Children on the Move?
Mexico-U.S. Migration and Prospects for the Future

Katharine M. Donato
Blake Sisk

Vanderbilt University

September 2011

This extended abstract was prepared for presentation at the 2012 annual meeting of the Population Association of America. It derives from a paper presented at "New Realities of Mexican Immigration to the United States," a conference held in April 2011 at Princeton University. We are grateful to the conference participants for their insightful commentary on this work.

Children on the Move?
Mexico-U.S. Migration and Prospects for the Future

ABSTRACT

Despite the progress made by scholars investigating the process of Mexico-US migration over the past thirty years, little is known about the role of children. This paper attempts to address that gap in the literature. Using data from the Mexican Migration Project, we examine a) the extent to which children's migration is tied to that of their parents, and b) how the propensity for Mexican children to migrate to the US has shifted over time. Our analysis reveals that children's migration is strongly tied to parent's migration, and that the probability of children's migration has declined in the past ten years. Together these findings have critically important implications for the future prospects for Mexico-U.S. migration.

Children on the Move?
Mexico-U.S. Migration and Prospects for the Future

In the last thirty years, scholarship on Mexico-U.S. migration has grown dramatically. These studies have addressed a variety of topics and together they have led to important insights about the process of Mexico-U.S. migration, its causes and consequences. Despite this progress, however, little is known about the role of children in this process. This paper is geared to fill that gap.

Some early ethnographic and anthropological studies suggest that children have played a critical role in sustaining and growing the volume of Mexico-U.S. migration. Migration was often passed down from one generation to the next, especially from fathers to sons (Reichert and Massey 1979; Massey and Liang 1989; Massey et al. 1987). This intergenerational process occurred through much of the twentieth century, but few studies explicitly discussed whether the sons who were participating were children. For example, by separating migration into two phases, pre-1965 and post-1965, Reichert and Massey (1979, 1980) only reported many women and children migrated to join formerly agricultural workers who had become legal U.S. immigrants. Other studies also imply that older children and teens were migrating but do not explicitly reference or attempt to understand what influences the movement of children. These studies include those from economists who argued that migration decisions occurred at the level of households, not

individuals (Stark 1991), and from sociologists who examined migration as a process that unfolds over time in communities that may have different stages. In a review of the literature published almost twenty years ago, Durand and Massey (1992) describe studies that show when Mexican communities first participated in U.S. migration, they typically sent mostly young men who migrated illegally without their families for U.S. farm or other unskilled jobs. Over time, however, migration streams matured and many women and children accompanied male family members from a Mexican community (Reichert and Massey, 1980; Fonseca and Moreno, 1988; Gonzalez and Escobar, 1990; Goldring, 1990; Donato, 1993, 1994; Donato and Kanaiaupuni, 1998).

These and many other recent studies point to the important role of social networks in facilitating the chances of making a first trip northward, but they do not explicitly address or interrogate the extent to which children are part of the process, how children's participation has shifted over time, and the factors that affect their migration propensities. Although having a migrant parent is implied as an important trigger for children's migration, studies have not explicitly examined the role of parent's migration for children on the move. Moreover, no studies have examined the age at which migration prospects are highest or lowest, as well as the effects of other attributes of children and the origin communities in which they live. This is one objective of the present paper.

A second objective is to examine how the likelihood of children's migration has shifted over time. There is no doubt that the last three decades have witnessed dramatic micro- and macro-changes in Mexico and the United States. Although we cannot describe all of the changing conditions that may affect migration between the two countries, several are likely to have salient consequences for children's migration. Therefore, in this paper, we describe shifts in fertility and educational opportunities in Mexico and in deportations in the United States, and examine their relationship to children's migration. We then explore the implications of those changes by examining the competing states and/or choices of children in Mexico in the early 21st century.

