were: the State of Mexico (14.33%), Mexico City (13.66%), Michoacán (12.54%), Jalisco (10.43%) and Querétaro (8.55%).
- We observe a trend towards lower immigration coming from bordering states and from Mexico City with the arrival of people from more distant, non-bordering states, especially from Veracruz, Baja California, Puebla, Tamaulipas, and Guerrero.
- In 2015, the municipalities acting as the main destination for this internal immigration were León (29,992), Celaya (10,689), Irapuato (10,251), Salamanca (4,479), Apaseo el Grande (2,814), Silao (2,618) and San José Iturbide (2,379).
- Emigration by Guanajuato citizens to other states across the country is lower than immigration: 70,649 people in the year 2000, 75,505 in 2010, and 67,653 in 2015. The states towards which Guanajuato citizens migrate are similar to those sending migrants. Emigration has remained stable, although trending downward, towards three traditional destinations: the states of México, Jalisco, and Michoacán.
- It is noteworthy that migration to Baja California, where the city of Tijuana is located, has fallen from 8.68% in 2000 to 4.34% in 2015, despite being an obligatory stop for international migration. The same applies to Mexico City, an historically important destination for Guanajuato migrants.
- Migration to the neighbor state of Querétaro has increased noticeably, representing nearly one fifth of Guanajuato's emigrants in 2015 (19.12%).
- In 2015 the municipalities with the largest population originating in other Guanajuato municipalities (intra-state migration) numbered seven, and form part of the Bajío corridor: León (7,403),

Celaya (5,133), Irapuato (4,960), Purísima del Rincón (3,321), San Francisco del Rincón (2,674), and Silao (1,955).

- A major change since 1970 is that female internal migration has been eliminated. The information for 2015 shows that the municipalities with the greatest imbalance between men and women were those that are historically associated with male migration to the United States
- A recent form of internal immigration from 2010, is by agricultural day laborers. It is estimated that around 3,000 of these migrant day laborers live in the State of Guanajuato. This is a primarily indigenous migration, predominantly of Mixtec backgrounds, involving families –young couples with small children– who work as temporary day laborers picking crops.
- Although it is often stated that migrants return to their original community, the information suggests that this is rather an itinerant day laborer migration which originates in highly impoverished communities in the state of Guerrero. These migrants tend to travel between León and other municipalities within Guanajuato, such as Dolores Hidalgo, Manuel Doblado, Purísima, Romita, San Francisco del Rincón, Silao, and Valle de Santiago, where highly dynamic agricultural activities can be found.
- We do not find any intensive labor immigration from other states, especially involving day laborers for dynamic agricultural activities, as is seen in other states, especially in the country's north. Although Guanajuato's Bajío region has a diversified and modern agricultural economy closely linked to international markets and demanding plenty of workers, the employment needs are covered, for the most part, by the state's own population.
- Increasingly we see more mobility without migration, that is, without a change of residence. Where there is a wide and diverse offering of labor and good communications, as is the case in the Bajío, population movements have intensified more than temporary or definitive migration. Faced with situations such as economic crises and the reduction in long-distance migration, such as migration headed to the United States, the population prefers to remain close to their communities of origin.
- The Metropolitan Zones (MZ) in Guanajuato have absorbed more and more populations and municipalities, both urban and rural, that have become part of the labor, residential, and socio-cultural metropolitan dynamics that workers require, but that also make various mobility options possible: daily, weekly, semimonthly, and monthly. Indeed, immigration into Guanajuato and the largest demographic growth rates in the state are all found in these MZs. Just over half the population in 2015 lived within these five MZs: 55.5%
- There are problems with connectivity and risks to the population as they travel between MZs. Within the MZs we observe that the range of jobs available to men is limited when compared to that for women. This means that they tend to travel to other communities more often, migrating in search of jobs. The MZs, with their capacity for adding more spaces, population and activities, can maintain and even intensify labor movements without increasing internal migration. This will increase the tensions and conflicts within and between communities as they compete for spaces and the use of residential areas in MZs.
- The violence felt in Guanajuato over the last few years may produce effects that will change the immigration and emigration trends for the MZs. People who arrive from other states looking for refuge from the conditions in their home state, such as people from Michoacán, may start finding new destinations for themselves and their businesses. Small-scale entrepreneurs and workers might find themselves under pressure to leave Guanajuato due to extortion and threats.
- The loss of viable economic activities is manifested as demographic growth that maintains the persistence of migration, not mobility. These migrations, given that undocumented migration to the United States has been cancelled, will likely head to one of two destinations: the MZs around Guanajuato and the country's northern states, which require day laborers. Many of the jobs offered by agricultural, agroindustry and manufacturing companies in Guanajuato are also geared towards day laborers.



## B. Recommendations

- The agricultural immigrant day laborer situation must be addressed. In order to develop effective public policies we need to analyze the migratory patterns followed by those who arrive in the state looking for work. The information suggests that these are itinerant migrations with movement within and outside the state, without it being clear whether any do return to their communities of origin or settle in their new destinations. It is especially concerning that migrants may arrive in Guanajuato attracted by the possibility for underage minors to work.
- The characteristics, problems, and needs of day laborer migrants change depending on whether they are: a) return migrants to their communities of origin (currently in the minority); b) settling down in their destinations across Mexico (apparently the general trend); or c) itinerant migrants, which have been studied the least, but may be the case in Guanajuato. Public policies should reflect these realities, making it necessary to more precisely characterize the migration patterns of agricultural day laborers who arrive in Guanajuato. This will allow us to address the issues and specific needs of day laborer families living in constant mobility.
- In Guanajuato, as in the rest of the country, worker salaries are low and irregular, which has forced all members of the household to participate in the labor market and become perpetual seekers of work and employment opportunities. We recommend policies that better support integrating women into the labor market.
- In Guanajuato, as elsewhere, the claim is made that women leaving their homes is the cause of a whole host of family and social problems within the community. This, however, will not change. Women will not be going back to their homes, of their own accord or by force, and forgoing their income. Therefore, it is important to change the narrative and design some social engineering based on new family and social contracts, which remove women's responsibility and blame for the adjustments and impact brought by globalized and changing economies to Guanajuato's households.

## International Emigration

### A. Main Findings

- In terms of proportion, Guanajuato's contribution to Mexican emigration historically hovers around 9 to 10%, meaning that approximately 1.1 to 1.2 million Guanajuato natives live in the United States.
- In both 2000 and 2010 Guanajuato ranked first in terms of emigrants to the United States, with 10.61% and 12.48%.
- In absolute terms, emigration by Guanajuato citizens in 2000 totaled 120,266 people, falling to 85,369 in 2010. The trend for Guanajuato is correlated to the nationwide trend in seeing a reduction of emigration towards the United States.
- As for the municipal contributions, in the year 2000 we see a significant change. León is still very important with a share of 10.6%, but two municipalities with much smaller populations stand out: Dolores Hidalgo 7.16% and San Felipe 5.70%
- According to the Migration Intensity Index prepared by CONAPO, in 2010 six municipalities stand out for having high migration intensity: Manuel Doblado, Huanímaro, Ocampo, Romita, Santiago Maravatío, and Tarimoro. In the middling level we find 19 municipalities with 21 occupying the Low category. For the year 2010, given the noticeable reduction in the number of migrants leaving the state, only one municipality is reported in the High category, Jerécuaro, on the border with Michoacán. The number of municipalities in the middle level also dropped with only 11. Finally, 34 municipalities are reported to have a low intensity level.
- There is a downward trend for emigration in Guanajuato with a very broad swathe of municipalities in the low level, while higher and middling migratory intensity is concentrated in the

state's periphery, in municipalities far from the central region and in those bordering Michoacán, San Luis Potosí, Querétaro and Jalisco.

- For the majority of Guanajuato's municipalities, the Migration option has been relegated to second tier, due to the high social and economic costs, but also because there are some regions with greater dynamism than others. Demographically speaking Guanajuato finds itself in a population equilibrium situation, as the demographic transition process comes to an end. This is another fundamental factor in the reduction of migration flows. However, powerful regional inequalities remain, with areas being completely cut off and disconnected from the existing metropolitan areas.
- Two thirds of Guanajuato natives living in the United States reside in Texas, California, and Illinois (67%). While this concentration is noteworthy, we must also note the widespread dispersal of the migrant population across the entire United States.
- Guanajuato takes third place nationally in terms of receiving remittances, confirming its proportional share of 9.1%, just behind Michoacán and Jalisco.
- The subsidy to household economies provided by migrants is highly significant, even at the state level, considering that total income for the State of Guanajuato in 2018 amounted to 81 billion pesos, while the total remittances received that year was equal to 59 billion pesos. Remittances correspond to 5.5% of the state's GDP, which makes its dependency on remittances evident, with Guanajuato taking sixth place nationwide in this category.
- Guanajuato takes first place in terms of emigration in 2015 and its share represents 10.62% of the national total. This is not good news, although we should point out that we also find a downward trend in emigration, in absolute terms. For the year 2000 the census recorded 30,137 migrants leaving Guanajuato, while in the 2015 survey we find far fewer, 11,879. Notwithstanding, the drop was greater in other states.
- The main indicator we should take into account relating to the fall in migration is the demographic transition process. Guanajuato has followed in the national trend, with a Global Fertility Rate of 2.2 children per woman.

## B. Recommendations

- Guanajuato takes first place in emigration and 26th in terms of the Human Development Index. This shines a light on a generalized problem for the state, namely, the great inequality at the regional and municipal levels. We recommend focusing development policies to create ties that will link the Northern and Southern regions, where the municipalities with the lowest Human Development Index scores are located.
- We would recommend a more specific study, at the municipal level, regarding the demographic transition process, as it would be ideal to have a global fertility rate of 2.1, and it's possible that the Northern and Southern regions have higher rates than the Center. Reproductive health policies should be focused in the areas with the lowest HDI scores.
- In terms of income, another of the variables acting as a factor for expulsion, the state suffers from the same problem as the rest of the country with very low minimum wages. Encouraging higher income, greater participation by women in the labor market, and better and more education opportunities for the young are fundamental elements in bringing these expulsion factors under control.
- Concerning the population living abroad, Guanajuato has deployed an important network to build relations with its diaspora, both employing the Casas Guanajuato shelters and the Hometown Associations, which should be incentivized and used in earnest.
- More intensive work is required to formally link Mexicans and their children with the country and state to which they belong. In this sense, there is a need to promote the registration of all the children of Guanajuato natives at the appropriate consulates, to ensure their documentation is in order, but above all, to ensure that they are aware of their binational status, and all the advantages this implies. On the other hand, for those who were born in Mexico but live abroad, it is vitally

important that they request or renew their INE voting card, not only to perform electoral duties, but to bolster their identity rights. In this sense, we recommend that the undocumented population who have a Consular ID Card should request their INE voting card, which has no cost and grants full citizenship rights, and is a valid document in both countries.

## Immigrants in Guanajuato

### 1. Children of Mexicans

#### A. Main Findings

- At the national level, recently immigrated children of Mexicans are concentrated in the border states of Baja California (14% on average) and Chihuahua (6.3%), as well as the region with historic migration, specifically Jalisco (12%), Michoacán (7.6%) and Guanajuato (5.3%).
- In Guanajuato, according to the 2000 census, 3,272 recent migrants were recorded, a number that more than doubles in 2010, with 8,025 cases, following this growing trend in the period to 2015 with 5,942 registered migrants. Nationally, the share remains stable over the three periods under analysis, remaining around 5.3%.
- In total, Guanajuato registered 17,239 foreigners, most of them the children of Mexicans. The largest concentration of this population was comprised of those between 5 and 9 years of age, totaling 9,139, those between 10 and 14 taking second place at 3,204 minors. This is a young population and we can infer that they have arrived with their parents after they were deported or returned voluntarily.
- At Guanajuato's regional level we observe that the Central and Southern regions concentrate the majority of recently immigrated children of Mexicans, close to 75%, while only a quarter of them are found across the Northern and Northeast regions, which traditionally emit population, but represent a much smaller share of the total population.
- There is great dispersal at the municipal level. All municipalities have received recent immigrants during the period 1990-2015, and there has been no great concentration in particular municipalities, with the exception of Acámbaro in 2000, which accounted for 15.94% of the state's share and Irapuato with 11.54% and León and Pénamo with 7.59% and 7.14% respectively.

#### B. Recommendations

- The most up-to-date source for detecting the immigrant children of Mexicans are municipality birth certificates, where procedures to regularize those born abroad are registered. We recommend this resource to be systematized as it could provide a better view of this migration dynamic at the state level and help define the adequate public policy and specific support mechanisms more precisely, especially where it concerns education and documentation.
- The continuity and magnitude of immigration by underage children of Mexicans is a phenomenon that will depend on the U.S. migration policies as they relate to undocumented migrants, but it can be said that this is a problem for both today and for the coming years. Insofar as undocumented migration drops and legal migration increases, whether it be with temporary (H2 A and B Visas) or permanent (green cards or naturalization) the arrival of dual nationality immigrant minors will also decrease. It is vital that any changes in U.S. migration policy are closely followed.
- The main problem for minors with dual nationality relates to education. It is important that children are located in corresponding municipalities and schools. Educational policies need to be designed to address this population, which has been taught to read and write in a different language, as well as to help train teachers and adapt their teaching methods.
- This population is characterized by being both binational and bilingual. Additionally, being bicultural requires greater sophistication including reading and writing abilities in both languages

and navigating socialization processes in both countries. It is necessary that these young people receive support to allow them to get ahead with their studies and attend university, whether in Mexico or the United States.

- Despite all the drama involved with the deportation of families, including American citizens, the state could offer multiple development opportunities to this population, which has been affected by U.S. migration policy. In a certain sense, forcible deportation of American citizens represents a loss of human capital for the United States and possible gains for Mexico, if we have the ability to take advantage of their skill sets.

## Foreign Immigrants in Guanajuato

### A. Main Findings

- At the state level, the resident foreign population is estimated at approximately 37,000 people, of whom 83% are U.S. citizens.
- Between the years 2000 and 2010 we see a noteworthy increase in the foreign population, which is practically doubled, thanks to the contribution of both Americans, dual nationals, and people from other countries. The population originating in other countries is about 6,000 people. However, during the period between 2010-2015 we see the growth of the foreign population stabilize.
- At the regional level, the Central region concentrates nearly half the foreign population (48.82%), with the Southern region coming in second with 31.14% and the Northern region in third with 17.45%. Meanwhile, the Northeast region, the most rural and isolated, accounts for only 2.8%. The fundamental change here is the noteworthy growth of the foreign population, which jumps from 17,760 to 37,269 in just a decade. Undoubtedly the greatest contributor to this is the return of families with dual nationality children. However, the population of foreigners from other countries has also grown, doubling from 2,892 to 5,244 people. However, 81% are concentrated in the Central region and, to a lesser extent, in the South (15.31%) and North (3.47%).
- By 2015, we see a slight increase in the number of foreigners during the 5-year period, from 37,269 to 37,979. However, this growth is perfectly reflected in the foreign population from other countries, which jumps from 5,244 to 6,494. During this period we see 1,872 “recent” immigrants arrive in the center region from other countries. The distribution by region follows the same pattern as in previous years, with greater concentration in the Central region, followed by the South, then the North, and the Northeast far behind.
- At the municipal level for the year 2000 the foreign population recorded is accumulated primarily in the urban centers of León (15.35%), Irapuato (9.27%), San Miguel de Allende (7.67%), Acámbaro (7.61%), Celaya (6.23%), and in Valle de Santiago (11.24%).
- In the year 2010, we see a noticeable increase in the foreign population from both the United States and other countries. However, the urban municipalities of León (16.8%), Irapuato (8.17%), Celaya (7.34%) and San Miguel de Allende (6.32%) together account for over a third of the foreign population (38.63%). The remainder is distributed across all remaining municipalities in the state. The vast majority of them are U.S. citizens, but in Celaya the population originating in other countries jumps from 196 to 440 people, explained by the presence of Japanese auto makers in the city.
- In 2015 we see confirmation of the larger trends mentioned in previous years although a concentration of foreign-born population is now noticeable in the municipality of León (41.16%). Meanwhile, the population of U.S. citizens, although larger in absolute terms, represents only 13.14% of the population while the population from other countries amounts to 41.16%. Something similar occurs in Irapuato, where the population from other countries represents 13.99% and the U.S. population only 6.02%. In San Miguel de Allende the proportion of foreigners from other countries is also greater (12.62%) than that of U.S. citizens (11.22%).



- A majority of foreign immigrants in the year 2000 are of U.S. origin (83.72%). Only 2.29% are from the People's Republic of China and 1.86% from Spain. All other countries have shares below 1% However, the census detects a handful of Central American migrants: 145 Salvadorans, 108 Guatemalans, 99 Nicaraguans, and 7 Hondurans.
- For 2010, we see the share of U.S. citizens increase to 85.93% due to the arrival of dual national children during the inter-census period and places of origin diversify somewhat: Spain represents 1.69%, Colombia 1.51%, and Canada 1.18%
- In 2015, we see for the first time a reduction in the share corresponding to U.S. citizens, at 81.7% and the presence of other countries begins to surpass the 1% mark: Chinese at 2.29%, Spaniards at 1.86%, Canadians at 1.84%, Colombians at 1.61%, Japanese at 1.53%, Italians at 1.32%, and Brazilians at 1.12%. We also find a few Central American migrants, with 271 Salvadorans, 142 Guatemalans, and a novel presence of 209 Hondurans. It is possible that part of this cohort of Central American migrants includes some transit migrants who have now started to remain in the state.
- Approximately 40% of the foreign population comes from North America while 40% are dual nationals, children of Mexicans who were born in the United States, and a remaining 20% come from other countries. The foreign population in Guanajuato, in 2015, was approximately 38,000 people. This universe can be divided into three parts: children of Mexicans with dual nationality, numbering approximately 16 thousand; U.S. citizen immigrants at 15,000, and those from other countries, who totaled around 7,000.

## B. Recommendations

- The share of immigrants compared to Guanajuato's population is miniscule (0.36%), and even more so when compared to the population that has emigrated from Guanajuato, estimated at around 1.2 or 1.3 million, representing approximately 20% of the state's population. In summary, the migratory balance is extremely out of proportion. Guanajuato could implement public policies that will allow it to receive and benefit from the migration flows that arrive in the near future.
- Given that the state's population growth is reaching a point of stability in its demographic transition process, it would be advisable to think about public policies that will help attract more population, both national and international.
- It is important that we analyze in detail the trends that are manifested in foreign communities linked to the state's industrialization processes. These communities can become integrated, especially with children attending school, neighborhoods, and various cultural and sporting activities, or they can become isolated in private and exclusive schools and residences. We would recommend finding the way to integrate them into Guanajuato's community, especially with regard to the child and teen populations, which could be made a priority that would bring many benefits to the future of the state.
- The State of Guanajuato stands apart for having both agricultural activities as well as manufacturing and service industries, and in the medium term it's very likely that it will require available labor, especially for the intensive form of agriculture that exists in the state. While the labor market usually supplies these labor needs, the lack of labor will only be solved through the arrival of migrant workers. It must be detected, through fieldwork, whether this process has already begun, as it has in other states across the country.
- It would be advisable to evaluate the results of imported Chinese labor in the case of the factories located in the Valle de Santiago area. The census detected their presence in the year 2000, but the picture turns less clear afterwards. There are apparent changes in residence, and even departure towards other regions or countries, which must be researched in further detail.
- Immigration in Guanajuato can be seen as a crucial factor for the state's development, both in terms of qualified personnel and middle management, and in terms of untrained manual labor.
- The circular migration that served as a regulator throughout the 20th Century has now become definitive emigration with no chance of return for many undocumented migrants, unless they are forced to return. Policies for supporting them abroad are necessary.

- On the other hand, Guanajuato natives who legally migrate or have dual nationality represent a cohort that can easily move between the two countries. Public policies must be developed to harness their potential.

## Return Migration

### A. Main Findings

- For the year 2000, the people who responded to the population census indicated in 1995 they lived in the United States, but were living in Guanajuato by the year 2000, summed 9,190 individuals, 70.83% of them were male. Ten years later, during the return boom at a national level, Guanajuato recorded 69,775 returnees, of whom 18.84% being male. In 2015 the number fell to 29,836 individuals, with 71.62% of them being men. Finally, in 2018 the number of returnees was 13,624.
- Returnees to Guanajuato are mostly circular migrants, as in 2000, 2010 and 2015 an average of 86% of those returning claimed Guanajuato as their birthplace.
- The intensity of this return has followed along national trends. In other words, it grew between 2000 and 2010, decelerating in 2015, but remaining above the levels of the year 2000.
- Return migrants to Guanajuato in the last few years is predominantly male. Furthermore, the most common age for returnees is between 20 and 39 years old. For female returnees the more common age is between 25 and 34. Likewise, we see an ageing process in the profile of returnees over the last 15 years, with the largest returning cohorts being five years older.
- Average education for Guanajuato's return migrants ranges between 5 and 9 years of schooling, that is, from incomplete primary education to full secondary education, somewhat below the national average (9.1 years). Municipalities with the highest levels of education are those located in the Central and Northern.
- A majority of the returning migrant population in the state are aged, on average, between 20 and 39 in the case of men, while in the case of women the largest group lies between ages 25 and 34. This is prime working age. A significant portion of people returning are heads of their household, with 54.1% of men stating that they are the heads of their household, versus 17.7% of women. Therefore, one of the priorities for this population is their integration into the labor market.
- Return migrants in Guanajuato manage to reinsert themselves relatively quickly into the labor market: employment among the men interviewed was 66.7%, with 22.1% unemployed. This against 25.2% of women interviewed who said they had a job. The main activities where the returning population has found work are as workers or laborers (61.9%); as freelance workers (21.8%); as day laborers (6.7%); as paid assistants (3.9%); as a boss or employer (3.5%) or as unpaid workers (2.3%).
- As for the main activities performed, we find a picture that varies according to gender. Men report a higher rate of employment than women. More than double. Returning women concentrate their labor in four main activities: housekeeping duties, work outside the home, students, and the unemployed. For men the top four activities were work outside the home, no work, students, and agricultural activities.
- Among the return migrants who reported having returned to the labor market and shared their position, it is noteworthy that, for both genders, the most common position is that of employee. The day laborer category was almost entirely comprised of males.

### B. Recommendations

- A common need is the urgency of obtaining valid identity documents, including the CURP code, birth certificate, and revalidated and apostilled education documents. To this end we suggest installing assistance modules that will inform migrants on how to access these documents

through the municipal liaison offices –with whom the Ministry for Migrants is already working– giving priority to municipalities with high and very high rates of returnees.

- It is necessary to carry out documentation campaigns in schools, in order to facilitate the issuing of documents such as: birth certificates, CURP, and dual nationality documents, free of charge.
- Repatriation or consular ID cards must be made valid –temporarily, while official documents can be obtained– to serve as proof of ID in order to gain access to health and education benefits offered by the state of Guanajuato.
- We recommend broadening the definition used for Return Populations, considering that returning is a personal process of variable duration, during which migrants require several forms of support for a prolonged period of time, not only during the first months following their return. In this sense, it is important that support offered to the population is not restricted to only those who have recently returned.
- We suggest considering several profiles for returnees in the design and implementation of support programs across the state's various municipalities. For example, San Miguel de Allende presents a fundamentally bilingual and bicultural profile for its return migrants, who have access to the restaurant and tourist sectors and for whom work training and certifications for this sector could be relevant. In contrast, migrants returning to León are concentrated in call centers, and for them the option of finding employment with better wages and social security may require certifications, possibly as English language teachers.
- We widely recommend offering access to healthcare and mental care services. Through strategic partnerships with the state's Universities (particularly those offering degrees in Psychology and Social Work), we suggest offering mental care services for return migrants and their families, as this is one of the main needs identified by the population themselves. Likewise, immediate access to healthcare should be facilitated for returning migrants and their families.
- We would advise building strategic partnerships and working in collaboration with key actors and specialized sectors. We suggest creating partnerships with civil society organizations in the municipalities, in order to disseminate relevant information regarding administrative processes, work opportunities, job training programs, as well as the requirements for obtaining work and other needs required by the return migrant population.
- For municipalities with high economic output, such as León and San Miguel de Allende, we recommend creating common strategies between the local government, businesses, and commercial chambers with the aim of promoting the necessary dialogue for opening up appropriate job offers fitting with the profile of return migrants. In this sense, it is important that there is clarity regarding the procedure and requirements for entering any specific sector, including the type of training needed, and the required documents etc. The state government can form partnerships with productive sectors across the municipalities in order to gather this information and share it with civil society organizations that give assistance to the return migrant population at the local level.
- It is important that the Ministry for Migrants has knowledge of the specific productive activities in each municipality in order to adequately refer return migrants, considering their skills for employment. For instance, in San Miguel de Allende priority can be given to the integration of young people with customer service skills as part of the restaurant and tourism industry, while in León those with good English skills can be directed towards call centers.
- Creating programs for reinserting children in school is necessary. An explicit strategy for access and inclusion of returning children and young people is required. The design and effective implementation of such a strategy requires collaboration with the Ministry of Education and from school administrators and teachers. The priority should be guaranteeing that those who return will have quick access to school, regardless of what documentation they may have.
- Once in school, these students must be closely tracked by their teachers in order to ensure their integration in class, support their Spanish language skill development, and offer complementary courses on specific subjects in Mexico's curriculum about which they may lack knowledge (e.g. Mexican history, geography, civics, etc.).

- Implementation of such an inclusion strategy requires that these returning students are previously identified, that is, in which municipalities, schools, and grades they are in. The 911 Format, the basic statistical tool used by Education Ministries, may offer this diagnosis through the migration module.
- For migrants who return having received middle or higher education it is frequent to find a desire to continue with their studies. In such cases, our recommendation for the state government is to establish a bourse of scholarships for college education directed towards young return migrants. In some specific cases, financial support was requested for presenting international English language certificates, which are necessary for accessing some of the better paid employment sectors.
- It would behoove the government to design and execute a citizen awareness and information campaign to contribute with making the return migrant population more visible, that is, to understand who they are and what they need. The campaign should eliminate the discrimination and social stigma suffered by returnees, particularly those who are subject to deportation processes, in the communities where they reside. Likewise, the campaign must give the general population a sense of the conditions under which Guanajuato natives return to their state.
- We recommend increasing the dissemination and promotion of existing programs directed towards the return migrant population. According to information provided by Guanajuato's Migrants Ministry, specific measures already exist for tending to this population. However, the organizations interviewed were unaware of this support. Therefore, as a result of these interviews, we suggest promoting the continuity and dissemination of information regarding these support programs.
- It would be desirable for constant communication and coordination to be strengthened between the state and municipal governments. We recommend that the Ministry for Migrants should constantly collaborate and communicate with municipalities and civil society organizations, both to inform them of the Ministry's existing projects for the return migrant population, and to receive feedback and learn about the needs of this population in each municipality.
- All information produced by the Ministry and disseminated through the municipal liaison offices should be available in English and Spanish. Furthermore, support programs should be made well known (in English and Spanish), both those provided by the Ministry for Migrants and those offered by civil society organizations, using social networks and digital platforms linking them to the Casas Guanajuato in the United States.
- We recommend the creation of a database that will allow data to be obtained regarding the population being attended, in order to follow up on people who express their intention of remaining in the state, evaluating and improving services provided by the Ministry, and consolidating a full register of the return migrant population in the state.
- We suggest promoting sensitivity workshops and attention protocols among the state government's personnel –across its various departments– and municipal governments who provide assistance to the return population, most of whom arrive in a complex emotional state when looking for information.
- It is vital that public evaluations are carried out for existing and newly created programs. Existing programs must be evaluated in order to identify areas of opportunity and learn about their strengths and weaknesses. Likewise, their operation should be made transparent using a public platform listing these actions at the state and municipal levels.

## Transit Migration

### A. Main Findings

- It is estimated that since 2015, between 400,000 and 450,000 foreign migrants transit travel through Mexico's territory every year.
- Guanajuato's territory is located on a geographical location crossed by the main migration route joining the center of Mexico with its North Central and Northeast regions. Particularly, through the

industrial corridor that cuts through the state from east to northeast. However, the North also borders the states of Zacatecas and San Luis Potosí. This is the geographical setting where Guanajuato's transit migration develops. Migrants make use of road and railway infrastructure in order to travel across this area on foot or using various public or private transportation services.

- The Law for the Protection and Assistance of Migrants and their Families in the State of Guanajuato (Ley para la Protección y Atención del Migrante y sus Familias en el Estado de Guanajuato, LPAMFG) was reformed on September 21 2018. This modification widened the definition of migrants to "any person who leaves their place of origin or residence for the purpose of residing in a different part of the country or abroad". Therefore, municipal and state authorities in Guanajuato are obligated to recognize, protect, and guarantee the rights of migrants and their families, as well as regulating the state's hospitality and interculturality.
- Transit occurs discreetly and through various routes, headed in multiple directions. The main node is the city of Celaya and its surroundings, where migrants stop to gather resources, rest, or plan out the rest of their journey.
- Migrants in transit through Guanajuato travel across the state heading in different directions, and the duration of their stay varies, as itineraries change according to the available resources or unforeseen situations that may present themselves when selecting one route over another. However, in general they head towards North Mexico', with the United States as the final destination, or back to Central America.
- The number of events of foreign migrants presented in Guanajuato and neighboring states has grown in the last fifteen years. The majority of these presentation events take place in the municipality of San Miguel de Allende, with 694 cases in 2016, 356 in 2017, and 214 in 2018. Meanwhile, In León, for 2016 there were 527 cases, for 2017 there were 132, and in 2018 there were 210
- Over seven years, between 2013 and 2019, INM authorities in the Guanajuato office registered 5,057 events of presented migrants who could not verify their legal presence in the country, with 2016 being the year with the largest number of events, for a total of 1,221. If we take the year 2016 as a reference and add the total number of events presented before the INM in Guanajuato and six neighboring states, we find that in total there were 13,256 presentation events for foreign migrants.
- It can be estimated that the number of migrants in transit through Guanajuato would be between 15,000 people at a maximum and 5,000 at a minimum every year.
- Nationally, the state of Guanajuato occupies an important position in Mexico's railroad network. Freight train tracks have been one of the most commonly followed routes for transit migrants. Currently, the freight train is used less often for traveling across Guanajuato, with transit migrants moving across the state using several other strategies, whether walking along main or secondary roads, or using various state and municipal public transport methods.
- The main transit route for Guatemalans cuts across Guanajuato, but this is not the main route for the bulk of migrants. Thus, the route across Guanajuato is a secondary one in comparison to the Gulf route. The Gulf route travels along the states of Tabasco, Veracruz, and Nuevo León, and is the shortest route in geographical terms, therefore concentrating the largest flow of migrants in transit through Mexico. However, the dispute over territorial control by organized crime groups has made this an extremely high-risk area for migrants to cross, making the route along the country's center a more viable alternative although longer, it may be seen as safer, at least during the time period referenced.
- The main characteristics in the profile of migrants transiting through Guanajuato are: they mostly come from the northern Central American countries (Honduras, El Salvador, and Guatemala); they are predominantly male with women estimated at only 10 or 20% of the total and 1% being transgender. The vast majority, around 80%, are of working age between 18 and 44 years old. The number of unmarried people has been increasing, reaching up to 60%. Around 10% of the migrant flow is comprised of children and adolescents, most of them travelling unaccompanied with no parents or guardians.



- In general, transit migrants in Mexico have little education with nearly 80% having only basic education (primary and secondary), though only 6% have no schooling at all. Fifty percent of people aged 15 or older work in agriculture, beekeeping, cattle ranching, or fishing (primary sector), while 30% have some trade, such as masonry or carpentry.
- Regarding the nationality of people who have been taken to migration stations located in Guanajuato's territory for being unable to verify their migratory status (5,060 events), 94% or 4,797 events correspond to people coming from Honduras, Guatemala and El Salvador. Following these three nationalities are Colombia, with 73 events and Nicaragua with 72, while the United States has 50 recorded events.
- The flow of migrants in transit is predominantly male at a national level. Regarding the gender of people presented before immigration authorities in Guanajuato, women account for up to 14% or 411 cases. The number of events involving foreign migrant children and adolescents (niños, niñas y adolescentes, NNA) being presented before the INM has fallen drastically in Guanajuato since 2016 but not so at the national level. A majority of child and adolescent migrants presented before the INM were between 12 and 17 years old, and the majority of them claimed to be travelling unaccompanied.

## Recommendations

- We recommend designing and implementing a comprehensive public policy for attending to the girls, boys, and young migrants in transit across the state of Guanajuato, in order to guarantee their safety and determine the child's greater interest. This policy must be coordinated with other institutions charged with preserving the rights of children in Mexico and in Guanajuato, while also providing assistance to determine whether the minor should be granted refugee status or be the subject of international protection.
- Migrant shelters and houses must be reinforced. We suggest establishing collaboration agreements locally with shelters and migrant assistance networks, in order to institutionalize the assistance provided to this population across the State of Guanajuato. To do this it is necessary to promote recognition of shelters by the state government and civil society organizations who provide attention to transit migrants, in order to grant legal certainty and legitimacy to the actions performed for the protection of this population's human rights.
- The possibility of striking International Cooperation for Development Agreements with civil society organizations in migrants' communities of origin, particularly in northern Central American countries, in order to create fraternal ties that will promote the construction of common values and identities.
- We suggest creating policies for providing comprehensive support to transit migrants. It is desirable that a public policy be enacted in Guanajuato to assist transit migrants in a comprehensive manner through the launch of new integration models within the context of human mobility, providing protection and guaranteeing basic human rights, particularly for rights related to legal identity, work, education, and healthcare. To achieve this, it is necessary to learn about and debate new models for integrating migrants who have become stranded in transit centers. This makes it indispensable to investigate the best practices of integration and social inclusion models across Mexico and abroad.
- Databases for transit migrants in Guanajuato must be developed. We suggest creating a database focused on the transit migration dynamic in Guanajuato as well as the migration profile and main needs of the people travelling through the state. Creating such a database may be done in collaboration with municipal public servants who provide attention to transit migrants as well as with Guanajuato's migrant shelters. This information must be focused from the point of view of the human rights of transit migrants and geared towards orienting and evaluating migration public policies in Guanajuato.



# 3. Final Report

## Final Report Background and Conceptual Framework

### Introduction

**M**exico, the United States, Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador are the main countries that make up the Meso-North American migratory system. All share a long experience and tradition of human mobility. The most important migration flows are both national (internal migration) and international (emigration, immigration, transit, return, and asylum). The case of the state of Guanajuato repeats this regional reality, with at least four components of migration, both international (historically speaking, emigration and return migration, and more recently immigration and transit) and domestic (country-city migration, within and between states).

Characterizing and quantifying the migratory phenomenon in these countries and within Guanajuato itself, is a complex task. Obtaining precise information on the number of migrants is not always possible, and one must often rely on estimates which contain various gaps. This is due to several reasons. One is that different countries, at a national and sub-national level, will employ different methodologies and indicators to measure the flow of people, and these are often not comparable. In other cases, there are barely any systematic statistics available. This is particularly true when trying to gather information and measure irregular migration flows, such as undocumented migration or transit migration, which together make up a substantial share of people's mobility in the region. Various experts and decision makers on this matter agree that the more accurate information and knowledge available on migration flows you have, the better your understanding and ability to improve and establish assertive norms and public policies to best regulate this phenomenon- promoting safe and orderly migration.

**Table 1: Number of Migrants in Mexico and Central America (2016)**

Country	Total Population	Percentage Emigrants	Percentage Immigrants	Remittances US\$ million
Mexico	125.4 million	10.70%	0.90%	US\$ 25,949
Guatemala	16.0 million	6.70%	0.50%	US\$ 6,408
Belize	351.7 thousand	18.00%	14.80%	US\$ 83
El Salvador	6.1 million	25.00%	0.70%	US\$ 4,357
Honduras	8.0 million	8.40%	0.40%	US\$ 3,931
Nicaragua	6.0 million	10.60%	0.70%	US\$ 1,195
Costa Rica	4.8 million	2.80%	8.80%	US\$ 608
Panama	3.9 million	3.80%	4.20%	US\$ 779

Source: *Migration and remittances factbook 2016*. (2016). Washington, DC: World Bank Group. doi:10.1596/978-1-4648-0319-2.

Mexico and the Northern parts of Central America are characterized by their net negative migratory balance. In other words, emigration is higher than immigration (see Table 1). Most migrants are headed for the United States, whether in search for a better standard of living, for family reunification, or as a consequence of the violence and lack of safety in their home countries.

At the same time, these countries have transit migration. Mexico and the state of Guanajuato, in particular, have become road stops for Central Americans and migrants of other nationalities wanting to reach U.S,

territory. Indeed, transit migration has dominated in comparison to other forms of displacement of Central Americans coming into Mexico and Guanajuato, outpacing permanent residents, temporary workers, or refugees. Most of them are undocumented transit migrants and this practice dates back at least 30 years, although they have become more visible in recent years due to their massive size. The peak of this migration came as a result of civil wars throughout the region during the 1970s and 1980s. The phenomenon persisted because Central American economies were devastated, first as a consequence of armed conflicts and later by the neoliberal economic reforms based on the Washington Consensus. Later, natural disasters too would force Central Americans to leave their countries. The movement of Guatemalans, Salvadorans, and Hondurans to the United States, passing through Mexico and, specifically, through the state of Guanajuato, have gained relevance over the last several years. This is not only due to the magnitude of these population flows but because of the risks and constant violations to human rights suffered by migrants during their journey. Furthermore, these violations have gained greater visibility in recent years due to the increase, in both relative and absolute terms, of unaccompanied minors and teenagers taking part in these migration flows.

There are several estimates available for this migratory flow. According to the data in the Report on Central American Migration in Transit through Mexico to the United States (*Reporte Migración Centroamericana en Tránsito por México hacia Estados Unidos*), the flow of undocumented migrants in transit through Mexico headed for the U.S. increased from the mid-90s until 2005, reaching a peak volume of between 390,000 and 430,000 migrants per year. Between 2006 and 2009, there was a significant drop of nearly 70%, a reduction of approximately 170,000 people. By 2010 and 2011 it had stabilized at this level, but then started to bounce back in 2012 as a result of a possible migration reform in the United States, reaching more than 450,000 people by 2018. According to estimates based on the first three months of 2019, this number could rise to 900,000 people this year. The behavior of this flow of migrants responds to multiple causes, among them the migratory policies of countries in the region, particularly those of the U.S. and Mexico, and to the economic and safety conditions in people's countries of origin. Additional factors include the level of risk and cost of the journey as well as the availability of work and significant differences in salaries between their countries of origin and their destination.

Likewise, there has been a substantial increase in the number of detentions of irregular migrants along borders and inside destination countries with deportation of migrants increasing to levels not seen since the 1930s, increasing particularly after 2007. The U.S. Department of Homeland Security (DHS) distinguishes between two mechanisms for deportation: return and removal. The former refers to migrants who leave without a deportation order but rather being offered the opportunity to return to their own country voluntarily. The latter, in contrast, involves removal of migrants with a judicial order, which has both administrative and penal consequences should the expelled individual attempt to enter U.S. territory again.

As shown in Table 2, removals increased by more than 100% in one decade. According to DHS data, in 2003 there were 211,098 deportees processed under this category; by 2007 this number rose to 359,795 and in 2013 – 438,421 immigrants were removed. This number has remained relatively constant since then, with approximately half a million people processed each year. It's important to mention that, out of the total number of removals, the majority have been Mexican, Honduran, Guatemalan, and Salvadorian citizens. In 2013, out of the total number of deportees, 96% correspond to these nationalities.

**Table 2: Aliens removed from the United States,  
by Country of Origin (2003-2013)**

Country	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Mexico	155,812	175,865	169,031	186,726	208,996	247,263	277,185	273,915	289,347	306,870	314,904
Guatemala	7,726	9,729	14,522	20,527	25,898	27,527	29,641	29,710	30,343	38,677	46,866
Honduras	8,182	8,752	15,572	27,060	29,737	28,885	27,283	25,121	22,028	31,515	36,526
El Salvador	5,561	7,269	8,305	11,050	20,045	20,050	20,844	20,347	17,381	18,677	20,862
Brazil	4,046	6,390	7,097	4,217	4,210	3,836	3,724	3,533	3,350	2,256	1,411
Dominican Rep.	3,472	3,760	3,210	3,107	2,990	3,232	3,576	3,371	2,893	2,833	2,278
Other Countries	26,299	28,900	28,694	28,287	25,506	29,002	29,344	26,268	21,792	15,569	15,574
Total	211,098	240,665	246,431	280,974	317,382	359,795	391,597	382,265	387,134	416,397	438,421

Source: Authors' own, with DHS data.

In addition, starting in 2013 these countries were plunged into a humanitarian crisis due to the increasing numbers of children and teenagers arriving in U.S. territory coming from Mexico and, above all, from Central America. Between October 2013 and September 2014, 68,541 unaccompanied minors were detained by the US Border Patrol, most of them coming from Central America: 18,244 from Honduras, 17,057 from Guatemala, 16,404 from El Salvador, and 15,634 from Mexico (USCBP, 2014). The response by the U.S. government has been to detain these children and teenagers and, in many cases, to expedite repatriation to their home countries.

Following the same pattern as the U.S., Mexico has also increased the restrictions in its migration policies. One result of this has been the increase in detentions of Central Americans within Mexican territory and their deportation back to their home countries. Within Mexico's territory there are 32 migrant stations, 15 temporary detention "Type A" facilities (for a maximum 48-hour period) and 12 "Type B" temporary detention facilities (for up to seven days' detention). Other locations have also been set up to serve as temporary holding facilities for people who, for one reason or another, cannot be transferred to one of the migrant stations (Sin Fronteras, 2013). Starting in 2011 there has been an increase in the number of Central Americans sent back by Mexican immigration authorities: from 61,202 recorded in 2011 to 80,878 in 2014. For 2018 this number exceeded 250,000 people. Of the total number of returns registered during this period 96.42% corresponded to Guatemalans, Salvadorans, and Hondurans, while the remaining 3.56% included migration events from all other countries' citizens within Mexican territory (Table 3).

**Table 3: Cases of Central Americans Deported by Mexican Immigration Authority (2012-2014)**

	2011	2012	2013	2014	Total	Percentage
<b>El Salvador</b>	8,820	12,725	14,586	15,153	51,284	16.94%
<b>Guatemala</b>	31,150	35,137	30,231	29,219	125,737	41.54%
<b>Honduras</b>	18,748	29,166	33,079	33,832	114,825	37.94%
<b>Other Countries</b>	2,484	2,615	3,006	2,674	10,779	3.56%
<b>Total</b>	61,202	79,643	80,902	80,878	302,625	100

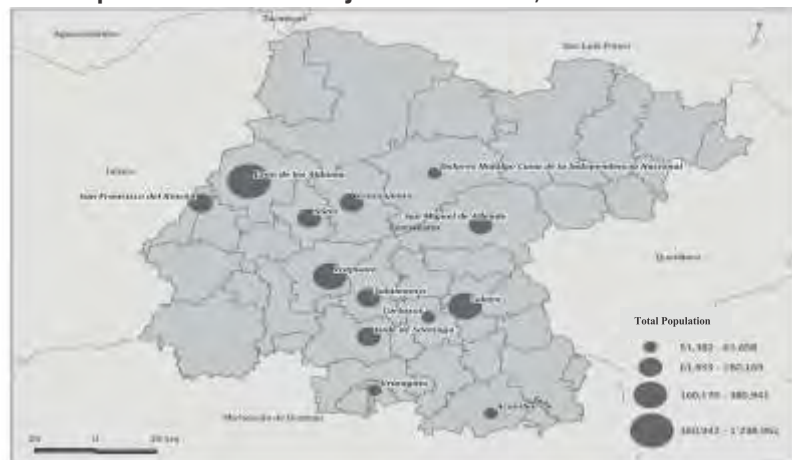
Source: Authors' own, with data from SEGOB.

Despite changes to migration policy made by the López Obrador administration, deportations in January, February and March of 2019 remained similar to the same period in 2018. In January of 2018, 9,248 migrants were detained and deported with 7,547 in January 2019. In February 2018, some 11,549 were detained and 9,849 were recorded in February 2019. It was noted that 11,779 were stopped in March 2018 and 12,746 in March 2019, all according to data from the Migration Policy Unit at SEGOB. As a result of an agreement with the U.S. to help contain Central American migration in return for avoiding the imposition of tariffs on Mexican exports, the López Obrador administration has tightened border controls and deployed up to 25,000 National Guard agents for this purpose, leading to substantially more arrests and deportations in recent months.

On the other hand, Guanajuato, along with Jalisco and Michoacán, are the three states with the most significant historical migration to the United States, dating from the end of the 19th Century and remaining constant throughout the 20th. Today, there are municipalities in this state with very high and high indexes of migration intensity, as measured by the CONAPO, which find their counterpart and reflection in a very intense relationship between communities of origin and destination. The various Hometown Clubs, the “Casas Guanajuato”, and remittances, are a few visible signs of this persistent relationship and communication between those who remain in their cities, towns communities, the diaspora.

Guanajuato is, at the same time, a state with multiple regions and landscapes, as well as intensive industrial, agricultural, commercial, and service industries manifested across a range of small and large, fully interconnected cities, with the Bajío region as a central axis. These characteristics distinguishing Guanajuato from other states allows it to offer multiple employment options and settle people in their land, while also offering opportunities for both internal and international migration.

**Map 1: Cities in Guanajuato above 50,000 inhabitants**



Source: Authors' own based on data from the General Population and Housing Census, 2010. INEGI

## Objectives

The purpose of this project is to offer a diagnosis and map out the current migration phenomenon in the state of Guanajuato, in the hope that it will lead to public policy recommendations that will encourage migration in the state to become increasingly regulated, orderly, and safe. To this end, we will carry out a comprehensive and in-depth study that includes all elements of the migration phenomenon in Guanajuato, such as:

- 1. The process of internal migration within Mexico, particularly within the state and between states, both coming to and leaving from Guanajuato (particularly agricultural workers)
- 2. Emigration from Guanajuato abroad
- 3. Immigration by foreigners into the state of Guanajuato
- 4. Flows of migrants in transit through the state of Guanajuato

- 5. Migrants and returning families in Guanajuato
- 6. The state's administrative infrastructure for attending the migration phenomena

For each case a study of historical flows is performed, along with an analysis of the current situation. Likewise, we identify and quantify the destinations (in the case of internal and international emigration) as well as the points of origin (for internal and international migration, transit migration, and return). Finally, using systematical and available information, we calculate the composition of these flows in terms of their migratory status (regular or irregular).

This research was carried out with close contact with the state of Guanajuato's Migrants and International Liaison Ministry, both in designing the project and in defining the appropriate methodologies, questionnaires, and field work, as well as in defining the strategy for communicating the results.

The research strategy is comprised of five interrelated components. Namely:

- 1. Analyzing and systematizing the available statistical sources at the international, national, state, and municipal levels in order to quantify and characterize contemporary and historical population flows. This includes censuses, surveys, indexes, and other statistical sources such as the Mexican Migration Project's database. These sources often consist of databases that must be worked on, analyzed, and disaggregated at the state and municipal level in order to be correctly interpreted.
- 2. Carrying out a field study to conduct interviews, surveys, and focus groups with the target populations within the state (immigrants, transit migrants, and returnees). In dealing with "non typical" populations from a statistical perspective, obtaining a sample for these different populations presents major methodological and logistical challenges. However, the work team has extensive experience in methodology and in carrying out surveys in the field on this matter, both qualitatively and quantitatively (mixed methods).
- 3. Integrating, systematizing, and geo-referencing the statistical information and fieldwork data in order to carry out an integral diagnosis of the migration phenomenon in Guanajuato at the state, regional, and municipal levels.
- 4. Presenting public policy recommendations on migration issues in order to promote executive and legislative actions that will lead to an increasingly regulated, orderly and safe migration in the State in Guanajuato, establishing best practices at the state level for Mexico, which can then be replicated at the national level by other Mexican states.
- 5. Presenting public policy recommendations for strengthening the administrative infrastructure dealing with the migratory phenomenon in Guanajuato (including with public policy recommendations).

## Structure of the Report

The following report is divided into several sections. The first offers a description of the demographic profile of the State of Guanajuato. The second section refers to internal migration in the state. The third section tackles the issue of emigration, followed by immigration into the state. Next, the report analyzes return migration, with the final section taking on transit migration.



## Demographic Overview of Guanajuato

### Demographic growth

Guanajuato is one among 32 federal entities that make up the United Mexican States, and its territory represents 1.54% of the country's total. Guanajuato belongs to the country's North Central socio-economic region. The state's population for 2018 rose to 5,960,991 people (ENADID, 2018), representing 4.76% of the country's total resident population for that same year. The breakdown by gender shows a female majority with 51.42% versus 48.57% for men.

The state's demographic dynamics have been influenced by natural growth factors (births and deaths) as well as social ones (immigration and emigration). The last 20 years have seen high levels of demographic interaction due to recorded events related to international migration. Guanajuato is a pioneer in international migration to and from the United States, a phenomenon that has persisted for over a century (Durand and Massey, 2003), the demographic development of the state continuing to be affected by this element at all times.

The state's population has grown, from 4,663,032 individuals in the year 2000 (INEGI, 2000) to 6,238,461 people by June 30, 2019 (our own estimates, using census data and inter-census surveys, INEGI), which represents 4.8% and 4.9% of the national population, respectively. The above indicates that the state's population growth is closely related to growth at the national level.

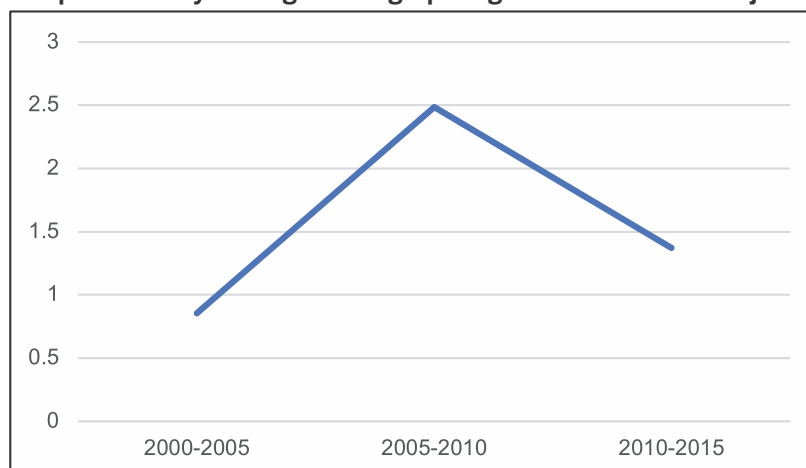
Population growth dynamics for the state saw a positive trend during the period under observation, as can be seen in Graph 1. The dynamic we identify shows that the five-year period between 2005 and 2010 saw accelerated demographic growth, observing two phenomena interacting with one another. The first being a reduction in international emigration, and the second being the increased number of Mexicans returning from the United States (Gandini, *et al.*, 2015; Gandini, *et al.*, 2016; Terán *et al.* 2016).

Between the year 2000 and 2005 the yearly average total growth rate was of 0.85%, that is, on average, Guanajuato's population grew by 8.5 individuals per thousand inhabitants each year, on average. For the second five-year term (2005-2010) this rate had increased to 2.48%, in other words, for every thousand inhabitants in the state, the population grew by 25 people each year. At the final data point in Graph 1, showing results for 2010-2015, the same rate was of 1.37%, in other words dropping to nearly half the rate observed in the previous 5-year period, but above the rate recorded between 2000-2005. Fluctuations in the growth rate are explained as changes due to social growth (immigration and emigration), as natural growth has been stable, as will be shown further below.

The demographic dynamics have certain nuances, which appear when referring to the municipalities that make up the state. Between 2000-2005, the municipality with the highest growth rate was Purísima del Rincón, with a yearly average growth rate of 3.99%, while the lowest growth for this period was recorded in Jerécuaro, at 3.14%, that is to say the population decreased. For the period between 2005-2010 Purísima del Rincón maintained its prime position with 4.55%, while the lowest growth occurred in the municipality of Victoria with 0.78%. It should be noted that all municipalities in the state saw positive growth during this period. Finally, for the five-year period between 2010-2015, Purísima del Rincón again stood with the highest growth rate, at 3.16%, while the lowest growth was seen in Atarjea, with -1.87% (all figures are our own estimates, based on census data and inter-census surveys carried out by INEGI).



**Graph 1: Yearly average demographic growth rate in Guanajuato**



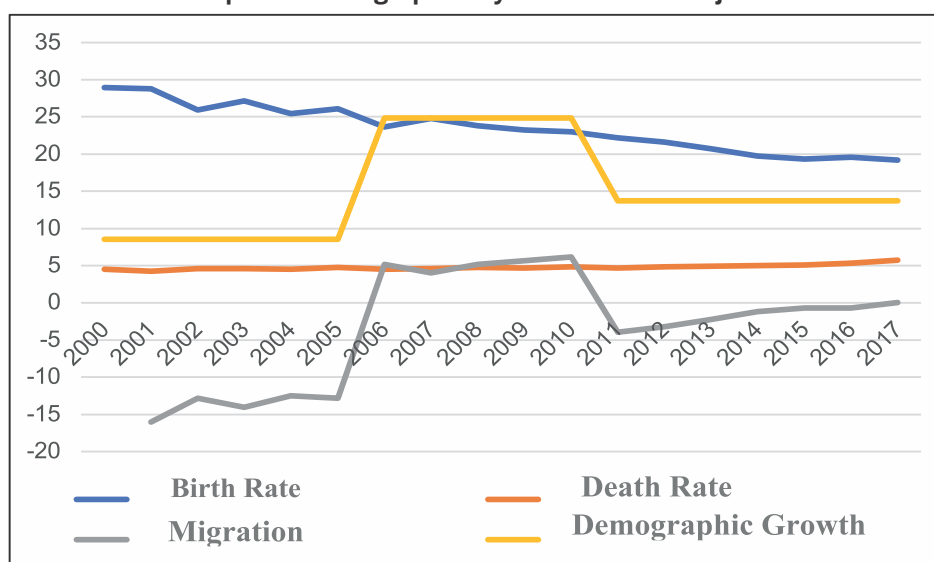
Source: Authors' own estimates based on data from General Population and Housing Census XII and 2010; Population Counts 2005; Inter-census Survey 2015. INEGI

Starting with the fundamental equation for demography we can learn more about the elements which have influenced the state of Guanajuato's demographic behavior. Graph 2 illustrates the behavior of total, natural, and social growth for each year from 2000 to 2015. As this graph shows, natural growth (births and deaths) has not registered any major shifts that could explain the observed total growth. The variable that does present large fluctuations has been social growth.

Social growth as shown here concentrates the fluctuations in terms of emigrants and immigrants for each year jointly, that is, showing all those who arrived from other states, those who have left, and the interaction with other countries.

Guanajuato's natural growth is higher than the overall demographic growth rate, except for the years between 2005 and 2010 (see Graph 2). Natural growth is dampened because Guanajuato, for the majority of the observed period, has presented negative social growth, that is to say, the number of emigrants is higher than that of immigrants, whether national or international.

**Graph 2: Demographic Dynamics in Guanajuato**



Source: Authors' own estimates based on data from General Population and Housing Census XII and 2010; Population Counts 2005; Inter-census Survey 2015. Vital Statistics, INEGI

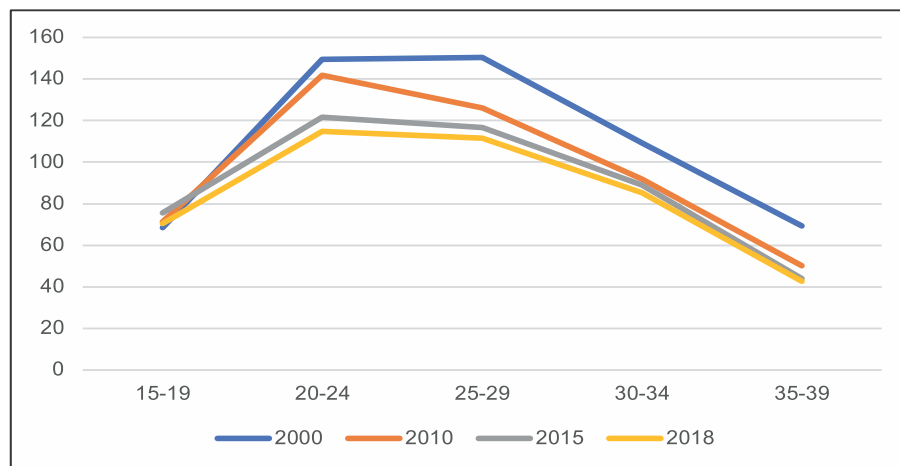
Birthrates have trended downwards: in the year 2000 the rate was 28 births per thousand inhabitants, while in 2017 it stood at 17 per thousand. At the municipal level, in the year 2000 San Luis de la Paz had the highest recorded rate, at 36 births per thousand inhabitants; the lowest rate was found at

Santiago Maravatío, with 17 births per thousand inhabitants. In 2017 the highest municipal birthrate was found at Purísima del Rincón, with 30 per thousand. The municipality with the lowest birth rate for 2017 was Moroleón, with 11 births per thousand inhabitants (according to our own estimates, based on data from the population census, inter-census surveys, and vital statistics from INEGI).

Death rates in Guanajuato have remained relatively static, going from 4.51 deaths per thousand inhabitants in the year 2000 to 5.73 per thousand in 2017, with a slight increase in mortality due to the wave of violence that has hit the country. Santa Catarina was the municipality with the highest death rate in the year 2000, with 8.49 deaths per thousand inhabitants. That same year, Doctor Mora had the lowest death rates, at 3.19 deaths per thousand inhabitants. Seventeen years later San Miguel de Allende had a death rate of 9 deaths per thousand inhabitants, the highest in the state, while the lowest death rates were recorded at Xichu municipality, with a death rate of 2.52 per thousand.

When observing Graph 2, the period between 2005 and 2010 stands out, with variations in growth being due to the interactions of social growth. During this period, both Guanajuato and the country saw a drop in emigration and an increase in migrants returning from abroad (Gandini, *et al.*, 2015; Gandini, *et al.*, 2016; Terán *et al.* 2016).

**Graph 3: Fertility Rates in Guanajuato**



Source: Authors' own based on data from "Projected population of Mexico's municipalities, 2015-2030" – CONAPO (2019).

Another important change in the demographic dynamics for the state of Guanajuato is found in the reduction in fertility rates, which fell from 2.88 children per woman in the year 2000 to 2.19 in 2018. (CONAPO, 2016). Graph 3 shows the behavior of each specific fertility rate and their variation over time. Changes recorded between 2000 and 2018 can be divided into three: First, we find that peak fertility for the year 2000 was located within the 25-29 year olds, while in later years, it slid back to younger cohorts (those aged 20-24 years); second, fertility has fallen for practically all cohorts, with the exception of the 15-19 year cohort; and third, teenage pregnancy has increased between 2000 and 2018, with 2015 showing the highest value, with 75 live births per 1000 women aged 15-19.

