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Migration and remittances in the south of the State of Mexico

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Abstract

In this article some estimations of the State of Mexico's international migration and of the correspondent remittances to the municipalities of Tejupilco and Almoloya de Alquisiras; similarly, the final destination of these remittances is explored, which are mainly destined to the completion of the family incomes to satisfy the consumption. Lastly, some proposals to integrate a migratory policy in the State's of Mexico entity are elaborated. This work is sustained in a field research done in the two municipalities mentioned and the analysis from secondary sources.

Key words: international migration, monetary remittances, migratory policies, State of Mexico.

Resumen

Migración y remesas en el sur del Estado de México

En este artículo se presentan estimaciones de la migración internacional mexiquense y de las remesas correspondientes a los municipios de Tejupilco y Almoloya de Alquisiras; asimismo, se explora el destino final de esas remesas, las cuales se dedican fundamentalmente a completar los ingresos familiares para satisfacer el consumo. Por último, se elaboran algunas propuestas para integrar una política migratoria en la entidad mexiquense. Este trabajo se sustenta en una investigación de campo llevada a cabo en los dos municipios del sur del Estado de México y el análisis de fuentes secundarias.

Palabras clave: migración internacional, remesas monetarias, políticas migratorias, Estado de México.

Introduction

The migratory process involves the flow of persons and workers as well as material, monetary and symbolic goods, characteristics that turn it into a socio-cultural phenomenon. In the State of Mexico, Mexico, migratory flow has been present since the beginning of the last century which has enabled the conformation and consolidation of social networks that are part of such process, especially in those regions and communities of the State where it has been more intensely present along the years. In the traditionally migrant-ejector regions, an important quantity of families and communities has ordinarily lived from and with migration for several generations. The migratory process has



configured a complex system of interchange networks and circulation of people, money, goods and information, which tends to transform the migrants' settlements on both sides of the border in a large single community disperse in a multitude of places (Canales and Zolniski, 2001).

According to official estimations, the flow of funds from workers residing abroad has substantially increased in recent years, so those resources constitute one of the main economic resources for the Mexican economy. In repeated occasions the potential this flow could have if it was reoriented towards productive investment has been stated. In this respect Ramírez and González (1999) make public diverse state and federal policies directed to channel this money flow into businesses and familiar enterprises' formation which generate employment, productive investment and other positive effects on local and regional economies.

Nonetheless, a conceptual revision is required as well as the analysis of the empirical data on which being supported. A first point to solve is how to conceptualize the money flow from the workers residing abroad: What is the composition of those resources from abroad? Even more, what is the use of those resources in the houses? Likewise, it is pertinent to ask what the meaning is, not only quantitative (economic) but also qualitative (social and cultural), of each component for the social dynamics of the southern communities of the State of Mexico.

Undoubtedly, the funds sent to Mexico by the workers living abroad, known as remittances, configure an important factor that fosters the local and regional economies. It is probable that without this money flow, such economies would collapse and enter into an extreme impoverishment circle. However, that does not indicate that remittances are necessarily an empowering factor for the economic growth through the saving-investment circuit. In this respect, our main central hypothesis is focused precisely on this point.

The remittances, rather than expressing a saving-investment potential, reflex, on the contrary, the basic needs' dissatisfaction level in diverse localities in Tejupilco and Almoloya de Alquisiras, State of Mexico. Expressed in other words, the economic growth's potential is subordinated to the migration's fundamentally laboring character, i.e., to the individuals who emigrate searching for an employment and a salary which permit them to guarantee their family quotidian reproduction; in the second place, it is about relatively poor communities, many of them far from or unrelated to the important economic centers in the regional and national sphere, and with reduced options to attract productive

investments of a different sort. The aforementioned forces this work to propose three basic points: a) to perform estimations of the international migration from the State of Mexico and of the remittances; b) to observe the final destination of the remittances, from the hypothesis that rather than expressing a saving-investment potential of the migrants from the Tejupilco and Almoloya de Alquisiras municipalities, the remittances allow only to satisfy the familiar expenditures, and c) to elaborate some proposals on migratory policies for the State of Mexico. In this article the approaches to analyze migration and remittances are revised; relevant data on migration and remittances at a national level are analyzed, in zones of great migratory tradition the experiences are recalled; the State's experience on migration and remittances is observed; the in-field research's results in two municipalities from the southern region of State of Mexico are shown and some migratory policy lines applicable to this State are proposed.

Approaches on migration and remittances

The current debate on the use and impact of remittances in the migrants' origin countries includes their distribution by region and country discernment, as well as their final destination. The revision of some recent experiences in respect to the remittances' final destination shows two clearly differenced possibilities: for consumption and for scarce investment. The growth in migration means generally more remittances. Not long ago, researchers and institutions tended to discard the remittances' importance or to just pay attention to their negative aspects in the regional and national development. They affirmed that the worker-sent money was mostly spent on consumption articles and indicated, furthermore, that investment in productive activities in order to improve the developing countries' economies was seldom made. They also feared that those who received the remittances would start relying on them, damaging the investment in activities that would generate incomes for them, especially in agriculture. Besides, according to these arguments, what they considered to be an excessive consumption would end into inequity and the families who depended on the remittances would surpass the reachable standard of life of those people from the community who did not have relatives working abroad. Frequently, the government's efforts to stimulate or to demand the remittances' investment were oppressive or produced scarce economic advancements. As time would

pass, the critics pointed out, the remittances would decrease at the extent that migrants would settle in their new communities and cut any relation with their origin communities, so that when those significant incomes would stop contributing their maintenance, the wives and children would be economically delayed (Russell, 1986; Keely and Tran, 1993).

This pessimistic vision and its reasoning in the use of remittances can be assumed as follows: a) they generate little stimulation or distortion of the regional and national development; b) they create a situation of dependency on importations; c) they provoke goods, services and workforce (instability) inflation; d) they originate a social and salary polarization (mainly in economic crisis periods) and e) in general, they give as a result few agricultural investments (González, 2002b: 5). These elements eclipse the temporary advantage of a few fortunate migrants.

Moreover, from this perspective it is argued that an unavoidable diminution in the remittances could be induced by: a) the deterioration of salary rates; b) the fell of the real salaries due to the inflation, and c) the propensity of the workers to permanently abide in the country where they work and take their families to live with them.

