

EFFECTS OF MIGRATION ON CHILDHOOD IN GUANAJUATO, MEXICO¹

Shiomara Perla del Carpio Ovando²
Eduardo Fernández Guzmán³
Elizabeth Garnica Reséndiz⁴

ABSTRACT

In this study we approach different experiences, ways of life, and ways to comprehend, explain, and address the phenomenon of migration from the reflections of children in three communities in the municipalities of Salvatierra and Salamanca, located in the State of Guanajuato, Mexico. We study psychosocial, socio-cultural, economic, family, and symbolic aspects, which are present in children's perceptions of migration and its effects on childhood. The above, especially in regions with a long tradition of migration (Mexico-United States), such as the communities that this study discusses. We discuss the skills and emotional resources (such as resilience, coping, and adaptation capacity) that develops during childhood in the face of long absences of migrant relatives, we also discuss the negative perceptions negative impact that migration has assumed. This study, based on the reflections of boys and girls in Guanajuato, Mexico, point out that in such a complex phenomenon that is migration, there are different ways to understand and cope with this situation, even communities within the same state have presented both similar and dissimilar characteristics, and meanwhile, force us to think about the cultural and social diversity of childhood. We cannot make generalizations, rather we must consider particular social, family, and community conditions and realities that correspond to the plurality and diversity of experiences of children in communities in the state of Guanajuato.

Keywords: Migration, childhood, Guanajuato.

¹ The authors wish to thank the Directorate for Research Support and Postgraduate Programs (DAIP) at the University of Guanajuato for their support in the translation and editing of the English-language version of this article.

² University of Guanajuato, Celaya-Salvatierra Campus, Department of Social Studies, shiomaraatesania@gmail.com.

³ University of Guanajuato, Celaya-Salvatierra Campus, Department of Cultural, Demographic, and Political Studies, kutibirrin10@gmail.com.

⁴ University of Guanajuato, Celaya-Salvatierra Campus, Department of Cultural Studies, Lisa_147@hotmail.com.

Introduction

Children have always been immersed in processes of international migration (Fass, 2005). Social scientists should consider that through migration, children (boys and girls) find new ways to understand and analyze the changes and structures at the social, cultural, economic, and political level in a society. Considering the above, this work focuses particular attention on the study of migration, and attempts to recover the child's perspective of migration.

Such a wide-reaching phenomenon as migration cannot be viewed only from an economic perspective (Hatton, 2014; McLeigh, 2013) (i.e. the creation, delivery, and use of remittances), nor from the exclusive perceptions, opinions, experiences, and interpretation of the adult population (adult-centered) view. We consider that this topic requires a multidisciplinary and inclusive approach, in which attention is focused on other sectors of the population who, in one way or another, are immersed in and, in turn, lead the migration phenomenon: children.

Addressing the multi-causal issue of migration from the perspective of the child population requires a comparative study that does not isolate or reduce the elements to simple cause and effect that cannot see beyond the economic and political level.

There are a number of symbolic, psychological, cultural, and family factors that are linked to economic and political factors within the phenomenon of migration, and by focusing on children, all the above seems more disturbing and enriching (Fernandez, 2011). There is a lack of research analyzing the multi-dimensional impacts that migration has on childhood.

It is therefore necessary to conduct studies that consider the restructuring and changes at the, familial, cultural, and geographic levels, besides any influence that may arise at the personal and community levels due to migration. In Mexico, the social influence of this phenomenon is turning the children of Guanajuato into little migrants who have spent part of their lives seeking the "American dream".

In this regard, the United Nations Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), for example, mentions that during the period October 2013 and May 2014 a total of 47,000 children were detained in the southern United States border, of which 25% were Mexican. Meanwhile, the numbers of returnees provided by the National Institute of Migration (INM) indicate that in 2012, there were 17,000,129 repatriation events of minors (under 18 years of age) from the United States, of which 79.3% were unaccompanied at the time of their repatriation (Del Carpio, Fernández and Garnica, 2015; Del Carpio, Fernández, Mosqueda and Freitag, 2015).

In the state of Guanajuato, where our research was conducted, we found that, according to the Population and Housing Census 2010 (INEGI, 2010), there is not a high number of children who migrate unaccompanied. The highest percentage of migration among people originating from Guanajuato are young people and adults that migrate mainly to the United States. In fact, Guanajuato has the highest number of migrants with 116, 235 people leaving in 2010 to the United States. Moreover, INEGI (2010) also states that it is one of the States receiving the most remittances.

