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Latindex Sistema Regional de Información en Línea
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CIRC Clasificación Integrada de Revistas Científicas
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The decision to migrate: the case of the Mexican migrant population*

A decisão de imigrar: o caso dos imigrantes mexiquenses

La decisión de migrar: el caso de los migrantes mexiquenses

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Abstract

Objetive: to identify the processes which lead to the decision of migrating abroad, principally, how Mexicans do it and the restrictions they face. **Methodology:** interviews were performed to the international migrants from the State of Mexico between December 2012 and February 2013.The analysis was conducted in two stages during the migratory process to the same people: when leaving abroad and returning to their localities. **Results:** the results showed that both moments of

* This article derives from the research project "International migration of return in the State of Mexico", developed in the Autonomous University of the State of Mexico (UAEM), it received funding from the National Council of Science and Technology (Conacyt) / Basic Science. It started in October 2012 and finished in December 2015.

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Introduction

The decision to migrate abroad is linked to the people´s lifestyle and what they want to achieve, their type of family relationships, their emotional states, their work opportunities and working conditions as well as their income level. Migration is also related to the desire of being in safer environments, when living in markedly violent territories.

But, the explanations about how the migrating decision occurs are rather hypothetic and general deductions that although referring to behaviors, they do not distinguish in particular the heterogeneities arising within the living environments, nor the reasons fostering people´s migration. However, from encounters with migrants and their families, a variety of situations can be noted. These have an impact and diversify their motivations and migrating decisions.

Little is known concerning the idea of relocating abroad, the available resources people have to migrate and the negotiation alternatives between those involved in the migration, whether in the fostering or restricting the event. Pioneering analysis about migration, particularly those with an economic emphasis (neoclassical perspective) stated that migration decisions were individual in response to the wage gap observed between regions. Later, it was argued that homes chose by consensus of the family members are most likely to migrate and ensure economic shipments that ultimately could be used to overcome production constraints (Stark, 1982).

Other approaches, also from the economy, focus their attention on people choosing to migrate because they appreciate the improvement in the standard of living of those who are already migrants; then there is the hope that migrating may improve their lives (Stark and Taylor, 1991; Izcara, 2010). It is also argued that people migrate to collect savings and assets that they intend to use when returning (Dustmann and Kirchkamp, 2001; Kirdar, 2007). From other points of view, migration is done to increase productive capacities[1] of people and their homes, improve their educational levels, acquire assets, especially the productive ones that can support their lifestyles and get eradicate poverty (Chambers and Conway, 1992).

Some social research identifies that the historicity of migrating within the local area has an impact on the current migratory processes. Migrants generally involve a relative or citizen, with time, migration becomes part of their everyday life and a strategy for homes to improve the economic situation. (Dinerman, 1983; Cohen, 2001).Migration is also a way for social recognition (Estrada,

1. For example, human capital (nutrition, education, knowledge, skills); social capital (contributions to the chapel, community, house of culture, godfather status); technical capital (tools, technology, patents); financial capital (savings, investments).

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2008; Reichert, 1981); for men it means manhood (López, 2003); lil migrants with leadership get involved in development and local poli , 2000; Zwania, 2013).

. In the State of Mexico, international migration is an International migrants have been registered since the beginning century, particularly in the rural areas in the south part of the practice remains largely male, but it emphasizes that in the last t it has been broadening its participation, which includes a wide ra and urban populations. Women have been quickly and consistently since the late 1980s. Based on fieldwork, it is established that the of Mexican migrants in the last quinquennial (2005-2010) was 2 schooling of 9.2 cumulative

In the State of Mexico, nine out of ten people live in urban a inhabitants or more). The entity is the second most productive ec country after Mexico City, and at the same time, it shows poverty of its population. This is one of the entities that generates more jo however, not all of its population lives in acceptable condition abroad has become an option in order to have a job and an income urban environment, one out of four people has a job before migrati economic and social improvements.

Likewise, the rapid incorporation of women into the State international migration shows socio-economic changes in the envi in the organization of migrant homes. This situation is a trend i in different regions of the country (Arias, 2009), but, these chang in the urban environment in the State of Mexico. There is no d recognition of the efforts and experiences of those who have m the local testimonies of migrations, and the references of migrant carry out economic activities and acquire greater margins of auto being recognized.

However, explanations on how migration decisions occur ar described, while migrating reflection and risk assumption occur i their homes, placed in different social contexts. In this sense, base interviews applied to international migrants from the State of paper shows and discusses the ways in which migrating decision It identifies the social, cultural and institutional circumstances t this decision. Thus, this study comprises two moments: when th when they return. Instead of trying to verify a general theory, that the actors - both women and men - have specificities that lea in a particular way against incentives or adversities regarding t experience.

The reference is the State of Mexico, because this is the second largest contributor to the national GDP; it accounts for a little more than 16 million inhabitants and it is considered that its productive structure - supported in the industry and the services - is firm and could retain the population. However, migration abroad is increasing, more than one million Mexicans are in the United States and it accounts for an annual migration rate of 220,000 people, according to the National Institute of Statistics and Geography [INEGI], 2016. In this sense, it is of interest to study the Mexican migratory phenomenon and to deepen on the analysis about the factors that influence the migrating decision and how it is made and negotiated in their homes.

Knowing how people make their decisions is important. With respect to the area of marketing this knowledge helps to define the characteristics, times, costs, as well as, presentation of products and services; in developing business strategies, "training" in decision making can mean an advantage over opponents (Dixit and Nalebuff, 1991, p.35). Development economics do not miss the interest in understanding how decisions are made. A World Bank report (2015, p.3) points out that the development of countries and poor areas can be improved by understanding how people make decisions, because programs can be designed according to what individuals want, and they can actively get involved.

