Who Are the Returnees? Return Migration in Guanajuato 2005-2010: Three Scenarios in a Rural Context

Ana Vila Freyer 1
Profesora Asociada /Associated Professor
Departamento de Estudios Culturales
Demográficos y Políticos
Universidad de Guanajuato, Campus Celaya-Salvatierra
Ave. Ing. Barros Sierra No. 201
Ejido de Santa María del Refugio
Celaya, Gto, 38140

Abstract

This paper aims to explain why remittances did not reduce in rural municipalities of Guanajuato, characterized by a high rate of return migration between 2005 and 2010. We base the analysis on a review of census data and migration intensity index from the years 2000 and 2010, in which we identified that return migration follows different patterns in the municipalities of the state. From this dynamic, we build typologies that allow us to propose some hypothesis about why remittances did not reduce in some regions as would result from higher returnees. Built on this, we propose a research agenda based on qualitative work that will allow us to analyze in detail the features and return trajectories followed by migrants and their families in relation to tangible and intangible resources mobilized by migrants and their families in different regions of the state.

Keywords: Return migration, remittances, migrant families, Guanajuato, rural municipalities.

Introduction

Why did remittances not decrease proportionally with the percentage of households with returning migrants in rural municipalities of Guanajuato between 2005 and 2010? The return of migrants from the United States since the 2008 crisis has opened the theoretical reconsideration of the very idea of coming back home, and to the community of origin. This process reflects the different forms of adaptation used by migrants and their families to the conditions created by the economic crisis that erupted in the United States and the world, at the end of 2007.The return process has triggered an agenda of study in different regions to evaluate family resilience to assure their wellbeing. The level of returning migrants reached 2.2 percent of Mexican households between 2005 and 2010. Census data reported that return migration in the country has experienced an almost three-fold growth, from 267,000 in 2005 to 824,000 individuals in 2010 (CONAPO, 2011: 13). The census reports that Guanajuato registered returnees in almost 4.1 percent of households, reaching almost 100,000 persons, the double of the national average. This population increase holds true in all municipalities of Guanajuato (Vega, 2015). This paper seeks to describe, based on census data, that the socio demographic profile of persons returning back home explains why the number of households reporting receiving remittances did not reduce in rural communities of Guanajuato characterized by a high rate of return of migrants from the US between 2005 and 2010, mainly because the breadwinner stayed in the US while their family came back to their hometown.

The global crisis caused a narrowing of the movement of Mexicans to the United States, an increase in deportations of persons established in the latter country, reduced working hours and therefore remittances sent to their families (Bustamante, 2009; Cornelius, 2007; Cornelius, 2009, Passel, 2008).

The Mexican population census in 2010 came to confirm that although migration had not stopped, the net immigration from Mexico had reached levels close to zero (INEGI, 2011). Which meant that between 2005 and 2010 the same number of people who entered, left the country. The first signs of economic crisis in the United States caused Mexican migration authorities to seek support from various international agencies to develop programs that would give much needed attention to the expected intensification of returning migrants to Mexico, leading to the Human Repatriation Program by the National Institute of Migration (INM, Spanish acronym) and the creation of a fund for returning migrants (IOM, 2009).[2] Within this phenomenon an increase in deportations - or forced return - was detected by various scholars (Cassarino, 2004, 2007, 2008a and 2008b; Durand 2004). Since the Hold the Line program of 1993, many different strategies have been implemented by the US government to stop irregular migration, and the number of deported Mexican migrants has been increasing in parallel (Cornelius, 2007 and 2008). Between 1995 and 2000, according to figures released by the INM (Berumen, 2011), 853 000 deportation events occurred in 1995, passing one million 99 thousand in 1998 to reach its peak, with one million 171 thousand, in 1999. Later, during the decade of 2000-2010, the number has been reducing yet undulating, the most in this period was 791,000 in 2001, which fell to 530,000 in 2006, and 469,000 in 2010 (Berumen, 2011).

This phenomenon has gained important dimensions to the point that the British magazine *The Economist* (February, 2014) called US President Barack Obama (2008-2016) Deporter in Chief. Despite this, the deportees have been little studied in Mexico (except Guzman Fernandez, s/f, Paris Combo, 2010 and 2012; Padilla Delgado, 2012; Leite, 2009; Berumen, 2011; Castaneda, 2012). According to Zenteno (2012) there was a reduction in the number of detainees in Mexican and American Border States upon crossing. In exchange there was an increase of undocumented individuals who were established with their families from the United States, 9 percent of whom no longer have immediate family in Mexico (INM, 2008). Mansferer (2012; Mansferer and Roberts, 2012), in turn, detected the tendency of returnees generally resettled in urban areas, which do not necessarily correspond with the places of origin of migrants. Although, a review of the 2010 Migratory Intensity Index (CONAPO, 2012) showed that at the municipal level in Zacatecas (Moctezuma, 2013), and as discussed below in Guanajuato, this statement is not entirely accurate.

In Guanajuato, for example, the 46 municipalities of the state recorded an increase in population between 2005 and 2010 (Vega, 2015). One of the immediate effects of the economic crisis in the United States on Mexico has been that remittances from migrants have tended to decrease. The reduction in remittances is derived from the crisis affecting, in the first instance, the sectors of construction, low-skilled manufacturing, tourist services, and personal care, which tend to be the labor markets of the majority of Mexican migrants. Thus, in addition to unemployment, migrants began working fewer hours a week, and thus reduced their income and resources available to send to Mexico (Bustamante, 2009; Cornelius, 2009; Taran, 2010) to which we add the return of breadwinners. This caused the families of migrants to receive fewer resources and the amount of remittances received by the country dropped from 26 billion dollars in 2006 to 21.3 billion dollars in 2010, and climbed to 23.6 billion dollars in 2014 (BBVA, 2012, BBVA and Excelsior 2014, 2015). This decline is reflected in Guanajuato (Figure 1), moving 2.3 billion in 2006 dropping to 1.98 billion in 2010, and reaching 2.1 billion in 2014 (Banxico, 2015), with different results for urban and rural municipalities, as we explain in the results.