The stance argues that apart from being unstable, remittances destroy the economic process, since they are spent on consumption goods and not invested or saved, so they do not close the countries' gap between poverty and wealth; on the contrary they make it wider. Durand calls this point of view "pessimistic view", where Corona (1998) and Canales (2000) and a series of authors who have researched the remittances' economic impact on the international migrants' places of origin coincide.

Opposite from the previously stated, other researches support an optimistic view, from which it is argued that the remittances affect the developing countries' economies in a more positive way than it was formerly acknowledged. Susan Martin, professor from Georgetown University, states: "the multiplying effect of the remittances can be considerable, each one of these dollars creates additional dollars in the economic growth of the enterprises which produce goods and supply the articles acquired with them" (Martin, 2001).

Martin assures that remittances are clearly necessary and useful, but points out that the United States' poorest residents as well as those in similar conditions from other wealthy countries bear most of the burden of helping people in developing countries. Frequently, the remitters deprive themselves from education investment and technical formation they need to be able to compete in the destination country.

Many of these problems still exist nowadays, but recent studies reveal a much more complex picture. Maybe, due to the fact that the remittances' amount has increased in Mexico in a considerable way during recent years, and that the government has raised the migrants' status to that of heroes, the experts recognize the remittances' effect is more positive on the developing countries' communities than it was considered before. Edward Taylor, from the University of California, assures that even the use of remittances in consumption articles stimulates the economic development, particularly when families spree-spend that money.

The remittances' microeconomic effect can also be significant. The associations of migrants from the same town are important contributors of the local governments at their origin countries since they send resources to the communities they came from. These resources, collected in a wide variety of ways, have helped cities improve roads, water supply and sewage systems, schools as well as other communal infrastructure. Frequently, these associations start with very little resources, but they have the potential to grow up to a considerable size.

The aforementioned can be summarized as follows: remittances are a great economic potential, for they react to market forces; the productive investments, as the enterprises formation and human capital investment (education, health, etc.) provide resources for the transition to another development; they have effects on the internal market's broadening (improve the income's distribution) and reduce the States expenditure on infrastructure, subsidies and services. All this helps a society's significant part improve its quality of life (González, 2002b: 6).

Different studies on Mexican migration towards the United States stand out as the main causes of such phenomenon the absence of sufficient employment, backwardness and marginalization. Paradoxically, the migration generates an important financial flow towards the communities of origin that even if it is mainly utilized for the familiar subsistence, it can have a relevant multiplying effect on the national and regional spheres, but it is in the latter context where remittances produce larger economic and social impacts, and where potentially remittances—overcoming the high charges and the exchange rate manipulations— can act as a support (along with State and Federal resources) to finance small projects and micro-projects, permanent employment generators.

Definition of remittances

There are two fundamental definitions of the international migrant generated resources, both based on the money's origin and transfer:

1. Unilateral transfers with no compensation, which is the classic individual remittance definition: migrant entrance, familiar assistance (monetary or physical) and allowances.

2. Unilateral transfers besides capital transfers, where collective and business transfers are included, i.e., resources whose origin is not the salary, and are directed towards social investments or bi-national or transnational enterprises formation.

In this work we will take the first concept of remittances sent by the State of Mexico's migrants —especially the ones from Tejupilco and Almoloya de Alquisiras— from the United States.

Current characteristics of the Mexican international migration

With the aim to establish the social and economic context where remittances transfer is given, let us briefly revise some of the current tendencies and repercussions of the Mexican international migration.

1. In the economic globalization context—whose expression in Mexico is the commodity free flow, direct and indirect foreign investment, the productive structure transformation and the signing of NAFTA— the number of Mexican States whose inhabitants take part in the international migration has increased. Particularly, this migratory movement—traditionally observed almost exclusively in rural zones— has been enlarged by big cities or metropolitan zones' abiders, in spite of the United States' restrictive policy towards migration.

2. There has been an acceleration in migration, which has implied an international migrant stock increase, mostly of Mexican people towards the United States (it has been estimated that in 1990 in the United States there were 4.3 Million of Mexicans, and by 2002, the calculation was 9.9 million people).

3. There is a diversification in the temporary, permanent, transnational and circular migrations (qualified and unqualified). This implies to recognize the differentiation of the Mexican migration towards the United States.

4. There is a feminization of the rural migration because of the rise in women's participation in the migratory circuits in all of the country regions and in the State of Mexico. For instance, out of the total of Mexican immigrants in the United States reported by the U.S. Census Bureau in 1990, 42 percent were women, and based on the Current Population Survey, in 2003 this percentage increased to 46 percent. This means women have an increasingly important role in the different types of international migration.

5. There has been a politicization of the migrations in the national, regional and state spheres. The political actors and Mexican society's sensibility is recognized as for the migration's importance as a national and international phenomenon, and in the Mexican Representatives' Chamber the Mexican migrants' vote has been considered (mainly for those living in the United States), however, Mexico's policy towards international migration is that of making no policy at all (Alba, 2000). On the contrary, the United States' policy is that of restraining the unqualified workers' entrance and facilitating the highly qualified workers', which is stipulated in NAFTA, chapter XVI. Apart from this, the United States' security policy is affected by the international migration between both countries.

6. Migratory circuits are characterized by a constant money flow. The remittances in the national sphere have increased within the last 20 years; for instance, in 1980 Mexico received from this activity 2.2 thousand million dollars; in 2001 it was 8.9 thousand million dollars and in 2003 it was 13.3 thousand million dollars. Thus, remittances have turned into the second income source after oil exports, and substituting tourism as the second income source from abroad (González, 2002b: 28).

The main use of remittances in Mexico

The main national remittances' destination is the basic needs' satisfaction and other sorts of home expenditures. For instance, the information from the *National Migration Survey towards the Northern Border and the United States* (ENEFNEU), indicates that a 70.4 percent of the remittances declared by the interviewed people were destined to basic consumption (households consumption, acquisition of cars and appliances); 8.6 percent to housing

TABLE 1
RELATIVE DISTRIBUTION OF THE WORKING MIGRANTS REMITTANCES
WHO SEND MONEY TO MEXICO FROM THE UNITED STATES,
BY MAIN USE AND DIFFERENT INFORMATION SOURCES
(PERCENTAGES)

Type of use	ETIDEU 1984	EMIF 1993-1997	EMIFV 1999-2000
Basic consumption	83.70	78.50	58.30
Domestic consumption			
Purchase of car and electric appliances			0.90
Housing	5.10	16.50	25.00
<i>Purchase, construction, improvement</i>			
Productive investment	2.70	1.70	
Purchase of land and agricultural implements and cattle			2.20
<i>Setting up a business</i>			3.50
Others	8.50	3.30	5.30
Debt payment			4.80
Other expenses			
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Conapo, 1998, andy Colef, Conapo and STPS, 1994-2000.