Data and Methods

For this project, we use data from 128 communities in the Mexican Migration Project (http://mmp.opr.princeton.edu/). Since the early 1980s, the MMP has collected data from randomly chosen households in communities across Mexico. While initially concentrated in Western central Mexico, an area that has traditionally sent migrants for the last 100 years, the 128 communities now in the data set are found in a multitude of Mexican states. The survey data offer information on the social and demographic characteristics of children and their parents, and for those with U.S. migrant experience, we have detailed migration

histories about the first and the most recent trip to the United States including date of initial entry, duration, place of origin and destination, and legal status.

To link the migration histories of children and adolescents to those of their parents, we limit our sample to respondents who were age 19 or younger in the year of the survey. The first survey year in the MMP data is 1987, and, as a result, our examination of child migration is limited to the 1968-2009 period. We also restrict our sample of children to those residing in two-parent households and and to those with at least one biological parent in the household.

From these data, we use information collected about the children in the households in these communities. For the analysis below, we draw on two basic sources of information: the birth date and date of the first U.S. trip (compiled for children and their parents). Given each child's date of birth and year of first trip, we constructed a year-by-year life history up to the date of the first U.S. trip. That is, we built a discrete-time person-year file that followed each child from birth to the date of their 19th birthday or to the first U.S. trip, whichever came first.

To understand shifts in children's first-trip migration to the United States, we divide our analysis into two parts. For the first part, the outcome measure is whether or not the child migrated within the person-year in question. If he/she did not migrate in a given year, the migration variable is coded 0; if he/she migrated in that year, it is coded 1, and all later years of life are excluded from the file. For

each year in which a migration took place, we also created variables to record the legal status under which the trip was taken. Legal migrants have valid U.S. documents that entitle them to work and/or live in the United States; unauthorized migrants do not.

This person-year file provided the basis for estimating an age-period model of the probability of undertaking a first trip to the United States. We regressed the 0-1 migration variable on dummy variables representing each child's age and period in the person-year, and included additional dummy variables to indicate the child's gender, age, period when migration occurred, community from which the migration occurred, and whether parent migrated before the child migrated, in the same year as the child's migration, or whether the parent never migrated. We estimated this model using a maximum-likelihood logistic regression procedure, which produces estimates of the probability of making a first U.S. trip in some year, given that no prior migration had occurred.

In all of these analyses, we specify four period dummies (pre-1987, 1987-96, 1997-2002, and 2003-2009). The first period is the referent category and corresponds to a migration process that was largely predictable and circular, reflecting the seasonal importation of Mexican farm laborers into the United States. The second period helps us assess what happened to children's migration after passage of the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act that offered an

amnesty program to previously unauthorized migrants. Approximately 2 million Mexicans received legal permanent residency as a consequence of IRCA, and after 1992, most were eligible to sponsor family members, including children, for legal entry. The third period, 1997-2002, represents a time of continued high levels of unauthorized migration, despite IRCA's intended consequence to reduce it, and then the years around September 11, 2011, when politicians and the nation began linking immigration to heightened concerns about national security. The reference period consists of years before 1940. The final period, 2003-2009, represents a period of both rising unauthorized migration and, subsequently, a deep U.S. recession. These periods also reflect changes in fertility and educational opportunities in Mexico and in sentiment about immigration in the United States (see the second half of this abstract for more information).

The estimated coefficients we produce provide a basis for assessing trends in the probabilities of children making a first trip net of parent and other child characteristics we expect to affect migration. We focus on two age groups: children less than 12 years of age, and those aged 12 to 19. On the whole, we expect that: 1) although all children (from both age groups) will be more likely to migrate if their parents had/have migration experience, parent's migration experience will be more important for young children (< 12 years of age); 2) among younger children, we expect that the only time they will be more likely to

migrate without documents is in the post-IRCA 1987-96 period ; and 3) adolescents will be less likely to make a first U.S. trip in recent periods relative to before 1987.

The second part of the analysis begins with a description of shifts in fertility and educational opportunities in Mexico and in deportations in the United States, and examines the changes in light of shifts in children's first trip migration. We then explore the implications of these changes by examining the competing states and/or choices of Mexican adolescents. Specifically, using multinomial regression, we estimate the likelihood that teenagers transition into migration, stay in school, or do neither.