This allows us to realize that there is a high percentage of children facing the migration of one or more family members. Children who are left behind, whose parents leave to the neighboring country in the North, are a vital population sector that should be considered in social studies (Debry, 2007; Antman, 2010; Gonzalez-Ferrer, Baizán and Beauchemin, 2012; Lu, 2015). It should be noted that the phenomenon of migration also has implications, which this research (conducted within the framework of a broader study, with children in the region of Salvatierra, Guanajuato) seeks to discuss, to share from the voices of the boys and these girls several of those consequences and opportunities that come with migration.

Some authors point out the negative effects (family breakdown, emotional damages, neglect) that can occur when a child's family departs; In this sense migration has been painted as an absence of those men and women who have left, which involves family disintegration, thereby causing a significant psychological effect on the children, such as feelings of abandonment and vulnerability, and even resentment. However, there are also those who think that family absences do not necessarily harm children. For example, Jociles, Rivas, Moncó, Villamil, and Diaz (2008) establish that the emotional effects that children may have are "more related to the family environment, the quality of relationships between members, family communication, the presence of family hostility, domestic dialogue, etc. which influence the predisposition for conflict among sons and daughters"(p. 6).

We therefore underline that migration not only has economic, social, and political repercussions, but it also has a psychological dimension. We highlight the above because here we consider children from a bio-psycho-social perspective, this view allows us to consider our child population in a holistic manner. In this regard, we should emphasize that "despite the growing interest in this phenomenon, there is a lack of information and knowledge on the psychological and social impact of migration on children and their families, taking into account the different phases of migration" (Mancillas, 2010, p.213) (own translation).

In this regard, this study aims to provide possible responses to this debate between the "positive" or "negative" effects that migration can have in childhood. In the first place we may consider that the effects of migration are "negative", however, we argue that it is not migration as such that directly generates "affectations" in children, but rather they correspond to a number of elements that cannot be reduced to the "absence" of any member of the family.

Thus, the research goal is to understand and analyze the emotional effects that migration has on the children of Salvatierra and Salamanca, Guanajuato, Mexico.

Reflections on the impact of migration on childhood

The increase of migrant boys and girls, the psychosocial implications and the effect of the phenomenon on the health of this sector (Vanore, Mazzucato and Siegel, 2015; Wu, Lu and Kang, 2015; Kuhn, Everett and Silvey, 2011, Ansell and Blerk , 2004), education (Sarma and Parinduri, 2016; Amuedo, Georges and Pozo, 2010; Wu and Zhang, 2015), their future expectations (Crivello, 2015), as well as the ease with which their rights may be violated are the main reasons why more attention has been placed on the study of migration from the perspective of children (Zamora, 2015; Avilés, 2014; Olvera, Montoya and Gonzalez, 2014; O'Connell, 2013; Zavala et al., 2008).

In this regard, it should be noted that for authors such as Martinez (2008), migration involves a series of feelings that invade both those who migrate and those that stay. Moreover, this research places a greater emphasis on those who remain, arguing that they experience feelings of hope, tranquility, worry, anger, fear, love, nostalgia, and longing. Rivera, Obregón, Cervantes and Martínez (2014) mention that:

In cases where the father migrates and the family stays in Mexico, the man becomes the breadwinner and provides material things, leaving aside the help and care that their children need from him, as the importance of the presence of a parent is also giving advice, teaching and guiding their children (p. 30). (Own translation)

The above quote suggests that the father figure, or even a mother who migrates, completely forgets their emotional responsibility towards their sons and daughters. Several studies that address the psychosocial effects of migration on children have pigeonholed primarily the father, as one that provides and only sends money and material things. When we do not appreciate beyond this material perspective, we can see that there are parents who keep supporting, advising, educating, and motivating their sons and daughters from afar.

Ojeda (2005) reflects, for example, on a new kind of family that is learning to live, in which migrants are not permanently absent, as they continue to maintain a relationship with those who remain in the place of origin, either by sending remittances or through the exchange of ideas and values that help re-build new identities that absorb elements of two different cultures together. Meanwhile, other authors such as Mancillas (2010), stress that psychosocial damages are not derived solely from migration:

Various studies indicate that psychosocial problems of younger children of migrants who remain in Mexico are not unique to international migration, but it is a complex and multidimensional phenomenon that several difficult characteristics interweave in the life of rural communities (p. 218). (Own translation)

While it is true that during the departure, a series of feelings such as sadness, loneliness, and nostalgia unfurl. However, we found a series of psychological resources that help children cope with these situations until they reach a stage of acceptance and adaptation. This ability to overcome adversity is known as resilience. We see that in many cases, the boys and girls have learned to live and accept the migration of a loved one. This capability is again greater in the children's sector, in contrast to adults, they are able to develop lucid activities, scenarios of happiness, and companionship, among others, to help them deal with the difficult situations in their lives.