## Territorial Distribution

Spatial distribution of the population within the territory is diverse, having locations which concentrate large population numbers due to their economic dynamics, while other locations do not have such high concentrations. One indicator helpful in determining how the population gathers within the territory is population density, expressed as the average number of inhabitants per square kilometer. Guanajuato's population density increased from 154 inhabitants/km<sup>2</sup> in the year 2000 to 200 inhabitants/km<sup>2</sup> in 2017 (according to our own estimates based on data from general population census, inter-census surveys, and INEGI's statistical annuals).

Certain municipalities concentrate the most population. For the year 2000 the most densely populated municipalities were Leon (937 pop/km<sup>2</sup>), Celaya (696 pop/km<sup>2</sup>), and Uriangato (465 pop/km<sup>2</sup>). The most sparsely populated municipalities, in contrast, were Xichu (12 pop/km<sup>2</sup>), Atarjea (16 pop/km<sup>2</sup>), and Victoria (17 pop/km<sup>2</sup>). The outlook for 2017 showed the most densely populated municipalities to be Leon (1,217 pop/km<sup>2</sup>), Celaya (903 pop/km<sup>2</sup>), and Irapuato (678 pop/km<sup>2</sup>). The most sparsely populated municipalities were the same as in the year 2000: Xichu (16 pop/km<sup>2</sup>), Atarjea (21 pop/km<sup>2</sup>), and Victoria (22 pop/km<sup>2</sup>), (according to our own estimates based on data from general population census, inter-census surveys, and INEGI's statistical annuals).

Furthermore, urban settlements dominate the state's territorial distribution for population. In the year 2000, 58.7% of the population lived in a settlement with more than 15,000 inhabitants (INEGI, 2000), while in 2015, 61.42% of the population was now living in settlements of 15 thousand inhabitants or more (INEGI, 2015). The most urbanized municipalities were those of Jerécuaro, León, and Tierra Blanca.

## Age and Gender Distribution

Graph 4 shows the population's distribution for the state of Guanajuato by age and gender, displaying also the structural changes between 2000 and 2015. The pyramid, broken down into age groups, shows the demographic structure aging due to the drops in fertility and increased life expectancy for the population, with more people aged 60 or above.

**Graph 4: Guanajuato Population Pyramid**



Source: Authors' own based on data from the XI General Population and Housing Census and the 2015 Inter-census Survey. INEGI

The population pyramid shown in Graph 4 reveals three main changes to Guanajuato's population. The first is the fact that children as a share of the population have fallen in 2015, compared to the year 2000. Second, the fact that the population over 60 has increased its share in the population's structure. Finally, the breaks observed in the structure between the ages of 27 and 40 in the year 2000 (due to emigration) seem to have disappeared by 2015. However, in 2015 we still see an imbalance of males and females between the ages of 17 and 24, which indicates that emigration is predominantly male for this age cohort.

The demographic ageing process the state of Guanajuato is now going through is similar to the national dynamic, which suggests challenges to come in the medium and long term as the productivity potential afforded by a larger volume of younger populations begin to fade. For the year 2000, 7.7% of the population was aged 60 and older, while in 2015 their share was 9.54% (according to our own estimates based on data from general population census, inter-census surveys, and INEGI's statistical annuals).

## Internal Migration in the State of Guanajuato<sup>2</sup>

### Introduction

Guanajuato was, until the 1970s,<sup>3</sup> a state where an important share of the population lived scattered across countless ranches and rural settlements, dedicated to small scale agricultural production. At the time, over half the population in 34 of the state's 46 municipalities lived in rural settlements outside the municipal seat (Table 4). Only 12 municipalities in the Bajío region had over half of their population living in the municipal seat. The agrarian reform had undoubtedly improved the economic situation for peasant households, but still, throughout the 20th Century, Guanajuato was a state of migrants.

<sup>2</sup> This research is based on three types of material: 1) a review of statistical sources, primarily CONAPO, INEGI, and MMP, which allowed us to perform quite basic statistical exercises and create maps; 2) a brief bibliographical review, and 3) the lead author's experience as an anthropologist with experience in fieldwork in Guanajuato.

<sup>3</sup> Birth control measures started to be applied in the 1970s, which reduced the number of children born per woman and, therefore, the size of households; on the other hand it became evident that the traditional and small scale agrarian economy no longer guaranteed the economic survival of rural households, as it perhaps had done in previous decades. Large families and the viability of the peasant economy had molded the internal and international flow of migrants until then. After this point, it all changed.

**Table 4: Population Living in Municipal Seats, 1970**

Rank	Municipality	Total Population	Population Living in the Municipal Seat	Share of Population Living in Municipal Seat
1	León	420,150	364,990	86.87
2	Moroleón	33,833	25,620	75.72
3	Irapuato	174,728	116,651	66.76
4	Uriangato	23,508	14,626	62.22
5	Salamanca	105,548	61,039	57.83
6	Cortazar	45,566	25,794	56.61
7	Guanajuato	65,324	36,809	56.35
8	Celaya	147,275	79,977	54.30
9	San Francisco del Rincón	50,059	27,079	54.09
10	Pueblo Nuevo	7,832	4,086	52.17
11	Tarandacuao	8,557	4,439	51.88
12	Cuerámbaro	15,289	7,807	51.06
13	Santa Cruz de Juventino Rosas	31,768	15,859	49.92
14	Santiago Maravatío	6,926	3,405	49.16
15	Silao	71,037	31,825	44.80
16	Jaral del Progreso	19,480	8,689	44.60
17	Villagrán	22,522	9,826	43.63
18	Acámbaro	81,713	32,257	39.48
19	Romita	30,882	11,947	38.69
20	San Miguel Allende	64,794	24,286	37.48
21	San Luis de la Paz	35,954	12,654	35.19
22	Comonfort	34,452	11,558	33.55
23	Apaseo El Alto	28,101	8,668	30.85
24	Purísima del Rincón	17,984	5,351	29.75
25	Tarimoro	27,603	7,691	27.86
26	Ocampo	16,274	4,261	26.18
27	Huanimaro	13,343	3,332	24.97
28	Salvatierra	80,105	18,975	23.69
29	Valle de Santiago	69,856	16,517	23.64
30	Dolores Hidalgo	73,403	16,849	22.95
31	Abasolo	44,192	9,537	21.58
32	San José Iturbide	23,490	5,011	21.33
33	Apaseo El Grande	33,717	7,147	21.20
34	Manuel Doblado	29,738	6,040	20.31
35	Doctor Mora	9,322	1,837	19.71
36	Yuriria	52,465	10,085	19.22
37	San Diego de la Unión	20,672	3,744	18.11
38	San Felipe	57,207	10,129	17.71
39	Coroneo	8,337	1,452	17.42
40	Santa Catarina	3,108	402	12.93
41	Victoria	13,764	1,565	11.37
42	Tierra Blanca	8,428	924	10.96
43	Jerécuaro	37,857	4,043	10.68
44	Pénjamo	90,678	9,245	10.20
45	Xichú	9,377	710	7.57
46	Atarjea	4,152	304	7.32
Total		2,270,370	1,085,042	47.79

In general, migrant flows in Mexico tended to diverge: on the one hand there were states such as Jalisco, Michoacán, and those at the northern border, where international migration to the United States predominated; on the other hand, the country's Central and Southern states, where migration was more intense towards the three large cities which, since the 1940s, had started attracting greater (particularly rural) populations: the country's capital, and to a lesser extent, Guadalajara and Monterrey.

Guanajuato, in contrast, saw both processes occurring: there was migration both to the United States and to Mexico City. Guanajuato natives were part of the first cohort of laborers who, since the end of the 19th Century and following the extension of the rail networks to the northern border, entered into agricultural labor in the United States (Durand & Massey, 2001). Migration to the United States became an important labor option for men, who regularly traveled alone and, after a few years on the other side, would return to settle in their original rural communities.

The movement of Guanajuato natives to Mexico City began with the Cristero War (1926-1929), and intensified during the 1940s as the country's capital demanded all manner of workers to push industrialization and urbanization, detonated by the launch of the import substitution economic model. Lomnitz (1975) remarked that nearly two thirds of migrants (70%) who arrived in Mexico City were peasants from rural backgrounds.

Lomnitz (1975) found, at Cerrada del Cóndor, young couples who had arrived from Guanajuato and now worked in "informal" or "marginal" activities –as they were known back then–, although in truth, these included a countless number of productive, commercial, and service activities the city needed. By 1960 Bataillon and Riviére D'Arc (1973) calculated that over one tenth (14%) of Guanajuato's natives were living in the country's capital at the time.

In addition to needing young couples, Mexico City also needed domestic workers, which greatly increased female migration. These were mostly single young women, girls almost, who would live in the capital for 10-15 years before finally returning to their original communities in Guanajuato. Many of them married migrants returning from the United States and never migrated again. (Arias, 2008).

In 1970, 28 of the state's 46 municipalities had fewer women than men. The absence of women was particularly noticeable in the municipalities of San Felipe, Dolores Hidalgo, Apaseo el Grande, and Salvatierra (Table 5). Despite the scarcity of women, San Felipe was the municipality where they had the most children: 4.2 per woman.

**Table 5: Male Ratio by Municipality 1970**

Municipality	Men	Women	Total Population	Male Ratio
San Felipe	29,785	27,422	57,207	108.62
Dolores Hidalgo	38,116	35,287	73,403	108.02
Apaseo el Grande	17,507	16,210	33,717	108.00
Salvatierra	41,313	38,792	80,105	106.50
Apaseo el Alto	14,403	13,698	28,101	105.15
Tierra Blanca	4,302	4,126	8,428	104.27
Jerécuaro	19,319	18,538	37,857	104.21
Abasolo	22,541	21,651	44,192	104.11
Ocampo	8,286	7,988	16,274	103.73
Santa Cruz de Juventino Rosas	16,173	15,595	31,768	103.71
Villagrán	11,439	11,083	22,522	103.21
Atarjea	2,105	2,047	4,152	102.83
Guanajuato	33,109	32,215	65,324	102.78
Silao	35,985	35,052	71,037	102.66
San José Iturbide	11,881	11,609	23,490	102.34
Doctor Mora	4,711	4,611	9,322	102.17

**Table 5: Male Ratio by Municipality 1970 (continue)**

Municipality	Men	Women	Total Population	Male Ratio
Santiago Maravatío	3,498	3,428	6,926	102.04
San Francisco del Rincón	25,260	24,799	50,059	101.86
Purísima del Rincón	9,074	8,910	17,984	101.84
Tarimoro	13,925	13,678	27,603	101.81
Huanímaro	6,721	6,622	13,343	101.50
San Diego de la Unión	10,407	10,265	20,672	101.38
San Luis de la Paz	18,072	17,882	35,954	101.06
Cortazar	22,902	22,664	45,566	101.05
Tarandacuao	4,298	4,259	8,557	100.92
San Miguel Allende	32,531	32,263	64,794	100.83
Romita	15,469	15,413	30,882	100.36
León	210,402	209,748	420,150	100.31
Comonfort	17,210	17,242	34,452	99.81
Santa Catarina	1,552	1,556	3,108	99.74
Salamanca	52,666	52,882	105,548	99.59
Moroleón	16,870	16,963	33,833	99.45
Jaral del Progreso	9,700	9,780	19,480	99.18
Yuriria	26,095	26,370	52,465	98.96
Pueblo Nuevo	3,894	3,938	7,832	98.88
Victoria	6,843	6,921	13,764	98.87
Xichú	4,656	4,721	9,377	98.62
Celaya	73,029	74,246	147,275	98.36
Cuerámbaro	7,573	7,716	15,289	98.15
Acámbaro	40,459	41,254	81,713	98.07
Irapuato	86,086	88,642	174,728	97.12
Valle de Santiago	34,415	35,441	69,856	97.11
Uriangato	11,580	11,928	23,508	97.08
Pénjamo	44,422	46,256	90,678	96.04
Manuel Doblado	14,482	15,256	29,738	94.93
Coroneo	4,057	4,280	8,337	94.79
Total	1,139,123	1,131,247	2,270,370	100.70

Note: The male ratio shows the proportion of males relative to the number of females. It is calculated as follows:  
 $RM = \text{Number of Men} / \text{Number of Women} * 100$

The emigration of males to the United States and that of young couples and single females to Mexico City helped mitigate, with their remittances of several years, the economic troubles and emergencies of large rural households. They provided cash inputs to maintain peasant agriculture which, though they would not admit it, required ever more subsidies, both private remittances and public –relief programs– while allowing returning migrants (though only the men) to improve the conditions for their reintegration into society and into the working population in their original communities (Arias, 2009). It can be said that, until the 1990s, rural-urban migration was, for males and females, a temporary and often seasonal phenomenon, involving the return to one's original community.

## Internal Migration in Guanajuato Today

### Population

Guanajuato has remained a state where an important portion of its population lives in rural municipalities and settlements. However, this rural population has tended to decrease. According to the criteria where 2,500 inhabitants mark the limit between rural and urban settlements, in 2010 less than one third of the



population (30.2%) was found in rural settlements within 22 municipalities (Table 6), where traditional agricultural production persists, though not predominantly. Even taking such a low indicator of 2,500 inhabitants, four municipalities had no urban populations whatsoever: Atarjea, Santa Catarina, Tierra Blanca, and Xichú, all of them found in the Northeastern region bordering the states of Querétaro and San Luis Potosí (Table 6).

In 2010 there were 24 municipalities where more than half of their inhabitants (69.79%) lived in urban settlements (Table 6). Urban concentrations with more than two thirds of the population (75%) were found in only six municipalities: León, Morelón, Uriangato, Celaya, Irapuato, and Guanajuato, the state capital.

**Table 6: Rural and Urban Population by Municipality, 2010**

Municipality	Total Population	Rural Population	% Rural Population	Urban Population	% Urban Population
Atarjea	5,610	5,610	100	0	0.00
Santa Catarina	5,090	5,090	100	0	0.00
Tierra Blanca	18,148	18,148	100	0	0.00
Xichú	11,560	11,560	100	0	0.00
Victoria	19,811	17,247	87.06	2,564	12.94
Jerécuaro	50,748	40,282	79.38	10,466	20.62
Doctor Mora	23,321	18,184	77.97	5,137	22.03
San Diego de la Unión	37,076	27,102	73.1	9,974	26.9
Huanímaro	20,066	14,597	72.74	5,469	27.26
Ocampo	22,662	16,178	71.39	6,484	28.61
Pueblo Nuevo	11,154	7,425	66.57	3,729	33.43
Coroneo	11,622	7,661	65.92	3,961	34.08
Abasolo	84,230	53,484	63.5	30,746	36.5
San José Iturbide	72,342	45,628	63.07	26,714	36.93
Pénjamo	149,705	94,072	62.84	55,633	37.16
Romita	56,610	35,443	62.61	21,167	37.39
Manuel Doblado	37,130	23,183	62.44	13,947	37.56
San Felipe	106,925	66,275	61.98	40,650	38.02
Dolores Hidalgo	147,495	88,909	60.28	58,586	39.72
Yuriria	70,320	38,979	55.43	31,341	44.57
Tarimoro	35,448	18,907	53.34	16,541	46.66
San Miguel de Allende	159,558	85,068	53.31	74,490	46.69
Valle de Santiago	140,725	70,309	49.96	70,416	50.04
Cuerámara	27,179	13,267	48.81	13,912	51.19
San Luis de la Paz	115,521	56,382	48.81	59,139	51.19
Tarandacuao	11,614	5,565	47.92	6,049	52.08
Comonfort	77,743	36,909	47.48	40,834	52.52
Apaseo el Alto	64,391	28,920	44.91	35,471	55.09
Santiago Maravatío	6,661	2,850	42.79	3,811	57.21
Silao	172,604	69,588	40.32	103,016	59.68
Apaseo el Grande	85,235	33,161	38.91	52,074	61.09
Acámbaro	108,493	40,971	37.76	67,522	62.24
San Francisco del Rincón	112,685	42,368	37.6	70,317	62.4
Purísima del Rincón	68,630	25,244	36.78	43,386	63.22
Salvatierra	96,799	32,019	33.08	64,780	66.92
Santa Cruz de Juventino Rosas	79,064	25,109	31.76	53,955	68.24
Villagrán	55,611	14,908	26.81	40,703	73.19

**Table 6: Rural and Urban Population by Municipality, 2010** (continue)

Municipality	Total Population	Rural Population	% Rural Population	Urban Population	% Urban Population
Cortazar	88,193	23,315	26.44	64,878	73.56
Jaral del Progreso	36,563	9,559	26.14	27,004	73.86
Salamanca	259,289	65,886	25.41	193,403	74.59
Guanajuato	168,736	41,323	24.49	127,413	75.51
Irapuato	526,800	97,550	18.52	429,250	81.48
Celaya	462,184	61,983	13.41	400,201	86.59
Uriangato	58,660	7,863	13.4	50,797	86.6
Moroleón	48,779	6,158	12.62	42,621	87.38
León	1,428,146	98,496	6.9	1,329,650	93.1
Total	5,456,936	1,648,735	30.21	3,808,201	69.79

Note: According to INEGI, a settlement is considered rural when it has fewer than 2,500 inhabitants, while urban settlements are those with more than 2,500 inhabitants.

## Growth rate

For the period between 2000-2015 Guanajuato's growth rate was small (1.57%), practically half that of 1970 (2.85%). The highest growth rates were found in Purísima del Rincón (3.94%), San José Iturbide (2.55%), Silao (2.34% and León (2.26%) (Table 7). Purísima del Rincón, León and Silao form an arc where the most dynamic industrial establishments and most desirable residential areas of the state are located (Map 2).

In the span between 2000-2015, the number of municipalities with negative growth was reduced to five: Atarjea (-0.07%), Jerécuaro (-0.76%), Santiago Maravatío (-0.25%), Tarimoro (-0.55%) and Yuriria (-0.33%) (Table 7). However, the trend towards low levels of growth remains, confirming that these are municipalities where internal and international migration remain active and where local economies, mostly rural, lack the dynamism to retain, let alone attract more population. According to the ethnographic data for migrants who have arranged and willingly returned, they have mostly preferred midsized cities across the state, where they see better standards of living and opportunities for investment and business (see section on return migration).

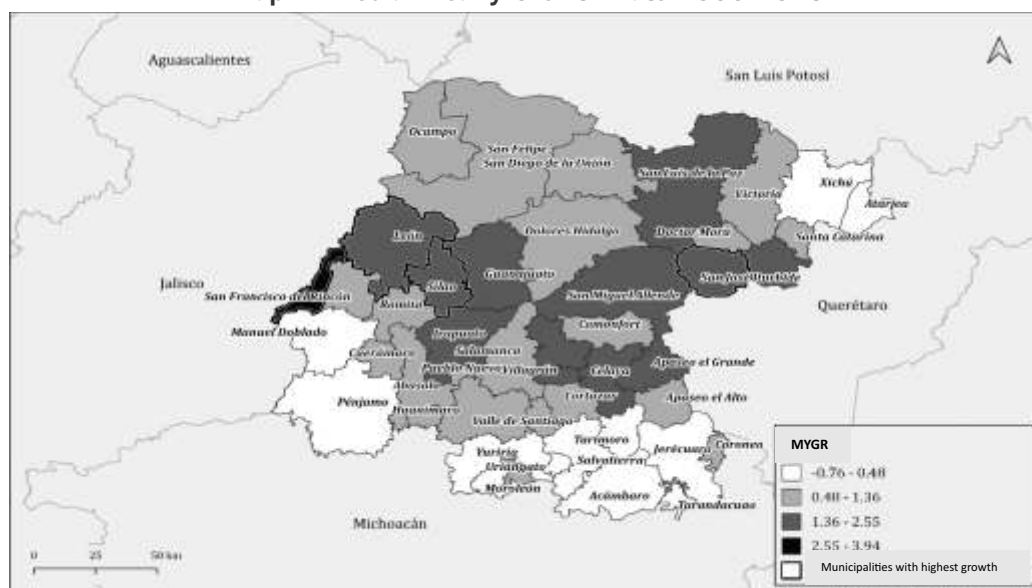
**Table 7: Median Yearly Growth Rate by Municipality, 2000-2015**

Municipality	Total population 2000	Total population 2015	MYGR 2000-2015
Purísima del Rincón	44,662	79,798	3.94
San José Iturbide	53,981	78,794	2.55
Silao	133,937	189,567	2.34
León	1,129,286	1,578,626	2.26
Apaseo el Grande	68,110	92,605	2.07
Irapuato	436,718	574,344	1.84
Tierra Blanca	14,455	18,960	1.83
Guanajuato	140,472	184,239	1.82
Celaya	379,338	494,304	1.78
Villagrán	45,689	58,830	1.7
San Miguel de Allende	133,888	171,857	1.68
Santa Cruz de Juventino Rosas	65,259	83,060	1.62
San Luis de la Paz	96,481	121,027	1.52
Comonfort	67,422	82,572	1.36
Doctor Mora	19,863	24,219	1.33
Jaral del Progreso	31,643	38,412	1.3

**Table 7: Median Yearly Growth Rate by Municipality, 2000-2015 (continue)**

Municipality	Total population 2000	Total population 2015	MYGR 2000-2015
Salamanca	225,602	273,271	1.29
Apaseo el Alto	56,541	68,455	1.28
San Francisco del Rincón	99,471	119,510	1.23
Uriangato	52,651	62,761	1.18
San Felipe	95,031	113,109	1.17
Cortázar	80,711	95,961	1.16
Dolores Hidalgo	128,562	152,113	1.13
Coroneo	10,287	12,068	1.07
San Diego de la Unión	33,980	39,668	1.04
Santa Catarina	4,509	5,261	1.03
Romita	51,689	59,879	0.99
Abasolo	78,849	90,990	0.96
Pueblo Nuevo	10,366	11,872	0.91
Victoria	17,696	20,166	0.87
Ocampo	20,856	23,528	0.81
Cuerámaro	25,478	28,320	0.71
Huanímaro	19,637	21,638	0.65
Valle de Santiago	130,025	142,672	0.62
Moroleón	46,904	50,377	0.48
Salvatierra	93,670	100,391	0.46
Tarandacuao	11,471	12,256	0.44
Pénjamo	143,362	150,570	0.33
Xichú	11,283	11,639	0.21
Manuel Doblado	37,965	38,832	0.15
Acámbaro	109,794	112,125	0.14
Atarjea	5,186	5,128	-0.07
Santiago Maravatío	7,083	6,824	-0.25
Yuriria	73,296	69,763	-0.33
Tarimoro	37,198	34,263	-0.55
Jerécuaro	55,011	49,053	-0.76
Total	4,635,368	5,853,677	1.57

**Map 2: Median Yearly Growth Rate 2000-2015**



## Internal immigration

The arrival of people from other states in Guanajuato has increased gradually: from 90,112 in 2000 to 97,451 in 2010 and in just five years, by 2015 a total of 88,484 new neighbors were recorded in the state (Table 8).

**Table 8: Immigration into Guanajuato by State, 2000-2015**

Rank	State	2000		Rank	State	2010		Rank	State	2015	
		Absolute	Relative			Absolute	Relative			Absolute	Relative
1	Mexico City	19,792	21.96	1	Mexico City	18,150	18.62	1	—	12,679	14.33
2	México	18,702	20.75	2	México	14,770	15.16	2	Mexico City	12,087	13.66
3	Jalisco	9,140	10.14	3	Michoacán	10,435	10.71	3	Michoacán	11,977	13.54
4	Michoacán	7,889	8.75	4	Jalisco	9,365	9.61	4	Jalisco	9,230	10.43
5	Querétaro	5,924	6.57	5	Querétaro	8,711	8.94	5	Querétaro	7,565	8.55
Total immigrants		90,112	100	Total immigrants		97,451	100	Total immigrants		88,484	100

Note: The state of origin for internal migrants to Guanajuato refers to their State of Residence in the five years prior to the corresponding census. This state is not necessarily the immigrants' state of origin or birth.

The states which send migrants have remained the same over time and four of them share a border with Guanajuato. In 2015, the main states of origin of migrants to Guanajuato were the state of Mexico (14.33%), Mexico City (13.66%), Michoacán (13.54%), Jalisco (10.43%), and Querétaro (8.55%).

Still, there is a trend towards a decrease in immigration coming from bordering states and Mexico City, with more coming from non-bordering and distant states (Table 9). The main non-bordering migrant sending states have been Veracruz, Baja California, Puebla, Tamaulipas, and Guerrero.

Where have these immigrants gone? In 2015, the main destinations for internal migration were the municipalities of León (29,992), Celaya (10,689), Irapuato (10,251), Salamanca (4,479), Apaseo el Grande (2,814), Silao (2,618) and San José Iturbide (2,379) (Table 10).

**Table 9: Immigration from bordering area and other regions**

Year	Immigrants from the bordering region	Share of Immigrants coming from the bordering region	Immigrants from other regions	Share of immigrants coming from other regions
2000	61,447	68.19	28,665	31.81
2010	61,431	63.04	36,020	36.96
2015	53,538	60.51	34,946	39.49

Note: The bordering region includes the states of Querétaro, Michoacán, Jalisco, México, and Mexico City.

**Table 10: Interstate immigration by municipality, 2015**

Municipality	Absolute	Relative
León	29,992	33.9
Celaya	10,689	12.08
Irapuato	10,251	11.59
Salamanca	4,479	5.06
Apaseo el Grande	2,814	3.18
Silao	2,618	2.96
San José Iturbide	2,379	2.69
Pénjamo	2,232	2.52
San Francisco del Rincón	1,960	2.22
San Miguel de Allende	1,891	2.14
Guanajuato	1,759	1.99
Acámbaro	1,389	1.57
Purísima del Rincón	1,383	1.56
San Felipe	1,185	1.34
Salvatierra	1,139	1.29
San Luis de la Paz	1,049	1.19
Villagrán	917	1.04
Valle de Santiago	900	1.02
Apaseo el Alto	849	0.96
Uriangato	724	0.82
Cortazar	718	0.81
Dolores Hidalgo	524	0.59
Santa Cruz de Juventino Rosas	490	0.55
Moroleón	485	0.55
Jerécuaro	482	0.54
Yuriria	482	0.54
Romita	480	0.54
Abasolo	467	0.53
Manuel Doblado	453	0.51
Comonfort	415	0.47
Tarandacuao	300	0.34
Ocampo	299	0.34
Jaral del Progreso	289	0.33
Coroneo	259	0.29
Cuerámara	234	0.26
Tierra Blanca	218	0.25
San Diego de la Unión	210	0.24
Huanímaro	205	0.23
Doctor Mora	186	0.21
Victoria	169	0.19
Tarimoro	167	0.19
Xichú	84	0.09
Pueblo Nuevo	81	0.09
Santa Catarina	81	0.09
Atarjea	76	0.09
Santiago Maravatío	31	0.04
Total	88,484	100

## Internal Emigration

Emigration by Guanajuato natives towards other states in the country has lower numbers than immigration: 70,649 in 2000, 75,505 in 2010 and 67,653 in 2015 (Table 11). The states towards which they emigrate are similar to those sending migrants. Emigration towards three traditional destinations, the states of Mexico, Jalisco, and Michoacán, remains stable but with a downward trend.

A decrease in migration towards Baja California (where Tijuana is located) was noted (from 8.68% in 2000 to 4.34% in 2015) although it's a necessary stop for international migrants. That is also true for Mexico City, a historically important destination for Guanajuato's migrants. What has increased noticeably is emigration towards the neighboring state of Querétaro (Table 11). In 2015 it accounted for nearly one fifth of all Guanajuato emigrants (19.12%).

Internal migration from Guanajuato is no longer directed northwards, as a stepping stone towards the United States, instead opting for a national destination in a neighboring state with important economic dynamics. It should be mentioned that the municipalities in Guanajuato sharing a border with Querétaro are the most critical in terms of population and economic activity in the state. However, it's not evident that the migrants leaving for Querétaro come from these municipalities.

**Table 11: Internal emigration by state, 2000-2015**

State	2000		2010		2015	
	Absolute	Percentage	Absolute	Percentage	Absolute	Percentage
Aguascalientes	2,164	3.01	2,661	3.60	2,455	3.57
Baja California	6,344	8.82	5,486	7.42	2,936	4.27
Baja California Sur	343	0.48	1,667	2.26	488	0.71
Campeche	73	0.10	290	0.39	226	0.33
Coahuila de Zaragoza	1,272	1.77	1,607	2.17	1,250	1.82
Colima	512	0.71	949	1.28	1,145	1.67
Chiapas	596	0.83	635	0.86	1,032	1.50
Chihuahua	1,665	2.31	876	1.19	905	1.32
Ciudad de México	6,138	8.53	6,287	8.51	5,408	7.87
Durango	435	0.60	395	0.53	297	0.43
Guanajuato	-	-	-	-	-	0.00
Guerrero	455	0.63	721	0.98	412	0.60
Hidalgo	1,522	2.12	1,900	2.57	1,626	2.37
Jalisco	7,065	9.82	7,905	10.70	6,944	10.11
México	9,823	13.65	8,519	11.53	8,173	11.89
Michoacán de Ocampo	6,497	9.03	6,948	9.40	5,872	8.55
Morelos	823	1.14	337	0.46	630	0.92
Nayarit	500	0.69	589	0.80	822	1.20
Nuevo León	2,771	3.85	2,369	3.21	2,878	4.19
Oaxaca	313	0.44	655	0.89	655	0.95
Puebla	1,232	1.71	1,102	1.49	1,162	1.69
Querétaro	8,633	12.00	9,416	12.74	13,137	19.12
Quintana Roo	879	1.22	761	1.03	828	1.20
San Luis Potosí	3,315	4.61	3,669	4.96	2,488	3.62
Sinaloa	775	1.08	804	1.09	896	1.30
Sonora	1,511	2.10	446	0.60	1,014	1.48
Tabasco	238	0.33	394	0.53	126	0.18
Tamaulipas	2,090	2.90	2,488	3.37	1,375	2.00
Tlaxcala	450	0.63	374	0.51	434	0.63
Veracruz de Ignacio de la Llave	1,857	2.58	2,425	3.28	1,785	2.60
Yucatán	368	0.51	193	0.26	362	0.53
Zacatecas	1,291	1.79	1,042	1.41	954	1.39
Total	71,950	100.00	73,910	100.00	68,715	100.00

Source: Authors' own, based on data from the General Population and Housing census, 2000 and 2010. Inter-census survey 2015. INEGI.



A survey from the MMP, though rather small, applied in 2010 in El Tejamanil, an 'ejido' belonging to the Romita municipality, showed that internal migrants who had left the community between 2001 and 2007 had gone to Ramos Arizpe, Coahuila, and to Culiacán, Sinaloa, to work in agriculture and as helpers or day laborers in construction. They had not completed primary school and had remained there between two and five years (MMP, 131).

## Internal Migration

In 2015, the municipalities that had the largest population originally from other Guanajuato municipalities (intrastate migration) were seven, all part of the Bajío corridor: León (7,403), Celaya (5,133), Irapuato (4,960), Purísima del Rincón (3,321), San Francisco del Rincón (2,674), and Silao (1,955) (Table 12).

A big change since 1970 is that female internal migration has been eliminated. In 1990 the population had returned to balance in terms of gender for most municipalities. Exceptions were found in Huanímaro, Pueblo Nuevo, Yuriria, Salvatierra, Coroneo, and Acámbaro, where women continued to exit (Table 12). Since 2010, all municipalities have had more women than men, indicating that female migration has stopped, but male migration continued.

In 2015, of the state's 5,853,677 inhabitants, 2,826,369 were men and 3,027,308 were women, making the male ratio 93.36 (Table 13).

Data for 2015 shows that the municipalities with the greatest imbalance between men and women were those historically associated with male migration to the United States: San Diego de la Unión (85.21), Jerécuaro (85.90), Dolores Hidalgo (86.69), Victoria (87.77), Comonfort (88.68%), San Luis de la Paz (88.78), Xichú (88.85), and Coroneo (89.12) (Table 13). This supports the often-repeated tale of communities where the men have migrated, women and the elderly abound, and work or employment opportunities are scarce. However, unlike in previous decades, we do not find an increased presence of women in the state's largest cities.

**Table 12: Intra-state immigration by municipality, 2015**

Municipalities	Absolute	Relative
León	7,403	15.02
Celaya	5,133	10.41
Irapuato	4,960	10.06
Purísima del Rincón	3,321	6.74
Salamanca	2,819	5.72
Guanajuato	2,777	5.63
San Francisco del Rincón	2,674	5.43
Silao	1,955	3.97
Villagrán	1,640	3.33
Cortazar	1,429	2.9
Valle de Santiago	1,158	2.35
San José Iturbide	1,058	2.15
Uriangato	1,002	2.03
Apaseo el Grande	957	1.94
San Felipe	801	1.63
Dolores Hidalgo	778	1.58
Salvatierra	743	1.51
Moroleón	700	1.42
San Luis de la Paz	661	1.34
Santa Cruz de Juventino Rosas	612	1.24
Romita	575	1.17
San Miguel de Allende	571	1.16

**Table 12: Intra-state immigration by municipality, 2015** (continue)

Municipalities	Absolute	Relative
Abasolo	529	1.07
Comonfort	473	0.96
Manuel Doblado	435	0.88
Acámbaro	424	0.86
Cuerámara	408	0.83
Pénjamo	402	0.82
Apaseo el Alto	316	0.64
Pueblo Nuevo	314	0.64
Jaral del Progreso	281	0.57
Ocampo	269	0.55
San Diego de la Unión	264	0.54
Doctor Mora	201	0.41
Yuriria	194	0.39
Tarimoro	188	0.38
Huanímaro	174	0.35
Tierra Blanca	146	0.3
Jerécuaro	127	0.26
Tarandacuao	96	0.19
Victoria	90	0.18
Santa Catarina	76	0.15
Coroneo	56	0.11
Santiago Maravatío	50	0.1
Atarjea	25	0.05
Xichú	24	0.05
Total	49,289	100

**Table 13: Male ratio by municipality  
(1970, 1990, 2000, 2010, 2015)**

Municipality	1970	1990	2000	2010	2015
Abasolo	104.11	91.35	89.53	91.43	93.99
Acámbaro	98.07	89.09	88.27	90.48	92.28
Apaseo el Alto	105.15	94.57	91.80	93.74	92.51
Apaseo el Grande	108	94.46	91.02	92.67	92.13
Atarjea	102.83	102.18	92.79	96.02	93.73
Celaya	98.36	93.24	91.21	92.33	92.59
Comonfort	99.81	94.19	88.97	88.07	88.68
Coroneo	94.79	88.81	88.54	87.63	89.12
Cortazar	101.05	93.55	90.47	93.22	92.04
Cuerámara	98.15	89.06	87.97	91.78	91.30
Doctor Mora	102.17	96.36	91.12	91.27	90.75
Dolores Hidalgo	108.02	92.62	89.97	89.23	86.69
Guanajuato	102.78	94.53	93.82	93.08	94.33
Huanímaro	101.5	84.84	85.80	88.06	90.06
Irapuato	97.12	93.46	91.69	92.73	93.60
Jaral del Progreso	99.18	95.33	88.16	93.33	97.03
Jerécuaro	104.21	96.76	92.51	86.33	85.90
León	100.31	95.47	95.59	95.49	96.54
Manuel Doblado	94.93	92.71	88.37	89.53	92.02
Moroleón	99.45	91.90	87.55	89.15	91.02

**Table 13: Male ratio by municipality  
(1970, 1990, 2000, 2010, 2015) (continue)**

Municipality	1970	1990	2000	2010	2015
Ocampo	103.73	93.12	90.69	92.02	92.03
Pénjamo	96.04	90.80	88.96	88.86	91.76
Pueblo Nuevo	98.88	84.04	83.14	87.15	91.14
Purísima del Rincón	101.84	93.45	94.76	96.48	98.84
Romita	100.36	91.95	90.05	92.83	93.86
Salamanca	99.59	94.82	92.00	94.00	92.57
Salvatierra	106.5	88.81	87.52	89.65	89.97
San Diego de la Unión	101.38	94.02	89.82	87.22	85.21
San Felipe	108.62	97.62	90.28	92.32	92.96
San Francisco del Rincón	101.86	92.91	93.29	93.95	92.23
San José Iturbide	102.34	91.88	90.01	91.69	92.87
San Luis de la Paz	101.06	96.07	90.87	89.81	88.78
San Miguel Allende	100.83	95.31	91.61	89.74	92.24
Santa Catarina	99.74	91.26	90.33	88.24	91.66
Santa Cruz de Juventino Rosas	103.71	95.57	91.96	91.82	91.22
Santiago Maravatio	102.04	92.39	84.93	87.42	91.42
Silao	102.66	97.36	95.36	94.23	96.20
Tarandacuao	100.92	91.68	88.17	89.90	89.40
Tarimoro	101.81	90.63	87.56	91.26	95.64
Tierra Blanca	104.27	95.95	91.69	93.15	90.67
Uriangato	100.7	93.14	89.98	91.38	92.47
Valle de Santiago	97.08	93.19	87.80	90.05	89.24
Victoria	97.11	97.31	87.98	89.58	87.77
Villagrán	98.87	95.04	91.00	93.15	94.29
Xichú	103.21	99.69	95.34	91.84	88.85
Yuriria	98.62	86.16	86.32	89.48	90.69
Total	98.96	93.72	91.87	92.67	93.36

Note: The male ratio shows the share of men in relation to the female population. It is calculated as follows:  
MR = Number of men/Number of women \* 100

## Day Laborer Immigration

A recent form of internal immigration, seen starting in 2010, is that of agricultural daylaborers, which has been detected and studied in León, the municipality which generally welcomes the most immigrants. In 2017 “the arrival of 762 indigenous agricultural day laborers from the states of Guerrero, Jalisco, and Michoacán” was recorded, although the vast majority of these (94%) came from the state of Guerrero (Martínez Mendizábal, *et. al*, s.f). The Loyola Center for Indigenous Development (Centro de Desarrollo Indígena Loyola, CDIL) (2019) estimates that there may be 3,000 migrant day laborers in the state of Guanajuato.

This form of immigration is primarily indigenous with predominantly Mixtec ancestry, consisting of families, young couples with small children who hire out as temporary day laborers for crop-picking. One of the activities these immigrant day laborers are involved in is –chili pepper picking– an activity that was for decades an important source of female employment in the municipality of Dolores Hidalgo.

While it is commonly stated that migrants tend to return to their communities of origin, our information suggests that this is rather an itinerant day laborer form of migration, originating in the highly impoverished rural communities in the state of Guerrero and moving between León and other Guana-

juato municipalities, such as: Dolores Hidalgo, Manuel Doblado, Purísima, Romita, San Francisco del Rincón, Silao, and Valle de Santiago, where highly dynamic agricultural activity is located. But they also travel to other states, such as; Baja California, Colima, Jalisco, Michoacán, San Luis Potosí and Sinaloa (Martínez Mendizábal, 2016; Red Nacional de jornaleros y jornaleras agrícolas en México, 2019).

It is said that the choice of Guanajuato as a destination or transit point for these migrants has much to do with the possibility for minors to work. After many years of struggle, child labor has been banned and eradicated in other day laborer contexts (Martínez Mendizábal, 2015). Otherwise, the situation is no different from the general state of day laborers in Mexico: lack of basic rights and precarious working conditions; including: low wages, non-existent benefits, poor living conditions, health-care, or education (Martínez Mendizábal, 2016).

## Migration or Mobility?

It is often said that Guanajuato needs more labor supply in several micro-regions and economic activities. However, we do not find the same intense labor migration processes as in other states, especially when looking at day laborers for agricultural activities as we do in other states, particularly in the country's north. Although Guanajuato's Bajío region has a diversified, modern agricultural economy fully linked to international markets and demanding a large supply of labor, this demand is often filled, to a large extent, by the state's own population.

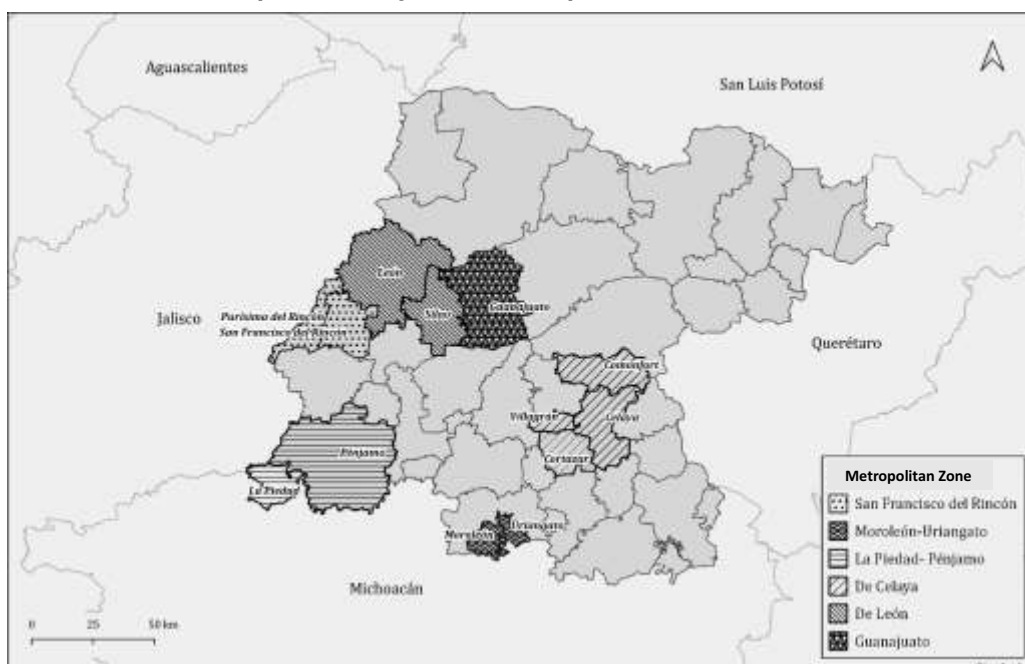
How has this happened? Is there actual internal migration or are there other phenomena causing population displacement which have not been captured by surveys and censuses? Censuses and statistics gather information on migration, that is, on the population that has changed their residence during a particular inter-census period. In other words, they gather information on the population that has left tracks behind, because they recorded a change in residence and employment across intra-state or inter-state political-administrative borders. These instruments do not capture the population that moves within a shorter timeframe than the censuses, or those who engage in mobility without migration (Garrocho, 2011).

Keep in mind that internal migration used to be associated with long distance displacement towards big cities where labor offers were centralized, and it implied a change of residence, even if it was temporary (Bataillon and Rivière D'Arc, 1973). However, things have changed. In recent years there has been discussion around what is known as mobility without migration, that is, without a change of residence (Garrocho, 2011).

One confirmation is that, in spaces where a broad and diverse offer of employment and good communications exist, such as in the Bajío, population displacement has intensified while temporary or definite migration have not as much. Romo *et al.* (2013) have, for their part, detected a stabilization in both internal and intrastate migration, that is to say, changes of residence between municipalities in the same state. Their hypothesis holds that, faced with a situation of economic crisis and the decrease of long-distance migrations, such as migration to the United States, the population prefers displacements that remain close to their communities of origin.

In 2015, there were six Metropolitan Zones (hereafter MZ) in Guanajuato. Three of them are defined by their physical proximity, that is, they are intermunicipal or interstate conurbations: the metropolitan zone of San Francisco del Rincón, the MZ around Moroleón-Uriangato, and the MZ around La Piedad-Pénjamo. The MZ around León is characterized by the size of its urban footprint. The Celaya MZ corresponds to criteria for urban planning and policy. Guanajuato city was considered a MZ for being the state capital (Table 14 and Map 4) (CONAPO, 2015).

**Map 3: Guanajuato's Metropolitan Zones, 2015**



**Table 14: Population and median yearly growth rate by Metropolitan Zone  
1990, 2000, 2010 and 2015**

Key	Municipality	Population				Share of State's Population in 2015	Median Yearly Growth Rate (%)			Aarea <sup>1</sup> (km <sup>2</sup> )	MUD <sup>2</sup> (hab/ha)
		1990	2000	2010	2015		1990-2000	2000-2010	2010-2015		
León Metropolitan Zone	León	867,920	1,134,842	1,436,480	1,578,626	26.97	2.70	2.30	2.00	1,221.60	129.40
	Silao	115,130	134,337	173,024	189,567	3.24	1.60	2.50	1.90	538.50	79.20
<b>Total</b>		<b>983,050</b>	<b>1,269,179</b>	<b>1,609,504</b>	<b>1,768,193</b>	<b>30.21</b>	<b>2.60</b>	<b>2.30</b>	<b>2.00</b>	<b>1,760.10</b>	<b>125.90</b>
San Francisco del Rincón Metropolitan Zone	Purísima del Rincón	30,433	44,778	68,795	79,798	1.36	4.00	4.20	3.20	290.70	58.10
	San Francisco del Rincón	83,601	100,239	113,570	119,510	2.04	1.80	1.20	1.10	425.40	68.70
<b>Total</b>		<b>114,034</b>	<b>145,017</b>	<b>182,365</b>	<b>199,308</b>	<b>3.40</b>	<b>2.40</b>	<b>2.20</b>	<b>1.90</b>	<b>716.10</b>	<b>64.70</b>
Moroleón-Uriangato Metropolitan Zone	Moroleón	48,191	47,132	49,364	50,377	0.86	-0.20	0.40	0.40	159.70	69.70
	Uriangato	46,710	52,931	59,305	62,761	1.07	1.30	1.10	1.20	116.30	70.00
<b>Total</b>		<b>94,901</b>	<b>100,063</b>	<b>108,669</b>	<b>113,138</b>	<b>1.93</b>	<b>0.50</b>	<b>0.80</b>	<b>0.90</b>	<b>276.10</b>	<b>69.90</b>
La Piedad-Pénjamo Metropolitan Zone	Pénjamo	137,842	144,426	149,936	150,570	2.57	0.50	0.40	0.10	1,561.10	52.40
	La Piedad	81,162	84,946	99,576	103,702	1.77	0.50	1.50	0.90	284.70	78.20
<b>Total</b>		<b>219,004</b>	<b>229,372</b>	<b>249,512</b>	<b>254,272</b>	<b>4.34</b>	<b>0.50</b>	<b>0.80</b>	<b>0.40</b>	<b>1,845.80</b>	<b>67.80</b>
Celaya Metropolitan Zone	Celaya	310,569	382,958	468,469	494,304	8.44	2.10	2.00	1.10	553.10	90.80
	Comonfort	56,592	67,642	77,794	82,572	1.41	1.80	1.40	1.30	488.70	47.30
	Cortazar*	-	-	-	95,961	1.64	0.90	0.80	1.70	335.20	85.60
	Villagrán	38,680	45,941	55,782	58,830	1.01	1.70	1.90	1.10	128.50	78.80
<b>Total</b>		<b>405,841</b>	<b>496,541</b>	<b>602,045</b>	<b>731,667</b>	<b>12.50</b>	<b>1.90</b>	<b>1.70</b>	<b>1.20</b>	<b>1,505.40</b>	<b>86.10</b>
Guanajuato Metropolitan Zone	Guanajuato	119,170	141,196	171,709	184,239	3.15	1.70	1.90	1.50	1,041.10	83.80
<b>Total</b>		<b>119,170</b>	<b>141,196</b>	<b>171,709</b>	<b>184,239</b>	<b>3.15</b>	<b>1.70</b>	<b>1.90</b>	<b>1.50</b>	<b>1,041.10</b>	<b>83.80</b>
<b>State Total</b>		<b>1,936,000</b>	<b>2,381,368</b>	<b>2,923,804</b>	<b>3,250,817</b>	<b>55.53</b>					

\*The Municipality of Cortazar is part of the Celaya Metropolitan Zone since 2015.

<sup>1</sup>Data for surface area obtained from the Municipal Geo-statistical Areas (AGEM), part of the National Geostatistical Framework 2010.

<sup>2</sup>Median Urban Density: The data used to calculate the MUD was obtained from the urban Basic Geostatistical Areas (AGEB) reported in the Urban Geostatistical Cartography in the Population and Housing Census, 2010

Note: State and municipal borders were compiled from the INEGI geostatistical framework, which separates the national territory into codified area units, called State Geostatistical Areas (AGEE) and Municipal Geostatistical Areas (AGEM) in order to better reference the statistical information from censuses and surveys. These borders follow existing political-administrative borders as closely as possible.

Source: Authors' own using data from CONAPO (2015), Tabulations for the Inter-institutional Group and from General Population and Housing Censuses 1990 and 2000, Population and Housing Census 2010, and Inter-Census Survey 2015.

The MZs have increasingly integrated more people and municipalities, both urban and rural, who have now become part of the metropolitan labor, residential, and socio-cultural dynamics that demand workers, but also make various mobilities possible: daily, weekly, twice-semimonthly, monthly. Indeed, immigration to Guanajuato, and the highest demographic growth rates in the state, are concentrated in the MZs.



In 2015, little over half the population, 55.5%, lived in one of five MZs. There are states with a greater metropolitan concentration than Guanajuato, but it is trending upward. In the five years between 2010 to 2015 the share of the population living in MZs grew from 50.4% to 55.5%.

The León MZ, which consists of the León and Silao municipalities, has the largest population: 1,768,193 inhabitants, representing 30.2% of the state's population, the highest median yearly growth: 2.0 and the highest MUD (Median Urban Density) 125.9 inhabitants per hectare (Table 11). The León MZ concentrates all activities related to the production of footwear and leather articles, clothing, and a great variety of services, as well as being an important commercial hub for the sale of these manufactured products.

Silao, meanwhile, has been one of the greatest beneficiaries of the arrival of auto companies in the state, the Bajío airport, and the Puerto Interior, a top-tier logistics center. At the same time, Silao is an important agricultural hub.

The dynamism of León and Silao's economies has led to a broad range of labor options, especially for women. They work as manufacturing workers, as service employees, or in commerce in the León and Silao municipalities, but also in agriculture around Irapuato and Romita. For men, in contrast, the biggest offer is for agricultural day laborers who travel to different places every day, away from the MZ. It should be noted that in addition to the fruit and vegetable processing plants, several small settlements have a "cutting center", a rudimentary establishment where the first processing steps for these products are carried out employing many women who need only step out of their homes to go to work.

Women are engaged in daily, weekly, and bimonthly labor displacement. Male displacements are daily, but their labor contracts are often highly irregular, which means they can sometimes spend weeks in their communities of origin, not working. Both genders prefer to keep their residence in their place of origin, where they often own their house and have room to carry out other activities bringing in cash income, such as retail trade or raising livestock opportunities they would not have if they migrated to the city.

Very close, in fact nearly a conurbation with the León MZ, we find the San Francisco del Rincón MZ, made up of the San Francisco del Rincón and Purísima del Rincón municipalities, which accounted for 199,308 people or 3.4% of the state's population, with a median yearly growth rate of 1.9% and a MUD of 64.7% people per hectare. The San Francisco del Rincón MZ is renowned for its manufacturing activities in the footwear, hat-making, and similar manufacturing industries as well as being a highly prosperous agricultural micro-region.

In addition to its conurbation with León, the San Francisco del Rincón MZ is closely linked with two highland municipalities in the neighboring state of Jalisco: San Diego de Alejandría and Unión de San Antonio. Every day, neighbors from both municipalities travel to work at the MZ's businesses and bring at-home employment from San Francisco del Rincón back to their own municipalities.

Neighbors from these municipalities would rather live in their hometowns and travel on public transport (buses depart every 10 minutes from the San Francisco terminal up to the Jalisco highlands). Living in San Francisco is expensive, and in terms of both time and money it's both cheaper and more comfortable for workers to make the daily journey, allowing their families to remain in their own municipalities. These cases deal with daily work-related displacement which do not provide statistical records.

The second largest MZ in terms of population is Celaya, consisting of the Celaya, Comonfort, Cortazar, and Villagrán municipalities, home to 731,667 people and representing 12.5% of the state's population. The growth rate here was 1.2% per year, and the MUD stands at 86.1 people per hectare. Celaya is yet another important area for highly diversified economic development: agriculture and manufacturing, often associated with large corporations and foreign companies.

The demand for workers, especially for day laborers to tackle agricultural tasks, extends beyond the Celaya MZ; one example is the town of Misión de Chichimecas in the San Luis de la Paz municipality. Here, company buses would leave every week carrying male laborers, with a few women laborers, to spend the week working in one of several agricultural exploits owned by Celaya-based

consortiums. Every weekend they would return home to Misión de Chichimecas. These too are labor-related displacements, but in this case on a weekly basis, and again leaving no statistical trace.

The third MZ in terms of population is La Piedad-Pénjamo, though it is also the largest in size: 1,845.8 km<sup>2</sup>. In this case we find an interstate MZ, as La Piedad municipality belongs to Michoacán state. A recorded 254,272 people inhabited La Piedad and Pénjamo, representing 4.3% of the population, with a low growth rate of 0.4 and a MUD of 67.8 people per hectare.

This is an important pork-producing area and its Bajío region produces sorghum, a fundamental feed for pork farming. La Piedad is known for modern and prosperous pig feeding and raising farms, along with laboratories, and feed producers. La Piedad is the main commercial and service hub for this cross-border area. The dynamism of the pork industry extends to other Michoacán municipalities such as Puruándiro and Numarán, and to Manuel Doblado on the Guanajuato side, where inhabitants are providers, workers, and consumers in this MZ, especially around the La Piedad area.

The Moroleón-Uriangato MZ is comprised of these two municipalities and is the smallest both in size and population: 113,138 inhabitants, representing 1.93% of the state's population, with a low growth rate of 0.9% and a MUD of 69.9 people per hectare.

The Moroleón-Uriangato MZ has been a major manufacturing hub for the making of clothing and textiles as well as for trade related to both activities. As a micro-region it was also highly affected by the trade liberalization that heavily impacted these industries. Still, manufacturing and trade in this MZ has had enormous impact on employment, especially female employment, around the rural settlements in both municipalities and also in the neighboring municipality of Yuriria. Young men and women travel every day to work in the factories, workshops, and businesses around Moroleón and Uriangato, returning later to their communities of origin.

The Guanajuato MZ includes this municipality only the state capital. It's estimated that 181,239 people live there, representing 3.1% of the state population, with a growth rate of 1.5% and a MUD of 83.8 people per hectare.

As the state capital, Guanajuato mostly concentrates public jobs and activities, acts as an important higher education hub and, of course, is a major tourism hub for national and, to a lesser extent, international travelers, this creates job opportunities in retail, services, and in the production of arts and crafts.

## Conclusions

In Guanajuato, unlike other states, we find a handful of medium-sized and small cities dating back to colonial times with viable but distinct economic activities. This peculiar characteristic in Guanajuato's use of space has remained, although it is currently limited to the cities located along the Bajío corridor.

There is little doubt that in Guanajuato economic, manufacturing, and agro-industrial specialization has favored the formation of now-metropolitan spaces, which can sustain immigration and have reduced internal migration.

It is in these MZs where we clearly see the trend towards concentrating populations, where we find the highest growth rates in the state, where cities and economic activities generate jobs and employment opportunities for other communities and municipalities. These Mzs receive the most immigrants and where we find, perhaps not as many internal migrations but rather plenty of labor-related displacements with different purposes and time frames.

Many companies offer transportation services to their employees. However, there are connectivity issues and certain risks exist for the population as they travel across the MZs.

Within these MZs we observe that the spectrum for employment available to men is narrower than that available to women. This means that men tend to leave their communities of origin more often, migrating in search of employment. The example of El Tejamanil illustrates the existence of long-distance day laborer migration and settlement in the country's North.

We could say that these MZs, with their capacity for adding further spaces, populations and activities, will maintain or even intensify labor-related mobilities without increasing internal migration. This, at any rate, would increase intra and extra-communitarian tensions and conflicts over space and the use of residential areas in the MZs.

However, it should be mentioned that the high levels of violence felt in Guanajuato over the last few years could have effects changing immigration trends and immigration and emigration from the MZs. People who had arrived from other states seeking refuge from the conditions in their own state, such as those from Michoacán, might look for new destinations for themselves and their businesses. Small-scale businessmen and workers might be pressured to leave Guanajuato due to threats and extortion.

At the same time, we note the lack of connections between the MZs and the northern and southern areas of the state, which are not linked to dynamic spaces in neighboring states. Furthermore, we observe a reduction in economic activities in the middle and small-sized cities in the state's north and south. The loss of viable economic activities can be seen in demographic growth that maintains the persistence of migration, not mobility.

These migrations, given the reduction of undocumented emigration to the United States, will head towards two possible destinations: Guanajuato's MZs and the country's northern states, which require day laborers. And not only the northern states, much of the employment offered by agricultural, agro-industrial, and manufacturing businesses in Guanajuato, is also day labor. Day labor is irregular, wages are low, and they lack social benefits.

The situation regarding immigrant agricultural day laborers should be addressed, as has been done in other states. But in order to develop effective public policies we must decipher and understand the migration patterns of those coming to work in the state. Information available suggests these are itinerant migrations with movement within and outside of the state, and there is no clear evidence of them returning to their original communities or of settling in their destinations. Additionally, it is especially worrisome that migrants come to Guanajuato attracted by the possibility for minors to work.

The characteristics, problems, and needs of day laborer migration vary depending on whether these are: a) return migration to communities of origin (currently a minor part of the issue); b) settlement in destinations inside Mexico (which seems to be the general trend); and c) itinerant migration, which is the least studied, but may be the case for Guanajuato.

In this sense, it becomes necessary to know and accurately characterize the migratory patterns of agricultural day laborers who come to Guanajuato for work, in order to understand the specific problems and needs of day laborer families constantly on the move.

When national and international migration was predominantly male, as it was until the 1990s, women were supposed to be the guarantors of quality of life for households and communities. In Guanajuato, as in the rest of the country, workers' wages are low and irregular, which has forced all members of a household to participate in the labor market, becoming perpetual seekers of employment and work opportunities. Women too have been incorporated into this unstoppable flow of population in need of regular cash wages or income.

In Guanajuato, as elsewhere, there is insistence that women leaving their homes are responsible for family-related and social problems in their communities. This, however, will not change. Women will not be going back home, willingly or by force, forgoing their income. It is therefore necessary to change the narrative and do some social engineering based on new family and social contracts that release women of the responsibility and blame for the maladjustments and impacts brought about by globalized or depauperized economies upon Guanajuato's households.

## International Emigration (Guanajuato Natives Abroad)

### Introduction

The first question we should ask about emigration from Guanajuato<sup>4</sup> to the United States refers to the magnitude of this phenomenon. We are certain about its longevity and centenary presence, but in terms of magnitude a precise figure is hard to come by, being as it is a historically accumulated cohort with portions of the population engaged in a circular process and without proper records. However, we can indirectly estimate a number.

The way that we propose to estimate the volume of migration for this state begins with the total number of Mexican emigrants (born in Mexico) recognized by official statistical sources. In this case, as before, we turn to information provided by the Institute for Mexicans Abroad (Instituto de los Mexicanos en el Exterior, IME) which estimates the total population of Mexican emigrants at 11.8 million for 2017. For its part, the Pew Hispanic Center (PHC) estimates that, of the total Mexican population living in the United States in 2017, 4.9 million of them were unregulated. ([http://www.ime.gob.mx/estadisticas/mundo/estadistica\\_poblacion\\_pruebas.html#esperemos](http://www.ime.gob.mx/estadisticas/mundo/estadistica_poblacion_pruebas.html#esperemos) and <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2019/06/12/us-unauthorized-immigrant-population-2017/>).