Children's First Trip Migration to the United States

Table 1 presents results from logistic regressions predicting migration from ages 0 to 11. The period coefficients show that the propensity to take a legal first U.S. trip has not shifted over time. What has changed, however, is the likelihood of making a first unauthorized trip: it increased significantly during 1987-96, immediately following the passage of IRCA. As expected, parent's migration strongly predicts the migration of young children and this holds true for both legal and unauthorized trips.

Table 2 presents coefficients from the logistic regression models predicting adolescents' (aged 12 to 19) first U.S. trip. Unlike younger children whose

likelihood of making a first trip rose after 1987, the probability of unauthorized migration for children ages 12 to 19 was no different than that for children migrating between 1968 and 1986. However, in 1997-2002, the likelihood that teenaged children would make a first U.S. trip declined, and it decreased significantly for both legal and unauthorized migration in the 2003-2009 period, relative to 1968-86. Moreover, although parent's migration heightens the propensity of the older children to migrate, the effect appears to be not as strong as it is for the younger children. And for adolescent children making unauthorized trips, the effect of parental migration appears to be the weakest.

To make the results of the age-period analysis more tangible, we used the equations in Tables 1 and 2 to generate predicted probabilities of children making a first legal and unauthorized trip. From these predicted probabilities we derived a set of life tables to compute the cumulative probability of children's legal and unauthorized migration by age. The top section of Table 3 presents the cumulative probability that children would migrate, legally and without documents, by age 11, across three periods and for three different states of parent's migration (parent has no migration history, parent migrated before the person year when a child migrated, and parent migrated in the same person year as the child).

These figures show what would happen if a child born in Mexico were to go through their 11^{th} year of life subject to the rates of out-migration prevailing in

different years. The hypothetical probabilities of legal migration suggest that young children largely migrate with their parents, and that the probability that a young child eventually would become a legal migrant was fairly low. For example, the probability that a young child would make a first U.S. trip during the year his/her parent migrated ranged from .113 in 1968-86, grew somewhat to .140 during the period when many Mexicans received amnesty, and then dropped to .078 in 1997-2009. Probabilities for unauthorized migration among young children were similarly low, except for the post-IRCA 1987-96 period, when the probability more than doubled to .291.

The figures for older children in the second panel of Table 3 show what would happen if a child born in Mexico were to go through their 12th to 19th year of life subject to the rates of out-migration prevailing in these different years. Overall, the probabilities for unauthorized adolescents are higher than for those who made a legal first U.S. trip. However, consistent with the findings for young children, probabilities for adolescents are highest for those who migrated in the same person year as their parents. Moreover, among adolescents making unauthorized trips in the same year as their parents, the highest probability (.418) occurred in the earliest pre-IRCA period, followed by declining probabilities in more recent periods (.325 in 1987-96, .236 in 1997-02, and .078 in 2003-09).

The final panel of Table 3 reveals what would happen if a child born in Mexico were to go through their 19th year of life subject to the rates of out-migration prevailing in different years. Similar to the earlier panels, the figures suggest that children who have parents with migrant experience have significantly higher probabilities than children without such parents. In addition, the probabilities of legal and unauthorized migration are highest if children migrate in the same year as their parents. More importantly, however, is the significant decline in children's legal and unauthorized first migration since 2003. For example, between 1997-02 and 2003-09, a child's lifetime probability of making a first authorized trip when their parents migrated in the same person year dropped from .409 to .088; for unauthorized trips it dropped from .634 to .336 and for all trips it dropped from .805 to .460. Such declines across these two periods appear for all trips, and for children whose parents have no migrant experience and those whose parents migrated in the past.