When the child is immersed in migration, in one way or another, and has a stable family unit, which also provides support to cope with these situations, their ability to understand and learn to live healthily will increase. As Orantes and Molina (2002) mention, the migration process may present a fork in the road: one path with negative effects which could exacerbate personal and family conflicts, or from a positive perspective, where a stronger union of family members is formed, improving communication and family stability. However, this does depend on the capacity for adaptation and flexibility of the families and the roles that lead to functional reorganization.

Remittances, gifts and, above all, constant communication with those who have migrated represent, to some extent, the presence of those who live in the United States. They help create resilience, improving emotional stability in childhood, helping children to cope with the absence of a loved one, which becomes physical only when contact is still maintained even after leaving. Moreover, this communication may become a motivating factor to face any adversity.

Study Methodology

We consider that the methodology aimed at the study of childhood should be drawn from the characteristics of the study population, and that there should be investigations in line with the ways of living and understanding the world from a child's perspective. Based on this, we have maintained the essence of each qualitative and technical research tool applied, but adapted to the children's sector.

Techniques

It is noteworthy that given the objectives of this research, we mainly turned to qualitative techniques (interviews, participant observation, drawings, field notes, and photographs, among others). The above analysis is the result of a qualitative ethnographic approach and methodology followed as craft, as Gúber (2001) describes ethnography. As an approach, "ethnography is a concept and practice of knowledge that seeks to understand social phenomena from the perspective of its members (understood as 'actors', 'agents' or 'social subjects')" (Gúber, 2001, p.12) (own translation).

To learn more about the child population, it is necessary to approach it in such a way that our presence becomes friendly company. Since we are dealing with a sector of the population that live and feel the situations that surround them uniquely.

For this research we approached 3 primary schools in rural communities because we believe it is an important space for childhood. This is the place where they get to socialize with others, and through this development and socialization they are forming their identities, ideas, concerns, and life expectations. We chose 2 schools in the municipality of Salvatierra (community of San Nicholas and San Thomas) and 1 in the city of Salamanca, Guanajuato (community Barrón).

Population and intervention

We interviewed two children per educational grade (from first to sixth year), a total population of 19 children per school was obtained, with a total of 57 interviews, of which 9 were from children who had lived in the United States (5 in the San Thomas school, and 4 in the San Nicholas school in Salvatierra, Guanajuato). In Barrón –a Community of Salamanca- we only find a child population with migrant relatives in the United States, since none of the children had been in the United States.

In addition to these interviews, we could interview some mothers and people in the community who provided information that helped us understand the family dynamics in some of the boys' and girls' homes. In schools during breaks or free time some teachers also shared valuable information that helped supplement the research.

