From Communities to the Cities: Reasons Why Indigenous People Migrate and Settle in Guanajuato, Mexico
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Abstract

Introduction*: Internal migration has been one of the main factors of economic and social change in Mexico. Since 1940, continuous flow of migrants from the countryside to the city strengthened the national urban system, which currently accounts for close to 71% of the population. Indigenous population is actively involved in these migration movements, often in response to poor socioeconomic conditions in their places of origin. This research investigates the reasons for migration of indigenous groups living in the state of Guanajuato, Mexico.* **Methods***: The research is based on qualitative in-depth face-to-face interviews to a non-random sample of a population. Fieldwork was conducted from June 2013 and June 2014 in the southeastern and northeastern of Guanajuato.* ***Main results:*** *The research shows that a poor living condition is the main reason why indigenous people migrate and settle in Guanajuato, many of them trying to escape from extreme poverty. Other issues highlighted in the research are family and school reasons.* **Conclusions***: Even though the motives of internal migration of indigenous groups in México have numerous points of overlap with migrations in general, such as the search for better living conditions, one aspect that distinguishes it is the strategic use of the indigenous identity in order to function and deal with, in some way, spaces and experiences of discrimination or exclusion.*

Keywords: Identity; Indigenous groups; migration

1.Introduction

Migrations, internal as well as international, have been a very important ingredient in economic, social, and cultural world economic structure. Current societies are the result of centuries of continuous migratory flows, of greater or lesser intensity but are always present. Due to the diverse types of consequences that these populationmovements bring with them, which in turn comprise a range of aspects from the individual up to the macro-social, it has been a subject that garnered continued academic, governmental, and social interest.

However, the theoretical frameworksof migrations are relatively recent.We could refer to Ernest Ravenstein's suggested exercises in his celebrated works on the *laws of migrations* (1885-1889), or the work of the *Polish Peasant in Europe and America* by William Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, but it is not until the second half of the 20th Century when theories started encompassing a greater explanatory reach.

Unfortunately, this theoretical scaffolding, of which the neoclassic theory was one of its principal bastions, has experienced enormous difficulties when explaining migrations, due to their great complexity. Other theoretical efforts have followed, such as cumulative causation, systems analysis, world-systems theory, and dual labour market theory among many others with limited results.

"The greatest difficulty for the study of migrations resides in their extreme diversity, in terms of shapes, types, processes, actors, motivations, and cultural and socioeconomic contexts. It makes the problems faced by these theories to explain such a complexity easily comprehensible" (Arango, 2003, p.26).

As is to be expected, the particular theoretical reach of internal migration has a close relationship with the general framework of migration theory, moreover the general theory has focussed more on international movements. This close relationship means that theories on internal migration are also limited in their explicative reach. In any case, migrations between countries has offered elements of analysis for internal migrations, but the reverse is also true.

Humberto Muñoz and Orlandina de Olveira (1974) consider the theoretical and conceptual framework of internal migrations to be principally derived from sociology and the economy along three gradients: the structural and individual determinants, the characteristics of flows, and the consequences of such flows.

Among the determinants of internal migrations the authors highlight social and labour conditions as the principal causes that are incident in population displacements. This reasoning is based on the idea that migrations are related to the spatial distribution of capital and work, where workers' disadvantageous social and labour conditions move towards sites with enough labour demand where they can more easily find employment and better labour conditions. At the individual level, Muñoz and de Oliveira (1974) highlight the objective motivations such as the lack of work – and we could add family reunion - and the subjective reasons such as attraction to the city or the countryside, and psychological motivations such as values or ideology.

Regarding migratory flow characteristics, the study of internal migrations has placed special emphasis on classification according to certain features. Studies have focused on conforming to classifications in terms of locality size, such as rural-urban migrations, urban-urban migrations etc. There has also been interest related to segments of the population based on the socio-demographic and economic profile of the different migrant groups that frame the research we present here.

Finally, consequences of a diverse nature have been analysed (such as pressures on labour markets, demographic concentration, social mobility, marginalization, urbanization, etc.) in the place of origin as well as the destination (Conapo, 2010). In other words, migration is a "total social fact" as defined by the Spanish sociologist Luis Abad (2000), whose study encompasses economic, political, social, and cultural aspects in a comprehensive way.