In order to understand these complex processes, it is necessary to recognize two general principles that guide discussions about decision-making. Unlike rational theory, which states that people are thoroughly rational (Davidson, 1963), new approaches conceive individuals in relation to their social groups in which their decisions affect and are affected by others. There is also another perspective considering people do not have the capacity or willingness to analyze all the options of a situation; instead, they prefer to look for well-known solutions and within their comprehension (Dixit and Nalebuff, 1991, World Bank, 2015, Simon, 1962 Robbins and Judge, 2009).

Under this reference, people behave according to their perceptions of what they believe to be reality, in which the environment influences (Simon, 1962), as well as, the form and presentation of the situation in question. In other cases, decisions may be made intuitively as Domjan (2010, p. 3) notes most of the life of a person is not ruled by conscious purposes, but by mental processes that respond to the environment and operate outside the supervision of consciousness.

In any case, intentional decisions influence the person's attitudes, motivations, interests, and experience; however, it is impossible to assimilate all that is observed and the existing information. This limitation to process all information is called bounded rationality and suggests that people opt for levels of conformity rather than maximization and that, when facing the need to make a decision, instead of analyzing everything, they break the problem into parts

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and concentrate on certain stimuli (Simon, 1962/1995). That is, a q of the situation is made, which leads to decisions.

Once a problem is identified, the people focus on solutions that general framework in the environment. Then, they analyze the ones differ and, in the end, they choose the one that is regarded as good (Judge, 2009, p. 143). Of course, people who make seemingly intuiti it is not something that stands in the way of rational analysis; in complement and even increase assertiveness when there is support fo and information (Robbins and Judge, 2009, p. 148)

The World Bank (2015) supports the idea that people are emotic just rational, so that social norms, networks and mental models inf decisions. These determine what people perceive as desirable and their lives. In this regard, they use two procedures to decide: a quick automatic and associative and a slow one that is deliberative and refl

Inherited mental models influence automatic thinking, which lea simplify problems and take additional information from those beliefs. when they think about something, they use concepts and categories, and worldviews (World Bank, 2015, p. 4). In this way, when peo transform a situation, in addition to changing the subject of the act must also work on improving the involved social practices and i for example, to fight poverty, also implies combating related disc stereotypes, the same happens with migrating.

In sum, people make their decisions within a framework of bounded They primarily resort to solutions to the extent of their understandi of their interests, emotions and education. But, since they operat groups, therefore, other forms of life and other beliefs act on them.

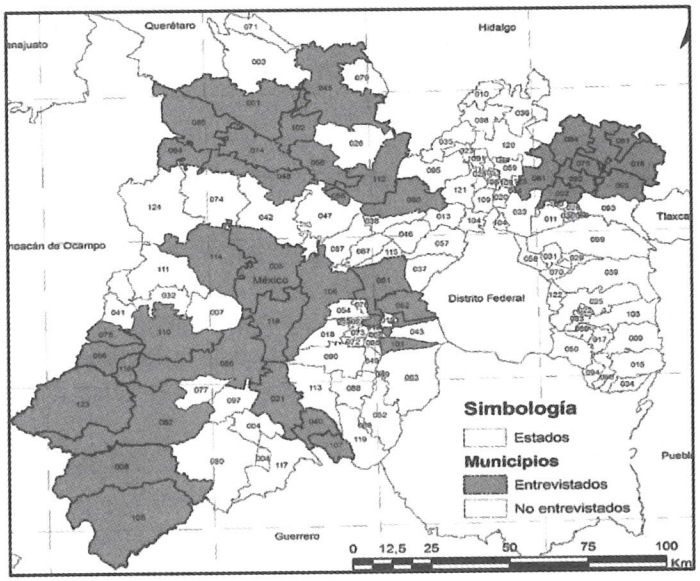
Therefore, understanding the determinations that have an imp decisions to migrate abroad are important since strategies could be d retain the population and the role other actors and circumstances h and on other decisions that the population makes every day. It is k those who live in a certain environment share economic gaps, viol dissatisfaction and values, however, only a few migrate abroad. Thi specific context issues, needs, motivations, self-interest and others which act upon such decision.

Methodology

The interview was applied to 334 people: 62 women (18.6%) and (81.4%), all international migrants who live in the State of Me

interviewees were chosen by means of snowball sampling in urban and rural localities of 37 municipalities in nine socioeconomic regions of the State of Mexico (figure 1)[2]. The migrants were interviewed between December 2012 and February 2013. A question guide was used in order to understand how they conceived their ideas of migrating abroad, their emotional and economic conditions before leaving, family reactions they faced, conditions, and feelings in which they migrated, as well as their fears and goals[3].

Figure 1. Municipalities of residence of the interviewed Mexican migrants



Source: the author

2. Acolman, Almoloya de Juárez, Amatepec, Nicolás Romero, San Mateo Atenco, Timilpan, Tonatico, Villa Victoria, Luvianos, Ixtapan de la Sal, Lerma, Jilotepec, Atlacomulco, Coatepec Harinas, Santo Tomas, Axapusco, San Juan Teotihuacán, Otzoloapan, Morelos, Villa del Carbón, Tejupilco, Jocotitlán, Acambay, Nopaltepec, Valle de Bravo, Toluca, Temascalcingo, Tecámac, Tlatlaya, Tianguistenco, Zacazonapan, Otumba

3. The interview script was divided into four modules. The content of each one is : A) personal data, number of trips to the United States, year of residence in the locality, national work experience, migratory experience of parents, economic and emotional situation before migrating, employment options perceived in their environment, type of housing and with whom they lived. B) Regarding the migration process, we inquired about the family and personal situation before leaving, the year of emigration, the time to make the decision, how the migration process took place (how to cover expenses, place of crossing, bordering crossing stories.), how the discussion was at the home, negotiation, relatives' reactions, emotional situation when crossing. C) Intermediate returns. We questioned on the reasons to migrate itinerant and the learning acquired in each experience. D) Finally, we asked about the reasons for returning (family, work, deportation, old age), as well as the learning acquired and applied to work in the present place of residence in the State of Mexico.

