

Return migration from the United States to Mexico in a moment of economic and political crisis

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Resumen

Migración internacional de retorno de Estados Unidos a México en un contexto de crisis económica y política

Este artículo analiza la migración reciente de retorno de Estados Unidos a México durante el periodo de 2001 a 2014, cohorte temporal donde la proliferación de leyes estatales anti-inmigrantes en Estados Unidos resultó en un incremento sin precedentes de las expulsiones ocurridas desde el interior del territorio estadounidense. Así mismo, la crisis económica estadounidense, que inició en 2007 y alcanzó su punto álgido en 2008, se tradujo en un incremento de retorno a México, lo cual se refleja en la información de la Encuesta Nacional de la Dinámica Demográfica (ENADID), la migración de retorno fue de 490 mil en el periodo 2004-2009 periodo que comprende los años más fuertes de la crisis económica y luego, nuevamente, se contrajo a 260 mil para 2009-2014; mientras que la migración definitiva o permanente a la Unión Americana se mantuvo en alrededor del millón de personas en esos periodos (Ramírez y Aguado, 2013: 179). Además la reciente crisis migratoria y humanitaria en 2014 de los menores migrantes no acompañados que alcanzó la cifra histórica de más de 61 mil. Dadas estas circunstancias, el objetivo de la investigación es analizar la migración internacional de retorno de Estados Unidos a México para el periodo comprendido entre 2004 y 2014 el cual se dio bajo un escenario de crisis económica y política.

Palabras clave: Migración de retorno, leyes anti-inmigrantes, crisis económica.

Abstract

This paper examines the recent migration of return from the United States to Mexico during the period 2004 to 2014, a temporary cohort where proliferation of anti-immigrant state laws in the United States of America, such as the Sensenbrenner Act approved in December 2005 (Border-protection, Antiterrorism and Illegal Immigration Control Act) and the Arizona SB 1070 Act passed in 2009, both aimed especially at Mexicans, resulting in an unprecedented increase in expulsions from within the United States. Likewise, the US economic crisis that began in 2007 and reached its peak in 2008 resulted in an increase in return to Mexico, that for 2004-2009 report 460 thousand migrants that come back to Mexico from USA and the most recent migratory and humanitarian crisis in 2014 of unaccompanied migrant minors, which achieved 61 thousand cases.

Key words: Return and removals, anti-immigrant laws, economic crisis.

BACKGROUND MIGRATION OF RETURN BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES TO MEXICO

The return migration from the United States to Mexico has different historical events, which are describe:

- In 1848 with the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, was arrangement between the United Mexican States and the United States of America. The objective was to end the war of USA intervention, yielding more than half of Mexican territory, that include the states of California, Nevada, Utah, New Mexico and Texas, and parts of Arizona, Colorado, Wyoming, Kansas and Oklahoma.
- However, around 100 thousand Mexican citizens lived in the land ceded by Mexico, therefore, in 1848; the government of Mexico offered that all Mexican who requested it would be transferred to national territory by account of the public treasury and receive a land grant (Granados and Pizarro, 2013). It estimated that about 25 percent of the population of those territories returned to Mexico (Verduzco, 1995).

Once relations between Mexico and the United States were be stabilized, a regular and daily transit stage experienced, without the existence of legislation on immigration.

- The unemployment increased dramatically in the United States with crisis of 1929, reaching rates that exceeded 20 percent; therefore, the US government did everything possible to preserve the jobs of Americans (Sánchez, 2014). Douglas Massey calls this time the “deportations era”, from 1929 to 1939. Where 469 thousand Mexican citizens were invited or forced to leave the United States of America (USA), many of them accompanied by their children, who were American citizens (Massey, et al., 2009).
- In 1964, to finished of the bracero program and began undocumented immigration and the circular migration. In the period of 1965 to 1986, it was estimated that 85 percent of Mexican undocumented migrants were returning (Massey, et. al. 2009).
- By 1965, the Immigration and Nationality Act enacted, which for the first time imposed numerical limitations on Mexican immigration, a policy that will being become increasingly restrictive with successive amendments (Massey, et. al. 2009).

- Terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, unexpectedly, modified the migratory dynamics; the migration had been criminalized and immigrants are seen as potential terrorists.
- During 2001, *Instituto Nacional de Migración* (INM) estimates that just over 350 thousand Mexicans returned and the *Encuesta sobre Migración en la Frontera Norte* (EMIF Norte) registered 1.7 million return events to Mexico.
- The latest peak of return migrants was in 2007 when to started economic crisis. Which reduced job opportunities for immigrants, resulting in an increase in the return migration flow between 2007 and 2009.