Older Children's Competing Choices about Work and Schooling

Figures 1 – 3 describe the relationship between the percent of first US trips made by children and changes in fertility rates, educational opportunities, and U.S. deportations. The figures indicate that a majority of both unauthorized and legal child migration trips occurred between 1985 and 2000, whereas a smaller share of U.S. trips took place before 1985 and after 2000. Figure 1 shows that the Mexican

fertility rate rapidly declined from just under 8 children per woman in the 1970s to approximately replacement level in the late 2000s. In addition, at the same time that Mexican family size has been decreasing, migration enforcement mechanisms in the United States have also changed. Figure 2 shows that the number of Mexicans deported from the United States remained relatively stable until the mid-1990s, when internal immigration enforcement increased and deportations spiked. Figure 3 displays the level of educational spending in Mexico, operationalized as the percent of Mexican Gross National Income (GNI) spent on education. Although spending on education declined in late 1980s, it has grown steadily since then to reach almost 5 percent of Mexican GNI. Taken together, these figures suggest that a confluence of changing contextual factors – both in Mexico and the United States – may contribute to the decreasing probability of child migration.

These macro-level changes suggest that Mexican children may now have different opportunities in their origin communities compared to what these places offered in the past. To examine this idea further, we estimate a multinomial logistic regression for adolescents aged 12 to 19. The coefficients in Table 4 are from a model that predicts whether adolescents make a first migrant trip, stay in school, or do something else. Our findings suggest that the probability of staying in school has increased over time, and in the most recent period, the probability of

migration has declined. These results suggest that the pressure to leave school and migrate to the U.S. has declined considerably for Mexican youth.

Conclusion

This preliminary analysis describes children's migration from Mexico to the United States. Using logistic regression models, we began by estimating cumulative probabilities of children's first U.S. trip migration by legal status and parent's migration history. These findings reveal that: 1) both younger and older children's migration is strongly tied to their parent's migration; 2) unauthorized children have higher probabilities of migrating than authorized children; and 3) the propensity for children to make a first U.S. trip has declined. In the second part of our analyses, we find that adolescents are more likely to stay in school in Mexico, and less likely to migrate to the United States, compared to children who are not in school in Mexico.

These findings suggest a substantial shift away from the intergenerational process that transferred migration from fathers and mothers to their children in the past. This has critically important implications for the future prospects for Mexico-U.S. migration. For example, projections of foreign born population in the United States are likely to change if children are no longer migrating as their fathers (and increasingly, since the late 1980s, their mothers) have done. Projections of adolescent populations in Mexico are also changing, now that they

are significantly more likely to stay in school rather than to migrate to the United States. Moreover, given Mexico's strong and growing economy, these adolescents may be more likely to find adequate well-paying jobs at home. Obviously, this statement is based continued growth in Mexico's economy and relative stability in fertility rates, educational opportunities, and U.S. deportations. In the final version of this manuscript, we will elaborate on such scenarios. In addition, we will continue to refine our analysis and complete the manuscript.

References

Donato, Katharine M. 1993. "Current Trends and Patterns in Female Migration: Evidence from Mexico." International Migration Review 27(4): 748-71.

Donato, Katharine M. 1994. "U.S. Policy and Mexican Migration to the United States 1942-92." Social Science Quarterly 75(4):705-729.

Donato, Katharine M. and Shawn Malia Kanaiaupuni. 1999. "Women's Status and Demographic Change: The Case of Mexico-U.S. Migration." In Brígida García and Karen Mason (eds.), Women, Poverty, and Demographic Change. Geneva: IUSSP.

Durand, Jorge and Douglas Massey. 1992. "Mexican Migration to the United States: A Critical Review." Latin American Research Review 27:3-42.

Fonseca, Omar and Lilia Moreno. 1988. "Consideraciones historico-sociales de la

migracion de trabajadores michoacanos a los Estados Unidos de America: el caso de Jaripo. In Lopez, Ed., 1998, 65-84.

Goldring, Luin. 1990. "Development and Migration: A Comparative Analysis of Two Mexican Migrant Circuits." Commission for the Study of International Migration and Cooperative Economic Development Working Paper no. 37. Commission for the Study of International Migration and Cooperative Economic Development, Washington DC.