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This analysis is based on the actor-centered perspective; th experiences constitute the basis for understanding their migrat Their diversity is wide and the focus is on the migrant population are the ones who carry the migratory experiences. It is not omit belong to families who provide effects while influencing them in of their domestic group. On his behalf, the status of a social actor his ability to process and systematize the experiences, to establ to achieve objectives and share them with other individuals tc environment (Long, 2007).

Results

The findings are presented in two sections and a final comm section reviews the processes of international migration followed and the influence of the family in decision-making. The second decision-making to return to Mexico, the circumstances, how th are made, the forecasts, the influence of the environment, and oth

The process of international migration of Mexican migrants

Most of the interviewed migrants went abroad at productive undocumented ones: three quarters migrated with ranging ages b years, 20% were less than 18, and the rest were over 50 years old they made their first trip at age 24.6 (24.4 men and 25.7 women); reported, in the State of Mexico, it is common for women to migr husbands, parents and siblings (Baca and Salas, 2015).

In addition, migrants had on average a high school educatio grades). Almost two-thirds had more schooling than those regis localities (64.5% women and 62% men). Although, migrants from t region with the highest migratory tradition, accounted for a lower s the average in their localities. Another feature is the work experie had before migrating. Only five of them had not worked befo another ten were housewives (4.5%), but more than 95% had alrea any wage employment, worked in the family business or in indepen this case, more than half of migrants worked as an employee or

4. Previous work experience: construction, sales, worker, agricultural, driver, bureaucrat, mechanic, carpenter, craftsman, security guard, baker, shoemaker, electrician, singer, hair

one third performed higher rating tasks: business managers, technicians and professionals.

The reasons to migrate

No specific cause has been identified neither to push people towards international migration nor to attract them to their localities. Instead, it is observed that they made their decisions within their personal and family environment along with varied nature problems; in addition to the involvement of relatives and friends for the possibility of obtaining employment abroad.

Thus, those who did not seek employment before migrating (students, housewives), plus the unemployed, add up to 10%. Another 30% states that they did not have job opportunities in their localities; while 60% mentions that there were options, but poorly paid. The lack of local development expectation is the first factor that influences their migration decisions. Although, they show disadvantages such as distance to work, schedules, experience and required training, there is also gender, age or disability discrimination. In addition, there were problems associated with expenses for illness, funerals, layoffs, family reunification, and divorce.

Interviewees noted that their migration was due to various problems. But, what is it behind these migration decisions? How did they come to fruition? Their answers describe the decision to migrate as a mixture of decisions and indecisions involving different perspectives of their lives:

> "I used to earn 800 pesos from Monday to Saturday, I worked as a shoemaker, just like my sister ... although, we were doing well as shoemakers before Chinese shoes entered the country and this reduced the business, there were many layoffs, and the only choice was to work in the factories. Sometimes we did not make enough for a living because payment was little and we spent a lot on transport and food. That's why it was better to go north "(Juan A., 39, San Mateo Atenco, December 2012).

> "I was dedicated to sales, agriculture and livestock, my dad had a store and I helped him. I also sowed and had cows, goats. I left with the idea of making enough for a house, bring a car, those were my desires. I had the idea to go and bring money to open my own business because I was employed by my dad but he never told me he was going to give me something, I just worked for him" (Manuel S., 40, San Mateo Otzacatipan, December 2012).

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> "We just helped my dad with a few cows he had in a rented padd milked the cows, so we could eat. We had no money and worke in the mine gathering stone. We worked with iron only for tran screwed up, that`s why we opted to leave, due to necessity. We hav to open a business or anything" (Santiago C., 40 years, Zacazon 2013).

It is known that, even with economic constraints, most people d which means that other circumstances have an influence in such de case, the emotional situation of the migrants and their families desires to reunite with the family), is the trigger.

> "Well, I was 17 years old, so I was a little confused about what I missing a year for high school, so, when I came back I finished sch due to family problems" (Abigail M ., 22 years, Tianguistenco, Fe

> "My older brother was there, and I noticed how he dressed, his clo shoes ... I wanted to know how it felt going there ... When my c uncles came to visit, I told them that I wanted to go, and asked f me a hand and they said yes" (Alberto C., 27, Tecámac, December

> "I lived well, I was a teacher, but my husband was there. The firs for me and he paid. I was just visiting and to be with my family b my brothers are also there. I tried to get the visa, but I was denied I went undocumented, and luckily, I entered the country quickly. we almost left the shoes. At times, I felt I was behind, my little walked and other times she was carried by the guides. That was She was three years old" (Laura S, 39, Temascalcingo, December

In other cases, the intentions to help the family and to impro had an impact on the decision.

> "We had to live on my father`s salary, but he had a health situati of work, so we could not go on. My brother and I could not con studies, so we had to look for a job" (Alín M., 22, Toluca, Decemb

> "At that time, the economic situation was not stable, I lived with I worked as a packer. Our house was a little room, a brick and tile

not want to leave, I wanted to work and continue studying, but I could not and my parents couldn´t help me either. We were many brothers, we did not have enough for everyone, I had to decide ...I remember My dad saying goodbye, my mom stayed at home crying. I was happy because I was traveling, I was going to know places but the farewell was sad" (Juan MG, 22 years old, Tianguistenco, February 2013).