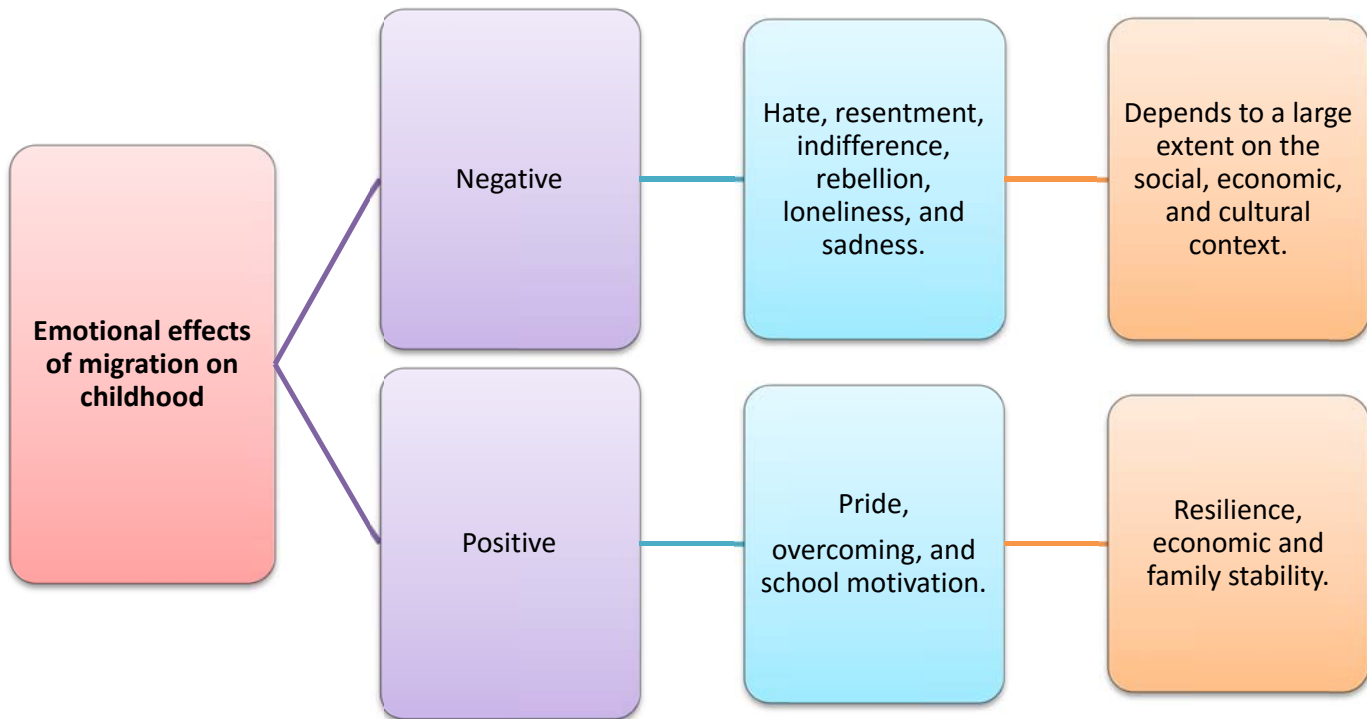
We developed 4 interview scripts: one for children who lived in the United States; one for school teachers, and two more for children who had relatives in the neighboring country. The latter two scripts were developed after the first script, due to suggestions from the institution, questions had to be modified as they felt that questions could be "hurtful" to the children. So, we made a new script, in which the requirements established by the school were respected, which for us was the subject of analysis, we thought at that time that adults are precisely those who take for granted what childhood feels like, without asking them. It was the administrative staff who assumed that by asking boys and girls about the absence of parents, they were going to feel sad or going to mourn, during our research in the field we find that this was not the case.

Moreover, the semi-structured interview allowed us to be sensitive in our approach. We were interested to hear the voice of childhood, while spending time with the children as they conducted their activities in elementary school. More than an interview, we sought to talk to them and understand what they experience every day; to such an extent that freed the dialogue, and increased the chances of understanding their realities.

Another important tool for understanding the views of children on migration was through drawing pictures. Note that the use of drawings as an activity allows us to obtain information, ideas, and feelings that sometimes children cannot express in words, but are expressed in the form of drawings. Recreational activities allowed us to approach this sector more easily. On the other hand, we should stress the importance of the field diary as a technique that allows us to systematize and more accurately analyze all the information found in the fieldwork; this is enriched with consultation and review of the literature. In addition to all these techniques, obtaining audiovisual material allowed us to use the image as a means for obtaining material that also contributed to the reflection and analysis of the issue addressed here. In the following section we share some of the results obtained in our research.

Results and Discussion

We wonder what the effects and emotional consequences of migration are on childhood. The following chart condenses some of the categories constructed from our fieldwork.



The above scheme allows us to analyze how the effects that migration have on Childhood depend largely on their social, cultural, and even environmental surroundings. While there are families who manage to stay together despite the distance, there are others who succumb to the distance, causing the breakdown of family ties. "Migrating involves leaving home, places, affections, traditions, all in an effort to seek better living conditions, but often involves family disintegration that affects the emotional and social life of its members" (Cardozo and Gonzáles, 2011, p.67) (own translation).

Through interviews, we observed that not all children show "inappropriate" behavior, depression or other symptoms such as poor school performance. This mainly in the communities of San Tomás and San Nicholas in Salvatierra. For the Barrón community - in Salamanca - the situation was different since the children do present issues of abandonment and loneliness. However, we consider that such feelings are not caused solely by migration but are multi-causal, an understanding which allowed us to build the following categories of analysis.

On the "negative" emotional effects generated by migration

"The negative impacts of migration are mostly emotional (feelings of sadness, depression, rebellion) or behavioral: involvement in youth gangs, teen pregnancy, school repetition, among others" (Cardozo and Gonzáles 2011, p.76). (Own translation)

Although it is hard to believe that children can harbor feelings of this kind (hatred, resentment, indifference) towards those who have migrated, we see that the lack of family support as well as from the school and community may cause the child to not understand the reasons why a member of their family has decided to migrate. It is important to note that in most cases, it deals with children whose relatives completely "forgot" them and have lost all contact with them.

