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Cultural and Territorial Effects of Mexican International Migration

Brigitte Lamy
Research Professor, Universidad de Guanajuato – Campus León, Spain
Miriam Reyes Tovar
Research Professor, Universidad de Guanajuato – Campus Celaya – Salvatierra, Mexico

Abstract:
Mexico is one of the top five source countries of migrants in the world. Migrants move within a geographical and social fabric, building networks among them, but also with those who "stay behind", so that the latter receive indirect influences of migratory flows. Speaking of mobility, international migration, ordinariness and territory, the spatial aspect regarding social interactions can monitor changes generated by migration, which impact on individuals, families, communities, society and territories; providing an opportunity to reflect on the experiences and meanings of migration.

Keywords: Migration, socio-cultural and territorial effects, identity, Mexico

1. Introduction

Mexico is considered one of the top five source countries of migrants in the world (Castles, 2006). Mexico shares this title with Morocco, Turkey, the Philippines and India. Today, migration is considered by many authors, such as a complex experience in the sense that it implies or involves not only migrants but also the host and home countries. Migration leaves traces and transforms the lives of all these actors. Migrants move within a socio-spatial field and weave networks between them (local, national, and transnational), and also with those who "stay behind", so that the latter receive indirect influences of the flow of information, goods, objects, ideas and social remittances; and thus are "connected" to these networks without ever having migrated (Levitt and Glick 2006).

According to many observers, migration - numerically speaking –has never been as important as it is now. This great mobility brings reorganization with it in cultural, social and spatial aspects, and redefines group memberships or social networks. It provokes us to consider that migration causes a permanent work of re-definition due to the changes it brings.

Speaking of mobility, international migration, ordinariness and territory, spatial interactions are set in the very heart of society, and not as an exogenous component of social behavior. The case of international migration has become globalized, not because there is or has been an increase in migrants but by the diversity of countries of refuge and the many migratory routes that have been established for mobility across the terrestrial globe.

We have seen, in recent decades, a multiplication of the work and publications on the subject of migration and it is understood that the magnitude and diversity of the phenomenon, the concept and definition of "migration" tends to extend and become more flexible. However, faced with this amount of published works and addressing many different aspects related to migration, and also given the magnitude that phenomenon reaches today, one line of investigation persists; which makes us question whether the migrant is a being with no ties (Guilbert, 2006), who does not belong, without roots, and without identity. The concern is present for both the socio cultural aspect and for space considerations. What kind of ties do migrants maintain or develop with their communities of origin and arrival? What forms of roots and identity are present? Beyond this, it is to have a thoughtful turn towards the processes of belongings, areas that are increasingly at the forefront and become problematic in modern societies, where mobility makes us rethink different ways of living and being in spaces.

Since always, but more recently, migration has become one of the main sources of social change in our societies (Herrera Carassou, 2006). Much has been written about the economic impacts of migration, and also about political consequences in general. Similarly, other manifestations of the migratory phenomenon are present: sociocultural and space, which also represent an interesting perspective of analysis. Our goal then, for this article, is to deepen the reflection on the sociocultural and spatial manifestations that migration may have, building on recent empirical research, conducted in two states of the Mexican Republic which are recognized as traditional in the migratory phenomenon: the states of Guanajuato and Michoacán. In other words, we seek to understand this part of the migration situation better, supported by the depictions of people who experience this reality.

In general, there is a lot of good data on migration in Mexico and its demographic and economic impacts, we also have many indicators that monitor both the people who migrate as well as different aspects of their lives outside their community. However, we do not have qualitative information to understand the changes and socio-cultural and spatial manifestations that the phenomenon may generate. Herein we contribute to this discussion and knowledge by sharing our progress.

After presenting the theoretical framework, we will briefly outline the methodology and then the relevant results regarding the subject of this article. Later we will discuss these results, seeking to provide an understanding in connection with the observations of these different elements of the migration situation that although may look different (social and spatial) are part of the same experience for migrants. With this we wish to participate in the understanding, proposing new ideas and new relations of ideas to explain the social and spatial manifestations. We believe that we are facing a situation with migration, which is constantly changing and requires more and new conceptual tools to address it.

2. The Conceptual Considerations to Address the Issue of Socio-cultural and Spatial Manifestations of Migration

For several decades, human spatial mobility is developed at such a pace that several authors consider it as one of the cornerstones of the operation and the change of contemporary societies; it would not be possible to understand our societies without taking into account spatial mobility and migration.

The reasons that are at the origin of migration are numerous and vary from one person to another, from one country to another, but several authors recognize the preponderance of the economic factor. Immigrants are in search of better jobs and income, better food sources and a better standard of living, from the material point of view. Economic factors are required for migration conditions. However, they do not in themselves constitute sufficient conditions, or determine migration mechanically (Bonetti, 1994). Non-economic reasons also motivate migration: escape oppression and discrimination, seeking greater freedom and greater entertainment, enjoy better services (education, health, etc.), be close to relatives and friends who have already migrated. Thus, factors related to quality of life increasingly determine mobility and not only economic factors.

With country-city migration, "the effect of internal migration in large societies has been an *urbanization of culture:* urban ways of thinking and behaving, relationships, and urban social structures, growing secondary associations increasingly reached the population conglomerated in cities"(Fichter 1968, 196).According to Bairoch (1985), it is due to migration (of which a good part comes from rural areas) the major urban growth in Third World cities. For this same type of migration (rural-urban), Lewis (1982) adds that the effect of migration is the dissemination of new ideas, new techniques, and new information. Immigrants tend to regroup according to their origin and urban neighborhoods, which can often be identified by certain characteristics (ethnic, religious, etc.). However, today, in addition to observing the internal movements of the population, others warn, and international migration; to the point that the question of the effect or cultural impact and identity is presented as a possible consequence of migration.

Migration, moreover, has an effect on the composition of the communities affected by this phenomenon, it not only helps to increase/decrease the population but also introduces an aspect of selectivity, inserting/removing members having one or some characteristics appropriate for the medium that receives or expels them; either by age (a rather young or elderly population), or showing a certain socioeconomic profile of occupation or education, or even any ethnic distinction (Lewis 1982).