The family

Conceiving and giving shape to the decision to migrate, to find the means, to compare between leaving and staying, to ask those who have experience is a different matter from setting off. The decision to migrate involves taking the risk alone, consulting with the family members, imposing the decision, asking for opinions from other relatives, following orders from the couple or parents. In general, this process has stages, in which the family has a decisive role.

In this group of interviewees, 83% discussed their intentions to migrate with their families; another 4% migrated without having such discussions. The rest was decided by their parents, their couple or other relatives. During the discussion, almost 50% received moral or economic support from their families. The rest stated they were denied any help or taken away by someone else. This differs from the economic hypothesis of migration, which holds that the decision to migrate is taken by consensus at home and with pre-established purposes to overcome productive constraints (Stark, 1982). Whereas, the Mexican interviewees showed they made decisions based on a bounded rationality and with a perspective of solution already proven by others who have been migrants, in addition to the involvement of others making up the immediate group of the migrant.

As it can be seen in previous and subsequent interview segments, the migration´s intention brings about reactions regarding their personal relationships. In some cases, relatives and coyotes[5] intervene to convince the family or to stop the departure. A valuation or a rupture between the perspectives of relatives regarding the migration and the one expressed by the migrants can be noticed in almost all the interviewees, although both want to improve and to get ahead, each one has a point of view on how to do it. In the end, either with obstacles or support, these migrants went abroad.

5. The coyote is the person who the migrant hires to cross the border in an undocumented way. This cost is currently between five and ten thousand dollars. According to the conditions of the crossing and the coyote´s easiness. Sometimes the coyote himself encourages and helps them to migrate and they pay him once he gets them work in the United States.

Salas Alfaro, Renato; Baca Tavira, Norma y Murguía Salas, María Verónica (diciembre, 2017). Th to migrate: the case of the Mexican migrant population. Ánfora, 24(43), 39-67. Universidad Aut Manizales. ISSN 0121-6538.

How did the negotiations take place? According to the migrants who the decision with the family members, besides negotiating their depar also had to deal with emotional situations like sadness, to leave their couples and other relatives. This indirect form of influence affects th to migrate, since in some cases it meant a postponement of the trip fo and even years, in other cases, they overlapped and traveled abroad:

"When I was planning to go, I talked to them, my mom was the one w want me to leave, my dad saw it as an option to get ahead on my ow mom did not want me to go. In the end I intended to go, so I could ma somehow, they did not want me to, but my brother-in-law talked to th a certain way they accepted it ... and at last, my mother gave me her (Moses B., 40, Temascalcingo, December 2012).

"My wife told me 'well it's okay if you want to leave, go ahead, I do because it's faraway and you have a son to attend to ...' he was a lit would be three years old and she did not agree because I was not going him. I was not going to see him grow up, but I said, 'there's nowhere to do not have job possibilities' and I said that 'maybe I'll get lucky and f job there,' she understood and was convinced ... I gave them a kiss an them both, I told them 'here, we will see each other in a year or two'" 40 years old, Acambay, December 2012).

"They did not let me go because I was the youngest in my family and th to me, 'What do you need? go and study'. My brothers and my paren to study, they did not let me work, they told me 'just dedicate yourself we're going to give you the money to study'. In fact I had problems wi because he would not let me go, but I insisted, as all my friends talked to the North ... at last they gave me their blessing. They were angry but it to me" (Manuel H., 29, Temascalcingo, December 2012).

Among those who migrated without consulting their families, intentions prevail, an idea about the north as a place of opportunity a of immaturity.

"In fact, I left without telling my dad, I never told them my plans to United States, I told them the trip was for studies, I told them I was go a week so they would not be worried, so I left ... I had my cell phone, I had phone numbers, the signal is not the same. It took us eight days i when I arrived the first thing I did was to call my parents and I told th

them, and jeez my mom got sick, my dad was very sad for a week, life happens. Later, they made up their minds and took it as it was. I was not going to return" (Abigail M, 22, Tianguistenco, February 2013).

"We were in a bad situation, we had no house, I was encouraged by a step brother who was there and worked for a construction company, it meant definite work. I was used to working hard, and there, it was like that. He got me the money to go and I was paying him as I was working ... Parents always want the best for their children, they never agreed with me leaving because of the dangers, they said: 'What if you are there lying somewhere thirsty and do not even get water?' I mean, the parents try to get their children to stay, but I wanted to stand out and that's why I left" (Alejandro, P. 46 years, Tlatlaya, December 2012).

"I was at University and had no job... I had no choice... I did not know what I wanted for my future either. I was about to finish my degree, that's why I made that decision, I wanted to change my life's direction, have new expectations, a vision that led me to improve. It was a way out to build something for my family. The fact I got married influenced me because I had to make a living to support them [my family]. I left with my wife. I talked with some friends and cousins living in the United States and they told me about the possibility of working and a way of having a better life. A friend who I had grown up with made the decision to leave and I noted he had improved financially which encouraged me to leave. I had told him about my desire to go there and a month later he told me 'if you are really coming here I have everything ready, you can come in a fortnight, I'll support you...' when I started work, I paid everything off. However, it is not easy, there is always a fear of leaving what is deeply rooted in you, your family, your friends; there are mixed feelings because you want to get a better standard of living, but you also have to think about what you are leaving" (Juan Antonio R., 31 years old, Timilpan, December 2012).

Other migrants were taken by someone else who made the decision but still took the risk of the trip, that is the case of wives and minors.

"My dad did the paperwork before taking us, at the time, I was very young and truly lived well, my dad had a job as a land surveyor, but they had problems with my mom, they separated and the opportunity to do the paperwork arose. He left and we stayed with my mom for a time. We suffered a lot because her salary was not enough. Then my dad took us with him, I had just been to kindergarten and had started elementary school, I lived with my dad and my brothers, in a good

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house, I was happy, but I missed having my mother there with me years, Tejupilco, December 2012).