Internal migrations have been one of the main ingredients in the configuration of Mexican society. The redistribution of the population derived from inter-state and inter-municipality movements has strengthened an urban system where more than 71.4% of the national population are concentrated. In contrast, less than a third of the population reside in rural zones, which has caused changes to all aspects of life in the society (Anzaldo *et al.* 2009). Although, it is important to note that in the first stages of the national urbanization process, some cities absorbed the majority of the population. In recent decades the diversification of origins and destinations is notorious, above all towards intermediary cities (Partida, 2014).

In this sense, the indigenous population of Mexico has not been a stranger to internal migrations. Until the mid-20th century this segment of the populationwere concentrated in settlements considered traditional, this situation has gradually changed. Since the seventies a greater intensity of indigenous people have moved towards big cities. However, recently the flow has increased towards small and mid-sized cities. This has resulted in the re-settlement and relocation of ethnic groups, which is reflected in their significant presence in greater number in cities and metropolitan zones (Martínez *et al.,* 2004).

In the state of Guanajuato, a study presented by Vega and Partida (2014) based on the 2010 Population Census highlights the presence of around 40,000 people in indigenous homes[2], where the strong presence of the indigenous population is notorious in the urban environment. Only 30% of the indigenous people reside in rural areas, while the rest are distributed in small cities (9.6%), medium sized cities (21.7%), and big cities (38.7%)[3]. The same study refers to the five main indigenous groups, which are: Otomí (23%), Chichimeco Jonaz (21.6%), Náhuatl (18.7%), and Mazahua (6.8%).

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[2] Indigenous home: home where the head of the household, spouse, or older relative speaks an indigenous language, or understands it.

[3] The classification is basedon the following range of inhabitants: rural (from 1 to 2,499), small cities (2,500 to 14,999), medium sized cities (15,000 to 99,999), and big cities (100,000 or more).

According to our own estimations based on the sample from the Population and Housing Census of 2010, around half of the speakers of indigenous languages in Guanajuato were born in a different federal entity (47.3%), the states stand out for the magnitude of indigenous migrants are: Oaxaca, State of Mexico, San Luis Potosí, Veracruz, Michoacán, Hidalgo, Puebla, and Querétaro.

It is precisely the population mentioned above which we have considered in this study, which discusses the motives indigenous people to migrate from other parts of the country that currently reside in the state of Guanajuato. Men and women of diverse ethnic origin, withdifferent occupations, and who spend different periods of time in central state. We approximate this population, turning to methodology which is discussed in the following section.

2. Method

We applied qualitative techniques such as open-ended, semi-structured interviews, building a field journal, participant observation and obtaining audio-visual material, we have approximated, at least a little, the discourse of protagonists of internal migration in the state of Guanajuato.

The testimonies that we present here correspond to a wider study in which people of different ethnic backgrounds participated: Purépecha, Otomí, Chichimeca Jonaz, Amuzgo, Náhuatl, Huasteco, Huichol, Maya, Mazahua, Mazateca, Mixe, Mixteco, Pame, Tarahumara, Totonaco, Triquis, Tseltal, Zapoteco, and others. They are, to a large extent, traders, artisans, and realize multiple economic activities to provide an income, and as we mentioned earlier, they stay in Guanajuato for different periods of time.

They have found in Guanajuato a place to recreate their ancestral skills and ways of life. The artisans, for example, find spaces in fairs, expos, markets, tourist town streets (such as the city of Guanajuato, San Miguel de Allende, Dolores Hidalgo, among others) and have developed skills to make their products attractive to tourists.

Despite the above, it may also be observed that many have abandoned traditionally rooted activities in order to dedicate themselves to other occupations in the new place upon arrival, they may realize multiple activities at the same time in order to improve their income.

Therefore, we present here some voices that share motives, aspirations, hopes, needs, and concerns that allow us to understand why the original population from different corners of the country have decided to face new contexts and abandon their communities of origin.

The fieldwork for this study was realized from June 2013 – June 2014 in the southeast and part of the northeast of the state of Guanajuato, with a non-probabilistic sample of this population group. The objectives of the study (to understand and analyse the motives at the centre of internal migration in the state of Guanajuato) need be centred on subjective dimensions (motivations, interests, stories of adaptation, and experiences of those interviewed), therefore the study followed a hand-made method, such as Gúber (2001) describes the ethnographic qualitative methodology.