We've had children who suffer a lot and feel a lot of anger. Unfortunately, I guess that sometimes we hear some negative comments from the family. There are children that have told us, I have no dad (Lourdes, director Miguel Hidalgo Elementary School, San Thomas, Salvatierra, and Guanajuato). (Own translation)

Of all the boys and girls interviewed, we found four cases in which the father and/or mother ceased contact with their children (3 in San Thomas and 1 in San Nicolas). Among these 4 cases are one brother and sister whose father ceased to talk or send money several years ago. The feelings that the children held towards their father, at first, were of sadness, which soon turned into hatred and resentment, to become total indifference. Their mother now lives with another man, for whom they do not have a deep affection, but who they accept treats their mother better.



Drawing 1. The view of girls on “those that stay behind” Alejandra, 7 years. San Tomás. Salvatierra. Guanajuato.

He came and went but one day he never returned when I was 6 years old and still kept sending money, but he doesn't anymore. When he was with us he was responsible but not anymore. When he was with us he was responsible but not right now. For example, my youngest brother Chiquito doesn't know him anymore. He doesn't remember him (Zaira, 12 years, San Tomas, Miguel Hidalgo Elementary School, Salvatierra, Guanajuato).

The children often do not explain why their parents are gone, which is way misunderstanding may develop negative feelings by interpreting this as an abandonment due to lack of affection towards them, which reflects the lack of communication and feelings of total abandonment towards them and their family. Zaira and her brother Tony, for example, until today have not understood why their father stopped communicating with the family. Tony has a total disregard for his migrant father and sees him as a stranger.

If he didn't feel sorry for us when he left when we were young, why does it matter to us what happens where he is (Tony, 8 years, San Tomas, Miguel Hidalgo Elementary School, Salvatierra, Guanajuato).

Tony and his sister, show no poor school performance or aggressive behavior, and no depressive symptoms despite his father's absence. His mother states that she has not observed negative behaviors in her children (she stressed that are not "lazy" nor do they have problems at school). In fact, Zaira (the older sister) wishes to continue her studies and become a nurse. We did not observe, therefore, any negative effects due to the absence of their father. However, we cannot generalize the reaction to involvement of migration for all children.

There are young people who can assimilate and accept the absence of parents with less difficulty; however, there are others, that for certain personality characteristics, circumstances and family dynamics interpret it as abandonment and vulnerability, which can extend to affect their self-esteem by feeling that they are not worthy of attention and affection, and consequently find it difficult to integrate socially, which is why they have fewer resources to face life (Cardozo and Gonzáles, 2011, p.75). (Own translation)

Other Challenges

On the children of the communities studied, we must note that in Barrón, the situation is more difficult because unlike San Thomas and San Nicholas where the children, in most cases, have support from their families, here children have little support (financial and emotional). Children also show greater signs of neglect by caregivers. This is not only due to migration, because, as mentioned by authors such as Zavala, Luis, Lozano, Garcia and Robledo (2008):

Absence is not the decisive factor that puts adolescents at risk for psychological distress, but there are structural factors that reproduce rural poverty (unemployment, lack of training to work the land, the need to provide family support, among others), and gender (p. 3). (Own translation)

The main reasons for the lack of attention paid to the children in Barrón, are on the one hand migration and economic problems that force many mothers to work in any position possible. Moreover, families are often very large, a mother may have 7 or 8 children to care for, which ultimately affects the energy level of mothers and the attention given to her children. The little attention that teachers indicate that the children receive in the Barrón community, makes the teachers an affective pillar for the children.

Moreover, most of those who migrate do so illegally, which is why they infrequently visit their relatives. Unlike other communities, where some migrate legally, it is very difficult to migrate legally from Barrón; most choose to do so by "paying smugglers, crossing the river or the desert".

My dad has been there for 5 years. Then he came, and almost straight away he left. He was here for a very short time, only 1 day. When I spoke with my dad for the first time I cried. He told me not to cry (Silvia, 11 years, Barrón Elementary School Juana Inés de la Cruz, Salamanca, Guanajuato). (Own translation)

My dad has been there like fifty years that is what I tell them every day (Lis, 5 years, Barrón Elementary School Juana Inés de la Cruz, Salamanca, Guanajuato). (Own translation)

Positive emotional effects

Maintaining emotional stability in the face of migration depends to a large extent on the social, psychological, cultural, and family resources that children count on. Resilience is greater for those children who have the ability to fulfill the elements (aptitude, skills, self-esteem, family support, life projects, and a good environment) necessary to develop their capacity to adapt to the changes that come with the migration of relatives.