At the individual level, the immigrant can adapt to their new social, economic, political and cultural environment. This adaptation may be facilitated if it joins a group whose cultural references are compatible or similar (Lewis 1982). Adaptability is established as a function of identification**.** Immigrants often have contacts (friends or relatives) in the target areas with whom they exchange information and develop networks of solidarity, support, and mobility. Information on the possibilities offered by the city and the security of a known refuge for migrants contributes to facilitating the exchanges between people who want to migrate to those that are already installed on the destination.

Given our interest in this article, we would like to deepen our framework on the sociocultural manifestations of migration. The latter can be direct or indirect, immediate or distant, positive or negative.

Much has been said and written about migration and its economic manifestations (including remittances) and policies, but less on their socio -cultural consequences. Castles and Miller (2004) and Appleyard (1989), to mention only a few, have asserted that migration has contributed to the universalization or globalization of culture or multicultural societies and that these changes can have very important consequences in the social structure and traditional values of the country of origin.

In his various writings, Berry (80) mentions the changes that accompany migration: physical, biological, political, economic, cultural and social. Migration effectively involves many changes and adjustments for all stakeholders; that is the society of origin, the host society and the migrants themselves. To understand what happens in the communities of origin we must, as Levitt and Glick Schiller (2006) say, expand our analytical lens since migration involves social fields in multiple degrees and places.

Blanco (2000) speaks of living adjustments for both migrants and the societies of origin or destination, both when they leave and when they return. According to the author the consequences are numerous and diverse: economic, labor, policies, cultural, identity, demographic, civic and psychological, among others. To this list, Montes de Oca et al. (2008) delve a little deeper into the social and cultural factors that come into the consequences or changes: the language, the symbolic value given to the family, the worldview, lifestyle, promotion (or not) of certain values, and also add - like Blanco -, emotional issue experienced by migrants and people can also experience the community of origin.

Meanwhile, Arizpe (2007) delves into changes in values: like work, respect, freedom, discipline, responsibility, etc. We see a closer relationship between migration and culture by some authors.

To continue with Lourdes Arizpe, in an earlier study (2004) where the author studied the "migration-culture" relationship of Mexicans in the United States, she tells us that they are not only losing the traditions and cultural heritage but attended a reinforcement of Mexican culture on American soil. "... what is surprising is the strong transcultural force that keeps the emotional and cultural ties between migrants and their communities of origin" (Arizpe 2004, 19). However, it recognizes the assimilation of certain aspects of the lifestyle of the United States, Mexican style. "A combination mixing the best of both cultures" (Arizpe 2004, 39).

Herein we would like to contribute and share and by identifying the aspects that are modified, changed or adjusted to migration, provide clues to explain or possible readings to understand the phenomenon. We will start with Portes (2007), who through the process of migrant transnationalism identifies, for both the country of origin and destination, the changes observed.

Transnationalism of migrants can then be understood as a form of response to the basis of the inequalities and economic difficulties that led to their initial emigration. It is a form of 'globalization from below' that opposes, at least in part, the 'globalization from above' that deepens inequalities promoted by the interests of corporate capitalism. [...] (Portes, 2007, p. 29)

As Portes and others mentioned, what has interested and continues to interest researchers about the consequences or effects of migration are economic remittances, allowing the home community and families to experience positive effects for development. However, the discussion also became the subject of social remittances now became the focus of recent studies. Levitt (1998 in Castles and Delgado, 2007) defines social remittances as "ideas, behaviors, identities and social capital that flow from the communities in the country of origin to the country of destination" (Levitt, 1998 in Castles and Delgado, 2007, p. 926). Remittances could also be social remittances from the country of destination to the country of origin, as Reist and Riano (2008) mentioned when talking about "sending" or transmission of ideas, behaviors, new identities, etc.

According to Levitt (1998, in Castles and Delgado 2007) and other authors, social remittances have ambiguous consequences. The optimism present in the stories and tales of most migrants shows the few risks and the great benefits of migration, and effectively encourages more people in the communities to undertake the journey northward (speaking of Mexico-US migration). Narratives of places are created with place as a function of existentialism, the image of success to be achieved and that over time becomes a "should-be", mainly among young people. According to Castles, the above leads to developing a culture of emigration where migrating becomes a normal rite of passage for the young. What is not without consequences for communities of origin are the demographic, economic, and social, etc. The social and economic costs of emigration are high; it leads to a severe loss to the country of origin (Castles, 2006, p. 305).

Indeed, as Vertovec (2006) pointed out, when discussing transnational practices and relying on studies by other researchers, what seems initially to be a personal decision may eventually change the longer term the value system and social life of the people of entire regions. For Vertovec (2006), transnationalism has transformed the everyday social worlds of both people and families; he then speaks of "bifocality" or double belonging."The aspects of life 'here and there' that - be they perceived from the point of departure or destination - are constantly monitored and are perceived as complementary aspects of a single space of experience" (Vertovec, 2006, p. 162). This "bifocality" inevitably comes to change the lives of those who remain, to be transformed by the activities and transnational ideologies of those who actually move.

How this bifocality is structured and how it works depends on a number of variables and contextual conditions. Moreover, bifocality is certainly difficult to 'measure,' but their modes of operation are clearly discernible in social and transmittable practices in individual narratives. The provisions and practices generated by a transnational orientation are not otherwise evenly distributed within a group or family. However, they are not to be underestimated because such provisions and practices have a substantial impact on the trajectory and strategies of individual and family life, the sense of individuals on themselves and on collective ownership, the ordering of personal memories or group, consumption patterns, collective cultural practices, approaches to parenting and other modes of cultural reproduction (Vertovec, 2006, pp. 164-165).

For their part, the researchers Levitt and Glick Schiller (2006) introduced an interesting notion to consider for our work: ways of being and ways of belonging.

Ways of being referred to social relations and practices real in which individuals participate, rather than the identities associated with their actions (...) The subjects may be included in a social field but not identify with a letterhead or a cultural policy associated with that field. They have the potential to act or identify themselves at a particular time because they live in the social field, but not all have decided so.