The author considers that ethnographic work has maintained its central claim: to compare a person face to face before the study subjects, to learn how they live, think, feel, and believe. The tools allow us to approximate the way in which people give meaning to the things in their daily lives, which contributed greatly to the decision to use this method. We found the results that we present below using this method.

3. Motives for Migration of Indigenous People Settled in Guanajuato

It is possible to underline the causes of the different migratory modalities which go from adverse economic circumstances (such as poverty and lack of opportunities), political situations (wars, religious and ethnic persecution, insecurity, mafias, despotism), environmental (natural disasters, earthquakes, drought, floods, volcanic eruptions, degradation of the environment), and cultural (traditional migrations, social networks, the migration industry, etc.) (Fernández and Del Carpio, 2013).

The motives we share here may be grouped into categories of motives such as: insufficient work/economy, academic, family, and other (lack of government support, security and physical integrity, need to establish permanently, and the latent search for change and experiences that may be considered good for subjective wellbeing and come with other geographic and symbolic locations, individuals, or collectives).

In work motives we find: constant economic austerity shared by all interviewees (extreme poverty in several cases), lack of well-remunerated occupational activities in the contexts of where they come from, the increase in competition with other artisans and other small producers in their communities of origin, insufficient resources obtained in the field, little job stability, and insufficient job offers.

Unfair payments for work realized also stand out here, the failure of family companies, and the need for better work opportunities, which make job offers attractive in companies based in Guanajuato.

Constant academic motives allude to the lack of opportunities in academic institutions in their communities of origin, which makes it difficult for young people to continue building their academic careers. For this reason, they migrate to the city, in this case to different municipalities in the state of Guanajuato, to continue their studies.

Family motives refer to the interest of many to reunite with family members, such as the case of heads of the family that leave their federal entities of origin and, together with their children, start the journey – sometimes temporarily or permanently – to join spouses, brothers and sisters or other family members who are already established in Guanajuato.

The rubric of lack of government support is also a constant within the discourse of the interviewed population, they indicate with the above the need to obtain information regarding community support programs (resources, training, machinery, obtaining raw materials) and their administration.

Another equally important issue is the need, that some manifest, to find safe conditions that are free from violence for their families, which is comprised in the motive for internal migration to escape the crime and insecurity present in Guanajuato's neighbouring states.

Aspirations to find stable economic and living conditions (having a stable place to live, then transit through various sites in the Mexican Republic, or within their original state), also becomes a motive for internal migration. In the face of few job opportunities, for example people – in a certain way – become nomads, who when the need arises for psychological and their family's well-being, they "take root" in one place.

By grouping these motives into categories of internal migration we can observe details, such as those shown in the following table:

Knowing the above allows us – in some way – to show certain sociocultural keys that allow us to understand the complexity and difficulty that the indigenous population in the country face in which they find little space, work, and conditions that allow them to improve their living conditions.

3.1 Work Motives

Historically, diverse conceptualizations of work have existed that not only entail representations of attitudes and habits regarding work, but also comprise latent or expressed psychosocial functions that fulfil workers. In this case we observe that those interviewed principally highlight the instrumental function of work: obtaining income. For that reason, work becomes the main motivation for people that migrate internally as they demand an occupation that allows them to obtain a salary for the work realized and use it to cover basic needs.

Above all it was for economic reasons, our family was growing and I needed more income to be able to provide for my family, so I came to Celaya to find work (and I) found it in Avon de obrero […] (Hombre, Otomi, 49 years old).

It is very difficult to find work, we have to make ends meet every day (Woman, Otomi, 32 years old, Cuauhtémoc, Mexico)

Because my wife and I were seeking better life opportunities and in Oaxaca it was difficult to work and we knew that here in the Bajío they like tacos how we make them (Man, Otomi, 20 years old, Oaxaca).

As may be observed, the labour activity constitutes an important motive for these producers to migrate, it is the axis from which a large part of our lives turns and has motivated those who decide to leave their places of origin. We observe that those interviewed positively value work and takes a central value in their lives.

Within the productive activities that this population realizes, we find that the production of crafts, which necessitates the search for spaces to place products and receive better income. The above constitutes an important motive for these producers to migrate.