Once we have a total universe we can estimate, using various statistical sources, the share represented by Guanajuato, which historically oscillates between 9 and 10%. This means that approximately 1.1 to 1.2 million Guanajuato natives now live in the United States.

We must point out that this analysis does not include second or third generations –the children or grandchildren of Guanajuato migrants who live in the United States–, hold US citizenship, or who, in order to obtain Mexican citizenship, would have to register at a consulate or municipal records office in the state. There are no data on second or third-generation Mexicans, other than those who return home. But we do have a total number for U.S. citizens of Mexican origins, which is estimated at 24.7 million (IME, 2017).

The number of binational Guanajuato natives could be partially estimated using municipal and consular records and this is a relevant fact which should be systematized. In this sense, one suggestion pertains to the convenience of concentrating all information from the municipal civil registry offices in the state that make reference to the offspring of Mexicans, which in this document are referred to as “recent immigrants”, formalizing their situation in the state, to which we must add the records of Guanajuato natives’ children reported in all Mexican consulates. Census data reveal there are 17,293 recent immigrants born in the United States, who most likely have already fulfilled the necessary paperwork to hold Mexican and therefore, dual citizenship. This subject will be further explored in the section on “recent immigrants”.

On the other hand, we must consider the so-called Generation 1.5, that is, Mexicans who arrived in the United States while still being minors. These are registered in the corresponding birth certificates and appear as emigrants in some census. This is a population which, due to their unregulated condition, does not return to Mexico, and is not captured by the censuses. Still, we must differentiate them from the general migrant population, which is traditionally divided into legal and undocumented migrants. This population, known as Dreamers or DACA, exist in a legal limbo, and many have been the subject of deportation while others have obtained certain legal protections in the United States.

<sup>4</sup> Technical note: Here, “Emigrants” refer to Mexicans who moved to the United States during the five-year reference period and who, at the time of the census, still remained in that country. The information for this variable can be shown through the number of households with at least one emigrant and alternatively as the number of individuals who claimed this characteristic. On the implications of using the number of “household” with emigrants or individuals: the input for calculating Mexican emigration is the extended survey or the General Population and Household Census in 2000 and 2010. Each of these censuses uses a different definition of the term “household”, which for the 2000 census considers all individuals who share common expenses and under this definition there may exist several households under one roof. For the 2010 census the definition is taken from the census household definition, referring to the number of individuals living under one roof. With these definitions, households are not strictly comparable. To make them so, we must add the households registered in 2000 to the residences, in order to make them comparable over time. The implications of using census households rather than individuals lead to underestimating the emigration figures. This is because census households may include two or more migrants, which would only be counted as 1 from a household perspective. Referring to individuals, on the other hand, eliminates two problems. On one hand we remove the underestimation, as a household with 3 migrant individuals will count all three. On the other hand, we solve the comparability issue as migrants in 2000 or 2010 share the same definition.

Of the general universe of the so-called Dreamers registered in the United States, estimated by the PHC at 790,000, 79.4% are Mexican or approximately 627,000. There are no elements to help determine how many Dreamers might have Guanajuato origins. Many of them are part of the family reunification process that took place years after the IRCA legalization of 1986. Another important group that became part of the ensuing irregular migration found themselves stuck in the United States, no longer able to circulate or return due to migration policies, and as a result decided to re-unify their families in the United States. In any case, over 50,000 Guanajuato natives may be in this situation. With regard to this population, an awareness campaign is recommended to encourage them to request a passport and INE voter ID, regardless of their legal status in the United States.

## Historic Evolution

The historic evolution of Guanajuato's migrations is linked to what is seen as the historic migrant region to which it belongs, along with Jalisco, Michoacán, Zacatecas, and other states in western Mexico, which has stood out as a region of emigrants since the late 19th Century.

From the first recorded statistics, in 1925, where migrants are broken down by their state of origin, Guanajuato has always appeared in a relevant role, along with the neighboring states of Jalisco and Michoacán. The two tables that follow lay out the evidence for a historical region that accounted for over 60% of emigration at the national level. Yet, as participation by the Central, North and Southeastern regions increased and the region's share dropped to 35%, Guanajuato's proportional presence is consequently lessened when new states come into play. The last table describes the situation in the 21st Century so far.

According to various censuses and surveys, between the year 2000 and 2018 we can distinguish three sources of emigration, return, and remittances, and there are differences among them that are worth explaining. Indicators for emigration from Guanajuato represented an average of 10.3% of the national total. In terms of return, its share is considerably less at 7%, which indicates that a smaller share of Guanajuato migrants return voluntarily and are less often deported. This is due to the antiquity of Guanajuato migration, which achieved a good rate of legality following IRCA, with 7.4% of requests and 6.5% of visas granted and due to their process of settling into the United States. Finally, regarding remittances, in the last few years only 7% correspond to Guanajuato, a smaller number than their share of migrants, which can also be attributed to the settlement process and the antiquity of the Guanajuato community abroad. Expenses in the U.S. are higher, and this leaves less resources for sending remittances. Regardless, the total value of remittances for 2018 amounted to 33.48 billion dollars, with 2.346 billion dollars corresponding to Guanajuato, the equivalent of approximately 45.6 billion pesos.

**Table 15: Historic Region. Migration Statistics. 1925-1980**

	<i>Foerster (1925)</i>	<i>Gamio (1926)</i>	<i>Braceros (1962)</i>	<i>Com.Int. (1974)</i>	<i>CENIET (1978)</i>	<i>CONAPO (1984)</i>	<i>Census (1980)</i>
<b>Region</b>	66.58	71.00	62.21	67.20	63.00	52.50	73.20
<b>Aguascalientes</b>	2.58	1.90	1.71	1.10	1.00	1.16	1.64
<b>Colima</b>	0.20	0.20	0.31		1.00	0.92	0.57
<b>Durango</b>	5.74	5.90	9.42	11.30	4.90	5.94	5.01
<b>Guanajuato</b>	10.78	19.60	13.69	18.50	10.80	8.87	14.82
<b>Jalisco</b>	19.90	14.70	11.21	8.70	14.50	11.75	21.61
<b>Michoacán</b>	14.46	20.00	10.61	7.40	17.60	13.08	14.86
<b>Nayarit</b>	0.67	0.20	0.79	0.40	2.30	2.42	1.63
<b>San Luis Potosí</b>	3.27	3.70	5.12	10.10	3.90	2.62	4.77
<b>Zacatecas</b>	8.99	4.80	9.35	9.70	7.00	5.74	8.29

Source: Durand and Masey 2003.



**Table 16: Historic Region. Migration Statistics, 1987-2000**

	<i>IRCA</i>		<i>EMIF</i>		<i>ENADID</i>	<i>Remittances</i>	<i>Remittances</i>	<i>Census</i>
	1	2	1	2	1993	1995	2000	2000
	1987		1994	1994				
<b>Region</b>	63.30	55.20	51.10	57.46	56.66	53.00	44.69	50.35
Aguascalientes	1.10	1.20	1.46	1.33	4.10	3.10	1.21	1.68
Colima	0.90	0.80	0.71	1.17	7.12	0.70	1.17	0.81
Durango	5.80	5.00	5.33	5.66	7.41	2.10	3.37	3.12
Guanajuato	7.40	6.50	12.93	17.87	5.81	10.20	7.40	10.61
Jalisco	20.00	18.80	8.00	6.87	5.23	12.70	12.02	10.51
Michoacán	14.30	11.50	10.78	10.88	8.63	16.20	9.83	10.93
Nayarit	2.5	2.3	1.31	1.80	5.43	1.6	2.37	1.91
San Luis Potosí	3.30	2.80	3.54	7.36	3.19	3.30	3.84	4.79
Zacatecas	8.00	6.30	7.04	4.52	9.74	3.10	3.48	4.83

Source: Clandestinos by Durand and Massey (2003).

**Table 17: Historic Region. Migration Statistics 2000-2018**

Variable	Emigrants				Return					Remittances			
	2000	2010	2014	2018	2000	2010	2014	2015	2018	2005	2010	2015	2018
<b>Historic Region</b>	<b>46.13</b>	<b>39.61</b>	<b>43.18</b>	<b>41.16</b>	<b>47.07</b>	<b>38.08</b>	<b>35.12</b>	<b>35.56</b>	<b>37.87</b>	<b>34.03</b>	<b>32.65</b>	<b>32.36</b>	<b>31.61</b>
Aguascalientes	1.41	1.32	1.68	0.94	1.57	1.49	2.00	1.62	1.47	1.51	1.40	1.41	1.42
Colima	0.76	0.57	0.62	0.68	1.51	1.24	0.50	1.07	1.19	0.86	0.85	1.00	1.16
Durango	2.66	1.74	1.87	3.18	2.68	2.20	1.99	2.08	2.94	1.86	1.75	2.05	2.22
Guanajuato	10.61	12.48	10.62	7.70	7.78	7.90	8.36	6.66	4.53	7.87	7.96	6.46	5.78
Jalisco	10.39	7.29	5.63	7.91	13.41	8.69	7.26	9.00	9.34	3.54	3.21	3.16	2.58
Michoacán de Ocampo	10.39	8.75	9.92	10.00	10.88	8.32	8.07	7.73	10.11	11.86	10.28	10.53	10.17
Nayarit	1.54	1.02	3.02	2.83	2.45	2.01	1.50	2.04	1.92	1.44	1.54	1.55	1.55
San Luis Potosí	4.25	3.43	6.13	3.80	2.79	2.94	2.72	2.73	2.72	2.54	2.83	3.14	3.55
Zacatecas	4.12	3.01	3.70	4.10	4.00	3.29	2.70	2.63	3.67	2.55	2.83	3.06	3.18

Source: Authors' own, based on General Population and Housing Census 2000 and 2010. Inter-census survey 2015. National Survey on Demographic Dynamics 2014 and 2018. INEGI and Banxico 2000, 2005, 2010, 2015 and 2018.

## Legal Components of Migration from Guanajuato

Given the centenary age of Guanajuato's migration to the United States, we may infer that there is a high degree of legality among this group of migrants. According to a sample drawn from requests for amnesty and legalization during the IRCA migration law of 1986, Guanajuato natives represented 7.4% of total requests and 6.5% of those who finally obtained legal residence. At this time, mass legalization of approximately 2.3 million Mexicans was achieved, of which approximately 150,000 would have been Guanajuato natives. (Durand, 2003:74). Guanajuato took third place, coming in after Jalisco (18.8%) and Michoacán (11.5%).

Thirty years later we can see the repercussions this amnesty in 1986 had on the legal composition of current Mexican migration. Between 1988 and 2017 - 2,798,252 Mexicans became naturalized U.S. citizens. And the fundamental requirement for becoming a citizen is to be a legal resident (holding a green card) for at least 5 years, as well as other requirements.



Mexicans who were legalized by IRCA fulfilled this requirement starting in 1993, and in that year 26,630 Mexicans became naturalized citizens, while in 1994 this figure was 46,186; 79,614 in 1995; and in 1996, ten years after the amnesty law, 217,418 Mexicans became naturalized. In the following years, an average of 110,000 Mexicans per year became naturalized.

Being a citizen or legal resident of the United States grants a series of rights regarding the possibility of obtaining visas for immediate relatives: spouse, parents, children and siblings. This is a slow, costly, and bureaucratic process, but it can yield results. Between 1986 and 2017 a total 6.3 million residence visas (green cards) were granted, having been requested by the family of legal migrants or citizens. Mexico occupies the top spot in terms of granting of residence visas: in 2015 there were 156,619 visas were granted with 174,534 granted in 2016, and finally 170,584 visas granted in 2017.

There is no disaggregated data available to determine how many Guanajuato families have benefited from these visas, but the main reason for granting them is citizenship status. We can assume that many Guanajuato natives legalized by IRCA in 1986 became citizens, and that many would have legally initiated the processes for family reunification.

**Table 18: Persons Who Obtained Permanent Legal Resident Status  
In The United States, 2013-2017**

<b>Place of Birth</b>	<b>2013</b>	<b>2014</b>	<b>2015</b>	<b>2016</b>	<b>2017</b>
Total	990,553	1,016,518	1,051,031	1,183,505	1,127,167
Mexico	135,028	134,052	158,619	174,534	170,581
El Salvador	18,260	19,273	19,487	23,449	25,109
Guatemala	10,224	10,238	11,773	13,002	13,198
Honduras	8,898	8,156	9,274	13,302	11,387
Nicaragua	3,048	2,886	3,324	3,486	3,072
Costa Rica	2,114	1,966	2,029	2,224	2,184
Belize	946	789	772	851	746

Source DHS, Table 21: Persons Naturalized by Region and Country of Birth: Fiscal Years 2013-2017.

## National, State, Regional, and Municipal Contexts of Guanajuato's Emigration

One of the prominent sources for analyzing the migratory phenomenon has been the "Migratory Intensity Index" created by CONAPO, based on the extended questionnaire included in the General Population and Housing Census (Censo General de Población y Vivienda) in 2000 and 2010.<sup>5</sup> However, this source should be analyzed with care, as the 2000 data is not comparable to the 2010 data due to substantial differences in the categorization and definition of households. In this work we solved this problem by referring to individuals (emigrants) rather than households, which may include more than one emigrant. The data presented, broken down at every level, refer to individuals and are fully comparable between 2000 and 2010. This allows us to see the evolution and changes at the state, regional, and municipal level.

In both 2000 and 2010 Guanajuato ranks first place among Mexican states, in terms of emigration to the United States, with 10.61% and 12.48%. In 2010 we even find significant proportional growth, pulling away from both Jalisco and Michoacán, with which it has historically shared the top three positions. It is important to note, however, that in absolute terms, emigration from Guanajuato fell from 120,266 individuals in 2000 to 85,369 in 2010. In other words, the trends for Guanajuato are correla-

<sup>5</sup> The extended questionnaire has plenty of additional information beyond the 2000 and 2010 census editions, especially with regard to migration, and is therefore relevant. However, information is only available for these years.

ted to the National trend towards a reduction in migration to the United States, particularly irregular migration, which has fallen constantly since 2007 according to data from the Pew Hispanic Center. At the national level, we find a very significant drop between 2000 and 2010, from 1.1 million to 683,000 migrants. The only states where emigration grew significantly were Chiapas and Oaxaca, in the country's south.

**Table 19: State Share of National Emigration (individuals)**

State	2000		2010	
	Absolute	Percentage	Absolute	Percentage
Aguascalientes	16,034	1.41	9,057	1.32
Baja California	15,885	1.40	11,913	1.74
Baja California Sur	1,079	0.10	1,005	0.15
Campeche	1,612	0.14	1,148	0.17
Coahuila de Zaragoza	13,672	1.21	8,057	1.18
Colima	8,659	0.76	3,889	0.57
Chiapas	7,276	0.64	14,471	2.12
Chihuahua	32,762	2.89	19,911	2.91
Ciudad de México	39,595	3.49	17,953	2.63
Durango	30,137	2.66	11,879	1.74
Guanajuato	120,266	10.61	85,368	12.48
Guerrero	57,686	5.09	33,219	4.86
Hidalgo	45,851	4.04	28,109	4.11
Jalisco	117,766	10.39	49,883	7.29
México	92,576	8.17	46,001	6.73
Michoacán de Ocampo	117,750	10.39	59,822	8.75
Morelos	33,846	2.99	14,178	2.07
Nayarit	17,414	1.54	6,984	1.02
Nuevo León	21,049	1.86	8,011	1.17
Oaxaca	44,533	3.93	49,217	7.20
Puebla	54,618	4.82	52,047	7.61
Querétaro	16,503	1.46	17,067	2.50
Quintana Roo	1,519	0.13	1,895	0.28
San Luis Potosí	48,154	4.25	23,424	3.43
Sinaloa	24,873	2.19	8,893	1.30
Sonora	9,643	0.85	9,812	1.43
Tabasco	2,334	0.21	2,945	0.43
Tamaulipas	23,681	2.09	13,054	1.91
Tlaxcala	6,171	0.54	8,011	1.17
Veracruz de Ignacio de la Llave	59,555	5.25	41,826	6.12
Yucatán	4,433	0.39	4,175	0.61
Zacatecas	46,747	4.12	20,605	3.01
Total	1,133,679	100.00	683,829	100.00

Source: Authors' own based on data from the General Population and Housing Census 2000 and 2010. INEGI

In terms of emigration by regions within the state, we can confirm our earlier claim that absolute numbers drop significantly between 2000 and 2010. In the year 2000 the central region accounted for 50.7% of the state's total, which speaks to the great concentration of population in this region, and to migration's urbanizing process. In the year 2010 the share of the central region drops several points, to 42.6%, while growing in the northern region, from 13.23% to 21.42%.

**Table 20: Emigration by Region**

Mexican emigrants to the United States. State of Guanajuato (individuals)						
Regions	2000			2010		
Variables	Emigrants	Share of State's Emigration	Emigration Rate	Emigrants	Share of State's Emigration	Emigration Rate
Northeast	7,222	6.01	339.95	6,865	8.04	248.98
North	15,910	13.23	304.19	18,288	21.42	283.18
Center	60,815	50.57	216.93	36,243	42.46	100.09
South	36,319	30.20	424.84	23,972	28.08	256.23
Total	120,266	100.00	273.72	85,368	100.00	155.84

Source: Authors' own based on data from the General Population and Housing Census 2000 and 2010, and the 2015 Inter-census Survey. INEGI

As for participation at the municipal level, in the year 2000 it's the urban municipalities of León (8.5%), Celaya (8.28%) and Irapuato (6.63%) that stand out. By 2010 we see a significant change, with León remaining on top at 10.6%, but alongside two far less populated municipalities, Dolores Hidalgo (7.16%) and San Felipe (5.70%), both with a larger component of rural inhabitants.

**Table 21: Emigration by Municipality, 2000, 2010**

Mexican emigrants to the United States, State of Guanajuato						
Municipal	2000			2010		
Variables	Emigrants	Share of State Emigration	Emigration Rate	Emigrants	Share of State Emigration	Emigration Rate
Abasolo	4,314	3.59	579.19	2,420	2.83	281.24
Acámbaro	4,954	4.12	478.79	2,426	2.84	221.22
San Miguel de Allende	3,230	2.69	254.43	3,256	3.81	206.11
Apaseo el Alto	2,703	2.25	505.51	3,024	3.54	464.47
Apaseo el Grande	1,675	1.39	258.00	1,920	2.25	227.30
Atarjea	205	0.17	415.54	147	0.17	219.83
Celaya	9,959	8.28	275.97	4,003	4.69	85.39
Manuel Doblado	3,057	2.54	852.97	2,075	2.43	558.41
Comonfort	3,497	2.91	548.75	1,897	2.22	245.40
Coroneo	293	0.24	301.01	492	0.58	415.53
Cortazar	3,404	2.83	445.77	1,136	1.33	130.65
Cuerámara	1,335	1.11	556.06	758	0.89	275.85
Doctor Mora	710	0.59	377.83	710	0.83	303.77
Dolores Hidalgo	4,561	3.79	375.56	6,110	7.16	412.00
Guanajuato	1,009	0.84	75.84	1,004	1.18	58.51

**Table 21: Emigration by Municipality, 2000, 2010** (continue)

Mexican emigrants to the United States, State of Guanajuato						
Municipal	2000			2010		
Variables	Emigrants	Share of State Emigration	Emigration Rate	Emigrants	Share of State Emigration	Emigration Rate
Huanímaro	1,554	1.29	842.39	1,014	1.19	510.75
Irapuato	7,968	6.63	191.78	3,505	4.11	66.36
Jaral del Progreso	1,873	1.56	625.32	469	0.55	123.95
Jerécuaro	2,184	1.82	421.65	4,698	5.50	913.87
León	10,642	8.85	99.29	8,588	10.06	59.92
Moroleón	1,089	0.91	246.09	1,170	1.37	233.58
Ocampo	1,354	1.13	685.12	631	0.74	265.77
Pénjamo	2,824	2.35	208.97	2,126	2.49	143.64
Pueblo Nuevo	445	0.37	456.73	472	0.55	413.57
Purísima del Rincón	716	0.60	168.12	927	1.09	135.32
Romita	3,724	3.10	762.62	924	1.08	165.59
Salamanca	4,859	4.04	227.20	1,956	2.29	75.58
Salvatierra	4,780	3.97	539.91	1,374	1.61	143.48
San Diego de la Unión	1,749	1.45	546.40	2,421	2.84	639.40
San Felipe	4,007	3.33	446.09	4,866	5.70	457.67
San Francisco del Rincón	1,593	1.32	168.70	1,658	1.94	144.27
San José Iturbide	1,224	1.02	236.63	1,090	1.28	147.75
San Luis de la Paz	3,812	3.17	417.28	3,056	3.58	264.32
Santa Catarina	246	0.20	579.25	197	0.23	387.28
Santa Cruz de Juventino Rosas	1,812	1.51	293.19	1,573	1.84	196.60
Santiago Maravatío	656	0.55	982.32	276	0.32	436.50
Silao	2,024	1.68	159.38	3,220	3.77	186.53
Tarandacuao	460	0.38	424.98	204	0.24	193.82
Tarimoro	2,872	2.39	819.59	1,045	1.22	301.91
Tierra Blanca	246	0.20	178.77	447	0.52	246.34
Uriangato	1,711	1.42	342.58	195	0.23	32.11
Valle de Santiago	3,351	2.79	272.55	2,742	3.21	198.19
Victoria	406	0.34	241.85	546	0.64	270.09
Villagrán	1,494	1.24	345.28	398	0.47	73.89
Xichú	373	0.31	344.02	672	0.79	523.57
Yuriria	3,312	2.75	479.72	1,530	1.79	215.72
Total	120,266	100.00	273.72	85,368	100.00	155.84

Source: Authors' own based on data from the General Population and Housing Census 2000 and 2010, and the 2015 Inter-census Survey. INEGI.

To provide further clarity, and following CONAPO's idea of building a migration index with clearer indicators for high, medium, and low levels, we developed our own methodology for classification at the municipal level, considering the relationship between population size and the number of emigrants.

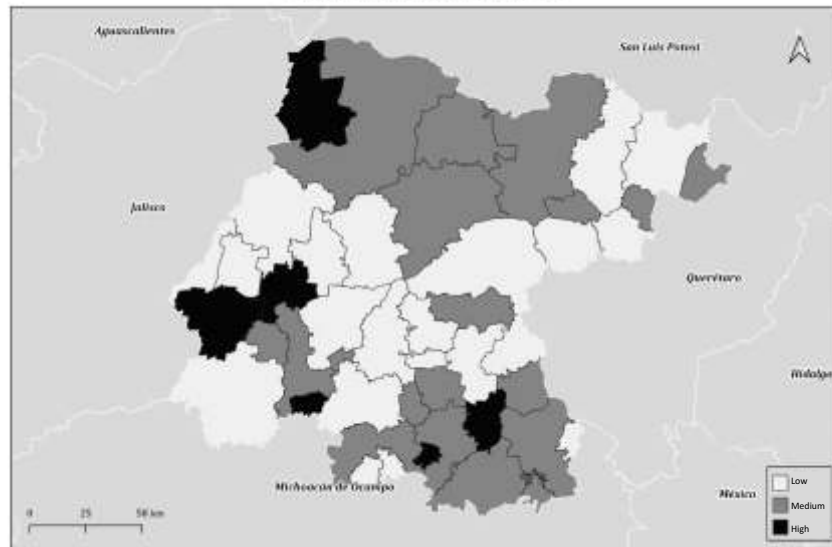
According to this index, in 2000 we find six municipalities with high intensity migration: Manuel Doblado, Huanímaro, Ocampo, Romita, Santiago Maravatío, and Tarimoro. At the medium level we find

19 municipalities, and 21 at the lower level. However, it should be noted that migration intensity is measured against the municipalities' population, and at the lowest level is precisely where we find these urban municipalities, such as León, Irapuato, Celaya, and others.

As can be seen in Map 5, higher and medium intensity migration is concentrated in the north, northeast, and southern regions. The Central region is characterized by a high degree of urbanization and low migration intensity, with only two exceptions found in Comonfort and Romita.

**Map 4: Level of Migratory Intensity at The Municipal Level 2000**

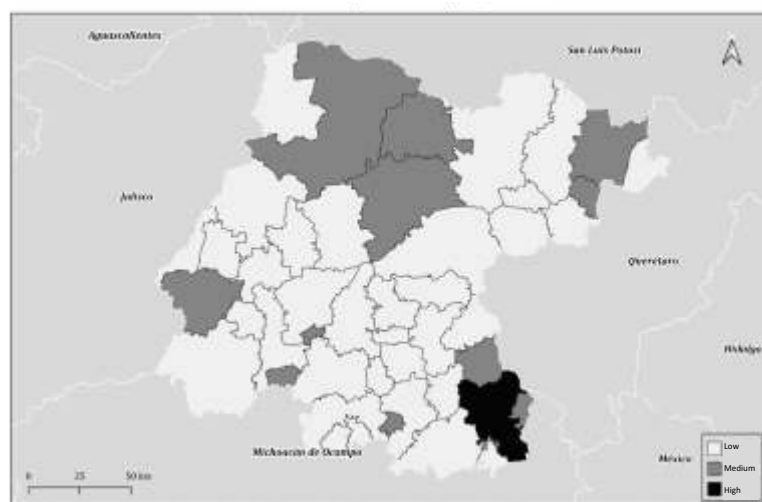
*Degree of municipal emigration, 2000*



For 2010 we use the same index and, since the exit of migrants from the state has decreased noticeably, only one municipality is recorded at the highest level, being Jerécuaro, on the border with Michoacán. The number of municipalities in the middle intensity level also fell to 11. Finally, 34 municipalities report a low level of intensity. Map 6 makes clear the downward trend for Guanajuato's emigration, with broad expanses of low-level municipalities while high and medium intensity migration is concentrated around the edges of the state in municipalities far from the Center region and bordering the states of Michoacán, San Luis Potosí, Querétaro, and Jalisco.

**Map 5: Level of Migratory Intensity at the Municipal level 2010**

*Degree of municipal emigration, 2010*



The comparison between 2000 and 2010, and the changes seen there, allows us to see that, migration is becoming a secondary option for a majority of Guanajuato's municipalities due to its high social and economic costs, but also because some regions have greater dynamism than others. In demographic terms Guanajuato finds itself in a situation of demographic equilibrium, with the demographic transition process coming to an end, which is yet another factor in the reduction of migratory flows. Still, very stark regional inequalities persist, with some areas being entirely uncommunicated and disconnected from existing metropolitan areas.

**Table 22: Emigration Intensity in Guanajuato, 2000-2010**

Municipality	2000 Index	2010 Index	2000 Level	2010 Level
Abasolo	0.57594	0.262276	Medio	Bajo
Acámbaro	0.470239	0.199082	Medio	Bajo
San Miguel de Allende	0.234046	0.183174	Bajo	Bajo
Apaseo el Alto	0.498372	0.455169	Medio	Medio
Apaseo el Grande	0.237804	0.205484	Bajo	Bajo
Atarjea	0.40366	0.197626	Medio	Bajo
Celaya	0.256724	0.056095	Bajo	Bajo
Manuel Doblado	0.864168	0.554062	Alto	Medio
Comonfort	0.543896	0.224541	Medio	Bajo
Coroneo	0.283082	0.403644	Bajo	Medio
Cortazar	0.435487	0.103737	Medio	Bajo
Cuerámaro	0.551592	0.256598	Medio	Bajo
Doctor Mora	0.363953	0.285994	Medio	Bajo
Dolores Hidalgo	0.361569	0.399929	Medio	Medio
Guanajuato	0.046038	0.02779	Bajo	Bajo
Huanímaro	0.853027	0.503893	Alto	Medio
Irapuato	0.168098	0.036053	Bajo	Bajo
Jaral del Progreso	0.624506	0.096684	Medio	Bajo
Jerécuaro	0.410092	0.928273	Medio	Alto
León	0.070726	0.02928	Bajo	Bajo
Moroleón	0.225263	0.212103	Bajo	Bajo
Ocampo	0.687454	0.245982	Alto	Bajo
Pénjamo	0.186187	0.117417	Bajo	Bajo
Pueblo Nuevo	0.447025	0.401587	Medio	Medio
Purísima del Rincón	0.143186	0.108657	Bajo	Bajo
Romita	0.769046	0.140518	Alto	Bajo
Salamanca	0.205378	0.045767	Bajo	Bajo
Salvatierra	0.534587	0.11725	Medio	Bajo
San Diego de la Unión	0.54142	0.639328	Medio	Medio
San Felipe	0.435824	0.448014	Medio	Medio
San Francisco del Rincón	0.143796	0.11808	Bajo	Bajo
San José Iturbide	0.21531	0.121743	Bajo	Bajo
San Luis de la Paz	0.405491	0.244464	Medio	Bajo



**Table 22: Emigration Intensity in Guanajuato, 2000-2010** (continue)

Municipality	2000 Index	2010 Index	2000 Level	2010 Level
Santa Catarina	0.575998	0.373903	Medio	Medio
Santa Cruz de Juventino Rosas	0.274854	0.173172	Bajo	Bajo
Santiago Maravatío	1.00034	0.425719	Alto	Medio
Silao	0.13398	0.162561	Bajo	Bajo
Tarandacuao	0.4136	0.170245	Medio	Bajo
Tarimoro	0.829023	0.28403	Alto	Bajo
Tierra Blanca	0.154396	0.225535	Bajo	Bajo
Uriangato	0.326848	-1.80E-06	Bajo	Bajo
Valle de Santiago	0.25312	0.174837	Bajo	Bajo
Victoria	0.22081	0.250534	Bajo	Bajo
Villagrán	0.329694	0.043982	Bajo	Bajo
Xichú	0.32836	0.517385	Bajo	Medio
Yuriria	0.471228	0.193295	Medio	Bajo

Source: Authors' own estimates based on data from the General Population and Housing Census 2000 and 2010. INEGI

Unfortunately, we only have more up-to date information on emigration at the national level broken down by state for the years 2014 to 2018 from the ENADID, a survey carried out by the INEGI. By International Emigrants the survey refers to persons who left for the United States during the five-year period before the survey and were still there at the time the survey was carried out. This number is comparable with census data gathered in 2000 and 2010 but is only representative at the national level and cannot be broken down by municipality.

Table 23 breaks down at the national level the contribution of states regarding the number of registered migrants. Once again, Guanajuato, Jalisco, and Michoacan occupy the top positions. In 2014, Guanajuato's contribution to the migration dynamic was 64,113 migrants, representing 10.33% and occupying the top position. However, in 2018 some 49,744 migrants were registered, representing a 7.7% share and the third position, behind Jalisco's 9.81% and Michoacan's 9.31%. Both surveys confirm Guanajuato's preeminence with regard to international emigration, jostling with Jalisco and Michoacán for the top positions.

**Table 23: International Emigrants to the United States of America, by State, 2014 and 2018**

State	2014		2018	
	Emigrants	National Share	Emigrants	National Share
Aguascalientes	12,021	1.94	8,312	1.29
Baja California	32,100	5.17	20,718	3.21
Baja California Sur	1,312	0.21	1,539	0.24
Campeche	1,053	0.17	1,481	0.23
Coahuila de Zaragoza	16,583	2.67	17,507	2.71
Colima	3,501	0.56	5,058	0.78
Chiapas	11,930	1.92	24,212	3.75
Chihuahua	26,990	4.35	42,418	6.57
Ciudad de México	21,731	3.50	10,556	1.64
Durango	12,789	2.06	20,941	3.24
Guanajuato	64,113	10.33	49,744	7.71
Guerrero	18,662	3.01	20,879	3.23
Hidalgo	20,556	3.31	22,668	3.51
Jalisco	37,241	6.00	63,348	9.81
México	42,917	6.91	21,905	3.39
Michoacán de Ocampo	61,496	9.91	60,079	9.31
Morelos	8,803	1.42	6,688	1.04
Nayarit	15,424	2.48	16,134	2.50
Nuevo León	10,909	1.76	11,644	1.80
Oaxaca	25,413	4.09	28,995	4.49
Puebla	24,619	3.97	19,799	3.07
Querétaro	13,798	2.22	14,764	2.29
Quintana Roo	3,038	0.49	1,273	0.20
San Luis Potosí	29,272	4.72	21,813	3.38
Sinaloa	17,694	2.85	19,328	2.99
Sonora	13,071	2.11	25,886	4.01
Tabasco	2,465	0.40	2,942	0.46
Tamaulipas	16,995	2.74	25,440	3.94
Tlaxcala	4,128	0.66	3,936	0.61
Veracruz de Ignacio de la Llave	25,567	4.12	30,259	4.69
Yucatán	2,980	0.48	1,632	0.25
Zacatecas	21,653	3.49	23,560	3.65
Total	620,824	100.00	645,458	100.00

Source: Authors' own estimates based on data from ENADID, 2018. INEGI.

## Destinations for Guanajuato Natives in the United States

As befits a state with a century-long migrant tradition, two of every three migrants are located in Texas, California, and Illinois (67%). These three states were the traditional destinations for Mexican migrants until the 1990s, when new destinations throughout the U.S. started to bloom. In no small part this mobility was due to the IRCA legalization process of 1986, which allowed migrants to move about with greater ease, and as a result benefit from growing job opportunities including offers from states such as Georgia leading up to the Atlanta Olympic games. Florida's agricultural industry, and North Carolina's tobacco industry attracted migrants as well hiring around 6% of Guanajuato's migrants.

While this concentration within the three states mentioned is notorious, it should also be highlighted that the migrant population is very widely spread across the United States, from North to South, East to West, from frozen Alaska to steamy Florida.

We once again turn to indirect sources to estimate the destinations frequented by Guanajuato's emigrants. Since U.S. censuses and surveys do not gather data on migrants' states of origin, only their countries, we turn to records from 66,220 Guanajuato natives who requested a consular "matriculation" in 2017 at one of the 50 Mexican consulates scattered across the U.S. territory. This is not a representative sample, and presents an important bias we must mention: in general, Mexicans who request a consular matriculation as a form of ID are unregulated. Legal migrants tend to use other kinds of ID, be it their passport, driver's license, or other picture ID.

In some cases, these matriculations are used as ID's for obtaining a driver's license, opening a bank account, or sending remittances. They can also be used as identification for the authorities or for enrolling children in school. This was an important initiative promoted by the Mexican government in order to protect unregulated migrants and to increase the community's links to their consulates, along with their practical functions. However, nowadays consulates also issue National Electoral Institute (Instituto Nacional Electoral, INE) voting cards, with nearly 700,000 cards issued by mid-2018.

After several administrations, delivery of these credentials for Mexicans in the U.S. was achieved—something that is seen as normal and everyday practice for most countries' consulates—. Having an INE card makes the Consular ID cards unnecessary, and it does not discriminate between regular or irregular migrants, as well as being valid both in Mexico and the United States. It is important that the use of this ID is promoted among Guanajuato natives and their communities, which would allow them to vote in state elections for Governor.

**Table 24: High Security Consular ID Cards Issued to Guanajuato Natives, by U.S. State 2017**

State	Number of Matriculations	Percentage of Matriculations
Texas	24,136	36.40%
California	13,966	21.10%
Illinois	6,431	9.70%
Georgia	2,353	3.60%
Florida	2,296	3.50%
North Carolina	1,701	2.60%
Tennessee	1,082	1.60%
Indiana	1,008	1.50%
Wisconsin	885	1.30%
Colorado	863	1.30%
Utah	802	1.20%
Ohio	759	1.10%

**Table 24: High Security Consular ID Cards Issued to Guanajuato Natives, by U.S. State 2017 (continue)**

State	Number of Matriculations	Percentage of Matriculations
Oklahoma	754	1.10%
Michigan	705	1.10%
Arkansas	702	1.10%
Nevada	623	0.90%
Arizona	604	0.90%
Alabama	535	0.80%
South Carolina	512	0.80%
Oregon	498	0.80%
Idaho	449	0.70%
Pennsylvania	446	0.70%
Virginia	408	0.60%
Missouri	399	0.60%
Kansas	391	0.60%
Nebraska	380	0.60%
Louisiana	355	0.50%
Washington	353	0.50%
Minnesota	341	0.50%
New Mexico	255	0.40%
Iowa	195	0.30%
Kentucky	188	0.30%
Mississippi	172	0.30%
New Jersey	149	0.20%
Maryland	142	0.20%
New York	103	0.20%
Delaware	97	0.10%
Connecticut	45	0.10%
Massachusetts	29	0.00%
Wyoming	29	0.00%
West Virginia	22	0.00%
South Dakota	17	0.00%
Montana	11	0.00%
New Hampshire	6	0.00%
District of Columbia	5	0.00%
Maine	5	0.00%
Rhode Island	5	0.00%
Hawaii	3	0.00%
North Dakota	3	0.00%
Alaska	2	0.00%
Total	66,220	100.00%

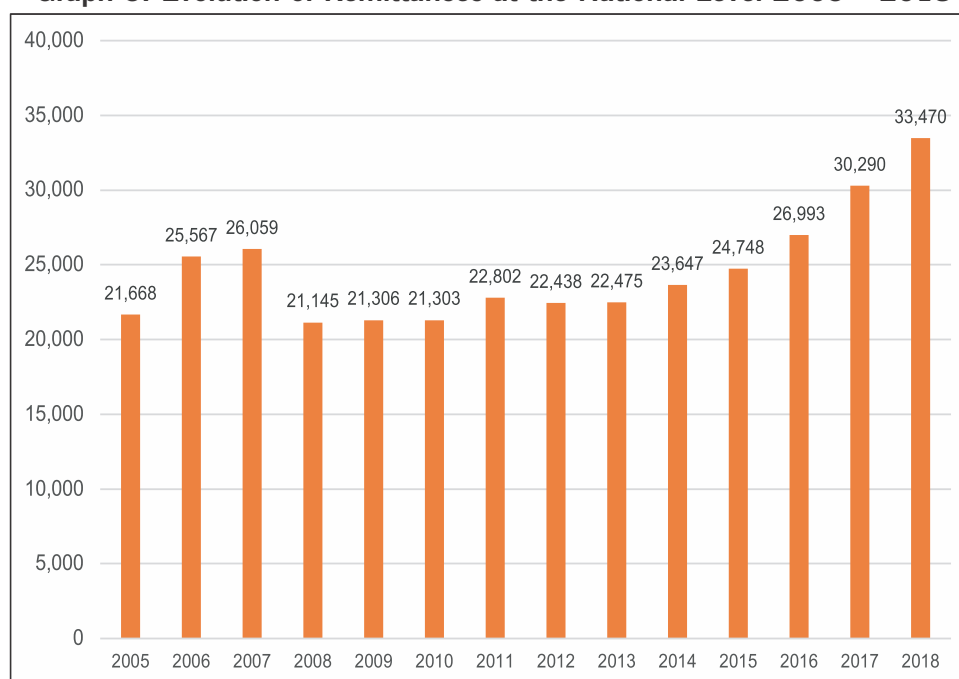
Source: Instituto de Mexicanos en el exterior (IIME) Consular ID card database.

On the other hand, the top five municipalities in Guanajuato who requested consular ID cards were: León 9%, Celaya 7.6%, Irapuato 6.7%, Dolores Hidalgo 4.8%, and Acámbaro 4.5%. This confirms once again the dominance of these three urban centers, while also revealing the importance of municipalities like Dolores and Acámbaro. (BBVA, 2018).

## Remittances

The total amount of remittances received by Mexico has seen its ups and downs in the last several years. A peak had been reached in 2007, with \$26.059 billion, dropping by nearly \$5 billion in 2008 following the financial crisis, which squeezed migrants' incomes due to layoffs, unemployment, and fewer hours worked. Income from remittances recovered gradually, reaching \$33.677 billion dollars in 2018. This recovery over the last few years is interesting, coinciding precisely with a significant reduction in irregular migration since 2008. The higher numbers for remittances over the last few years can only be explained within the context of greater persecution of unregulated migrants, who are trying to safeguard their savings by sending them to Mexico due to the threat of possible deportation or forcible return of their families.

**Graph 5: Evolution of Remittances at the National Level 2005 – 2018**



Source: BBVA's Migration and Remittances Annual, 2018

The state of Guanajuato occupies third place in terms of the amount of remittances received at the national level, confirming its high share of 9.1%, following behind Michoacán and Jalisco, the three states that form the historical axis of regional migration. Apart from a few small states and states in the southeast, the distribution of remittances also confirms another trend, that of the national dimensions of migration.

**Table 25: Remittances by State, 2018, in millions of dollars and %**

State	Amount	%	State	Amount	%
Michoacán	3,392	10.10%	Durango	805	2.40%
Jalisco	3,287	9.80%	Sinaloa	797	2.40%
Guanajuato	3,064	9.10%	Tamaulipas	793	2.40%
Edo. De México	1,902	5.70%	Morelos	673	2.00%
Oaxaca	1,730	5.20%	Querétaro	660	2.00%
Puebla	1,698	5.10%	Coahuila	585	1.70%
Guerrero	1,615	4.80%	Nayarit	544	1.60%
Mexico City	1,415	4.20%	Sonora	523	1.60%
Veracruz	1,376	4.10%	Aguascalientes	469	1.40%
San Luis Potosí	1,235	3.70%	Colima	320	1.00%
Zacatecas	1,091	3.30%	Tlaxcala	255	0.80%
Chihuahua	983	2.90%	Tabasco	207	0.60%
Nuevo León	947	2.80%	Yucatán	205	0.60%
Hidalgo	901	2.70%	Quintana Roo	165	0.50%
Baja California	880	2.60%	Campeche	79	0.20%
Chiapas	815	2.40%	Baja California Sur	78	0.20%

Source: BBVA Migration and Remittances Annual , 2018.

At the municipal level we can confirm other trends we have previously mentioned, such as the prevalence of urban sectors receiving remittances, with León, Irapuato, and Celaya taking the top three spots, but also the general distribution of the economic benefits from migration in all the state's regions and municipalities, even the most remote and distant of them all, such as Atarjea, high in the Sierra Gorda mountains.

On the other hand, six small municipalities including Dolores Hidalgo, San Miguel de Allende, San Luis de la Paz, Acámbaro, Valle de Santiago, and Salvatierra receive more than 100 million a year. In the case of Dolores Hidalgo, for example, remittances in 2018 amounted to 156 million, equivalent to around 3 billion pesos, while the municipal budget for 2018 is 439 million pesos (<http://transparencia.dolreshidalgo.gob.mx/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/PROYECTO-PRESUPUESTO-EGRESOS-2018-1.pdf>)

The subsidies to family income received, thanks to migrants, is very significant even at the state level, where the total income for the state of Guanajuato in 2018 was of 81 billion pesos, and the total amount of remittances received that year was 59 billion pesos. According to the BBVA Annuals, remittances account for 5.5% of the state's GDP, which reveals Guanajuato's high level of dependency on remittances, occupying the sixth position at the national level ([https://finanzas.guanajuato.gob.mx/c\\_tdif/doc/2018\\_informacion\\_anual/N03\\_DIFUSION\\_LI\\_Y\\_PE\\_4T17.pdf](https://finanzas.guanajuato.gob.mx/c_tdif/doc/2018_informacion_anual/N03_DIFUSION_LI_Y_PE_4T17.pdf)).



**Table 26: Income from Remittances, Distribution by Guanajuato State Municipalities, 2018**

<b>Municipality</b>	<b>Total Remittances Received 2018*</b>	<b>Municipality</b>	<b>Total Remittances Received 2018*</b>
León	304.55	Santa Cruz de Juventino Rosas	49.91
Irapuato	190.14	Silao	49.14
Celaya	180.3	Apaseo el Grande	44.34
Dolores Hidalgo	156.39	Abasolo	44.01
San Miguel de Allende	144.75	Cuerámara	39.5
San Luis de la Paz	128.62	Guanajuato	38.91
Acámbaro	111.43	Huanímaro	35.13
Valle de Santiago	111.43	Romita	35.1
Salvatierra	101.06	San Diego de la Unión	29.52
S. Francisco del Rincón	98.79	Jaral del Progreso	26.09
Moroleón	97.94	Pueblo Nuevo	23.11
Yuriria	96.54	Coroneo	21.35
Salamanca	96.25	Tarandacuao	14.65
San Felipe	95.11	Ocampo	14.51
Apaseo el Alto	91.23	Villagrán	12.14
Pénjamo	87.69	Doctor Mora	12.01
San José Iturbide	74.36	Tierra Blanca	10.26
Manuel Doblado	71.12	Victoria	8.47
Jerécuaro	67.74	Santa Catarina	7.26
Comonfort	61.94	Purísima del Rincón	6.42
Uriangato	57.52	Xichú	3.29
Tarimoro	53.96	Santiago Maravatío	2.21
Cortazar	51.07	Atarjea	0.62

\*Millions of dollars

Source: Authors' own using data from Banco de México. Total: 3,064

## Conclusions

Guanajuato has been an important source of migrant workers since the late 19th Century and currently ranks first in terms of emigration for 2015, with its share representing 10.62% of the national total. This is not good news, although we should note a decreasing trend in absolute numbers of emigrants in line with the national dynamics. For the year 2000 the census recorded the departure of 30,137 Guanajuato migrants, with far fewer leaving by 2015 – 11,879. Other states, however, saw greater reductions.

The main indicator to take into account for explaining this decrease in migration is the demographic transition process, with Guanajuato following the national trend at a Global Fertility Rate of 2.2 children per woman. This means that the demographic bonus for the state has practically run out, and the state must somehow retain its population to attain any expansion projects.

Next, we must consider development as a variable of multiple indicators of economic growth, measured in terms of income and better scores on education and health. We could say that these variables are fulfilled in the Central region, to a lesser extent in the Southern region, and much less in the North and Northeast. According to the Human Development Index, Guanajuato takes the 26th position at the national level and at the municipal level 70% have a middling index while 30% have a low index (<https://zonafranca.mx/politica-sociedad/guanajuato-uno-de-los-estados-con-menor-indice-de-desarrollo-humano-onu>).

Guanajuato's top spot in emigration and 26th in the Human Development Index lays evident a generalized problem for the state, but above all, a great level of inequality at the regional and municipal levels. Notwithstanding, development of the Central region, seen from a geopolitical perspective, will allow transversal links to be formed towards the South and North, where the municipalities with the lowest human development values are concentrated.

## Recommendations

With regard to the demographic variable, it's appropriate to recommend a more specific study on the demographic transition process at the municipal level, as it would be ideal to achieve a global fertility rate of 2.1, and it's possible that the Northern and Southern regions have higher rates than the Central area. Reproductive health policies should be focused on the areas with lower human development index scores.

Regarding income, another variable acting as a factor for expulsion, the state has the same problem as a nation, with too-low minimum wages, even below some Central American countries. Higher income, more participation by women in the labor market, and greater educational opportunities for young people are fundamental elements for bringing expulsion factors under control.

As for the population living abroad, Guanajuato has deployed an important relationship network with its diaspora, through both "Casas Guanajuato" and Hometown Associations, which should be bolstered and incentivized.

One aspect that should be improved more intensively is on strengthening the formal links between Mexicans and the children of Mexicans, with their country and state of origin. In this sense, registration of Mexican children should be encouraged at consulates to help keep their documentation in order, but above all to make them conscious of their dual nationality, and all the advantages this carries. On the other hand, for those born in Mexico and living abroad it is very important that they request or renew their INE ID cards, not only for electoral matters, but also to bolster their identity rights. In this sense, it's recommended that people in an irregular situation who have consular matriculation should request their INE cards, which are free and grant full citizenship rights and are valid for use in both countries.

## Immigrants in Guanajuato: Children of Mexicans and Foreigners

### Children of Mexicans

By recent immigrants<sup>5</sup> we mean those who reported to the census that they were living in the United States five years earlier, but who at the time of the census already resided in Mexico. This exercise intends to indirectly differentiate the children of Mexicans born in the United States from immigrants who are simply U.S. citizens. The census does not separate them, since the former are in fact dual nationals, born in the U.S., but with the right to Mexican citizenship. However, we can infer that minors aged between 5 and 14 would arrive with their parents as they return from the U.S..

At the national level, the children of Mexicans, recently immigrated, are concentrated in the border states of Baja California (14% on average) and Chihuahua (6.3%), and in the historic migrant region, more concretely Jalisco (12%), Michoacán (7.6%), and Guanajuato (5.3%). Baja California's dominance is mainly explained by the municipality of Tijuana, which received the greatest number of returnees nationally, with Ciudad Juárez less so. Many returning migrants leave part of their family behind in the United States, and by remaining near the border they have the chance of seeing their relatives more frequently and more easily than by returning to their place of origin.

In Guanajuato's case, according to the 2000 census, 3,272 recent immigrants were recorded, with the number more than doubling in 2010 with 8,025 cases and continuing its growth in the 2015 five-year mark with 5,942 immigrants on record. Nationally, its share remained stable throughout the three periods analyzed, hovering around 5.3%.

For the three sources consulted (2000, 2010, 2015), Guanajuato recorded a total of 17,239 foreigners, most of them the children of Mexicans. The largest concentration of this population was of children between ages 5 and 9, with a total of 9,139 followed by ages 10 to 14, with 3,204 minors. This is a young population that, it may be inferred, have travelled alongside their parents, who have either been deported or have returned voluntarily. As age increases, the numbers drop off noticeably, which is understandable, as children over 15 born in the United States often prefer to remain there, as they are still studying or already employed. This explanation is also valid for the observation regarding border states, where deported parents may prefer to remain near the border and close to their American children, who can easily cross over to visit.

<sup>5</sup> Methodological note: Recent immigrants refers to people born in the United States and who were living in that country 5 years prior to the census date, but who at the time of the census were already residing in Mexico. Recent immigrants (boys and girls between 5 and 14): This refers to people born in the United States and who were living in that country 5 years prior to the census date, but who at the time of the census were already residing in Mexico. The ages between 5 and 14 are taken as a proxy for migrants travelling with their parents.

**Table 27: States' share of recent immigrants in a National context, 2000, 2010, 2015**

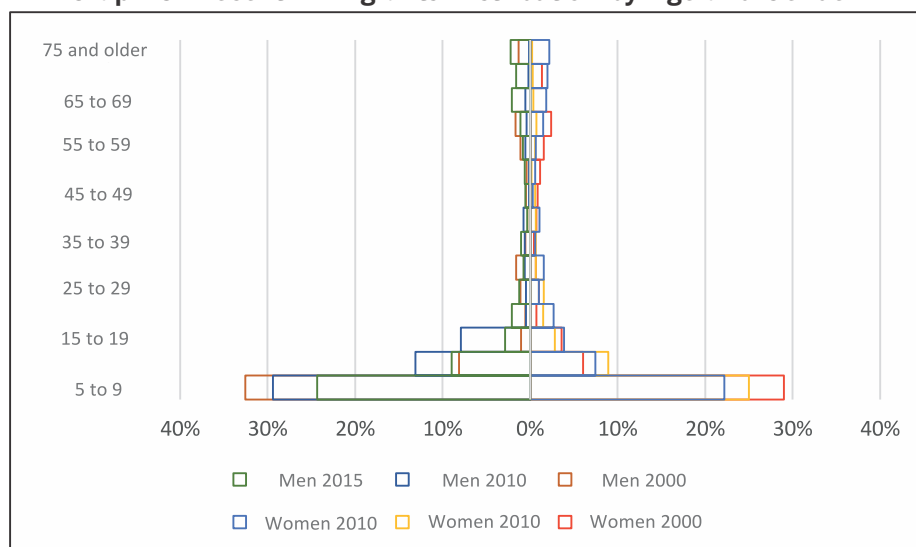
<b>States' share of National recent immigration</b>						
	<b>2000</b>		<b>2010</b>		<b>2015</b>	
<b>State</b>	<b>Absolute</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Absolute</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Absolute</b>	<b>%</b>
Aguascalientes	590	0.97	2,255	1.48	1,616	1.46
Baja California	9,509	15.59	17,151	11.24	17,190	15.49
Baja California Sur	874	1.43	3,210	2.1	1,258	1.13
Campeche	82	0.13	254	0.17	461	0.42
Coahuila de Zaragoza	1,317	2.16	3,718	2.44	2,582	2.33
Colima	739	1.21	2,275	1.49	1,490	1.34
Chiapas	48	0.08	883	0.58	1,056	0.95
Chihuahua	3,801	6.23	10,004	6.56	6,913	6.23
Ciudad de México	1,760	2.89	2,880	1.89	2,491	2.24
Durango	1,136	1.86	3,370	2.21	1,614	1.45
Guanajuato	3,272	5.37	8,025	5.26	5,942	5.35
Guerrero	1,960	3.21	5,232	3.43	2,910	2.62
Hidalgo	461	0.76	4,068	2.67	3,159	2.85
Jalisco	9,729	15.95	15,730	10.31	11,248	10.14
México	2,104	3.45	7,675	5.03	4,563	4.11
Michoacán de Ocampo	4,874	7.99	11,480	7.52	8,174	7.37
Morelos	990	1.62	3,335	2.19	2,336	2.11
Nayarit	1,460	2.39	3,302	2.16	2,612	2.35
Nuevo León	1,866	3.06	2,635	1.73	1,798	1.62
Oaxaca	823	1.35	4,325	2.83	4,032	3.63
Puebla	1,721	2.82	4,486	2.94	3,655	3.29
Querétaro	497	0.82	1,941	1.27	1,346	1.21
Quintana Roo	596	0.98	911	0.6	770	0.69
San Luis Potosí	1,058	1.74	3,560	2.33	2,267	2.04
Sinaloa	1,147	1.88	3,700	2.42	2,449	2.21
Sonora	2,315	3.8	7,944	5.21	5,722	5.16
Tabasco	9	0.01	429	0.28	244	0.22
Tamaulipas	3,494	5.73	8,209	5.38	3,436	3.1
Tlaxcala	211	0.35	583	0.38	516	0.47
Veracruz de Ignacio de la Llave	467	0.77	4,477	2.93	3,183	2.87
Yucatán	338	0.55	661	0.43	1,011	0.91
Zacatecas	1,730	2.84	3,885	2.55	2,922	2.63
<b>Total</b>	<b>60,978</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>152,593</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>110,966</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Authors' own, based on data from General Population and Housing Census 2000 and 2010. Inter-census Survey 2015. INEGI.

Graph 6, forming a pyramid by age and gender, clearly shows the age distribution of recent immigrants. It can be assumed that the base of the pyramid consists of children of Mexicans returning with their parents, but who appear in the census as U.S. citizens, recent immigrants. Though it's also possible that some foreigners arrive with their children, there is no way to tell them apart.

For its part, the bulge at the top of the pyramid represents the senior population, mostly concentrated in San Miguel de Allende, as well as returning migrants headed to their state or town of origin having reached the end of their working life. The middle of the pyramid mainly reflects the population of foreigners arriving in Guanajuato.

**Graph 6: Recent Immigrants Distribution by Age and Gender**



Source: Authors' own, based on data from General Population and Housing Census 2000 and 2010. Inter-census Survey 2015. INEGI

At a regional level, we can confirm that in Guanajuato it is the Southern and Central regions where the majority of recently returned children of Mexican children are concentrated, with nearly 75%, while the remaining quarter is distributed across the Northern and Northeast regions, traditionally emitters of population, but with a proportionally much smaller population. Total volumes of recent immigrants make it clear that these have constantly increased between 1990 and 2015. It's highly possible that 2020 will register the greatest number yet of U.S.-born children of Mexicans returning with their parents.

**Table 28: Recent Immigrants, Guanajuato by Region, 2000, 2010, 2015**

Recent immigrants born in the United States, State of Guanajuato									
Regions	2000			2010			2015		
Variables	Immigrants	Share of State Immigration	Immigration Rate	Immigrants	Share of State Immigration	Immigration Rate	Immigrants	Share of State Immigration	Immigration Rate
Northeast	66	2.02	3.11	376	4.69	13.64	290	4.88	10.15
North	562	17.18	10.74	1110	13.83	17.19	1629	27.42	23.71
Center	1185	36.22	4.23	3735	46.54	10.31	2799	47.11	7.10
South	1459	44.59	17.07	2804	34.94	29.97	1224	20.60	12.72
Total	3272	100.00	7.45	8025	100.00	14.65	5942	100.00	10.11

Source: Authors' own, based on data from General Population and Housing Census 2000 and 2010. Inter-census Survey 2015. INEGI

As for immigrants aged between 5 and 14, while it could be said that there is a certain regional pattern, in general terms there is a high level of dispersion at the municipal level. All municipalities received recent immigrants between 1990 and 2015, and there is no great concentration in any particular municipality, with the possible exception of Acámbaro in 2000 with its 15.94% share, Irapuato with 11.54%, and León and Pénjamo, with 7.59% and 7.14% respectively.

In the year 2010, the municipality with the highest share was León with 13.16% and Valle de Santiago with 7.55%. In 2015 Irapuato stands out with a 14.70% share and León with 8.34%. These

figures show the wide dispersal of recent immigrants across all municipalities in the state, with no prominent specific concentration patterns. León is the sole exception, being the only municipality that has maintained a high share of the state's overall recent immigrants throughout the period observed, due to its economic and urban dynamics.