Gonzalez, Mercedes and Agustin Escobar. 1990. "The Impact of IRCA on the Migration Patterns of a Community in Los Altos, Jalisco, Mexico." Commission for the Study of International Migration and Cooperative Economic Development Working Paper no. 37. Commission for the Study of International Migration and Cooperative Economic Development, Washington DC.

Massey, Douglas and Zai Laing. "The Long Term Consequences of a Temporary Worker Program: The US Bracero Experience." Population Research and Review 8:199-226.

Massey, Douglas et al. 1987. Return to Aztlan. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Reichert, Joshua and Douglas Massey. 1979. "Patterns of US Migration from a

Mexican Sending Community: A Comparison of Legal and Illegal Migrants." International Migration Review 13:599-623.

Reichert, Joshua and Douglas Massey. 1980. "History and Trends in US Bound Migration from a Mexican Town." International Migration Review 14:475-491.

Stark, Oded. 1991.The Migration of Labor, London: Basil Blackwell.

Tables

Table 1: Results of Logit Regression Predicting First US Trip by Ages 0 to 11

	All Trips		Legal		Unauthorized	
Variable	B	SE[a]	B	SE[a]	B	SE[a]
Gender						
Female (Male = reference)	0.038	0.151	0.012	0.275	0.072	0.176
Age in Period						
0-1 (reference)	–	–	–	–	–	–
2-3	-0.208	0.195	-0.319	0.325	-0.136	0.240
4-5	-0.318	0.223	-1.560**	0.510	0.039	0.263
6-7	-0.669*	0.264	-0.355	0.354	-0.950*	0.383
8-9	-0.789**	0.306	-1.122*	0.544	-0.621†	0.370
10-11	-1.720**	0.606	-1.220	0.751	-2.317*	1.030
Period						
Pre-1987 (reference)	–	–	–	–	–	–
1987-1996	0.726**	0.257	0.234	0.367	1.045**	0.363
1997-2009	-0.186	0.337	-0.392	0.489	-0.095	0.475
Sending Community						
Metro Area (reference)	–	–	–	–	–	–
Small Urban	-0.577*	0.288	-0.391	0.524	-0.726*	0.335
Town	-0.982**	0.305	-1.631**	0.593	-0.776*	0.343
Rancho	-1.113***	0.325	-0.977	0.606	-1.218***	0.368
Parent Migration History						
No Parent Migration (reference)	–	–	–	–	–	–
Parent Migrated Earlier	2.766***	0.649	2.027*	0.829	3.497**	1.065
Parent Migrated in Person Year	7.125***	0.594	6.528***	0.768	7.775***	1.001
Constant	-9.826***	0.655	-9.686***	0.724	-11.263***	1.189
Person Years (N)	130,801		130,280		130,526	
Pseudo R^2	0.375		0.341		0.366	
χ^2	406.69***		278.86***		276.40***	

* p < .05; ** p < .01; ***p < .001. Data: MMP(128)

[a] Standard errors obtained using Stata's *vce(cluster clustvar)* option to obtain robust variance estimates that adjust for within-household cluster correlation.