My parents decided, but it was so that the people knew more about our culture and so that they see the crafts that we make, it was also to find work (Woman, Otomi, 18 years old, Guerrero).

Because from where I am there is no work and I can't sell my handkerchiefs (Woman, Huasteca, Veracruz).

Alcover and colleagues (2004) sustain that the work constitutes and instrument to achieve economic autonomy. Additionally, as Álvaro (2003) states, it is also a means of production, distribution, consumption, and obtaining goods and services that allow – in a certain way – the independence and survival not only of people at the individual level, but it also serves as an engine of the global economy and the social articulator. Work, without doubt, structures our society.

In this motive for migration (the search for work), the most relevant and constant, we determine that the first function of work is to provide the necessary means to be able to subsist. From there we observe itsoverriding and obligatory nature. This is because the economic dimension is the basic means through which the person relates to society and contributes to its maintenance (Álvaro, 1992).

It should be qualified that income from the sale of crafts (an activity realized by many actors in internal migration), tends to be insufficient and precarious, so they realize various activities that also imply skills development: trading other products, food preparation, and the development of other occupations. Besides inviting the development of other skills such as dominion of the dominant language of our country (Spanish), there is acorresponding reduction in the use of other cultural elements from indigenous communities (traditional dress, language, and crafts among others). All this in order to, in some way, access the "modern" world of work.

I sell prickly pears [fruit of the opuntia cactus], chard, wheat crisps, gorditas [fried, stuffed, corn cakes], handmade tortillas and courgettes depending on the season. I go to many places to sell more to have something to eat (Woman, Purépecha, 53 years old).

Well, as I already came here, it is logical that I speak this language so that people understand me. (I came) for lack of money (to) earn more. (One) spends the day for their daily meal (Woman, Otomí, 45 years old, Toluca).

(I came) because of so much suffering, because I had no work to send my son to school. I (didn't) have money, we didn't have corn. I made tortillas, I made atole from the ground corn, but I didn't have (money), that's why I left and brought my son to sell, and sell and get ahead (Woman, Otomí, 47 years old, Querétaro).

(I came) because there was no work and we didn't have any food or water to live on (Man, Náhuatl, 21 years old, Oaxaca).

Another difficulty that stands out in this population is the complication found when selling their products within their own communities given that many individuals dedicate themselves to the same activity and this diminishes their chance of sales. Competition increases between artisans and traders. One woman artisan commented when she shared the motive that started her migratory process:

Because we dedicate ourselves to the wood and there is a lot of competition (Woman, Tarasca, Michoacán).

The following testimony warns us of another kind of problem that corresponds to the world of work (referring to the commercialization of products), such as: encounters with the police, tax related processes, and other obstacles, which generate intense circular migration.

To come and sell here, but the police send us away too (Woman, Otomí, 60 years old, Michoacán).

Work networks and opportunities become attractive to those who produce crafts and come to the state of Guanajuato to show off their products in diverse spaces with the intention of temporarily visiting the state (for an event, fair, or craft expo). However, there are those who, on occasions, stay for an undetermined length of time.

We came because of a gentleman we met at the fair, there in Guerrero; he invited us to the craft expo here in the Casa de Cultura in Celaya, and well he helped us (Woman, Náhuatl, 30 years old, Guerrero).

The establishment of networks builds bridges that provide certain conditions that make migration to Guanajuato attractive. Cases of original peoples moving between municipalities or communitiesin the same state are also observed. For example, in San Miguel de Allende (where there is an Otomí settlement) it is observed that people have gone to Celaya to find work in companies. At least that is what we deduce from the following testimony:

All of our family comes from San Miguel de Allende and my father was offered a work opportunity here in Celaya in the company Avon, and so we had to move to Celaya. In fact, my uncle also moved to Celaya. My father found him a job in Avon so my uncle's family came to Celaya too (Woman, Otomi, 22 years old, San Miguel de Allende).

As can be seen in the above, the importance of the family in the establishment of networks in order to get work. There are other motives that cause internal migration: we refer here to academic reasons.

3.2 Academic Motives

Another motive that participants in this study emphasized was the need to seek opportunities that allow them to access training and formal education, for the aspiration of social and labour mobility of the individual or members of their family.

I left my place of origin for a while given that I went to university. With a lot of difficulty I managed to finish the teaching degree (Man, Purépecha, 45 years old, bachelor's degree).