METHODOLOGY

The main objective of this paper is to learn about recent return migration and the impact by anti-immigrant laws since 2005, the economic crisis that began in 2007 and the humanitarian crisis, in 2014, that to increase unaccompanied minors migrants. The *Encuesta Nacional de la Dinámica Demográfica* (ENADID) 2009 and 2014 give an account of what happened from these events, since, as a whole, they cover the years between 2004 and 2014, giving visibility to the behavior of return migration in a conjunctural period. Other important source of information is the report by Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), or U. S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP), which has official U. S. government information regarding removals, returns and unaccompanied migrant minors.

The source selected is ENADID (2009 and 2014) because provide the widest coverage of data and details of information on international return migrants, with one metric per person. Of the rest of the information sources, used punctual data to complement or support the processing of data obtained from the ENADID. However, ENADID 2009 and 2014 has a disadvantage, collects information on recent movements of international return migration, that is, it not allows us to access of information of migrations that happened in other period.

Based on the information provided by ENADID 2009 and 2014, as well as ICE, tables with percentages and graphs are prepared for analysis based on descriptive statistics. These tables give an account of the variations and behavior of return migration and show the existing trends, as well as a study of documentary sources that, allow us to deepen the study and have the support of other research and reports in this regard.

It also includes a spatial analysis, generated from various journalistic sources, that shows the composition of the U.S. according to the pro-mi-

grant and anti-immigrant position for understanding how these political positions influence return migration. Mapping was constructed by assigning a value of “0” to those states that have openly declared having an anti-immigrant policy, and a value of “1” to pro-migrant policy. The mapping generated with the free software “Phlcarto”.

RETURN MIGRATION IN A CRISIS CONTEXT: 2001-2014

Some factors act as catalysts for the return of Mexicans, for example, lack of adaptability, cultural problems or forced return through deportation, but beyond particular issues, we can identify key events that encouraged Mexicans to return; this is the case of the terrorist attack in 2001, since after this event, the U. S. government increased its safety measures. Therefore, migration policies became a focus of attention, which may have motivated the return of Mexicans. Thus, the issue of security suddenly became a decisive factor on the U. S. political program, and migration was not exempt. On the other hand, people feared for their lives and that of their families, which led to an increase in the return to Mexico (Herrera, *et. al.*, 2012).

Furthermore of the terrorist attack in 2001, other three short-term events have revitalized investigations of return and its consequences for communities in Mexico: first, the recent U. S. economic crisis in 2008, which negatively affected employment opportunities in the labor markets where Mexican immigrants traditionally worked in that country. The proliferation of anti-immigrant laws in the US leads to the second event, the Sensenbrenner Act passed in December 2005 (Border Protection, Antiterrorism and Illegal Immigration Control Act), and thirdly, the Arizona SB 1070 Act passed in 2009. These laws focused at Mexicans, resulting in an unprecedented increase in expulsions from the interior of U. S. territory that has afflicted Mexican residents and “unauthorized” Mexican workers (Anguiano, *et al.*, 2013). Many times, that return migration is often oversized because, in times of crisis, the arrival flow is paralyzed and it seems that all immigrants are returning to their country of origin, a perception is wrong.

Therefore, return migration is a social, political and economic challenge, in front of which all actors - politicians, government, migrants and society are involve, since it is a phenomenon that implies a social changes, particularly the way in which it has been taking place over the last decade. The 2005 Survey on Migration on the Northern Border of Mexico (COLEF, 2005) recorded 708 927 events from Mexico to the United States of America; in contrast, there are 816 907 migrants from that country returning to Mexico; that is, for each event that crosses the United States,

1.15 return events are recorded in 2005. On the other hand, according to data from ENADID, five-year circular migration was reduced by almost half, from 875 thousand people between 1987 and 1992 to 490 thousand in the period 2004-2009, and again contracted to 260 thousand by 2009-2014; while permanent migration to the U. S. remained around one million people in those periods (Ramírez and Aguado, 2013).