**Table 29: Recent Immigrants to Guanajuato, by Municipality, 2000, 2010, 2015**

Recent immigrants born in the United States. State of Guanajuato									
Municipality	2000			2010			2015		
Variables	Immigrants	Share of State Immigration	Immigration Rate	Immigrants	Share of State Immigration	Immigration Rate	Immigrants	Share of State Immigration	Immigration Rate
Abasolo	110	3.36	1.48	351	4.37	4.08	143	2.41	1.57
Acámbaro	422	12.90	4.08	232	2.89	2.12	148	2.49	1.32
San Miguel de Allende	305	9.32	2.40	587	7.31	3.72	1149	19.34	6.65
Apaseo el Alto	24	0.73	0.45	172	2.14	2.64	113	1.90	1.65
Apaseo el Grande	-	0.00	0.00	72	0.90	0.85	147	2.47	1.58
Atarjea	-	0.00	0.00	6	0.07	0.90	-	0.00	0.00
Celaya	120	3.67	0.33	466	5.81	0.99	284	4.78	0.57
Manuel Doblado	6	0.18	0.17	176	2.19	4.74	70	1.18	1.80
Comonfort	28	0.86	0.44	68	0.85	0.88	162	2.73	1.95
Coroneo	5	0.15	0.51	54	0.67	4.56	10	0.17	0.83
Cortázar	53	1.62	0.69	115	1.43	1.32	188	3.16	1.95
Cuerámbaro	36	1.10	1.50	83	1.03	3.02	59	0.99	2.08
Doctor Mora	4	0.12	0.21	87	1.08	3.72	50	0.84	2.06
Dolores Hidalgo	58	1.77	0.48	181	2.26	1.22	225	3.79	1.48
Guanajuato	66	2.02	0.50	127	1.58	0.74	36	0.61	0.19
Huanímaro	71	2.17	3.85	75	0.93	3.78	44	0.74	2.02
Irapuato	308	9.41	0.74	323	4.02	0.61	626	10.54	1.08
Jaral del Progreso	66	2.02	2.20	18	0.22	0.48	46	0.77	1.20
Jerécuaro	30	0.92	0.58	215	2.68	4.18	64	1.08	1.31
León	254	7.76	0.24	1248	15.55	0.87	502	8.45	0.32
Moroleón	73	2.23	1.65	56	0.70	1.12	78	1.31	1.55
Ocampo	79	2.41	4.00	44	0.55	1.85	65	1.09	2.76
Pénjamo	302	9.23	2.23	118	1.47	0.80	66	1.11	0.44
Pueblo Nuevo	12	0.37	1.23	28	0.35	2.45	26	0.44	2.18
Purísima del Rincón	16	0.49	0.38	177	2.21	2.58	92	1.55	1.14
Romita	45	1.38	0.92	80	1.00	1.43	121	2.04	2.01
Salamanca	51	1.56	0.24	272	3.39	1.05	139	2.34	0.51
Salvatierra	52	1.59	0.59	307	3.83	3.21	130	2.19	1.29
San Diego de la Unión	17	0.52	0.53	83	1.03	2.19	42	0.71	1.06
San Felipe	37	1.13	0.41	88	1.10	0.83	112	1.88	0.99
S. Francisco del Rincón	147	4.49	1.56	175	2.18	1.52	115	1.94	0.96
San José Iturbide	43	1.31	0.83	83	1.03	1.13	97	1.63	1.23
San Luis de la Paz	13	0.40	0.14	103	1.28	0.89	103	1.73	0.85



**Table 29: Recent Immigrants to Guanajuato, by Municipality, 2000, 2010, 2015 (continue)**

Recent immigrants born in the United States. State of Guanajuato									
Municipality	2000			2010			2015		
Variables	Immigrants	Share of State Immigration	Immigration Rate	Immigrants	Share of State Immigration	Immigration Rate	Immigrants	Share of State Immigration	Immigration Rate
Santa Catarina	6	0.18	1.41	15	0.19	2.95	19	0.32	3.60
Santa Cruz									
Juventino Rosas	11	0.34	0.18	72	0.90	0.90	92	1.55	1.11
Santiago									
Maravatio	13	0.40	1.95	30	0.37	4.74	19	0.32	2.77
Silao	21	0.64	0.17	230	2.87	1.33	96	1.62	0.50
Tarandacua	10	0.31	0.92	38	0.47	3.61	30	0.50	2.42
Tarimoro	41	1.25	1.17	170	2.12	4.91	46	0.77	1.34
Tierra Blanca	-	0.00	0.00	38	0.47	2.09	6	0.10	0.32
Uriangato	71	2.17	1.42	45	0.56	0.74	65	1.09	1.03
Valle de Santiago	96	2.93	0.78	543	6.77	3.92	72	1.21	0.50
Victoria	-	0.00	0.00	-	0.00	0.00	11	0.19	0.55
Villagrán	-	0.00	0.00	77	0.96	1.43	30	0.50	0.51
Xichú	-	0.00	0.00	44	0.55	3.43	4	0.07	0.35
Yuriria	150	4.58	2.17	453	5.64	6.39	200	3.37	2.87
Total	3272	100.00	0.74	8025	100.00	146	5942	100.00	1.01

Source: Authors' own, based on data from General Population and Housing Census 2000 and 2010.  
Inter-census Survey 2015. INEGI.

When recent immigrants are analyzed by their age (See Table 29), we confirm the prevalence of minors aged between 5 and 9, with a smaller share of those aged between 10 to 14. From this peculiar fact we can infer that these are children of Mexicans, born in the United States, and returning with their parents, as had been graphically shown above with the age and gender distribution pyramid. It's also important to point out the increase in numbers at the top of the pyramid, corresponding to senior citizens.

On the other hand, when we examine in more detail the relationship between genders, we find more notable disparities with more men in some cases, and more women in others. We do not find the standard pattern of children normally found in fairly similar age groups. For example, among children aged 5 to 9 and between 10 and 15 there are far more males than females. However, among young people aged 15 to 19, many more females are seen. It is possible that these disparities are due to incomplete family returns, where part of the family remains in the United States and another returns. These are family arrangements that often respond to an extreme situation, such as the deportation of only some family members, leading to family separation or future processes of family reunification, whether in Mexico or in the United States. Being a dual citizenship population, it is highly possible that residence will alternate between Mexico and the United States over the years.

**Table 30: Distribution by Age and Gender Groups. Guanajuato Immigrants**

Distribution by age and gender groups of the immigrant population in the State of Guanajuato .						
	2000		2010		2015	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Age 5 to 9	1,066	948	2,359	2,004	1,445	1,317
Age 10 to 14	266	198	1050	717	532	441
Age 15 to 19	33	118	635	225	169	230
Age 20 to 24	19	23	40	119	125	159
Age 25 to 29	37	32	38	122	76	61
Age 30 to 34	52	21	51	54	44	92
Age 35 to 39	19	15	49	51	60	35
Age 40 to 44	1	24	59	49	22	62
Age 45 to 49	16	28	12	47	34	16
Age 50 to 54	14	36	12	14	38	34
Age 55 to 59	36	50	42	47	49	37
Age 60 to 64	54	78	33	55	66	89
Age 65 to 69	0	0	45	30	123	108
Age 70 to 74	0	44	14	22	96	117
Age 75 and above	44	0	10	20	134	131

Source: Authors' own, based on data from General Population and Housing Census 2000 and 2010.  
Inter-census Survey 2015. INEGI

In the following tables we analyze only minors aged between 5 and 14, who we assume to be the children of Mexicans, born in the United States and returning with their parents. Therefore, we call them immigrants, although other analysts may consider them as dual nationals or returning families.

At the regional level, distribution follows different behaviors for each period, although the Central and Southern regions always dominate. For the year 2000, the South region concentrated half (49.27%), the Center region held little over one third (38.54%), and the rest was subdivided into the North region (10%) and Northeast, with a minimal share of 2.14%.

This scenario changes in 2010, with the Central region becoming dominant with a share of state immigration of 44.73%. The South comes in second with 39.49% with the rest divided among the North and Northeast. Finally, in 2015 the Central region dominates again with 58.48%, and the share for the South is reduced to 25.94%, with the remainder being split between the North and Northeast regions.

**Table 31: Recent Immigrants Born in the United States Between Ages 5 and 14, by Region and Year 2000, 2010 y 2015**

Recent Immigrants born in the United States (age 5-14). State of Guanajuato									
Regions	2000			2010			2015		
Variable	Immigrants	Share of State immigration	Immigration Rate	Immigrants	Share of State immigration	Immigration Rate	Immigrants	Share of State immigration	Immigration Rate
Northeast	53	2.14	0.25	353	5.76	1.28	248	6.65	0.87
North	249	10.05	0.48	590	9.62	0.91	333	8.93	0.48
Center	955	38.54	0.34	2,742	44.73	0.76	2,180	58.48	0.55
South	1,221	49.27	1.43	2,445	39.89	2.61	967	25.94	1.01
Total	2,478	100.00	0.56	6,130	100.00	1.12	3,728	100.00	0.63

Source: Authors' own, based on data from General Population and Housing Census 2000 and 2010. Inter-census Survey 2015.  
INEGI

At the municipal level, the distribution of the recent immigrant minor population shows significant differences across periods. Acámbaro, which took the top spot in the year 2000 with a statewide share of 16%, fell to 3.28% in 2010 and to 2.47% in 2015. The city of León has a modest participation in 2000, with a share of 7.59%, increasing to 13.16% and then decreasing to 8.34%. The town of Pénjamo appears with 7.14% in 2000, falling noticeably in 2010 to 1.92% and yet further in 2015 to 1.58%. Meanwhile, the municipality of Yuriria held a stable share across all periods with 6.05% in 2000, followed by 5.27% in 2010 and finally 4.16% in 2015. For its part, the urban municipality of Irapuato accounted for 11.54% in 2000, decreasing to 3.41% in 2010 and then rebounding up to first place in 2015, with a 14.70% share. As shown, the municipal rhythm for receiving immigrants varies, with highs and lows, but with a definite urban or rural pattern.

**Table 32: Recent Immigrants, U.S.-born, Between Ages 5 and 14, by Municipality, Years 2000, 2010 and 2020 (continue)**

Recent immigrants born in the United States (ages 5-14). State of Guanajuato									
Municipality	2000			2010			2015		
Variables	Immigrants	Share of State immigration	Immigration Rate	Immigrants	Share of State immigration	Immigration Rate	Immigrants	Share of State immigration	Immigration Rate
Abasolo	110	4.44	1.48	351	5.73	4.08	121	3.25	1.33
Acámbaro	395	15.94	3.82	201	3.28	1.83	93	2.49	0.83
San Miguel de Allende	67	2.70	0.53	128	2.09	0.81	24	0.64	0.14
Apaseo el Alto	24	0.97	0.45	172	2.81	2.64	82	2.20	1.19
Apaseo el Grande	-	0.00	0.00	72	1.17	0.85	135	3.62	1.45
Atarjea	-	0.00	0.00	6	0.10	0.90	-	0.00	0.00
Celaya	28	1.13	0.08	349	5.69	0.74	157	4.21	0.32
Manuel Doblado	6	0.24	0.17	128	2.09	3.44	61	1.64	1.57
Comonfort	28	1.13	0.44	68	1.11	0.88	146	3.92	1.76
Coroneo	5	0.20	0.51	54	0.88	4.56	10	0.27	0.83
Cortazar	41	1.65	0.54	73	1.19	0.84	177	4.75	1.83
Cuerámbaro	31	1.25	1.29	69	1.13	2.51	43	1.15	1.52
Doctor Mora	4	0.16	0.21	68	1.11	2.91	40	1.07	1.65
Dolores Hidalgo	58	2.34	0.48	168	2.74	1.13	131	3.51	0.86
Guanajuato	1	0.04	0.01	92	1.50	0.54	13	0.35	0.07
Huanímaro	62	2.50	3.36	65	1.06	3.27	38	1.02	1.75
Irapuato	286	11.54	0.69	209	3.41	0.40	548	14.70	0.95
Jaral del Progreso	64	2.58	2.14	18	0.29	0.48	36	0.97	0.94
Jerécuaro	30	1.21	0.58	215	3.51	4.18	60	1.61	1.23
León	188	7.59	0.18	807	13.16	0.56	311	8.34	0.20
Moroleón	30	1.21	0.68	42	0.69	0.84	51	1.37	1.01
Ocampo	69	2.78	3.49	40	0.65	1.68	50	1.34	2.13
Pénjamo	177	7.14	1.31	118	1.92	0.80	59	1.58	0.39
Pueblo Nuevo	7	0.28	0.72	28	0.46	2.45	24	0.64	2.02
Purísima del Rincón	16	0.65	0.38	137	2.23	2.00	73	1.96	0.91
Romita	45	1.82	0.92	50	0.82	0.90	102	2.74	1.70

**Table 32: Recent Immigrants, U.S.-born, Between Ages 5 and 14, by Municipality, Years 2000, 2010 and 2020 (continue)**

Recent immigrants born in the United States (ages 5-14). State of Guanajuato									
Municipality	2000			2010			2015		
Variables	Immigrants	Share of State immigration	Immigration Rate	Immigrants	Share of State immigration	Immigration Rate	Immigrants	Share of State immigration	Immigration Rate
Salamanca	51	2.06	0.24	210	3.43	0.81	130	3.49	0.47
Salvatierra	52	2.10	0.59	279	4.55	2.91	101	2.71	1.00
San Diego de la Unión	17	0.69	0.53	74	1.21	1.95	42	1.13	1.06
San Felipe	37	1.49	0.41	88	1.44	0.83	73	1.96	0.64
San Francisco del Rincón	126	5.08	1.33	133	2.17	1.16	87	2.33	0.73
San José Iturbide	43	1.74	0.83	83	1.35	1.13	91	2.44	1.15
San Luis de la Paz	-	0.00	0.00	103	1.68	0.89	80	2.15	0.66
Santa Catarina	6	0.24	1.41	15	0.24	2.95	16	0.43	3.03
Santa Cruz de Juventino Rosas	11	0.44	0.18	64	1.04	0.80	87	2.33	1.04
Santiago Maravatío	13	0.52	1.95	26	0.42	4.11	15	0.40	2.19
Silao	17	0.69	0.13	158	2.58	0.92	59	1.58	0.31
Tarandacua	10	0.40	0.92	38	0.62	3.61	26	0.70	2.10
Tarimoro	30	1.21	0.86	157	2.56	4.54	37	0.99	1.08
Tierra Blanca	-	0.00	0.00	38	0.62	2.09	6	0.16	0.32
Uriangato	71	2.87	1.42	45	0.73	0.74	47	1.26	0.75
Valle de Santiago	72	2.91	0.59	463	7.55	3.35	63	1.69	0.44
Victoria	-	0.00	0.00	-	0.00	0.00	11	0.30	0.55
Villagrán	-	0.00	0.00	65	1.06	1.21	13	0.35	0.22
Xichú	-	0.00	0.00	40	0.65	3.12	4	0.11	0.35
Yuriria	150	6.05	2.17	323	5.27	4.55	155	4.16	2.22
Total	2,478	100.00	0.56	6,130	100.00	1.12	3,728	100.00	0.63

Source: Authors' own, based on data from General Population and Housing Census 2000 and 2010. Inter-census Survey 2015. INEGI

## Recommendations Regarding the Children of Mexicans

Possibly the most up-to-date source, year on year, for detecting the immigrant children of Mexicans are the municipal birth records, where the process for documenting children born abroad is carried out. Systematizing this resource could provide a better statewide view of this migratory dynamic and could help define more precisely adequate public policies and specific lines of support, especially relating to documentation and education.

The continuity and magnitude of immigration by children of Mexicans as a phenomenon will depend on the United States' migration policies regarding undocumented migrants, but it can be said that this is a current issue that will endure in the coming years.

As undocumented migration decreases and legal migration increases, whether it is temporary (H2 A and B Visas) or permanent (green cards or naturalization), so too should the number of arriving dual nationality immigrant minors decrease.

For dual nationality minors, the main issue lies with schooling. Therefore, it is important that children are located in the corresponding municipalities and schools, and that educational policies are

designed to look after this population, which has been taught to read and write a different language and to help train teachers and adapt their methods.

For most of these cases it can be assumed that they have received socialization in the United States and will be bilingual, while those aged 10 or older will have the ability to read and write in English. For children it is assumed that adaptation to school can be easier in terms of reading and writing in Spanish, while this may at first be more problematic for older youths. Either way, this population presents at least two important characteristics, their dual nationality and bilingual ability. A third characteristic, biculturalism, requires some more sophistication, including reading and writing in both languages and having experienced socialization processes in both countries. It's possible that some of these young people, who may go on to higher education and University, whether in Mexico or the United States, could have all of these three characteristics, which is truly exceptional.

In this sense, being able to count on bilingual and dual nationality youths will become very important in the future, given their possible insertion into a labor market that demands these characteristics among the multinational companies present in the state. Still, should they choose to migrate, they would do so under easier conditions, being both U.S. citizens and bilingual.

Despite all the commotion that has resulted from the deportation of families, including U.S. citizens, the state can offer multiple opportunities for development to those who have been affected by U.S. migration policies. According to Alejandro Portes, in a certain sense the forcible deportation of U.S. citizens represents a human capital loss for the U.S., and a possible gain for Mexico.

## Foreign Immigrants in Guanajuato

Regarding foreign immigrants in Guanajuato, information is available from the 2000 and 2010 censuses and the Inter-census Survey of 2015. With the available data we can distinguish between two kinds of population: the “accumulated foreigners”, that is all those who arrived and have remained in Mexico, and the recent arrivals, who were recorded by the census as being born abroad, and who did not live in Mexico 5 years before the census was taken.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, the information is subdivided into two groups: those born in the USA, which is the vast majority, and those born in other countries. Eventually, we can break the information down by other nationalities. Finally, we provide general information regarding the state, the regions, and the municipalities.

At the state level, the resident foreign population is estimated at 37,000 of which 83% are U.S. citizens. However, a good number of those appearing in the census as U.S. citizens are in fact dual citizens, being children of Mexicans who returned with their parents. A closer look at this segment has been offered in the preceding section.

Besides that, it is important to point out that between 2000 and 2010 we find a noticeable increase in the foreign population, which practically doubled due to the contributions of U.S. citizens, dual nationals, and those from other countries. The population originating in other countries is of approximately 6,000, and they will be analyzed case by case below. During the 2010-2015 period, however, the growth of this foreign population stabilized.

<sup>6</sup>Methodological note: Accumulated Foreigners refers to the population who reported being born in a country other than Mexico. They are called Accumulated as this does not place a temporal restriction on their arrival. Recent foreigners refers to the population registered by the census who were born in a country other than Mexico, but who did not live in Mexico five years prior to the census. This division serves only to illustrate how recent their arrival in Mexico has been. In fact, they are integrated into the accumulated population.

**Table 33: International Immigrants, Accumulated and Recent, USA and Other Countries, 2000, 2010, 2015**

		Absolute			Rate per 1000 inhabitants		
		Born in another country	Born in the USA	Born in a country other than the USA	Born in another country	Born in the USA	Born in a country other than the USA
2000	Accumulated	17,760	14,868	2,892	4.04	3.38	0.66
	Recent	4,501	3,324	1,177	1.02	0.76	0.27
2010	Accumulated	37,269	32,025	5,244	6.80	5.85	0.96
	Recent	9,521	8,052	1,469	1.74	1.47	0.27
2015	Accumulated	37,979	31,030	6,949	6.46	5.28	1.18
	Recent	8,463	6,285	2,178	1.44	1.07	0.37

Source: Authors' own, based on data from General Population and Housing Census 2000 and 2010. Inter-census Survey 2015. INEGI

Note: in this table we distinguish between the accumulated and recent immigrants, those who arrived during the five-year period before the census, and so too for the regions. However, in the case of municipalities, data on Recent immigrants will be available in the database. In this text we will refer to recent immigrants whenever it is appropriate.

At a regional level, according to the 2000 census, the Central region stands out in first place in terms of its share of immigration into the state, concentrating nearly half the foreign population (48.82%). In second place is the Southern region, with 31.14%, and in third place is the North, with 17.45%. For its part, the Northeast, the most isolated and rural region accounts for only 2.8%. In every case the population of U.S. born immigrants is the majority (14,868), though the arrival of foreigners coming from elsewhere is also present (2,892) especially in the Central region.

According to the 2010 census, the fundamental change is the noticeable growth in the foreign population, which grows from 17,760 foreigners to 37,269 in a single decade. Undoubtedly, the main contributor to this number is due to the return of families with dual nationality children. However, the foreign population from other countries also increased, nearly doubling itself from 2,892 to 5,244 people. However, 81% are concentrated in the Central region, with less presence in the South (15.31%) and North (3.47%).

According to the Inter-census Survey of 2015, only a small increase of foreigners is seen in the five-year period, climbing from 37,269 to 37,979. However, this growth is accurately reflected in the increase in the foreign population from countries other than the United States, which climbs from 5,244 to 6,949. During these five years, 1,872 "recent" immigrants arrived from other countries to the Center region. In fact, the number of returning migrants is reduced considerably during this period and consequently so too the number of children born in the United States and returning with their parents. Distribution by region follows the same pattern as seen in previous years with greater concentration in the Central region, followed by the South, the North, and the Northeast trailing far behind.



**Table 34: Foreign Population in Guanajuato, by Region, Accumulated and Recent, 2000, 2010 and 2015**

			Absolutes			State share			Rates per 1000 inhabitants		
		Region	Born in another country	Born in the USA	Born in a country other than the USA	Born in another country	Born in the USA	Born in a country other than the USA	Born in another country	Born in the USA	Born in a country other than the USA
2000	Accumulated	Northeast	459	450	9	2.58	3.03	0.31	2.16	2.12	0.04
		North	3,100	2,356	744	17.45	15.85	25.73	5.93	4.50	1.42
		Center	8,670	6,986	1,684	48.82	46.99	58.23	3.09	2.49	0.60
		South	5,531	5,076	455	31.14	34.14	15.73	6.47	5.94	0.53
		Total	17,760	14,868	2,892	100.00	100.00	100.00	4.04	3.38	0.66
	Recent	Northeast	66	66	-	1.47	1.99	0.00	0.31	0.31	-
		North	881	572	309	19.57	17.21	26.25	1.68	1.09	0.59
		Center	1,678	1,222	456	37.28	36.76	38.74	0.60	0.44	0.16
		South	1,876	1,464	412	41.68	44.04	35.00	2.19	1.71	0.48
		Total	4,501	3,324	1,177	100.00	100.00	100.00	1.02	0.76	0.27
2010	Accumulated	Northeast	1,781	1,771	10	4.78	5.53	0.19	6.46	6.42	0.04
		North	5,135	4,332	803	13.78	13.53	15.31	7.95	6.71	1.24
		Center	19,534	15,285	4,249	52.41	47.73	81.03	5.39	4.22	1.17
		South	10,819	10,637	182	29.03	33.21	3.47	11.56	11.37	0.19
		Total	37269	32025	5244	100	100	100	6.80	5.85	0.96
	Recent	Northeast	382	376	6	4.01	4.67	0.41	1.39	1.36	0.02
		North	1327	1,137	190	13.94	14.12	12.93	2.05	1.76	0.29
		Center	4966	3,735	1,231	52.16	46.39	83.80	1.37	1.03	0.34
		South	2846	2,804	42	29.89	34.82	2.86	3.04	3.00	0.04
		Total	9521	8052	1469	100	100	100	1.74	1.47	0.27
2015	Accumulated	Northeast	1681	1615	66	4.43	5.20	0.95	5.88	5.65	0.23
		North	6925	5833	1092	18.23	18.80	15.71	10.08	8.49	1.59
		Center	20498	14985	5513	53.97	48.29	79.34	5.20	3.80	1.40
		South	8875	8597	278	23.37	27.71	4.00	9.22	8.94	0.29
		Total	37979	31030	6949	100	100	100	6.46	5.28	1.18
	Recent	Northeast	338	310	28	3.99	4.93	1.29	1.18	1.08	0.10
		North	2135	1741	394	25.23	27.70	18.09	3.11	2.53	0.57
		Center	4581	2929	1652	54.13	46.60	75.85	1.16	0.74	0.42
		South	1409	1305	104	16.65	20.76	4.78	1.46	1.36	0.11
		Total	8463	6285	2178	100.00	100.00	100.00	1.44	1.07	0.37

Source: Authors' own, based on data from General Population and Housing Census 2000 and 2010. Inter-census Survey 2015. INEGI

## Foreign Population at the Municipal Level

At the municipal level, in the year 2000 we find records of accumulated foreign population primarily in the urban centers of León (15.35%), the city of Irapuato (9.27%), San Miguel de Allende (7.67%), Acámbaro (7.61%), and Celaya (6.23%). As for the foreign population born in other countries (other than the U.S.), the majority is concentrated in León (26.94%), Irapuato (14.94%), San Miguel de Allende (14.07 %), Celaya (6.23%) and Valle de Santiago (11.24%).

The concentration of foreigners in the state's most important urban municipalities requires no great explanation. However, we must stop and consider the cases where the "city lights" are not the main attraction: San Miguel de Allende, Valle de Santiago, and Acámbaro.

The case of San Miguel de Allende is different as it concentrates a more elderly foreign population, mostly U.S. retirees but also other nationalities, such as Canadian and French. Furthermore, this municipality not only shows accumulated immigration but also receives plenty of recent immigration (10.82%), including both U.S. citizens and those of other countries. This is a similar case to those of Ajijíc and Chapala in Jalisco, Mazatlán in Sinaloa or Cabo San Lucas in Baja California Sur (Lizárraga, 2008). In the case of San Miguel, given its patrimonial and architectural value, some authors have remarked that a process of gentrification is taking place, promoted by the immigrant population (De la Torre, 2018). However, besides the attractiveness of a small and beautiful city, a true community of foreigners has formed around its preservation, looking to lead comfortable and safe lives, doing business, especially in real estate, and demanding high quality services such as restaurants, hotels, home maintenance, etc.

The case of Valle de Santiago drew our attention as statistical information reveals more foreigners coming from other countries (325) than from the United States (280). This city's "recent" population mostly arrived in the five-year period before the year 2000 and represents 26.44% of the state's total immigration of this kind.

Indeed, a more detailed analysis confirms that these are immigrants of Chinese origin, who work in "maquila" factories. According to press reports, these Chinese citizens entered the country as "technicians" and were then given work at KBL de México SA de CV, a Chinese-American enterprise (La Jornada, February 26, 2006). This could be an exceptional case of "importation" of labor for performing specific tasks. However, by the year 2015 the census survey reported only 35 people of foreign nationalities within this municipality.

In other cases, Chinese immigrants hire Mexican attorneys to process their arrival, usually arguing they are "chefs" and later arguing family reunification in order to bring their relatives. Then they work for some time at a Chinese restaurant and later open their own business or become independent. Over the last twenty years, Chinese restaurants have multiplied and spread across large, medium, and small cities. There are also cases of Chinese migrants whose ultimate goal is reaching the United States or Canada, and who use Mexico as a steppingstone in their migratory journey. According to Gachuz (2014), 50% of Chinese interviewees in Puebla had the intention of emigrating to yet another country. In general, Chinese migrants do not arrive here as individuals looking for opportunity but are instead linked to large companies and migration agencies, which help finance their travel, attorney services, and cost of settling in, until all accumulated debts are paid.

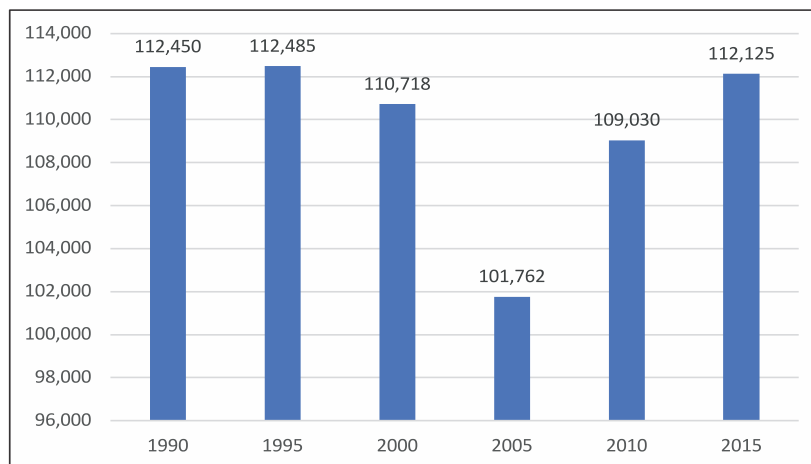
An analysis of the Acámbaro municipality is also relevant, as it has a longstanding migrant tradition, and indeed it's one of the settlements mentioned by Manuel Gamio in his classic study of Mexican migration, in 1926. Furthermore, he refers to Acámbaro because this is where one of the first repatriation projects for Mexicans took place, near the end of the 1920s (Gamio, 1969; 1930). The municipality's contribution to state emigration is also relevant, representing 4.12% (4,954 emigrants) in the year 2000 and 2.84% in 2010.

Acámbaro, occupies the fourth position in terms of its share of state migration in the year 2000, right after the urban municipalities of León, Celaya, and Irapuato. Its share then drops in 2010. Considering the dates when this important expulsion of people to the United States took place, we can

say it probably involved unregulated migrants. Additionally, given the history of migration in this municipality, part of these emigrants could include people who hold U.S. visas or citizenship.

In Acámbaro's case, it is interesting to note that this municipality was once shedding population systematically. In 1990, it had 112,450 inhabitants which fell to 101,762 in 2005, a loss of 10,688 people. However, it then recovered in 2010 reaching 109,030 people and again in 2015 to reach 112,125. It has not however, reached its population of 1990. We should add that this population recovery is not only because of returning migrants but also due to the arrival of U.S.-born children of Mexicans, who we refer to as recent immigrants. According to the 2000 census, 395 minors aged between 5 and 14 arrived in Acámbaro during the preceding five-year period, followed by 351 by 2010, and finally 121 in 2015.

**Graph 7: Acámbaro's Demographic Evolution 1990-2015**



Source: General Population and Housing Census 1990, 2000 and 2010; Population Counts 1995 and 2005; and Inter-census Survey 2015. INEGI

Here we have a clear example of the impact immigration has upon certain populations across the state, which can even lead to negative growth. However, the later impact of returning migrants has also been relevant in partially recovering its population. Similar cases are found in Salvatierra and Taran-dacuo, as documented by Rivas, Gabarrot y Zúñiga (2019).

**Table 35: Foreigners Registered in Guanajuato, accumulated, 2000**

Municipality	Absolute			State share			Rate per 1000 inhabitants		
	Born in another country	Born in the USA	Born in a country other than USA	Born in another country	Born in the USA	Born in a country other than USA	Born in another country	Born in the USA	Born in a country other than USA
Abasolo	365	351	14	2.06	2.36	0.48	4.90	4.71	0.19
Acámbaro	1,351	1,299	52	7.61	8.74	1.80	13.06	12.55	0.50
San Miguel de Allende	1,509	1,102	407	8.50	7.41	14.07	11.89	8.68	3.21
Apaseo el Alto	138	138	-	0.78	0.93	-	2.58	2.58	0.00
Apaseo el Grande	172	153	19	0.97	1.03	0.66	2.65	2.36	0.29
Atarjea	3	3	-	0.02	0.02	-	0.61	0.61	0.00
Celaya	1,107	911	196	6.23	6.13	6.78	3.07	2.52	0.54
Manuel Doblado	179	169	10	1.01	1.14	0.35	4.99	4.72	0.28
Comonfort	182	165	17	1.02	1.11	0.59	2.86	2.59	0.27
Coroneo	27	27	-	0.15	0.18	-	2.77	2.77	0.00
Cortazar	404	359	45	2.27	2.41	1.56	5.29	4.70	0.59
Cuerámbaro	120	113	7	0.68	0.76	0.24	5.00	4.71	0.29
Doctor Mora	40	40	-	0.23	0.27	-	2.13	2.13	0.00

**Table 35: Foreigners Registered in Guanajuato, accumulated, 2000 (continue)**

Municipality	Absolute			State share			Rate per 1000 inhabitants		
	Born in another country	Born in the USA	Born in a country other than USA	Born in another country	Born in the USA	Born in a country other than USA	Born in another country	Born in the USA	Born in a country other than USA
Dolores Hidalgo Cuna de la Independencia Nacional	212	212	-	1.19	1.43	-	1.75	1.75	0.00
Guanajuato	771	448	323	4.34	3.01	11.17	5.80	3.37	2.43
Huanímaro	179	174	5	1.01	1.17	0.17	9.70	9.43	0.27
Irapuato	1,647	1,215	432	9.27	8.17	14.94	3.96	2.92	1.04
Jaral del Progreso	90	90	-	0.51	0.61	-	3.00	3.00	0.00
Jerécuaro	140	140	-	0.79	0.94	-	2.70	2.70	0.00
León	2,727	1,948	779	15.35	13.10	26.94	2.54	1.82	0.73
Moroleón	318	299	19	1.79	2.01	0.66	7.19	6.76	0.43
Ocampo	417	417	-	2.35	2.80	-	21.10	21.10	0.00
Pénjamo	657	657	-	3.70	4.42	-	4.86	4.86	0.00
Pueblo Nuevo	44	44	-	0.25	0.30	-	4.52	4.52	0.00
Purísima del Rincón	87	75	12	0.49	0.50	0.41	2.04	1.76	0.28
Romita	177	167	10	1.00	1.12	0.35	3.62	3.42	0.20
Salamanca	526	421	105	2.96	2.83	3.63	2.46	1.97	0.49
Salvatierra	545	545	-	3.07	3.67	-	6.16	6.16	0.00
San Diego de la Unión	49	49	-	0.28	0.33	-	1.53	1.53	0.00
San Felipe	142	128	14	0.80	0.86	0.48	1.58	1.43	0.16
San Francisco del Rincón	751	682	69	4.23	4.59	2.39	7.95	7.22	0.73
San José Iturbide	194	186	8	1.09	1.25	0.28	3.75	3.60	0.15
San Luis de la Paz	91	91	-	0.51	0.61	-	1.00	1.00	0.00
Santa Catarina	32	31	1	0.18	0.21	0.03	7.53	7.30	0.24
Santa Cruz de Juventino Rosas	91	91	-	0.51	0.61	-	1.47	1.47	0.00
Santiago Maravatío	140	140	-	0.79	0.94	-	20.96	20.96	0.00
Silao	235	235	-	1.32	1.58	-	1.85	1.85	0.00
Tarandacua	82	78	4	0.46	0.52	0.14	7.58	7.21	0.37
Tarimoro	302	302	-	1.70	2.03	-	8.62	8.62	0.00
Tierra Blanca	3	3	-	0.02	0.02	-	0.22	0.22	0.00
Uriangato	438	419	19	2.47	2.82	0.66	8.77	8.39	0.38
Valle de Santiago	605	280	325	3.41	1.88	11.24	4.92	2.28	2.64
Victoria	83	83	-	0.47	0.56	-	4.94	4.94	0.00
Villagrán	34	34	-	0.19	0.23	-	0.79	0.79	0.00
Xichú	13	13	-	0.07	0.09	-	1.20	1.20	0.00
Yuriria	341	341	-	1.92	2.29	-	4.94	4.94	0.00
Total	17,760	14,868	2,892	100	100	100	4.04	3.38	0.66

Source: Authors' own, based on data from General Population and Housing Census 2000 and 2010.  
Inter-census Survey 2015. INEGI

In the year 2010, as said before, we see a noticeable increase in foreign-born population, both from the United States and from other countries. Still, it is the urban municipalities of León (16.8%), Irapuato (8.17%), Celaya (7.34%), and San Miguel Allende (6.32%) where more than a third of the foreign population is concentrated (38.63%), with the rest being distributed across the state's remaining municipalities. U.S. citizens are still the vast majority, although in Celaya the population born in other countries climbs from 196 to 440, which is explained by the arrival of Japanese automobile assembly plants in the city.

It's also relevant to note that in San Miguel de Allende the population from other countries represents nearly a quarter of the total, making this a truly international destination and not a destination strictly for U.S. citizens. The difference is even greater when we consider that, statistically speaking, among the figure for U.S. citizens we also find Mexican children with dual nationality. Furthermore, given the labor market's characteristics, many English-speaking returning youths have found employment in San Miguel de Allende.

**Table 36: Foreigners registered in Guanajuato by Municipality, accumulated 2010**

Municipality	Absolute			State share			Rate per 1000 inhabitants		
	Born in another country	Born in the USA	Born in a country other than USA	Born in another country	Born in the USA	Born in a country other than USA	Born in another country	Born in the USA	Born in a country other than USA
Abasolo	1,166	1,145	21	3.13	3.58	0.40	13.55	13.31	0.24
Acámbaro	939	920	19	2.52	2.87	0.36	8.56	8.39	0.17
San Miguel de Allende	2,354	1,826	528	6.32	5.70	10.07	14.90	11.56	3.34
Apaseo el Alto	868	868	-	2.33	2.71	0.00	13.33	13.33	0.00
Apaseo el Grande	420	400	20	1.13	1.25	0.38	4.97	4.74	0.24
Atarjea	48	45	3	0.13	0.14	0.06	7.18	6.73	0.45
Celaya	2,734	2,294	440	7.34	7.16	8.39	5.83	4.89	0.94
Manuel Doblado	622	613	9	1.67	1.91	0.17	16.74	16.50	0.24
Comonfort	449	404	45	1.20	1.26	0.86	5.81	5.23	0.58
Coroneo	137	137	-	0.37	0.43	0.00	11.57	11.57	0.00
Cortazar	438	422	16	1.18	1.32	0.31	5.04	4.85	0.18
Cuerámaro	391	391	-	1.05	1.22	0.00	14.23	14.23	0.00
Doctor Mora	292	287	5	0.78	0.90	0.10	12.49	12.28	0.21
Dolores Hidalgo Cuna de la Independencia Nacional	1,076	1,039	37	2.89	3.24	0.71	7.26	7.01	0.25
Guanajuato	601	404	197	1.61	1.26	3.76	3.50	2.35	1.15
Huanímaro	208	208	-	0.56	0.65	0.00	10.48	10.48	0.00
Irapuato	3,044	1,361	1,683	8.17	4.25	32.10	5.76	2.58	3.19
Jaral del Progreso	252	252	-	0.68	0.79	0.00	6.66	6.66	0.00
Jerécuaro	839	839	-	2.25	2.62	0.00	16.32	16.32	0.00
León	6,260	4,622	1,638	16.80	14.43	31.24	4.37	3.23	1.14
Moroleón	446	404	42	1.20	1.26	0.80	8.90	8.07	0.84
Ocampo	241	231	10	0.65	0.72	0.19	10.15	9.73	0.42
Pénjamo	509	482	27	1.37	1.51	0.51	3.44	3.26	0.18
Pueblo Nuevo	136	132	4	0.36	0.41	0.08	11.92	11.57	0.35
Purísima del Rincón	510	510	-	1.37	1.59	0.00	7.44	7.44	0.00
Romita	171	171	-	0.46	0.53	0.00	3.06	3.06	0.00
Salamanca	847	835	12	2.27	2.61	0.23	3.27	3.23	0.05
Salvatierra	1,384	1,384	-	3.71	4.32	0.00	14.45	14.45	0.00
San Diego de la Unión	236	228	8	0.63	0.71	0.15	6.23	6.02	0.21
San Felipe	627	604	23	1.68	1.89	0.44	5.90	5.68	0.22
San Francisco del Rincón	1,101	835	266	2.95	2.61	5.07	9.58	7.27	2.31
San José Iturbide	516	516	-	1.38	1.61	0.00	6.99	6.99	0.00
San Luis de la Paz	571	571	-	1.53	1.78	0.00	4.94	4.94	0.00
Santa Catarina	89	88	1	0.24	0.27	0.02	17.50	17.30	0.20
Santa Cruz de Juventino Rosas	371	357	14	1.00	1.11	0.27	4.64	4.46	0.17
Santiago Maravatío	110	110	-	0.30	0.34	0.00	17.40	17.40	0.00
Silao	1,196	1,081	115	3.21	3.38	2.19	6.93	6.26	0.67
Tarandacuao	188	182	6	0.50	0.57	0.11	17.86	17.29	0.57
Tarimoro	644	644	-	1.73	2.01	0.00	18.61	18.61	0.00
Tierra Blanca	93	93	-	0.25	0.29	0.00	5.13	5.13	0.00
Uriangato	495	465	30	1.33	1.45	0.57	8.15	7.66	0.49
Valle de Santiago	1,657	1,648	9	4.45	5.15	0.17	11.98	11.91	0.07
Victoria	68	68	-	0.18	0.21	0.00	3.36	3.36	0.00
Villagrán	229	229	-	0.61	0.72	0.00	4.25	4.25	0.00
Xichú	104	104	-	0.28	0.32	0.00	8.10	8.10	0.00
Yuriria	1,592	1,577	15	4.27	4.92	0.29	22.45	22.23	0.21
Total	37,269	32,026	5,243	100	100	100	6.80	5.85	0.96

Source: Authors' own, based on data from General Population and Housing Census 2000 and 2010. Inter-census Survey 2015. INEGI

According to the inter-census survey of 2015, the major trends from previous years are confirmed, although some concentration of foreign-born populations from other countries is now noticeable in the municipality of León (41.16%). Meanwhile the U.S. born population, while greater in absolute terms, represents only 13.14% in relative terms, while the population from other countries accounts for 41.16%. Something similar occurs in Irapuato, where the population from other countries amounts to 13.99%, while the population from the United States only reaches 6.02%. In San Miguel de Allende, proportional representation by other countries is also greater (12.62%) than that of the United States (11.22%).

Indeed, U.S. citizens are represented and distributed across all the state's municipalities, due to the presence of dual national minors. In contrast, 87.4% of the foreign population from other countries is concentrated in only five municipalities: León with 41.16%, Irapuato with 13.99%, San Miguel de Allende with 12.62%, Celaya with 12.38%, and Salamanca with 7.25%. In this last municipality, we also find large Japanese auto makers. On the other hand, there are four municipalities with no presence of foreigners from other countries and 32 municipalities hold less than 1% of them. In other words, the foreign population originating in other countries is highly concentrated in urban areas, while U.S.-born foreigners are distributed across the entire state, although a large percentage are concentrated in urban areas.

**Table 37: Foreigners Registered in Guanajuato, Accumulated 2015**

Municipality	Absolute			State share			Rate per 1000 inhabitants		
	Born in another country	Born in the USA	Born in a country other than USA	Born in another country	Born in the USA	Born in a country other than USA	Born in another country	Born in the USA	Born in a country other than USA
Abasolo	680	675	5	1.79	2.18	0.07	7.45	7.39	0.05
Acámbaro	911	881	30	2.40	2.84	0.43	8.11	7.85	0.27
San Miguel de Allende	4,360	3,483	877	11.48	11.22	12.62	25.24	20.16	5.08
Apaseo el Alto	639	624	15	1.68	2.01	0.22	9.31	9.09	0.22
Apaseo el Grande	525	478	47	1.38	1.54	0.68	5.64	5.13	0.50
Atarjea	19	19	-	0.05	0.06	-	3.77	3.77	0.00
Celaya	2,560	1,700	860	6.74	5.48	12.38	5.16	3.43	1.73
Manuel Doblado	483	480	3	1.27	1.55	0.04	12.40	12.33	0.08
Comonfort	629	609	20	1.66	1.96	0.29	7.59	7.35	0.24
Coroneo	91	91	-	0.24	0.29	-	7.53	7.53	0.00
Cortazar	614	586	28	1.62	1.89	0.40	6.36	6.07	0.29
Cuerámara	382	380	2	1.01	1.22	0.03	13.46	13.39	0.07
Doctor Mora	210	201	9	0.55	0.65	0.13	8.65	8.28	0.37
Dolores Hidalgo Cuna de la Independencia Nacional	700	693	7	1.84	2.23	0.10	4.59	4.55	0.05
Guanajuato	622	426	196	1.64	1.37	2.82	3.36	2.30	1.06
Huanímaro	269	269	-	0.71	0.87	-	12.36	12.36	0.00
Irapuato	2,840	1,868	972	7.48	6.02	13.99	4.92	3.24	1.68
Jaral del Progreso	273	256	17	0.72	0.83	0.24	7.10	6.66	0.44
Jerécuaro	323	302	21	0.85	0.97	0.30	6.60	6.17	0.43
León	6,937	4,077	2,860	18.27	13.14	41.16	4.37	2.57	1.80
Moroleón	361	327	34	0.95	1.05	0.49	7.16	6.49	0.67
Ocampo	300	298	2	0.79	0.96	0.03	12.76	12.67	0.09
Pénjamo	1,348	1,323	25	3.55	4.26	0.36	8.94	8.78	0.17
Pueblo Nuevo	134	133	1	0.35	0.43	0.01	11.26	11.18	0.08
Purísima del Rincón	610	605	5	1.61	1.95	0.07	7.57	7.51	0.06
Romita	489	484	5	1.29	1.56	0.07	8.13	8.05	0.08
Salamanca	1,565	1,061	504	4.12	3.42	7.25	5.71	3.87	1.84
Salvatierra	954	952	2	2.51	3.07	0.03	9.47	9.45	0.02
San Diego de la Unión	261	261	-	0.69	0.84	-	6.56	6.56	0.00
San Felipe	682	672	10	1.80	2.17	0.14	6.01	5.92	0.09
San Francisco del Rincón	887	770	117	2.34	2.48	1.68	7.40	6.43	0.98
San José Iturbide	498	476	22	1.31	1.53	0.32	6.29	6.02	0.28
San Luis de la Paz	626	599	27	1.65	1.93	0.39	5.16	4.94	0.22



**Table 37: Foreigners Registered in Guanajuato, Accumulated 2015 (continue)**

Municipality	Absolute			State share			Rate per 1000 inhabitants		
	Born in another country	Born in the USA	Born in a country other than USA	Born in another country	Born in the USA	Born in a country other than USA	Born in another country	Born in the USA	Born in a country other than USA
Santa Catarina	100	98	2	0.26	0.32	0.03	18.97	18.59	0.38
Santa Cruz de Juventino Rosas	430	418	12	1.13	1.35	0.17	5.16	5.02	0.14
Santiago Maravatio	113	112	1	0.30	0.36	0.01	16.48	16.33	0.15
Silao	887	855	32	2.34	2.76	0.46	4.65	4.48	0.17
Tarandacua	230	224	6	0.61	0.72	0.09	18.59	18.10	0.48
Tarimoro	377	373	4	0.99	1.20	0.06	11.01	10.89	0.12
Tierra Blanca	86	84	2	0.23	0.27	0.03	4.52	4.42	0.11
Uriangato	565	480	85	1.49	1.55	1.22	8.98	7.63	1.35
Valle de Santiago	941	906	35	2.48	2.92	0.50	6.58	6.34	0.24
Victoria	82	82	-	0.22	0.26	-	4.07	4.07	0.00
Villagrán	236	221	15	0.62	0.71	0.22	3.99	3.74	0.25
Xichú	60	56	4	0.16	0.18	0.06	5.19	4.84	0.35
Yuriria	1,090	1,062	28	2.87	3.42	0.40	15.64	15.24	0.40
Total	37,979	31,030	6,949	100	100	100	6.46	5.28	1.18

Source: Authors' own, based on data from General Population and Housing Census 2000 and 2010. Inter-census Survey 2015. INEGI

## Countries of Origin of Foreign Immigrants

Regarding the origins of foreign immigrants, the 2000 census reveals that a vast majority of this population is U.S. born, representing 83.7% with only 2.29% from the People's Republic of China and 1.86% from Spain. All other countries have shares below 1%. Nonetheless, the census does show a few Central American immigrants: 145 Salvadorans, 108 Guatemalans, 99 Nicaraguans, and 7 Hondurans.

This changes in 2010, with the share of U.S. citizens increasing to 85.93% due to the arrival of dual national children during the inter-census period, while the range of origins also increases: Spain represents 1.69%, Colombia reaches 1.51%, and Canada climbs to 1.18%. It should be noted that the Japanese now have some presence in the state, with 160 immigrants equivalent to 0.43%, while Chinese nationals have a greater representation among recent immigrants with 345 individuals detected in Valle de Santiago.

In 2015, we find U.S. presence falling for the first time, down to 81.7%, while other countries crossed the 1% barrier: Chinese at 2.29%, Spaniards with 1.86%, Canadians at 1.84%, Colombians with 1.61%, Japanese at 1.53%, Italians at 1.32%, and Brazilians at 1.12%. Meanwhile, a few Central American migrants are also found: 271 Salvadorans, 142 Guatemalans, and a novel presence of 209 Hondurans. It's possible that part of this group of Central American migrants consists of transit migrants who have begun to settle in the state instead.

Throughout these past 25 years, the importance of the U.S.-born population is notorious, representing more than 80% of immigrants. Sadly, the census does not allow us to tell the children of Mexicans or dual nationals apart. However, the analysis presented on "recent immigrants" aged 5 to 14 allows us to approximate the importance of the population with Mexican heritage, which in practice holds dual nationality. The total number of U.S. born immigrants in 2015 was 31,030 people, and we calculate that of this group, around 17,239 are minors, with the vast majority being children of Mexicans. This means that more than half of this cohort, 55.5%, consists of dual citizens.

Very broadly, we could conclude that 40% of the foreign population consists of U.S. citizens, while another 40% includes U.S.-born dual citizens, children of Mexicans, with a remaining 20% coming from other countries. Next, we present a breakdown of countries of origin for the years 2000, 2010, and 2015.

**Table 38: Foreign Population by Country, Accumulated 2000**

Place of origin of accumulated foreigners. Guanajuato 2000		
<b>Country</b>	<b>Absolute</b>	<b>%</b>
GERMANY	66	0.37
AMERICA	177	1
ARGENTINA	127	0.72
ASIA	66	0.37
AUSTRALIA	13	0.07
BELGIUM	60	0.34
BRAZIL	12	0.07
CANADA	128	0.72
CHILE	51	0.29
CHINA	407	2.29
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC (HONG KONG)	13	0.07
COLOMBIA	73	0.41
KOREA	63	0.35
COSTA RICA	104	0.59
CUBA	64	0.36
EL SALVADOR	145	0.82
SPAIN	331	1.86
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	14,868	83.2
PHILIPINES	36	0.2
FRANCE	21	0.12
GUATEMALA	108	0.61
NETHERLANDS	23	0.13
HONDURAS	7	0.04
HUNGARY	6	0.03
INDIA	12	0.07
ENGLAND	130	0.73
IRELAND	43	0.24
JAMAICA	11	0.06
GUAM	1	0.01
ISRAEL	8	0.05
ITALY	136	0.77
JAPAN	60	0.34
LEBANON	17	0.1
NICARAGUA	99	0.56
PANAMA	13	0.07
PERU	134	0.75
POLAND	14	0.08
PUERTO RICO	3	0.02
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC	19	0.11
SWEDEN	24	0.14
SWITZERLAND	14	0.08
TANZANIA	27	0.15
TURKEY	4	0.02
VENEZUELA	22	0.12
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>17,760</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Authors' own, based on data from General Population and Housing Census 2000 and 2010. Inter-census Survey 2015. INEGI

**Table 39: Foreign Population by Country, Accumulated 2010**

Place of origin of accumulated foreigners. Guanajuato 2010		
Country	Absolute	Percentage
GERMANY	369	0.99
ANGOLA	5	0.01
ARGENTINA	304	0.82
AUSTRALIA	38	0.10
AUSTRIA	8	0.02
BELGIUM	4	0.01
BOLIVIA	69	0.19
BRAZIL	332	0.89
CANADA	440	1.18
CHILE	62	0.17
NATIONALIST CHINA	112	0.30
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC (HONG KONG)	24	0.06
COLOMBIA	563	1.51
SOUTH KOREA	247	0.66
COSTA RICA	59	0.16
CUBA	84	0.23
DENMARK	26	0.07
ECUADOR	3	0.01
EL SALVADOR	130	0.35
SPAIN	628	1.69
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	32,026	85.93
EUROPE	14	0.04
PHILIPINES	16	0.04
FRANCE	232	0.62
GREECE	52	0.14
GUATEMALA	127	0.34
NETHERLANDS	4	0.01
HONDURAS	301	0.81
ENGLAND	124	0.33
IRAQ	14	0.04
IRELAND	26	0.07
ITALY	59	0.16
JAPAN	160	0.43
KYRGYZSTAN	25	0.07
MALAYSIA	5	0.01
NICARAGUA	5	0.01
PANAMA	12	0.03
PARAGUAY	68	0.18
PERU	162	0.43
POLAND	11	0.03
PORTUGAL	23	0.06
PUERTO RICO	54	0.14
CZECH REPUBLIC	36	0.10
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC	4	0.01
ROMANIA	5	0.01
RUSSIA	88	0.24
SOUTH AFRICA	15	0.04
SWEDEN	26	0.07
TURKEY	12	0.03
URUGUAY	8	0.02
VENEZUELA	48	0.13
<b>Total</b>	<b>37,269</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Authors' own, based on data from General Population and Housing Census 2000 and 2010. Inter-census Survey 2015. INEGI

Table 40: Foreign Population by Country, Accumulated 2015

Place of origin of accumulated foreigners. Guanajuato 2015		
Country	Absolute	Percentage
GERMANY	90	0.24
SAUDI ARABIA	2	0.01
ARGENTINA	271	0.71
AUSTRALIA	29	0.08
BELGIUM	13	0.03
BOLIVIA	160	0.42
BRAZIL	427	1.12
CANADA	697	1.84
CHILE	86	0.23
NATIONALIST CHINA	197	0.52
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC (HONG KONG)	102	0.27
COLOMBIA	612	1.61
NORTH KOREA	54	0.14
SOUTH KOREA	97	0.26
COSTA RICA	42	0.11
CUBA	341	0.90
ECUADOR	11	0.03
EL SALVADOR	271	0.71
SPAIN	498	1.31
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	31,030	81.7
FRANCE	170	0.45
GREECE	20	0.05
GUATEMALA	142	0.37
HAITI	48	0.13
NETHERLANDS	27	0.07
HONDURAS	209	0.55
HUNGARY	8	0.02
INDIA	92	0.24
ENGLAND	98	0.26
IRELAND	62	0.16
ITALY	500	1.32
JAPAN	580	1.53
JORDAN	1	0.00
LEBANON	18	0.05
NICARAGUA	25	0.07
NIGERIA	14	0.04
NOT SPECIFIED	32	0.04
NORWAY	23	0.06
NEW ZEALAND	8	0.02
PAKISTAN	2	0.01
PANAMA	102	0.27
PERU	57	0.15
POLAND	31	0.08
PORTUGAL	9	0.02
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC	4	0.01
ROMANIA	25	0.07
RUSSIA	40	0.11
SYRIA	90	0.24
SWEDEN	9	0.02
SWITZERLAND	90	0.24
THAILAND	17	0.04
TOGO	47	0.12
UKRAINE	4	0.01
UGANDA	3	0.01
URUGUAY	154	0.41
VENEZUELA	188	0.50
<b>Total</b>	<b>37,979</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Authors' own, based on data from Inter-census Survey 2015. INEGI

## Forecast and Recommendations

Guanajuato's foreign population, accumulated to 2015 is (approximately and rounding down) 38,000 people. This universe can be broken into three parts: dual nationals, the children of Mexicans, account for approximately 16,000; U.S. immigrants make up another 15,000, and immigrants from other countries make up the remaining 7,000. Strictly speaking, if we remove those with dual nationality, we get a population of 22,000 foreigners. Considering that Guanajuato's population at the time was estimated at 6 million, the share of immigrants is miniscule (0.36%) and more so if we compare it with the population of emigrants who have left Guanajuato, estimated at around 1.2 to 1.3 million, or approximately 20% of the population. In summary, the migration equilibrium is extremely unbalanced, and Guanajuato stands to benefit and enrich itself from any migratory flows that arrive in the near future.

This statistical proof makes it clear that the state is demographically open to emigration, yet closed to immigration. If we add that the state's population growth is approaching stabilization through its demographic transition process, it becomes appropriate to start thinking of public policies that can draw in more population, both at the national and international level.

While in certain cases the presence of foreigners is cause for attention- San Miguel de Allende for its elderly population, the Center region known for its General Motors assembly technicians, and Celaya and Salamanca for their Japanese population that works the Honda and Mazda assembly lines. Interestingly, these places stand out due to the minimal presence of foreigners in the state as a whole.

More careful analysis will be needed for the trends manifested in the foreign communities linked to the state's industrialization processes. These communities can either become integrated, especially by sending their children to school, as part of their neighborhoods, or through various cultural and sporting events, or they can become isolated using private schools and exclusive communities. Finding a way to encourage integration into Guanajuato's society, especially for children and youths, should be considered a priority that could bring great future benefits for the state.

The state of Guanajuato stands out for having important agricultural, manufacturing, and service industries, and in the medium term it's very likely that these will require labor, especially for the intensive agriculture practiced in the state. While the labor market usually deals with supplying labor needs, any lack of available labor can only be solved through migrant labor. We need to detect whether this process has already begun, as it has in other states around the country.

We also should evaluate the results of the importation of Chinese labor for the "maquila" factories located in Valle de Santiago. The census detects their presence in the year 2000, but the picture becomes less clear due to apparent changes of residence and even their possible departure towards other regions or countries, which make further investigation necessary.

Finally, immigration into Guanajuato could be a crucial factor for the state's development, both in terms of qualified personnel and middle management and of untrained labor. Emigration from Guanajuato to the United States had a relevant impact on the state's demographic structure, operating as a regulator for excess population, particularly in rural and low-income sectors. However, we are now seeing the other side of this coin with the forced return of many Guanajuato natives, the return of elderly migrants who have ended their working life in the United States and the immigration by U.S.-born children of Mexicans.

The circular migration that functioned as a stabilizing system during the 20th Century has now become definite emigration, with no possibility of returning for undocumented migrants unless they are forced back. On the other hand, Guanajuato natives who have migrated legally or hold dual nationality represent the group that can most easily move between the two countries.

## Return Migration

### Introduction

In this section, we present the final results of the field work carried out in the cities of Celaya, León, San Miguel de Allende, and Guanajuato concerning return migration. The methodology employed consisted of semi-structured and in-depth interviews with the leaders of organizations providing services to the returning migrant population in these cities. The questionnaire given to these civil society organizations included three main axes: 1) the origin and purpose of the organization, 2) the needs of the returning migrant population and the services offered to them, and 3) collaboration with other organizations and actors that provide services to this population. These questionnaires were previously tested in order to adjust the questions and guarantee their usefulness. Likewise, in the city of Guanajuato, conversations were held with people in charge of returning migrant assistance under the Migrant Ministry in order to learn about their programs tending to these groups and their information needs. For civilian organizations, the interviews emphasized: getting to know the profile of the migrant population they serve, the greatest needs they face when returning to Mexico, and the areas of opportunity for municipal and state governments regarding possible programs, actions, and strategies for tending to the returning migrant population.

This section shall develop four themes. First, we locate the state of Guanajuato within the national phenomenon of return migration. Next, we describe the organizations interviewed, the population they serve, and the municipality or city where they operate. The third section presents a diagnostic of needs, broken down by themes. To conclude, we propose recommendations for the federal government based on suggestions from these very organizations. It should be noted that the second and third sections do not specifically refer to any one organization, but rather include issues that emerged across most interviews.

To carry out an analysis of the characteristics of the returning population several estimates were made, based on the population census of 2000 and 2010, the Inter-census survey of 2016, and the National Survey of Demographic Dynamics (Encuesta Nacional de la Dinámica Demográfica, ENADID) of 2018.

### Main Characteristics of the Return Migration Phenomenon in Guanajuato

Return migration has been relevant to Guanajuato. By the year 2000, the number of people who reported living in the United States in 1995, but were now in Guanajuato, was 9,910 individuals of which 70.83% were males. Ten years later, during the national “return boom”, Guanajuato recorded 69,775 returnees, of which 18.84% were female. In 2015, this figured dropped to 29,836 individuals, in which 71.62% were male. Finally, for 2018, the number of returnees was 13,624 (authors’ own estimates, based on the population census 2000, 2010, Inter-census Survey 2015, and ENADID 2018).

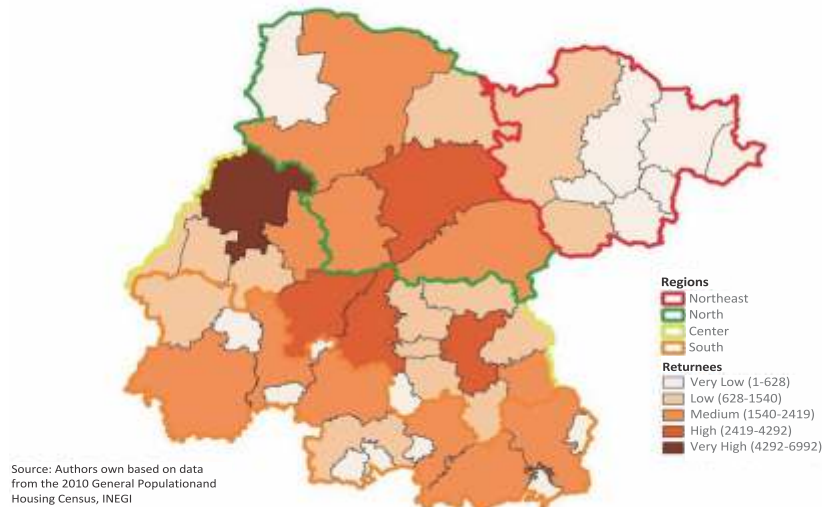
Returning migrants received by Guanajuato are mostly circular, as in 2000, 2010, and 2015 an average 86% of returnees reported Guanajuato as their state of birth (authors’ own estimates based on INEGI censuses).