(purchasing, construction and improvement); 7.3 percent to productive investment (land, agricultural implements and stock acquisition, establishment or acquisition of business); 8.2 to pay debts and 5.5 to other kind of expenses.

The 1984 National Survey in the Northern Border applied to Mexican Undocumented Workers Deported by the United States' Authorities indicates that 83.7 percent of the remittances were destined for basic consumption, 5.1 to housing, 2.7 percent to productive investment and 8.5 percent to other expenses.

The estimations derived from the Survey on Migration on the Northern Border, between 1993 and 1997 reveal that the consumption at homes was the most important entry with 78.5 percent; followed by housing, with 16.5 percent; the productive investment, with 1.7 percent and other expenses with 3.3 percent. These very entries have been modified in the recent years, for there has been an increment in the housing entry and the percentage of consumption expenditure

according to Table 1 has been reduced, which means that along time the remittances' use has presented a transition in its family budget distribution (Table 1).

Case Studies in Western Mexico

In a study developed by Papail and Arroyo (1996) in four Jalisco cities with great migratory tradition, the authors found interesting situations. For instance, Tepatitlán destined most of the remittances' resources to family support (55 percent) and an important percentage to savings (26.7), as well as land and houses acquisition (7.3 percent), to productive investment (6.1 percent) and other expenses (5.1 percent).

The other municipality that also presents a peculiar situation is San Juan de los Lagos, where the home expenditures entry took 64 percent of the remittances, and the "other uses" entry 19 percent. Apart from this, in the rest of the localities, the prioritized use of remittances for family support was 82.9 and 76.9, in Lagos de Moreno and Ciudad Guzmán, respectively (Table 2).

Studies by Massey *et al*, performed in three Jalisco communities and one in Michoacán, establish that the money saved by the migrants in the most recent stay into the United States was modified. The expenses for family support were between 26.4 and 57.1 percent of the referred remittances. The resources destined to housing were between 29.8 and 48.1 percent and in respect to the productive investment they were between 8.9 and 21.1 percent in the most recent travel performed by the migrant. The percentages that increased were productive investment and housing; because of this the authors conclude that the sent remittances had a multiplying effect in the regional and local economic activity.

Characteristics of the State of Mexico's international migration

Although ever existing, according to some studies since 1920 up to now, State of Mexico migration towards the United States has reached important levels since the beginning of the 1980's decade and varies from one municipality to another, in respect to the localities' case: urban-rural, urban or rural, with tradition or recently incorporated. According to the data from the *General Population*

and Housing Count in 1995, General Population and Housing Count in 1995, 2000 Population Census, the State of Mexico took the fourth place in all of the states in respect to population ejection towards the United States and the rest of the world. The participation of the State of Mexico in the migration towards the United States went from the 20th place in 1970 to the fourth in 2000.¹ This implies drastic changes, according to three hypotheses we have worked out in order to project the State of Mexico migration. First hypothesis, a high emigration rate is supported. Under this assumption we found that 1 235 616 people have emigrated abroad on a permanent basis. This, supposing that emigration increased at a 10 percent yearly rate and that corresponds to a period of the international migration overcrowding of Mexican and State of Mexico people. The second hypothesis corresponds to a moderate international State of Mexico migration. Under this condition, it is supposed a growing yearly rate of 1.1 percent, which corresponds to an emigration of 100 people a day or 36 thousand a year. With this the estimation for the year 2006 of the native people from the State of Mexico living abroad was set in 872 020. The third hypothesis is the one which corresponds to low migration, whose figure was estimated in 818 958 people living abroad. In this scenario we state a yearly emigration of 27 156 people and with an average of 74 emigrants a year (Table 3).

TABLE 2
RELATIVE DISTRIBUTION OF THE USE OF FAMILY REMITTANCES, IN FOUR
COMMUNITIES OF JALISCO, 1990-1993
(PERCENTAGES)

Type of use/locality	Lagos de Moreno	San Juan de los Lagos	Tepatitlán	Ciudad Guzmán
Family maintenance	82.9	63.0	54.8	76.9
Purchase of land or house	8.1	7.1	7.3	5.5
Productive investment	1.6	2.3	6.1	8.1
Saving	3.6	8.0	26.7	5.2
Other use	3.9	19.6	5.1	4.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Papail and Arroyo, 1996.

¹ The most recent data on international migration from the State of Mexico show that it has increased. Among the data reported by the sample from 1995 to 2000, in absolute terms, it changes from 128 233 to 135 782 migrants. Based on this information, the State of Mexico took the fourth place as proportion of the international emigration in the country, which means that an average of 26 thousand people leave the country every year (González, 2002a).

The State of Mexico presents various migration patterns towards the United States:

1. The one which comes from great migratory tradition zones (for example, the Southern State of Mexico, among others)². This is reflected on a regional distinction of the phenomenon's behavior among well established circular patterns defined years ago (which have not been studied) and the emergent ones, or the ones that can be in the migratory cycle first phase because of the recurrent economic crises and the economic restructuring as well as the economic integration, and start a new circular migration process.

2. Those who leave urban zones, that can be considered as the international migration's new emergent zones; such as Nezahualcóyotl, La Paz, Chimalhuacán, Ecatepec, Naucalpan, Tlanepantla and Toluca municipalities, among others.³

3. Other zones considered emergent are the indigenous communities (Mazahua and Otomí) who traditionally migrated to the country's main urban centers, preferably Mexico City, and the main border cities, such as Ciudad Juárez, Tijuana, Matamoros, Reynosa, Piedras Negras, etc. but nowadays they do it towards the United States and Canada. In these indigenous communities a double northern-culture-assimilation process is lived, different to that of the south of the State. This is: An American northern-culture-assimilation process for the Mestizo population and a Mexican Northern-culture assimilation process for the Mazahua and Otomí indigenous people.

4. Finally, an incipient migration toward Canada and the rest of the world, mainly towards Europe (González, 2002a).

These State of Mexico's new international migration patterns indicate that populations from hundreds of cooperatives, ranches, towns and cities have learnt to earn their living and to reproduce their traditional solidarities adapting them to the current globalization and economic integration circumstances, having had to learn the way of living in two or several places at the same time, where they acquire new abilities, reinforce their economic resources and protect themselves from the nature's whims, from the world's market, and even from a higher border surveillance, as the one experienced after the attacks against the United States' economic power symbols on September 11th 2001.