In my house, everyone had gone north, there was no work here an tortillas and did things in the house. I was single and lived on wha gave me, I lived well. My parents took me there, they lived there. ' me and covered all the expenses. My purpose was to reunite with then I got married and started to work, but it was already a matte with my husband "(Olivia, V. 39, Toluca, February 2013).

Some migrants made agreements and made commitments to obt consent. Three out of four promised to improve the house, to a lesser promised to save money, pay for the children to study, buy a car and The ones who only wanted to get to know the other country rep This way of negotiating the departure was important for both the and the ones who had a partner:

"The economic crisis was very hard, and forced me to migrate. several things: a driver, sewing machine mechanic, and I knew fo We were five children living on my father's salary; we barely had a house. It influenced the fact that my wife often became very sick and too, and therefore, my salary was not enough. As my grandfather w we talked a lot and started to plan the dream of leaving. But it is emotionally, because one has to say goodbye to the parents, the wife, a sad thing for the family and you remember them all the time. My f want me to leave, in fact, my parents did not want me to go. Many my community had had bad experiences crossing the border, therefo did not want me to; instead they said that in Mexico there were o and that I had to make an effort. However, my wife was more exc people from the community returned with cars, economically well- encouraged us to accomplish something; that was our dream, to hav our car. She was a bit lively and sad at the same time because I had into debt with some uncles to support the coyote and plane expens with my mom and wife's blessing" (Omar G., 36 years old, Jilotepe 2012).

"I left because I noted how other relatives had left and had a goo brought cars, built a house, and that encouraged me. I wanted to help get them out of the house where we lived and that gave me the pus

about it, but my parents thought it was better here, even if we ate beans. They did not want anything to happen to me or that I did not return. I insisted that I wanted to go and that I wanted their permission, they thought about it and finally decided to support me. The expenses were financed through relatives, uncles and cousins who lived there and supported my leaving. Although, they did not want to help, we talked about it and finally accepted. Maybe I did not fulfill 100%, I did not do everything I wanted, but I did the most urgent, I had a savings account, I helped my parents with their expenses, I knew new things, I bought a piece of land to build a little house to live with my parents and my brothers" (Víctor AC, 26 years old, Toluca, February 2013.

Before and after 1994

Although international migration in the State of Mexico has occurred since the last century with the Bracero Program. Among those interviewed, three out of four went abroad from 1994, one-quarter migrated before. This is important because of the conditions they faced to migrate and the dangers associated with the crossing and job search.

Prior to 1994, there was less border protection, crossing conditions were less dangerous, assaults and other dangers were barely heard of. After that year, there were more guards, the crossing was difficult with costs and risks increasing; worries about distance and the unknown changed to fears of dying, kidnapping, getting lost in the desert, drowning, or not getting more resources.

In Mexico, economic crises have been frequent: households have suffered from precarious work procedures while increasing the cost of living. Thus, even with greater hazards and costs, more rural and urban people who had better skills and work experience began to migrate. Women also started their journey abroad on a sustained basis; before 1994 they accounted for 17% of the total flow, from 1994 onwards they constituted as 19% per year .In contrast, the number of trips abroad by migrants was almost halved: up to 1993 they made 3.5 trips, from 994, the average was reduced to 1.8 trips per migrant.

As it can be seen in table 1, the diversity of living conditions in the State of Mexico up to 1993 and beyond help to explain migration decisions abroad. As has been referred to previously, not all is due to economic necessity. On the one hand, the proportion of migrants who had a "good life" and stable wages, is similar in both reference periods, although low percentages (13% and 14%) help to understand the incorporation of professionals, technicians and other qualified workers from urban backgrounds to international migration, not due to the lack of jobs, but their quality.

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Table 1. Previous situation according to the migration period in perce

	H_1993	1994_D
Emotional[1]	22	15
Helping the family [2]	21	15.5
Good life[3]	13	14
Need, scarcity[4]	38	45.6
Family of migrants[5]	6.1	10.3

Source: author

H, includes previous years up to 1993. D, includes from 1994 and the subseq includes feelings of motivation and seek of adventure. 2 includes feelings of w parents, siblings, solve family problems, illness, need to support someone's st studies. 3 includes steady employment, good family environment, being a fam cludes situations of economic need, poverty, scarcity, unemployment, disappoir opportunities, desire to start a business, buy material things, van, taxi, debts, b includes those who were family of migrants.

From another perspective, the rate of those experiencing a po situation included 38% until 1993 and 45 % thereafter. Figures wh the effect of liberal policies, economic crises, wage declines and w Mexicans' living conditions. It is also worth saying that welfare goal with working, making money and saving, opening a business, payin buying objects, improving their lives, and becoming independent ar reasons to migrate after 1994. These grow more in men than in wor they were just beginning their migration in those years.

Another feature is that 63% of the interviewees who migrated up note that they took between a week and a month, thinking and getti since 1994, only 50% of them took this time, the other half took even years reflecting about it. This change is more visible in women. three out of four women took between a week and a month to decid 1994, only one out of three took that time, the others took month thinking about it.

How are these migration conditions leaked home? Regarding thi migrants' views who left abroad until 1993, reveal these answers:

"I went to help the family; here the situation was very difficult. It was not possible to have a future here, and at first, it feels bad, but you go with that courage to become someone. I wanted to have a house, a car, fight and make an effort, I was already an adult, I had already been in many parts of the country: Aguascalientes, Reynosa, Guadalajara, Colima. I was a driver, a bricklayer's assistant and a kind of mechanic. I lived with my parents and barely had brick room. My cousins lived in Los Angeles and I went to live with them, but I went alone, hiding on the hill with fear, thank God I was not caught. It was easier at that time, there was not as much police and the truth, I managed to cross" (Enrique JS 60, Santo Tomas de los Plátanos, December 2012).