In contrast, *the forms of belonging* refer to practices aimed at updating an identity, demonstrating a conscious contact with a particular group. These actions are not symbolic but concrete, and visible actions that indicate membership, like carrying a cross for Christians or a Star of David for Jews, waving a flag or selecting a particular culinary tradition. Ways of belonging combine action with an awareness of the kind of identity that is linked to every action (Levitt and Glick 2006, pp. 199-200).

Denys Cuche (2007) reminds us that every culture is something constructed and not given, it is evolutionary and perhaps even more so when it comes to the culture of a society with strong emigration. The cultural change that occurs with migration occurs both in the host society and in the home. According to the individual, migrants can feel a cultural lag when they return (temporarily or permanently) to their community. And this "gap" is twofold: they have changed, but also has his country. Which could cause, according to the author, certain conflicts or shocks.

Migrants want to keep and maintain certain traditional practices in the host country, but they are out of context; "they lose the functional character they have in the initial cultural assembly" (Cuche, 2007, p. 142). Cuche (2007) identifies them as an expression of "traditionalism by desperation" since these migrants are aware that having abandoned the essence of their cultural system and are thus manifesting their desire to retain a bond with his people, providing a test of fidelity: eating like them, eat the same products like them, etc. But that also does not apply to all migrants, on the contrary, some migrate precisely to escape a certain social order they consider oppressive or full of stuffy traditions.

Cuche (2007) then speaks of "mixed cultures" when referring to the cultures of migrants. "The interest that these cultures represent for research is that the study of migrants can capture virtually "live", how a culture is made; how from the exchange, the amalgam operates that flows into a new cultural configuration, mixing the old and the new in a deeply original system" (Cuche 2007, p. 143) "... bearing in mind that a culture is never completely independent or never fully autonomous" (Grignon & Passeron in Cuche, 2007, p.

148). Culture is presented as the dynamic scope under constant construction that can be seen with the symbolic and meaningful translations made by migrants, paraphrasing Octavio Paz, the atmosphere of culture unfinished.

Kandel and Massey (2002) discuss the emergence of a "culture of migration" when it comes to Mexican migration since this migration has already existed for a long time and concerns many people. Therefore, according to the authors, we observed attitudes, behaviors, and ways of life that corresponds to migration, not to mention the aspirations for work or living in the United States of America. The above means that the people of Mexico do not make much "effort" to stay, invest, and develop their lives in their home country.

The theme of the relationship between migration and culture also brings the issue of identity, on which the authors are divided; some claim that the identity of migrants is reinforced by being outside their country, while others talk about the "loss of identity". This aspect, however, is not only manifested in relation to culture but also with space, with territory.

Therefore, the cultural and symbolic territory in migrationgenerates feelings of affection, which can be observed in the different processes of identification that can be established with the territory. In the context of international migration, the different experiences of the movement expose the perceptions of the spatial dimension of proximity, where the widening of differences and disparities mention a different way of understanding and using spaces and social relationships that constitute this age of mobility (Levy, 2007; Velasco-Graciet, 2009; Wihtol, 2001; Appadurai, 1996).

In the case of international migration, the importance of speaking about territories and their relationship with migrants discusses two fundamental concepts: mobility and discontinuity; showing its reference to time, space, cultural value and the way in which migratory movements, on the go, come and circulate (both people and their symbols) produce different scales, meaningful interactions, and territorial appropriation.

When migrants move into and within territories, they do so while bringing and carrying material and symbolic goods that refer to their cultural, identity, and spatial characteristics. The relationship that migrants have with the cultural and symbolic value of their territories may allow us to understand the significance that migrants bestow on spaces by configuring, re-configuring, adapting, appropriating and re-appropriating the place[1].

The importance of the spatial aspect of subjects engaged in the process of mobility, such as migration, allows us to shed light on two points. The first discusses the reference and recognition that territories possess for migrants, and the second is in the range of memory through recollection or returning to the community of origin, their symbols or continuity with tradition in a new place.

The way in which migrants use imagination, perception, feelings, and meaning with regards to their place of origin and the place or places of arrival and exit, continue to come and go. The respondents talk about the way that migration is closely linked to its appearance and territorial or spatial value (Mazurek, 2009).Therefore, the role given to the territory has become one of the most important factors in developing and understanding within the general framework of a "global imagination" or "imagination of modernity". The imagination results from interconnections between cultures and a flow of information, signs and symbols on a global scale, which leads to thinking increasingly in processes of redefining connections of subjects with their places, and relationships that are part of the globalized imagination (Appadurai, 1996; Massey, 1994; Bhabha, 1994; Hannerz, 1998; Escobar, 2002).

Since modernity, the assumed mobility of international migration allows us to advocate for a bailout of the spatial dimension inscribed in an analysis of space in the dynamics of culture to warn a new form of addressing and/or treating the debates regarding place, from the same place, by understanding the dynamics of meetings that migration has resulted in specific and precise actors (Massey, 1994; Appadurai, 1996; Escobar, 2000).

In this scenario, the notions of proximity, mobility, significance, and temporality refers to the spatiotemporal precision of migration and the demystification of its implications on the stage of modernity and their stories of loss of identity, hybridization, and territorial detachment, taking the migrant and their relationship with the territory as vectors and a reflective shifton migration.

A reason for taking as a basis the "moving geography of the contemporary world" (Velasco-Graciet, 2009), is that it allows us to understand two important aspects to observe international migration from a global perspective; the first corresponds to the notion of territory as "elastic" or open, in the sense of relative metaphor towards the construction, where the space issue reveals the way in which the subject-space relationship results in "constructing the territory" from movement.

The second, and in the context of contemporary developments, the scope of geography, allows us to question its scientific function in different social manifestations of the territorial construction. The question of what the place represents for people, can elucidate and propose a way of splitting the geographical horizon, understood as a new meaning of the spatial and temporal dimension (Lévy, 2007).Geographical location reveals the relationship of man (migrant) and the world (his territories) from the symbolic and meaningful connection that is established between them, giving meaning to their appropriation, ordinance, and territorial configuration.

In this sense, we highlight the significance that place plays for people and what people represent for the place (Bhabha, 1994; Massey, 1994; Appadurari, 1996; Hannerz, 1998; Escobar, 2002; Lévy, 2007).The processes of re-definition and the connections that subjects establish with their places and over time are recorded in the spatial imagination, which will endow the territories not only a spatial identity but also a spatial value (Lévy, 2007).