(I came) with the purpose of studying and to be a better person and to be able to help other people in my town (Woman, Maya, 25 years old, student).

Seeking educational spaces that do not exist in their communities, or because what does exist does not speak to personal interests or are insufficient, it is another reason to migrate internally towards Guanajuato. The above reminds us of the works of authors such as Greenfield (2004), who found that in indigenous communities in Chiapas (in the south of Mexico) craft making is not universal among girls. This researcher found that in some communities, education had is considered a kind of vetting process that provides access to jobs.

In Chenalhó (a municipality of Los Altos in Chiapas, Mexico) for example, Chen (1991) observed that few women and girls knew how to embroider. A common answer to the question why the girls did not embroider was: school. Girls didn't have time to embroider because they attended some kind of educational institution. Upon asking the above, the girls replied that they did not like to embroider and they preferred to find a job which would allow them the buy things (like clothes). The same was found among girls and young people from other communities in the north of the state of Chiapas.

In communities in the Tostsiles of Simojovel de Allende, for example La Ilusión community, it was found that generations of young people and girls wanted to go to school before getting a job (Del Carpio, 2012). It may be observed, then, that young women are reducing the frequency at which they realize crafts and other activities (agriculture, commerce, and other traditional activities) and show interest for academic training so that in the future, they may access more stable work. Additionally, while the school generates or stimulates individualism and independence, crafts, in various cases, support family interdependence.

In this case, several aspects in common are mentioned. For example, the young protagonist population of internal migration manifests interest in continuing their academic training as a motive for their migratory mobility. On the other hand, we also observe that cultural capital demands secondary education be completed as a requirement for employment, a requirement which migrants are interested in fulfilling. This is especially true for certain sectors of the economy, such as industry.

Once more the family network for obtaining work is an important element when making a decision to leave the place of origin. This is illustrated in the following excerpt of an interview corresponding to a person originating from San Miguel de Allende who undertook a trip to Celaya.

I had no work in San Miguel and I was going through a really tough time, economically speaking. I spoke to my brother Martín to ask him to help me find a job in Celaya. He told me that I had to finish at least high school first. I found a small job in San Miguel and from there I took night classes to finish high school. I went to Querétaro to find work, but I couldn't find any, then I went to Celaya and … I arrived at the company Avon because my brother told me they were hiring. I had to pretend I didn't know my brother because the company doesn't allow family members. Finally, I got a job at the company and my family came with me to Celaya (Man, Otomí, 42 years old, San Miguel de Allende).

Work, studies, and family reunion constitute the main reasons for migration in this case. In the following section we look at the last of these motives: family.

3.4 Family Motives

Migration has multiple consequences that reconfigure family structure and dynamics. Family is one of the main aspects, of those that have been analysed, in the theoretical construction of migrations. In fact, the theory named *New Home Economics* considers that migrants do not seek only personal benefit, but maximisation of the benefits of migration in favour of the family. In other words, migration becomes a home strategy (Arango, 2003).

Adding to this that migration is considered a self-sustained social process, which causes migration to continue even when the initial factors have changed. A clear example of this is migration to reunite with relatives (Castles and Miller, 2004).

Family reunion constitutes, in this way, another motive for internal migration to Guanajuato. As the following extract shows, it is not easy, many new difficulties are faced: spaces and contexts that imply new learning and adaptation, facing situations of discrimination, difficulties accessing jobs due to having small children, as they are considered impediments for developing adequate work (in the case of women with small children that seek domestic work in the city they arrive in, for example).

Since my husband passed away… I had to do something to provide for my kids. That's why I had to come live here, even though at first it was hard because I don't know how to read or write. Well, I couldn't do any other kind of work, I went to ask for work in a house to tidy (clean), but they didn't want to give me work because my son was small, and they wouldn't take me with kids, and another (reason was) that at first they looked at me differently. People here are very discriminatory and think that you are going to steal things… I only wanted work to be able to give something to eat to my kids (Woman, Otomí, 29 years old, Querétaro).

Family reunion is a latent theme in the discussion of the study population, see the following testimonies that allude to this motivation:

We came to Michoacán many years ago. My dad found work here and he brought me when I was just a kid (Man, Otomí, 79 years old, State of Mexico).