Wong, Resano and Martínez (2006) found that the return migration trend follows a pattern similar to that of the total volume of the migratory flow. Therefore, there was an increase of 300 thousand people in the period 1992-1997 with respect to return migrants for the five-year period 1990-1995, but when comparing the number of these migrants between 1995-2000 and 1992-1997, to decrease in approximately 440 thousand.

The programs that serve this sector of society must become important, as the volume of returnees in the 21 century is significant, there are data, such as the study released in 2012 by the Pew Hispanic Center reported that 12 million Mexicans who migrated to United States in the last 40 years has a net migration rate of zero. The Pew attributed this trend to factors such as a weak labor and real estate market in the United States, more border security and an increase in the number of deportations, as well as a drop in demographic growth in Mexico and new conditions in the Mexican economy.

Clearly, return migration responds to a complex set of structural, political and social factors on both sides of the border, but the result is an obvious return of people to households, communities and regions. These people require services, they demand jobs and, whether or not, they bring resources, the fact is that they rightly put pressure on locally available resources (Lopez, 2012).

Nevertheless, it is important to bear in mind that once the migrant returns, he or she faced with a decision-making process regarding how he or she will be displaced to the interior of Mexico. Then, he or she may or may not take into account the baggage of experiences gained in his or her migratory trajectory; this could result in the migrant deciding to return to a location, state or region other than the one he or she left when migrating to the United States.

The evidence in Mexico suggests a diversification of internal and international migration (origin, sex, qualification, destination, age) in consequence has favored that, upon return, migrants bring with them a variety of assets (savings, skills, trades and knowledge) (Salas, 2011). These assets, serve as a reference when deciding where to arrive upon their return; even

the experience of generating ways to maintain their social networks despite the distance gives them the chance to return to Mexico without necessarily returning to their town of origin, having survived in one way or another. The experience of live in U.S. cities, it can be the driving force behind the idea that, despite coming from rural or semi-urban communities, they may return to urban areas, or even climb from an urban area to a larger metropolis.

Based on this basic reflection on migration and return, the need arises to inquire into the key figures that highlight the phenomenon in the social context and give it visibility, here we find that, according to data from ENADID 2014 register 264 thousand return migrants are reported, while EMIF 2014 recorded 724 thousand return events. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), in its report for fiscal year 2014, recorded 177 thousand deportations of illegal Mexican immigrants and those who committed criminal activity. The official Mexican report, in its third report 2014-2015, reported that mexicans repatriated by the government of the United States of America amounted to 174,873 repatriation events, in addition to registering 9,842 Mexican minors repatriated by the United States of America, of which 8,090 were unaccompanied. These figures make it clear that the magnitude of the number of events and people reported in a year is an important event to consider in migration studies. In Mexico, for example, the around trip to and from the United States of America has been the constant in its evolution, and its consequences have not been valued in its dimension (Guzman, 2014).

These elements should be highlighted, since they not only account for the impact of migration laws on return behavior and circularity, or the effect of the economic crisis on this cost-benefit balance faced by migrants between staying and returning, but also of a humanitarian crisis, such as the increase in unaccompanied minor migrants who were detained by border authorities. The increase unaccompanied minor detention was based on the rumor of the possibility of reaching North American citizenship. The rumor provoked the attraction of minor migrants, whose main objective was not to be reunited with their families, but to seek work, to escape from the violent context existing in their places of origin.

However, there are a series of factors in the growth of minor migrants: the increase in female migration, a higher rate of abandonment of migrant men who interrupt communication with their families (wives and children) and the growth of remittances (Bustamante, in Valdez Gardea, 2007). In addition, the increase violent environment in their countries, the lack of

opportunities for access a better life, poverty and marginalization, among others. Lopez (2005) said the main form of migration of minors is family members, whether they travel with one or both of the parents, or whether either or both of them are in the U.S. and these children are “sent to bring”.

Also, we find that, by 2014, the number of minors migrants detained by the North American border patrol was 61 thousand, when in 2009 they reached only 19 thousand (Figure 1). If we consider that minors are doubly vulnerable, one, because they are minors and the other, because they are migrants, these a worry framework because lacks effective and adequate public policies on the part of both governments, the Mexican and US governments.