"Unfortunately, there is nothing to do here. At that time, there was a way to do a little more for the family, for my parents. It was a bit difficult here, I was underpaid and there was not much work. There were no resources to survive. The first time I thought about it for a while, because I was newly married. My brother was already there, he left due to financial problems, and he was going to apply for his residence. We went to live with him. We did the paperwork because of him. The "mica" of the ten year period. It was for him. The first time I crossed through Piedras Negras de Mojados, afterwards, I crossed though Tijuana with documents. You suffer a lot and even cry on the way. I talked to my wife and my parents, they were still alive. You make the decision and then, in the name of God, you go on. When you leave, the family is crying because you do not know what can happen on the way, you do not know if you are going to return" (José P., 62, Tejupilco, December 2012).

Those who went abroad after 1994 faced difficult conditions, their families knew the risks and were opposed. They tell of greater difficulties, but it is perceived that some migrants matured and had personal changes that have influenced in their daily life.

"I failed a semester, I was afraid of leaving the family whom I had always been with, we had an average economic situation, not much. In my case, it was like an adventure. Maybe there was an opportunity to look for a job, but at that moment of immaturity, I left. The idea of leaving arose when I failed the semester, at that time I had relatives there who invited me, lent me the money and helped me. There we had to pay. At that age, I said 'well let's see what's over there'. My family supported me, to see if I reflected and matured when I was there, they said 'go, because there you may reconsider and value what you did not take advantage of, so go'. Moms, women are usually like this, then I left ... There were two times

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I tried to cross, the first time we were returned, I wanted to arrive thinking why am I here? What am doing here? Maybe being at hom better conditions, if I had continued the school, perhaps finishing a d feel a lot of fear, because you walk and you do not know what is ahea happen or who you are going to tell about it. Fear is always present ar way, you mature" (Roberto, G. 34, Jocotitlán, December 2012).

"I had a good relationship with my family and lived with my parents. B it was not so good. When I left, I was sad because I left my parents going to a country to progress. Where would I get resources to do here? In my mind, I had the idea of a house, furnishing it, having sc in the bank. However, my family were afraid because they did not l would happen, whether I could cross or not. I also did not know what to cross, I did not know what was going to happen to me, I did not k the trip would entail. The first time I left, one of my sisters covered th she also helped me to buy clothes and shoes there. During that time about it for two months. I told my dad, I sat with him and told him what dad, I want to go to the United States and I want your permiss to know what you think of it'. He told me: 'well, if you made the d ahead, I cannot say no, because I'm not going to give you what you'r earn there, so, you've made the decision, then, hopefully, you'll do well there I started to work, then I worked for two years without rest an how I achieved my goal of having a house" (Araceli R., 33 years, Tem December 2012).

"My husband was not with me and I had to leave my children alc morning, I took them to school and I came back to work. I started eight, I was a dressmaker, then I would go and pick them up. Wher to leave, I felt bad because I had to leave them, but I felt good becau have to something to offer them. More than anything else, I wanted to offer them a roof over their heads. I went to help my husband so he co sooner, as he had left first, because here the situation was very difficul money for my expenses from one of my brothers-in-law, because he He sent me my ticket, he had to get the money. At that time, we were b house and my husband was sending money. He did not want me to lea I would have to leave my children, but I told him "that way we v something to offer them a house, studies'. In the end, my children staye dad and my sisters. My dad did not want me to go, because my childre a lot a lot work, but he said 'if you have already decided, then go ahead you with your children'. I was there for some time, because as my hu

> 'we cannot leave the children alone for any longer' we made the effort to save, not waste money and continue with our plans. My children have a home now, one of them finished his degree, the other two, one is a single mother, the other one lives with her partner. They are about to finish their degrees. Everything we have, we got it there, because here unfortunately there is nothing that can be done" (Claudia V., 42, Tianguistenco, December 2012).

The decision to return

To return is to migrate again, to make the decision again, to compare, to reflect, to gather information and courage to face the life conditions that once or multiple times had pushed them to leave. As Ranciere (2010) points out, the institutional power within a society legitimates some interests and illegitimates others. That is, the migrants feel they do not fit in, but they return and they come to look for a place to fit in, challenging the exclusion they feel from their education, labor, social security aspects and spaces of opinion as well. Their return creates conflicts and challenges that society and those conditions of life, because either due to will or forced, they bring capacities, knowledge, schooling, other language, savings, experiences and a series of traits inherent to their people that can employ them on their return.

How does the decision to migrate to Mexico occur? How do family residing abroad and in Mexico intercede? What is the environment surrounding the idea of returning? These are some queries that help us understand the moment when migrants make decisions in the process of international migration.

Among those interviewed, it was noted that for those who made several trips abroad, though it was difficult to make the decision to definitely return, once in Mexico, the insertion was difficult and with greater problems. When returning, the acquired customs and the nostalgia for the dollars and comforts, press the demand of better conditions of employment and services in their localities. In a certain way, there is a type of conflicts with their surroundings and a manifestation of various clashes which some migrants bring with them and which restrict their insertion (Bautista et al., 2016).

Not finding similar conditions to those left behind, their intentions to remain falter and some go back abroad. "I got used to making money, when I got back there was not an opportunity to, more than anything the economic aspect is lacking, I think that there, one makes more money and life is better in that regard, that's why one returns" (Antonio L., 35, Temascalcingo , December 2012). Ricardo gives a similar testimony, "I set up a lifestyle there, a very different one from the one here, when you return, you do not get easily accustomed to having

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what you had before, you decide to go back, here, there is nothing had a job, a rented apartment, friends" (Ricardo G., 29, Atlacomulco 2012).