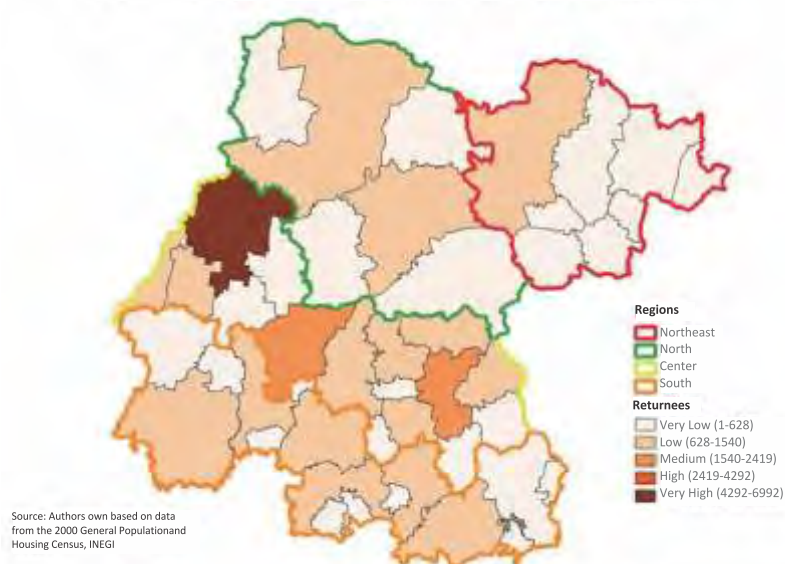
**Map 6: Return of Mexicans from the United States, by Municipality, 2000**



**Map 7: Return of Mexicans from the United States, by Municipality, 2010**



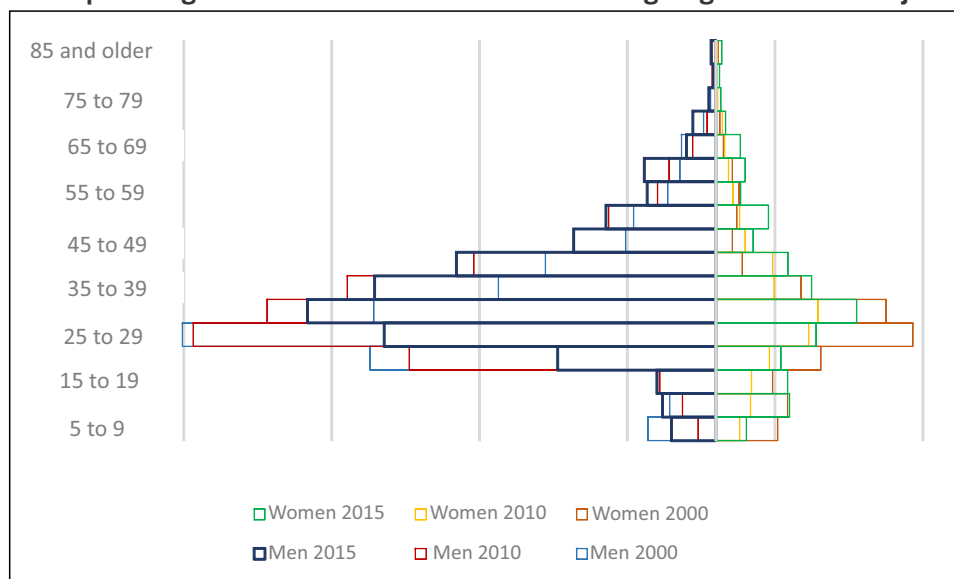
**Map 8: Return of Mexicans from the United States, by Municipality, 2015**



The intensity of return flows has followed the national trends. That is, it grew between 2000 and 2010, decelerating for 2015, although remaining above the levels seen in the year 2000. Maps 7, 8, and 9 show the regional and municipal behavior of return intensity. By the year 2000 the Southern and Central regions show the highest volume of returning migrants. Ten years later we see intensity increasing across the state. However, the region that saw the least activity in this regard was the Northeast.

By 2015, returns had dropped across the country, and Guanajuato was no exception. That year, the Central region stands out as concentrating the greatest volume of returning migrants with León concentrating the greatest number of returnees across all three periods analyzed.

**Graph 8: Age and Gender Structure of Returning Migrants in Guanajuato**



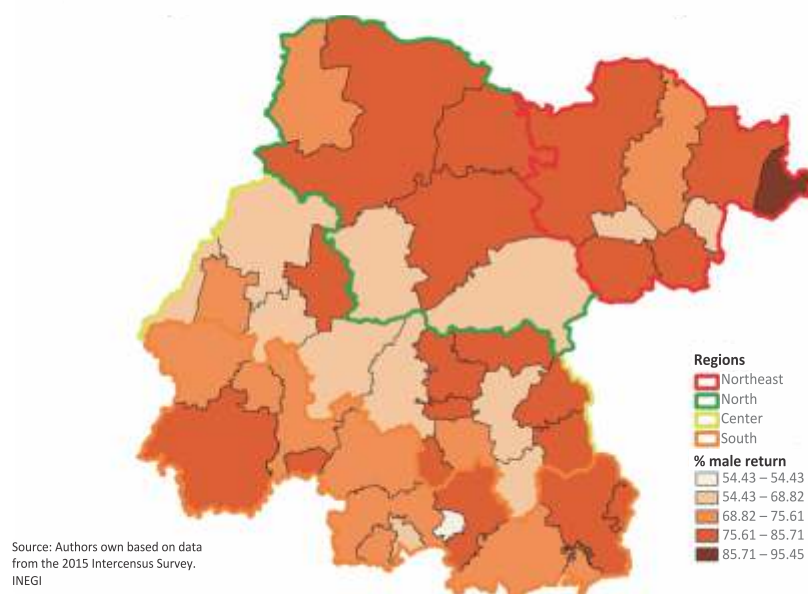
Source: Authors' own, based on data from General Population and Housing Census 2000 and 2010. Inter-census Survey 2015.

The age and gender structure and demographic dynamic volumes for returning migrants to Guanajuato over the last several years is summarized in Graph 8. The values reflected in this graph allow us to make certain statements regarding changes in the return flow. It is obvious that the composition of returning populations to the state is predominantly male. Furthermore, most of the return population is of workers between 20 and 39 years old. For returning females, the largest age cohort is that between ages 25 and 34.

Graph 8, as well as providing evidence of the changing age and gender composition of returning migrants, allows us to observe the process of aging in their profile over the 15-year period that was analyzed, with the most numerous groups aging by five years. In other words, the average age of returning migrants increases, coinciding with observations at the national level (Terán, 2019).

The pyramid for returning migrants allow us to spot a new phenomenon in return migration. Population groups aged 60 and older begin having an important participation in the total numbers. Part of this return migration is due to retirement among working-age migrants who may have emigrated to the U.S. during the IRCA period.

**Map 9: Percentage of Male Returnees to Guanajuato, 2015**



As for the regional and municipal perspectives in Guanajuato regarding gender composition, we refer to Map 10. This shows the predominantly male profile found in all 46 municipalities. Even the lowest share of males regarding total return to any municipality is above 50%. This allows us to state that none of Guanajuato's municipalities has seen feminization of return migration, as the traditional profile is still presented. In terms of gender from a regional and municipal perspective, we appreciate a defined spatial pattern with the highest percentages of women as part of the returning stock seems to be concentrated in the Central and Northern regions. This pattern is explained by the presence of the most urbanized municipalities, meaning dynamic labor markets and a wide range of service sector activities, where returning women find greater employment opportunities.

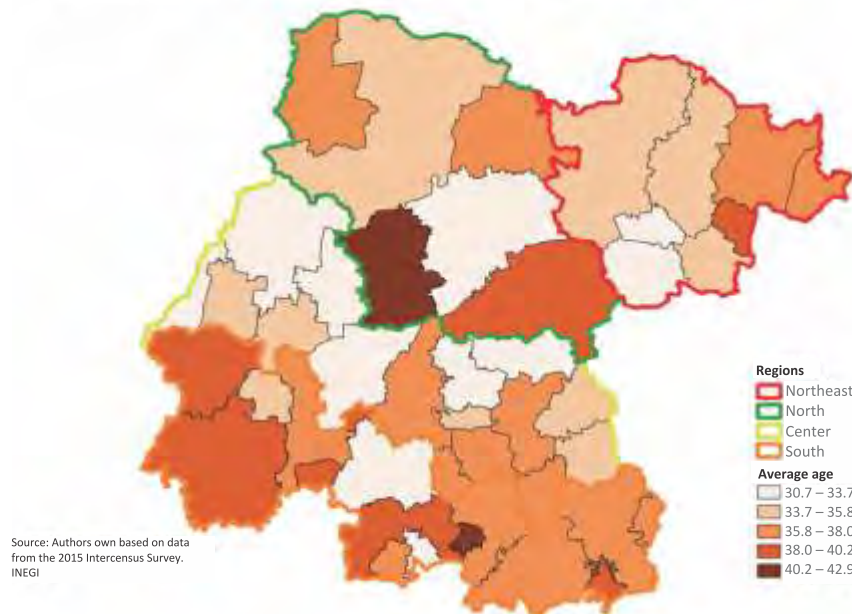
The municipality of Atarjea shows the highest degree of masculinization in its returns for 2015, although it recorded only 22 return migrants that year. Twenty-one of them were males, giving the municipality a return population that is 95.5% male.

Regarding the age variable, profiles have grown older. From a regional and municipal perspective, we can refer to Map 5, showing a distribution of average ages of return migrants to Guanajuato's municipalities and regions. Here, we can observe that some municipalities have values higher than the state's average age of 36.. However, there are some municipalities that are far below this average age, mostly concentrating around the Central region. Once again, the economic dynamism and diversity in the labor market offered by this region provides a determining factor in attracting the youngest migrants returning to Guanajuato.

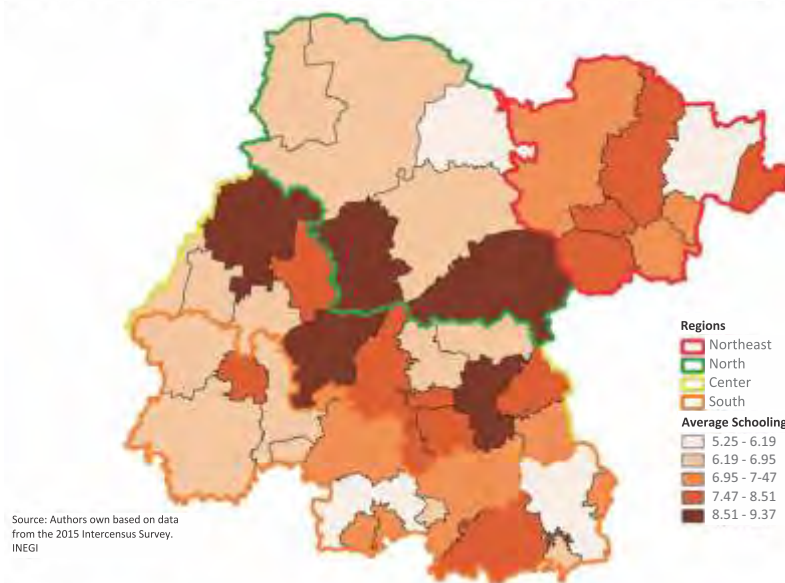
## Towards the Construction of a Return Profile

So far, we have talked about the age and gender of returnees. However, in constructing a profile of Guanajuato's return migrants, we can still pick out some other traits. Map 11 shows the accumulated average level of education among returnees. We should mention that the historical migration region has had the lowest average education levels in a national context (Terán, 2019), and Guanajuato is no exception.

**Map 10: Average Age of Guanajuato Returnees, 2015**



**Map 11: Average Schooling of Guanajuato Returnees, Aged 21 and Above, 2015**



The average schooling for Guanajuato's return migrants ranges from 5 to 9 years, that is, from incomplete primary to full secondary education. This places it below the national average (9.1 years) (INEGI, 2005). The municipalities with the highest recorded education are located in the Central or Northern regions. Meanwhile, the periphery shows lower levels of education. The best educated municipalities were those of Celaya, León, and San Miguel de Allende. In contrast, those with the lowest levels of education were Pénjamo, Xichú, and Yuriria.

Based on the profile presented above, the majority of the return migrant population in the state is aged between 20 and 39 in the case of men, and between 25 and 34 in the case of women, that is, they are of working age. To this we should add that an important share of those who return are heads of a household, with 54.1% of returning males declaring themselves head of their family, versus 17.7% of women (<https://migracionderetorno.colmex.mx/indicadores/>). Therefore, one of the priorities regarding this population should be their integration into the labor market.



Returnees at the national and state levels, as is the case for Guanajuato, are rapidly inserted into the local labor market. Based on the inter-census Survey of 2015, 66.7% of men surveyed were employed, while 22.1% were unemployed. Meanwhile, 25.5% of women interviewed mentioned having a job. The main activities where returnees find work is as employees or as manual laborers (61.9%), further percentages were as follows: self-employed workers (21.8%), as day laborers (6.7%), paid assistants (3.9%), bosses or employers (3.5%), or unpaid workers (2.3%).

Regarding the main activities performed during the week prior to the Inter-census survey, the summary presented in Table 40 reveals quite different outlooks where gender is concerned. Men report a higher rate of employment than women (more than double). Another remarkable aspect is the share of people who study, women reflect a higher participation.

**Table 41: Activity reported by Returnees in Guanajuato<sup>1</sup> 2015**

Activity	Total	%	Men	%	Women	%
Worked	15,965	55.5	13,695	65.91	2,270	28.42
Made or Sold a Product	42	0.15	40	0.19	2	0.03
Helped in a Business	131	0.46	122	0.59	9	0.11
Raised animals or crops	367	1.28	367	1.77	0	0
Offered some service in return for payment	32	0.11	29	0.14	3	0.04
Tended their own business	130	0.45	93	0.45	37	0.46
Had work, but did not work	65	0.23	65	0.31	0	0
Looked for work.	1,355	4.71	1,308	6.3	47	0.59
Student	1,810	6.29	869	4.18	941	11.78
Retired or Pensioner	428	1.49	291	1.4	137	1.72
Household chores	4,208	14.63	245	1.18	3,963	49.62
Suffers some physical or mental disability	417	1.45	273	1.31	144	1.8
Did not work.	3,780	13.14	3,374	16.24	406	5.08
Not Specified	35	0.12	7	0.03	28	0.35
Total	28,765	100	20,778	100	7,987	100

Refers only to population aged 12 and above.

Source: Authors' own based on data from the Inter-census Survey 2015. INEGI.

Female returnees appear to concentrate around four main activities. The first is performing household chores, with 1 in every 2 women returning to Guanajuato from the United States dedicated to this activity by 2015. Second place is taken by work outside the home, where 1 in 3 women participated. The third slot belongs to women who declared they were students. Finally, the fourth spot is occupied by those who did not work. The outlook for males is slightly different, with their top four activities being work outside the home, not working, studying, and finally agricultural activity.

On the other hand, returnees who reported being in the labor market are recorded in Table 41, showing their position. Here, it is remarkable that the most common position for both genders is that of employee. Three remarkable facts are shown by this table, the first being the higher participation of women in the self-employed category, related to the need of managing their time in order to deal with issues of family care, complemented by some economic activity. The second point is that men report a higher percentage in terms of being employers. Meanwhile, the day laborer category is almost entirely masculine.

**Table 42: Returning Migrants in Guanajuato who reported engaging in economic activities, by position 2015<sup>1</sup>**

Position	Total	% Total	Men	% Men	Women	% Women
Employee or Laborer	9,790	58.51	8,205	56.94	1,585	68.29
Day laborer or farmhand	1,900	11.36	1,889	13.11	11	0.47
Paid assistant	759	4.54	684	4.75	75	3.23
Boss or Employer	591	3.53	534	3.71	57	2.46
Self-employed worker	3,014	18.01	2,482	17.22	532	22.92
Unpaid worker	580	3.47	568	3.94	12	0.52
Not specified	98	0.59	49	0.34	49	2.11
Total	16,732	100	14,411	100	2,321	100

<sup>1</sup> Refers to population aged 12 and above.

Source: Authors' own based on data from the Inter-census Survey 2015. INEGI.

## Interviewed Organizations and the Municipalities where the Operate

The selection of organizations to be interviewed followed three criteria. First, they must offer their services to different profiles of return migrants in order to get a comprehensive view of this population's needs. Second, they must be located in municipalities with varying levels of return migration in order to evaluate how the phenomenon develops under different scenarios. Finally, we considered the organization's availability to receive us, and the viability of paying them a visit given the agenda of the researchers involved. Using these criteria, four organizations were selected for in-depth interviews.

### Mujeres del Bajío (Women of the Bajío)

This is a social organization operating in the Center region, in municipalities such as Celaya and Apaseo el Alto. They work based on Community Promoters, who live in rural communities that traditionally emit migrants. Their line of action is based around the promotion and creation of women-led companies and productive projects. They have created 17 companies in various communities, including tortilla shops, mills, bakeries, and sheep corrals. In early 2000 they began to get involved with migration, collaborating with other civil organizations and with the government in order to deal with this phenomenon, including return migrant flows. As for the profile of returnees, Mujeres en el Bajío has ample experience in rural and ranch-house surroundings.

### ABBA

Located in Celaya (Center region), a municipality with middling levels of return migrants in 2015, this organization/shelter was started four years ago aiming to provide humanitarian aid, and it has progressively transitioned into defending the human rights of migrants. Celaya's return migration skews slightly male, with 68% of returnees being men, in contrast with neighboring municipalities such as Comonfort, Apaseo el Grande, or Apaseo el Alto, where the share of males among return migrants reaches 85%. Generally, they care for Central American migrants in transit, particularly those who have been mutilated in railroad accidents. As for the return migrant population, ABBA primarily looks after to those who have been forced to return and lack any support networks. Last year they assisted approximately 50 returnees, providing humanitarian assistance and support for their reintegration, in collaboration with the Caminamos Juntos organization and the National Migration Institute.



## Dream in Mexico

This organization was founded in 2011 with the aim of supporting young people returning from the United States or helping those who still lived there but wished to move to Mexico. During its early years the organization focused on academically talented youths who wished to attend university in Mexico. Later, recognizing the diversity of profiles and needs among the deported and returnee population, the organization widened its target audience to both young people and adults helping them reach their goals and providing orientation in terms of reinserting themselves in Mexico's labor, educational, and social spheres. Currently the organization is based in León (in the Central region), a municipality with very high levels of return migrants in 2010 and 2015 (see Maps 8 and 9). Return migration to this municipality skews slightly masculine with 68% of returnees being male (see map 10). Although it is based in this municipality, the organization offers its services to return migrants in any state across the country, as well as young people in the United States hoping to plan their return to Mexico. They have specialized in channeling young returnees towards various labor markets, such as call centers or the footwear industry.

## Caminamos Juntos (We Walk Together)

Founded in 2018 in San Miguel de Allende, a municipality in the Northern region that showed a low level of return migration in 2015 (see Map 9). This municipality, like Celaya and León, shows a concentration of male returnees of around 68% of the total returning population. Founded by the local U.S. citizen population, Caminamos Juntos' mission is to assist the migrant population that has been forced out of the United States by the Trump administration's anti-migrant policies. A majority of men born in Guanajuato who are heads of their household benefit from this organization. These men who have spent between 10 and 25 years living in the United States, lack family ties to Guanajuato and have a high degree of dislocation and as a result urgently need to insert themselves into the labor market. Applying an Anglo-Saxon perspective of civil society, Caminamos Juntos sees the reintegration process as a multi-dimensional phenomenon and has adapted its services as it detects new needs in its target population. Thus, support includes legal advice, helping to enroll children of return migrants in school, psychological support, introducing them to working networks, searching for housing, and as well as other services and resources.

## Diagnosis of Needs

One characteristic of the return migrant population in Mexico and Guanajuato over the last few years is its heterogeneity. In this sense, different profiles imply different needs.

## Identity and Documentation

A common need across practically every group of returnees is that of fully exercising their identity rights by acquiring official documents to verify it. "Ironically, returnees run into multiple difficulties in demonstrating they are Mexicans, which presents a barrier to obtaining all kinds of services –from renting a home to opening a bank account, or simply buying a cellphone– and therefore, to their reintegration". (Jacobo and Cárdenas 2018; 2019). In Guanajuato, there has been some advancement in the issuing of birth certificates. As shown by the intercensus Survey of 2015, 88.6% of people surveyed in the state had a birth certificate, versus 2.4% who didn't and 9% who claimed to be registered in a foreign country.

The above coincides with the interviews performed, where members of civil society organizations that support returning migrants assured us that the issuing of birth certificates has accelerated. This process still needs further advancement regarding the children of return migrants who were born in the United States and have a right to both nationalities. Other cases in need of improvement are those where Guanajuato citizens, particularly women, have changed their surnames during their stay in the United

States and, when returning to Mexico, find that their identity documents no longer match Mexican records. While the Migrant Ministry in the state of Guanajuato already has an office dedicated to supporting return migrants processing their birth certificates and dual nationality procedures, the organizations that support return migrants with these services were all unaware of this, which may be explained by a lack of communication for announcing and explaining these services offered by the government.

Likewise, state of Guanajuato's Ministry for Migrants has accepted that all persons interested in obtaining support from the Patrimonial Productive Activities Program (Programa de Actividades Productivas Patrimoniales) may present, as proof of ID and return, any of the following documents: "consular matriculation, receipt of repatriation, any check showing your name, driver's license, tax payment stubs". (Interview, Guanajuato, Gto. 2019). It would be beneficial if this acceptance of a variety of documents for returning migrants to use as identification, even if only temporarily replicated across other state agencies that provide various kinds of services.

Despite the improvements mentioned above, plenty of challenges remain in processing other documents, such as the National Electoral Institute card (INE) and the Single Population Registry Code (Clave Única del Registro de Población, CURP), which are both indispensable requirements for obtaining health benefits, and in the CURP's case, it is mandatory for anyone that wishes to continue studying beyond high school.

## Employability

As we mentioned in our diagnosis, while returnees tend to find employment quickly, these are characterized for being precarious. One of the challenges faced by some returnees who find work is the difference in the wages they received in the United States and what they receive in Mexico. According to interviews with shelter managers in the state of Guanajuato, the low salaries returnees earn when compared to their income when living in the United States is a factor that, first, affects their mood and later makes their reinsertion into society more difficult. This is especially the case in places such as San Miguel de Allende, where rents are very high in relation to the salary received by an employee. (Interview in San Miguel de Allende, September 2019).

The skills acquired in the United States, such as customer service and fluency in English, are often favorable traits for finding employee positions in call centers or in the tourist industry, specifically in restaurants and hotels. Fluency in English and good customer service are essential skills for both kinds of work, and they may even lead to certain advancement or to better positions than those available to people lacking these abilities. At the same time, the opportunity to speak English at work could contribute to a favorable, somewhat familiar environment for people that return.

Members of civil society organizations believe that return migrants often lack knowledge regarding the range of companies that may offer opportunities for them. The bestknown niche for employment is call centers, but as recommended by our interviewees, other employment opportunities should be more vigorously promoted, such as tourism enterprises, the footwear industry, and/or options for returnees who wish to start their own business (Interview in León, Guanajuato, September 2019).

Furthermore, the information provided should be, as our interviewees state, as comprehensive and broad as possible, in the sense that it should not just mention companies and the employment positions available, they should also "make clear the procedures for entering some sector, what training they might need, what kind of documentation, etc." (Interview in León, Gto). Another way of promoting employability is by disseminating success stories in specific industries.

The state of Guanajuato's Migrants Ministry has launched the Patrimonial Productive Activities Program, which involved granting a maximum of 60 thousand pesos (around \$2,850 in 2020) –non-repayable– to returnees and/or their relatives who request it, in order to allow them to launch small-scale productive enterprises. It should be mentioned that very few organizations mentioned this program, perhaps because of a lack of information, as our interviewees believe. "If programs are created, they should be promoted within the returnee and deported migrant community". (Interview in León, Guanajuato, September 2019).

Since the profiles of those returning is heterogeneous, in some cases the skills and knowledge acquired in the United States (such as English fluency and customer service skills) are of little or no use for some of those who return and wish to find similar work to what they used to perform. “There are different labor profiles that have little relation to the jobs being offered in Mexico or to the access and benefits of the labor sectors they used to be a part of in the U.S.” (Interview in San Miguel de Allende, 2019) This may be due to the lack of available jobs in Mexico where those who return can apply, to the letter, the knowledge acquired in the United States. For instance, certain building techniques in the United States are entirely different from the concrete-based construction found in Guanajuato and across the country (Hagan and Wassink, 2016). The same is true for people who used to do highly specialized work in the United States and are unable to find similar industries in Mexico, where they might continue to perform these jobs. (Interview in San Miguel de Allende, Sept. 2019). Nonetheless, these are people who are willing and able to take advantage of their assets, skills, knowledge, and abilities in order to promote their employability. Given all the above, training programs could emerge as a line of action that could be promoted in order for returnees to acquire and/or adapt their knowledge and ease their integration into the labor market.

In other instances, the skills and knowledge acquired in the United States could potentially be applied in Mexico, yet returnees lack the documentation to certify that they do in fact have the required skills. We would recommend “having a form of skills certification, even when lacking academic studies, based on the skills people have” (Interview in San Miguel de Allende, September 2019). In this sense, an effort should be made to advance certification options for the skills and abilities of migrants, based on the standards recognized by the National Council for Normalization and Certification of Labor Competency (Consejo Nacional de Normalización y Certificación de la Competencia Laboral CONOCER) and in coordination with evaluation centers, as has been proposed in Mexico City. To be specific, this last case proposed a “review of applicable regulations for the processes of recognizing knowledge and the certification of skills for migrant persons, and “creating binational mechanisms to facilitate certification of labor competencies and abilities”. (STyFE CDMX, 2018).

A vulnerable group in this regard is that of migrants aged between 40 and 50. Their reintegration into the workforce is difficult, as they are over the standard hiring age for most companies and therefore are unable to access a dignified position or salary. Their workplace integration would require companies to make their hiring policies more flexible.

## Educational Integration

Continuing education is, for return migrants, directly linked with the ease of getting clear and accurate information regarding procedures for accessing education and the possibility of obtaining apostilled and revalidated documents. For young returnees, the desire to continue studying is frequent. However, these expectations can be thwarted by different factors, such as the urge to enter the labor market over continuing their education and, frequently, due to lack of knowledge of the administrative processes required to enter school in Mexico. In this sense we can identify several needs: access to clear and accurate information regarding the entry requirements at universities for young people who have partially completed their education outside of Mexico; access to scholarships, considering that return migrants often lack any family networks in Mexico that would allow them to finance their education; and guidance for completing the apostille and revalidation requirements for entering the Mexican school system.

Also worth mentioning is the challenge of integrating the children of Generation 1.5, that is those who emigrated as babies and are now returning to the country in their teens, into the Guanajuato school system. To this group we should add the U.S.-born children of migrants, who by birthright may claim Mexican nationality, as well as U.S. citizenship. For both groups a priority should be to guarantee school access, without bureaucratic requirements being an obstacle. Both groups also need support in developing their academic Spanish proficiency, that is, allowing them to develop written and spoken Spanish skills that will let them understand lessons and participate proactively in the classroom. This task may require training for teachers, specifically in teaching the Spanish language. It must not be assumed that,

since these kids are communicating with their parents in Spanish, that they have enough fluency in the language to learn effectively in the classroom, as has been shown by various studies on this topic (Despaigne and Jacobo 2016, 2019; Zuñiga and Panait 2015). The educational needs of children and young people who belong to a returning family must be evaluated in terms of how long they have lived in the United States, taking into consideration the level of education attained there and not only their place of birth. For instance, we tend to assume that children born in Mexico do not need any help learning Spanish, which is often not true when they've lived in the United States for several years.

## Stigma and Mental Health

In addition to the common integration challenges faced by the returning migrants, those who go through the deportation process then have to deal with the stigma of the process, which brands them as failed migrants and, frequently, as criminals. When the return is to a small community this stigma can be even stronger, and more damaging to the process of integration. To this we must add that many people return feeling some frustration over the loss of their life project in the United States and are often in a true state of shock. Such situations make evident the need for emotional and psychological support. One can frequently find signs of depression and anxiety among returnees, which in turn often leads to domestic violence dynamics, especially in rural environments, due to frustration with having been returned (Interview with Mujeres en el Bajío, September, Celaya Gto).

For another significant group, deportation means family separation and, in some cases, the full dissolution of family ties, when the spouse that remains in the United States considers the relationship with the deportee to have ended (Interview with ABBA, September, Celaya Gto).

Likewise, physical appearance (when tattoos are present) and an American accent when speaking Spanish often become factors leading to discrimination and barriers to finding a job or integrating with their new community. As a result, emotional support is an overarching need, which can rarely be fulfilled, even by civil society organizations.

## Recommendations

### Ensuring Availability of Official Identity Documents

A common need is that of urgently obtaining valid identity documents including the CURP, birth certificate, and revalidated and apostilled education documents. A suggestion was made to install service modules offering information on how these documents can be accessed at the municipal liaison offices, with whom the Migrants Ministry already has a working relationship, prioritizing municipalities with very high and high return values.

It's necessary to carry out documentation campaigns in schools in order to facilitate the issuing of documents such as: birth certificates, CURP codes, and dual nationality registration, all available free of charge.

Likewise, repatriation documents and consular matriculations must be made valid –temporarily– while official documents are obtained, such as proof of identity required to become eligible for health and education benefits provided by the State of Guanajuato.

### Broadening the Definition of the Return Migrant Population

We recommend that return migration should be considered as a personal process of variable duration, during which migrants will require various forms of support for a prolonged period and not only during the first few months after their return. In this sense, it is important that any support offered to this population is not restricted to those who have recently returned.

We suggest that various profiles for returnees should be considered when designing and implementing support policies in different municipalities across the state. For example, San Miguel de Allende presents a profile for returnees that is fundamentally bilingual and bicultural with access to the restaurant and tourist sectors, where labor certifications related to these industries may be relevant. In contrast, return migration in León tends to focus on call centers, and for these migrants the possibility of transitioning to other labor options, with better salaries and social benefits, may require certification as English teachers, for instance.

## Offering Access to Healthcare Services and Psycho-emotional Care

By means of strategic partnerships with the state's various Universities (particularly those offering degrees in Psychology and Social Work), we suggest offering psycho-emotional support to returnees and their families, as this is one of the principal needs identified by members of this population themselves. Likewise, access to healthcare should be made available immediately to returnees and their families.

## Building Strategic Partnerships and Working in Collaboration with Key Players and Specialized Sectors

We suggest building partnerships with civil society organizations in all municipalities, with the goal of disseminating relevant information regarding administrative processes, employment opportunities, labor training, as well as the requirements for finding work and other needs of the return migrant population. While some migrants inherit plots of land and return to rural contexts, the organizations interviewed believed that the majority of them seek to integrate themselves in urban contexts, where one of the greatest challenges is finding information on available jobs suited to their abilities.

For municipalities with high levels of economic activity, such as León and San Miguel de Allende, a strategy involving the local government, private companies, and commercial chambers is recommended, with the aim of promoting the necessary dialogue to open up employment opportunities suited to the return migrants' profiles. It is important to have clarity regarding the procedure and requirements for entering any particular sector, what kind of training is needed, what kind of documents, etc. The state government can form partnerships with productive sectors across all municipalities in order to gather this information and share it with civil society organizations that are close to the returnee population at the local level.

It's important that the Migrants Secretariat has information of the specific productive enterprises and activities in each municipality in order to adequately inform return migrants while considering their work skills. For instance, in San Miguel de Allende priority could be given to integrating young people with good customer service skills into the restaurant and tourist industries, while in León those with the best English fluency can easily be integrated into call centers.

## Executing Educational Reintegration Programs

An explicit strategy is required for access and inclusion of returning children and young people. The effective design and implementation of said strategy requires the collaboration of the Ministry of Education and of school administrators and teachers. The priority should be to guarantee that those who return have quick access to school, regardless of the documentation they may have. Once in school, these students will need to be closely tracked by teachers in order to ensure their integration in the classroom, support them as they develop their Spanish language skills, as well as offer complementary courses on specific subjects in the Mexican school curriculum, in subjects in which they need extra support (e.g. Mexican history, geography, civics, etc.)

Implementation of an inclusion strategy of this nature requires previous identification of where these returning students are located in which municipalities, schools, and grades can they be found. Format 911, the basic statistical tool used by education ministries, may provide this diagnostic by using the migration module.



Migrants who return having attended high school and higher education frequently wish to continue with their studies. In such cases, the recommendation for the state government is to make a pool of scholarships available for university education, directed towards returning youths. In some specific cases economic support was requested to enable returning migrants to take international English language certification exams, which are needed for gaining access to some of the better paid labor options.

## Design and Execute a Citizen Awareness Campaign

The citizen awareness campaign must contribute to increasing the visibility of the return migrant population, that is, understanding who they are and what they need. Second, it should seek to end discrimination and the social stigma suffered by returnees in their communities of origin, particularly to those who have been subjected to deportation processes. Likewise, the campaign must increase awareness among the general population of the conditions in which Guanajuato's return migrants arrive in the state. Comments were received about the mockery frequently directed towards return migrants whenever they fail to return in an economically solvent position or due to forcible return, which presents additional challenges to the already complex process of reintegration when one has been away from the country and state for a long time.

## Dissemination and Promotion of Existing Programs for the Return Migrant Population

According to information provided by the Migrants Ministry in Guanajuato, specific measures already exist that are geared towards the return migrant population. However, the organizations interviewed had no knowledge of these aids. Therefore, based on these interviews, we suggest that these support programs should be encouraged, along with making them more widely known.

## Coordination and Constant Communication Between the State and Municipal Governments

It's recommended that the Migrants Ministry establish constant communication and collaboration with the municipalities and civil society organizations, both in order to inform them regarding the Ministry's own projects for the return migrant population and to receive feedback and learn of the needs of said population in each municipality. According to our field work civil society organizations that support returnees and their families are already in direct contact with municipal authorities in order to solve this population's most urgent needs.

All information produced by the Ministry and disseminated by the municipal liaison offices must be available in Spanish and English. Furthermore, support programs should be made more widely known (in Spanish and in English), those provided by the Migrants Ministry as well as those provided by civil society organizations, using networks and digital platforms based around the Casas Guanajuato in the United States.

We further recommend creating a database that will allow data to be collected regarding the assisted population: to help track people who have expressed their intention of remaining in the state, to evaluate and improve services provided by the Ministry, and consolidate a registry of the state's return migrant population.

Sensitivity workshops and customer service protocols should be promoted among state government personnel –across various agencies– and municipal governments providing aid to the return migrant population who in most cases arrive in a complex emotional situation when seeking information.

## Performing Public Evaluations of Existing and Recently Created Programs

It's necessary that existing programs be evaluated in order to identify areas of opportunity and find their strengths and weaknesses. Likewise, their operation should be made transparent through a public platform that enlists their actions at the state and municipal levels.



## Transit Migration Through the State of Guanajuato

### Introduction

Transit migration by foreigners is a complex process, which presents challenges for study in Mexico's particular context (Nájera, 2016). The specific dynamics of this process are configured around the historical social context in which it is produced (González, 2017:27), making its relation to local, national, and international contexts highly relevant.

The Interamerican Human Rights Commission (Comisión Interamericana de Derechos Humanos, CIDH) recognized Mexico as an antechamber of mixed migration flows, which includes asylum seekers, refugees, and migrants victimized by human trafficking, all with the goal of reaching the United States of America and, to a lesser degree, Canada. This situation qualifies as one of "extreme vulnerability" for thousands of people and a "humanitarian tragedy" due to the massive human rights violations (CIDH, 2013: 3).

This transit during migration implies that a person must leave their country of origin and cross one or several countries before arriving to their final destination. This movement across national borders of Central and North American countries is characterized for being massive, clandestine, using risky and highly vulnerable routes for people who travel under these conditions due to multiple reasons and structural causes, which include conditions of extreme violence, materially precarious ways of life, and the yearning to improve one's living conditions.

In Mexico, the dynamics of transit migration have been systematically studied since the 1990s, when the region's mobility patterns began to change (Castillo, 2000). This population's movement through Mexico started to increase and, by the start of the new millennium it was estimated at around 150,000 people per year, all moving invisibly and anonymously across Mexico (Casillas, 2007). The region's migratory dynamism has remained for at least two decades since. Currently, the migrant caravans that left Honduras towards Mexico in 2018 have drawn the attention of public opinion and both Central and North American governments, as well as sub-national governments in these countries, focusing on the causes and consequences of these population movements and how they might be managed.

The various routes used by transit migrants in Mexico's territory primarily follow alongside highways, railroad tracks, and existing roads and lanes. However, these paths change in response to factors such as control and detention operatives meant to detect undocumented migrants or where humanitarian shelters are located all across the country. It is estimated, since 2015, between 400,000 (Casillas and Córdova, 2018) and 450,000 (Hernández and Mora, 2018) foreign transit migrants travel through Mexico's territory every year.

Guanajuato's territory lies on the path of the main migratory route connecting Mexico's Central region with the country's Northern and Northwestern regions. Particularly, it travels through an industrial corridor that cuts through the state from its East to its northwest. It also borders, at its Northern edge, the states of Zacatecas and San Luis Potosí. This is the geographic setting for Guanajuato's transit migration. Migrants take advantage of the existing road and rail infrastructure to travel this route on foot or using various public or private transportation services.

Two decades of migration policy have been developed in the state of Guanajuato, characterized for Specific Migration Programs (PEM, 2005) serving migrants born in Guanajuato that live and work in the United States. In this sense, Guanajuato's migration policy has been predominantly economic in scope, with a discourse focusing on Guanajuato's emigrants as agents of development (Vilches, 2011).

The Law for the Protection and Attention of Migrants and their Families in the state of Guanajuato (Ley para la Protección y Atención del Migrante y sus Familias en el Estado de Guanajuato LPAMFG) was reformed on September 21 2018. This modification entails a broader definition of migrant to include "all persons who leave their place of origin of residence with the purpose of residing in a different part of the country or abroad" (Art. 4 Section VI). Guanajuato's municipal and state authorities are therefore obligated to recognize, protect, and guarantee the rights of migrants and their families, as well as regulate the

state's hospitality and intercultural awareness. It is important to mention this, as previous versions of the LPAMFG restricted this definition to migrants born in Guanajuato, leaving out of its scope a full range of migrant flows with presence in Guanajuato.

This section describes the general dynamics of transit migration in the state of Guanajuato, constituting an academic diagnostic exercise based on findings made through observation and through interviews performed at the migrant houses and/or shelters that offer assistance to transit migrants, as well as information made available by Mexico's government and other studies on this subject for the region.

## Methodological Note

This study is based on the review of the following sources of information. A bibliographical review of the latest studies regarding transit migration in Mexico and Guanajuato using databases from Scopus, Mendeley, and the Institutional Repository at the University of Guanajuato. Second, we consulted the databases at the Migration Policy Unit, Personal Identity and Registration, at Mexico's Federal Government's Ministry of State, particularly the statistics from the Center for Migration Studies (UPM, 2019).

A team was formed<sup>7</sup> to carry out the field work, planned in September and executed during October and November of 2019 in order to carry out observation and interviews to the administrators of migrant houses and shelters in Guanajuato that provide assistance to transit migrants. The five migrant houses and/or shelters visited are located in the municipalities of Celaya (ABBA and Manos Extendidas), Salamanca (San Carlos Borromeo), León (Galilea) and Irapuato (San Juan de Dios).

The field work was performed using a qualitative methodology developed through semi-structured interviews and observation. In order to document each interview each migrant house was photographed. Notes were taken recording the information provided, and the audio from the interviews were recorded using cellphones, with prior authorization from the interviewees. Not all interviews were recorded, at the interviewees' request, nor could every detail of the houses or shelters be photographed, due to security concerns.

## Main Characteristics of the Phenomenon

The International Organization for Migration has recognized that, at the global level, restrictive and inadequate policies can create large flows of undocumented migrants, along with transit hot-spots where "migrants are stranded on their way to their intended destinations" (OIM, 2015:189). If we tie this to structural expulsion factors in migrants' countries of origin, such as lack of employment, low salaries, a generalized context of violence, persecution by organized crime, authoritarian regimes, and absent institutions (REDODEM, 2019), the result is transit migration by men, women, children, and even entire families, predominantly from Central American countries and crossing Mexico with the intention of reaching the United States.

In this context, Guanajuato's territory has developed a significant transport and logistics infrastructure to support its industrial development, which is used by transit migrants, making this state a crossroads for different routes heading towards the country's Northern region. Transit happens discreetly, following several routes and headed in multiple directions. The main node in this network is the city of Celaya and its surrounding area, where migrants often make a stop to gather resources, rest, or adjust their planned route.

Transit migrants in Guanajuato will cross the state following several different directions and the length of their stay is contingent on many factors. They must be flexible and be able to change schedules at a moment's notice depending on available resources or unforeseen circumstances that may arise when selecting one route over another. In general, however, the main direction for migrants continues to be towards the north, with the U.S. as the final destination or back to Central America, as the case may be.

<sup>7</sup> The team was formed by José Alejandro Vásquez Hernández and Rebeca García Flores, students coursing the Political Analysis Masters degree at the University of Guanajuato, and coordinated by Miguel Vilches Hinojosa.

As they travel, migrants have three ways of gathering economic resources. The first is begging money on the streets, either as almoners or in exchange for some minor roadside service, such as cleaning windshields. They can be habitually found on roads, streets, and busy avenues around the largest cities. The second option is working informal jobs for around one or three days, as construction helpers, gardeners, haulers at the local market, etc. Payment is between 100 and 200 pesos per day (\$5 to \$10 dollars). The third option is requesting money transfers from their family, especially those located at their destination, but also from those living in Mexico and in their country of origin.

There is a network of associations that carry out actions in support of transit migrants across the State of Guanajuato. Several organizations in the state's main cities offer assistance and information. The Bajío Migrant Support Network (Red de Apoyo al Migrante Bajío, REDAMI) promotes the rights of migrants and works to increase awareness among the state's population, with a presence dating back to 2012 and with participation by several persons and institutions, such as the Universidad Iberoamericana in León and the Human Mobility Pastoral at the archdiocese of León.

Some municipal and state authorities collaborate with civil society organizations in aiding migrants and help them direct migrants to shelters and care centers, especially those located in Salamanca and Irapuato. These partnerships are informal and depend on the capacity and social presence of the migrant houses and shelters' administrators or representatives.

## The Migrant Caravans of 2018

In 2018, several massive movements emerged from Central America and descended upon Mexico's territory. These movements were widely discussed by both national and international public opinion, even though this kind of mobilization has occurred for at least ten years (taking the form of caravans) in Mexico (Martínez, 2018), though never in such volumes. This left a new impression of transit migration through México.

This time, the meaning of the caravans was different, as they went from evoking the image of individual migrants or small groups, dirty and tired, looking for a roof and poorly paid work, fearful and vulnerable to a new image of young men and women who organized large groups to keep each other's spirits up and help each other's migration, "families, small children, a few babies in arms, walking under the scorching tropical sun of Chiapas' coastline" (Villafuerte y García, 2019: 131).

A caravan departed from San Pedro Sula, Honduras, on October 13th 2018, numbering around 1,200 people. More people joined along the way, including boys, girls, and whole families. It is estimated that between 5,400 and 7,200 people eventually crossed into Mexico in an attempt to reach the United States.

In Guanajuato, the state government took steps to appropriately deal with the people forming this caravan, helping coordinate various government institutions and civil society. Next, we describe the information provided by one of the individuals who helped in organizing the attention offered to these caravans by Guanajuato's Ministry for Migrants (SeMig):

"The first cohort to cross through the state of Guanajuato did so between November 10th and 13th and consisted of approximately 10,000 migrants. The majority of these were entire families, with their age ranging between 18 and 50, entering the state through the municipality of Celaya. They slept two nights in Irapuato and left the state through the northeast, headed towards Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua... The second was made up of stragglers from the first cohort in Chiapas, Mexico City and Querétaro. This group, of approximately 3,500 Central American people followed the same route as the previous one, but mostly included senior citizens and women carrying young children... During the first quarter of 2019, four more caravans crossed the state, numbering between 900 and 2,100 people, only this time they remained in the Guanajuato for more than two nights for each caravan, with the exception of one group that passed through Querétaro, heading to Durango and then left the state on the same day. The total number of people who crossed as part of these four caravans was estimated at between 4,500 and 6,000 Central American migrants, most of them women and children. Between October 2018 and March 2019, approximately 5,000 migrants crossed alone and were not counted by the caravans. This number was estimated using data from migrant shelters who have a partnership

with SeMig. In summary, throughout the year it's been calculated that more than 45 thousand vulnerable transit migrants moved across the state of Guanajuato, looking for work and/or trying to reach the United States border".

## Estimate of Transit Migrants in the State of Guanajuato

Transit migration through Mexico is characterized as being clandestine and undocumented, meaning there is no accurate estimate of the number of transit migrants who travel through Guanajuato. Beyond the extraordinary events of 2018's caravans, we are interested in reviewing the constant patterns in the flow of transit migrants using the most reliable information sources available.

In order to estimate the number of transit migrants in Guanajuato, we can take as a basis the numbers provided by the National Migration Institute (Instituto Nacional de Migración INM) through the statistical reports of the Migratory Policy Unit. The number of detention events (presented) of undocumented foreign migrants in Guanajuato is not as large as that seen in the country's northern and southern borders, since the Mexican government concentrates its migration control operations in the states bordering Guatemala and along the Tehuantepec isthmus region, in Oaxaca and Veracruz.

Table 43 shows the number of events where foreign migrants were presented in Guanajuato<sup>8</sup> and neighboring states, between January and December. The table is made with the assumption that migrant trajectories headed for the United States or returning to Central America might move across Guanajuato's territory. We should emphasize that these numbers represent instances of such presentation before authorities, and the same person could be presented more than once.

Guanajuato's two municipalities where irregular foreigners are presented are San Miguel de Allende and León de los Aldama (UPM, 2019). Most of these presentations take place in San Miguel de Allende with 694 cases in 2016, 356 cases in 2017, and 214 cases in 2018. Meanwhile, in León de los Aldama, in 2016 there were 527 cases, 132 in 2017, and 210 in 2018.

Over seven years, from 2013 to 2019, INM authorities at the Guanajuato delegation recorded 5,057 events of presented migrants who were unable to verify their legal status in the country with 2016 having the greatest number of events, at 1,221. Meanwhile, the neighboring state with the highest number of presentation events of foreign migrants in an unregulated situation for 2016 was San Luis Potosí, with 6,940. During the period between 2013 and 2019, San Luis Potosí accumulated 25,123 events of presented foreign migrants.

**Table 43: Number of events of foreigners presented in Guanajuato and neighboring states. 2013-2019**

Year	State							National
	Guanajuato	Aguascalientes	Jalisco	Michoacán	Querétaro	San Luis Potosí	Zacatecas	
2013	809	195	516	89	981	2,112	343	86,298
2014	489	398	392	143	1,435	2,702	494	127,149
2015	936	398	631	261	2,995	5,865	1,936	198,141
2016	1,221	551	804	103	996	6,940	2,641	186,216
2017	577	223	422	365	279	1,604	1,730	93,846
2018	703	320	676	221	618	2,863	1,385	131,445
2019*	322	247	398	211	673	3,037	1,635	158,200

Author's own using data from the UPM. \*Numbers from 2019 are for January through September.

<sup>8</sup> This refers to events where migrants are brought to the migratory stations belonging to the INM, under the administrative process of 'Presentation', for not being able to verify their migratory status in the country.

If we take the year 2016 as a reference and then add the total number of presentation events before the INM in Guanajuato and six selected states, we find that a total of 13,256 events were recorded. This gives us some indication as to the total volume of the flow of transit migrants through the area around Guanajuato and its neighbor states.

It should be clear that not all transit migrants are made to appear before the INM authorities. Indeed, transit migrants travel clandestinely, avoiding migratory authorities, so that the number of detentions of undocumented migrants really depends on the resources available to the INM in order to carry out operations to detect people with an unregulated migratory status. This might explain why 2017 saw such a drop in the number of presentation events of undocumented foreign migrants.

Migrant shelters in Celaya and Irapuato claim to have assisted between 2,000 and 3,000 people on average every year since 2014. Although this figure is hardly reliable because the personnel at these migrant shelters could not provide their databases arguing that these are personal data and that the conditions of violence, as well as increasingly restrictive migration policies, have forced them to be extremely cautious in sharing such information. They even mentioned they would be backing up their information at a separate server and erasing the data from their local computer registries, citing security concerns.

Indeed, the Network for the Documentation of Migrant Defense Organizations (Red de Documentación de las Organizaciones Defensoras de Migrantes, REDODEM) has carried out a systematic registration of people the it assists, with its database kept at a central server for safekeeping. Three of the state's migrant shelters participate in this network. The San Carlos Borromeo Migrant House in Salamanca, the San Juan de Dios Migrant House in Irapuato, and the Casa Abba A.C. in Celaya. This network, which includes 23 institutions across the country, has brought assistance to an average of 32,090 migrants per year, between 2014 and 2018. (REDODEM, 2019).

If we reflect on this data, given the number of migrant presentation events in Mexico every year, where the largest figure recorded was for 2019 with over 198,000 and compare this with the estimate of 400,000 foreign migrants in transit through Mexico every year (OIM), we can conclude that the vast majority of transit migrants crossing through Mexico are not recorded, either by the authorities or by civil society organizations.

Therefore, when we consider that the greatest number of migrant presentation events in Guanajuato's INM occurred in 2016, at 1,221 cases, and we know that the greatest number of events presented before the INM authorities in neighboring states equaled 12,035, and additionally, civil society organizations in the state claim to have assisted 3,000 people each year, we estimate that the number of transit migrants moving through the state could be between 5,000 (minimum) and 15,000 (maximum) people per year. This estimate does not represent a constant flow, but rather an approximation taking into account the empirical references that are available.

## Transit Migrants' Routes

At the national level, Guanajuato occupies an important position in Mexico's railroad network with an industrial corridor that runs through several municipalities including Celaya, Salamanca, Irapuato, Silao, León, and San Francisco del Rincón, and which is itself linked to other industrial and commercial hubs nearby, such as Guadalajara, the port of Manzanillo, and Mexico City. Guanajuato concentrates the flow of merchandise goods travelling by train from Mexico City, the state of Mexico and Querétaro towards Ciudad Juárez in Chihuahua and Tijuana in Baja California.

Over 10 years ago, Rodolfo Casillas (2007) mapped out the paths of undocumented transit migration through Mexico, remarking on the cargo rail network as one of the most frequently used routes by these migrants. At the time, Casillas described three main corridors. Map 13 shows the main corridor running through Mexico's center, across the states of Hidalgo and Querétaro and then entering Guanajuato. This main route splits into three paths out of Guanajuato's territory:



- 1) From Celaya, the train may head out north across the municipalities of Comonfort, San Miguel de Allende, and San Luis de la Paz, connecting with the central migrant route that runs through San Luis Potosí, Saltillo, Monterrey and may end in Nuevo Laredo or Reynosa (both in Tamaulipas) or in Piedras Negras, Coahuila.
- 2) The train can also continue its journey through Guanajuato and, once it leaves Salamanca it will head to Irapuato, where the track forks once again. The train can then connect to another branch of the central route, passing through the municipalities of Silao, León and San Francisco del Rincón in Guanajuato, through Lagos de Moreno in Jalisco, moving on towards Aguascalientes, Zacatecas, Torreón and Ciudad Juárez.
- 3) From Irapuato, the train can also follow the route that connects with the western or Pacific corridor with important settlements such as Guadalajara, Tepic, Mazatlán, and finally the border states of Sonora and Baja California.

The flow of transit migrants using the land route from Central America and headed to North America must enter Mexico's southern border through the states of Chiapas, Tabasco, or Campeche, moving along the states of Veracruz or Oaxaca and continuing across Puebla, Tlaxcala, Hidalgo, and Querétaro to finally arrive in Guanajuato, in the country's North-Central region known as the Bajío.

An industrial corridor cuts through the state of Guanajuato from east to northwest, connecting the cities of Santiago de Querétaro and Guadalajara, Jalisco. Meanwhile, the state's north region borders with Zacatecas and San Luis Potosí, and its Southern region with Michoacán. Guanajuato thus offers three possibilities for heading north. Through San Luis Potosí towards Nuevo León and Tamaulipas, on the Texas border; through Zacatecas and Durango towards Coahuila and Chihuahua, bordering both Texas and New Mexico; and through Jalisco, Nayarit and Sinaloa up to Sonora and Baja California, bordering California and Arizona.

**Map 12: Main Land Routes for Transit Migrants from Central America and Other Nationalities in Mexico, 2001-2005**



Source: Casillas, 2008.

Today, rail freight transport is used less often to travel across Guanajuato. This is mostly because it's watched more often due to constant attacks by organized crime, and that on more than a few occasions, migrants were used as scapegoats to answer for unsolved thefts. Despite the number of these



claims –the weight of the stolen cargo would require heavy vehicles and storage facilities to hide the such merchandise– tools and resources that transit migrants don't possess.

Similarly, security for railroad companies has increased in cities such as Celaya, Irapuato, and Salamanca.<sup>9</sup> In truth for the past five years there has been construction of walls, perimeter fences, or fence posts around the railroad tracks in these cities meant to prevent people from approaching the tracks, either to prevent theft or stowaways, despite complaints from locals.

Today, transit migrants crossing Guanajuato use several strategies to travel across the state, whether on foot following the main and secondary roads or using various types of public transportation.

Starting in July 2019, by orders of the Federal Government an official ID is required to purchase bus tickets, which has led migrants in Guanajuato to pay others to purchase their tickets, or rather, paying bribes for their ticket to be issued without ID. This was reported by the migrant shelters.

**Map 13: Transit Route for Guatemalans Across Guanajuato**



Source: CONAPO-Fundación BBVA-Research, 2019:118.

We were unable to obtain information regarding the migrant trafficking networks from the shelters interviewed, but comments were received confirming that these networks do exist, and that they operate with connections in both countries of origin and in Mexico's northern and southern border crossings.

Map 14 shows the routes for crossing Mexico used by population from the Northern Triangle in Central America, during the 2016-2017 period. Here, we can see that the main transit route for Guatemalans moves across Guanajuato, but this is not the main route for most migrants.

This map shows that the route crossing Guanajuato is secondary, when compared to the Gulf route. This route travels along the states of Tabasco, Veracruz, and Nuevo León, and is geographically shorter, thus concentrating a greater flow of transit migrants as they move across Mexico. However, disputed control over this territory by organized crime has made this a high-risk area for migrants to cross, making the route crossing the center of the country a viable transit option that, while somewhat longer, could turn out to be safer, especially during the period mentioned.

<sup>9</sup> Neighbors from the Roma and Primero de Mayo neighborhoods in Irapuato protested against the wall being built by Ferromex around the railroad trac, which divides the two residential complexes. See article by Diego González in the El Correo newspaper available at: <https://periodicocorreo.com.mx/vecinos-impiden-se-levante-muro-ferromex/> Accessed on November 12, 2019.

## Profile of Transit Migrants in the State of Guanajuato

The main characteristics of transit migrants moving across Mexico are that most of them come from the countries in northern Central America (Honduras, El Salvador, and Guatemala). Males are predominant, with only 10% to 20% of migrants estimated to be women, and 1% being transgender. The vast majority, around 80%, are of prime working age, between 18 and 44. The number of single people has increased, reaching 60%. Around 10% of the migrant flow is comprised of boys, girls, and teenagers (NNA), and most of them travel unaccompanied, without their parents or any adult family members (Nájera, 2019:20).

REDODEM (2019) points out that, in general, transit migrants moving through Mexico have low levels of schooling, with nearly 80% having basic education (primary and secondary), though only 6% have had no schooling at all. Nearly 50% of those aged 15 and older work in agriculture, beekeeping, livestock, or fishing (primary activities), while 30% worked in various trades such as masonry or carpentry.

Despite the lack of specific information regarding these migrants' profiles for the state of Guanajuato, and while administrators at Migrant Houses and shelters said they could not share their databases citing security concerns, they did confirm to us the accuracy of the profile described above as it pertains to the people they assist. Next, we will present empirical data from official statistics and reference materials from civil society organizations, which provide some broad strokes about the profile of transit migrants in Guanajuato.

### A. Nationality of Transit Migrants in Guanajuato

Following in the national trend, we estimate that a majority of transit migrants moving across the state of Guanajuato come from the countries of northern Central America. Table 43 shows the nationalities of people who have been presented at migration stations located in Guanajuato's territory for being unable to validate their migratory status.

Over the seven-year period selected, a total of 5,060 recorded events were presented before immigration authorities in Guanajuato, of which 94% correspond to people coming from Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador, that is, 4,797 events.

**Table 44: Nationality of persons presented before Guanajuato's INM 2013-2019**

Country of Origin	Guanajuato/ Year						
	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019*
Honduras	568	293	423	573	385	541	237
Guatemala	114	99	312	331	117	86	52
El Salvador	106	77	135	258	41	40	9
Colombia	2	5	5	23	6	25	7
Nicaragua	12	7	28	12	7	5	1
United States	6	5	13	6	10	0	10
Cuba	1	0	6	11	0	0	0
Ecuador	0	0	11	3	2	0	0
Peru	0	1	1	3	2	1	3
Venezuela	0	0	1	0	4	1	2
Argentina	0	0	1	0	1	2	0
Costa Rica	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
Chile	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Spain	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
South Korea	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Brazil	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Belize	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Romania	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>812</b>	<b>489</b>	<b>936</b>	<b>1221</b>	<b>577</b>	<b>703</b>	<b>322</b>

Authors' own using statistical information from the UPM, 2019. \*Data for 2019 is for the period January-September only.

The next most common national origins in these presentation events in Guanajuato are Colombia, Nicaragua, and the United States, with a total 195 events during this period. Colombia appeared in 73 events to Nicaragua's 72, while the U.S. was recorded in 50 events.

These figures do not show any persons originating in African countries, but information obtained from Guanajuato's migrant shelters revealed that there actually are African individuals assisted by these institutions. Over the last three years, they reported having assisted 10 people from Cameroon and from the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

These migrant shelters also reported assisting people from Asian countries over the last three years, predominantly from India and China. While these nationalities do not appear in the table above, South Korea does, with two events in 2013.