My parents went first. They travelled from city to city and then they stayed here in Celaya, for the same reason that there is no work there. My parents first came and found a house, and then they brought us with them. My parents decided to come and live in the city because in the town we had almost no money and we couldn't make ends meet with what we had. That's why they decided to live here (Woman, Otomí, 25 years old, Querétaro).

Other motivations are discussed below.

3.5 Other Motives

Lack of Government Support

A few individuals interviewed had multiple reasons to move to the state of Guanajuato, which include those already mentioned but also others that we will point out here. In one case, an Otomí woman indicated that lack of government support, an extensive family, the need to find educational centres so that her brothers could continue their studies, and their parent's work, all of these motives – together- motivated the family to leave Querétaro and move to the state of Guanajuato.

Well, because at that time the government didn't help. And there were a lot of us, so, what my dad earned wasn't enough. It wasn't enough to live on and another reason was because my brother (the oldest), finished primary school that year,and as there we only had a primary school and if my brother wanted to continue (studying) well we had to move to Amealco. From there, the town, it is (an) hour or more away. The secondary school is really far away and we had to have enough money for transport, but at that time my dad had already moved over here to Celaya. He came to work for fifteen, twenty days, and after he returned there to the town. Between my dad and my mum they decided to bring us here…so that my brother could keep studying secondary school. That's why we are living here. They brought us all and here we stayed (Woman, Otomí, 30 years old, Querétaro).

Seeking Security and Physical Integrity

Unfortunately, violence, criminal activity and robbery has increased, which has propitiated that many people in this study searched for safer places.

I was born in Querétaro. My parents left their home because they and their brothers and sisters decided to live here together because they wanted more security for the family (Woman, Náhuatl, 30 years old, State of Mexico).

(We came) because there is a lot of crime in Michoacán, we can´t develop as people (Man, Purépecha, 16 years old, Michoacán).

Need to Establish Permanently in one Place

Artisans undertake, in many circumstances, seeking buyers for their products in multiple locations, which demands that they are walking or moving from place to place. The uncertainty, time inclemency, competition with other producers, little income that they can receive from their work, visiting multiple locations and travelling between various tourist locations, to other municipalities and other states becomes a way of life for members of the guild, which makes the search for a stable job and place to live understandable.

(We came) to work in a secure and fixed place, and not temporary. We got tired of walking, of being in one place then another (Man, 34 years old, Mixe, Oaxaca).

Failures of Small Family Businesses

As mentioned previously, before the excessive competition with other producers and traders in communities of origin, it is necessary to seek other places in which to offer the fruits of their labour. The excessive competition and increase in traders that offer similar services diminish the chances of finding users for services that are on offer, bringing with it the failure of small family businesses. Migration, in this panorama, is another opportunity that allows us to seek more options for income and work.

(We arrived here) because we were looking for work. In Durango there is a lot of competition to sell fruit. I had a small business there but it didn't work out. After, a friend came here to Guanajuato, he told me that there was a chance that I would do much better here and I decided to risk it, and come with my wife and children (Man, Tarahumara, 45 years old, Durango).

From the perspective of *New Home Economics*, as previously cited, it is argued that many times migratory flows respond to a home strategy to diversify activities and sources of income and not necessarily individual projects (Arango, 2003). Even though the majority of theories tend to analyse the motives of migration in terms of personal decisions, in the testimonies the central role that the home plays in the migratory process is frequently heard. It is even possible to note that not only family reunion is a latent motive of migration, but in many cases, complete families start a collective migratory project.

As may be observed, there are multiple causes for people from other states (and other municipalities or communities within the state of Guanajuato) to move to new spaces, to new contexts. Sometimes for work, for studies, or a combination of both which add to others such as: the search of security, the need to find less violent places with greater opportunities. In all cases, we see migration as a "microcosm" – if we may call it that - through which we may understand and analyse why original peoples are adapting or not to the processes of globalization and the modern world of work. Additionally, the skills that this implies: new learning, abandoning traditional elements (language, office, dress), development of adaptation abilities, acquisition of new knowledge and skills for new employment, capacity for resilienceand coping mechanisms among others.