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[2] The program of human repatriation is basically conformed of existing migrant households at points of admission along the Mexico-United States border, a structure created by various organizations, mainly of the Catholic Church, the missionaries of St. Charles Borromeo in Tijuana, the Dominicans in Juárez City, and more recently the Jesuits in Sonora.

Figure 1: Reception of Remittances in Guanajuato
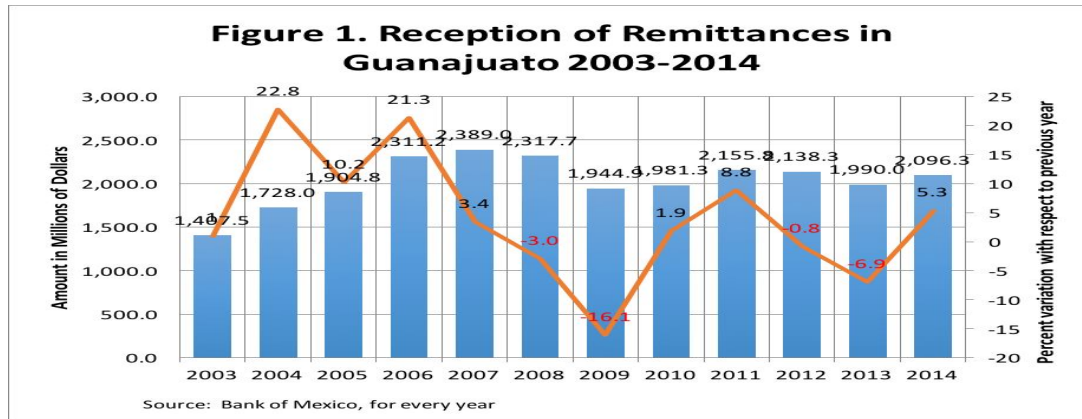
Early studies of return followed the old slogan of "follow the money", i.e., the first empirical and obvious evidence of return was the fall of remittances in the country, states and counties (municipalities). This assumption is related to the expected profile of the returning migrant who is the male head of household who had gone north leaving his family behind (Gandini, Lozano and Gaspar, 2014) and, upon returning, would linearly imply reducing remittances to the country. As this work will describe, this assumption is not entirely accurate. Moctezuma (2013, and Moctezuma et al, 2012) has uncovered, from an analysis of census data at the municipal level in Zacatecas, not just the individual return of young men of working age as expected, but also of whole families who had settled in the United States the previous decade, as a result of border restrictions. López Castro (2013), upon analyzing a detailed 2010 Immigration Intensity Index, was the first finding that there were municipalities which recorded increasing return of migrants with remittance growth. His work, however, did not advanced explanations of the possible reasons for this paradox. This paper aims to fill this gap by building different typologies of return to the state of Guanajuato in Mexico, made up of a comparison of migration intensity indices between 2000 and 2010. Trying to reinforce our argument, we used census data of selected municipalities to build socio demographic profiles of migrants returning back to their hometowns. In the next section we will explain the method for selecting the municipalities studied, to continue with a description of the results that give rise to the construction of at least three scenarios of migrant return into rural municipalities of Guanajuato. We conclude with a discussion of these results and some policy recommendations.

Method

The impact of return migration in Guanajuato has been heterogeneous. The latest census data show that the return of migrants went from 18,800 people to 82,000 over a period of 10 years, and an increase in the presence of male returnees, which increased from 65 to 78 percent over the same period (INEGI, 2011).The Migration Intensity Index Immigration (IIM) sample (Table I), also registered households with higher percentages of registration return migration are located in rural areas reporting return up to 2.3 times above the already high state average (4.1 percent, double of the 2.2 percent households reached at the national average in 2010). These municipalities are Apaseo el Alto, Manuel Doblado, Coroneo, Doctor Mora, Huenímaro, Jerécuaro, Ocampo, Romita, San Diegode la Union, and Santiago Maravatío). The greater presence of returned migrants in households - the number of whom were deported is unknown - has not translated into a reduction of households that report receiving remittances, which have increased, in fact, in 7 out of 10 municipalities above mentioned (the three municipalities in which remittances actually reduced were Romita, Ocampo, and Huanímaro). This contrasts significantly with that identified in the 6 urban municipalities of Guanajuato which settle over half the population of the entity (León, Salamanca, Silao, Irapuato, Celaya and Guanajuato)3 where the rate of return to households is below the national average (with the exception of Guanajuato and Silao 4.28% and 4.65% respectively). Except for Silao, remittances fell to levels below the state average (7.76%) in urban areas of the state (CONAPO, 2011).

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[3] Rural municipalities in Guanajuato have different population dynamics to urban municipalities, due to population movements related to foreign investments received in the last ones, mainly from the automotive industry.