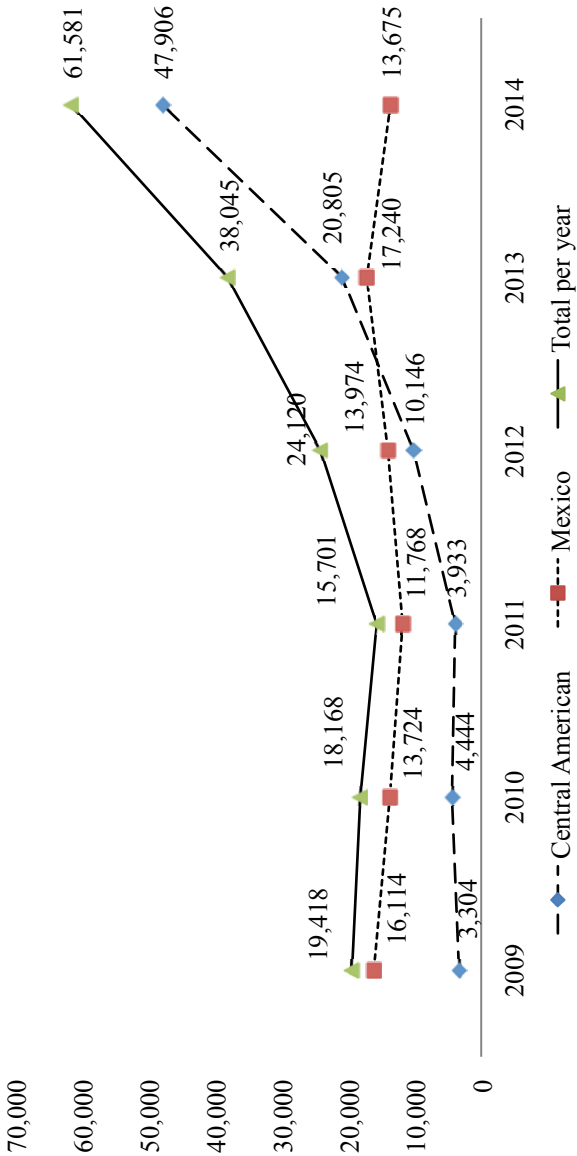
NEW CHALLENGES FOR POLICY MEXICAN ABOUT RETURN MIGRATION

The background of the Mexican-US migration policy is extensive, for this reason, only be describes the policy of the last three six years. This period which are the ones that have had the greatest impact in terms of return flows.

We will begin with ex-president Vicente Fox, who in 2001 was able to begin negotiations between Mexico and the U. S. in order to generate a system of immigration that would allow an orderly flow, with the proposal known as “the whole enchilada” or “NAFTA Plus”. During this negotiation, the return migration was not one of the issues to deal with, and return was not seen as a priority, since, until then, both governments saw the return as spontaneous, not problematic and not a candidate for public policy action (Alba, 2013). Well, he seemed to deny the fact that since the Bush administration, internal deportations had increased. Finally, after the attacks of September 11, 2001, negotiations brought to a halt.

Under the Fox presidency was created, the *Oficina Presidencial de Mexicanos en el Exterior* (OPME) to promote Mexican trade and investment relations in the United States, working closely with the Mexican-American community. Then was founded the *Instituto para los Mexicanos en el Exterior* (IME) in 2003, organization that is currently responsible for programs and funds in migration matters such as 3x1 and 4x1 (Castillo, 2010).

Figure 1: Unaccompanied Minor Migrants; 2009- 2014



Source: Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE).

Although, Fox did not develop return policy, he generated the IME, which is now the manager of programs that seek to focus on this population. But Fox didn't try to do something in this respect, this wasn't congruent, because in 2001, was a year with many return migrants, since the terrorist attack not only touched the fibers of U. S. natives, but also immigrants.

When Felipe Calderon was president, Castillo (2010) said that Calderon put migration issues in the section "Mexicans Abroad and Migration" within National Development Plan (PND) 2007-2011, with two main objectives, which are to protect and actively promote the rights of Mexicans abroad and build a new migration culture.

Calderon has a double speech of the candidate, and then president. In his president campaign, he claimed a phrase "I tell the Americans not to spend their money foolishly building a wall, we are going to jump over it anyway" but in his president period he never repeated again. Durand (2012) explains how, after going to the public square, he passed through the U. S. embassy on January 10, 2006 to justify himself and ask for the neighbors' understanding, claiming that he could not afford to lose any vote.