² Migration in the great tradition zones has been inserted in the communities' economic, social and cultural lives and has conformed transnational communities, because the departure of people towards the United States has been present even before the Bracero Agreements in 1940 and 1960.

³ Migration in urban zones is associated with the social networks that extend to the rural zones of great tradition in Mexico and the State of Mexico. Due to this, in previous works we have called them as multi-contact or multi-local networks, in Mexico as well as abroad (González, 2002a).

TABLE 3
INTERNATIONAL EMIGRATION FROM THE STATE OF MEXICO:
ESTIMATION ACCORDING TO THREE HYPOTHESES

Years	High migration hypothesis	Years	Medium migration hypothesis	Years	Low migration hypothesis
	Absolute		Absolute		Absolute
1950	12 439	1950	12 439	1950	12 439
1960	15 886	1960	15 886	1960	15 886
1970	21 733	1970	21 733	1970	21 733
1980	60 538	1980	60 538	1980	60 538
1990	122 159	1990	122 159	1990	122 159
1995	387 060	1995	387 060	1995	387 060
2000	656 020	2000	656 020	2000	656 020
2001	729 029	2001	692 020	2001	683 176
2002	810 163	2002	728 020	2002	710 333
2003	900 327	2003	764 020	2003	737 489
2004	1 000 525	2004	800 020	2004	764 646
2005	1 111 874	2005	836 020	2005	791 802
2006	1 235 616	2006	872 020	2006	818 958

Source: Own estimations based on Coespo, 1993; INEGI, 1995, and INEGI, 2000.

State of Mexico migration towards the United States in the 1960's and 1970's was characterized for being temporary and made up by farmers, whose cycles were adjusted to workforce demand from the United States. Currently, debt and devaluation crises have been migration impelling factors for urban youths and professionals, impoverished and unemployed, who take the risk of a dangerous journey beyond the country's northern border, due to the militarization on the United States' side. This has made migrant workforce to look for a permanent residence in the destination places.

Many of the communities in the Southern State of Mexico's characteristics are being transnational, at the extent of what some researchers call 'a Northern-Culture-Assimilation Process', '*Norteñización*', since there are communities which are transnational suburbs in California (Los Angeles and San Francisco), Texas (Austin, Dallas, San Antonio), Illinois (Chicago), Pennsylvania and Idaho, among other States in the U.S.A. In order to be sure of their support, migrants

are forced to extend their families and homes on both sides of the border, creating transnational homes and communities, a situation that can be shown by means of the intensity of the international migratory flow from the State of Mexico and the field research we are currently performing in the area. In this region the processes described by Jorge Durand in his works were developed, i.e., many of the abiders changed from mule drivers into *braceros*, then into undocumented migrants, and currently they have created transnational communities.

Likewise, we can find communities with a migratory tradition dating from the last half of the 20th century and other communities where it has become a relevant aspect of daily life. Children only think of finishing school (secondary at most) so that they can leave home and go to work in the Pennsylvanian fields mushroom-harvesting; to the Californian fields, to dash strawberries, tomato and cucumber, or to the sawmills, stables or any of the other agricultural activities in that destination area. There can also be found, in zones with migratory tradition, local *coyotes*, offers on tourist travels to the United States, as well as transportation routes that take messages, news, money and even appliances back and forth. The variety of the experiences is very wide: from the migrants who succeeded in the United States to those who just came back or, those whose return is to be kept, since they suffered a work accident or were mistreated by the border patrol, but it also can be just a memory as they die trying to cross the border or drowned in the Rio Grande. Many women have been left alone and they must fulfill a double role, being a father and a mother at the time. Moreover, in the State of Mexico's international migration adventure, some women have the role of Penelope; it is, rooted to the origin land, the one waiting for the traveler. The "elder" are those who started the threads of the social networks and nowadays remember the treatments suffered at the time of the Bracero Agreement. Most of these people say they were inspected and undressed to be fumigated so that they can stay into the United States. These days, they are the ones who look after the community's children or wait for their sons' return to the youth-absent communities —another migration's consequence—, for most of the working-age young men have gone and only adult people and children remain in the community.

State of Mexico's emigrant remittances

As for the remittances sending, the State of Mexico had in 1975 the 18th place in the national ranking, in the year 2000 it took the 4th place with home remittances from the United States, worth 650 million dollars, on average a year (6.9 percent in respect to the national) (Díez-Canedo, 1980: 16; Lozano, 2002); in 2003, that value increased to 1 040.00 million dollars (with a 7.80 participation) and in 2004 to 1 385.00 million dollars (8.3 percent) (Table 4). Undoubtedly, this shows the relevance of the international migration from the State of Mexico.

Based on the General Population and Housing Census in 2000 it was estimated that only two percent of the State of Mexico's homes⁴ received remittances in the last five years (Graphic 1).

Similarly, the quoted information source indicates that in four percent of the State of Mexico's homes there was international migration in the 5 years prior to the census (Graphic 2).

TABLE 4
INCOME FOR FAMILY REMITTANCES AND DISTRIBUTION BY FEDERAL
ENTITY (PERCENTAGES)

Entity	2000	2001	Entity	2003	2004
Jalisco	11.10	11.10	Michoacán	12.60	13.20
Guanajuato	9.70	9.74	Guanajuato	9.00	9.20
Michoacán	9.50	9.46	Jalisco	9.70	8.50
México	6.90	6.95	México	7.80	8.30
Veracruz	5.00	5.02	Puebla	5.90	5.80
Federal District	4.80	4.79	Federal District	6.30	5.70
Others	53.00	52.93	Others	48.70	49.30
Total	100.00	100.00	Total	100.00	100.00

Source: Estimations of Conapo based on the *Proyecciones de la Población de México 2000-2030*, México, 2002; and Bank of Mexico, *Indicadores Económicos*.

⁴It is worth mentioning that the total of homes reported by the Population and Housing General Census in the year 2000 was 2 987 023.

The socio-demographic characteristics of those who received remittances in the 5 years previous to the census were the following:

1. Out of those who received remittances, 68.5 percent were women and 31.1 men. The numeric difference expresses a larger men displacement, although it has been said that in recent years feminine movements have been growing.