In this regard, it is necessary to establish an emphasis on the local level to shift reflection towards the territorial aspect of migration and advocate an approach to the spatial dimension, where its material structure can be seen as an "intimate sphere of inhabiting a place" and its ideal structure is conceived through mental images and representations of precise spatial reference.

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[1]Speaking of a migrant subject, we stress a conceptualization that deals with observing a migrant as an actor who moves, appropriates, and undertakes practices in the territory.

In this sense, the way in which the individual expresses his spatiality through concepts as "far", "near", "here", "there", etc., can emphasize the location referents that mark the corporeal geographical positioning points as well as socio-cultural categorizations that indicate relationships between subject and space (Lussault, 2007), showing the set of practices that the subject performs from their living space at any given time.

Based on the above, the subject-territory relationship in international migration allows us to observe the subjective dimension of space in addressing the territory from the daily and historical experience of subjects; i.e. the functionality of inhabiting it.In this sense, questions of affectivity and symbolisms that subjects establish and make their living spaces, have created a spatial function of the territory, which based on Fremont (1976) creates a consecutive distinction between different ways of seeing the space through the perception one has of it, originating various ways of perceiving their space (Chicharro, 1987; Pillet, 2003).

In this sense, geography allows us to understand the set of spatial perceptions that the subject holds regarding place[2].The significant burden is conceived as the construction of meaning and meaning is perception. That is why we understand the expression and symbolization of being in space alludes to awakening in ourselves a sense of identity and belonging with respect to a place, that is, to transform space into something meaningful (Buttimer, 1979).Therefore, the subjectivity of the experience of perceiving space is related to the way in which the subject understands, feels, and categorizes his world.In this way, place can become a symbol of aspirations, frustrations, emotions and past and present experiences (Nogué, 1985), a sort of projection of existence and manifestation of being in the world (Di Méo & Buléon, 2007), establishing meaning for the experience of living.

Based on Di Méo & Buléon, "the process of identity construction transforms geographical space into social space, place, and territory" (Di Méo & Buléon, 2007, p. 56). Identity, understood as the link between humans, their societies, and their spaces, constitutes a primordial substrate for the construction of the territory. Hence, identity has a constructive socio-spatial character.This character of identity is shown to be inherent to the subject in its double dimension, individual and collective, becoming a mediator appearance in the French geographers Di Méo and Buléon, who note that identity not only constructs and strengthens the spatial relationship of individuals (individually and collectively) to their territories, but it also designates their meanings.

Based on Bonnemaison (1981), the territory manifests the symbolic in the relationship between culture and space, thus establishing an image of the territory as a geo-symbol, i.e. a social, complex and progressive construction of the subject, with respect to set of social and spatial relationships that have a burden of meaning and carried out in a specific place. In this regard, emphasizing cultural signs for a symbolic dimension as an identity of the territory granted by the subjects, establishes an image of the territory as an area of reunion and association of daily and significant places (Di Méo & Buléon, 2007).From mobility, this allows us to observe the different ways in which the biographies of the subjects, as a subjective dimension of space, are designed, manufactured and value their socio-territorial identities.

Based on Lévy (2007), the value of space is one that individuals, groups, and organizations, from a historical context, bestow upon it. However,within the individual they provide a source of projection and fixation. In this sense, the organization of the territory for its meaning will be given in terms of the relationships established face to face, kinship and especially the actions of physical and symbolic appropriation at different spatial scales, individual, family, collective, and national.

That is why we observe territory as a worldview by its actors and by the values and symbolic links, that allow us to first speak of their existence and their experiences in places; secondly, to create a kind of dynamic tension between the usual routine, reproduction, creativity, innovation, change and adaptive spontaneity (Claval, 1997; Lévy, 2007).

3. Methodology

Based on our aim to better understand migration, and considering our research interests, we intend to turn reflection towards a more experiential and meaningful side of migration, both socio-cultural and territorial. The approach to reality was qualitative-ethnographic, with an idiographic approach, i.e. considering the unique experiences of individuals. We considered this approach because the phenomena under investigation are not directly observable from the point of view of the outside observer. The methodological proposal to work on these issues was to allow the social actors themselves to act and manifest themselves through techniques provided for this purpose. The techniques usually associated with qualitative designs that were applied here are observation and interview.

The qualitative perspective invites a comprehensive approach to a phenomenon that affects both individuals and families and involved communities: what is sought here is to understand the essence of social reality and achieving that means understanding that reality, relying on the points of view of subjects who experience it based on their social representations.

In addition to this, giving an emotional and significant value to the territory, such as the accumulation of significant places, representing an existentiality for the subject and from which the subject also becomes meaningful, has allowed us to reflect on various demonstrations that occur in living spaces via mobility. Creating a qualitative approach from human geography allows us to understand the various social processes that are conducted in the territories, which, in the context of international migration, give a symbolic and significant character to the mobility process.

Consequently, this type of methodological approach has allowed us to give preference to the detailed description of reality and analysis of ideas, beliefs, meanings, knowledge and practices of the people who participated in our research.

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[2] Based on Bailly and Pocock, the concept of 'life-world' developed by the German phenomenologist Husserl, can understand the sense of space-time and culture of the ordinary, everyday experience of the territory (Bailly & Pocock, 1991: 166). Watching representations, understood as construction of meaning and significance of perception, you can highlight the constant relationship established between the subject and his sense of perception and space. Positioning the subject at the center of space or orientation, such as a geographic actor who manages to establish place as living space (Bailly & Pocock, 1991).

From the review of the writings, to see how it impacts migration, we have been able to identify the dimensions of the phenomenon to later make them issues of interviewing in communities. We conducted fieldwork in some municipalities of Guanajuato and Michoacán, which are two Mexican states involved very significantly (numerically speaking) in migration to the United States. This way we ensure access to relevant and appropriate information to discuss the socio-cultural and spatial manifestations of migration information.