When Calderon was president, the economic crisis that began in the U. S. in 2007 and reached a global scale, which is why return migration increased and emigration reduced but Calderon declared that migration had been reduced to almost zero. Calderon announced that the reason for zero migration was the employment and education opportunities that generated" (Lithuania, 2012). While, Jeffrey Passel, demographer of the Pew Hispanic Center, on the same point, diagnoses that among the causes of zero migration are the economic crisis, the immigration policy in the last two years, the danger posed by the new border crossing points that force people to cross the desert, the increase in deportations, the decrease in birth rates in Mexico and the improved economic conditions in this country. In other words, the tightening of immigration policy has made trying to enter the United States more difficult, expensive and dangerous; in addition, the weak U. S. economy has eliminated the magnet of job supply; and demographic changes in Mexico have reduced the pool of potential immigrants "(Pereda, 2012). However, Mexican politics remains in the discourse and does not move on to projects that address the return of Mexicans in the economic crisis of 2007.

Fox and Calderon's political positions were not effective, but they did something, in contrast to a passive political position of President Enrique Peña Nieto, to which Durand (2015) refers as "politics without stridency",

that is, a silent, low-profile stance to avoid disturbing their neighboring U. S., a conciliation policy. This policy has caused strong criticism, since after Donald Trump was elected president of the United States, who made the campaign promise to build a border wall under the slogan “build the wall”. He had the promise to increase removals of irregular immigrants with a special emphasis on Mexican immigrants. About this point, has only spoken of a political crisis between the two nations, but not of a political action or a social program that addresses the phenomenon. Although during Peña Nieto’s six-year term, were created are the programs “Somos Mexicanos”, “Construye en Tu Tierra” and “Puertas Abiertas”. The Mexican government not has a clear position on the immigration issues, but Trump, yes, applying immigration laws rigorously and increasing deportations.

Trump took office on January 20, 2017, and in less than a month of his tenure as of February 11, the Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) confirms the first raids, which have taken place in housing and workplaces in Atlanta, Chicago, New York, Los Angeles, North Carolina and South Carolina. ICE has described the raids as an increase in enforcement of laws (Pereda, 2017).

This is not something new; internal removals to the U. S. have been increasing. The main program in charge of internal removals is the U. S. Enforcement and Removal Operations (ERO) program. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), which by 2015 reported 118 thousand apprehensions, but is necessary to wait for the 2018 report to see how this figure behaves, which is expect to increase.

Within the U. S. is a country divided on migration policy. When Barack Obama, in 2012, decreed Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), the purpose of the bill was to regularize the immigration status of people who arrived in the United States before their 16th birthday and have been in the country since before June 15, 2007, under the age of 30 by 2012 and with no criminal record. He faced a lawsuit from 26 states that were against this executive initiative.

The 26 states against this law were: Texas, Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, North Carolina, South Carolina, North Carolina, North Dakota, South Dakota, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Indiana, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, Michigan, Mississippi, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, Ohio, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Utah, West Virginia, Wisconsin (Murcia, 2016).

But also there are more flexible states in immigration matters, Torres (2011) describes some cases, such as Illinois, which approved a local ver-

sion of the DREAM Act on May 30; Utah, which approved, in 2011, a temporary worker program that grants two-year permits to undocumented immigrants, so that they can travel to the state to reside and work legally. Along with the “guest worker” program, new powers came into force for the state police to question the immigration status of anyone previously detained for another crime.

Nevertheless, migrant organizations believe that allowing local agents to investigate whether a person is in the country legally or not is discriminatory, since it favors Xenophobia. Recently, in January 2017, Jerry Brown, Governor of California, raised his voice in favor of immigrants (Marreo, 2017). New York, Washington and Boston have also shown their support through massive protests against the Trump’s veto of immigrants.

Among the states that opposed the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), but in 2016 were also requesting signatures for the passage of an immigration law for immigrant labor on dairy farms, is Idaho, a state that has tried to vindicate its immigration stance after appealing against the DACA.