## Age and Gender of Transit Migrants

The flow of transit migrants is predominantly male at the national level. The same pattern appears to follow in Guanajuato, according to data obtained from the state's migrant shelters, as well as what is found in the INM's statistics. Table 44 shows the gender of people who have been presented before immigration authorities in Guanajuato.

**Table 45: Events of Foreigners presented before the INM in Guanajuato and Nationally, by Gender, 2016-2019**

Year	Guanajuato			Nacional		
	Gender		Total	Gender		Total
	H	M		H	M	
2016	983	238	1 221	139 248	46 865	186 113
2017	524	53	577	72 604	21 242	93 846
2018	606	97	703	99 766	31 679	131 445
2019	299	23	322	107 129	51 071	158 200

Authors' own using statistical information from the UPM, 2019. \*Data for 2019 is for the period January-September only.

Women account for 14% on average of all foreigners presented before the INM during the selected period between 2016 and 2019. That is, 411 cases, while at a national level 150,857 events involved women, or 26% of the total for the same period. This confirms the trend mentioned above. In the case of Guanajuato, in 2016 alone 20% of all events where foreigners were presented before INM authorities were women.

The number of events involving boys, girls, and teenage(niños, niñas y adolescentes, NNA) foreign migrants that were presented before the INM has fallen drastically since the year 2016 in Guanajuato, but not at the national level. Table 46 shows the downward trend for Guanajuato, which dropped from 258 cases in 2016 to 89 cases in 2018 and 26 cases in the preliminary figures for 2019. Meanwhile, the sharpest drop happened between 2016 and 2017, going from 258 to 48 events involving migrant NNA's, implying a drop of more than 80%.

**Table 46: Events involving minors presented before the INM in Guanajuato, by age and travel condition. 2016 to 2019**

Age and Travel Conditions	Guanajuato / Year			
	2019*	2018	2017	2016
<b>Total</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>258</b>
Ages 12 to 17	21	75	39	167
Accompanied	13	14	9	60
Unaccompanied	8	61	30	107
Ages 0 to 11	5	14	9	91
Accompanied	4	13	9	87
Unaccompanied	1	1	-	4
<b>National Total Minors</b>	<b>46,476</b>	<b>29,258</b>	<b>18,066</b>	<b>40,114</b>

Authors' own using statistical information from the UPM, 2019. \*Data for 2019 is for the period January-September only.

The majority of NNA migrants presented before the INM were aged between 12 and 17, and most claimed to be traveling alone, for a total of 206 minors over the four years studied. It's worth noting that, at the national level, preliminary numbers 2019 look like they have surpassed 2016 figures – which is the closest reference available for the highest number of foreign migrants presented due to immigration irregularities. In 2016 there were 40,114 events, while in 2019 this number has been surpassed with 6,000 more events across the country.

## Organizations Interviewed and the Municipalities in Which They Operate

Field research was carried out across four of Guanajuato's municipalities, namely, in Celaya, Salamanca, Irapuato, and León to learn about the work performed in providing direct assistance to transit migrants in Guanajuato and to learn about their origins, the area where they're located, the motivations behind their work, and the kind of assistance they provide. This was done through observation and interviews with Migrant House administrators.

In order to carry out this fieldwork we proceeded to first identify the shelters, including their names, municipality, and address, then established contact with the person or persons in charge, via telephone in order to schedule a visit. During this process, we noted the difficulty in establishing contact with these migrant shelters via telephone, as there was a certain level of distrust and secrecy regarding providing information or making an appointment. Indeed, it was not possible to speak with the shelter's director in every case. In one of the Celaya shelters in particular, we encountered strong resistance from the person in charge, who was reluctant to receive us and provided very limited information, even refusing to confirm whether any migrants were at the shelter at the time of the interview.

**Table 47: Migrant Houses and Shelters in Guanajuato**

<b>Municipality</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Address</b>
<b>Celaya</b>	Abba	Calle Eufemio Zapata 216, Emiliano Zapata, 38030, Celaya, México
	Manos extendidas	Calle 16 de Septiembre 430, Barrio del Zapote 38057 Celaya
<b>Irapuato</b>	San Juan de Dios	Calle Río Silao 1897, La Pradera
<b>Salamanca</b>	San Carlos	Moroleón 107, Constelación, 36790 Salamanca, Gto.
<b>León</b>	Galilea	Calle independencia #878, esq. con calle Río Balsas col. Barrio de San Miguel

The interviews were set up as informal chats inside the migrant shelters. We used a semi-structured questionnaire designed to gather information regarding the history, origins and/or founding of each of the shelters. Information was gathered about the services they offer, their organization's structure, support received and/or partnerships with other governmental non-governmental, and civil associations and institutions. Observation were also made about the furniture and infrastructure in each shelter.

Those in charge were asked about the number of migrants who attended every month, starting from January 2018 until September 2019, as well as their place of origin, the routes they take to exit the state of Guanajuato and their intended destination. Likewise, they were questioned regarding the migrants' sociodemographic profile, their greatest needs when requesting assistance and about the migrants' experiences both during their journey and in the cities, they arrive in, and those of the Shelter staff during the Central American caravan period.

Next, we present the main findings of this research process, describing and analyzing the experiences and problems faced both by Migrant Shelters in Guanajuato, and by the transit migrants they assist.

## Abba A.C. Migrant Shelter (Celaya, Guanajuato)

The person in charge is Mr. Ignacio Martínez Ramírez the founder. He is a priest, an evangelical Christian pastor, whose theological interpretation of the bible asks that we care for widows, orphans, and strangers and in this case, foreign migrants. His efforts started through his congregation and working with his wife donating food to migrants traveling along the railroad tracks.

Abba is an Aramaic word, "Used by Jesus Christ to call God his Father [...] as a form of refuge. The shelter logo is from a tale in the book of Genesis, where God tells Abraham "Leave your land, your home, and your kin [...] go to the land that I command, and I will make your descendants like the stars in heaven", which he interprets as Abraham being a divinely ordained migrant, leading him to understand migration as a common and normal thing to do.

Over six years ago they formed alliances with other civil society organizations. "They're the ones who brought up the importance of registering as a civil association, because our actions could have been misinterpreted, and confused with human trafficking. We needed a judicial framework to allow us to provide support legally". Abba was constituted as a Civil Association approximately 5 years ago and their first partnership was forged with the Red Cross, which helped with providing ambulances or first-aid carts whenever required, or some hospital care.

His main motivation is to always support migrants while respecting their rights, "to let them see Abba as an oasis in the middle of any situation around them. Always following three principles: dignity, equality, and respect. Dignity as a person, equality because we are all equal even if you're not in your country of origin, you are just like me, and I respect you [...] and well, you're in Mexico and you should be respectful too. Because often there are conflicts, for example with the caravans, where migrants arrive and make demands [...] they told me here or there that it's your obligation [...] and that's when you start clashing, and it's necessary to tell them and give them information about what can and cannot be done. When they understand that barriers fall down and they're all in the same context of mutual support".

Two filters are applied, using an interview. "The first interview is for reading the rules, they're offered some food, and then another record is made that is part of the REDODEM (network of shelters), formed by around 23 shelters all around the country, where they have a database created by Ibero (University), where an interview is applied asking about their nationality, age, occupation, why they left their country in order to create statistics and follow up on their progress. They also get asked what they need to continue on their way".

The organizational structure is comprised of Mr. Ramirez as the director, one psychologist and two base volunteers and no payment is received. The shelter's furnishings include 15 bunk beds (30 beds), six full bathrooms, and three extra showers set apart for those who come "just for the day." The kitchen is equipped with a cooking range, gas, and a refrigerator. The shelter's main needs are funding and food-stuffs, while those of the migrants are psychological and legal advice. Both require men's clothing.

Donations from civil society are received in kind, as food. Mr. Ramirez' congregation also helps provide clothing and food, while the University of Guanajuato's Celaya campus and the Ibero León university both donate multiple things as part of their social service. "We also have an agreement with Carreño underwear, we can buy underwear in bulk for cheaper than usual. Also, American immigrants in San Miguel de Allende donate new shoes, because they have a web page where they ask for support. There is an agreement with a supplier in León who sells shoes at very affordable prices. They buy around 50 to 60 pairs each month; they pay (our) rent, electric, water and gas bills, and they organize events with these Americans who bring donations or pay a cover charge".

The services provided by Abba are: 1) food (breakfast, lunch and dinner); 2) showers they are given a hygiene kit, second-hand clothes, shoes or sneakers either new or used; 3) housing for 72 hours of rest the three days are endorsed by Doctors Without Borders; 4) they are also given a three-minute telephone call sponsored by the International Committee of the Red Cross. Three kinds of population are identified: 1) transit migrants, who usually stay for one or three days; 2) migrants requesting asylum; and 3) amputee migrants.



At the time of our visit there were six amputees in the shelter, being taken care of by two nurses provided by the DIF. Among them were a mother and daughter who were badly injured falling off the train and had been there for four months.

The assisted migrants mostly come from Honduras, Guatemala, El Salvador and even Mexicans coming from Chiapas, “A Cuban or two (it’s easier to deal with them because almost all of them are stricter, educated), and even a Pakistani.” The age of attended migrants ranges from 20 to 40 years old, mostly males. The few women who arrive are around 20 years old and we have “very few children”. Only during the caravans was it common to see full families, even some aged 70 or 80. Most have gone through primary school, and nearly all of them worked in agriculture, followed by other trades.

Two experiences were shared relating to the Central American Migrant Caravans of late 2018. “With the first caravan we had 372 people, women, children, LGBT groups [...] men upstairs and downstairs [...] the whole floor was full of migrants; in the second Caravan we received 579 people [...] we were really over our heads then, we gave them something to eat, but we really did not know what to do until the auditorium was opened up”.

The most commonly used route is the San Miguel de Allende – San Luis Potosí route, being the closest and fastest way to Monterrey. “When (the caravans) started everyone wanted to go to the United States, but that’s also changed, and now plan B is Monterrey. There’s more awareness about migration, they offer them work, and at any moment they have the possibility of hopping over to the other side. Guanajuato is not an option for them, they just see it as passing through”.

Finally, we talked individually with two migrants present in the shelter. Both came from Honduras, one was 25 years old, the other 23. The first commented he left his country due to lack of work and insecurity, while the second mentioned he had only left because everyone else was leaving too, and he wanted to new places. They shared a little of their journey so far, and both agreed that they had not encountered discrimination from Mexicans, they acknowledged some people refused to give them money or food, but through most of their journey they always found good people who would give them something to eat and a place to spend the night. They agreed that the violence suffered during the journey, during the so called “raids” on the train, “are caused by the same gangs from Honduras, who do the same thing in Mexico as they do over there, and they’re the ones causing conflicts”.

## Manos Extendidas Migrants Shelter (Celaya, Guanajuato)

The idea of helping migrants and building a shelter for them emerged from a trip to Central America, where they saw the reality in which migrants who come to Mexico live, and in 2012 they were constituted as a civil society organization. The name Manos Extendidas (hands reaching out) means they are willing to help anyone who needs it but migrants especially.

At first, the organization included six people: “most of them did not get involved with the project, so it was scaled down, and now there’s only three of us registered [...] the others are volunteers, who just arrive”. Their main need as a migrant shelter is to have a larger space, as their current place is limited. “We do not suffer over food, because there’s always plenty”. They receive support from schools that do their social work there, and the community makes donations [...] “Costco gives away cold cuts and bread every week, the (Doctor) Simi Foundation gives us a care package of foodstuffs every two months and they give us some medications once a year”.

There was no information regarding the services provided by the shelter. However, they mentioned that the rules are read to migrants upon entry. “No swearing, no alcohol or drugs, and cell phones are handed in at the door for safety reasons. They shower and while in the shelter they must remove shoes and wear slippers inside. Then they are offered dinner and a place to sleep, and breakfast the next day. Afterwards they are asked to leave, so more migrants can be received [...] new people come in every day”.

The shelter’s furnishings, we are told (we were not allowed entry), “is comprised of a full bathroom for them (the migrants) and another reserved for personnel [...] There are 14 bunk beds and a furnished kitchen [...] There is also an exclusive dormitory for people with different sexual orientation, because there are always problems and a separate room for women and children.

The largest number of people assisted in one day was 83, when normal capacity is 30 to 35 people per day. “Most come from Honduras [...] around 60%. Some 25% (come from) Guatemala, and 10% from El Salvador, and 5% Mexicans from the South”. Most of them are male. “Around 90% of the ones coming through are 18 to 30 years old. Some have studied some primary school, if that, and almost all worked in some trade [...] They are skilled [...] Circumstance have made them develop that. We try to help them with their basic needs only, since there's very little resources, and the government does not help or support our cause, because of the short-sighted view they have about it, there's a lot of antipathy”.

According to the person interviewed, “Lately migrants have been more aggressive, ever since they defied the authorities in the southern border, so now it's not healthy to keep them too long. We used to allow them to stay for 72 hours, but now it's 24 hours at most”. Regarding the migrants' routes and destinations, the interviewee assured us that “in the southern border they're given a lot of information about the routes they can take and the shelters they can go to. When they get to Celaya they're already informed and thinking about where to go next”. He mentioned Monterrey or Tijuana as the second option for migrants, but their main goal is still the United States.

### San Juan de Dios Migrant Shelter (Irapuato, Guanajuato)

“The founder is María Eugenia Torres [...] The Shelter was started nine years ago, and it's called that because it's one of the saints that migrants pray to. The shelter works independently from other institutions. It only receives donations from the people and all other expenses are covered by the Director”.

There are five people who work in the shelter: two in the kitchen, Emma Flores as the current administrator, Adrián (our interviewee) as second person in charge and one other volunteer. All of them receive a “symbolic” salary from the director. They are part of the REDODEM registry system, because this system shares reports on problematic migrants and helps track them on their journey.

The furniture consists of 26 beds, a shower, and two bathrooms. Their main need as a migrant shelter is for men's clothing, shoes, and women's clothing, since most of what is donated to them is not helpful. “It's basically useless, because it's high heel shoes or clothing you cannot wear on the journey”.

The shelter provides three meals a day and 24 hours stay, but this varies according to the migrants' needs [...] “Also, a beautician's academy comes once a week to offer haircuts”. “When they come in they are read the rules and asked to put away their cell phones to avoid any problems. They are allowed to use the institution's telephone to communicate. They are given a hygiene kit, bought with donations. They're also provided with medication if their condition is easy to treat, otherwise they're sent to the hospital”. Informal agreements are in place to treat them.

According to our interviewee, migrant flows have slowed since July (2019), when they registered approximately 700 migrants being assisted. In August it dropped to 480 and from October to the day of the interview only 101 persons had been received. “A majority of the migrants we assist are men [...] some families, and when there are children, we ask for ID to confirm their parentage. Ages vary a lot”.

“From Irapuato they take one of two train routes, the one that goes to Torreón and up to Ciudad Juárez, stopping in Aguascalientes and again in Zacatecas; the other is the one going to Guadalajara and Nayarit and several stops before Mexicali”. The interviewee points out that, according to his conversations with the migrants, their secondary destination options are the border areas in the north, especially Monterrey and Sonora (Caborca); “Very few of them stay in Guanajuato”.

According to the information gathered, “Migrants have not complained of suffering discrimination in Mexico, but they do complain that the jobs they try to do, like washing cars, are very poorly paid.” At the time of our visit there were 12 migrants in the institution, one of which we conversed with. He had left Honduras due to lack of work and a very bad economy, and his plan was to reach Monterrey and request asylum in order to bring the rest of his family to live in that city.

## Casa Galilea (León, Guanajuato)

This shelter was founded around “nine months ago... because they went to Guadalajara one Easter holiday to get to know the reality of migrants [...] and they came back and asked for a place to get established. [...] The name is from the city where Jesus Christ visited”.

As for the shelter's organizational structure, “Everyone who works here [...] would be [...] between seven and five people [...] There's only two of us volunteers here 24 hours, there are others who come in temporarily to sort the clothes and the kitchen, because in the donations we receive we always set some of the clothing apart and, we hold a bazaar on Saturdays, and from there we gather money for expenses like water, electricity [...] We volunteers do not receive any remuneration”.

In order to provide services, “We take their details [...] and register them as they arrive. They can stay for two nights and three days, they are given food and showers to wash themselves. They are given support to buy bus tickets to return to their place of origin or reunite with family members.

Regarding the shelter's needs, “Nearly everything we have are donations, (for) food we go to the Food Bank. From my point of view, we do require a doctor, a dentist... we have a psychologist who helps the children, but once we had a person from El Salvador who needed help, and a psychologist was brought in for him. They (the migrants) mostly need shelter [...] a little rest, because they are coming off the train or walking for kilometers, they arrive here exhausted and they recover in two days”. They are given medical attention when required, “Over at the drug store (Farmacia del Ahorro) there is a doctor, and sometimes she helps with that service. If she is not there, the shelter will pay for medication and all that”.

Regarding the furniture “that works [...] we have a room for full time volunteers, and three showers are at the back, but only one is working, and we want to install two or three bathrooms upstairs, but we have to fix the ones already there. This place is on loan [...] there is another association called San Vicente de Paul, and they help the needy in León. They actually own this place”.

We help around 20 people a month when it is very low, because sometimes there have been more than 20 and we've run out of water. Right now, I think we can easily fit 150 people”. Among the migrants attended, “There are people (Mexicans) who were deported, (some others) from El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala, and from other places”.

About the routes: “Let me tell you, I've noticed that many who've already been in Mexico before decide to stay for some reason, especially people from El Salvador, and for some reason they go to Monterrey, Chihuahua, and Saltillo [...] I think around 20% want to stay in Mexico. For example, in León, on the Torres (Landa Boulevard), on Insurgentes, and on Campestre, you find a lot of Mexicans from Chiapas, Oaxaca, dark-skinned folk from Haiti or Belize, and they already have a place to stay, but they are still out begging for money, but not all of them. And depending on their interests [...] We have a map where the train routes are marked, and they decide for themselves where they want to go, but I think most of them head out to Piedras Negras”.

Regarding the profile of the migrants they assist, “The majority are men [...] there are some, very few, who arrive with their children [...] We've had five families come [...] couples and their children, but mostly it's men. We have been brought single women, but they kind of... they prefer to leave... they eat, shower, and leave. They usually come in groups, the last one left yesterday, about six people. They (the men) are around 20 or 40 (years old). We have also had older people [...] about three or four. Most of them are from the countryside, with no studies. One time we got a young guy who was in high school”.

## Summary of the Main Findings from the Fieldwork

The description of the observations and conversations held with the actors living the reality of migration at each of these migrant shelters in the state of Guanajuato allows us to identify the precarious conditions faced by migrants inside the state.

First, we must emphasize the lack of trust shown by most institutions when establishing contact, and the lack of availability by some of the people in charge, partly due to their skepticism regarding this type of research, as they believe they have been of little to no use in the past.

Second, there's the antiquity of the institutions providing assistance to migrants in Guanajuato. Two shelters have existed for 10 years or more, facing completely different realities. This leads us to think about the importance of leadership at each of these shelters. In most cases these organizations have a religious bend, except for Manos Extendidas, which lacked transparency in the information provided.

The best installations were found at the Salamanca migrant shelter of San Carlos Borromeo, which appears to offer the best conditions for providing a better service. However, we should mention that we were unable to verify the presence of any migrants during our visit there.

Third, we can state that, based on the information provided and our own observation, there is evidence that when a shelter is supported by some Civil Association, both their installations and services improve. We must mention that San Carlos Borromeo is, by far, the shelter with the best infrastructure, even offering internet connectivity, in contrast with Casa Galilea, which due to its recent creation still lacks many services, despite its more spacious premises.

Finally, among our main findings we note that the north of the country in general and cities like Monterrey and Tijuana in particular, have started to become powerful draws for migrants, who are switching their ultimate destination from the United States to one of Mexico's border cities.

Apparently, Guanajuato is not an attractive destination for foreign transit migrants to settle, but rather is seen as a mere stop on the way to the country's north, or to the United States. Still, both the San Carlos Borromeo shelter (Salamanca) and Galilea (León) mentioned that some migrants do decide to settle in the cities of Salamanca and León.

## Diagnosis of Needs

The needs of transit migrants are many, owing to their undocumented status and the high-risk conditions under which they move across Mexico, as detailed above. In this sense, attention should be prioritized for the most vulnerable populations. Likewise, it's necessary to recognize the actions taken by civil society organizations in an organized manner for nearly ten years in support of migrants passing through Guanajuato. In the following section we point out some of the main needs detected by this study, although this list does not include all the needs of the migrant population.

### Human Security of the Most Vulnerable Transit Migrants

Despite not being a statistically significant population, unaccompanied migrant boys, girls and adolescents in transit through Guanajuato should be protected and even escorted and guarded (Calleros, 2013) by qualified personnel who can work, following specialized protocols in coordination with migrant shelters and various institutions that provide direct assistance to this population.

Likewise, it is necessary to develop protocols for assisting women migrants traveling alone or with minors, and who are currently assisted in a disjointed manner by shelters using the scarce resources at hand. It would be therefore convenient to strengthen the state's migrant shelters with qualified personnel, but also via the social institutions belonging to the state government and Guanajuato's 46 municipalities.

### Acts of Aggression and Hostility

Migrants generally state they feel safe in Guanajuato, compared with other states in the country's north and south. It is necessary to prevent any acts of aggression and hostility towards transit migrants that may occur on behalf of the authorities and society in general.

In this sense, it would be convenient to promote, in partnership with universities and other institutions, awareness campaigns about the needs of migrants and their journeys, so that Guanajuato's society may prevent and avoid racist, discriminatory, and xenophobic attitudes towards this population.

## Integration in a mobility context

Transit migrants always expect to continue their journey, but often their passage through intermediate territories is lengthened, and the living conditions in these temporary contexts can worsen the precariousness of their situation. Consequently, alternatives are needed to allow transit migrants to gain access to identity documents that temporarily allow them to seek employment, access education programs, and that satisfy emergency healthcare providers.

As we've seen, the institutions assisting migrants in Guanajuato have managed to provide the necessary services to meet their immediate needs, mainly through informal means. This makes it necessary to institutionalize the appropriate mechanisms that guarantee basic living conditions, so that any person in a mobility context can be sure of enjoying their full human rights.

## Requirements of Migrant Shelters

In general, migrant shelters in Guanajuato are relatively well equipped for sheltering transit migrants, having donations of food, clothing, footwear, medicines, personal hygiene products. They also have the infrastructure for housing an average of 20 people per day at each shelter.

One of the main needs of these migrant shelters is for resources for paying the personnel who care for and assist the people being sheltered. It's especially necessary to strengthen personnel training or increase the presence of qualified personnel in areas such as medical services and psychological therapy, legal counseling for the processing of documents, and providing specialized support for cases of asylum and international protection requests. Likewise, both human and financial resources are needed to guarantee the safe operation of each of these shelters.

## Updated Information on Transit Migration through the State of Guanajuato

Throughout this investigation we have confirmed the need for generating precise and up-to-date information regarding transit migrants across the state of Guanajuato. Aligned with this need, it is clear that civil society organizations in Guanajuato already have reliable and systematic data on the migrants they assist, partly because federal authorities have not wanted to build a systematic record of migration flows. This makes it necessary to create alliances with civil society organizations in order to delve deeper into knowledge regarding transit migration dynamics in the state in Guanajuato.

Following this idea, it would be convenient to encourage municipal and state authorities to collaborate in creating shared databases regarding the needs and profiles of transit migrants

## Recommendations

From this work, we can draw certain recommendations on public policy for Guanajuato state's government and the Ministry of Migrant and International Affairs.

## Protecting and Safeguarding Migrant Girls, Boys, and Adolescents

We recommend designing and implementing an integral public policy geared towards girls, boys, and adolescent migrants in transit through Guanajuato, in order to ensure their safety in keeping with the boy or girl's best interest (Vilches, 2017). This policy should be jointly enforced with other institutions charged



of safeguarding the rights of children in Mexico and Guanajuato, while also providing support to determine whether the minor should be considered a refugee, or subject to international protections.

### Strengthening Migrant Shelters

We recommend establishing collaboration agreements locally with the various Shelters and migrant assistance networks, in order to institutionalize the attention given to this population in Guanajuato. To this end, the state government should promote recognition of these shelters and civil society organization that aid transit migrants, in order to provide legal legitimacy to their actions in favor of this population's human rights.

The possibility could also be explored of striking International Cooperation for Development agreements with civil society organizations in migrants' communities of origin, particularly in the northern Central American countries, in order to establish fraternal links that could promote the development of shared values and identities.

### Generating Comprehensive Attention Policies for Transit Migrants

It would be desirable to execute a public policy in the state in Guanajuato that provides comprehensive attention to transit migrants through the launch of new integration models in the context of human mobility, in order to offer protection and guarantee their human rights, particularly those related to legal identity, work, education, and healthcare. To this end, it is necessary to know and open the debate on new models of integration for migrants who have become stranded in transit hubs, making it indispensable to carry out research regarding best practices for integration and social inclusion models in Mexico and abroad.

### Developing Databases for Transit Migrants

We suggest creating a database to record the transit migration dynamics in Guanajuato, as well as the profile of migrants and the principal needs of people moving through the state. The creation of this database could be done in collaboration with municipal public servants who provide attention to transit migrants, as well as with Guanajuato's migrant shelters.

This information must be focused from the perspective of transit migrants' human rights and destined to orient and evaluate Guanajuato's migration policy.



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# Recommendations for Public Policy and Adapting Administrative Infrastructure to Address the Migration Phenomenon in the State of Guanajuato

## Introduction

For many decades, the phenomenon of migration was viewed and interpreted from the perspective of international emigration. While transit and return migrations did exist, they were rarely taken into account. Likewise, internal migration was a very intense phenomenon during the 1970s and 1980s, but both its relevancy and related academic and political interest would diminish.

International emigration, on the other hand, was seen as a “natural” phenomenon that could not, and should not, be directly influenced either to slow it down or promote it. The policies implemented during the 1920s to discourage migration had no effect, and the ideal model was considered to be the Bracero Program (1942-1964). Later, the years of “no-policy policy” would come, where it was thought that nothing had to be done, and immigration was seen as an issue to be dealt with by our neighbor country. Following the IRCA legalization (1986), the Mexican community was consolidated in the United States with the legalization of 2.3 million Mexican nationals who remained in the United States and then proceeded to reunify their families. For its part, the restrictive immigration policy of the United States, especially close to the border, had the opposite effect, with migrants who managed to find their way across being unable to return, being stuck in an unregulated and highly vulnerable situation.

It is in this context that a policy was defined regarding the Mexican community living abroad, both documented and undocumented. The traditional circular migration had broken down, and it was necessary and appropriate to address and protect the Mexican population living in the United States. The federal government developed a policy of consular expansion and pushed for a change in mentality among consuls regarding the attention and protection that should be offered to this community. The Institute for Mexicans Abroad (Instituto de Mexicanos en el Exterior, IME) was established; the responsibility for providing documents to the undocumented population via Consular ID cards was accepted; specific projects were developed, such as the 3x1, Programa Paisano, URESA-RRESA, mobile consulates, and healthcare programs. Procedures and documentation in general were simplified; and the right to vote from abroad was granted.

Simultaneously, during the 1990s migrant-sending states strengthened their relationships with hometown associations and migrant federations. Migrant shelters were established, such as the Casas Guanajuato in California, Illinois, and Texas, and Governors began to travel and make contact, getting to know their countrymen and the organizations established abroad. From this relationship multiple programs would develop, both federal and state-led: programs such as the repatriation of the deceased, management of visa requests allowing elderly relatives to visit their children or grandchildren who are unable to return; the search for missing persons; measures to encourage and facilitate the sending of remittances; remittances investment programs tied to local development; support for migrant entrepreneurs, etcetera.

In Guanajuato, the state's migration policy is mainly focused on tending to the communities of Guanajuato natives living abroad. However, over the last 25 years we can see changes, adaptations, and progress being made in defining public policies and their corresponding legislation in the implementation of programs and in adapting the administrative infrastructure to address the migrant population.

From the original Directorate for the Attention of Guanajuato Communities Abroad (Dirección de Atención a Comunidades Guanajuatenses en el Extranjero) in the early 1990s, and moving through the Migrant Councils and several Special Programs, this attention has evolved into the Ministry of Migrant and International Affairs, as well as full legal instrument, the Law for the Protection and Attention of Migrants and their Families in the State of Guanajuato (Ley de Protección y Atención del Migrante y sus Familias del Estado de Guanajuato, LePAMIF), which was reformed in 2017.

The development and evolution of these various programs, laws, and institutions charged with addressing the migrant population in and from Guanajuato reflects not only changes in the administration, but also progressive advances in understanding this phenomenon and in adapting the administrative and institutional framework to address a dynamic and changing process in a comprehensive manner.

The phenomenon of migration today requires specific policies for emigration, immigration, transit migration, return migration, and refugees. This is an issue with important shortcomings at the federal level, which are also manifested in the states. What once was a regional matter is now a national issue and, to a greater or lesser extent, all five forms of migration find their counterpart at the state level. In this sense, a comprehensive policy is required: addressing urgent matters due to their size is related to emigration, while addressing current and medium-term issues is related to return migration; preparing for the future implies thinking about internal migration and international immigration; dealing with specific situations is related to the comings and goings of transit migrants, and finally the issue of refugees, which one way or another will reach Guanajuato's doorstep, will have to be addressed.

Governing over an increasingly complex and dynamic migration phenomenon requires flexible public policies and institutions, and an awareness of the processes in which millions of Guanajuato natives are involved, directly or indirectly. In this sense, the work commissioned by the Ministry of Migrant and International Affairs for the CIDE to carry out a diagnosis of the migration phenomenon and provide public policy proposals is a vital step in planning, evaluating, and planning for future actions, adapting the management and administrative infrastructure to address the migration phenomenon in Guanajuato.

Next, based on the findings and results of this investigation, we recommend taking the following proposals into consideration in order to adjust public policy and adapt the institutional infrastructure to address the priorities we consider relevant for each of the modes of migration found in the state.

## INTERNAL MIGRATION

Facing the situation presented above regarding internal migration in the state, the following actions are recommended:

- In order to develop effective public policies geared towards agricultural day laborers, a diagnosis must be performed, with more information obtained regarding the migration patterns of people who arrive in the state looking for work. The information suggests that these are itinerant migrations with movement within and outside the state, without any clarity regarding any return to original communities or settlement in any destination. It is especially concerning that migrants may be coming to Guanajuato attracted by the possibility for underage minors to work.
- Knowing and properly characterizing the migration patterns of agricultural day laborers who arrive in Guanajuato in search of work, in order to understand the problems and specific needs of day laborer families always on the move and, having that, proposing more effective and far-reaching measures. This investigation's findings indicate that the problems and needs of day laborer migrants vary depending on whether they are: a) return migration to original communities (currently in the minority); b) settlement in destinations within Mexico (apparently the general trend); and c) itinerant migration, which is the least studied but appears to be the case in Guanajuato.
- Changing the narrative and designing social engineering efforts based on new family and social contracts, removing from women the responsibility and blame over the adjustments and impacts brought by globalized or depauperized economies to Guanajuato's households. The above is related to the fact that in Guanajuato, as in most of the country, wages are usually low and unregu-



lated, which has forced all the members of the household to take part in the labor market and become perpetual seekers of employment. Women have joined this unstoppable population trend, requiring regular wages or income, in cash. In this sense, in Guanajuato as in other states it is common to hear the claim that women leaving their households are responsible for a whole rosary of family and social problems within their communities. However, this will not change, and women will not be returning by will or by force to their homes and renouncing the income they need to settle down.

- On the other hand, it should be mentioned that the violence felt over the last few years in Guanajuato may have effects that change the immigration and emigration trends for the MZs. People who had come from other states seeking refuge from the conditions there, such as people from Michoacán, may look towards new destinations for themselves and their businesses. Small-scale entrepreneurs and workers might find themselves under pressure to leave Guanajuato due to extortions and threats.
- This dynamic presents an additional issue, not elaborated within this study and lacking hard figures but of which we must remain aware: the processes of internal displacement due to violence.
- In this report we were able to confirm that the statistical information broken down at a regional level fails to accurately reflect the dynamics of internal migration and quite possibly also in the case of return migration, immigration, and emigration. This is why we propose an analysis of Metropolitan Zones that may be much more suggestive and interesting.

## INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

Considering the profile presented earlier, we propose the following recommendations related to international emigration:

- The processes of migratory transition at the national level are reflected in a fall in international emigration, explained mostly by the culmination of the demographic transition process and the end of the Demographic Bonus. In this sense it would be appropriate to carry out a more specific study at the municipal level regarding the process of demographic transition across the state, as it would be ideal to find a global fertility rate of 2.1, and it is possible that some regions in the North, Northeast and South will have higher fertility rates than the Central region. Reproductive health policies should be focused on the areas with the lowest Human Development Index scores and those with the highest birth rates.
- In terms of income, which is another variable that functions as a factor for expulsion, the state suffers the same problems as the rest of the country with an extremely low minimum wage, even lower than some Central American countries. Higher incomes, greater participation by women in the labor market, and better and bigger opportunities for education directed towards the young are fundamental elements for bringing these expulsion factors under control.
- In terms of the population living abroad, Guanajuato has deployed an important network of relationships with its diaspora through the use of Casas Guanajuato as well as the Hometown Associations, which will have to be strengthened and encouraged. However, one aspect that requires more intense work is that of strengthening the formal links between Mexicans and the children of Mexicans with their home state. In this sense, registering the children of Mexicans at their consulates should be promoted, allowing them to obtain valid documents, but mostly to help raise awareness of their dual national status and all the advantages this implies. On the other hand, for those born in Mexico and living abroad it is very important that they request or renew their INE voting cards, not only to participate in electoral matters, but also to bolster their identity rights. In this sense, we recommend that the undocumented population who have a Consular ID card should request their INE voting card, which is free of charge and grants full citizenship rights and is a valid document in both countries.

## IMMIGRANTS IN GUANAJUATO

### CHILDREN OF MEXICANS

Regarding the population comprised by the children of Mexicans who were born in the United States, we recommend continuing with the implemented programs for addressing them, as well as considering the following:

- Systematizing the birth certificates of children born in the United States, which would help provide a better state-level view of this migration, which would aid in defining more precise and adequate public policies and specific forms of support, especially those related to documentation and education.
- For dual national minors, the main problem relates to schooling, making it important to locate these children in their corresponding municipalities and schools, as well as designing educational policies to address this population, which has received reading and writing education in a different language. Teachers must also be trained and their teaching methods adapted. In most cases, it can be assumed that these children have been socialized in the United States and will be bilingual, while those aged 10 and older will have English reading and writing skills. It is assumed that adapting to school will be easier for children in terms of reading and writing in Spanish, while teenagers may find greater difficulties at first. Either way, this population has at least two important characteristics: they are dual nationals and bilingual. A third quality, being bicultural, requires more sophistication, with the ability to read and write in both languages and having undergone socialization processes in both countries. It is possible that some of these young persons will be able to continue their studies and attend university, whether in Mexico or in the United States, and will have all three of these qualities, which is exceptional.
- Bilingual and dual national young people will be important in the future, given their possible participation in a labor market that demands these characteristics, particularly among multinational enterprises with presence in the state. But even if they opt to migrate instead, they will do so under the best possible conditions, being both citizens and bilingual.

### FOREIGN IMMIGRANTS IN GUANAJUATO

- Although the foreign population in the state is very small, the trends manifested in foreign communities and linked to the state's industrialization processes must be analyzed in closer detail. These communities can become integrated, especially by enrolling their children in schools, participating in their neighborhoods, and through various cultural and sporting activities, or they can become isolated in exclusive private schools and communities. Finding the way to integrate them into Guanajuato's wider community, especially with regard to children and adolescents, could be seen as a priority that would bring great benefits for the state in the future.
- The results of importing labor from China in the case of factories located in Valle de Santiago should be evaluated. The census detects their presence in the year 2000, but the outlook becomes less clear afterwards, with apparent changes of residence and even their departure to other regions or countries. This should be investigated more closely and whether this case responds to specific policies for the import of labor.
- In the case of the foreign community concentrated in San Miguel de Allende and other municipalities, it should be taken into account that this is a population that is highly sensitive to violence and extortion, which can amplify the international repercussions and negative impact of these processes. It is therefore recommended to take steps for prevention, rather than correction.



## RETURN MIGRATION

As we found during the analysis and research processes, one of the characteristics of return migrant populations in Mexico and Guanajuato in the last few years is its heterogeneity. In this sense, the variety of profiles leads to a variety of needs and public policy recommendations, as well as the need to adapt the objectives and administrative infrastructure in order to address this population comprised of Guanajuato natives returning to the state and who will, given the migration policies in the United States, be unlikely to return there.

- A common need mentioned by the directors of shelters and by return migrants themselves is the urgency of having valid identity documents, including the CURP, birth certificate, and revalidated and apostilled educational documents. To this end, we suggest installing modules for providing information on how to access these documents in the municipal liaison offices – with whom the Ministry for Migrants is already working, giving priority to municipalities with high and very high rates of return. It is necessary to carry out documentation campaigns in schools to facilitate the issuing of documents such as: birth certificates, CURP and dual nationality documents, all free of charge. It is Repatriation documents or Consular ID cards must also be made valid – temporarily, while official documents are obtained – as documents for requesting healthcare and education benefits offered by the state of Guanajuato.
- Regarding the definition of returning populations, we recommend expanding it to consider return migration as a personal process with variable duration, during which migrants will require various forms of support for a prolonged period, not only during the first few months following their return. It is important that support offered to the population is not restricted to those who have recently returned.
- We suggest considering various return migrant profiles when designing and implementing forms of support in various municipalities across the state. For example, San Miguel de Allende presents a profile for returning migrants that are fundamentally bilingual and bicultural with access to the restaurant or tourist sectors where labor certifications specific to these sectors may be relevant. In contrast, migrants returning to León are concentrated around call centers, and for them the transition to better paid labor options, with better social security benefits, may require certifications, possibly as English language teachers.
- We strongly recommend offering access to healthcare and mental health services. Through the use of strategic partnerships with the state's universities (particularly those offering degrees in Psychology and Social Work), we suggest offering psycho-emotional support to returnees and their families, as this is one of the main needs identified by the population themselves. Likewise, access to healthcare services must be immediately facilitated for returnees and their families.
- We advise building strategic partnerships and working in collaboration with key actors and specialized sectors. We suggest striking partnerships with civil society organizations in the municipalities to disseminate relevant information regarding administrative processes, work opportunities, labor training options, as well as the requirements for obtaining employment and other needs required by the return migrant population. While some migrants will inherit plots of land and return to a rural context, a majority will seek to integrate themselves in urban contexts, where one of the main challenges is finding information on viable employment, considering the skills they have.
- For municipalities with highly active economies, such as León and San Miguel de Allende, we recommend generating strategies involving local governments, businesses, and commercial chambers in order to promote the necessary dialogues that will open up workspaces appropriate to the profile of return migrants. In this sense, there should be clarity regarding the procedures and requirements for entering any specific sector, including the kind of training needed, documentation requested, etc. The State Government can forge partnerships with productive sectors in the muni-

cipalities in order to gather this information and share it with the civil society organizations who tend to the return migrant population at the local level.

- It is important that the Ministry for Migrants has full knowledge regarding the productive activities specific to each municipality so they can refer return migrants adequately and in consideration of their work skills. For example, in San Miguel de Allende priority could be given to inserting young people with good customer service skills into the restaurant and tourism industries, while in León these young people with full English proficiency can be integrated into call centers.
- Educational reintegration programs are necessary. An explicit strategy for access and inclusion of returning children and adolescents is required. The design and effective implementation of such a strategy will require collaboration with the Ministry of Education and with school administrators and teachers. The priority is to guarantee that returnees will have quick access to school, regardless of what documentation they may have. Once enrolled, these students must be closely tracked by their teachers in order to ensure their integration in the classroom, support them in developing Spanish language skills, and offer complementary courses on specific subjects in Mexico's educational curriculum where their knowledge may be lacking (e.g. Mexican history, geography, civics, etc.)
- The implementation of an inclusion strategy of this kind requires that we first identify where these returning students are located, that is to say, in which municipalities, schools, and grades they are in. The 911 format, the basic statistical tool used by education ministries, may provide this diagnosis using the migration module.
- For migrants who return having studied middle and higher education the desire to continue their studies is prevalent. In such cases our recommendation for the state government is to establish a bourse of scholarships for college, geared towards return migrants. In some specific cases financial support has been requested to enable migrants to take international English language certification exams, which are necessary for gaining access to employment in some of the better paid sectors.
- It would be convenient to design and execute a citizens' awareness campaign to help make the return migrant population more visible, that is, to understand who they are, and what they need. Second, the campaign should see to eliminate discrimination and social stigma suffered by return migrants, especially those who have been subjected to deportation processes, in the communities where they reside. Likewise, the campaign must increase awareness among the general population regarding the conditions under which Guanajuato natives return to the state. Mockery directed to returning migrants is frequent, especially when returning in an economically insolvent situation and/or due to forcible return processes, which creates additional challenges to the already complex reintegration process when one has spent long periods away from the country and their home state.
- We recommend bolstering the dissemination and promotion of existing programs directed towards the return migrant population. According to information provided by Guanajuato's Ministry for Migrants, specific measures already exist for addressing this population. However, the organizations interviewed were unaware of this support. Therefore, we suggest promoting the continuity of these support programs, and their dissemination.
- It is desirable to increase coordination and constant communication between the state and municipal governments. We recommend that the Ministry for Migrants engage in constant collaboration and communication with the municipalities and with civil society organizations, both to inform them about existing projects within the Ministry itself geared towards the return migrant population, as well as to receive feedback and learn about the needs of this population in each municipality. According to our fieldwork, civil society organizations that provide support to return migrants and their families are in direct contact with municipal authorities in order to help resolve the most urgent needs of this population.
- All the information produced by the Ministry and disseminated through the municipal liaison offices should be offered in English as well as Spanish. Furthermore, support programs should be

made known (in Spanish and in English), both those provided by the Ministry for migrants, and those provided by civil society organizations using social networks and digital platforms available at the Casas Guanajuato in the United States.

- We recommend putting together a database that will allow for data related to the target population to be accessed, in order to follow up on people who express their intentions to remain in the state, evaluate and improve the services provided by the Ministry and to create a registry of the return migrant population in the state. We further suggest promoting sensibility workshops and attention protocols among state government personnel who provide assistance to the return migrant population, who are often in a complex emotional state when requesting information.
- It is important to carry out public evaluations of existing and recently created programs. Existing programs need to be evaluated, if they exist, in order to identify areas of opportunity and to discover their strengths and weaknesses. Likewise, their operation must be made transparent through the use of a public platform that lists their actions at the state and municipal levels.

## TRANSIT MIGRATION

Next, we point to some of the main needs detected by this study on the transit migrant population, although this list is not exclusive of other actions.

- The safety of the most vulnerable transit migrants must be addressed. While this is not a statistically significant population, unaccompanied children and adolescents who travel through Guanajuato must be protected and escorted and guarded by qualified personnel collaborating through the specialized protocols and in coordination with migrant shelters and the various institutions that provide support to this population directly.
- Likewise, protocols for addressing women in transit are needed, whether they are traveling alone or accompanied by minors, and who are helped by shelters in an uncoordinated way using the resources at hand. It would be advisable to strengthen migrant shelters in the state of Guanajuato by providing qualified personnel but also through the social institutions belonging to the state government and Guanajuato's 46 municipal governments.
- Regarding acts of aggression and hostility, migrants generally claim to feel safe in Guanajuato, compared to other states in the north and south of the country. Acts of aggression and hostility against transit migrants must be prevented by the authorities and by society in general. In this sense, it would be advisable to promote awareness campaigns, in partnership with universities and other institutions, to inform the population of the needs of migrants and their routes in order for Guanajuato's society to be able to prevent and avoid racist, discriminatory, or xenophobic attitudes towards this population.
- It is important to promote integration within the context of mobility. Transit migrants usually expect to continue their journey, but their transit through territories and countries on the way may be delayed and standards of living within these provisional contexts makes their precarious situation even more acute. As a result, alternatives need to be developed to allow transit migrants to gain access to identity documents granting them provisional conditions to perform activities such as work, access educational systems, and satisfy the requirements of emergency healthcare services.
- As we have seen, the institutions dedicated to assisting migrants in Guanajuato have managed to get the necessary services to satisfy their most immediate needs, mostly through informal means, which makes it necessary to institutionalize the mechanisms that guarantee the basic conditions for a person in the context of mobility to fully safeguard their human rights.
- Regarding the requirements of migrant shelters in Guanajuato, these are relatively well equipped for sheltering transit migrants, receiving donations consisting of food, clothing, footwear, medicines, and personal hygiene items. They also have enough infrastructure to provide shelter to an

average of 20 persons per day in each of the shelters. One of the greatest needs of migrant shelters is the lack of resources for paying the personnel who care for and provide assistance to migrants being sheltered. It is especially necessary to strengthen personnel training or increase the numbers of qualified personnel in areas such as medical care and psychological therapy, legal counsel for processing documents and offering specialized support for cases involving requests for asylum and international protection. Likewise, human and financial resources are required to guarantee the safe operation of each of these shelters.

- There is a need for up-to-date information regarding transit migration in the state of Guanajuato. It is fundamental that precise and timely information is generated about transit migrants in Guanajuato. In line with this requirement, it is evident that civil society organizations in Guanajuato have access to reliable and systematic information about the migrants they provide assistance to, partly because federal authorities have been unwilling to keep systematic records of migration flows. This makes it necessary to create partnerships with civil society organizations in order to increase the knowledge regarding the transit migration dynamics within the state of Guanajuato. Following this line of thought, it would be convenient to see collaboration between municipal and state authorities in creating common databases recording the needs and profile of transit migrants.
- We recommend designing and implementing a comprehensive public policy to address the children and young migrants in transit through Guanajuato, in order to guarantee their safety by determining the best interests of the child. This policy must be developed jointly with other institutions charged with protecting the rights of children in Mexico and in Guanajuato, while also providing support in determining whether the minor should be recognized as a refugee or be the subject of international protection.
- Migrant shelters must be reinforced. We suggest establishing collaboration agreements at the local level with shelters and migrant support networks in order to institutionalize the support provided to this population across the state of Guanajuato. To achieve this, it will be necessary to push for recognition by the state government of these shelters and civil society organizations that provide services and support to transit migrants, in order to provide full legal legitimacy to their actions protecting this population's human rights.
- The possibility of striking International Cooperation for Development agreements with civil society organizations at the communities of origin of these migrants, particularly in the countries of northern Central America could be explored in order to establish fraternal ties and promote the creation of common values and identities.
- We suggest creating comprehensive policies for addressing transit migrants. It is desirable to implement a public policy for the state of Guanajuato that will address transit migrants in a comprehensive way through the launch of new models for integration within the context of human mobility, thus providing protection and guaranteeing human rights, especially those related to legal identity, labor, education, and healthcare. To achieve this, it is necessary to learn about and debate the new integration models for migrants who have been stranded in transit centers, making it indispensable to research the best practices for integration and social inclusion models in Mexico and abroad.
- A database for transit migrants needs to be developed. We suggest creating a database focused on the dynamics of transit migration in Guanajuato as well as on the profiles of migrants and the main needs of those who are in transit through the state. Creation of this database could be done in collaboration with municipal public servants who provide direct assistance and support to transit migrants as well as with Guanajuato's migrant shelters. This information must be focused from the perspective of the human rights of transit migrants and geared towards guiding and evaluating public policy related to transit migration in Guanajuato.

## 5. Quantitative report

### 5.I. TABLES

Table 1: Number of Migrants in Mexico and Central America (2016)

Country	Total Population	Percentage Emigrants	Percentage Immigrants	Remittances US\$ million
<b>Mexico</b>	125.4 million	10.70%	0.90%	US\$ 25,949
<b>Guatemala</b>	16.0 million	6.70%	0.50%	US\$ 6,408
<b>Belize</b>	351.7 thousand	18.00%	14.80%	US\$ 83
<b>El Salvador</b>	6.1 million	25.00%	0.70%	US\$ 4,357
<b>Honduras</b>	8.0 million	8.40%	0.40%	US\$ 3,931
<b>Nicaragua</b>	6.0 million	10.60%	0.70%	US\$ 1,195
<b>Costa Rica</b>	4.8 million	2.80%	8.80%	US\$ 608
<b>Panama</b>	3.9 million	3.80%	4.20%	US\$ 779

Source: *Migration and remittances factbook 2016*. (2016). Washington, DC: World Bank Group. doi:10.1596/978-1-4648-0319-2.

Table 2: Aliens removed from the United States, by Country of Origin (2003-2013)

Country	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Mexico	155,812	175,865	169,031	186,726	208,996	247,263	277,185	273,915	289,347	306,870	314,904
Guatemala	7,726	9,729	14,522	20,527	25,898	27,527	29,641	29,710	30,343	38,677	46,866
Honduras	8,182	8,752	15,572	27,060	29,737	28,885	27,283	25,121	22,028	31,515	36,526
El Salvador	5,561	7,269	8,305	11,050	20,045	20,050	20,844	20,347	17,381	18,677	20,862
Brazil	4,046	6,390	7,097	4,217	4,210	3,836	3,724	3,533	3,350	2,256	1,411
Dominican Rep.	3,472	3,760	3,210	3,107	2,990	3,232	3,576	3,371	2,893	2,833	2,278
Other Countries	26,299	28,900	28,694	28,287	25,506	29,002	29,344	26,268	21,792	15,569	15,574
Total	211,098	240,665	246,431	280,974	317,382	359,795	391,597	382,265	387,134	416,397	438,421

Source: Authors' own, with DHS data.

**Table 3: Cases of Central Americans Deported by  
Mexican Immigration Authority (2012-2014)**

	2011	2012	2013	2014	Total	Percentage
<b>El Salvador</b>	8,820	12,725	14,586	15,153	51,284	16.94%
<b>Guatemala</b>	31,150	35,137	30,231	29,219	125,737	41.54%
<b>Honduras</b>	18,748	29,166	33,079	33,832	114,825	37.94%
<b>Other Countries</b>	2,484	2,615	3,006	2,674	10,779	3.56%
<b>Total</b>	61,202	79,643	80,902	80,878	302,625	100

Source: Authors' own, with data from SEGOB.

**Table 4: Population Living in Municipal Seats, 1970**

Rank	Municipality	Total Population	Population Living in the Municipal Seat	Share of Population Living in Municipal Seat
1	León	420,150	364,990	86.87
2	Moroleón	33,833	25,620	75.72
3	Irapuato	174,728	116,651	66.76
4	Uriangato	23,508	14,626	62.22
5	Salamanca	105,548	61,039	57.83
6	Cortazar	45,566	25,794	56.61
7	Guanajuato	65,324	36,809	56.35
8	Celaya	147,275	79,977	54.30
9	San Francisco del Rincón	50,059	27,079	54.09
10	Pueblo Nuevo	7,832	4,086	52.17
11	Tarandacuao	8,557	4,439	51.88
12	Cuerámara	15,289	7,807	51.06
13	Santa Cruz de Juventino Rosas	31,768	15,859	49.92
14	Santiago Maravatío	6,926	3,405	49.16
15	Silao	71,037	31,825	44.80
16	Jaral del Progreso	19,480	8,689	44.60
17	Villagrán	22,522	9,826	43.63
18	Acámbaro	81,713	32,257	39.48
19	Romita	30,882	11,947	38.69
20	San Miguel Allende	64,794	24,286	37.48
21	San Luis de la Paz	35,954	12,654	35.19
22	Comonfort	34,452	11,558	33.55
23	Apaseo El Alto	28,101	8,668	30.85
24	Purísima del Rincón	17,984	5,351	29.75
25	Tarimoro	27,603	7,691	27.86
26	Ocampo	16,274	4,261	26.18
27	Huanímaro	13,343	3,332	24.97
28	Salvatierra	80,105	18,975	23.69
29	Valle de Santiago	69,856	16,517	23.64
30	Dolores Hidalgo	73,403	16,849	22.95
31	Abasolo	44,192	9,537	21.58
32	San José Iturbide	23,490	5,011	21.33
33	Apaseo El Grande	33,717	7,147	21.20
34	Manuel Doblado	29,738	6,040	20.31
35	Doctor Mora	9,322	1,837	19.71
36	Yuriria	52,465	10,085	19.22
37	San Diego de la Unión	20,672	3,744	18.11
38	San Felipe	57,207	10,129	17.71
39	Coroneo	8,337	1,452	17.42
40	Santa Catarina	3,108	402	12.93
41	Victoria	13,764	1,565	11.37
42	Tierra Blanca	8,428	924	10.96
43	Jerécuaro	37,857	4,043	10.68
44	Pénjamo	90,678	9,245	10.20
45	Xichú	9,377	710	7.57



**Table 5: Male Ratio by Municipality 1970**

Municipality	Men	Women	Total Population	Male Ratio
San Felipe	29,785	27,422	57,207	108.62
Dolores Hidalgo	38,116	35,287	73,403	108.02
Apaseo el Grande	17,507	16,210	33,717	108.00
Salvatierra	41,313	38,792	80,105	106.50
Apaseo el Alto	14,403	13,698	28,101	105.15
Tierra Blanca	4,302	4,126	8,428	104.27
Jerécuaro	19,319	18,538	37,857	104.21
Abasolo	22,541	21,651	44,192	104.11
Ocampo	8,286	7,988	16,274	103.73
Santa Cruz de Juventino Rosas	16,173	15,595	31,768	103.71
Villagrán	11,439	11,083	22,522	103.21
Atarjea	2,105	2,047	4,152	102.83
Guanajuato	33,109	32,215	65,324	102.78
Silao	35,985	35,052	71,037	102.66
San José Iturbide	11,881	11,609	23,490	102.34
Doctor Mora	4,711	4,611	9,322	102.17
Santiago Maravatío	3,498	3,428	6,926	102.04
San Francisco del Rincón	25,260	24,799	50,059	101.86
Purísima del Rincón	9,074	8,910	17,984	101.84
Tarimoro	13,925	13,678	27,603	101.81
Huanímaro	6,721	6,622	13,343	101.50
San Diego de la Unión	10,407	10,265	20,672	101.38
San Luis de la Paz	18,072	17,882	35,954	101.06
Cortazar	22,902	22,664	45,566	101.05
Tarandacuao	4,298	4,259	8,557	100.92
San Miguel Allende	32,531	32,263	64,794	100.83
Romita	15,469	15,413	30,882	100.36
León	210,402	209,748	420,150	100.31
Comonfort	17,210	17,242	34,452	99.81
Santa Catarina	1,552	1,556	3,108	99.74
Salamanca	52,666	52,882	105,548	99.59
Moroleón	16,870	16,963	33,833	99.45
Jaral del Progreso	9,700	9,780	19,480	99.18
Yuriria	26,095	26,370	52,465	98.96
Pueblo Nuevo	3,894	3,938	7,832	98.88
Victoria	6,843	6,921	13,764	98.87
Xichú	4,656	4,721	9,377	98.62
Celaya	73,029	74,246	147,275	98.36
Cuerámbaro	7,573	7,716	15,289	98.15
Acámbaro	40,459	41,254	81,713	98.07
Irapuato	86,086	88,642	174,728	97.12
Valle de Santiago	34,415	35,441	69,856	97.11
Uriangato	11,580	11,928	23,508	97.08
Pénjamo	44,422	46,256	90,678	96.04
Manuel Doblado	14,482	15,256	29,738	94.93
Coroneo	4,057	4,280	8,337	94.79
Total	1,139,123	1,131,247	2,270,370	100.70

Note: The male ratio shows the proportion of males relative to the number of females. It is calculated as follows:  $RM = \text{Number of Men} / \text{Number of Women} * 100$

**Table 6: Rural and Urban Population by Municipality, 2010**

Municipality	Total Population	Rural Population	% Rural Population	Urban Population	% Urban Population
Atarjea	5,610	5,610	100	0	0.00
Santa Catarina	5,090	5,090	100	0	0.00
Tierra Blanca	18,148	18,148	100	0	0.00
Xichú	11,560	11,560	100	0	0.00
Victoria	19,811	17,247	87.06	2,564	12.94
Jerécuaro	50,748	40,282	79.38	10,466	20.62
Doctor Mora	23,321	18,184	77.97	5,137	22.03
San Diego de la Unión	37,076	27,102	73.1	9,974	26.9
Huanímaro	20,066	14,597	72.74	5,469	27.26
Ocampo	22,662	16,178	71.39	6,484	28.61
Pueblo Nuevo	11,154	7,425	66.57	3,729	33.43
Coroneo	11,622	7,661	65.92	3,961	34.08
Abasolo	84,230	53,484	63.5	30,746	36.5
San José Iturbide	72,342	45,628	63.07	26,714	36.93
Pénjamo	149,705	94,072	62.84	55,633	37.16
Romita	56,610	35,443	62.61	21,167	37.39
Manuel Doblado	37,130	23,183	62.44	13,947	37.56
San Felipe	106,925	66,275	61.98	40,650	38.02
Dolores Hidalgo	147,495	88,909	60.28	58,586	39.72
Yuriria	70,320	38,979	55.43	31,341	44.57
Tarimoro	35,448	18,907	53.34	16,541	46.66
San Miguel de Allende	159,558	85,068	53.31	74,490	46.69
Valle de Santiago	140,725	70,309	49.96	70,416	50.04
Cuerámaro	27,179	13,267	48.81	13,912	51.19
San Luis de la Paz	115,521	56,382	48.81	59,139	51.19
Tarandacua	11,614	5,565	47.92	6,049	52.08
Comonfort	77,743	36,909	47.48	40,834	52.52
Apaseo el Alto	64,391	28,920	44.91	35,471	55.09
Santiago Maravatío	6,661	2,850	42.79	3,811	57.21
Silao	172,604	69,588	40.32	103,016	59.68
Apaseo el Grande	85,235	33,161	38.91	52,074	61.09
Acámbaro	108,493	40,971	37.76	67,522	62.24
San Francisco del Rincón	112,685	42,368	37.6	70,317	62.4
Purísima del Rincón	68,630	25,244	36.78	43,386	63.22
Salvatierra	96,799	32,019	33.08	64,780	66.92
Santa Cruz de Juventino Rosas	79,064	25,109	31.76	53,955	68.24
Villagrán	55,611	14,908	26.81	40,703	73.19
Cortazar	88,193	23,315	26.44	64,878	73.56
Jaral del Progreso	36,563	9,559	26.14	27,004	73.86
Salamanca	259,289	65,886	25.41	193,403	74.59
Guanajuato	168,736	41,323	24.49	127,413	75.51
Irapuato	526,800	97,550	18.52	429,250	81.48
Celaya	462,184	61,983	13.41	400,201	86.59
Uriangato	58,660	7,863	13.4	50,797	86.6
Moroleón	48,779	6,158	12.62	42,621	87.38
León	1,428,146	98,496	6.9	1,329,650	93.1
Total	5,456,936	1,648,735	30.21	3,808,201	69.79

Note: According to INEGI, a settlement is considered rural when it has fewer than 2,500 inhabitants, while urban settlements are those with more than 2,500 inhabitants.