Another migrant returned to graduate from a degree; Neverthel

> The second time [the last one] I left because I had already recei here, I had an option to work, but one gets used to the good salary. V the process of my qualification, the owner of the place where I wo my house to visit with his wife and he offered me a job. He said, "Y me a hand, I bought another business". It was easy because I knew to have a job and be better paid, so it was very tempting. I told my and we went back with our child" (Miguel Ángel, 32, Jocotitlán, Dec

Already with migratory experience, not only the lack of option also the struggle among the nostalgia for the dollars, the comfo opportunities abroad, against the lack of employment, lack of undertake it and low salaries, There are added other intentions:

> "Well, the initial trip, let's say it was a test, the second and third already knew, I know how to work on some other things, I hope to job, I will not be hidden anymore, afraid of not finding a job, or goir little more confident to be able to make more money, and I reiterate my intention to go there to establish, but to go and earn a little maybe enough to go get a house and bring some money back" (Efrai Toluca, February 2013).

> "Since being here, the most difficult thing is transport. I do not like they are always full, I am not at ease, but that is normal. I've seen future, but there is no money, no capital to start a business. I feel tha effort, I can start a business one day. There, I learned to put down fl if you have the tools it is easy, without the tools it is difficult. I can o I just need the opportunity and the tools. ... I can do farming too, everyone works their land, but there is not much work and they p handling the machinery. So far, I have not found a job" (Isaac G., December 2012).

The return

None of the interviewees returned for a single reason. Their narratives mix diverse reasons to return to their localities, they emphasize on the economic crisis abroad, the wish to reunite with their family, to raise their children in Mexico, no longer suffer abroad, get married or to have the paperwork, to not fear deportation, longing and feeling of returning:

> "Economic conditions had declined, we worked for hours and worked for a small amount at that time. I had a car, I decided to sell it and with that money to return. Besides, I already had some money in Mexico, and I felt the need to visit to my family, to a certain extent, I missed being there. Since I left, I had that goal, to return at some point, and I thought about the conditions of having little work were suitable for returning. Although I often communicated with my family by cellular phone, the communication was good and continuous; I never spent more than a month without calling them. The other means of communication was email, I used that one mostly with my sister, I sometimes made video calls" (Alberto G., 27, Temascalcingo, December 2012).

> "My other baby was born. The babysitter took care of him but she did not feed him, the baby started to deteriorate. He was about five or six months old, and when I wanted to feed him, he did not want to, I did not know if it was because his stomach was already getting used to not having food, and then the babysitter did not want him either, she returned him to me, so that was the reason I wanted to return. I said, 'I cannot continue working and having someone else take care of him, he may die someday, I better return to Mexico'. I quickly found a job and I could change if I did not like it. I could go to another one, at last it was difficult to find another job if you left one, youhad to reapply, they gave you four hours and you could not ask for more. Without another job, those hours only served to pay the rent, phone bill and gas, so there was no point in being there" (Araceli R., 33, Temascalcingo, December 2012).

One in ten migrants report that abroad they were abused and discriminated against by foremen, especially of Hispanic origin. There are few who have gone through this situation, but give a view of what happens in their jobs. They also point out that their attitude problems, lack of custom to labor standards and maladjustment generated conflicts.

> "I was disappointed at being there, because with several bosses we worked for up to fifteen days with no salary or loans as payments. The last time we worked

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> there they owed almost two months and they left with the workers' were about thirty people, then they only managed to get us some mone us about a thousand dollars each, but they still owed us a lot. I used t to return, the others stayed there" (Víctor R., 30 years, Otzoloapan, 2012).

Likewise, on the migrant, the family image of those who are in M either because they are missed, they are asked to return, or other ex circumstances. Family members living abroad also affect this decision, good or imposed purposes. For example, Mrs. María points out that h was "because people who worked at the hotel sent her husband the 'n he had to go to Nogales, when he was able to cross again, they had alre his job, so he told me to come to be able to move to another state. I wan but I also returned for my children, to take better care of them" (Ma Santo Tomas, December 2012).

But upon return, migrants have different traits. The pressure to sociocultural needs, various violence and adverse experiences when the socio-labor stay abroad and their new daily life led them to develop and actions to adapt to being abroad. This is a natural reaction beings. In this regard, it is pointed out that, living beings develop att alertness, friendship, and anger, according to the environment that s them. Learning transforms their responses into different skills that not previously have or did not see as such, by using and overcoming th can identify their abilities and develop them (Domjan, 2010, p. 259 sense, the migrants developed diverse knowledge, socio-cultural capa personal attitudes. They state that they learned to value their familie and freedom in Mexico. Only one in ten migrants state that they re worse conditions than he/she before migrating:

> "I improved many things, to be responsible, to appreciate my country. things are not as you want, you miss it and you change to become anotl and to be able to change it. Since you are not from there, you have t the rules. They are organized people, for example to turn in your car, y announce the turn. If an animal is crossing the street you have to wait crosses. They call the police there. It is nice, but you are alone. My dac to Mexico, I used to talk and be with him, because there, every one c each other's things, if you have, you eat, if you do not have, you do n one is asking you things. You are afraid of being arrested, that migrat for you, that´s how it is there. Once I said 'I'm going to Mexico' and b ticket, but the time came and I did not use it, it took me another yea

ticket and return. I did not think, 'I'll go in a month or two months', I did not plan, it was in a moment of madness, without thinking. It does not feel nice, saying 'I'm leaving in a month' and continue living until departure date arrives, that is why I just said 'I'm going to buy my ticket and leave'" (Omar B., 23, Morelos, December 2012).