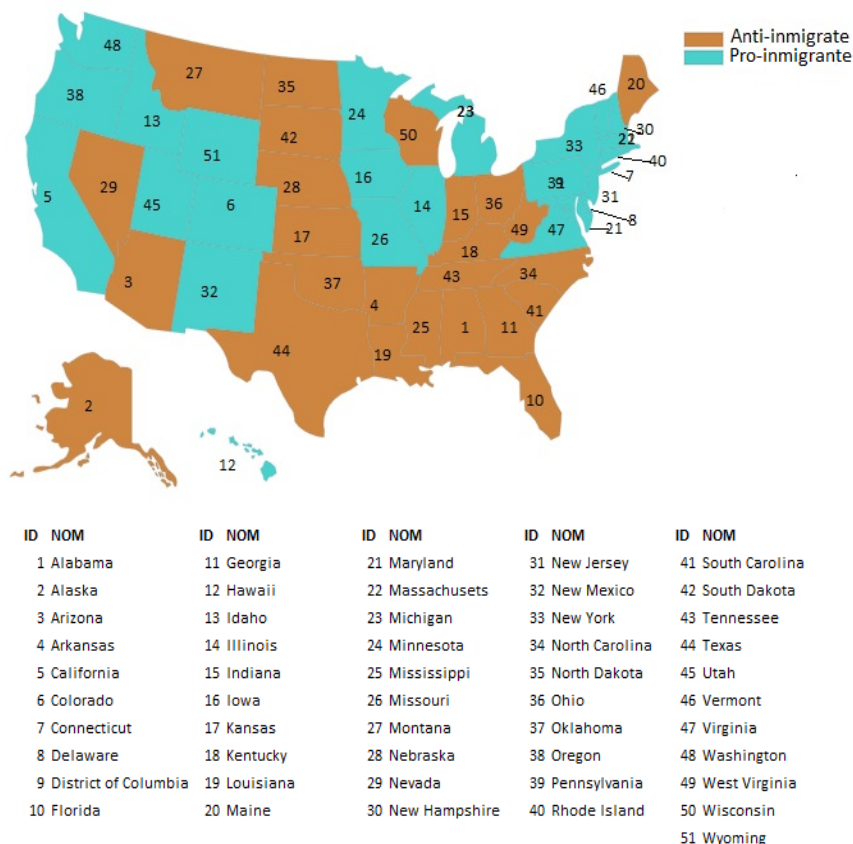
From the journalistic compilation mentioned in the last paragraphs, we present the following map that shows the US migration scenario, which is a contrasting scenario, and one of the main challenges in migration from a Mexican and U. S. perspective (Figure 2).

RETURN MIGRATION FLOW, FROM US TO MEXICO: 2004-2014

In a first approach to the comparative analysis of the behavior of return migration, according to the data presented by the Encuesta Nacional de la Dinámica Demográfica (ENADID) 2009 versus ENADID 2014, we found that return migration had a decrease in migratory intensity, which variation of -4.6 per cent, as shown in Figure 3. This variation may refer to the economic crisis that began in 2007, which translated into an increase of returns due to the contraction in labor market. The U. S. economy began to show improvements in 2010, which has allowed the return flow to decline and remain stable. Added to this is the continued strengthening of US immigration laws and actions.

Gandini, *et al.*, 2016, describes that the high levels of unemployment in the U.S. and the strengthening of measures implemented government to dissuade undocumented migration as factors that favored the increased flow of return to Mexico.

Figure 2: US States Anti-immigrant and Pro-immigrant



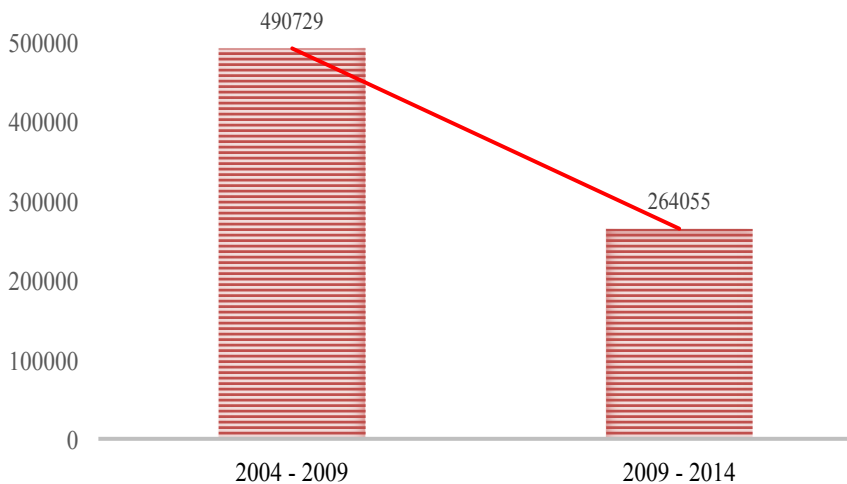
Source: Different journalistic sources.