**Table 7: Median Yearly Growth Rate by Municipality, 2000-2015**

Municipality	Total population 2000	Total population 2015	MYGR 2000-2015
Purísima del Rincón	44,662	79,798	3.94
San José Iturbide	53,981	78,794	2.55
Silao	133,937	189,567	2.34
León	1,129,286	1,578,626	2.26
Apaseo el Grande	68,110	92,605	2.07
Irapuato	436,718	574,344	1.84
Tierra Blanca	14,455	18,960	1.83
Guanajuato	140,472	184,239	1.82
Celaya	379,338	494,304	1.78
Villagrán	45,689	58,830	1.7
San Miguel de Allende	133,888	171,857	1.68
Santa Cruz de Juventino Rosas	65,259	83,060	1.62
San Luis de la Paz	96,481	121,027	1.52
Comonfort	67,422	82,572	1.36
Doctor Mora	19,863	24,219	1.33
Jaral del Progreso	31,643	38,412	1.3
Salamanca	225,602	273,271	1.29
Apaseo el Alto	56,541	68,455	1.28
San Francisco del Rincón	99,471	119,510	1.23
Uriangato	52,651	62,761	1.18
San Felipe	95,031	113,109	1.17
Cortázar	80,711	95,961	1.16
Dolores Hidalgo	128,562	152,113	1.13
Coroneo	10,287	12,068	1.07
San Diego de la Unión	33,980	39,668	1.04
Santa Catarina	4,509	5,261	1.03
Romita	51,689	59,879	0.99
Abasolo	78,849	90,990	0.96
Pueblo Nuevo	10,366	11,872	0.91
Victoria	17,696	20,166	0.87
Ocampo	20,856	23,528	0.81
Cuerámara	25,478	28,320	0.71
Huanímaro	19,637	21,638	0.65
Valle de Santiago	130,025	142,672	0.62
Moroleón	46,904	50,377	0.48
Salvatierra	93,670	100,391	0.46
Tarandacua	11,471	12,256	0.44
Pénjamo	143,362	150,570	0.33
Xichú	11,283	11,639	0.21
Manuel Doblado	37,965	38,832	0.15
Acámbaro	109,794	112,125	0.14
Atarjea	5,186	5,128	-0.07
Santiago Maravatío	7,083	6,824	-0.25
Yuriria	73,296	69,763	-0.33
Tarimoro	37,198	34,263	-0.55
Jerécuaro	55,011	49,053	-0.76
Total	4,635,368	5,853,677	1.57

**Table 8: Immigration into Guanajuato by State, 2000-2015**

Rank	State	2000		Rank	State	2010		Rank	State	2015	
		Absolute	Relative			Absolute	Relative			Absolute	Relative
1	Mexico City	19,792	21.96	1	Mexico City	18,150	18.62	1	—	12,679	14.33
2	México	18,702	20.75	2	México	14,770	15.16	2	Mexico City	12,087	13.66
3	Jalisco	9,140	10.14	3	Michoacán	10,435	10.71	3	Michoacán	11,977	13.54
4	Michoacán	7,889	8.75	4	Jalisco	9,365	9.61	4	Jalisco	9,230	10.43
5	Querétaro	5,924	6.57	5	Querétaro	8,711	8.94	5	Querétaro	7,565	8.55
Total immigrants		90,112	100	Total immigrants		97,451	100	Total immigrants		88,484	100

Note: The state of origin for internal migrants to Guanajuato refers to their State of Residence in the five years prior to the corresponding census. This state is not necessarily the immigrants' state of origin or birth.

**Table 9: Immigration from bordering area and other regions**

Year	Immigrants from the bordering region	Share of Immigrants coming from the bordering region	Immigrants from other regions	Share of immigrants coming from other regions
2000	61,447	68.19	28,665	31.81
2010	61,431	63.04	36,020	36.96
2015	53,538	60.51	34,946	39.49

Note: The bordering region includes the states of Querétaro, Michoacán, Jalisco, México, and Mexico City..

**Table 10: Interstate immigration by municipality, 2015**

Municipality	Absolute	Relative
León	29,992	33.9
Celaya	10,689	12.08
Irapuato	10,251	11.59
Salamanca	4,479	5.06
Apaseo el Grande	2,814	3.18
Silao	2,618	2.96
San José Iturbide	2,379	2.69
Pénjamo	2,232	2.52
San Francisco del Rincón	1,960	2.22
San Miguel de Allende	1,891	2.14
Guanajuato	1,759	1.99
Acámbaro	1,389	1.57
Purísima del Rincón	1,383	1.56
San Felipe	1,185	1.34
Salvatierra	1,139	1.29
San Luis de la Paz	1,049	1.19
Villagrán	917	1.04
Valle de Santiago	900	1.02
Apaseo el Alto	849	0.96

**Table 10: Interstate immigration by municipality, 2015 (continue)**

Municipality	Absolute	Relative
Uriangato	724	0.82
Cortazar	718	0.81
Dolores Hidalgo	524	0.59
Santa Cruz de Juventino Rosas	490	0.55
Moroleón	485	0.55
Jerécuaro	482	0.54
Yuriria	482	0.54
Romita	480	0.54
Abasolo	467	0.53
Manuel Doblado	453	0.51
Comonfort	415	0.47
Tarandacuao	300	0.34
Ocampo	299	0.34
Jaral del Progreso	289	0.33
Coroneo	259	0.29
Cuerámara	234	0.26
Tierra Blanca	218	0.25
San Diego de la Unión	210	0.24
Huanímaro	205	0.23
Doctor Mora	186	0.21
Victoria	169	0.19
Tarimoro	167	0.19
Xichú	84	0.09
Pueblo Nuevo	81	0.09
Santa Catarina	81	0.09
Atarjea	76	0.09
Santiago Maravatío	31	0.04
Total	88,484	100

**Table 11: Internal emigration by state, 2000-2015**

Entidad	2000		2010		2015	
	Absolutos	Porcentaje	Absolutos	Porcentaje	Absolutos	Porcentaje
Aguascalientes	2,164	3.01	2,661	3.60	2,455	3.57
Baja California	6,344	8.82	5,486	7.42	2,936	4.27
Baja California Sur	343	0.48	1,667	2.26	488	0.71
Campeche	73	0.10	290	0.39	226	0.33
Coahuila de Zaragoza	1,272	1.77	1,607	2.17	1,250	1.82
Colima	512	0.71	949	1.28	1,145	1.67
Chiapas	596	0.83	635	0.86	1,032	1.50
Chihuahua	1,665	2.31	876	1.19	905	1.32
Ciudad de México	6,138	8.53	6,287	8.51	5,408	7.87
Durango	435	0.60	395	0.53	297	0.43

**Table 11: Internal emigration by state, 2000-2015 (continue)**

State	2000		2010		2015	
	Absolute	Percentage	Absolute	Percentage	Absolute	Percentage
Guanajuato	-	-		-	-	0.00
Guerrero	455	0.63	721	0.98	412	0.60
Hidalgo	1,522	2.12	1,900	2.57	1,626	2.37
Jalisco	7,065	9.82	7,905	10.70	6,944	10.11
México	9,823	13.65	8,519	11.53	8,173	11.89
Michoacán de Ocampo	6,497	9.03	6,948	9.40	5,872	8.55
Morelos	823	1.14	337	0.46	630	0.92
Nayarit	500	0.69	589	0.80	822	1.20
Nuevo León	2,771	3.85	2,369	3.21	2,878	4.19
Oaxaca	313	0.44	655	0.89	655	0.95
Puebla	1,232	1.71	1,102	1.49	1,162	1.69
Querétaro	8,633	12.00	9,416	12.74	13,137	19.12
Quintana Roo	879	1.22	761	1.03	828	1.20
San Luis Potosí	3,315	4.61	3,669	4.96	2,488	3.62
Sinaloa	775	1.08	804	1.09	896	1.30
Sonora	1,511	2.10	446	0.60	1,014	1.48
Tabasco	238	0.33	394	0.53	126	0.18
Tamaulipas	2,090	2.90	2,488	3.37	1,375	2.00
Tlaxcala	450	0.63	374	0.51	434	0.63
Veracruz de Ignacio de la Llave	1,857	2.58	2,425	3.28	1,785	2.60
Yucatán	368	0.51	193	0.26	362	0.53
Zacatecas	1,291	1.79	1,042	1.41	954	1.39
Total	71,950	100.00	73,910	100.00	68,715	100.00

**Table 12: Intra-state immigration by municipality, 2015**

Municipalities	Absolute	Relative
León	7,403	15.02
Celaya	5,133	10.41
Irapuato	4,960	10.06
Purísima del Rincón	3,321	6.74
Salamanca	2,819	5.72
Guanajuato	2,777	5.63
San Francisco del Rincón	2,674	5.43
Silao	1,955	3.97
Villagrán	1,640	3.33
Cortazar	1,429	2.9
Valle de Santiago	1,158	2.35
San José Iturbide	1,058	2.15
Uriangato	1,002	2.03
Apaseo el Grande	957	1.94
San Felipe	801	1.63
Dolores Hidalgo	778	1.58
Salvatierra	743	1.51
Moroleón	700	1.42
San Luis de la Paz	661	1.34
Santa Cruz de Juventino Rosas	612	1.24



**Table 12: Intra-state immigration by municipality, 2015 (continue)**

Municipalities	Absolute	Relative
Romita	575	1.17
San Miguel de Allende	571	1.16
Abasolo	529	1.07
Comonfort	473	0.96
Manuel Doblado	435	0.88
Acámbaro	424	0.86
Cuerámara	408	0.83
Pénjamo	402	0.82
Apaseo el Alto	316	0.64
Pueblo Nuevo	314	0.64
Jaral del Progreso	281	0.57
Ocampo	269	0.55
San Diego de la Unión	264	0.54
Doctor Mora	201	0.41
Yuriria	194	0.39
Tarimoro	188	0.38
Huanímaro	174	0.35
Tierra Blanca	146	0.3
Jerécuaro	127	0.26
Tarandacuao	96	0.19
Victoria	90	0.18
Santa Catarina	76	0.15
Coroneo	56	0.11
Santiago Maravatío	50	0.1
Atarjea	25	0.05
Xichú	24	0.05
Total	49,289	100

**Table 13: Male ratio by municipality  
(1970, 1990, 2000, 2010, 2015)**

Municipality	1970	1990	2000	2010	2015
Abasolo	104.11	91.35	89.53	91.43	93.99
Acámbaro	98.07	89.09	88.27	90.48	92.28
Apaseo el Alto	105.15	94.57	91.80	93.74	92.51
Apaseo el Grande	108	94.46	91.02	92.67	92.13
Atarjea	102.83	102.18	92.79	96.02	93.73
Celaya	98.36	93.24	91.21	92.33	92.59
Comonfort	99.81	94.19	88.97	88.07	88.68
Coroneo	94.79	88.81	88.54	87.63	89.12
Cortazar	101.05	93.55	90.47	93.22	92.04
Cuerámara	98.15	89.06	87.97	91.78	91.30
Doctor Mora	102.17	96.36	91.12	91.27	90.75
Dolores Hidalgo	108.02	92.62	89.97	89.23	86.69
Guanajuato	102.78	94.53	93.82	93.08	94.33
Huanímaro	101.5	84.84	85.80	88.06	90.06
Irapuato	97.12	93.46	91.69	92.73	93.60

**Table 13: Male ratio by municipality**  
(1970, 1990, 2000, 2010, 2015) (continue)

Municipality	1970	1990	2000	2010	2015
Jaral del Progreso	99.18	95.33	88.16	93.33	97.03
Jerécuaro	104.21	96.76	92.51	86.33	85.90
León	100.31	95.47	95.59	95.49	96.54
Manuel Doblado	94.93	92.71	88.37	89.53	92.02
Moroleón	99.45	91.90	87.55	89.15	91.02
Ocampo	103.73	93.12	90.69	92.02	92.03
Pénjamo	96.04	90.80	88.96	88.86	91.76
Pueblo Nuevo	98.88	84.04	83.14	87.15	91.14
Purísima del Rincón	101.84	93.45	94.76	96.48	98.84
Romita	100.36	91.95	90.05	92.83	93.86
Salamanca	99.59	94.82	92.00	94.00	92.57
Salvatierra	106.5	88.81	87.52	89.65	89.97
San Diego de la Unión	101.38	94.02	89.82	87.22	85.21
San Felipe	108.62	97.62	90.28	92.32	92.96
San Francisco del Rincón	101.86	92.91	93.29	93.95	92.23
San José Iturbide	102.34	91.88	90.01	91.69	92.87
San Luis de la Paz	101.06	96.07	90.87	89.81	88.78
San Miguel Allende	100.83	95.31	91.61	89.74	92.24
Santa Catarina	99.74	91.26	90.33	88.24	91.66
Santa Cruz de Juventino Rosas	103.71	95.57	91.96	91.82	91.22
Santiago Maravatío	102.04	92.39	84.93	87.42	91.42
Silao	102.66	97.36	95.36	94.23	96.20
Tarandacuao	100.92	91.68	88.17	89.90	89.40
Tarimoro	101.81	90.63	87.56	91.26	95.64
Tierra Blanca	104.27	95.95	91.69	93.15	90.67
Uriangato	100.7	93.14	89.98	91.38	92.47
Valle de Santiago	97.08	93.19	87.80	90.05	89.24
Victoria	97.11	97.31	87.98	89.58	87.77
Villagrán	98.87	95.04	91.00	93.15	94.29
Xichú	103.21	99.69	95.34	91.84	88.85
Yuriria	98.62	86.16	86.32	89.48	90.69
Total	98.96	93.72	91.87	92.67	93.36

Note: The male ratio shows the share of men in relation to the female population. It is calculated as follows: MR = Number of men/Number of women \* 100

**Table 14: Population and median yearly growth rate by Metropolitan Zone  
1990, 2000, 2010 and 2015**

Key	Municipality	Population				Share of State's Population in 2015	Median Yearly Growth Rate (%)			Aarea <sup>1</sup> (km <sup>2</sup> )	MUD <sup>2</sup> (hab/ha)
		1990	2000	2010	2015		1990-2000	2000-2010	2010-2015		
León Metropolitan Zone	León	867,920	1,134,842	1,436,480	1,578,626	26.97	2.70	2.30	2.00	1,221.60	129.40
	Silao	115,130	134,337	173,024	189,567	3.24	1.60	2.50	1.90	538.50	79.20
<b>Total</b>		<b>983,050</b>	<b>1,269,179</b>	<b>1,609,504</b>	<b>1,768,193</b>	<b>30.21</b>	<b>2.60</b>	<b>2.30</b>	<b>2.00</b>	<b>1,760.10</b>	<b>125.90</b>
San Francisco del Rincón Metropolitan Zone	Purísima del Rincón	30,433	44,778	68,795	79,798	1.36	4.00	4.20	3.20	290.70	58.10
	San Francisco del Rincón	83,601	100,239	113,570	119,510	2.04	1.80	1.20	1.10	425.40	68.70
<b>Total</b>		<b>114,034</b>	<b>145,017</b>	<b>182,365</b>	<b>199,308</b>	<b>3.40</b>	<b>2.40</b>	<b>2.20</b>	<b>1.90</b>	<b>716.10</b>	<b>64.70</b>
Moroleón-Uriangato Metropolitan Zone	Moroleón	48,191	47,132	49,364	50,377	0.86	-0.20	0.40	0.40	159.70	69.70
	Uriangato	46,710	52,931	59,305	62,761	1.07	1.30	1.10	1.20	116.30	70.00
<b>Total</b>		<b>94,901</b>	<b>100,063</b>	<b>108,669</b>	<b>113,138</b>	<b>1.93</b>	<b>0.50</b>	<b>0.80</b>	<b>0.90</b>	<b>276.10</b>	<b>69.90</b>
La Piedad-Pénjamo Metropolitan Zone	Pénjamo	137,842	144,426	149,936	150,570	2.57	0.50	0.40	0.10	1,561.10	52.40
	La Piedad	81,162	84,946	99,576	103,702	1.77	0.50	1.50	0.90	284.70	78.20
<b>Total</b>		<b>219,004</b>	<b>229,372</b>	<b>249,512</b>	<b>254,272</b>	<b>4.34</b>	<b>0.50</b>	<b>0.80</b>	<b>0.40</b>	<b>1,845.80</b>	<b>67.80</b>
Celaya Metropolitan Zone	Celaya	310,569	382,958	468,469	494,304	8.44	2.10	2.00	1.10	553.10	90.80
	Comonfort	56,592	67,642	77,794	82,572	1.41	1.80	1.40	1.30	488.70	47.30
	Cortazar*	-	-	-	95,961	1.64	0.90	0.80	1.70	335.20	85.60
	Villagrán	38,680	45,941	55,782	58,830	1.01	1.70	1.90	1.10	128.50	78.80
<b>Total</b>		<b>405,841</b>	<b>496,541</b>	<b>602,045</b>	<b>731,667</b>	<b>12.50</b>	<b>1.90</b>	<b>1.70</b>	<b>1.20</b>	<b>1,505.40</b>	<b>86.10</b>
Guanajuato Metropolitan Zone	Guanajuato	119,170	141,196	171,709	184,239	3.15	1.70	1.90	1.50	1,041.10	83.80
<b>Total</b>		<b>119,170</b>	<b>141,196</b>	<b>171,709</b>	<b>184,239</b>	<b>3.15</b>	<b>1.70</b>	<b>1.90</b>	<b>1.50</b>	<b>1,041.10</b>	<b>83.80</b>
<b>State Total</b>		<b>1,936,000</b>	<b>2,381,368</b>	<b>2,923,804</b>	<b>3,250,817</b>	<b>55.53</b>					

\*The Municipality of Cortazar is part of the Celaya Metropolitan Zone since 2015.

<sup>1</sup>Data for surface area obtained from the Municipal Geo-statistical Areas (AGEM), part of the National Geostatistical Framework 2010.

<sup>2</sup>Median Urban Density: The data used to calculate the MUD was obtained from the urban Basic Geostatistical Areas (AGEB) reported in the Urban Geostatistical Cartography in the Population and Housing Census, 2010

Note: State and municipal borders were compiled from the INEGI geostatistical framework, which separates the national territory into codified area units, called State Geostatistical Areas (AGEE) and Municipal Geostatistical Areas (AGEM) in order to better reference the statistical information from censuses and surveys. These borders follow existing political-administrative borders as closely as possible.

Source: Authors' own using data from CONAPO (2015), Tabulations for the Inter-institutional Group and from General Population and Housing Censuses 1990 and 2000, Population and Housing Census 2010, and Inter-Census Survey 2015.

**Table 15: Historic Region. Migration Statistics. 1925-1980**

	<i>Foerster</i> (1925)	<i>Gamio</i> (1926)	<i>Braceros</i> (1962)	<i>Com.Int.</i> (1974)	<i>CENIET</i> (1978)	<i>CONAPO</i> (1984)	<i>Census</i> (1980)
<b>Region</b>	66.58	71.00	62.21	67.20	63.00	52.50	73.20
<b>Aguascalientes</b>	2.58	1.90	1.71	1.10	1.00	1.16	1.64
<b>Colima</b>	0.20	0.20	0.31		1.00	0.92	0.57
<b>Durango</b>	5.74	5.90	9.42	11.30	4.90	5.94	5.01
<b>Guanajuato</b>	10.78	19.60	13.69	18.50	10.80	8.87	14.82
<b>Jalisco</b>	19.90	14.70	11.21	8.70	14.50	11.75	21.61
<b>Michoacán</b>	14.46	20.00	10.61	7.40	17.60	13.08	14.86
<b>Nayarit</b>	0.67	0.20	0.79	0.40	2.30	2.42	1.63
<b>San Luis Potosí</b>	3.27	3.70	5.12	10.10	3.90	2.62	4.77
<b>Zacatecas</b>	8.99	4.80	9.35	9.70	7.00	5.74	8.29

**Table 16: Historic Region. Migration Statistics, 1987-2000**

	<i>IRCA</i>		<i>EMIF</i>		<i>ENADID</i>	<i>Remittances</i>	<i>Remittances</i>	<i>Census</i>
	1	2	1	2	1993	1995	2000	2000
	1987		1994					
<b>Region</b>	63.30	55.20	51.10	57.46	56.66	53.00	44.69	50.35
<b>Aguascalientes</b>	1.10	1.20	1.46	1.33	4.10	3.10	1.21	1.68
<b>Colima</b>	0.90	0.80	0.71	1.17	7.12	0.70	1.17	0.81
<b>Durango</b>	5.80	5.00	5.33	5.66	7.41	2.10	3.37	3.12
<b>Guanajuato</b>	7.40	6.50	12.93	17.87	5.81	10.20	7.40	10.61
<b>Jalisco</b>	20.00	18.80	8.00	6.87	5.23	12.70	12.02	10.51
<b>Michoacán</b>	14.30	11.50	10.78	10.88	8.63	16.20	9.83	10.93
<b>Nayarit</b>	2.5	2.3	1.31	1.80	5.43	1.6	2.37	1.91
<b>San Luis Potosí</b>	3.30	2.80	3.54	7.36	3.19	3.30	3.84	4.79
<b>Zacatecas</b>	8.00	6.30	7.04	4.52	9.74	3.10	3.48	4.83

Source: Clandestinos by Durand and Massey (2003).

**Table 17: Historic Region. Migration Statistics 2000-2018**

Variable	Emigrants				Return					Remittances			
	2000	2010	2014	2018	2000	2010	2014	2015	2018	2005	2010	2015	2018
<b>Historic Region</b>	<b>46.13</b>	<b>39.61</b>	<b>43.18</b>	<b>41.16</b>	<b>47.07</b>	<b>38.08</b>	<b>35.12</b>	<b>35.56</b>	<b>37.87</b>	<b>34.03</b>	<b>32.65</b>	<b>32.36</b>	<b>31.61</b>
Aguascalientes	1.41	1.32	1.68	0.94	1.57	1.49	2.00	1.62	1.47	1.51	1.40	1.41	1.42
Colima	0.76	0.57	0.62	0.68	1.51	1.24	0.50	1.07	1.19	0.86	0.85	1.00	1.16
Durango	2.66	1.74	1.87	3.18	2.68	2.20	1.99	2.08	2.94	1.86	1.75	2.05	2.22
Guanajuato	10.61	12.48	10.62	7.70	7.78	7.90	8.36	6.66	4.53	7.87	7.96	6.46	5.78
Jalisco	10.39	7.29	5.63	7.91	13.41	8.69	7.26	9.00	9.34	3.54	3.21	3.16	2.58
Michoacán de Ocampo	10.39	8.75	9.92	10.00	10.88	8.32	8.07	7.73	10.11	11.86	10.28	10.53	10.17
Nayarit	1.54	1.02	3.02	2.83	2.45	2.01	1.50	2.04	1.92	1.44	1.54	1.55	1.55
San Luis Potosí	4.25	3.43	6.13	3.80	2.79	2.94	2.72	2.73	2.72	2.54	2.83	3.14	3.55
Zacatecas	4.12	3.01	3.70	4.10	4.00	3.29	2.70	2.63	3.67	2.55	2.83	3.06	3.18

Source: Authors' own, based on General Population and Housing Census 2000 and 2010. Inter-census survey 2015. National Survey on Demographic Dynamics 2014 and 2018. INEGI and Banxico 2000, 2005, 2010, 2015 and 2018.

**Table 18: Persons Who Obtained Permanent Legal Resident Status  
In The United States, 2013-2017**

<b>Place of Birth</b>	<b>2013</b>	<b>2014</b>	<b>2015</b>	<b>2016</b>	<b>2017</b>
Total	990,553	1,016,518	1,051,031	1,183,505	1,127,167
Mexico	135,028	134,052	158,619	174,534	170,581
El Salvador	18,260	19,273	19,487	23,449	25,109
Guatemala	10,224	10,238	11,773	13,002	13,198
Honduras	8,898	8,156	9,274	13,302	11,387
Nicaragua	3,048	2,886	3,324	3,486	3,072
Costa Rica	2,114	1,966	2,029	2,224	2,184
Belize	946	789	772	851	746

Source DHS, Table 21: Persons Naturalized by Region and Country of Birth: Fiscal Years 2013-2017

**Table 19: State Share of National Emigration (individuals)**

<b>State</b>	<b>2000</b>		<b>2010</b>	
	<b>Absolute</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Absolute</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Aguascalientes	16,034	1.41	9,057	1.32
Baja California	15,885	1.40	11,913	1.74
Baja California Sur	1,079	0.10	1,005	0.15
Campeche	1,612	0.14	1,148	0.17
Coahuila de Zaragoza	13,672	1.21	8,057	1.18
Colima	8,659	0.76	3,889	0.57
Chiapas	7,276	0.64	14,471	2.12
Chihuahua	32,762	2.89	19,911	2.91
Ciudad de México	39,595	3.49	17,953	2.63
Durango	30,137	2.66	11,879	1.74
Guanajuato	120,266	10.61	85,368	12.48
Guerrero	57,686	5.09	33,219	4.86
Hidalgo	45,851	4.04	28,109	4.11
Jalisco	117,766	10.39	49,883	7.29
México	92,576	8.17	46,001	6.73
Michoacán de Ocampo	117,750	10.39	59,822	8.75
Morelos	33,846	2.99	14,178	2.07
Nayarit	17,414	1.54	6,984	1.02
Nuevo León	21,049	1.86	8,011	1.17
Oaxaca	44,533	3.93	49,217	7.20
Puebla	54,618	4.82	52,047	7.61
Querétaro	16,503	1.46	17,067	2.50
Quintana Roo	1,519	0.13	1,895	0.28
San Luis Potosí	48,154	4.25	23,424	3.43
Sinaloa	24,873	2.19	8,893	1.30
Sonora	9,643	0.85	9,812	1.43
Tabasco	2,334	0.21	2,945	0.43
Tamaulipas	23,681	2.09	13,054	1.91
Tlaxcala	6,171	0.54	8,011	1.17
Veracruz de Ignacio de la Llave	59,555	5.25	41,826	6.12
Yucatán	4,433	0.39	4,175	0.61
Zacatecas	46,747	4.12	20,605	3.01
Total	1,133,679	100.00	683,829	100.00

Source: Authors' own based on data from the General Population and Housing Census 2000 and 2010. INEGI

**Table 20: Emigration by Region**

Mexican emigrants to the United States. State of Guanajuato (individuals)						
Regions	2000			2010		
Variables	Emigrants	Share of State's Emigration	Emigration Rate	Emigrants	Share of State's Emigration	Emigration Rate
Northeast	7,222	6.01	339.95	6,865	8.04	248.98
North	15,910	13.23	304.19	18,288	21.42	283.18
Center	60,815	50.57	216.93	36,243	42.46	100.09
South	36,319	30.20	424.84	23,972	28.08	256.23
Total	120,266	100.00	273.72	85,368	100.00	155.84

Source: Authors' own based on data from the General Population and Housing Census 2000 and 2010, and the 2015 Inter-census Survey. INEGI

**Table 21: Emigration by Municipality, 2000, 2010**

Mexican emigrants to the United States, State of Guanajuato						
Municipal	2000			2010		
Variables	Emigrants	Share of State Emigration	Emigration Rate	Emigrants	Share of State Emigration	Emigration Rate
Abasolo	4,314	3.59	579.19	2,420	2.83	281.24
Acámbaro	4,954	4.12	478.79	2,426	2.84	221.22
San Miguel de Allende	3,230	2.69	254.43	3,256	3.81	206.11
Apaseo el Alto	2,703	2.25	505.51	3,024	3.54	464.47
Apaseo el Grande	1,675	1.39	258.00	1,920	2.25	227.30
Atarjea	205	0.17	415.54	147	0.17	219.83
Celaya	9,959	8.28	275.97	4,003	4.69	85.39
Manuel Doblado	3,057	2.54	852.97	2,075	2.43	558.41
Comonfort	3,497	2.91	548.75	1,897	2.22	245.40
Coroneo	293	0.24	301.01	492	0.58	415.53
Cortazar	3,404	2.83	445.77	1,136	1.33	130.65
Cuerámbaro	1,335	1.11	556.06	758	0.89	275.85
Doctor Mora	710	0.59	377.83	710	0.83	303.77
Dolores Hidalgo	4,561	3.79	375.56	6,110	7.16	412.00
Guanajuato	1,009	0.84	75.84	1,004	1.18	58.51
Huanímaro	1,554	1.29	842.39	1,014	1.19	510.75
Irapuato	7,968	6.63	191.78	3,505	4.11	66.36
Jaral del Progreso	1,873	1.56	625.32	469	0.55	123.95
Jerécuaro	2,184	1.82	421.65	4,698	5.50	913.87
León	10,642	8.85	99.29	8,588	10.06	59.92
Moroleón	1,089	0.91	246.09	1,170	1.37	233.58
Ocampo	1,354	1.13	685.12	631	0.74	265.77
Pénjamo	2,824	2.35	208.97	2,126	2.49	143.64
Pueblo Nuevo	445	0.37	456.73	472	0.55	413.57
Purísima del Rincón	716	0.60	168.12	927	1.09	135.32
Romita	3,724	3.10	762.62	924	1.08	165.59
Salamanca	4,859	4.04	227.20	1,956	2.29	75.58
Salvatierra	4,780	3.97	539.91	1,374	1.61	143.48
San Diego de la Unión	1,749	1.45	546.40	2,421	2.84	639.40
San Felipe	4,007	3.33	446.09	4,866	5.70	457.67



**Table 21: Emigration by Municipality, 2000, 2010 (continue)**

Mexican emigrants to the United States, State of Guanajuato						
Municipal	2000			2010		
Variables	Emigrants	Share of State Emigration	Emigration Rate	Emigrants	Share of State Emigration	Emigration Rate
San Francisco del Rincón	1,593	1.32	168.70	1,658	1.94	144.27
San José Iturbide	1,224	1.02	236.63	1,090	1.28	147.75
San Luis de la Paz	3,812	3.17	417.28	3,056	3.58	264.32
Santa Catarina	246	0.20	579.25	197	0.23	387.28
Santa Cruz de Juventino Rosas	1,812	1.51	293.19	1,573	1.84	196.60
Santiago Maravatío	656	0.55	982.32	276	0.32	436.50
Silao	2,024	1.68	159.38	3,220	3.77	186.53
Tarandacuao	460	0.38	424.98	204	0.24	193.82
Tarimoro	2,872	2.39	819.59	1,045	1.22	301.91
Tierra Blanca	246	0.20	178.77	447	0.52	246.34
Uriangato	1,711	1.42	342.58	195	0.23	32.11
Valle de Santiago	3,351	2.79	272.55	2,742	3.21	198.19
Victoria	406	0.34	241.85	546	0.64	270.09
Villagrán	1,494	1.24	345.28	398	0.47	73.89
Xichú	373	0.31	344.02	672	0.79	523.57
Yuriria	3,312	2.75	479.72	1,530	1.79	215.72
Total	120,266	100.00	273.72	85,368	100.00	155.84

Source: Authors' own based on data from the General Population and Housing Census 2000 and 2010, and the 2015 Inter-census Survey. INEGI

**Table 22: Emigration Intensity in Guanajuato, 2000-2010**

Emigration Intensity in Guanajuato 2000-2010				
Municipality	2000 Index	2010 Index	2000 Level	2010 Level
Abasolo	0.57594	0.262276	Medium	Low
Acámbaro	0.470239	0.199082	Medium	Low
San Miguel de Allende	0.234046	0.183174	Low	Low
Apaseo el Alto	0.498372	0.455169	Medium	Medium
Apaseo el Grande	0.237804	0.205484	Low	Low
Atarjea	0.40366	0.197626	Medium	Low
Celaya	0.256724	0.056095	Low	Low
Manuel Doblado	0.864168	0.554062	High	Medium
Comonfort	0.543896	0.224541	Medium	Low
Coroneo	0.283082	0.403644	Low	Medium
Cortazar	0.435487	0.103737	Medium	Low
Cuerámbaro	0.551592	0.256598	Medium	Low
Doctor Mora	0.363953	0.285994	Medium	Low
Dolores Hidalgo	0.361569	0.399929	Medium	Medium
Guanajuato	0.046038	0.02779	Low	Low
Huanímaro	0.853027	0.503893	High	Medium
Irapuato	0.168098	0.036053	Low	Low
Jaral del Progreso	0.624506	0.096684	Medium	Low
Jerécuaro	0.410092	0.928273	Medium	High
León	0.070726	0.02928	Low	Low
Moroleón	0.225263	0.212103	Low	Low
Ocampo	0.687454	0.245982	High	Low
Pénjamo	0.186187	0.117417	Low	Low
Pueblo Nuevo	0.447025	0.401587	Medium	Medium
Purísima del Rincón	0.143186	0.108657	Low	Low
Romita	0.769046	0.140518	High	Low
Salamanca	0.205378	0.045767	Low	Low
Salvatierra	0.534587	0.11725	Medium	Low
San Diego de la Unión	0.54142	0.639328	Medium	Medium
San Felipe	0.435824	0.448014	Medium	Medium
San Francisco del Rincón	0.143796	0.11808	Low	Low
San José Iturbide	0.21531	0.121743	Low	Low
San Luis de la Paz	0.405491	0.244464	Medium	Low
Santa Catarina	0.575998	0.373903	Medium	Medium
Santa Cruz de Juventino Rosas	0.274854	0.173172	Low	Low
Santiago Maravatío	1.00034	0.425719	High	Medium
Silao	0.13398	0.162561	Low	Low
Tarandacuao	0.4136	0.170245	Medium	Low
Tarimoro	0.829023	0.28403	High	Low
Tierra Blanca	0.154396	0.225535	Low	Low
Uriangato	0.326848	-1.80E-06	Low	Low
Valle de Santiago	0.25312	0.174837	Low	Low
Victoria	0.22081	0.250534	Low	Low
Villagrán	0.329694	0.043982	Low	Low
Xichú	0.32836	0.517385	Low	Medium
Yuriria	0.471228	0.193295	Medium	Low

Source: Authors' own estimates based on data from the General Population and Housing Census 2000 and 2010. INEGI

**Table 23. International Emigrants to the United States of America, by State, 2014 and 2018**

State	2014		2018	
	Emigrants	National Share	Emigrants	National Share
Aguascalientes	12,021	1.94	8,312	1.29
Baja California	32,100	5.17	20,718	3.21
Baja California Sur	1,312	0.21	1,539	0.24
Campeche	1,053	0.17	1,481	0.23
Coahuila de Zaragoza	16,583	2.67	17,507	2.71
Colima	3,501	0.56	5,058	0.78
Chiapas	11,930	1.92	24,212	3.75
Chihuahua	26,990	4.35	42,418	6.57
Ciudad de México	21,731	3.50	10,556	1.64
Durango	12,789	2.06	20,941	3.24
Guanajuato	64,113	10.33	49,744	7.71
Guerrero	18,662	3.01	20,879	3.23
Hidalgo	20,556	3.31	22,668	3.51
Jalisco	37,241	6.00	63,348	9.81
México	42,917	6.91	21,905	3.39
Michoacán de Ocampo	61,496	9.91	60,079	9.31
Morelos	8,803	1.42	6,688	1.04
Nayarit	15,424	2.48	16,134	2.50
Nuevo León	10,909	1.76	11,644	1.80
Oaxaca	25,413	4.09	28,995	4.49
Puebla	24,619	3.97	19,799	3.07
Querétaro	13,798	2.22	14,764	2.29
Quintana Roo	3,038	0.49	1,273	0.20
San Luis Potosí	29,272	4.72	21,813	3.38
Sinaloa	17,694	2.85	19,328	2.99
Sonora	13,071	2.11	25,886	4.01
Tabasco	2,465	0.40	2,942	0.46
Tamaulipas	16,995	2.74	25,440	3.94
Tlaxcala	4,128	0.66	3,936	0.61
Veracruz de Ignacio de la Llave	25,567	4.12	30,259	4.69
Yucatán	2,980	0.48	1,632	0.25
Zacatecas	21,653	3.49	23,560	3.65
Total	620,824	100.00	645,458	100.00

Source: Authors' own estimates based on data from ENADID, 2018. INEGI.

**Table 24: High Security Consular ID Cards Issued to Guanajuato Natives,  
by U.S. State 2017**

State	Number of Matriculations	Percentage of Matriculations
Texas	24,136	36.40%
California	13,966	21.10%
Illinois	6,431	9.70%
Georgia	2,353	3.60%
Florida	2,296	3.50%
North Carolina	1,701	2.60%
Tennessee	1,082	1.60%
Indiana	1,008	1.50%
Wisconsin	885	1.30%
Colorado	863	1.30%
Utah	802	1.20%
Ohio	759	1.10%
Oklahoma	754	1.10%
Michigan	705	1.10%
Arkansas	702	1.10%
Nevada	623	0.90%
Arizona	604	0.90%
Alabama	535	0.80%
South Carolina	512	0.80%
Oregon	498	0.80%
Idaho	449	0.70%
Pennsylvania	446	0.70%
Virginia	408	0.60%
Missouri	399	0.60%
Kansas	391	0.60%
Nebraska	380	0.60%
Louisiana	355	0.50%
Washington	353	0.50%
Minnesota	341	0.50%
New Mexico	255	0.40%
Iowa	195	0.30%
Kentucky	188	0.30%
Mississippi	172	0.30%
New Jersey	149	0.20%
Maryland	142	0.20%
New York	103	0.20%
Delaware	97	0.10%
Connecticut	45	0.10%
Massachusetts	29	0.00%
Wyoming	29	0.00%
West Virginia	22	0.00%
South Dakota	17	0.00%
Montana	11	0.00%
New Hampshire	6	0.00%
District of Columbia	5	0.00%
Maine	5	0.00%
Rhode Island	5	0.00%
Hawaii	3	0.00%
North Dakota	3	0.00%
Alaska	2	0.00%
Total	66,220	100.00%

Source: Instituto de Mexicanos en el exterior (IIME) Consular ID card database.

**Table 25: Remittances by State, 2018, in millions of dollars and %**

State	Amount	%	State	Amount	%
Michoacán	3,392	10.10%	Durango	805	2.40%
Jalisco	3,287	9.80%	Sinaloa	797	2.40%
Guanajuato	3,064	9.10%	Tamaulipas	793	2.40%
Edo. De México	1,902	5.70%	Morelos	673	2.00%
Oaxaca	1,730	5.20%	Querétaro	660	2.00%
Puebla	1,698	5.10%	Coahuila	585	1.70%
Guerrero	1,615	4.80%	Nayarit	544	1.60%
Mexico City	1,415	4.20%	Sonora	523	1.60%
Veracruz	1,376	4.10%	Aguascalientes	469	1.40%
San Luis Potosí	1,235	3.70%	Colima	320	1.00%
Zacatecas	1,091	3.30%	Tlaxcala	255	0.80%
Chihuahua	983	2.90%	Tabasco	207	0.60%
Nuevo León	947	2.80%	Yucatán	205	0.60%
Hidalgo	901	2.70%	Quintana Roo	165	0.50%
Baja California	880	2.60%	Campeche	79	0.20%
Chiapas	815	2.40%	Baja California Sur	78	0.20%

Source: Instituto de Mexicanos en el exterior (IIME) Consular ID card database.

**Table 26: Income from Remittances, Distribution by Guanajuato State Municipalities, 2018**

Municipality	Total Remittances Received 2018*	Municipality	Total Remittances Received 2018*
León	304.55	Santa Cruz de Juventino Rosas	49.91
Irapuato	190.14	Silao	49.14
Celaya	180.3	Apaseo el Grande	44.34
Dolores Hidalgo	156.39	Abasolo	44.01
San Miguel de Allende	144.75	Cuerámbaro	39.5
San Luis de la Paz	128.62	Guanajuato	38.91
Acámbaro	111.43	Huanímaro	35.13
Valle de Santiago	111.43	Romita	35.1
Salvatierra	101.06	San Diego de la Unión	29.52
S. Francisco del Rincón	98.79	Jaral del Progreso	26.09
Moroleón	97.94	Pueblo Nuevo	23.11
Yuriria	96.54	Coroneo	21.35
Salamanca	96.25	Tarandacua	14.65
San Felipe	95.11	Ocampo	14.51
Apaseo el Alto	91.23	Villagrán	12.14
Pénjamo	87.69	Doctor Mora	12.01
San José Iturbide	74.36	Tierra Blanca	10.26
Manuel Doblado	71.12	Victoria	8.47
Jerécuaro	67.74	Santa Catarina	7.26
Comonfort	61.94	Purísima del Rincón	6.42
Uriangato	57.52	Xichú	3.29
Tarimoro	53.96	Santiago Maravatío	2.21
Cortazar	51.07	Atarjea	0.62

\*Millions of dollars

Source: Authors' own using data from Banco de México. Total: 3,064

**Table 27: States' share of recent immigrants in a National context,  
2000, 2010, 2015**

<b>States' share of National recent immigration</b>						
	<b>2000</b>		<b>2010</b>		<b>2015</b>	
<b>State</b>	<b>Absolute</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Absolute</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Absolute</b>	<b>%</b>
Aguascalientes	590	0.97	2,255	1.48	1,616	1.46
Baja California	9,509	15.59	17,151	11.24	17,190	15.49
Baja California Sur	874	1.43	3,210	2.1	1,258	1.13
Campeche	82	0.13	254	0.17	461	0.42
Coahuila de Zaragoza	1,317	2.16	3,718	2.44	2,582	2.33
Colima	739	1.21	2,275	1.49	1,490	1.34
Chiapas	48	0.08	883	0.58	1,056	0.95
Chihuahua	3,801	6.23	10,004	6.56	6,913	6.23
Ciudad de México	1,760	2.89	2,880	1.89	2,491	2.24
Durango	1,136	1.86	3,370	2.21	1,614	1.45
Guanajuato	3,272	5.37	8,025	5.26	5,942	5.35
Guerrero	1,960	3.21	5,232	3.43	2,910	2.62
Hidalgo	461	0.76	4,068	2.67	3,159	2.85
Jalisco	9,729	15.95	15,730	10.31	11,248	10.14
México	2,104	3.45	7,675	5.03	4,563	4.11
Michoacán de Ocampo	4,874	7.99	11,480	7.52	8,174	7.37
Morelos	990	1.62	3,335	2.19	2,336	2.11
Nayarit	1,460	2.39	3,302	2.16	2,612	2.35
Nuevo León	1,866	3.06	2,635	1.73	1,798	1.62
Oaxaca	823	1.35	4,325	2.83	4,032	3.63
Puebla	1,721	2.82	4,486	2.94	3,655	3.29
Querétaro	497	0.82	1,941	1.27	1,346	1.21
Quintana Roo	596	0.98	911	0.6	770	0.69
San Luis Potosí	1,058	1.74	3,560	2.33	2,267	2.04
Sinaloa	1,147	1.88	3,700	2.42	2,449	2.21
Sonora	2,315	3.8	7,944	5.21	5,722	5.16
Tabasco	9	0.01	429	0.28	244	0.22
Tamaulipas	3,494	5.73	8,209	5.38	3,436	3.1
Tlaxcala	211	0.35	583	0.38	516	0.47
Veracruz de Ignacio de la Llave	467	0.77	4,477	2.93	3,183	2.87
Yucatán	338	0.55	661	0.43	1,011	0.91
Zacatecas	1,730	2.84	3,885	2.55	2,922	2.63
<b>Total</b>	<b>60,978</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>152,593</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>110,966</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Authors' own, based on data from General Population and Housing Census 2000 and 2010. Inter-census Survey 2015. INEGI



**Table 28: Recent Immigrants, Guanajuato by Region, 2000, 2010, 2015**

Recent immigrants born in the United States, State of Guanajuato									
Regions	2000			2010			2015		
Variables	Immigrants	Share of State Immigration	Immigration Rate	Immigrants	Share of State Immigration	Immigration Rate	Immigrants	Share of State Immigration	Immigration Rate
Northeast	66	2.02	3.11	376	4.69	13.64	290	4.88	10.15
North	562	17.18	10.74	1110	13.83	17.19	1629	27.42	23.71
Center	1185	36.22	4.23	3735	46.54	10.31	2799	47.11	7.10
South	1459	44.59	17.07	2804	34.94	29.97	1224	20.60	12.72
Total	3272	100.00	7.45	8025	100.00	14.65	5942	100.00	10.11

Source: Authors' own, based on data from General Population and Housing Census 2000 and 2010. Inter-census Survey 2015. INEGI

**Table 29: Recent Immigrants to Guanajuato, by Municipality, 2000, 2010, 2015**

Recent immigrants born in the United States. State of Guanajuato									
Municipality	2000			2010			2015		
Variables	Immigrants	Share of State Immigration	Immigration Rate	Immigrants	Share of State Immigration	Immigration Rate	Immigrants	Share of State Immigration	Immigration Rate
Abasolo	110	3.36	1.48	351	4.37	4.08	143	2.41	1.57
Acámbaro	422	12.90	4.08	232	2.89	2.12	148	2.49	1.32
San Miguel de Allende	305	9.32	2.40	587	7.31	3.72	1149	19.34	6.65
Apaseo el Alto	24	0.73	0.45	172	2.14	2.64	113	1.90	1.65
Apaseo el Grande	-	0.00	0.00	72	0.90	0.85	147	2.47	1.58
Atarjea	-	0.00	0.00	6	0.07	0.90	-	0.00	0.00
Celaya	120	3.67	0.33	466	5.81	0.99	284	4.78	0.57
Manuel Doblado	6	0.18	0.17	176	2.19	4.74	70	1.18	1.80
Comonfort	28	0.86	0.44	68	0.85	0.88	162	2.73	1.95
Coroneo	5	0.15	0.51	54	0.67	4.56	10	0.17	0.83
Cortázar	53	1.62	0.69	115	1.43	1.32	188	3.16	1.95
Cuerámara	36	1.10	1.50	83	1.03	3.02	59	0.99	2.08
Doctor Mora	4	0.12	0.21	87	1.08	3.72	50	0.84	2.06
Dolores Hidalgo	58	1.77	0.48	181	2.26	1.22	225	3.79	1.48
Guanajuato	66	2.02	0.50	127	1.58	0.74	36	0.61	0.19
Huanímara	71	2.17	3.85	75	0.93	3.78	44	0.74	2.02
Irapuato	308	9.41	0.74	323	4.02	0.61	626	10.54	1.08
Jaral del Progreso	66	2.02	2.20	18	0.22	0.48	46	0.77	1.20
Jerécuara	30	0.92	0.58	215	2.68	4.18	64	1.08	1.31
León	254	7.76	0.24	1248	15.55	0.87	502	8.45	0.32
Moroleón	73	2.23	1.65	56	0.70	1.12	78	1.31	1.55
Ocampo	79	2.41	4.00	44	0.55	1.85	65	1.09	2.76
Pénjama	302	9.23	2.23	118	1.47	0.80	66	1.11	0.44
Pueblo Nuevo	12	0.37	1.23	28	0.35	2.45	26	0.44	2.18
Purísima del Rincón	16	0.49	0.38	177	2.21	2.58	92	1.55	1.14
Romita	45	1.38	0.92	80	1.00	1.43	121	2.04	2.01
Salamanca	51	1.56	0.24	272	3.39	1.05	139	2.34	0.51
Salvatierra	52	1.59	0.59	307	3.83	3.21	130	2.19	1.29
San Diego de la Unión	17	0.52	0.53	83	1.03	2.19	42	0.71	1.06
San Felipe	37	1.13	0.41	88	1.10	0.83	112	1.88	0.99
S. Francisco del Rincón	147	4.49	1.56	175	2.18	1.52	115	1.94	0.96
San José Iturbide	43	1.31	0.83	83	1.03	1.13	97	1.63	1.23
San Luis de la Paz	13	0.40	0.14	103	1.28	0.89	103	1.73	0.85

**Table 29: Recent Immigrants to Guanajuato, by Municipality, 2000, 2010, 2015 (continue)**

Recent immigrants born in the United States. State of Guanajuato									
Municipality	2000			2010			2015		
Variables	Immi-grants	Share of State Immigration	Immigration Rate	Immi-grants	Share of State Immigration	Immigration Rate	Immi-grants	Share of State Immigration	Immigration Rate
Santa Catarina	6	0.18	1.41	15	0.19	2.95	19	0.32	3.60
Santa Cruz Juventino Rosas	11	0.34	0.18	72	0.90	0.90	92	1.55	1.11
Santiago Maravatio	13	0.40	1.95	30	0.37	4.74	19	0.32	2.77
Silao	21	0.64	0.17	230	2.87	1.33	96	1.62	0.50
Tarandacuao	10	0.31	0.92	38	0.47	3.61	30	0.50	2.42
Tarimoro	41	1.25	1.17	170	2.12	4.91	46	0.77	1.34
Tierra Blanca	-	0.00	0.00	38	0.47	2.09	6	0.10	0.32
Uriangato	71	2.17	1.42	45	0.56	0.74	65	1.09	1.03
Valle de Santiago	96	2.93	0.78	543	6.77	3.92	72	1.21	0.50
Victoria	-	0.00	0.00	-	0.00	0.00	11	0.19	0.55
Villagrán	-	0.00	0.00	77	0.96	1.43	30	0.50	0.51
Xichú	-	0.00	0.00	44	0.55	3.43	4	0.07	0.35
Yuriria	150	4.58	2.17	453	5.64	6.39	200	3.37	2.87
Total	3272	100.00	0.74	8025	100.00	146	5942	100.00	1.01

Source: Authors' own, based on data from General Population and Housing Census 2000 and 2010. Inter-census Survey 2015. INEGI

**Table 30: Distribution by Age and Gender Groups. Guanajuato Immigrants.**  
Distribution by age and gender groups of the immigrant population in the State of Guanajuato

Distribution by age and gender groups of the immigrant population in the State of Guanajuato .						
	2000		2010		2015	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Age 5 to 9	1,066	948	2,359	2,004	1,445	1,317
Age 10 to 14	266	198	1050	717	532	441
Age 15 to 19	33	118	635	225	169	230
Age 20 to 24	19	23	40	119	125	159
Age 25 to 29	37	32	38	122	76	61
Age 30 to 34	52	21	51	54	44	92
Age 35 to 39	19	15	49	51	60	35
Age 40 to 44	1	24	59	49	22	62
Age 45 to 49	16	28	12	47	34	16
Age 50 to 54	14	36	12	14	38	34
Age 55 to 59	36	50	42	47	49	37
Age 60 to 64	54	78	33	55	66	89
Age 65 to 69	0	0	45	30	123	108
Age 70 to 74	0	44	14	22	96	117
Age 75 and above	44	0	10	20	134	131

Source: Authors' own, based on data from General Population and Housing Census 2000 and 2010. Inter-census Survey 2015. INEGI

**Table 31: Recent Immigrants Born in the United States Between Ages 5 and 14, by Region and Year 2000, 2010 y 2015**

Recent Immigrants born in the United States (age 5-14). State of Guanajuato									
Regions	2000			2010			2015		
Variable	Immigrants	Share of State immigration	Immigration Rate	Immigrants	Share of State immigration	Immigration Rate	Immigrants	Share of State immigration	Immigration Rate
Northeast	53	2.14	0.25	353	5.76	1.28	248	6.65	0.87
North	249	10.05	0.48	590	9.62	0.91	333	8.93	0.48
Center	955	38.54	0.34	2,742	44.73	0.76	2,180	58.48	0.55
South	1,221	49.27	1.43	2,445	39.89	2.61	967	25.94	1.01
Total	2,478	100.00	0.56	6,130	100.00	1.12	3,728	100.00	0.63

Source: Authors' own, based on data from General Population and Housing Census 2000 and 2010. Inter-census Survey 2015. INEGI

**Table 32: Recent Immigrants, U.S.-born, Between Ages 5 and 14, by Municipality, Years 2000, 2010 and 2020**

Recent immigrants born in the United States (ages 5-14). State of Guanajuato									
Municipality	2000			2010			2015		
Variables	Immigrants	Share of State immigration	Immigration Rate	Immigrants	Share of State immigration	Immigration Rate	Immigrants	Share of State immigration	Immigration Rate
Abasolo	110	4.44	1.48	351	5.73	4.08	121	3.25	1.33
Acámbaro	395	15.94	3.82	201	3.28	1.83	93	2.49	0.83
San Miguel de Allende	67	2.70	0.53	128	2.09	0.81	24	0.64	0.14
Apaseo el Alto	24	0.97	0.45	172	2.81	2.64	82	2.20	1.19
Apaseo el Grande	-	0.00	0.00	72	1.17	0.85	135	3.62	1.45
Atarjea	-	0.00	0.00	6	0.10	0.90	-	0.00	0.00
Celaya	28	1.13	0.08	349	5.69	0.74	157	4.21	0.32
Manuel Doblado	6	0.24	0.17	128	2.09	3.44	61	1.64	1.57
Comonfort	28	1.13	0.44	68	1.11	0.88	146	3.92	1.76
Coroneo	5	0.20	0.51	54	0.88	4.56	10	0.27	0.83
Cortazar	41	1.65	0.54	73	1.19	0.84	177	4.75	1.83
Cuerámaro	31	1.25	1.29	69	1.13	2.51	43	1.15	1.52
Doctor Mora	4	0.16	0.21	68	1.11	2.91	40	1.07	1.65
Dolores Hidalgo	58	2.34	0.48	168	2.74	1.13	131	3.51	0.86
Guanajuato	1	0.04	0.01	92	1.50	0.54	13	0.35	0.07
Huanímaro	62	2.50	3.36	65	1.06	3.27	38	1.02	1.75
Irapuato	286	11.54	0.69	209	3.41	0.40	548	14.70	0.95
Jaral del Progreso	64	2.58	2.14	18	0.29	0.48	36	0.97	0.94
Jerécuaro	30	1.21	0.58	215	3.51	4.18	60	1.61	1.23
León	188	7.59	0.18	807	13.16	0.56	311	8.34	0.20
Moroleón	30	1.21	0.68	42	0.69	0.84	51	1.37	1.01
Ocampo	69	2.78	3.49	40	0.65	1.68	50	1.34	2.13
Pénjamo	177	7.14	1.31	118	1.92	0.80	59	1.58	0.39
Pueblo Nuevo	7	0.28	0.72	28	0.46	2.45	24	0.64	2.02
Purísima del Rincón	16	0.65	0.38	137	2.23	2.00	73	1.96	0.91
Romita	45	1.82	0.92	50	0.82	0.90	102	2.74	1.70

**Table 32: Recent Immigrants, U.S.-born, Between Ages 5 and 14, by Municipality, Years 2000, 2010 and 2020 (continue)**

Recent immigrants born in the United States (ages 5-14). State of Guanajuato									
Municipality	2000			2010			2015		
Variables	Immigrants	Share of State immigration	Immigration Rate	Immigrants	Share of State immigration	Immigration Rate	Immigrants	Share of State immigration	Immigration Rate
Salamanca	51	2.06	0.24	210	3.43	0.81	130	3.49	0.47
Salvatierra	52	2.10	0.59	279	4.55	2.91	101	2.71	1.00
San Diego de la Unión	17	0.69	0.53	74	1.21	1.95	42	1.13	1.06
San Felipe	37	1.49	0.41	88	1.44	0.83	73	1.96	0.64
San Francisco del Rincón	126	5.08	1.33	133	2.17	1.16	87	2.33	0.73
San José Iturbide	43	1.74	0.83	83	1.35	1.13	91	2.44	1.15
San Luis de la Paz	-	0.00	0.00	103	1.68	0.89	80	2.15	0.66
Santa Catarina	6	0.24	1.41	15	0.24	2.95	16	0.43	3.03
Santa Cruz de Juventino Rosas	11	0.44	0.18	64	1.04	0.80	87	2.33	1.04
Santiago Maravatío	13	0.52	1.95	26	0.42	4.11	15	0.40	2.19
Silao	17	0.69	0.13	158	2.58	0.92	59	1.58	0.31
Tarandacuao	10	0.40	0.92	38	0.62	3.61	26	0.70	2.10
Tarimoro	30	1.21	0.86	157	2.56	4.54	37	0.99	1.08
Tierra Blanca	-	0.00	0.00	38	0.62	2.09	6	0.16	0.32
Uriangato	71	2.87	1.42	45	0.73	0.74	47	1.26	0.75
Valle de Santiago	72	2.91	0.59	463	7.55	3.35	63	1.69	0.44
Victoria	-	0.00	0.00	-	0.00	0.00	11	0.30	0.55
Villagrán	-	0.00	0.00	65	1.06	1.21	13	0.35	0.22
Xichú	-	0.00	0.00	40	0.65	3.12	4	0.11	0.35
Yuriria	150	6.05	2.17	323	5.27	4.55	155	4.16	2.22
Total	2,478	100.00	0.56	6,130	100.00	1.12	3,728	100.00	0.63

Source: Authors' own, based on data from General Population and Housing Census 2000 and 2010. Inter-census Survey 2015. INEGI

**Table 33: International Immigrants, Accumulated and Recent, USA and Other Countries, 2000, 2010, 2015**

		Absolute			Rate per 1000 inhabitants		
		Born in another country	Born in the USA	Born in a country other than the USA	Born in another country	Born in the USA	Born in a country other than the USA
2000	Accumulated	17,760	14,868	2,892	4.04	3.38	0.66
	Recent	4,501	3,324	1,177	1.02	0.76	0.27
2010	Accumulated	37,269	32,025	5,244	6.80	5.85	0.96
	Recent	9,521	8,052	1,469	1.74	1.47	0.27
2015	Accumulated	37,979	31,030	6,949	6.46	5.28	1.18
	Recent	8,463	6,285	2,178	1.44	1.07	0.37

Source: Authors' own, based on data from General Population and Housing Census 2000 and 2010. Inter-census Survey 2015. INEGI

Note: in this table we distinguish between the accumulated and recent immigrants, those who arrived during the five-year period before the census, and so too for the regions. However, in the case of municipalities, data on Recent immigrants will be available in the database. In this text we will refer to recent immigrants whenever it is appropriate.