2. Fifty percent of those who received remittances from abroad were between 0 and 44 years old, and 44.1 percent was 45 years old and older. Obviously, there is an important variation in the age groups, however, this indicator shows the ages of the economically supported through international migration.

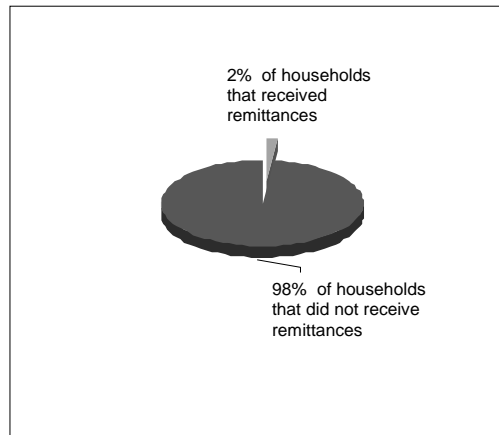
3. In relation to the kinship, 55.7 percent were family heads, 17.2 percent, husbands or wives, and 14.5 percent sons or daughters. The figure was superior for those who were the family heads, since they are the responsible for managing the resources from abroad. This explains the role mainly performed by the women who stay, role that has to do with the administration of the house's budget in order to distribute it in education, health, clothing and nourishment.

4. As for the marital status of the remittances' receivers, 60.1 percent were married or lived in free union, 18 percent single and 21.9 percent expressed having another type of kinship. The percentages showed that the people who received more remittances are related to a stronger obligation at home and for their economically supported.

5. In the entry referring to the education level of those who received remittances, 22.6 percent stated they had not concluded the elementary school or any instruction at all, 41 percent declared having finished the elementary school and 36.4 percent the secondary school. This indicator is the reflection of the education improvement in the community; however, the other face of the problem is also present. Many State of Mexico abiders who receive remittances do not have any education and, that is for sure, most of them live in rural zones.

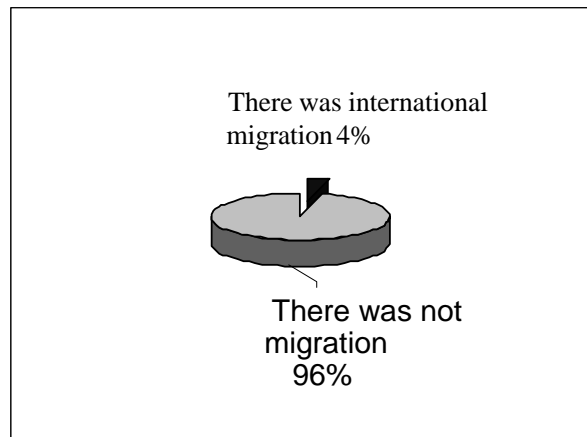
It is known that currently the remittances are limited to cover just the families' survival and do not allow saving. In some other cases, the incomes that finally reach the families in the state are not very high, because there are large filtrations in the sending and because the workers pay large amounts of money when they come and go, and also in their stay in the United States. These expenses are normally larger for the undocumented ones than for the residents or the documented. It is known that recently the migrant workers' salaries have descended and that there is a competence among Mexican and people from other countries for the working market in the United States. Likewise, it is frequent that they face long unemployment periods, mainly the ones who work in agriculture, and consequently, not earning money (Verduzco and Hunger, 1997).

GRAPHIC 1
STATE OF MEXICO'S HOUSEHOLDS THAT RECEIVE REMITTANCES



Source: Own elaboration based on information from INEGI.

GRAPHIC 2
STATE OF MEXICO HOUSEHOLDS WHERE THERE WAS
MIGRATION IN THE PREVIOUS FIVE YEARS



Source: Own elaboration based on information from INEGI.

Similarly, there are workers who due to their previous experiences or to their acquaintances in the networks and to get integrated into more stable jobs are able to find a job faster. In these cases, the savings, after discounting their expenses, can be sent them in a more constant way to their relatives.

All in all, we say remittances are characterized for being cyclic, unstable and insecure, apart from being unequal, even among migrants from the same community, which depends on the migrants' demographic characteristics, their labor insertion in the United States and the social networks they belong to.

Migration and remittances in Tejupilco and Almoloya de Alquisiras

Methodology

The methodology used in this work is based upon a random sample from the 1995 Population and Housing Count's data, where the sample units were the communities, basic geo-statistic area, block and houses, which are not overlapped collections. The sample size was estimated from proportions sampling, with this, estimations on the main parameters of the international migration and the remittances with a 95-percent reliability can be done. Tejupilco's sample size was 400 houses (200 rural and 200 urban) by then Tejupilco Municipality contained the recently created Luvianos, so the data represent both of the current Municipalities. In Almoloya de Alquisiras 350 house dwellers were interviewed. The instruments were questionnaires, applied to the people just arrived into town by the end of the 2001 and early 2002 or, in the case, an elder person with enough knowledge of the family migration (generally housewives).

Relevant data

The following quoted data specifically refers to Tejupilco and Almoloya de Alquisiras migrants, in the State of Mexico. It is worthy mentioning that at the moment of starting this work the current Luvianos municipality was part of Tejupilco. The migrants' origin communities are relatively poor, many of them

far and unrelated to the relevant economic regional and national centers, and with reduced investment-attraction opportunities of a different kind.⁵

From the Tejupilco and Almoloya de Alquisiras' situation we are able to state the following: the absolute size of Tejupilco municipality in 1995 was 84 897 people, according to INEGI. In the year 2000, this figure increased to 95 032 inhabitants. In 1995, the gender distribution was as follows: 44 percent were men and 50.45 percent were women and the rest was not specified (5.55 percent). In 2000 it changes a little: 48.66 percent were men and 51.34 percent were women. *Grosso modo*, these figures reflect there are more women than men in the municipality because of the national and international migration effects, and besides, because of the women's longer life expectancy.