The periods, from 2004 to 2009 and from 2009 to 2014, are critical in migration flows. These periods, allowing to visualize how the return of migrants has behaved in a period of economic crisis and subsequent to it, while at the same time showing the impact of the most recent immigration laws, such as the Sensenbrenner Law (Border Protection, Antiterrorism and Illegal Immigration Control Act), in December 2005, and Arizona Law (SB 1070), in 2009.

The U. S. has limited to having a restrictive and expulsion immigration policy. Never has been generating negotiation with the Mexican government. For example, ICE, with resources from the U. S. government, is the one that funds immigrant detention centers with transportation budgets for

returning immigrants to their countries, has a special deportation flights to Central and South America, and commercial flights for Mexicans deportations. In the case of Mexico, most immigrants are return to the border and the Mexican government supports deported immigrants to return to their communities. Such a stance of the U. S. government could be contradictory to the objective of reducing the undocumented immigrant population in its territory, since if U.S. government to generate productive alliances and projects, it could motivate the return of immigrants and prevent a re-emigration (Figure 3).

Figure 3: Return Migrations Number: 2004 to 2009 and 2009 to 2014



Source: ENADID 2009 and ENADID 2014.

The Department of Homeland Security (DHS), in its annual report since 2009, has presented a table with return by country, which shows the downward trend in the number of removals and returns since 2009 (see Table 1). The Mexican case has a constant downward variation between one year and another.

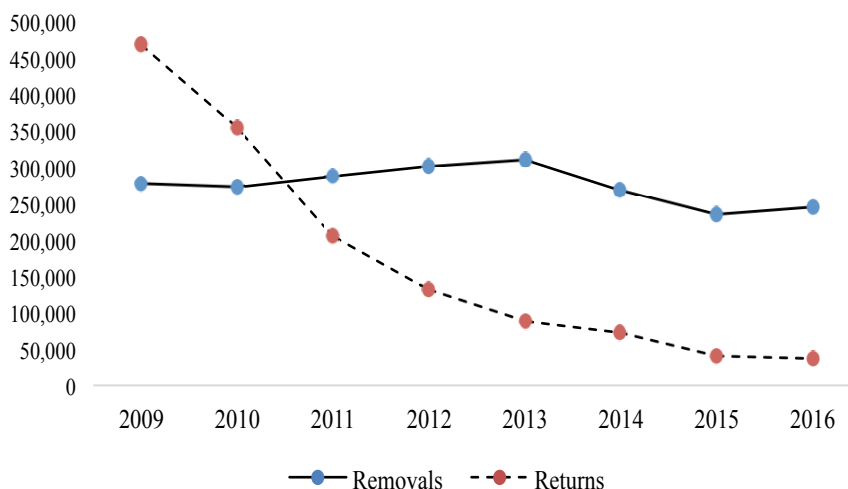
Another important element is, the returns had their highest point during economic crisis, which are 2009 and 2010, from 2011 onwards were decreasing (Figure 4), while the removals show an opposite behavior, as the economic crisis passed the removals increased and have maintained a tendency to high.

Table 1: Return and removal variation: 2009 to 2016

Year	Removals	Returns	Total	Variation (%)
2009	276 595	468 722	745 317	
2010	272 629	353 892	626 521	-0.16
2011	286 972	205 195	492 167	-0.21
2012	301 676	131 818	433 494	-0.12
2013	309 807	88 236	398 043	-0.08
2014	267 649	72 331	339 980	-0.15
2015	235 087	40 528	275 615	-0.19
2016	245 306	37 190	282 496	0.02

Source: Department of Homeland Security.

Figure 4: Mexicans returns and removals: 2009 to 2016



Source: Department of Homeland Security.

The DHS does have data of Mexicans removals, here we can find that the behavior is irregular, that is, in some years the removals have decreased and in others they have increased, the truth is that Table 2 allows us to appreciate that by 2004 the total of removals was 176 thousand and by 2015 of 242 thousand.

Despite the significant ups and downs in variation, the Mexicans removals have increased in the last decade. During the economic crisis, removals increased, reaching the highest number in 2013, with more than 300 thousand.