Figure 2: Comparison of Intensity Migratory Index in Selected Municipalities of Guanajuato 2000 and 2010

**Figure 2. Guanajuato Intensity Migration Index (2000-2010) Selected Counties**										
State/County	Total households 2000	Total households 2010	% Housholds receiving remittances 2000	% Households receiving remittances 2010	% Households with emigrants to the US (previous 5 years) 2000	% % Households with emigrants to the US (previous 5 years) 2010	% Households with circular migration (previous 5 years) 2000	% Households with circular migration (previous 5 years) 2010	% Housholds with return migrants (previous 5 years) 2000	% Houshold with return migrants (previous 5 years) 2010
Guanajuato	990 602	1 288 421	9.20	7.76	9.55	5.27	2.18	2.26	1.60	4.14
Abasolo	16 224	19697	17.09	16.36	19.06	9.92	5.31	1.93	4.31	8.58
Acámbaro	26 367	26932	20.98	15.83	13.80	7.06	5.30	2.35	6.05	5.91
Allende	27 402	34286	6.57	9.34	9.18	7.59	2.46	5.10	1.14	6.34
Apaseo El Alto	12 188	16457	11.70	17.98	16.31	14.12	2.43	6.04	1.29	10.23
Apaseo El Grande	15 630	19211	9.24	11.39	8.91	8.79	0.97	3.24	1.76	4.68
Atarjea	1 147	1647	9.59	6.39	14.21	6.95	1.92	2.19	0.96	4.37
Manuel Doblado	7 914	9272	22.42	23.52	24.02	18.31	8.04	4.30	3.60	11.92
Jerécuaro	12 212	13230	12.71	30.73	13.61	23.83	4.45	5.07	2.82	10.14
Ocampo	4 131	5061	31.13	13.49	23.75	10.08	1.96	3.22	7.94	9.81
Romita	10 202	12385	14.49	10.96	22.82	6.17	0.32	1.79	1.85	8.03
Coroneo	2 338	3154	10.14	16.15	14.20	12.59	1.92	3.74	1.45	8.43
Doctor Mora	4 000	5240	10.58	12.58	15.85	9.89	1.35	6.97	1.25	9.26
Huanímaro	3 880	4704	30.98	23.48	30.77	16.50	14.41	7.62	5.64	8.97
San Diego De La Unión	6 516	8475	18.62	27.54	20.66	20.68	2.81	5.74	3.61	8.15
Santiago Maravatío	1 642	1678	27.41	28.01	23.26	11.44	7.67	3.10	9.14	9.06
Celaya	90 020	121701	7.73	4.04	8.27	2.88	1.94	1.50	1.20	2.87
Guanajuato	31 702	41141	3.79	2.06	6.00	2.16	0.41	2.83	0.56	4.28
Irapuato	96 165	126871	6.63	4.46	6.76	2.40	1.49	1.21	1.14	2.39
León	235 598	329993	4.07	2.60	3.75	2.12	1.18	1.22	0.72	1.57
Salamanca	51 882	63439	8.46	4.01	7.99	2.75	1.25	1.97	0.98	4.41
Silao	26 090	38052	7.70	7.38	5.78	6.12	1.54	1.94	1.51	4.95

Source: Author's construction based on current Immigration Indexes 2000 and 2010 (CONAPO, 2001 and CONAPO, 2011).
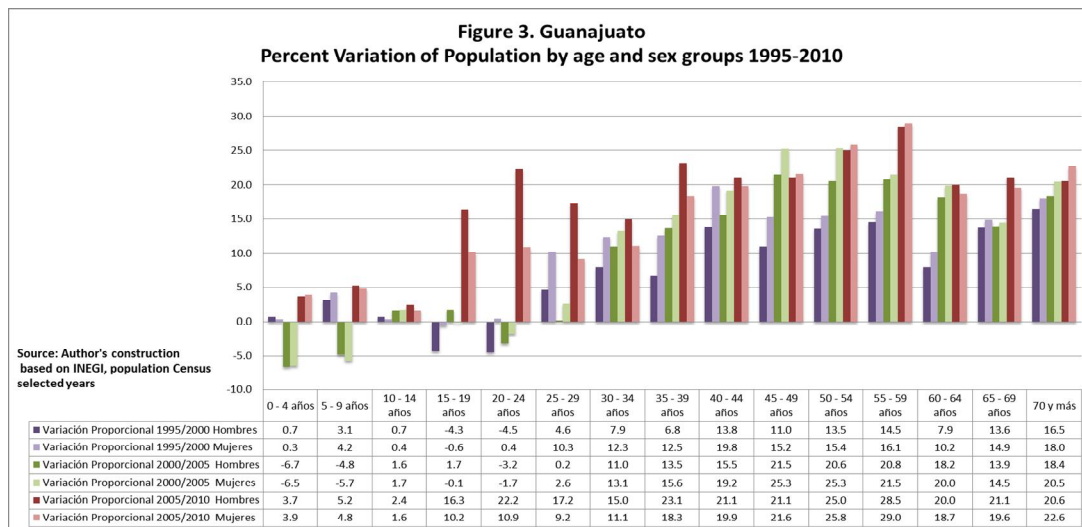
The profile of the returnees has a close relationship with the change of the migration pattern during the 1990s. In a state-wide review, Moctezuma (2013 and Moctezuma et al., 2012) have confirmed in Zacatecas and Michoacán the return of entire families who have established in the United States during the 1990s and early 2000s. The new migrant settlement resulted of the border containment policies that caused a shift in the pattern of Mexican migration to the United States. Migration that used to be characterized by the circulation of male breadwinners between the US and Mexico come to the settlement of irregular workers because of the increased risks and prices of crossing the border. In the decade that followed, migrants moved their entire families from Mexico to the United States (Massey, Durand, and Malone, 2002; Cornelius, 2007; Durand, 2013). Based on this principle, Moctezuma (2013) builds his explanatory model proposing a review of the commonly accepted theory on migrant return, to include the return of families established in the United States to their regions of origin.