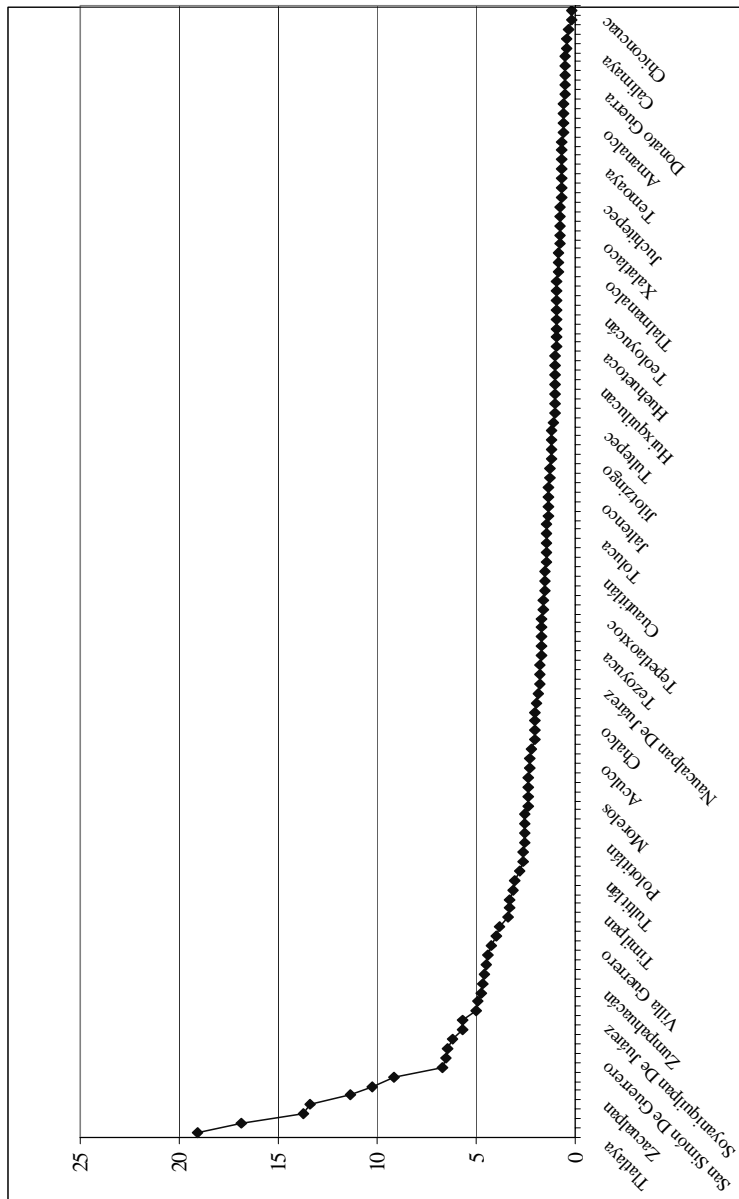
In 1995, the Almoloya de Alquisiras' population reached 13 667 inhabitants and by 2000 it increased to 15 584 people. In the first year 48.81 percent were men and 51.9 percent women. This gender distribution of the population varied in 2000 47.81 percent were men and 52.19 women, situation that expresses a larger men's migration than women's.

The National Council of Population reported data indicate that, in 2000, Tejupilco took the fifth place in migratory intensity and Almoloya de Alquisiras the sixth. Separately, Tejupilco had the ninth place with migrants in the previous quinquennium and Almoloya de Alquisiras the sixth. Likewise, Tejupilco had the third place in respect to the proportion of remittances-receiving homes and Almoloya de Alquisiras the tenth (Graphic 3). Undoubtedly, this data justify the importance of studying the international migration as well as the remittances in the aforementioned State of Mexico's municipalities.

By means of the survey applied in the municipalities we were able to establish that a demographic characteristic of Tejupilco's homes is that of emigration: 40.5 percent of the interviewed declared having lived somewhere else before living in the municipality at the moment of the interview. Also in that moment 27.7 percent of the homes had emigrants somewhere in the country or in the United States. 56.8 percent declared having other relatives (outside home) in the United States and 40.3 percent did not have any relative anywhere else at the time of the interview. This indicator (having relatives in the United States) makes us recognize the international migration and the remittances' importance in Tejupilco's homes.

⁵ It is so in the *Convenio de Desarrollo Social, Microrregiones 2002*, 2002 Micro-regions Social Development Agreement, signed between the state and federal governments. Almoloya de Alquisiras and Tejupilco are highly marginalized municipalities.

GRAPHIC 3
 PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS THAT RECEIVE REMITTANCES, 2000



Separately, in Almoloya de Alquisiras, 44 percent of the homes had already experienced some kind of migration and 56 percent declared that had not. The 30 percent declared having some relative in the United States, 23 in another country and the rest declared not having any close relative in the United States.

Characteristics of recent migration

By means of the survey we understood the first and the recent migration. In this case we expose the most recent migration's corresponding information. In Tejupilco, 279 people traveled to the United States for job reasons, out of them 171 people had been there only once; 100 more than once, and the rest did not specified their migratory situation. On their side, the interviewed in Almoloya de Alquisiras were 121 people; out of them 90 percent had emigrated more than twice and the rest had done it only once.

In the first migration, a large part of the Tejupilco abiders who traveled the most recent time did it with some relative (43.35 percent), with friends (20.91) and on their own (35.74 percent). The percentage of people from Almoloya de Alquisiras who traveled to the United States with a relative was 26.71; on their own 53.42 percent and the rest did it with friends.

In the most recent migration, the border crossing gates for Tejupilco migrants were: Piedras Negras (42.04 percent), Nuevo Laredo (18.18), Matamoros (5.68), Reynosa (3.79) and Tijuana (9.09); a 3.79 percent crossed by plane; the 13.43 remaining took different border gates in the north of the country. The emigrants from Almoloya de Alquisiras did it through Agua Prieta (43 percent), Tijuana (22.53 percent), Piedras Negras (12.68 percent) and the rest through different gates at the border. The differences in the crossing gates have to do with the border control in the main cities where it was traditionally performed and, besides, it is combined with the social networks that support the international migration on both municipalities.

In respect to the way of crossing, most of the Tejupilco emigrants in the second emigration did it undocumented and by means of *coyotes* (79.31 percent). It is noticeable the increment of those who did it with tourist or work visa, altogether they represented 13.41 percent this last datum represented for the Almoloya de Alquisiras emigrants 9.45 percent, whereas those who crossed the border supported by *coyotes* constituted 79.05 percent and the rest did it by means of other supportive forms.

In the first and most recent migration, the arrival places were largely at friends', for the Tejupilco emigrants as well as for the Almoloya de Alquisiras ones. In the most recent travel of the Tejupilco migrants, 88.93 percent arrived at a friends' and the rest at hotels or at another unspecified place. On their part, the migrants from Almoloya de Alquisiras who arrived at a friends' represented 86.9 percent, the rest did it at hotels and other places.