These changes do not inevitably produce negative psychological consequences, but can also be experienced positively, thereby increasing the psychological welfare of the individual, assuming, for example, new opportunities for improving living conditions. The effects that migration causes depend to a large extent on the experience that person has of migration (Pinillos, 2012, p.589). (Own translation)

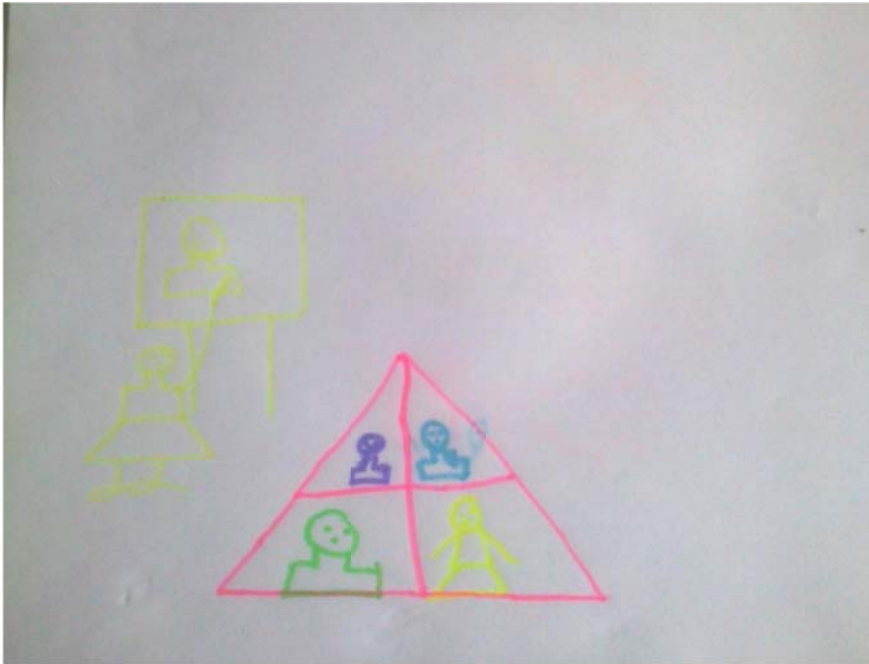
Migration does not always bring negative effects for children. There are children who fail to develop an adaptive mechanism that would allow them to make the best of any situation. In fact, in San Tomás, there were children who were proud that their parents were in the United States to send money to their family. Children who develop positive attitudes towards this situation tend to have close family relationships (family resilience), besides maintaining communication with those living in the United States. Thus, children remain motivated knowing that one day their relatives will return from the US to visit them.

Those children whose parents care for them and talk to them on the phone very often, they come and spend several months with the children, and it makes the children proud. (They say): "My dad is in the United States. He will come soon, what he will bring me, I'm on the phone with him". They are proud that they are there, yes they miss them, but they also feel pride by (saying): "My dad is in the United States" (Lourdes, director of Miguel Hidalgo Elementary School, St. Thomas, Salvatierra, Guanajuato). (Own translation)

In the case of remittances, Martinez (2008) mentions that they have functions that go beyond economic improvement, for her, the money is a way to combat family absence:

The money, as a means of support and family bonding between migrants and non-migrants, is useful to symbolize the presence of those who are absent, it is indeed a strategy that migrants design to handle various forms of presence (p.174).

Remittances, gifts sent from the United States in conjunction with a healthy and stable family relationship, help create greater resilience and adaptation, while the child sees that the father or mother is still present, if not physically, but in other ways, through material goods and home improvements that are done thinking about their welfare. It is therefore a way of being present while physically being far away.



Drawing 2. "Talking to dad by computer". Marlene, 9 years, San Nicolás, Salvatierra, Guanajuato.

As shown in the following excerpt from an interview, there are children who do not see the migration of their families as a bad thing. On the contrary, they perceive it as a good thing, as it helps them live better (due to remittances) and they also receive gifts sent them to them from the United States.

It is not bad that parents leave because they bring us things (Lucy, 7 years, San Nicolas Elementary School 20 de Noviembre). (Own translation)

Besides remittances and gifts, being in constant communication allows the children to not suffer so much from the distance between them and their families. However there is a tendency to interpret the migration of those who leave as total absence, an idea that far from lessens the separation, and comes to stigmatize the migrant as one who completely abandons their children. For Rivera et al. (2014), migrants stop caring, advising, and educating their children; however, we must point out that new communication technologies allows those who have left to stay in touch with their children; this means that when migrating they do not stop supporting, advising, and educating their children.