The different steps of investigations were conducted responsibly and ethically to give credibility to the results: the informants/participants were selected for their experience, which would allow us to understand more deeply the phenomenon of study (non-probability sampling, according to homogeneous and representative techniques, also using the network or snowball technique, and respecting the principle of "saturation categories").Preliminary results samples were presented to participants and proceeded to interview transcripts, using a triangulation of data, techniques and research to ensure representativeness of the data as a whole.

Therefore, respecting the previous decisions, we proceeded to a qualitative analysis of the data by ethnographic description and analysis of content, favoring a thematic analysis of information.

Then, to complete this block on the methodology, we briefly present the contexts in which we carry out investigations.

The state of Guanajuato is located in central Mexico. It has a history of over 100 years of international migration; individuals from Guanajuato first went to the United States to participate in railway construction in the city of Chicago and then continued participation in the "Bracero" program 1942-1964. After this program, migration held a good pace between mainly the southern fringe of the United States where there has been important development and a great need for labor, and the Mexican rural area hit by structural unemployment (Guilmoto & Sandron, 2003). With time and the history of migration between the two countries, there are now between three and four generations of descendants from Guanajuato in the United States.

The state of Guanajuato is among the 3 states in the country with the highest labor migration flow. Mostly men migrate, but increasingly the migration of women and children is observed.

In the northwest of the state of Guanajuato we find the municipality of Ocampo (study site). The total population of the municipality of Ocampo is 22,683 inhabitants, according to the 2010 census (INEGI, 2010). According to the state government of Guanajuato, the municipality of Ocampo has high social marginalization and low social development. Its main economic activity is the primary sector. Migration occurs between different urban zones within the country, but especially to the United States. The phenomenon of migration began in the period 1946-1947. However, according to the inhabitants, migration has always existed in the municipality.

Now, Michoacán from a little over 60 years ago, is considered as one of the states with the largest number of migrants in the United States; caused mainly by the lack of employment and little support for rural areas, if so, the main reason why many men and women decide to migrate to the United States, coupled with the availability of work in the first and second phases of the Bracero program, which characterized Michoacán migration as one of the most important migrations of the country and a certain "tradition" of mobility among its inhabitants, to have several groups of migrants established in several states of the American union.

It is for this reason that today we find several municipalities in Michoacán, indigenous and mestizos, with a high immigration rate to the United States. The first workers hired in the first stage of the Bracero Program upon their return to Michoacán, created an image of success and economic welfare among the inhabitants of the different municipalities of the state, which, for those who did not migrate, this fact would become a "facilitator" when making the decision to migrate to "a better future"; this way and over the years an increase in the number of migrants and their consequent social, family, and territorial reconfiguration was established.

Based on Neira (2008), the main places of arrival of Michoacán migrants in the US are: California (73%), Illinois (7.2%), Washington (6.9%), Florida (2.4%), Alabama (2.1%) and Oregon (2.10%) (Niera, 2010, p. 285).However, currently Canada and Alaska represent alternatives to labor outside the country. This dispersion of migrants and their subsequent agglomeration in precise locations have been marked in the international migration of Michoacán, the possibility of practical circulation among migrants of the state, and the use of space and territorial construction in the new places where they arrive, creating a distribution of cultural elements in the geographical space that is very important at the symbolic level.

Therefore, and based on a geographical area, understanding the different logics that make up Michoacán migration, especially focusing on two specific cases such as the communities of San Jerónimo and Duarte towards the United States to allow visualization, generally, the development of migration that has been established to the northern country by Mexican migrants, who build and re-build their logic of socio-cultural identification with territory.

4. Results
As mentioned at the beginning of this article, our goal is to document and reflect on the events that migration can have on social and spatial spheres. The results in this regard are many and vary widely. For the purposes of this article, we decided to select only some aspects presented below.

4.1. Cultural Manifestations: the Family; Round Trip
Of the different characteristics[3]addressed to document the cultural manifestations, we were most interested in presenting and focusing on the changes or consequences that migration may have on families.

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[3]Effective parenting practices, the absence of the head of the family, the couple, quality of life from remittances and the return of migrants and how it affects family.

Almost all informants agree that migration affects the family negatively. Most of them expressed that one of the main consequences of migration on the family is that the children grow up without knowing their father, because from birth, that parent has been in the United States and have visited few times in their lifetime. In this case, some informants say that one's children lament the lack of his father; and claim, somehow, that they are not there when they need them.

I've heard guys say: "My father went to put bread on the table, but I need my father; who cares for me, who loves me."(Informant 5)

In general, in the speech of all informants, it is perceived that talking about migrants almost exclusively refers to migrant males who are, in turn, fathers and/or husbands. The impact of migration on families, then, in his speech, the potential impact of the father, husband or head of household living elsewhere. Almost no mention is made of migrant women, whether they are mothers, sisters, etc. Perhaps because there are still not too many migrants, or women who migrate do not have children and therefore the change of residence does not affect the family.

> ➤ I dare say that here ... there is no family that does not have a migrant, minimum, in the United States. Most lack the paternal role model, no image of the elder brother. Many other families have moved up under these conditions, but many others do not. (Informant 2)

Another aspect related to the absence of the head of household represents the double burden of that mothers who are left behind. For some informants, they are often not able to compensate for the absence of the husband/father, which comes to cause some conflicts, such as a lack of discipline and leadership for the children.

> ➤ [...] we usually find obliging parents, that is, they still do not understand the difference between showing love and fulfilling whims: "As I am coming from the United States and I'll only be here a few days, I'll give my son what he wants, and no one can tell me otherwise". Then, when he is gone, the child is spoilt; and then the mother has to discipline again, it's a never ending story, and so it goes on. They are obliging parents. (Informant 6)

In areas, such as family abandonment by the migrant, refraining from sending money, divorces or separations, etc., the answers of the respondents do not allow us to establish a consensus on how frequently they occur in Ocampo and their communities. Some say that these situations are not common, others say that they occur in more than half of cases. In this sense, it is not known exactly how many families are affected by these problems; eventually, with another approach, we would need to complete this informationto confirm what proportion of cases of these situations occur.