Therefore, return migration that until now has been studied from the perspective of the male breadwinner who traveled to America to fulfill an economic goal, or to retire, has to include a family strategy to move across borders to maximize their own wellbeing (Moctezuma, 2013; Durand 2004). Moctezuma based his proposal on reconstructing the analysis of the migrant return growth detected in the 2010 census. He found a new stock of individuals aged between 0 and 14, and 30-39 -year-old group. This was accompanied by a growth in the number of households including more than a nuclear family related (compound households) and households including families' not related (extended households) in Zacatecas and Michoacán. This takes the author to assert: "The changes in the four indicators of the Migratory Intensity Index show that, in 2010, the percentage of homes or households with migrants in the United States declined and instead the percentage of households with returned migrants increased in Mexico??

Therefore, this trend indicates that between 2005 and 2010 there was a drastic reduction in Mexican migration to the United States and a significant number of [already] established migrants [in the US] returned to Mexico. In 2000, the return flow of migrants was mainly constituted of retired workers and those who chose not to remain migrants. Currently, migrant flow is constituted of already established persons in full productive age, they are the ones fueling the new return to Mexico" (Moctezuma, 2013: 153). The finding of the return of families is fundamental to explain the heterogeneous movement of remittances. By repeating the statistical review done by Moctezuma (2013) in Guanajuato, we found that the phenomenon is generally repeated in this state. As illustrated in Figures 3, there is a surge in the stock of children between 0 and 14 and people in age groups between 30 and 34 that goes beyond the tendency of population increment, with a slight growth in young men between 15 and 24 years and persons in the age group 55 and older.

A long with it, censuses also registered a growth of extended and compound households (Figure 4), and a percentage decrease in nuclear households. To facilitate the display of relative growth by age group and household we calculated the percentage change in these variables over equal periods of time, comparing periods of five years 1995-2000; 2000-2005, and 2005-2010. In this way, we can clearly illustrate the periods of population losses by age group and sex observed in Guanajuato between 1995 and 2005, and the basic characteristics of returnees between 2005 and 2010[4]. Similarly, we can illustrate the return to a predominantly male group including age between 15 and 39 years. It is noteworthy that similar growth is found for both female and male returning migrants in the age groups of 40 to 50 years and children of 0-9 years which illustrate families coming back to their hometowns.

Figure 3

Figure 3. Guanajuato
Percent Variation of Population by age and sex groups 1995-2010

Source: Author's construction based on INEGI, population Census selected years

	0 - 4 años	5 - 9 años	10 - 14 años	15 - 19 años	20 - 24 años	25 - 29 años	30 - 34 años	35 - 39 años	40 - 44 años	45 - 49 años	50 - 54 años	55 - 59 años	60 - 64 años	65 - 69 años	70 y más
Variación Proporcional 1995/2000 Hombres	0.7	3.1	0.7	-4.3	-4.5	4.6	7.9	6.8	13.8	11.0	13.5	14.5	7.9	13.6	16.5
Variación Proporcional 1995/2000 Mujeres	0.3	4.2	0.4	-0.6	0.4	10.3	12.3	12.5	19.8	15.2	15.4	16.1	10.2	14.9	18.0
Variación Proporcional 2000/2005 Hombres	-6.7	-4.8	1.6	1.7	-3.2	0.2	11.0	13.5	15.5	21.5	20.6	20.8	18.2	13.9	18.4
Variación Proporcional 2000/2005 Mujeres	-6.5	-5.7	1.7	-0.1	-1.7	2.6	13.1	15.6	19.2	25.3	25.3	21.5	20.0	14.5	20.5
Variación Proporcional 2005/2010 Hombres	3.7	5.2	2.4	16.3	22.2	17.2	15.0	23.1	21.1	21.1	25.0	28.5	20.0	21.1	20.6
Variación Proporcional 2005/2010 Mujeres	3.9	4.8	1.6	10.2	10.9	9.2	11.1	18.3	19.9	21.6	25.8	29.0	18.7	19.6	22.6

Reviewing the percentage change in the growth of households (Figure 3) helps us to better illustrate the proportional growth of extended and compounded household's *vis-à-vis* nuclear households. Therefore, we can reinforce the idea put forward by Moctezuma regarding the return of entire families already settled in the United States, who are greeted by their relatives or acquaintances in Mexico, for they no longer have a home in their hometown. In other words, the return pattern detected by Moctezuma in Zacatecas and by Moctezuma, et. al (2012) in Michoacán is played out similarly in Guanajuato. However, this model does not help us explain why remittances increased if entire families, who were previously established in the USA, are returning to Mexico. Who sends the remittances? To whom are the remittances sent for? To answer this question, we repeated the same exercise at the municipal level and, we found heterogeneous results in Guanajuato in terms of return migrants in selected municipalities.

Heterogeneity of Return: analysis of three scenarios in Guanajuato

The review and coincidence of the dynamics of return of migrants to their hometowns in Guanajuato, however, is far from expressing the variations registered at the municipal level. We cannot explain with aggregated data, for example, the surprising scenario in which household members reported having returned or returnees, at the same time they said the household still receive high levels of remittances, such as Jerécuaro and Apaseo el Alto. Or a second scenario in which households reported having returned or returnees but kept receiving a similar percentage of remittances to the previous decade, as recorded in Manuel Doblado.

To analyze these cases, we also analyze on the municipalities of Ocampo and Romita where the expected scenario took place, that is to say they registered an increase in the number of households reporting members who returned from the United States in the past five years, accompanied by a the reduction in remittances. We set out to make a regional typology to describe, through census data, possible profiles and scenarios in different municipalities of Guanajuato, where higher disparities in return/receiving remittances were detected, in order to further delineate the likely dynamics that follow the return of migrant persons and migrant families in different regions of the state.