New communication technologies have reduced the negative effects (sadness, loneliness, and nostalgia) that could follow in step with migration. Of the children interviewed, we can say that the majority maintain constant communication with their families, either through phone calls, messages or video chats. New forms of communication and ties are established.

I talk every Sunday and we talk about my homework (Maritza, 9, San Nicolas Elementary School 20 de Noviembre, Salvatierra, Guanajuato). (Own translation)

We talked about how I'm doing here at school, I say yes, I'm doing fine (Luke, 7 years, San Nicolas Elementary School 20 de Noviembre, Salvatierra, Guanajuato). (Own translation)

Besides motivation, children get to see those who have migrated as "heroes" and feel so proud to know that there is someone who is fighting for them across the border so that they may have a better life. From the results, it has been observed how in a situation as complex as migration, there are different ways to understand and cope with this situation, even communities within the same state have presented similar and yet different characteristics, forcing us to think about the cultural and social diversity of children.

Conclusions

This work, and the empirical evidence that supports it, joins those who argue that migration does not necessarily have a negative impact on the population that stays behind in the country of origin, and does not assume that these individuals live "absences" because some of the members of their family have gone to the neighboring country. It should be noted that it also represents for many children in this study the opportunity to develop skills that show their resilience, adaptation, and coping ability.

In this sense, behavioral problems and poor performance exhibited by some children are not derived solely from migratory phenomena. On the one hand, we find that children who receive family support, friendly relationships, and school counseling have good academic performance and emotional stability. Moreover, we also find, in their minority, children (especially in the community of Barrón) that have poor school performance, feelings of loneliness and abandonment, derived, to a large extent from the social and family context they live, not only due to migration but also the economic needs and situations in which the specific family live.

The children interviewed in San Nicholas and San Thomas and to a large extent in the community Barrón, besides migration, face other problems such as little attention and family support, economic instability within the home, few opportunities to speak and be heard, discrimination, and bullying, among other challenges. All these difficulties surrounding childhood translate into a social context that make boys and girls vulnerable and contributes to the effects on the comprehensive development of the children.

Among the positive aspects found as part of migration are the remittances which can contribute to improving the quality of life of children, school motivation, which has been discussed very little in other works. This extrinsic motivation generated through phone calls or messages from migrant family members manages to encourage children to direct their efforts towards good academic performance. The rewards (gifts, visits) that their families promise also become encouragement.

In addition, migration can generate feelings of pride in children who see their family (mother, father, brother, uncle, grandfather) obtaining better income, living new experiences and facing many difficulties in the United States. When the child sees migration from this perspective those migrating become "heroes" who sacrifice everything for the welfare of their families.

There are multiple reflections that we can share about the effects of migration on children. However, it is important to note that we cannot make generalizations, rather it is necessary to consider specific social, family, and community conditions and realities that correspond to the plurality and diversity of experiences of children in communities in the state of Guanajuato.