Regarding the impact of migration on relationships of couples, informants made several accusations. For example, it is mentioned that women marry young and often is because of an unplanned pregnancy. It is also said that the number of pregnant women increases considerably after the visit of migrants. This added to the fact that many women refuse to use contraception: their husbands do not allow it, which can lead to health problems:

> ➤ [...] the ritual or dynamic to follow, is the following: here it is very common in municipalities, or here ... those who are in high school, they are dating, the girl becomes pregnant, the boyfriend goes and then sends for her, so that their child is born there in the United States, and if born precisely in the United States they can get their papers. That is typical here in this municipality. (Informant 6)

> ➤ [...] we do get hit in that regard that they do not want to accept some form of planning and, more than anything, because the husband does not allow them to. Note that this is fundamental and we have seen it; It is an impact that we have seen that there have been many sexually transmitted diseases, from people who migrate. (Informant 9)

Migration can also cause separation or divorce, because, in many cases, male migrants seek a new partner in the United States. In contrast, according to informants who talk about these issues, most consider that it is rare that the women who stay behind are seeking another partner.

The only positive impact of migration on families noted from informants, is sending remittances; helping to improve their quality of life. Those who speak of this subject, believe that the recent economic crisis has impacted significantly on the amount of money sent, which has brought obvious consequences on the economy of the families and the entire municipality.

Another issue that was also mentioned by informants, is the difficulty of migrants to adapt upon their return or, also, the difficulty for the family to cohere as such, to be assembled again.

> ➤ Well, there have been cases that last so long, years there, and then the family no longer fits. They say: "I'm more comfortable without him" [...] (Informant 4)

In the answers to this question you can find other problems that affect families, such as domestic violence or partner abuse, alcoholism and drug use. However, it does not specify whether these syndromes are the result of migration or to what extent they relate to it; so they can be considered indirect consequences of migration on the family.

> ➤ The migrant comes home; still hasn't greeted the whole family, but he is already buying his beers. Always, migrants, I'm not saying all of them, but the vast majority. Most remittances, the most currency they leave behind is in the liquor store [...] (Informant 6)

Besides having consequences on the family, migration also affects communities, both when they are migrants in the United States and when they return. One of the aspects that is mentioned is the contribution of migrants to improve the community; however, very few informants speak about this, since it is generally considered that the main positive impacts that migration brings are those related to the economy of families, which is seen as independent of what happens in the community.

> ➤ Yes, I think there are plusses. Our Mexican government has implemented a program called "Three for One", where our migrant brothers earn one dollar for the benefit of their community and here, the municipal government, state government and the federal government, provide another. (Informant 9)

The aspect of the demographic decline is mentioned by some informants. The fact of living in a town where the population tends to decrease seems to cause concern, as this could have important consequences eventually.

> ➢ Yes, they are going; they go and in America there are more (from here) than there are right here. [...] We are 20,000, we don't grow. Since I can remember, since I arrived, we are 20,000 [...] if there is more population obviously, the federal government will give us more money. In the latter, there is no way we can get more resources here to the municipality, and that does affect us. (Informant 3)

There are other aspects that are mentioned by the informants: the first is the apparent neglect of migrants of the agricultural vocation that the municipality has; the idea seems to be that they, returning, do not want work "the land" because either the pay is very low, or they are "ashamed" to be devoted to this task. Another issue mentioned that could represent an impact on the community is the impact of migration on the distinction between one and the other inhabitants who migrate and those without, the former considered "heroes" who help to improve the community; on responses from informants, the idea that migrants do enjoy greater prestige in the community from the rest of the inhabitants stands out.

> ➢ Yes, people respect them more, as they see them as above themselves. I've noticed in some communities: when they go to the festivities, they say, "but he comes from the US and he will pay the beer" or "x" thing. They seema bit bigger than those who are here. (Informant 8)

4.1.1. Discussion: Migration and Family

After presenting these results, we need to relate them to the existing literature on the subject for further reflection. The "migration-family" relationship is very complex; its definition, function, etc. varies widely between societies and even within the same country (Torrealba, 1989). It also changes according to the type of migration, distance, duration, among other variables. Nor will migration impact the migrant whose family left in the country in the same way.

We address here another big issue for our work because the family is the main "receiver" of these socio-cultural impacts of migration in communities of origin. We present below some of the references consulted that have given us dimensions to empirically investigate the phenomenon in Ocampo, Guanajuato, and that gave us clues for explanation.

In the conclusions and discussions of the Seminar on Migration Intergovernmental Committee for Migration, Geneva (1989) a list of the consequences of migration on the family is presented:

- Transformation of the roles of the family in the host society and the country of origin.
- The change in parental roles and relationships between parents and children, which sometimes leads to tension in the family.
- Change in the pattern of the family, in many receiving societies immigration for family reunification only extends to the nuclear family, but not the extended family.
- Changes in the dynamics of family relationships caused by increased independence of women through the exercise of new employment opportunities.
- The dislocation of families due to separation, but sometimes greater cohesion due to one or several family members abroad whose duties are assumed by the remaining members of the family.
- Disadvantages and/or discrimination in receiving countries for children, as a factor contributing to tensions in the family and society.
- Changes in reproductive behavior in some cases including the interruption of the reproduction process.

Some other authors contributed more elements or reinforced those already mentioned on this relationship. Pekin (1989) warns that divorce may increase as a result of migration. However, we observed a trend in taking the whole family to avoid this situation; either by their own initiative or migrant family reunification policies.

Stephen Castles (2006) reinforces this idea when he says it is very likely that the family will reunite with the migrant, because the migrant has not achieved the desired economic stability so has to stay longer than planned, which is why the family choose to leave rather than spend more time without the migrant. The same author in another of his works is "Una comparación de la experiencia de cinco importantes países de emigración" (A comparison of the experience of five major emigration countries) presents another reason why the family reunites with the migrant, and it is due to government policies that restrict migrant's movements, so that migrants cannot return to their country of origin and their temporary stay becomes permanent so it is best that the family move.

However, everything is not always positive and easy; Dumon (1989) presents three reasons why a family may migrate. The first is that, due to the separation and distance of the migrant from his family, family ties increase, the second might also diminish these ties, and the third is that family ties are reorganized. On the other hand, Ninna Nyberg (2008) is much more critical and hard on the consequences of migration on the family; she speaks of "spousal abandonment, separation and divorce, male alcoholism, teenage pregnancy, poor school performance of children, crime and even a high incidence of child suicide, as a result of family separation by migration" (Nyberg, 2008: 262).