Table 2: Results of Logit Regression Predicting First US Trip by Ages 12 to 19

	All Trips		Legal		Unauthorized	
Variable	B	SE[a]	B	SE[a]	B	SE[a]
Gender						
Female (Male = reference)	-1.234***	0.095	-0.433*	0.211	-1.424***	0.108
Age in Period						
12-13 (reference)	–	–	–	–	–	–
14-15	1.236***	0.143	0.548*	0.256	1.436***	0.172
16-17	2.272***	0.146	0.941**	0.317	2.577***	0.171
18-19	2.883***	0.155	1.611***	0.308	3.176***	0.183
Period						
Pre-1987 (reference)	–	–	–	–	–	–
1987-1996	-0.101	0.151	-0.206	0.432	-0.120	0.159
1997-2002	-0.371*	0.179	0.174	0.502	-0.513**	0.187
2003-2009	-1.645***	0.241	-1.456*	0.699	-1.723***	0.256
Sending Community						
Metro Area (reference)	–	–	–	–	–	–
Small Urban	1.269***	0.203	1.499**	0.566	1.258***	0.219
Town	1.416***	0.197	0.875	0.573	1.528***	0.213
Rancho	1.655***	0.200	1.562**	0.552	1.704***	0.218
Parent Migration History						
No Parent Migration (reference)	–	–	–	–	–	–
Parent Migrated Earlier	0.945***	0.097	1.875***	0.358	0.868***	0.102
Parent Migrated in Person Year	2.245***	0.148	4.127***	0.396	1.858***	0.162
Constant	-7.262***	0.246	-9.501***	0.727	-7.524***	0.272
Person Years (N)	69,601		66,331		69,193	
Pseudo R^2	0.182		0.185		0.185	
χ^2	1232.34***		318.51***		958.22***	

* p < .05; ** p < .01; ***p < .001. Data: MMP(128)

[a] Standard errors obtained using Stata's *vce(cluster clustvar)* option to obtain robust variance estimates that adjust for within-household cluster correlation.

Table 3: Cumulative Probabilities of First US Trip by Parental Migration History and Legal Status

	All Trips			Legal			Unauthorized		
	No PM	PM Before PY	PM In PY	No PM	PM Before PY	PM In PY	No PM	PM Before PY	PM In PY
Panel A: 0 – 11 Years									
1968-1986	.000	.003	.218	.000	.001	.113	.000	.002	.115
1987-1996	.000	.006	.394	.000	.002	.140	.000	.005	.291
1997-2009	.000	.003	.185	.000	.001	.078	.000	.002	.105
Panel B: 12 – 19 Years									
1968-1986	.071	.172	.484	.003	.021	.184	.069	.139	.418
1987-1996	.065	.157	.452	.003	.017	.153	.061	.117	.325
1997-2002	.050	.123	.372	.004	.025	.214	.042	.100	.236
2003-2009	.014	.036	.126	.001	.005	.046	.012	.052	.078

Note: Model controls include gender, sending community, and age in period. Data: MMP(128)

Table 4: Multinomial Regression Results for Ages 12 to 19[a]

	All Trips[b]		Legal[b]		Unauthorized[b]	
Variable	Migrate	In School	Migrate	In School	Migrate	In School
Gender (Male = reference)						
Female	-1.255***	-0.016	-0.491*	-0.097*	-1.446***	-0.022
	(0.095)	(0.039)	(0.212)	(0.039)	(0.107)	(0.039)
Age in Period (12-13 = reference)						
14-15	1.012***	-0.537***	0.292	-0.535***	1.215***	-0.538***
	(0.144)	(0.011)	(0.259)	(0.011)	(0.173)	(0.011)
16-17	1.862***	-1.047***	0.463	-1.057***	2.172***	-1.048***
	(0.149)	(0.022)	(0.326)	(0.022)	(0.174)	(0.022)
18-19	2.336***	-1.524***	0.975**	-1.563***	2.635***	-1.525***
	(0.159)	(0.040)	(0.317)	(0.039)	(0.186)	(0.040)
Period (Pre-1987 = reference)						
1987-1996	0.224	1.146***	0.191	1.112***	0.195	1.146***
	(0.151)	(0.061)	(0.434)	(0.062)	(0.160)	(0.062)
1997-2002	0.130	1.625***	0.770	1.560***	-0.027	1.625***
	(0.182)	(0.075)	(0.513)	(0.076)	(0.189)	(0.075)
2003-2009	-0.895***	2.233***	-0.595	2.137***	-0.990***	2.232***
	(0.245)	(0.089)	(0.708)	(0.090)	(0.260)	(0.089)
Sending Community (Metro Area = reference)						
Small Urban	1.069***	-0.477***	1.289*	-0.434***	1.063***	-0.474**
	(0.202)	(0.070)	(0.567)	(0.071)	(0.218)	(0.070)
Town	1.153***	-0.660***	0.591	-0.624***	1.271***	-0.657**
	(0.197)	(0.068)	(0.576)	(0.068)	(0.213)	(0.068)
Rancho	1.337***	-0.825***	1.221*	-0.763***	1.395***	-0.820**
	(0.200)	(0.072)	(0.555)	(0.073)	(0.217)	(0.072)
Parent Migration History (No Parent Migration = reference)						
Parent Migrated Earlier	0.881***	-0.203***	1.813***	-0.161**	0.806***	-0.201***
	(0.097)	(0.049)	(0.358)	(0.050)	(0.101)	(0.049)
Parent Migrated in Person Yr.	2.288***	0.099	4.196***	0.136	1.902***	0.105
	(0.149)	(0.070)	(0.399)	(0.071)	(0.163)	(0.070)
Constant	-6.542***	-0.304***	-8.743***	-0.198*	-6.803***	-0.302***
	(0.244)	(0.079)	(0.723)	(0.080)	(0.269)	(0.079)
Person Years (N)	69,188		65,924		68,779	
Pseudo R^2	0.096		0.086		0.095	
χ^2	3716.20***		3154.35***		3459.62***	