Adverse attitudes towards migration, both internal and international, have been frequent in the history of population movements, which have been widely documented. In the case of indigenous peoples, this situation may be even more disadvantageous as they have an additional multicultural element, which makes an adverse receiving climate possible. Some of the visible marks of indigenous people, such as the phenotype language, culture, or customs may constitute criteria of exclusion on the part of other groups (Castles and Miller, 2004). Migration generates plurality, but as Joaquín Arango (2003b) writes, it would be a mistake to deduce that accommodating diversity is an easy matter. It is not easy in traditional receiving societies of immigrants either (Arango, 2003b).

4. Conclusions

As we pointed out earlier, international migration has been, to a large extent, the centre of attention of social scientists and migration researchers in Mexico. However, we are conscious that internal population flows require continuous study due to its diverse manifestations. Causes and consequences of internal migration cannot be analysed from a monolithic standpoint as socio-demographic characteristics and the context in which they place migration merits a segmented approximation. This research has attempted to contribute to the study of internal migration of the indigenous population.

Even though the motives of internal migration of indigenous groups in our country have numerous points of overlap with migrations in general (such as the search for better job opportunities, family reunion, among others), one aspect that distinguishes it is the strategic use of the indigenous identity. If migrants travel with their worldview and culture, they decide what to make people aware of and what not. It seems that in order to access the "modern" world of work the indigenous population must resort to a strategic use of identity "camouflage" or become a "social chameleon" in order to function and deal with, in some way, spaces and experiences of discrimination or exclusion.

In the same way, we have determined that arriving to a new place invites (or obliges) the development of skills that appeal to the capacity of adaptation, to the creativity and innovation of the migrant. We say the above because we observe here the ability indigenous people show to deal with the uncertainty of a new context, of spaces that are foreign in which, on occasions, they abandon the use of the original tongue, traditional dress, and the production of crafts, or ancient rooted, traditional, and community activities.

We also observe the processes of proletarianization of indigenous groups and of their labour migration. When individuals or familiesmigrate they have more vulnerable identities, as processes of re-socialization are established alone and they do not dialogue with members of the same group, they do not share their tongue, nor their values, which may diminish the use and presence of their own elements of their original and cultural identity. While there are greater chances of cultural persistence and permanence of identity, memory, and language where group migration exists, processes of re-socialization in the receiving locality, allows them to interrelate as a group.

We also recognise that a more extensive and profound study is required in order to understand population, social, cultural, and economic dynamics of indigenous populations settled in Guanajuato. Making indigenous groups visible, including those migrations of a pendulum nature, is one of the big challenges for governments, citizens, and academic communities, to avoid discrimination, social, cultural, and political exclusion, such as abolishing fragmentation and marginalization. Without a doubt, a lot is lacking regarding the study of internal migration in Mexico, this work adds to the sum of said effort.

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6. Table

Table 1: Motives for Internal Migration of Indigenous People towards the State of Guanajuato

General Motive	Specific Motive	Description
Work	**Traders**	Group of answers that are oriented towards indicating the motives for internal migration that are related to trade and commerce in the sale or exchange of merchandise realized between community members of origin and or locations of origin. In these testimonies, we also find the problems derived from this activity.
	Seasonal Agriculture	Group of answers where the central problem is related to the existence of a limited capacity or means of production (land) and work (being small parcels, rain fed, etc.), where complementary occupations are sought such as incomes in other communities or destination locations.
	Workforce	Group of answers that indicate that it only possesses the work strength to be able to subsist and turns to temporary or permanent migration to a destination community or locality.
	Need or Extreme Poverty	Here, internal migration obeys the poor conditions of subsistence in the community of origin that obliges people to seek out other communities or localities of destination with better economic conditions and diverse work opportunities.
Family motives	**Death of a Family Member**	Group of answers that underline how the death of a family member leads to the re-location of one or various members of the family structure in the backdrop of a receiving community or locality.
	Decisions by other Family Members	Answers that reflect different family wefts such as: integration, re-composition, reach, separation or disintegration of family members in the backdrop of a destination community or locality. Marriages, separations, searching for family members etc.
	Other family motives	Generally arising from family structure.
Academic Motives	**School/Continue studies**	Answers that point to the need to access formal education, for aspirations of social mobility and job mobility of the subject or of family members.
Other Motives	**Search for government support, security, other**	Group of answers that vary from the aforementioned criteria.

Source: Table constructed using information obtained during field work.