"I was there for a short period, I had a little time for my daughter and my wife, I missed my family. To be honest it was a quick decision. I just bought the tickets, some suitcases and I left. I missed them. Daily, I would talk on the cell phone and online with my mom, my brothers, and my wife. Another reason was that I did not want my children to suffer what I suffered, because when you are little and the parents are not with you, it is not good. The other thing is that you feel trapped because there is only work, it is from work to the house and from the house to the work, just thinking how much I will save, and how much I will send. I did not make much money but I learned a language that is used across the whole world, and I have a different mentality to the people from here. When I returned, we finished the house that my father left, and that was it, because I did not bring a lot of money back." (Abel A., 28 years old, Tejupilco, December 2012).

Some consider that they better manage the family issues, although in many of them, the civil situation changed and that influenced having another perspective. Others were in a transitional stage from adolescent to adulthood and became parents. As they point out:

"Going to the North served me well because there we improved the family issues, we had more acceptance of ourselves. Before, there were things I did not talk to them about, nor did they to me, so we have had that. It helped us to value ourselves more and have better communication among all of us" (Rodrigo V., 32 years old, Nicolás Romero, February 2013).

"It made me change a little because I treat my sons and wife differently now, I respect them a little more and I do not say things to them, I insist on them working and to do what they are supposed to and to do things well, because as the father, I am trying to do things right. Studying is the most important, because their studies serves you well... you learn English faster if you study, faster than normal and have more relationships with people from there, be more related and do more [patrimony] than those who have been for a longer time" (Ezequiel B., 49, Valle de Bravo, December 2012).

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"In the family, we are the same as before, affectionate, sociable,
us, we were very close and attached, that's why in the United S
gap, that desire to return. Regarding that issue, I did not change
became a little more responsible, more mature, more like the hea
The immaturity has been left behind; you have to face your r
(Roberto G., 34, Jocotitlán, December 2012).

Conclusions

This study concludes that, although a minority migrates on
cisions are generally grouped, negotiated with the family, with c
ments and intervention from other actors and circumstances such
religious beliefs and socialized customs. At the same time, this dec
specific features in each case, which restricts the use of general m
ries (Stark, 1982; Dustmann and Kirchkamp, 2001; Kirdar, 2007;
and decision making (Dixit and Nalebuff, 1991).

None of the theories reviewed covered the particular aspects of
neither should those theories cover them. The human condition
model. Such theories could not derive an explanation to solve th
staying in the locality or going abroad or returning to their loca
all considering that although they are all migrants, each one was g
a particular economic, social and family situation at various stages
tion process.

Decision-making approaches are based on the idea that pe
uncertain environments, resort to immediate solutions, receive i
other actors and make decisions intuitively (Domjan, 2010). Howe
tainties assume diverse forms that imply a singular view to every
example, the women who return due to fear of being alone afte
is deported, the stress of their children having accidents, the ang
detected and deported, among others. This also shows that the s
ment is a factor that greatly influences decision making, which is
two procedures: the fast one that is automatic and the slow one th
(World Bank, 2015).

Together, relatives and friends; economic circumstances; emoti
and immaturity; disappointment and labor instability; problems w
pectation of adventure and desires to know; possibility of finding
jobs, and living conditions influence people decide to accept a cho
side their country. However, it must be accepted that, although the

gration are multiple and particular, the reason that mostly interacts with other circumstances is the economic need which manifests itself in various ways.

From another point of view, the return decision is motivated by the family's nostalgia, fear, stress, entrepreneurship intentions, among others, that are combined with the migratory experience, labor knowledge and new accumulated assets, as well as the intention to start again in their localities. Both the reasons for migrating and returning show the heterogeneity of circumstances in which each migrant interviewed in specific settings, a situation that helps to distinguish the actor-centered approach (Long, 2007).

The Mexican case shows that several forces are in conflict with personal and family intentions to go abroad. In this case, the news about the dangers of crossing, nostalgia to separate from their children, lack of resources to defray their travel, lack of contacts, fear and insecurity to the unknown. All the interviewees were international and returned migrants, that is, they managed to overcome the circumstances that were against their migration and return.

The testimonies included in this paper show that, in decision-making, at least two motivations were at play. On the one hand, there are the intentions; thoughts; illusions of seeking a better life; knowing places and customs; learning another language; having savings; the circumstances of their environment; and the testimony and achievements of other migrants to whom they listen, comment on and compare opportunities or lack of them. On the other hand, there are their fears of the unknown, dangers, possibility of something tragic, doubts about the true life in the North. The possibility of not achieving anything, losing the family, vices and deaths of other migrants. In both situations, other actors intervene, who, in turn, bring their own thoughts and beliefs that add up as motivators or inhibitors in the decision-making process.

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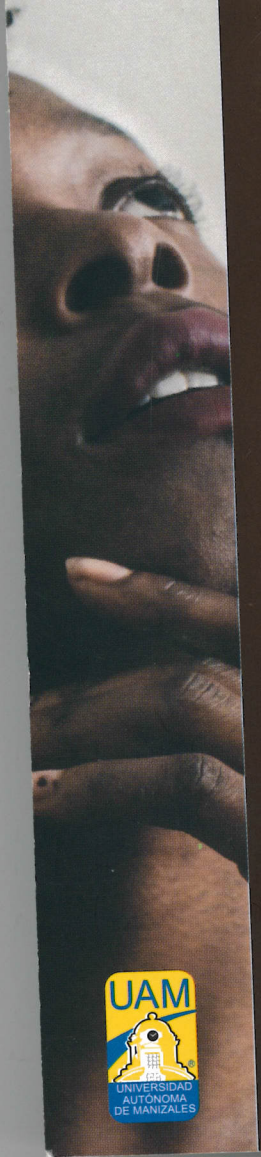

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