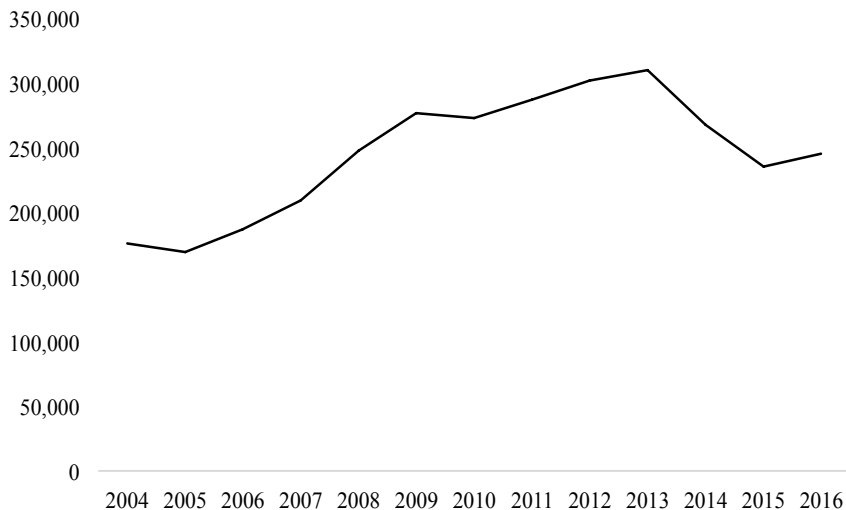
Table 2: Mexicans Removals: 2004 to 2016

Year	Removals	Variation (%)
2004	175 865	
2005	169 031	-0.04
2006	186 726	0.10
2007	208 996	0.12
2008	247 263	0.18
2009	276 595	0.12
2010	272 629	-0.01
2011	286 972	0.05
2012	301 676	0.05
2013	309 807	0.03
2014	267 649	-0.14
2015	235 087	-0.12
2016	245 306	0.04

Source: Departament of Homeland Security.

After 2013, there has been fall in removals but, in 2016, increase again, as shown in Figure 5, here can observed that increase in removals is not new, but has been increasing steadily since 2004.

Figura 5: Comportamiento de las remociones de mexicanos de 2004 a 2016



Fuente: elaboración propia con datos del U.S. Department of Homeland Security.

In summary, returns are decreasing while removals are increasing; however, the sum of both shows a downward trend. The trends confirm the theory of Jorge Durand (2006) about losing of circular migration: voluntary returns decrease and removals increase. Another highlight is that numbers of the ENADID are different of DHS report. They measure different things; not only for methodological reasons, but because the ENADID registers those who are already living in Mexico while the DHS measures the records of those who have left, but the fact that they have left American territory does not guarantee that they will necessarily have returned to Mexico. Perhaps the migrant has decided to return to American territory instead of remaining in Mexico, there is also the problem of sub-records and the size of the ENADID sample.

The now-president of the United States, Donald Trump, has a strong policy anti-immigrant. Trump has promised to stop immigration by building a wall between Mexico and United States, and the main question is “Will it increase the Mexican return during Trump’s presidency?” The intensification of anti-immigrant actions is discouraging, but, although it removals are increased it will very difficult to eradicate illegal immigration or deport 11 million immigrants.

CONCLUSIONS

The challenge in migration matters is strong urgent actions are need to attend return migration. Trump’s term are expected to increase removals and return, both at the border and inland, how will these returning migrants be served, and what support will be given to those who, by strengthening immigration laws and facing a xenophobic scenario, decide to return? These are the new challenges in return migration policy for Mexicans from the United States.

The challenge in migration matters has urgent actions are need to attend return migration. Trump’s term expected to increase removals and return, both at the border and inland. Mexican government has to answer about how will these returning migrants be served, and what support will provide when be return, how to help them face to a xenophobic scenario and U.S. immigration laws? These are the new challenges in return migration Mexican policy.

The anti-immigrant Trump’s policy not necessarily translate into a greater number of returning migrants or an incentive to return to Mexico. The Mexican immigrants develop survival strategies that allow immigrants to remain in that country, giving to the breaking of circular migration.

It's necessary create a binational migration policy should be generated that works for both countries, because the migration to the U. S. may decrease, but not disappear; and the loss of circular migration would potentially increase the undocumented migrant population in the U. S., which is not the desired result of that government. Finally, the migrant desire to cross the border and will cross it, because the human need is greater than a border or a border patrol.

The international spotlights will be a pressure to prevent current President Trump from continuing this trend, for example, the recent protests in London, England, in January 2017, under the slogan "Bridges not walls".

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Article received on 19 september 2017 and accepted on 14 february 2018.