Kandel and Massey (2002) mention the effects or consequences of migration on the men and women who remain. The exit of men (by migration) increases the burden on women, both materially and psychologically. This separation is inevitably accompanied by a real risk of abandonment, separation, and loneliness. Also, one consequence is the increased responsibility and workload on women. However, this is offset by the material benefits that the father and/or siblings bring through migration.

Several authors acknowledge the changes that migration introduces into the family unit, be they positive or negative. According Torrealba (1989), migration leads to fragmentation processes and/or reintegration into the structure of the family unit and affects its operation. It can even lead to a "new family unit". These adjustments will be made taking into account the characteristics of the family members who remain. Reist and Riano (2008) consider the family with the potential to reorganize its internal structure to migration:

the absence of one of its members (by migration) entails a renegotiation duties and responsibilities. It generates a negotiation between genders in the family (Levitt & Glick, 2006). "Migration can reveal existing problems, promote family disintegration, offer new opportunities or modify internal relations. The dynamics of change in family structure evolve during migrants' stay outside the country and become significant when family members who have migrated return" (Reist & Riano, 2008: p. 306).

On the other hand, the family is the main recipient of economic and social remittances that their members abroad send: with the economic part, they can purchase goods that improve their lives, improve housing, etc. According to the authors, the family also plays an important role at an emotional level, supporting their migrants in difficult times.

To conclude this brief tour, we are left with a lot of operational dimensions to approach reality. We have made a list of 15 dimensions that may affect communities based on this literature review. The latter will guide the development of our instrument to address the phenomenon.

4.2. Spatial Manifestations: Attachment to the Symbolic Identification of Place

In the case of indigenous migrants, the symbolic value that the home territory possesses for them is given from experience, that is, through the experiences and trajectories, a sense of belonging and the formation of individual identities and shared spatial awareness, they are the product of an amalgamation of past stories and present changes.

Based on fieldwork conducted in an indigenous community in the state of Michoacán, we found that for migrants the community and territory form part of their construct and interpretation of their worldview, its differentiation with other communities and ethnic groups; denoting in particular, how to live.

The way in which community members understand their roots towards their territory, is not only delimited geographically and culturally under the construction of "different to ..." and "belonging to ..." but that the scope of "here" is what dictates their spatial registration. Geographical and cultural boundaries, may be seen as an external field, in which migrant communities establish themselves as means of differentiation with other communities being in the United States, reaffirming its community membership; while on an internal level, in the here subjective, in the community (physical or imaginary level) are ratified and differentiated according to a series of spatial units that are linked together and denote their distinction at community and regional level.

Being an indigenous community, the relationship with the territory is based on a strong scale of distinction, where we should not forget that although they may have a common language, history, traditions, and culture, the different features of each indigenous community are marking differences in the way in which they perceive and live being "purépecha of the lake region".

Therefore, if we need spatial units denoting territorial identification for members of the indigenous community of Michoacán, and later it will be of vital importance to their roots or forgotten in the process of the internationally mobile migrant, we can mention: the household, *the house* as the primary place of identification where kinship relations become the first link with the territory and its significance as an area of identity; second, *the neighborhood* is the intra-local unit of residence where crony, friendship and filial relationships mark the meanings of familiarity and in a second step, the neighborhood becomes the field of identity on a significant scale; *the community* is the third area of spatialization materialized from the unit of political participation and identification, which like the neighborhood, the identification of relatedness is linked to the residential identification and where we can also do other extra-domestic links of vital visible importance to its significance as a means of religious and cultural identification, such as the town square and the church.

If we focus on the above details we can see the internal social order, shared culture, the customs, traditions and symbolizations. In addition, the family and the natural environment are shaping not only the spatial organization of the territory, but depending on the activities and identifications that people undertake, they create significant identifications and perceptions with the territory, which coupled with migration may sometimes become triggers within the causes of why individuals migrate:

> ➢ [...] when I went I was 15 years old, I went with my dad who was in California, I remember that before we left I saw my house and saw that was falling down, and then saw the houses of people in the north were being fixed up, so I went to help my dad to fix the house, [...] see right now it is tiny but nice. (Informant 1a)

In this respect, the affection and importance that migrants give to their living spaces become a way of speaking of an attachment to the place and symbolic identification.

In the case of migrants from the indigenous community of Michoacán, during interviews with them in the field, the emphasis placed on the relationship with their home community allows them to establish bonds of belonging on the emotional, material, and imaginary level with their place of origin, which mainly allude to the family and the image of the community as the place where they could live and enjoy, giving it a meaning of rest and tranquility, despite having migrated due to the lack of work or to live with family in the United States:

> ➢ I try to come 1 or 2 times per year when I can of course, I come with my wife to rest in our house [...], here (in the community) we like to wake up early, go for a walk through the streets and up the hill, and then we go to visit family or the square for a while, this (the community) I will never forget and always miss it. (Informant 2a)

In this context, how migrants observe and live in the territory from an idealization based on memory is what allows many of them to return to the community on precise dates such as a Saint's day, a family event or holiday, retaking their family and territorial anchor as a place to visit and for recreation.

> ➢ I like to come to the party, because you miss the holidays when you are there, family, togetherness, so I try to come to the party and if I can for Christmas and New Year. (Informant 3a)

In the context of international migration, retention and adaptation of migrant identities in their relationship with the territory leads us to the complexity of understanding the subject's relationship with their territory, how physical and mental boundaries can be broken down by affection, family, nostalgia, and memories.

4.2.1. Discussion: Migration and Territory, on a Local Scale

Previous reports have shown how, through interactions between the subject and places from their intangible, emotions and perceptions are revealed as an everyday meaning and appropriation of places, "[...] the appropriation represents to the subject the sense of owning their own place and with their own order" (Lindon, 2011: 25), by which one way to configure and give meaning to the world is created. Under this form of "placing of the world" (Skewes et al., 2011) migrants manifest their ideas, practices and inherent day-to-day symbolizations and perceptions of the places that they inhabit.