* p < .05; ** p < .01; ** *p < .001. Data: MMP(128)

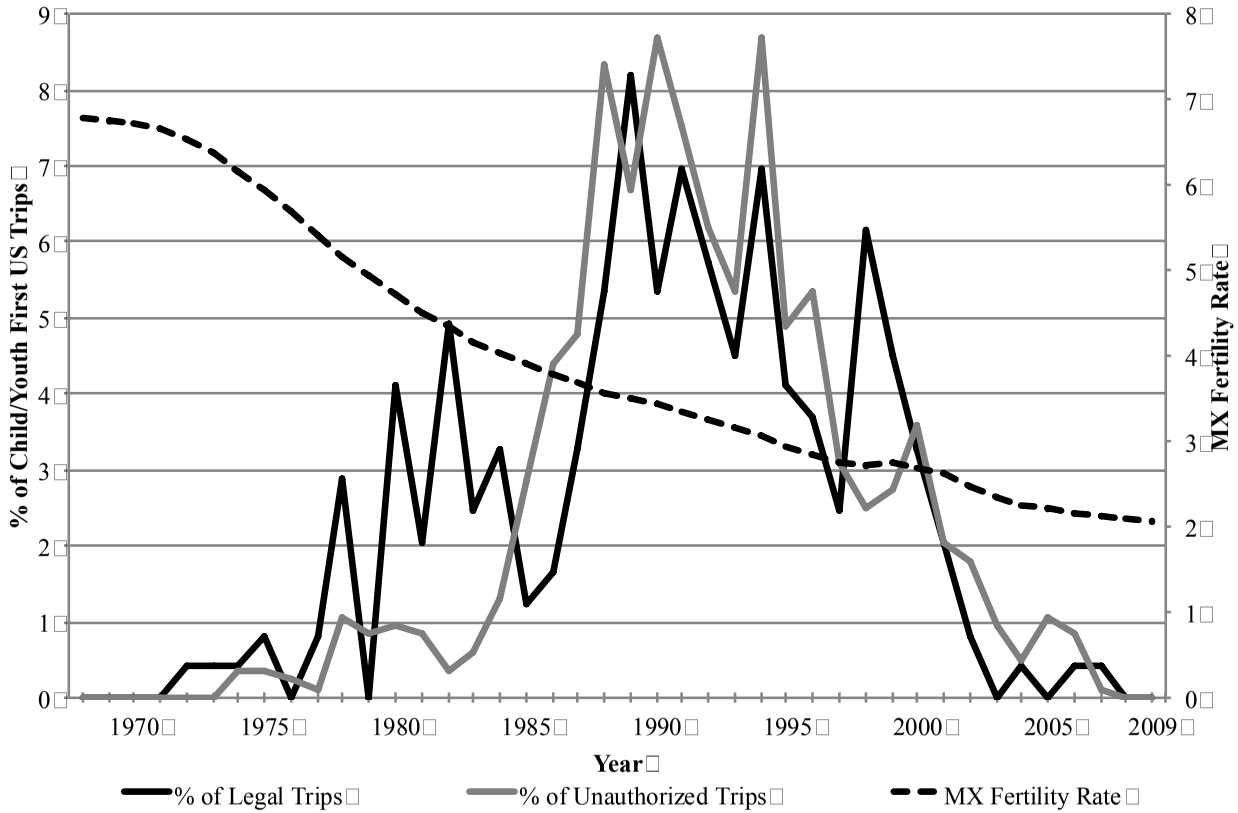
[a] Dependent Variable: Migrating, being in school, or not being in school (base outcome).
[b] Standard errors below in parentheses; standard errors adjusted for within-household cluster correlation.