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[4] Given that the census only asks the place of residence five years prior.
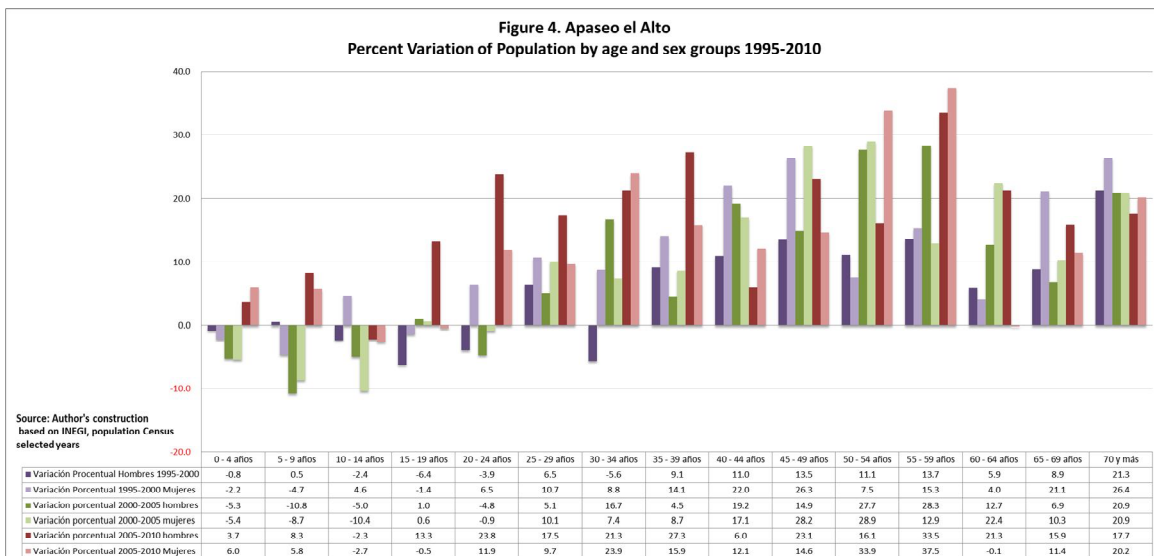
Therefore, the comparison of statistics of Migration Intensity Indexes between 2000 and 2010 in the municipalities of Guanajuato allows us to create at least three stages of analysis:

Unexpected Scenario: municipalities where the return of people who had reported living in the US in the past five years, accompanied by an increase in households that report receiving remittances between 05-00 compared with 95-00 increases, as in Apaseo el Alto and Jerécuaro. *Stable scenario*: in municipalities where the migrant return increases although the level of households receiving remittances remains similar to the previous decade, as in Manuel Doblado. *Predicted scenario*: municipalities with an increase of the return of people who have lived abroad in the past five years, accompanied by a decrease in households that report receiving remittances as recorded in Ocampo and Romita.

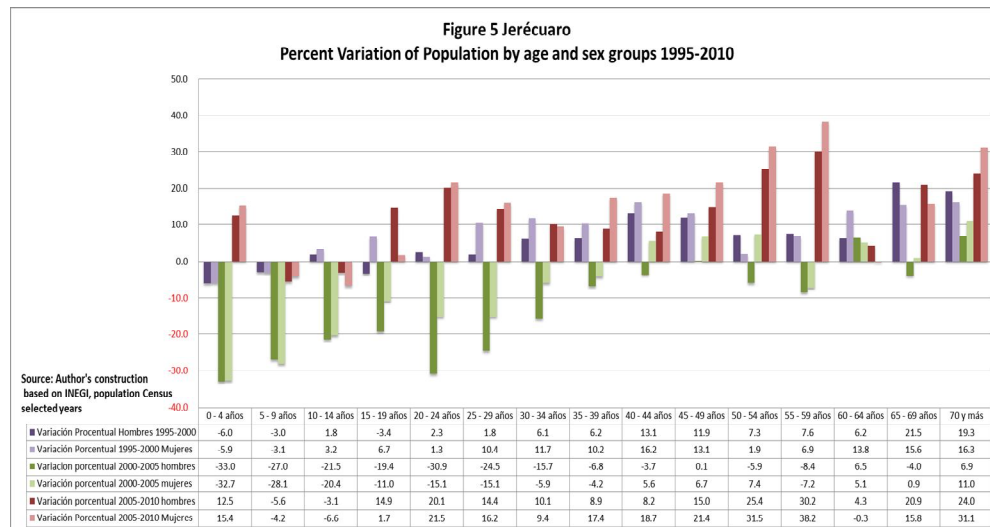### 3.1 The surprise scenario: Apaseo el Alto and Jerécuaro

As already mentioned above, the clearest indicator of return migration is the falling levels of remittances received. The idea of following the money appeared to be consistent with the two global manifestations of the phenomenon: more people in the country, generally male breadwinners and of working age, accompanied by lower remittance reception records in national and state accounts. In Apaseo El Alto and Jerécuaro the phenomenon is accompanied by an increase in households reporting remittances reception. We also repeated the comparison on household definition data and found, in percentage terms, an increased number of extended and compound households, where more than one family related to the head of household, or unrelated families live together. However, the scenario changes the pattern established by Moctezuma, when analyzed in detail the percentage change by age group and sex, shown in Figure 4. With this figure, we are able to illustrate specific return profiles, which help us explain why, as return migration increases, the number of households reporting receiving remittances increased as well in these two municipalities. As already established above, throughout the state of Guanajuato the population stocks of men aged between 15 and 29 years and 35-39 years increased above the average growth rate. What is special about this county, though, is that there is a greater increase in women aged between 30 - 34 years, and 40-49 years, along with children of 0-9 years. Therefore we propose that in Apaseo El Alto, the scenario of the return of entire families is not always the case. Since census data reflects that mothers and children returned, leaving their father/partner behind in the United States. Allowing us to explain the behavior of high return and increased remittances.