References

1. Amuedo-Dorantes, C., Georges, A. & Pozo, S. (2010). Migration, Remittances, and Children's Schooling in Haiti. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 630, 224-244.
2. Ansell, N. & Blerk L. (2004). Children's Migration as a Household Family Strategy: Coping with AIDS in Lesotho and Malawi. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 30 (3), 183-209.
3. Antman, F. M. (2010). Adult Child Migration and the Health of Elderly Parents Left Behind in Mexico. *The American Economic Review*, 100 (2), 205-208.
4. Avilés, A. G. (2014). Niños migrantes de retorno en el centro de México: explorando su identidad. *Revista de Investigación Silogismo*, 1 (14), 10-21.
5. Cardozo, L. & Gonzáles, J. (2011). Efecto psicosocial de la migración en los alumnos del instituto Ángel G. Hernández y su incidencia en el rendimiento educativo. *Revista Población y Desarrollo: Argonautas y Caminantes*, 7 (7), 67-76.
6. Crivello, G. (2015). There's no future here: The time and place of Children's migration aspirations in Peru. *Geoforum*, 62, 38-46.
7. Debry, J. (2007). Children and Power in Mexican Transnational Families. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 69 (4), 1050-1064.
8. Del Carpio, P., Fernández, E., Mosqueda, & Freitag, V. (2015). The migration process focused on the child sector in the state of Guanajuato, Mexico. *International Journal of Business and Social Science*, 6 (7), pp. 21-29.
9. Del Carpio, P., Fernández, E. & Garnica, E. (2015). *Compartiendo historias de migración desde las voces de niños y niñas de Guanajuato*. México: Pearson y Universidad de Guanajuato.
10. Fass, P.S. (2005). Children in Global Migrations. *Journal of Social History*, 38 (4), 937-953.
11. Fernández, E. (2011). *Migración internacional en un pueblo michoacano. Retorno e inversión migrante (1982-2008): el caso Huandacareo*. México: Pearson Educación.
12. González-Ferrer, A., Baizán, P. & Beauchemin C. (2012). Child-Parent Separations among Senegalese Migrants o Europe: Migration Strategies or Cultural Arrangements? *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 643, 106-133.
13. Gúber, R. (2001). *La etnografía: Método, campo y reflexividad*. Buenos Aires: Norma.
14. Hatton, T. J. (2014). The economics of international migration: A short history of the debate. *Labour Economics*, 30, 43-50.
15. Jociles, Ma. I., Rivas, A., Moncó, B., Villamil, F. & Díaz P. (2008). Una reflexión crítica sobre la monoparentalidad: el caso de las madres solteras por elección. *Portulario*, 1 (1).
16. Kuhn, R., Everett, B & Silvey, R. (2011). The Effects of Children's Migration on Eldery Kin's Health: A Counterfactual Approach. *Demography*, 48 (1), 183-209.
17. Lu, Y. (2015). Internal migration, international migration, and physical growth of left-behind children: A study of two settings. *Health and Place*, 36, 118-126.
18. Mancillas, C. (2010). *Migración de menores mexicanos a Estados Unidos*. En Leite P. y Giorguli, E. (Coords.), *El estado de la migración. Las políticas públicas ante los retos de la migración mexicana a Estados Unidos* (pp. 211-246). México: CONAPO.
19. Martínez, T. (2008). *Tan lejos y tan cerca. La dinámica de los grupos familiares de migrantes desde una localidad michoacana en contexto trasnacional* (Tesis doctoral). Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social, México.

20. McLeigh, J.D. (2013). Protecting Children in the Context of International Migration: Children in migration require greater protection from violence, exploitation, and discrimination. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 37 (12), 1056-1068.
21. O'Connell-Davidson, J. (2013). Telling Tales: Child Migration and Child Trafficking. Stories of trafficking obscure the realities for migrant children. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 37, 1069-1079.
22. Ojeda, N. (2005). Familias transfronterizas y familias transnacionales: algunas reflexiones. *Migraciones Internacionales*, 3 (2), 167-174.
23. Olvera-García, J., Montoya-Arce B.J. & González-Becerril J. G. (2014). Migración de jóvenes, adolescentes y niños mexicanos a Estados Unidos: una lectura sociodemográfica. *Papeles de Población*, 20 (81), 193-212.
24. Orantes, Ma. & Molina, V. (2002). Modelo sistémico e inmigrantes: reflexiones y experiencias desde los servicios sociales. *Cuadernos de Trabajo Social*, (15), 261-269.
25. Pinillos, M. (2012). Intervención psicosocial y educativa para prevención de riesgos asociados a procesos migratorios. *Revista Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, Niñez y Juventud*, 10 (1), 579-591.
26. Rivera, M., Obregón, N., Cervantes, E., & Martínez, T. (2014). *Familia y migración. Bienestar físico y mental*. México: Trillas.
27. Sarma, V.J. & Parinduri, R.A. (2016). What happens to children's education when their parents emigrate? Evidence from Sri Lanka. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 46, 94-102.
28. Vanore, M., Mazzucato, V. & Siegel, M. (2015). Left behind but not left alone: Parental migration & the psychosocial health of children in Moldova. *Social Science & Medicine*, 132, 252-260.
29. Wu, Q., Lu, D. & Kang, M. (2015). Social capital and the mental health of children in rural China with different experiences of parental migration. *Social Science & Medicine*, 132, 270-277.
30. Wu, X. & Zang, Z. (2015). Population migration and Children's school enrollments in China, 1990-2005. *Social Science Research*, 53, 177-190.
31. Zamora, G. (2015). Apoyo humanitario a niñas y niños repatriados: las casas YMCA para menores migrantes. *Revista Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, Niñez y Juventud*, 13 (1), 209-222.
32. Zavala, J., Luis, O., Lozano, G., García, D. & Robledo, V. (2008). Migración: algunas consecuencias psicológicas en niños y adolescentes de dos municipios del Estado de Zacatecas. *Revista Investigación Científica*, 4 (2), 1-8.

Websites consulted

<http://www.unicef.org/mexico/>

<http://www3.inegi.org.mx/>

www.inm.gob.mx/