In this sense, spatial experience realizes that relationships establish subjects with places, based on Lévy and Lussault (2007), who present "space as it is perceived and practiced by the beings who live there", establishing a burden of cultural values that account for membership and establishment of a group with respect to a specific place.

Under the symbolic and experiential dimension of the place, and from practices derived from the everyday uses of the sites, the functions of your home, to the problems and contrasts; create an existential and meaningful vision of the home. It is precisely in this existential image of the territory, where the boundaries of the process of identification towards it establishes a connection between the subject and their territory; who will realize the symbolic and emotional value of the place.

In the case of migrant mobility, especially in the case of the sense of place that the migrant bestows, it forms part of the incorporation of the past through recollection and memory. By mental configuration of places, and displacements.

Through the mental configuration of places; its importance and significance, displacement and the ordinariness established by the subjects create a geographical imaginary of the territory and its cultural value, which in a process of international mobility, as is migration, we are able to understand and analyze how through time and space, the reference to the place of origin becomes a field of reaffirmation, translation, or lost identity.

From human geography, reflection on the territory and its value to individuals allows this work to reflect on the understanding of intangible cultural heritage as an area of understanding of the "existence and being" of the subject and their place of origin; allowing us to observe the importance of territory in memories and images from the memory of the subjects, who through the body, of his travels and movements discover it, appropriate it and make it present in dreams, in memories and in their existential or imaginary world.

Therefore, mind maps are proposed as a way to observe the evaluation, reproduction, and transfer of a sense of identity sense that people establish with places, where the direction towards the territory and identity will be given as a function of the memory of the place.

5. Finishing Remarks

Rather than formulate a conclusion now, we present further lines of investigation to further research the phenomenon of identity transformation and sociocultural aspects related to migration. As a social phenomenon of global change, migration reflects the mutations of our societies and their evolution. Migration is never neutral and modifies the data of the political, economic, social, and cultural game.

Migrants experience physical, biological, cultural, social, and psychological changes (Berry *et al.* 1988) and these transformations can then be vectors or agents of transformation for their communities of origin. Indeed, informants have talked about migrants, but we believe, precisely to indicate that changes in the municipality, in communities, in families, come through them. They were able to show, through their answers and testimonies that changes can be both positive and negative. The truth is that there is a consensus on remittances and their positive effects.

Camilleri (1998) reminds us that culture is not a permanent mark: cultures change and individuals adopt different strategies to respond to these changes. Strategies are multiple; imperviousness to a foreign culture, even assimilation, acculturation, and, between these two extremes, there are different positions that people experience, trying to maintain some unity without suffering maladjustment in a changing environment.

There is also the possibility of exploring the conceptual proposal of Vertovec (2006) on the establishment of "bifocality" in the sociocultural transformation related to migration: aspects of life from "here and there", which are perceived as complementary to the same space as experience; and also, it appears in non-migrants, whose lives are transformed by transnational activities and ideologies of migrants (Vertovec, 2006, p. 163).

Today we are witnessing the articulation of territories and new territorialities produced by the circulation of symbolic and material goods arising from migration, which are the product of a multiplication of spatial references that are based on various forms in which the subjects establish feelings membership, adaptation, appropriation and/or translation of their living spaces.

Since international migration, the area of the territory is marked by a series of interactions that serve as the focal point of subjects to mark its various territorial dynamics; spatial representations and multiple anchors in the passage from one territory to another are evaluated, from one living space that has been appropriated and assigned meaning, to one that is in search of it.

In this sense, the symbolic value that subjects give a place, from his experience, the territory as a space characterized by everyday experiences and backgrounds, revealing the sense of belonging and formation of individual identities and shared spatial awareness; which allow the construction and interpretation of the world of life through the inclusion of socio-relational (belonging to the subject) and socio-spatial (belonging to a territory) supports, which dictate the way of inhabiting the space.

From a mobility process by its inhabitants, the territory allows us to observe how in the context of interconnections and social and individual restructurings, international migration reveals the constant transformations produced by the evolution of space and time induced by encounters between migrants and its territories, mainly imaginary.

The interactions established in this sort of temporal and spatial evolution has given guidelines for the establishment of a new geographical imagination, where space, itself the territory of the lives of migrants, at the emotional, perceptual and even physical levels is wrapped up in a construction of subjectivities that are related through membership and identity of the subject on different geographical scales, local, national and extra-national, which modulate the symbolic spaces of modernity; spaces that fit with volatile materials from here and there.

That is why we value the territory of proximity, as that space where subjects perform their practices, establish meeting points, as embodied and symbolized based on their emotional attachment, or socio-territorial belonging, it allows us to observe territoriality as the process by which the subject establishes an immediate existential relationship with their immediate space, thus highlighting the practiced and lived places and different mental references concerning their practical and personal experience of the world.

The relationship that migrant individuals establish with their places, both of origin and arrival, and the meanings they give them, to observe and distinguish multiple spaces in which they move and where symbolism becomes an experience of mobility and especially of its meaning.

Thus, the migration-territory relationship offers the opportunity to turn the reflection toward spatial scalar precision and identity that subjects in a process of mobility, such as migration, live and experience from the movement. For migrants, knowing that they belong to a group, where they establish or established their daily practices, allows them to elucidate how their cultural and territorial meanings can reassert themselves, be modified or even forgotten.

In this sense, interconnections within the contemporary imagination of mobility and territorialization show how from the link between the global and the local, the transfer of physical and mental borders, symbolizations for the new places are established by migrants, where the structuring of new spaces of identity construction from the movement, speak of the other territories created by migration.

International mobility helps us to understand the apparent paradoxes of today's world, such as the ethnicization of territory in the systems of globalization, the evaluation of the different reference spaces that serve as a basis for differentiation of temporality and territoriality as a function of social and spatial practices by migrants, which, in turn, structure their processes of multiple territorial identification.

Which is why, in the context of international migration, retention and adaptation of migrant identities in their relationship with the territory leads us to the complexity of understanding the subject's relationship with its territory, how the physical and mental borders can be torn down by affection, family, longing, recollections, nostalgia and memory. Since the movement, the subject avoids forgetting what has been left behind, but also avoid forgetting the new that has been seen, what was outside his construct as a member belonging to a certain social and territorial group.

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