Figure 4: Percentage variation in Population. Apaseo el Alto

Figure 4. Apaseo el Alto
Percent Variation of Population by age and sex groups 1995-2010

Source: Author's construction based on INEGI, population Census selected years

	0 - 4 años	5 - 9 años	10 - 14 años	15 - 19 años	20 - 24 años	25 - 29 años	30 - 34 años	35 - 39 años	40 - 44 años	45 - 49 años	50 - 54 años	55 - 59 años	60 - 64 años	65 - 69 años	70 y más
Variación Procentual Hombres 1995-2000	-0.8	0.5	-2.4	-6.4	-3.9	6.5	-5.6	9.1	11.0	13.5	11.1	13.7	5.9	8.9	21.3
Variación Procentual 1995-2000 Mujeres	-2.2	-4.7	4.6	-1.4	6.5	10.7	8.8	14.1	22.0	26.3	7.5	15.3	4.0	21.1	26.4
Variación porcentual 2000-2005 hombres	-5.3	-10.8	-5.0	1.0	-4.8	5.1	16.7	4.5	19.2	14.9	27.7	28.3	12.7	6.9	20.9
Variación porcentual 2000-2005 mujeres	-5.4	-8.7	-10.4	0.6	-0.9	10.1	7.4	8.7	17.1	28.2	28.9	12.9	22.4	10.3	20.9
Variación Porcentual 2005-2010 hombres	3.7	8.3	-2.3	13.3	23.8	17.5	21.3	27.3	6.0	23.1	16.1	33.5	21.3	15.9	17.7
Variación Porcentual 2005-2010 Mujeres	6.0	5.8	-2.7	-0.5	11.9	9.7	23.9	15.9	12.1	14.6	33.9	37.5	-0.1	11.4	20.2

In Jerécuaro, a neighboring municipality of Apaseo El Alto, a similar phenomenon occurred. Although Figure 5 illustrate the predominance of female return in almost all age groups, except for two: the group of 15-19 years and the 65-69 years, where the percentage change was greater for men. Similarly, if analyzed by type of households, the decline in type of households registered until 2005 has ended. From 2010, the percentage change in mixed and compound households rapidly increased, when compared to 2005. What happened over the first decade of the century is the percentage increase in non-family households, as well as extended and compound households.

Figure 5: Percentage variation in Population. Jerécuaro

Figure 5 Jerécuaro
Percent Variation of Population by age and sex groups 1995-2010

Source: Author's construction based on INEGI, population Census selected years

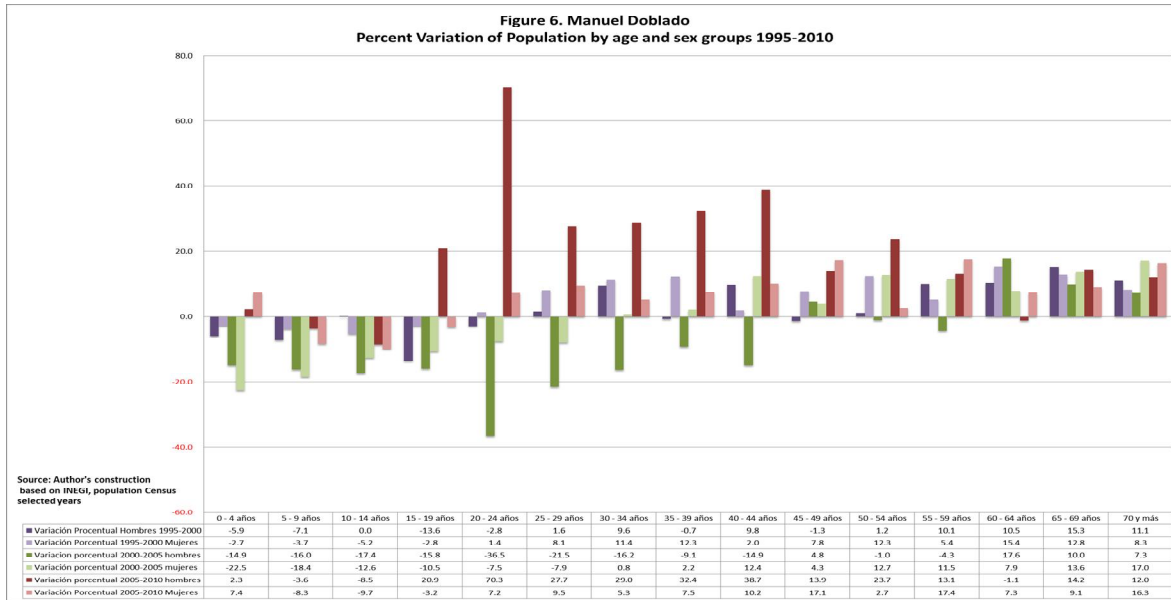|	0 - 4 años	5 - 9 años	10 - 14 años	15 - 19 años	20 - 24 años	25 - 29 años	30 - 34 años	35 - 39 años	40 - 44 años	45 - 49 años	50 - 54 años	55 - 59 años	60 - 64 años	65 - 69 años	70 y más
Variación Procentual Hombres 1995-2000	-6.0	-3.0	1.8	-3.4	2.3	1.8	6.1	6.2	13.1	11.9	7.3	7.6	6.2	21.5	19.3
Variación Porcentual 1995-2000 Mujeres	-5.9	-3.1	3.2	6.7	1.3	10.4	11.7	10.2	16.2	13.1	1.9	6.9	13.8	15.6	16.3
Variacion porcentual 2000-2005 hombres	-33.0	-27.0	-21.5	-19.4	-30.9	-24.5	-15.7	-6.8	-3.7	0.1	-5.9	-8.4	6.5	-4.0	6.9
Variación porcentual 2000-2005 mujeres	-32.7	-28.1	-20.4	-11.0	-15.1	-15.1	-5.9	-4.2	5.6	6.7	7.4	-7.2	5.1	0.9	11.0
Variación porcentual 2005-2010 hombres	12.5	-5.6	-3.1	14.9	20.1	14.4	10.1	8.9	8.2	15.0	25.4	30.2	4.3	20.9	24.0
Variación Porcentual 2005-2010 Mujeres	15.4	-4.2	-6.6	1.7	21.5	16.2	9.4	17.4	18.7	21.4	31.5	38.2	-0.3	15.8	31.1