The cities where the migrant from Tejupilco was the longest were Austin (30.42 percent), Dallas (13.33 percent), Chicago (10.42), Los Angeles (4.17) and the rest in Santa Ana, San Antonio, Atlanta, Kansas City, Denver, Pomona, San Diego, Miami and Charlotte, among others. As for the migrants from Almoloya de Alquisiras, the main destinations were: Pennsylvania (77.7 percent), Phoenix (2.88), Los Angeles (7.19), Atlanta (5.75), Chicago (3.60) and San Antonio (2.16). The geographic distribution of the migration destinations of the two municipalities in the south of the State of Mexico is adjusted to two patterns: concentration and dispersion, similar situation to that of the Mexicans in the United States, which also presents two sorts of migration, according to the flow direction: the unidirectional and the multidirectional (Durand and Massey 2003: 98).

Most of the recent migratory flow has happened between January and April; the two municipalities have the same pattern. This seems to correspond to the usual temporality of the Mexican migration towards the United States, but it also coincides with the end of the December and regional celebrations in the south of the state.

In relation to the job the Tejupilco migrant has had in the United States, there are changes in both of the migrations: the first time agricultural jobs prevailed, whereas in the second migration the jobs as cooks, janitors, and builders stand out, which indicates us an activity diversification on behalf of the Tejupilco migrants. For the Almoloya de Alquisiras migrants, their economic activities in the United States (in their most recent migration) have been in the agriculture sector, in particular mushroom harvest in Pennsylvania.

This implies there is a relationship between the branch of activity where the migrant workers get inserted and the migratory tradition; we could say that the farming, catering and hotel trade, construction and other activities predominate. Likewise, most of the migrants work as employees, workers, and laborers. There are few people who work on their own. Those who do not sign a hiring contract are also an important percentage; however, between the first and the most recent migration there has been an increase in the number of those who did it.

The social benefits that the migrants from the analyzed municipalities receive in the United States have been increased between the first and the most recent migration. For instance, there has been an increment in the number of people who received health and vacation benefits and holiday bonus.

The remittances sent in the most recent migration

The remittances' morphology of the migrants from the Tejupilco and Almoloya de Alquisiras municipalities is as follows:

1. 45.77 percent sent at least once their relative remittances to Tejupilco. Half of the Almoloya de Alquisiras migrants did it at least once, the rest more than once.

2. The average amount sent in the last migration (from October to December 2001) was 1000 and 1200 for Tejupilco and Almoloya de Alquisiras, respectively.

3. In the last migration from Tejupilco, the sending means were: money orders (20.11 percent), with friends (8.62), banks (8.62), through a letter (17.80) or telegram (12.07). On the Almoloya de Alquisiras side, they used the following means: 31.46 percent did it through friends and relatives, 25.84 percent through a bank, 12.36 percent through money orders, 11.23 through a letter, 14.61 through telegram and 4.49 through another way (Table 5).

4. A half of the migrants from both municipalities sent remittances more than twice a year, and the other half only did it once. Undoubtedly, these remittances have a great impact on the morphology of the homes' incomes in both municipalities.

Morphology of the income

By means of the field research we have been able to develop a frame of the way in which the Tejupilco and Almoloya de Alquisiras' homes acquire their incomes, measured as a proportion of their incomes according to their source origin.

Most of them depend on the national income, made up by payments, salaries, overtime, commissions, tips, holiday bonus obtained in the country. With visible differences for Tejupilco homes, its national income was 77.44 percent, whereas for homes at Almoloya de Alquisiras it was about 70 percent.

TABLE 5
REMITTANCES SHIPMENT SYSTEM OF THE TEJUPILCO
AND ALMOLOYA DE ALQUISIRAS MUNICIPALITIES
(PERCENTAGES)

Concept	First migration		Last migration	
	Tejupilco	Almoloya de Alquisiras	Tejupilco	Almoloya de Alquisiras
Bank	14.49	16.36	8.62	25.84
Money order	14.49	16.36	21.84	12.36
With friend or relative	15.94	30.91	20.11	31.46
Letter	17.39	20.00	17.82	11.23
Telegram	34.78	9.09	12.07	14.61
NA	2.90	7.27	18.97	4.49
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

The incomes from national enterprise revenues are the obtained benefits from business (agricultural, commercial, transportation, manufactures, etc). Only just 9.2 percent of the homes interviewed in Tejupilco depends on this income and 5.31 percent in Almoloya de Alquisiras.

The incomes from properties' revenues (houses, lots, cattle, agricultural fields' leasing or selling) only constitute 0.34 percent in Tejupilco and 0.09 in Almoloya de Alquisiras.

In respect to the domestic and from-abroad family transfers (all those cash transfers made by relatives and friends), for Tejupilco they represented 0.73 percent and for Almoloya de Alquisiras, 8.83 percent, which implies a high dependency on the economic resources from abroad in the latter municipality.

Apart from this, when we refer to institutional transfers, we basically allude to incomes obtained by means of retirement, pensions, indemnifications, insurances; grants, Progresá and Procampo (federal government assistance programs). 5.93 percent of the Tejupilco interviewed population obtained their incomes in this modality. As for Almoloya de Alquisiras the figure reached 1.85 percent. This means there is a differential penetration of the government's benefits and programs. We also witnessed that some communities in the Tejupilco and Almoloya de Alquisiras Sierras do not have access to any governmental program or other type of institutional transfer at all.

Financial revenues are the incomes obtained by means of a bank deposit or savings banks, loans and bank withdrawals. In Tejupilco, 0.39 percent of the interviewed obtained resources in this way, and in Almoloya de Alquisiras, a 0.14 percent did it.

In respect to the international remittances, according to our own survey, 6.15 percent of the Tejupilco homes received incomes in this way; in the Almoloya de Alquisiras' case the figure was 6.24 percent. Most of them were family remittances (4.56 percent for Tejupilco and 3.60 percent for Almoloya de Alquisiras). At a lesser extent we found the institutional remittances (undoubtedly it would be the income tax) and capital and financial transfers (Table 6).

Family reproduction and remittances

Most of the family incomes at the homes interviewed in Tejupilco and Almoloya de Alquisiras are destined to every day reproduction: food, drinks and clothing and less frequently to buy appliances, transport, health and education, among other aspects, there are differences between those homes who have international migrants and those who do not. The expenses in some entries (such as the family reproduction) are larger among those who do not have an international migrant. For instance, in Tejupilco 55.07 percent of the family budget is used for consumption in the case of those who do not have a migrant, whereas, in those homes where there is a migrant this entry took 41.41 percent of the family budget (González, 2002b: 75).