**Table 34: Foreign Population in Guanajuato, by Region, Accumulated and Recent, 2000,2010 and 2015**

			Absolutes			State share			Rates per 1000 inhabitants		
		Region	Born in another country	Born in the USA	Born in a country other than the USA	Born in another country	Born in the USA	Born in a country other than the USA	Born in another country	Born in the USA	Born in a country other than the USA
2000	Accumulated	Northeast	459	450	9	2.58	3.03	0.31	2.16	2.12	0.04
		North	3,100	2,356	744	17.45	15.85	25.73	5.93	4.50	1.42
		Center	8,670	6,986	1,684	48.82	46.99	58.23	3.09	2.49	0.60
		South	5,531	5,076	455	31.14	34.14	15.73	6.47	5.94	0.53
		Total	17,760	14,868	2,892	100.00	100.00	100.00	4.04	3.38	0.66
	Recent	Northeast	66	66	-	1.47	1.99	0.00	0.31	0.31	-
		North	881	572	309	19.57	17.21	26.25	1.68	1.09	0.59
		Center	1,678	1,222	456	37.28	36.76	38.74	0.60	0.44	0.16
		South	1,876	1,464	412	41.68	44.04	35.00	2.19	1.71	0.48
		Total	4,501	3,324	1,177	100.00	100.00	100.00	1.02	0.76	0.27
2010	Accumulated	Northeast	1,781	1,771	10	4.78	5.53	0.19	6.46	6.42	0.04
		North	5,135	4,332	803	13.78	13.53	15.31	7.95	6.71	1.24
		Center	19,534	15,285	4,249	52.41	47.73	81.03	5.39	4.22	1.17
		South	10,819	10,637	182	29.03	33.21	3.47	11.56	11.37	0.19
		Total	37269	32025	5244	100	100	100	6.80	5.85	0.96
	Recent	Northeast	382	376	6	4.01	4.67	0.41	1.39	1.36	0.02
		North	1327	1,137	190	13.94	14.12	12.93	2.05	1.76	0.29
		Center	4966	3,735	1,231	52.16	46.39	83.80	1.37	1.03	0.34
		South	2846	2,804	42	29.89	34.82	2.86	3.04	3.00	0.04
		Total	9521	8052	1469	100	100	100	1.74	1.47	0.27
2015	Accumulated	Northeast	1681	1615	66	4.43	5.20	0.95	5.88	5.65	0.23
		North	6925	5833	1092	18.23	18.80	15.71	10.08	8.49	1.59
		Center	20498	14985	5513	53.97	48.29	79.34	5.20	3.80	1.40
		South	8875	8597	278	23.37	27.71	4.00	9.22	8.94	0.29
		Total	37979	31030	6949	100	100	100	6.46	5.28	1.18
	Recent	Northeast	338	310	28	3.99	4.93	1.29	1.18	1.08	0.10
		North	2135	1741	394	25.23	27.70	18.09	3.11	2.53	0.57
		Center	4581	2929	1652	54.13	46.60	75.85	1.16	0.74	0.42
		South	1409	1305	104	16.65	20.76	4.78	1.46	1.36	0.11
		Total	8463	6285	2178	100.00	100.00	100.00	1.44	1.07	0.37

Source: Authors' own, based on data from General Population and Housing Census 2000 and 2010. Inter-census Survey 2015. INEGI

**Table 35: Foreigners Registered in Guanajuato, accumulated, 2000**

Municipality	Absolute			State share			Rate per 1000 inhabitants		
	Born in another country	Born in the USA	Born in a country other than USA	Born in another country	Born in the USA	Born in a country other than USA	Born in another country	Born in the USA	Born in a country other than USA
Abasolo	365	351	14	2.06	2.36	0.48	4.90	4.71	0.19
Acámbaro	1,351	1,299	52	7.61	8.74	1.80	13.06	12.55	0.50
San Miguel de Allende	1,509	1,102	407	8.50	7.41	14.07	11.89	8.68	3.21
Apaseo el Alto	138	138	-	0.78	0.93	-	2.58	2.58	0.00
Apaseo el Grande	172	153	19	0.97	1.03	0.66	2.65	2.36	0.29
Atarjea	3	3	-	0.02	0.02	-	0.61	0.61	0.00
Celaya	1,107	911	196	6.23	6.13	6.78	3.07	2.52	0.54
Manuel Doblado	179	169	10	1.01	1.14	0.35	4.99	4.72	0.28
Comonfort	182	165	17	1.02	1.11	0.59	2.86	2.59	0.27
Coroneo	27	27	-	0.15	0.18	-	2.77	2.77	0.00
Cortazar	404	359	45	2.27	2.41	1.56	5.29	4.70	0.59
Cuerámara	120	113	7	0.68	0.76	0.24	5.00	4.71	0.29
Doctor Mora	40	40	-	0.23	0.27	-	2.13	2.13	0.00
Dolores Hidalgo Cuna de la Independencia Nacional	212	212	-	1.19	1.43	-	1.75	1.75	0.00
Guanajuato	771	448	323	4.34	3.01	11.17	5.80	3.37	2.43
Huanímaro	179	174	5	1.01	1.17	0.17	9.70	9.43	0.27
Irapuato	1,647	1,215	432	9.27	8.17	14.94	3.96	2.92	1.04
Jaral del Progreso	90	90	-	0.51	0.61	-	3.00	3.00	0.00
Jerécuaro	140	140	-	0.79	0.94	-	2.70	2.70	0.00
León	2,727	1,948	779	15.35	13.10	26.94	2.54	1.82	0.73
Moroleón	318	299	19	1.79	2.01	0.66	7.19	6.76	0.43
Ocampo	417	417	-	2.35	2.80	-	21.10	21.10	0.00
Pénjamo	657	657	-	3.70	4.42	-	4.86	4.86	0.00
Pueblo Nuevo	44	44	-	0.25	0.30	-	4.52	4.52	0.00
Purísima del Rincón	87	75	12	0.49	0.50	0.41	2.04	1.76	0.28
Romita	177	167	10	1.00	1.12	0.35	3.62	3.42	0.20
Salamanca	526	421	105	2.96	2.83	3.63	2.46	1.97	0.49
Salvatierra	545	545	-	3.07	3.67	-	6.16	6.16	0.00
San Diego de la Unión	49	49	-	0.28	0.33	-	1.53	1.53	0.00
San Felipe	142	128	14	0.80	0.86	0.48	1.58	1.43	0.16
San Francisco del Rincón	751	682	69	4.23	4.59	2.39	7.95	7.22	0.73
San José Iturbide	194	186	8	1.09	1.25	0.28	3.75	3.60	0.15
San Luis de la Paz	91	91	-	0.51	0.61	-	1.00	1.00	0.00
Santa Catarina	32	31	1	0.18	0.21	0.03	7.53	7.30	0.24
Santa Cruz de Juventino Rosas	91	91	-	0.51	0.61	-	1.47	1.47	0.00
Santiago Maravatío	140	140	-	0.79	0.94	-	20.96	20.96	0.00
Silao	235	235	-	1.32	1.58	-	1.85	1.85	0.00
Tarandacuao	82	78	4	0.46	0.52	0.14	7.58	7.21	0.37
Tarimoro	302	302	-	1.70	2.03	-	8.62	8.62	0.00
Tierra Blanca	3	3	-	0.02	0.02	-	0.22	0.22	0.00
Uriangato	438	419	19	2.47	2.82	0.66	8.77	8.39	0.38
Valle de Santiago	605	280	325	3.41	1.88	11.24	4.92	2.28	2.64
Victoria	83	83	-	0.47	0.56	-	4.94	4.94	0.00
Villagrán	34	34	-	0.19	0.23	-	0.79	0.79	0.00
Xichú	13	13	-	0.07	0.09	-	1.20	1.20	0.00
Yuriria	341	341	-	1.92	2.29	-	4.94	4.94	0.00
Total	17,760	14,868	2,892	100	100	100	4.04	3.38	0.66

Source: Authors' own, based on data from General Population and Housing Census 2000 and 2010. Inter-census Survey 2015. INEGI



**Table 36: Foreigners registered in Guanajuato by Municipality, accumulated 2010**

Municipality	Absolute			State share			Rate per 1000 inhabitants		
	Born in another country	Born in the USA	Born in a country other than USA	Born in another country	Born in the USA	Born in a country other than USA	Born in another country	Born in the USA	Born in a country other than USA
Abasolo	1,166	1,145	21	3.13	3.58	0.40	13.55	13.31	0.24
Acámbaro	939	920	19	2.52	2.87	0.36	8.56	8.39	0.17
San Miguel de Allende	2,354	1,826	528	6.32	5.70	10.07	14.90	11.56	3.34
Apaseo el Alto	868	868	-	2.33	2.71	0.00	13.33	13.33	0.00
Apaseo el Grande	420	400	20	1.13	1.25	0.38	4.97	4.74	0.24
Atarjea	48	45	3	0.13	0.14	0.06	7.18	6.73	0.45
Celaya	2,734	2,294	440	7.34	7.16	8.39	5.83	4.89	0.94
Manuel Doblado	622	613	9	1.67	1.91	0.17	16.74	16.50	0.24
Comonfort	449	404	45	1.20	1.26	0.86	5.81	5.23	0.58
Coroneo	137	137	-	0.37	0.43	0.00	11.57	11.57	0.00
Cortazar	438	422	16	1.18	1.32	0.31	5.04	4.85	0.18
Cuerámaro	391	391	-	1.05	1.22	0.00	14.23	14.23	0.00
Doctor Mora	292	287	5	0.78	0.90	0.10	12.49	12.28	0.21
Dolores Hidalgo Cuna de la Independencia Nacional	1,076	1,039	37	2.89	3.24	0.71	7.26	7.01	0.25
Guanajuato	601	404	197	1.61	1.26	3.76	3.50	2.35	1.15
Huanímaro	208	208	-	0.56	0.65	0.00	10.48	10.48	0.00
Irapuato	3,044	1,361	1,683	8.17	4.25	32.10	5.76	2.58	3.19
Jaral del Progreso	252	252	-	0.68	0.79	0.00	6.66	6.66	0.00
Jerécuaro	839	839	-	2.25	2.62	0.00	16.32	16.32	0.00
León	6,260	4,622	1,638	16.80	14.43	31.24	4.37	3.23	1.14
Moroleón	446	404	42	1.20	1.26	0.80	8.90	8.07	0.84
Ocampo	241	231	10	0.65	0.72	0.19	10.15	9.73	0.42
Pénjamo	509	482	27	1.37	1.51	0.51	3.44	3.26	0.18
Pueblo Nuevo	136	132	4	0.36	0.41	0.08	11.92	11.57	0.35
Purísima del Rincón	510	510	-	1.37	1.59	0.00	7.44	7.44	0.00
Romita	171	171	-	0.46	0.53	0.00	3.06	3.06	0.00
Salamanca	847	835	12	2.27	2.61	0.23	3.27	3.23	0.05
Salvatierra	1,384	1,384	-	3.71	4.32	0.00	14.45	14.45	0.00
San Diego de la Unión	236	228	8	0.63	0.71	0.15	6.23	6.02	0.21
San Felipe	627	604	23	1.68	1.89	0.44	5.90	5.68	0.22
San Francisco del Rincón	1,101	835	266	2.95	2.61	5.07	9.58	7.27	2.31
San José Iturbide	516	516	-	1.38	1.61	0.00	6.99	6.99	0.00
San Luis de la Paz	571	571	-	1.53	1.78	0.00	4.94	4.94	0.00
Santa Catarina	89	88	1	0.24	0.27	0.02	17.50	17.30	0.20
Santa Cruz de Juventino Rosas	371	357	14	1.00	1.11	0.27	4.64	4.46	0.17
Santiago Maravatío	110	110	-	0.30	0.34	0.00	17.40	17.40	0.00
Silao	1,196	1,081	115	3.21	3.38	2.19	6.93	6.26	0.67
Tarandacuao	188	182	6	0.50	0.57	0.11	17.86	17.29	0.57
Tarimoro	644	644	-	1.73	2.01	0.00	18.61	18.61	0.00
Tierra Blanca	93	93	-	0.25	0.29	0.00	5.13	5.13	0.00
Uriangato	495	465	30	1.33	1.45	0.57	8.15	7.66	0.49
Valle de Santiago	1,657	1,648	9	4.45	5.15	0.17	11.98	11.91	0.07
Victoria	68	68	-	0.18	0.21	0.00	3.36	3.36	0.00
Villagrán	229	229	-	0.61	0.72	0.00	4.25	4.25	0.00
Xichú	104	104	-	0.28	0.32	0.00	8.10	8.10	0.00
Yuriria	1,592	1,577	15	4.27	4.92	0.29	22.45	22.23	0.21
Total	37,269	32,026	5,243	100	100	100	6.80	5.85	0.96

Source: Authors' own, based on data from General Population and Housing Census 2000 and 2010. Inter-census Survey 2015. INEGI

**Table 37: Foreigners Registered in Guanajuato, Accumulated 2015 (continue)**

Municipality	Absolute			State share			Rate per 1000 inhabitants		
	Born in another country	Born in the USA	Born in a country other than USA	Born in another country	Born in the USA	Born in a country other than USA	Born in another country	Born in the USA	Born in a country other than USA
Abasolo	680	675	5	1.79	2.18	0.07	7.45	7.39	0.05
Acámbaro	911	881	30	2.40	2.84	0.43	8.11	7.85	0.27
San Miguel de Allende	4,360	3,483	877	11.48	11.22	12.62	25.24	20.16	5.08
Apaseo el Alto	639	624	15	1.68	2.01	0.22	9.31	9.09	0.22
Apaseo el Grande	525	478	47	1.38	1.54	0.68	5.64	5.13	0.50
Atarjea	19	19	-	0.05	0.06	-	3.77	3.77	0.00
Celaya	2,560	1,700	860	6.74	5.48	12.38	5.16	3.43	1.73
Manuel Doblado	483	480	3	1.27	1.55	0.04	12.40	12.33	0.08
Comonfort	629	609	20	1.66	1.96	0.29	7.59	7.35	0.24
Coroneo	91	91	-	0.24	0.29	-	7.53	7.53	0.00
Cortazar	614	586	28	1.62	1.89	0.40	6.36	6.07	0.29
Cuerámbaro	382	380	2	1.01	1.22	0.03	13.46	13.39	0.07
Doctor Mora	210	201	9	0.55	0.65	0.13	8.65	8.28	0.37
Dolores Hidalgo Cuna de la Independencia Nacional	700	693	7	1.84	2.23	0.10	4.59	4.55	0.05
Guanajuato	622	426	196	1.64	1.37	2.82	3.36	2.30	1.06
Huanímaro	269	269	-	0.71	0.87	-	12.36	12.36	0.00
Irapuato	2,840	1,868	972	7.48	6.02	13.99	4.92	3.24	1.68
Jaral del Progreso	273	256	17	0.72	0.83	0.24	7.10	6.66	0.44
Jerécuaro	323	302	21	0.85	0.97	0.30	6.60	6.17	0.43
León	6,937	4,077	2,860	18.27	13.14	41.16	4.37	2.57	1.80
Moroleón	361	327	34	0.95	1.05	0.49	7.16	6.49	0.67
Ocampo	300	298	2	0.79	0.96	0.03	12.76	12.67	0.09
Pénjamo	1,348	1,323	25	3.55	4.26	0.36	8.94	8.78	0.17
Pueblo Nuevo	134	133	1	0.35	0.43	0.01	11.26	11.18	0.08
Purísima del Rincón	610	605	5	1.61	1.95	0.07	7.57	7.51	0.06
Romita	489	484	5	1.29	1.56	0.07	8.13	8.05	0.08
Salamanca	1,565	1,061	504	4.12	3.42	7.25	5.71	3.87	1.84
Salvatierra	954	952	2	2.51	3.07	0.03	9.47	9.45	0.02
San Diego de la Unión	261	261	-	0.69	0.84	-	6.56	6.56	0.00
San Felipe	682	672	10	1.80	2.17	0.14	6.01	5.92	0.09
San Francisco del Rincón	887	770	117	2.34	2.48	1.68	7.40	6.43	0.98
San José Iturbide	498	476	22	1.31	1.53	0.32	6.29	6.02	0.28
San Luis de la Paz	626	599	27	1.65	1.93	0.39	5.16	4.94	0.22
Santa Catarina	100	98	2	0.26	0.32	0.03	18.97	18.59	0.38
Santa Cruz de Juventino Rosas	430	418	12	1.13	1.35	0.17	5.16	5.02	0.14
Santiago Maravatío	113	112	1	0.30	0.36	0.01	16.48	16.33	0.15
Silao	887	855	32	2.34	2.76	0.46	4.65	4.48	0.17
Tarandacua	230	224	6	0.61	0.72	0.09	18.59	18.10	0.48
Tarimoro	377	373	4	0.99	1.20	0.06	11.01	10.89	0.12
Tierra Blanca	86	84	2	0.23	0.27	0.03	4.52	4.42	0.11
Uriangato	565	480	85	1.49	1.55	1.22	8.98	7.63	1.35
Valle de Santiago	941	906	35	2.48	2.92	0.50	6.58	6.34	0.24
Victoria	82	82	-	0.22	0.26	-	4.07	4.07	0.00
Villagrán	236	221	15	0.62	0.71	0.22	3.99	3.74	0.25
Xichú	60	56	4	0.16	0.18	0.06	5.19	4.84	0.35
Yuriria	1,090	1,062	28	2.87	3.42	0.40	15.64	15.24	0.40
Total	37,979	31,030	6,949	100	100	100	6.46	5.28	1.18

Source: Authors' own, based on data from General Population and Housing Census 2000 and 2010. Inter-census Survey 2015. INEGI

**Table 38: Foreign Population by Country, Accumulated 2000**

Place of origin of accumulated foreigners. Guanajuato 2000		
Country	Absolute	%
GERMANY	66	0.37
AMERICA	177	1
ARGENTINA	127	0.72
ASIA	66	0.37
AUSTRALIA	13	0.07
BELGIUM	60	0.34
BRAZIL	12	0.07
CANADA	128	0.72
CHILE	51	0.29
CHINA	407	2.29
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC (HONG KONG)	13	0.07
COLOMBIA	73	0.41
KOREA	63	0.35
COSTA RICA	104	0.59
CUBA	64	0.36
EL SALVADOR	145	0.82
SPAIN	331	1.86
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	14,868	83.2
PHILIPINES	36	0.2
FRANCE	21	0.12
GUATEMALA	108	0.61
NETHERLANDS	23	0.13
HONDURAS	7	0.04
HUNGARY	6	0.03
INDIA	12	0.07
ENGLAND	130	0.73
IRELAND	43	0.24
JAMAICA	11	0.06
GUAM	1	0.01
ISRAEL	8	0.05
ITALY	136	0.77
JAPAN	60	0.34
LEBANON	17	0.1
NICARAGUA	99	0.56
PANAMA	13	0.07
PERU	134	0.75
POLAND	14	0.08
PUERTO RICO	3	0.02
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC	19	0.11
SWEDEN	24	0.14
SWITZERLAND	14	0.08
TANZANIA	27	0.15
TURKEY	4	0.02
VENEZUELA	22	0.12
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>17,760</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Authors' own, based on data from General Population and Housing Census 2000 and 2010. Inter-census Survey 2015. INEGI

**Table 39: Foreign Population by Country, Accumulated 2010**

Place of origin of accumulated foreigners. Guanajuato 2010		
Country	Absolute	Percentage
GERMANY	369	0.99
ANGOLA	5	0.01
ARGENTINA	304	0.82
AUSTRALIA	38	0.10
AUSTRIA	8	0.02
BELGIUM	4	0.01
BOLIVIA	69	0.19
BRAZIL	332	0.89
CANADA	440	1.18
CHILE	62	0.17
NATIONALIST CHINA	112	0.30
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC (HONG KONG)	24	0.06
COLOMBIA	563	1.51
SOUTH KOREA	247	0.66
COSTA RICA	59	0.16
CUBA	84	0.23
DENMARK	26	0.07
ECUADOR	3	0.01
EL SALVADOR	130	0.35
SPAIN	628	1.69
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	32,026	85.93
EUROPE	14	0.04
PHILIPINES	16	0.04
FRANCE	232	0.62
GREECE	52	0.14
GUATEMALA	127	0.34
NETHERLANDS	4	0.01
HONDURAS	301	0.81
ENGLAND	124	0.33
IRAK	14	0.04
IRELAND	26	0.07
ITALY	59	0.16
JAPAN	160	0.43
KYRGYZSTAN	25	0.07
MALAYSIA	5	0.01
NICARAGUA	5	0.01
PANAMA	12	0.03
PARAGUAY	68	0.18
PERU	162	0.43
POLAND	11	0.03
PORTUGAL	23	0.06
PUERTO RICO	54	0.14
CZECH REPUBLIC	36	0.10
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC	4	0.01
ROMANIA	5	0.01
RUSSIA	88	0.24
SOUTH AFRICA	15	0.04
SWEDEN	26	0.07
TURKEY	12	0.03
URUGUAY	8	0.02
VENEZUELA	48	0.13
<b>Total</b>	<b>37,269</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Authors' own, based on data from General Population and Housing Census 2000 and 2010. Inter-census Survey 2015. INEGI

**Table 40: Foreign Population by Country, Accumulated 2015**

Place of origin of accumulated foreigners. Guanajuato 2015		
Country	Absolute	Percentage
GERMANY	90	0.24
SAUDI ARABIA	2	0.01
ARGENTINA	271	0.71
AUSTRALIA	29	0.08
BELGIUM	13	0.03
BOLIVIA	160	0.42
BRAZIL	427	1.12
CANADA	697	1.84
CHILE	86	0.23
NATIONALIST CHINA	197	0.52
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC (HONG KONG)	102	0.27
COLOMBIA	612	1.61
NORTH KOREA	54	0.14
SOUTH KOREA	97	0.26
COSTA RICA	42	0.11
CUBA	341	0.90
ECUADOR	11	0.03
EL SALVADOR	271	0.71
SPAIN	498	1.31
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	31,030	81.7
FRANCE	170	0.45
GREECE	20	0.05
GUATEMALA	142	0.37
HAITI	48	0.13
NETHERLANDS	27	0.07
HONDURAS	209	0.55
HUNGARY	8	0.02
INDIA	92	0.24
ENGLAND	98	0.26
IRELAND	62	0.16
ITALY	500	1.32
JAPAN	580	1.53
JORDAN	1	0.00
LEBANON	18	0.05
NICARAGUA	25	0.07
NIGERIA	14	0.04
NOT SPECIFIED	32	0.04
NORWAY	23	0.06
NEW ZEALAND	8	0.02
PAKISTAN	2	0.01
PANAMA	102	0.27
PERU	57	0.15
POLAND	31	0.08
PORTUGAL	9	0.02
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC	4	0.01
ROMANIA	25	0.07
RUSSIA	40	0.11
SYRIA	90	0.24
SWEDEN	9	0.02
SWITZERLAND	90	0.24
THAILAND	17	0.04
TOGO	47	0.12
UKRAINE	4	0.01
UGANDA	3	0.01
URUGUAY	154	0.41
VENEZUELA	188	0.50
<b>Total</b>	<b>37,979</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Authors' own, based on data from Inter-census Survey 2015. INEGI

**Table 41: Activity reported by Returnees in Guanajuato<sup>1</sup> 2015**

Activity	Total	% Total	Men	% Men	Women	% Women
Worked	15,965	55.5	13,695	65.91	2,270	28.42
Made or Sold a Product	42	0.15	40	0.19	2	0.03
Helped in a Business	131	0.46	122	0.59	9	0.11
Raised animals or crops	367	1.28	367	1.77	0	0
Offered some service in return for payment	32	0.11	29	0.14	3	0.04
Tended their own business	130	0.45	93	0.45	37	0.46
Had work, but did not work	65	0.23	65	0.31	0	0
Looked for work.	1,355	4.71	1,308	6.3	47	0.59
Student	1,810	6.29	869	4.18	941	11.78
Retired or Pensioner	428	1.49	291	1.4	137	1.72
Household chores	4,208	14.63	245	1.18	3,963	49.62
Suffers some physical or mental disability	417	1.45	273	1.31	144	1.8
Did not work.	3,780	13.14	3,374	16.24	406	5.08
Not Specified	35	0.12	7	0.03	28	0.35
Total	28,765	100	20,778	100	7,987	100

1 Refers only to population aged 12 and above.

Source: Authors' own based on data from the Inter-census Survey 2015. INEGI.

**Table 42: Returning Migrants in Guanajuato who reported engaging in economic activities, by position 2015<sup>1</sup>**

Position	Total	% Total	Men	% Men	Women	% Women
Employee or Laborer	9,790	58.51	8,205	56.94	1,585	68.29
Day laborer or farmhand	1,900	11.36	1,889	13.11	11	0.47
Paid assistant	759	4.54	684	4.75	75	3.23
Boss or Employer	591	3.53	534	3.71	57	2.46
Self-employed worker	3,014	18.01	2,482	17.22	532	22.92
Unpaid worker	580	3.47	568	3.94	12	0.52
Not specified	98	0.59	49	0.34	49	2.11
Total	16,732	100	14,411	100	2,321	100

1 Refers to population aged 12 and above.

Source: Authors' own based on data from the Inter-census Survey 2015. INEGI.



**Table 43: Number of events of foreigners presented in Guanajuato and neighboring states.  
2013-2019**

Year	State							National
	Guanajuato	Aguascalientes	Jalisco	Michoacán	Querétaro	San Luis Potosí	Zacatecas	
2013	809	195	516	89	981	2,112	343	86,298
2014	489	398	392	143	1,435	2,702	494	127,149
2015	936	398	631	261	2,995	5,865	1,936	198,141
2016	1,221	551	804	103	996	6,940	2,641	186,216
2017	577	223	422	365	279	1,604	1,730	93,846
2018	703	320	676	221	618	2,863	1,385	131,445
2019*	322	247	398	211	673	3,037	1,635	158,200

Author's own using data from the UPM. \*Numbers from 2019 are for January through September.

**Table 44: Nationality of persons presented before Guanajuato's INM 2013-2019**

Country of Origin	Guanajuato/ Year						
	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019*
Honduras	568	293	423	573	385	541	237
Guatemala	114	99	312	331	117	86	52
El Salvador	106	77	135	258	41	40	9
Colombia	2	5	5	23	6	25	7
Nicaragua	12	7	28	12	7	5	1
United States	6	5	13	6	10	0	10
Cuba	1	0	6	11	0	0	0
Ecuador	0	0	11	3	2	0	0
Peru	0	1	1	3	2	1	3
Venezuela	0	0	1	0	4	1	2
Argentina	0	0	1	0	1	2	0
Costa Rica	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
Chile	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Spain	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
South Korea	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Brazil	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Belize	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Romania	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>812</b>	<b>489</b>	<b>936</b>	<b>1221</b>	<b>577</b>	<b>703</b>	<b>322</b>

Author's own using statistical information from the UPM, 2019. \*Data for 2019 is for the period January-September only.

**Table 45: Events of Foreigners presented before the INM in Guanajuato and Nationally, by Gender, 2016-2019**

Year	Guanajuato			Nacional		
	Gender		Total	Gender		Total
	H	M		H	M	
2016	983	238	1 221	139 248	46 865	186 113
2017	524	53	577	72 604	21 242	93 846
2018	606	97	703	99 766	31 679	131 445
2019	299	23	322	107 129	51 071	158 200

Author's own using statistical information from the UPM, 2019. \*Data for 2019 is for the period January-September only.

**Table 46: Events involving minors presented before the INM in Guanajuato, by age and travel condition. 2016 to 2019**

Age and Travel Conditions	Guanajuato / Year			
	2019*	2018	2017	2016
<b>Total</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>258</b>
Ages 12 to 17	21	75	39	167
Accompanied	13	14	9	60
Unaccompanied	8	61	30	107
Ages 0 to 11	5	14	9	91
Accompanied	4	13	9	87
Unaccompanied	1	1	-	4
<b>National Total Minors</b>	<b>46,476</b>	<b>29,258</b>	<b>18,066</b>	<b>40,114</b>

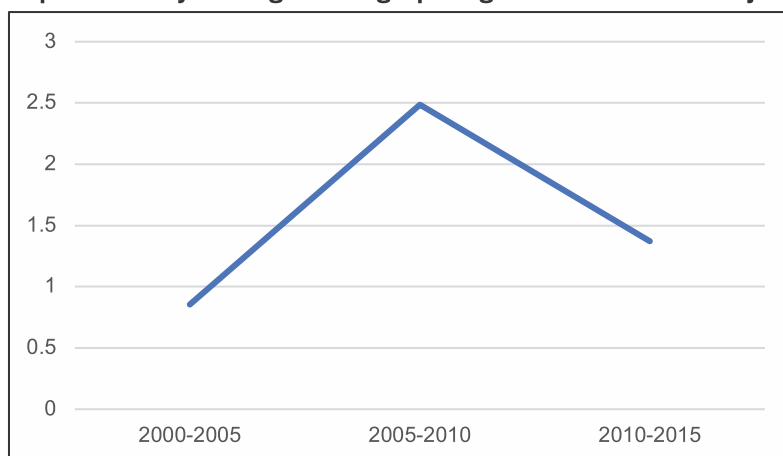
Author's own using statistical information from the UPM, 2019. \*Data for 2019 is for the period January-September only.

**Table 47: Migrant Houses and Shelters in Guanajuato**

Municipality	Name	Address
Celaya	Abba	Calle Eufemio Zapata 216, Emiliano Zapata, 38030, Celaya, México
	Manos extendidas	Calle 16 de Septiembre 430, Barrio del Zapote 38057 Celaya
Irapuato	San Juan de Dios	Calle Río Silao 1897, La Pradera
Salamanca	San Carlos	Moroleon 107, Constelacion, 36790 Salamanca, Gto.
León	Galilea	Calle independencia #878, esq. con calle Río Balsas col. Barrio de San Miguel

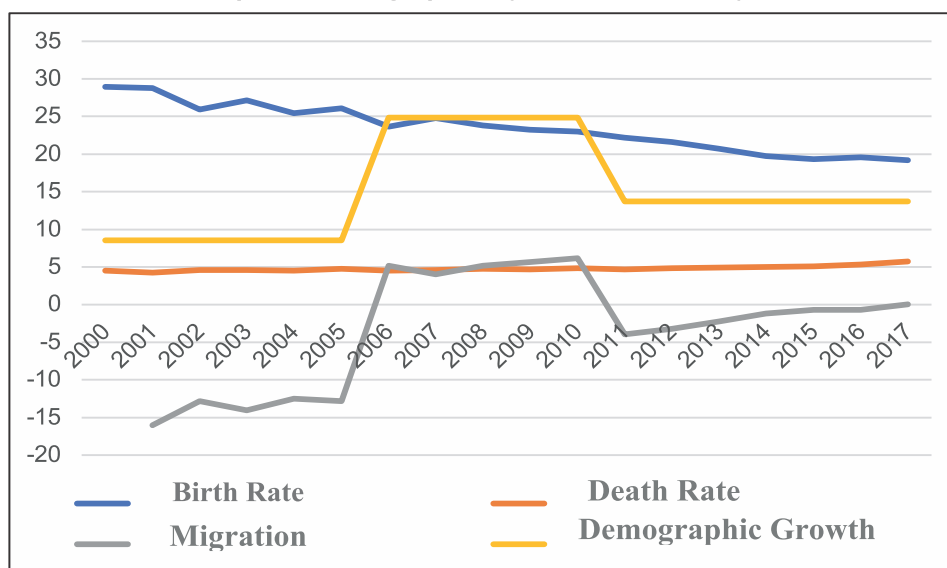
## 5.II. GRAPHS

**Graph 1: Yearly average demographic growth rate in Guanajuato**



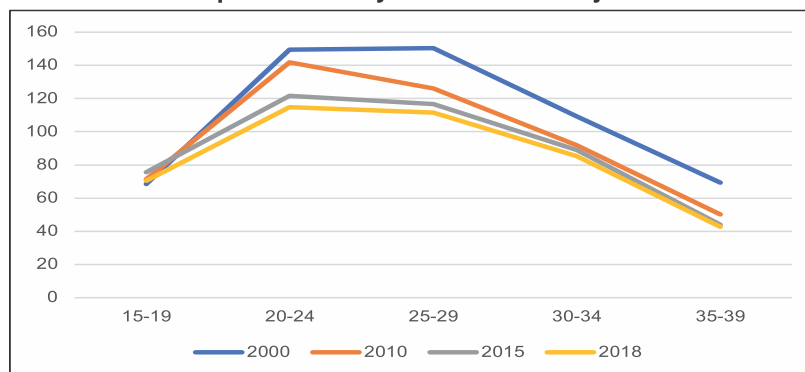
Source: Authors' own estimates based on data from General Population and Housing Census XII and 2010; Population Counts 2005; Inter-census Survey 2015. INEGI

**Graph 2: Demographic Dynamics in Guanajuato**



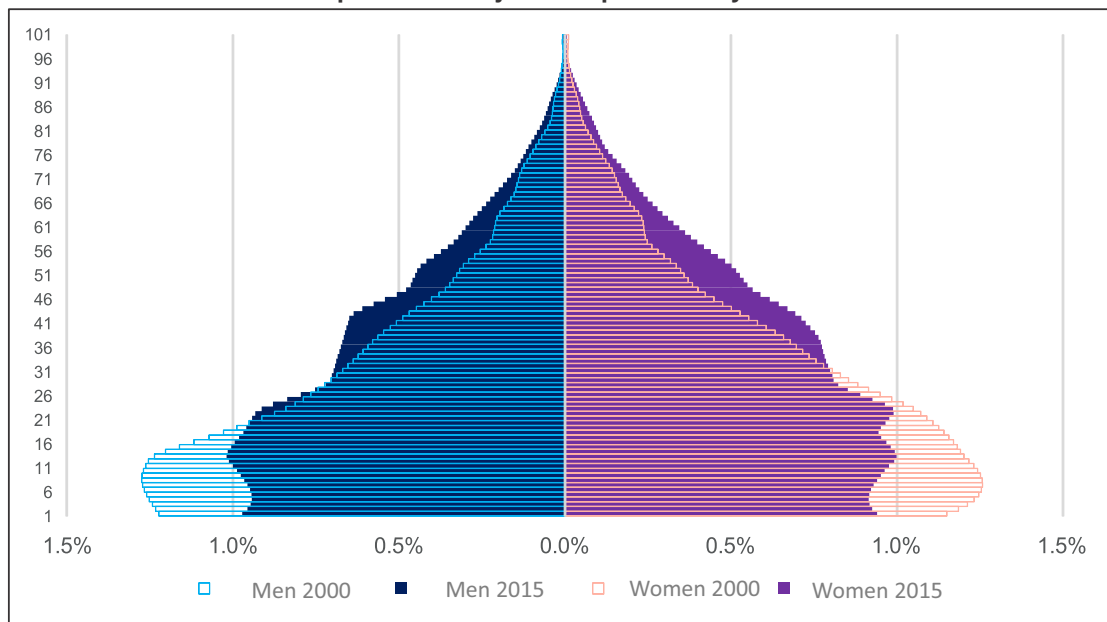
Source: Authors' own estimates based on data from General Population and Housing Census XII and 2010; Population Counts 2005; Inter-census Survey 2015. Vital Statistics, INEGI

**Graph 3: Fertility Rates in Guanajuato**



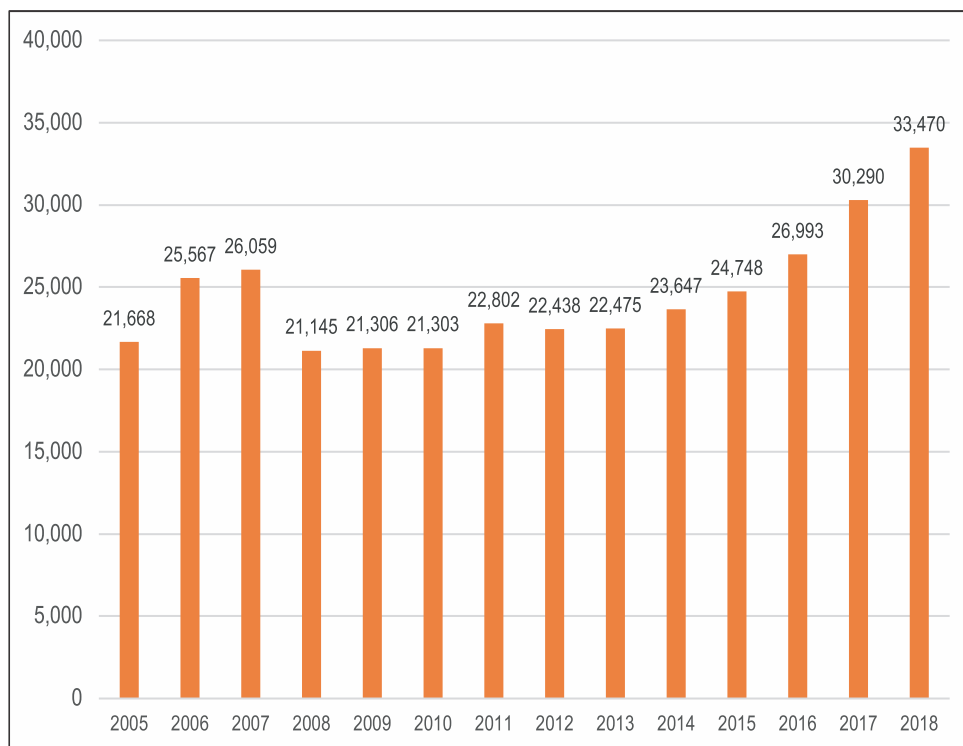
Source: Authors' own based on data from "Projected population of Mexico's municipalities, 2015-2030" – CONAPO (2019).

**Graph 4: Guanajuato Population Pyramid**



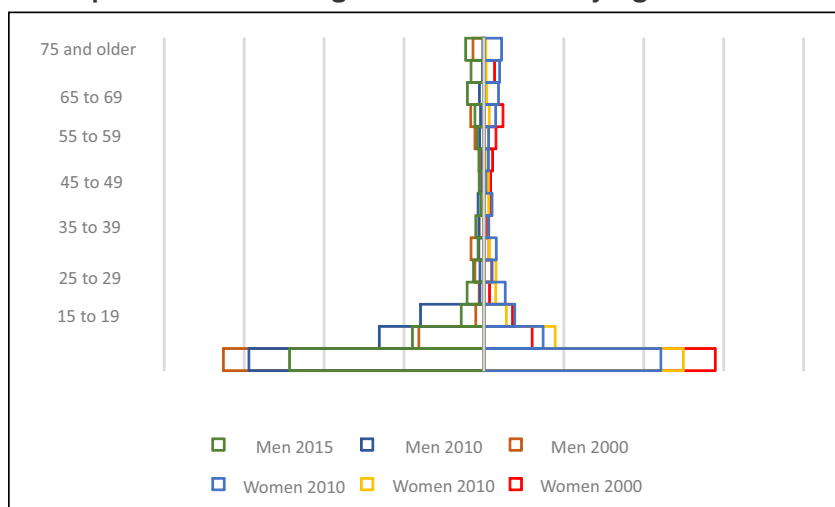
Source: Authors' own based on data from the XI General Population and Housing Census and the 2015 Inter-census Survey. INEGI

**Graph 5: Evolution of Remittances at the National Level 2005 – 2018**



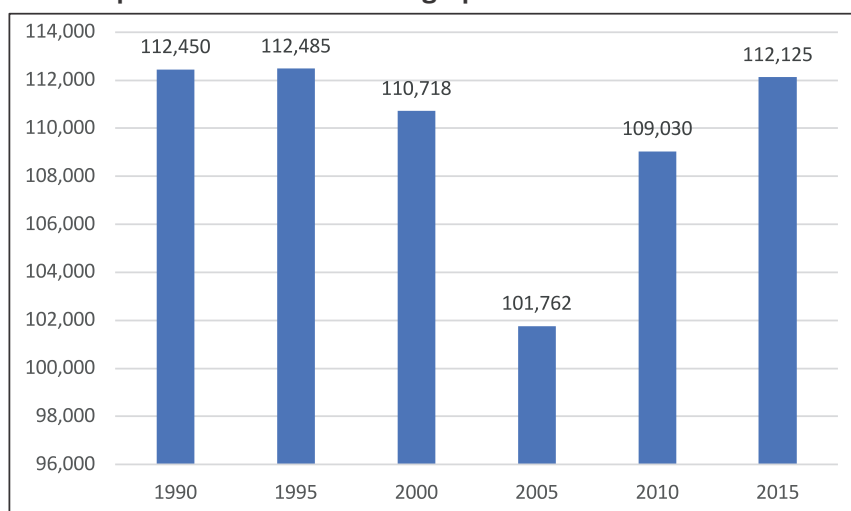
Source: BBVA's Migration and Remittances Annual, 2018

**Graph 6: Recent Immigrants Distribution by Age and Gender**



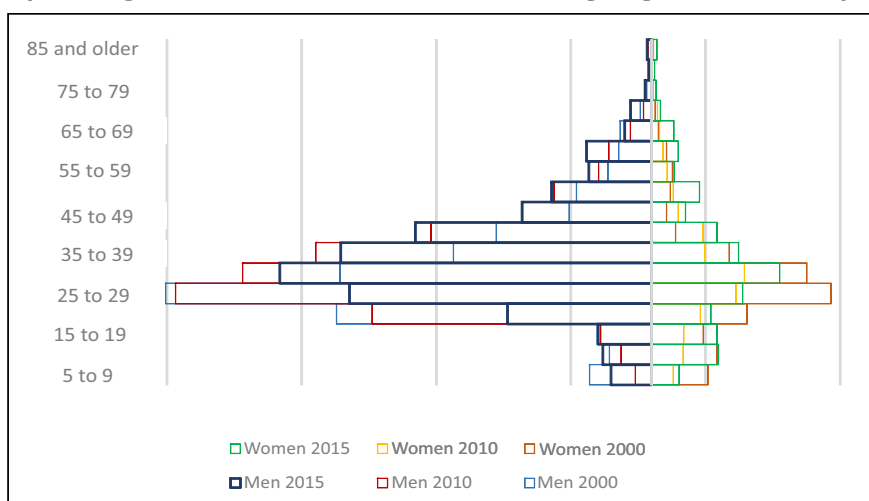
Source: Authors' own, based on data from General Population and Housing Census 2000 and 2010. Inter-census Survey 2015. INEGI

**Graph 7: Acámbaro's Demographic Evolution 1990-2015**



Source: General Population and Housing Census 1990, 2000 and 2010; Population Counts 1995 and 2005; and Inter-census Survey 2015. INEGI

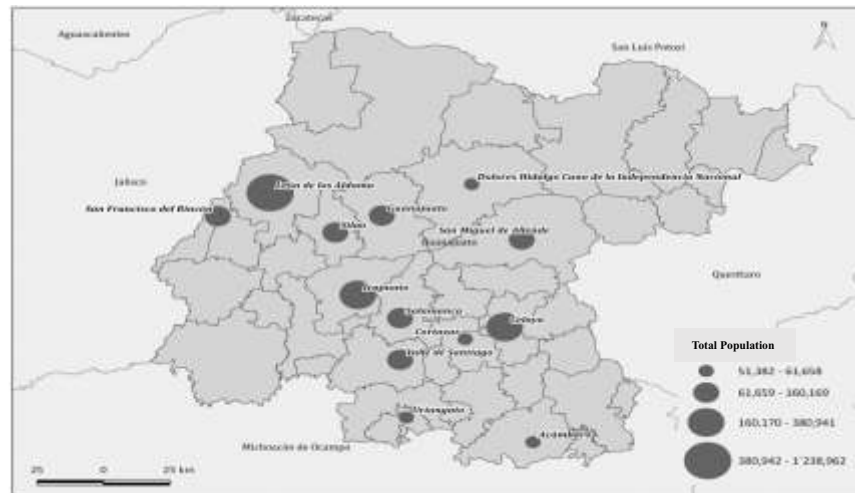
**Graph 8: Age and Gender Structure of Returning Migrants in Guanajuato**



Source: Authors' own, based on data from General Population and Housing Census 2000 and 2010. Inter-census Survey 2015.

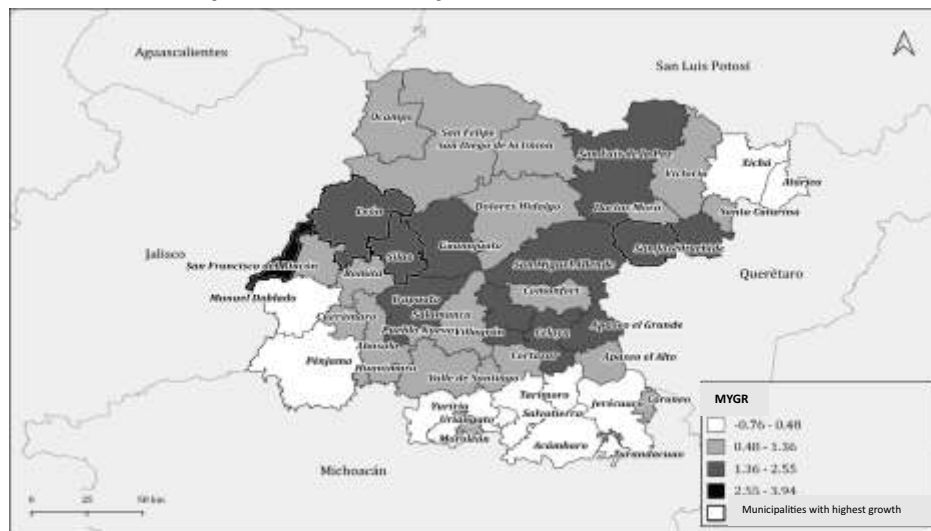
### 5.III. MAPS

**Map 1: Cities in Guanajuato above 50,000 inhabitants**

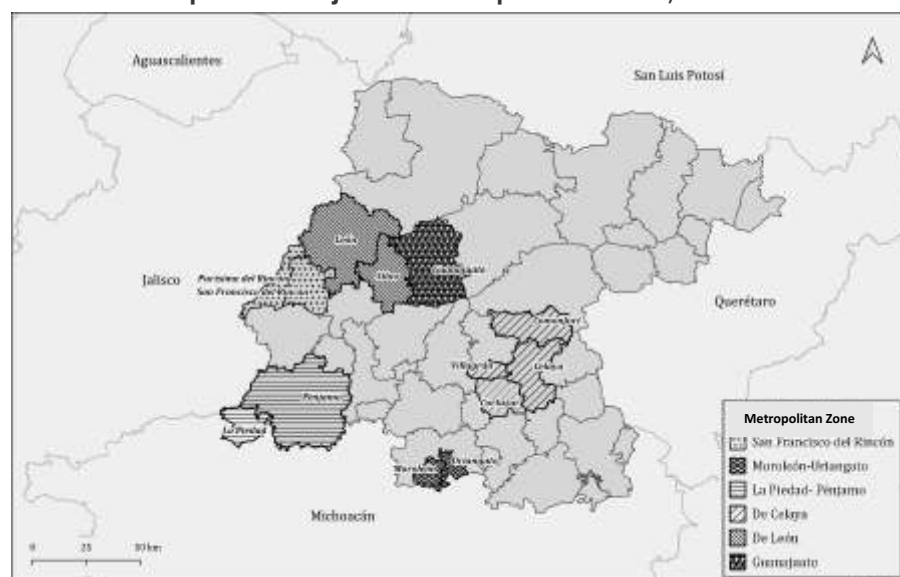


Source: Authors' own based on data from the General Population and Housing Census, 2010. INEGI

**Map 2: Median Yearly Growth Rate 2000-2015**



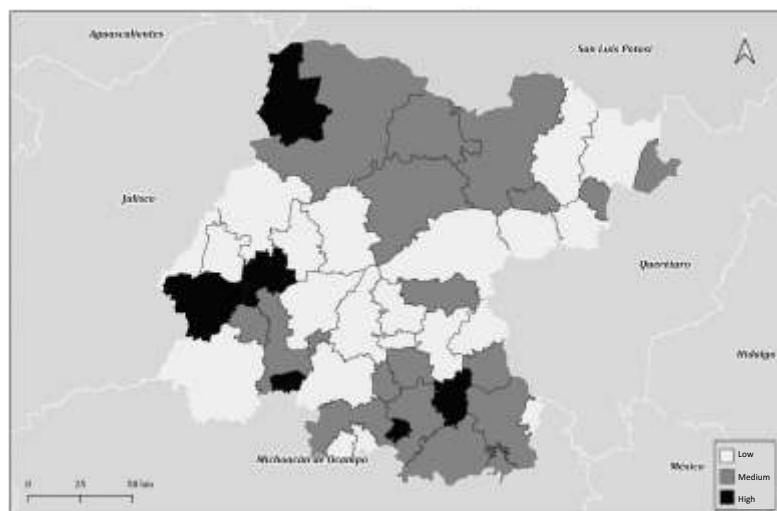
**Map 3: Guanajuato's Metropolitan Zones, 2015**





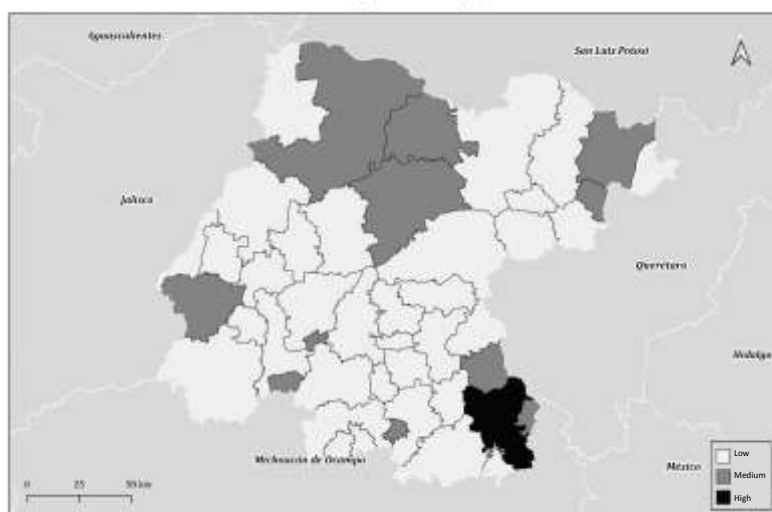
**Map 4: Level of Migratory Intensity at The Municipal Level 2000**

*Degree of municipal emigration, 2000*



**Map 5: Level of Migratory Intensity at the Municipal level 2010**

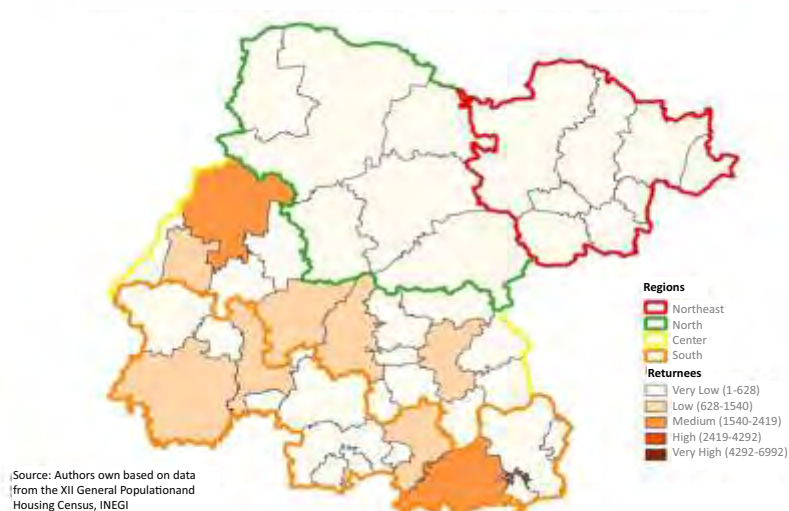
*Degree of municipal emigration, 2010*



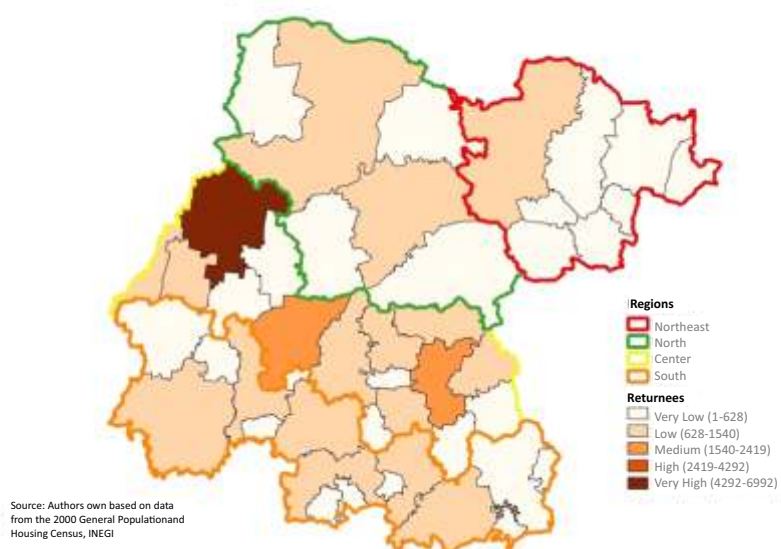
**Map 6: Return of Mexicans from the United States, by Municipality, 2000**



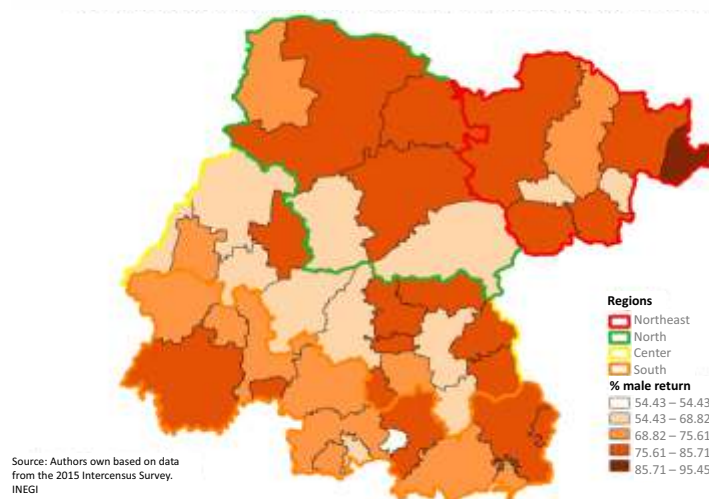
**Map 7: Return of Mexicans from the United States, by Municipality, 2010**



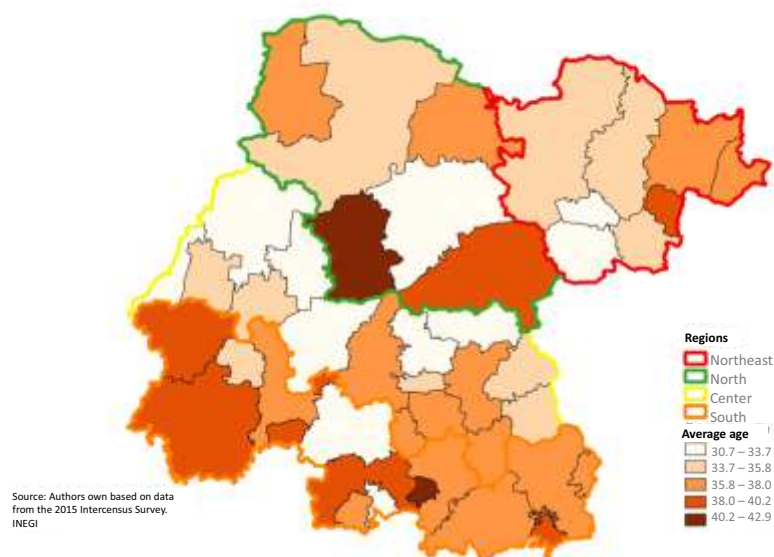
**Map 8: Return of Mexicans from the United States, by Municipality, 2015**



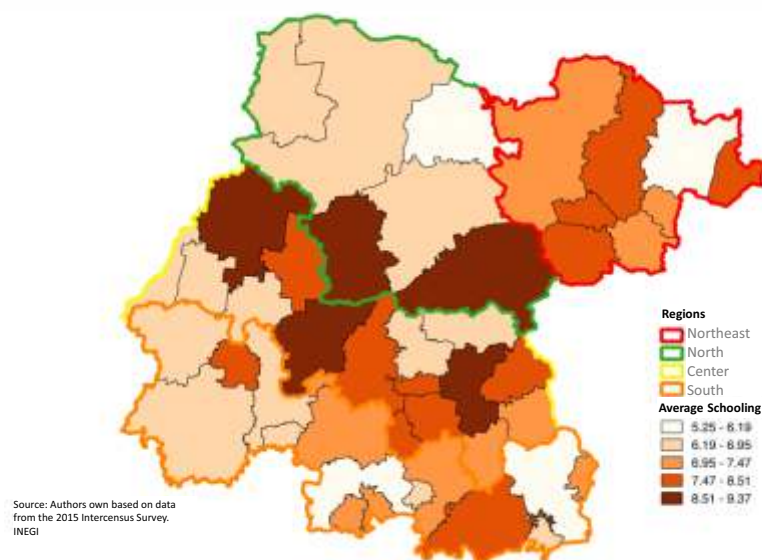
**Map 9: Percentage of Male Returnees to Guanajuato, 2015**



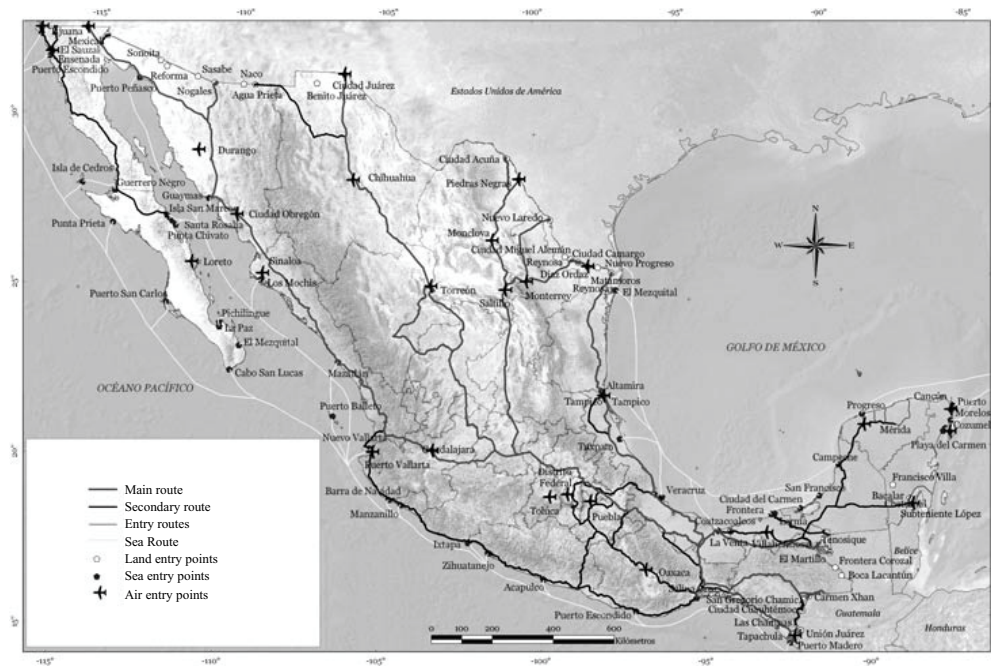
Map 10: Average Age of Guanajuato Returnees, 2015



Map 11: Average Schooling of Guanajuato Returnees, Aged 21 and Above, 2015



**Map 12: Main Land Routes for Transit Migrants from Central America and Other Nationalities in Mexico, 2001-2005**



Source: Casillas, 2008

**Map 13: Transit Route for Guatemalans Across Guanajuato**

Mapa 7.1 Rutas de tránsito por México y principales puntos de cruce fronterizo de la población del Triángulo Norte de Centroamérica según país de origen, 2016-2017  
Map 7.1 Transit routes through Mexico and main border crossing points of the Northern Triangle of Central America: population by country of origin, 2016-2017



Source: CONAPO-Fundación BBVA-Research, 2019:118.



**T**he University of the Incarnate Word is pleased to support the production of ***The Migrant Phenomenon in Guanajuato: Diagnosis and Public Policy Proposals*** by sponsoring the printing and distribution of the study's English language version. We are grateful for the opportunity to collaborate with the State of Guanajuato, the Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas (CIDE) and Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS-México), and we thank them for their dedication, expertise, and commitment to the discovery of truth.



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