In both cases, the idea proposed by Moctezuma (2013) in the potential deployment of migrants with close relatives is confirmed; nonetheless the study of census data at the municipal level makes less clear about the return of entire families. At least in these two cases, families returned leaving the father/male partner behind whom, we think, keeps sending money home. Fieldwork will help illustrate the return of women and children, and the reasons why part of the families decide to come back to their hometown. Among the scenarios detected include families with mixed immigration/citizenship status, i.e. children born in the United States to parents with an irregular immigration status, who fear deportation and the children, as natural Americans, were made available to the authorities of adoption5.

3.2 The stable scenario: Manuel Doblado

We find an even more unexpected scenario in Manuel Doblado, which has experienced a significant increase in the return of migrants, with the same level of household receiving remittances. We say unexpected because detailed analysis shows that the age group with the greatest percentage change is predominantly male and working age, i.e. between 15 and 44 years (Figure 6), and women from 45 years of age. Another interesting event in this county is that groups of children and youth registered a negative proportional variation growth.

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[5]In an exploratory visit to the municipality Apaseo el Alto in January 2015, we found circulating migrants in the town square who were on vacation. These migrants describe themselves as "documented", and hoped to return to the United States when the harvest would begin (here we include those with H2B visas and with residence visas). We also found those who called themselves "wet", included young migrants who had decided to return because the dollars no longer stretched far enough to maintain an entire family in the United States. Therefore the family strategy was for the father to stay and work in the United States and the mother return with the children so that their money would be worth more, and so the children could continue their studies. It is necessary, however, to undertake systematic and qualitative fieldwork to be able to identify the different family strategies of return to these municipalities.

Figure 6: Proportional variation Manuel Doblado

Figure 6. Manuel Doblado
Percent Variation of Population by age and sex groups 1995-2010

	0 - 4 años	5 - 9 años	10 - 14 años	15 - 19 años	20 - 24 años	25 - 29 años	30 - 34 años	35 - 39 años	40 - 44 años	45 - 49 años	50 - 54 años	55 - 59 años	60 - 64 años	65 - 69 años	70 y más
Variación Procentual Hombres 1995-2000	-5.9	-7.1	0.0	-13.6	-2.8	1.6	9.6	-0.7	9.8	-1.3	1.2	10.1	10.5	15.3	11.1
Variación Procentual 1995-2000 Mujeres	-2.7	-3.7	-5.2	-7.8	1.4	8.1	11.4	12.3	2.0	7.8	12.3	5.4	15.4	12.8	8.1
Variación porcentual 2000-2005 hombres	-14.9	-16.0	-17.4	-15.8	-36.5	-21.5	-16.2	-9.1	-14.9	4.8	-1.0	-4.3	17.6	10.0	7.3
Variación porcentual 2000-2005 mujeres	-22.5	-18.4	-12.6	-10.5	-7.5	-7.9	0.8	2.2	12.4	4.3	12.7	11.5	7.9	13.6	17.0
Variación Porcentual 2005-2010 hombres	2.3	-3.6	-8.5	20.9	70.3	27.7	29.0	32.4	38.7	13.9	23.7	13.1	-1.1	14.2	12.0
Variación Porcentual 2005-2010 Mujeres	7.4	-8.3	-9.7	-3.2	7.2	9.5	5.3	7.5	10.2	17.1	2.7	17.4	7.3	9.1	16.3

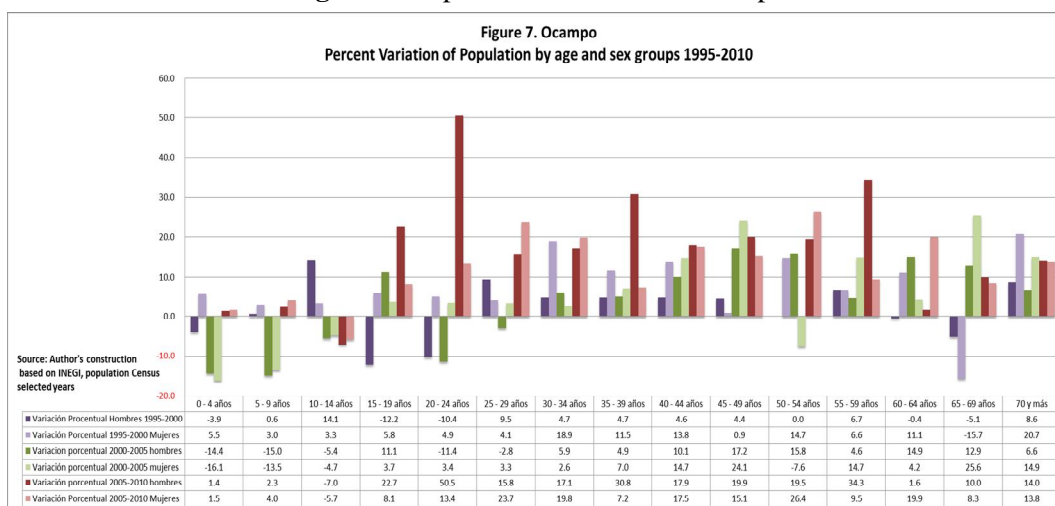Source: Author's construction based on INEGI, population Census selected years

Only through qualitative fieldwork may we find an explanation for this phenomenon. Why did remittances remain at stable levels in the period 1995 to 2000, characterized by high output population than the period 2005 to 2010, characterized by high return migration, if women and children do not seem to have returned to the community?