The rest of the family budget is made up by savings for large expenditures, shares for communal ceremonies or festivities, durable goods purchase, as appliances or cars, or even to buy real estate, houses, lots, etc.

On its own, the Tejupilco and Almoloya de Alquisiras international migrants' remittances destination has primordially been the consumption (37.77 percent in Tejupilco and 28.81 in Almoloya de Alquisiras), home appliances and goods (27.47 percent for the first and 29.7 percent for the second) and also, with significant differences in each municipality for transport health, education and leases expenses (Table 7).

The health and education entry drew our attention, for both have to do with human capital formation. Besides, the differences in the budget distribution of remittances imply, up to a certain point, a transition in the use of them, because in some communities with great migratory tradition there has been a saturation point in the consumption, and in a way, there is a tendency to spend on other entries different from family reproduction.

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TABLE 6
MORPHOLOGY OF THE INCOME OF THE FAMILIES FROM TEJUPILCO
AND ALMOLOYA DE ALQUISIRAS
(PERCENTAGES)

Concept	Tejupilco	Almoleya de Alquisiras
Remuneration for the national work	77.44	70.75
National owner's rents	7.12	5.31
National property rents	0.27	0.09
Family transferences	0.57	8.83
Institutional transferences	4.59	1.85
Financial rents	0.30	0.14
Total international remittances	4.76	6.24
Family remittances	4.56	3.60
Institutional remittances	0.30	2.36
Capital remittances	0.07	0.69
Financial remittances	0.03	0.14
Total	100.00	100.00

Source: *Encuesta sobre migración y remesas* (Remittances and migration survey) UAEM, UdeG and Government of Michoacán, 2002.

TABLE 7
MAIN DESTINATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL MIGRANTS'
REMITTANCES FROM TEJUPILCO AND ALMOLOYA DE ALQUISIRAS
(PERCENTAGE)

Concept	Tejupilco	Almoleya de Alquisiras
In consumption	37.77	28.81
In household's goods	27.47	28.70
In transport	4.72	11.37
In health	12.45	14.68
In education	7.30	11.04
In rent or house payment	3.86	1.88
Financial expenditures	1.72	2.76
Other uses	4.72	0.77
Total	100.00	100.00

Source: *Encuesta sobre migración y remesas* (Remittances and migration survey) UAEM, UdeG and Government of Michoacán, 2002.

In the recent migratory tradition homes, the remittances expenditure percentage destined to consumption is much higher than in those homes with a great migratory tradition; towns such as Bejucos, Rincón de Ugarte and Almoloya de las Granadas, in Tejupilco and Pachiquilla, in Almoloya de Alquisiras, are illustrative in this respect, since there is a larger distribution in the use of the remittances in housing and human capital (González, 2002b: 90).

Comments

A larger cooperation between the academic sphere and the government must be developed in order to generate a correct knowledge of the international migration from the State of Mexico. For this, it is necessary to destine a larger number of researchers and economic resources to study the diverse material, financial and symbolic aspects of the international migration in the State of Mexico, an issue that academics, politicians and governmental institutions have scarcely dealt with. That is why we would like to draw the attention upon a demographic phenomenon of international importance, which must not be ignored in the state and municipal's development plans. At a national level, the growing importance of the State of Mexico's migrants who leave their communities in order to obtain better remunerations justifies the need for public policies on this population sector as well as their communities of origin. We have corroborated that an important quantity of the remittance-receiver homes still destine them to family consumption and their reproduction. Moreover, we support that there are communities which live transition processes in the use of their remittances: the ones who have a great migratory tradition have reached a saturation point in the consumption, so, they invest in other goods or home entries, and in human capital formation (education and health), as well as in investment and saving, principally in the so called *guardadito* (saved money kept at home).

This implies to create policies that support the remittances sending from the United States or from the places of origin, policies coherent with the regional, local and communitarian vocations (for instance, to support the guava production in Almoloya de Alquisiras). Besides, the creation of franchises or enterprises must consider the points of view of the inhabitants related to international migration. Similar programs must be given serious thoughts, like the three by one and four by one which have been established in other states in Mexico.

Separately, the middle and high social strata must favor the development of the regions with great migratory tradition, for they have been the benefited from the development model implemented in Mexico, in detriment of the popular strata, mainly of those who settle in rural areas, because in the past the settling of cities was favored by means of economic and human capitals transfer, so it is about time middle and high social strata supported the economic and social development of the impoverished regions.

Simultaneously to the implantation of international migration policies, a policy for internal migration must be generated. This is, they also have to contribute with resources to create productive projects and social works (schools construction, wells excavation, road maintenance, electrification, etc), in their communities of origin. Obviously, this must be supported by the State, who must not avoid the social responsibility that history has labeled it for.

There must be also a joint work with the existent State of Mexico's migrant clubs and to support the creation of others. We know the existence of at least six clubs from the State of Mexico to start with, as it has been done in other states in Mexico: the Atlas Club, in Cicero, Illinois; The Club from Bejucos, the Club from Luvianos and the Club from Tejupilco, in Austin; the Club of Toluca Natives, Reading, Pennsylvania based and the Tonatico Club, based on Waukegan, Illinois (Vega, 2002: 15).

It is necessary to generate a propitious environment for the cultural, sport, educative, and legal advisory interchanges for the people coming from the United States, for the injured and the sick, as well as for the women and undocumented migrants' organization at the places of origin.

It is also important to generate policies so that the migrants and their families have social security access, mainly those who stay: elder migrants, women and children.

The *Programa Migrante Mexiquense*, State of Mexico's Migrant Program, must continue orienting and informing the State of Mexico migrants, trying to link the migrant organizations with the program's activities and actions in a permanent way, not only during December.

In the political development area, the conditions for the migrants abroad to vote and be voted in federal, state, and local elections must be created.⁶

⁶This is because, based on the (*Instituto Federal Electoral*) Federal Electoral Institute data, the State of Mexico has the third place among states whose international migrants were interested in participating in the elections from abroad, only surpassed by Mexico City (with 12.3 percent) and Jalisco (15.9 percent). This means, the State of Mexico's people residing abroad who had registered (until January 19th, 2006) in the abroad resident nominal list represented 8.7 percent of the Mexican emigrants interested in voting from abroad.

To support the people who migrated towards the United States during the time of the Bracero Agreement so they would receive the savings they accumulate during the time they worked in that country.

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