3.3 The expected scenario: Romita and Ocampo

In the definition of the expected scenarios, we follow remittances. In other words, municipalities, where households reported a decline in remittances received, corresponds to the return of the male breadwinner back home. The scenarios found in Romita and Ocampo match better the overall dynamics of the state and the one reported by Moctezuma (2013) - in the sense that female return migrants were proportionately greater in the age groups between 25 and 34 years, and males between 15 and 54 years (Ocampo, as illustrated in Figure 7).

Figure 7: Population variation in Ocampo

Figure 7. Ocampo
Percent Variation of Population by age and sex groups 1995-2010

	0 - 4 años	5 - 9 años	10 - 14 años	15 - 19 años	20 - 24 años	25 - 29 años	30 - 34 años	35 - 39 años	40 - 44 años	45 - 49 años	50 - 54 años	55 - 59 años	60 - 64 años	65 - 69 años	70 y más
Variación Procentual Hombres 1995-2000	-3.9	0.6	14.1	-12.2	-10.4	9.5	4.7	4.7	4.6	4.4	0.0	6.7	-0.4	-5.1	8.6
Variación Procentual 1995-2000 Mujeres	5.5	3.0	3.3	5.8	4.9	4.1	18.9	11.5	13.8	0.9	14.7	6.6	11.1	-15.7	20.7
Variación porcentual 2000-2005 hombres	-14.4	-15.0	-5.4	11.1	-11.4	-2.8	5.9	4.9	10.1	17.2	15.8	4.6	14.9	12.9	6.6
Variación porcentual 2000-2005 mujeres	-16.1	-13.5	-4.7	3.7	3.4	3.3	2.6	7.0	14.7	24.1	-7.6	14.7	4.2	25.6	14.9
Variación Porcentual 2005-2010 hombres	1.4	2.3	-7.0	22.7	50.5	15.8	17.1	30.8	17.9	19.9	19.5	34.3	1.6	10.0	14.0
Variación Porcentual 2005-2010 Mujeres	1.5	4.0	-5.7	8.1	13.4	23.7	19.8	7.2	17.5	15.1	26.4	9.5	19.9	8.3	13.8

Source: Author's construction based on INEGI, population Census selected years

The possibility of the return of whole families or the male breadwinners is higher in this county, so it explains the reduction in the number of households reporting receiving remittances between 2005 and 2010 comparing to those reporting receiving between 1995 and 2000. The percentage change of the male presence in most of the groups of working age is even more marked in Romita, reinforcing the same idea as in Ocampo. That is to say, if the breadwinner returned with his family, falling remittances in periods measured in the census of 2000 and 2010 followed.

Tentative Conclusions: an agenda under construction

The population dynamic in Guanajuato, like Michoacán and Zacatecas the historical region of Mexican emigration, strengthens the hypothesis of return migrant families from the US to their hometowns. However, as we have tried to show in the results of our review, this return may be interpreted differently based on census records at the municipal level. In Guanajuato there are municipalities where entire families did not return, but only the women and children; while there are municipalities with a greater presence of people of 50 years old and above. Finally, the expected scenario of a return of predominantly male migrant breadwinners holds. It is possible that a more detailed analysis of the local dynamics in Zacatecas and Michoacán would find similar scenarios to those of Guanajuato illustrating different categories of return. Although a review of census data provides interesting detail concerning return migration to Guanajuato, it is difficult to understand the reasons for this differential return scenarios without considering and studying particularly return migration as a family strategy to reach their wellbeing. It is possible that the context of economic crisis explains the return, but the heterogeneity of family characteristics of families going back to their hometowns highlights other dynamics such as fear of deportation and break up of families whose members have different migratory statuses, the opportunity of keeping a job in the US even if working less hours, educational opportunities for children in irregular migratory situation in the US, among others.

After analyzing the aggregate census data and comparing different periods of time, we can also say that there is a generation of young people of Mexican American origin who have truncated their life experiences either because they were growing up in the US and have returned abruptly to Mexico, or because they know that a migration project will be unreachable for a long period of time. We do not know how the crisis conditions in the United States have made them resilient to new transnational conditions, to define a new life in Mexico for their immediate future. How are they changing the view migration has been traditionally represented in their personal and familiar narratives? Equally important is realizing that in spite of the growing numbers of persons forced to come back, the lack of studies on people being deported during this period is still rule. Amid increasing deportations, we do not know how many of these people were forced to leave their homes and return to Mexico, in what conditions they lived, who they left behind, and which the conditions and places of resettlement are. The most important conclusion is the growing need to focus on families, family's resilience, and families strategies to understand return migration. Why some parts of the family returned and some stayed behind? The data suggest that there is indeed a family strategy of return to study in greater detail accompanied by a qualitative work to identify family transnational resilience in the post-crisis years, not only because these studies will help to theoretically conceptualize return migrants, but also because it can be a family strategy to keep reproducing their lives in transnational social spaces to reach their wellbeing.

Last but not least, this analysis describes that Guanajuato has different dynamics of return that have not been studied in such detail as they deserve, considering the long migratory tradition of the state. This phenomenon allows us to propose a research agenda in the longer term. Although the recovery of the US economy is expected along with the subsequent migrant return to their niche labor market in the northern country, it would be interesting to analyze whether or not young people in Guanajuato will continue to migrate for economic reasons. Migration has become a long-lasting phenomenon, has family strategies of reproduction and economic pressure changed in different regions of Guanajuato because of the crisis?

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