Appendix 1. Means and Standard Deviations of Variables for Individuals and Person Years

	0 – 11 Years		12 – 19 Years		0 – 19 Years	
Variable	Individual	Person Yr.	Individual	Person Yr.	Individual	Person Yr.
Dependent Variable						
Ever Migrate/Migration in PY	.001	.001	0.014	0.010	.006	.003
	(.032)	(.037)	(.119)	(.098)	(.079)	(.052)
Legal Trip	.0003	.0005	.001	.001	.0007	.0006
	(.019)	(.022)	(.035)	(.091)	(.027)	(.025)
Unauthorized Trip	.0005	.0008	.013	.008	.006	.002
	(.023)	(.029)	(.113)	(.036)	(.078)	(.046)
Gender						
Female	.489	.489	.510	.505	.498	.498
	(.499)	(.499)	(.499)	(.499)	(.499)	(.499)
Age in Period						
0-1	.121	.284	–	–	.067	.176
	(.326)	(.451)			(.250)	(.381)
2-3	.159	.240	–	–	.087	.162
	(.365)	(.427)			(.283)	(.368)
4-5	.168	.193	–	–	.093	.146
	(.374)	(.395)			(.290)	(.353)
6-7	.171	.144	–	–	.094	.129
	(.376)	(.352)			(.292)	.335
8-9	.188	.094	–	–	.104	.112
	(.391)	(.293)			(.305)	(.315)
10-11	.190	.040	–	–	.105	.093
	(.392)	(.197)			(.311)	(.291)
12-13	–	–	.247	.418	.110	.075
			(.431)	(.493)	(.313)	(.263)
14-15	–	–	.257	.309	.114	.055
			(.437)	(.462)	(.318)	(.228)
16-17	–	–	.252	.193	.112	.034
			(.434)	(.395)	(.316)	(.183)
18-19	–	–	.242	.078	.108	.013
			(.428)	(.268)	(.311)	(.117)
Period						
1968-1986	–	.192	–	.114	–	.327
		(.394)		(.318)		(.469)
1987-1996	.508	.506	.486	.496	.498	.450
	(.499)	(.499)	(.499)	(.499)	(.500)	(.497)
1997-2002/2009[a]	.491	.301	.304	.249	.309	.158
	(.499)	(.458)	(.460)	(.432)	(.462)	(.364)
2003-2009	–	–	.208	.139	.186	.061
			(.406)	(.346)	(.389)	(.238)
Sending Community						
Metro Area	.202	.200	.208	.208	.203	.203
	(.401)	(.400)	(.406)	(.406)	(.402)	(.402)
Small Urban	.266	.263	.259	.258	.266	.261
	(.443)	(.440)	(.438)	(.437)	(.442)	(.439)
Town	.321	.321	.305	.306	.314	.310
	(.467)	(.467)	(.460)	(.461)	(.464)	(.462)
Rancho	.208	.213	.226	.226	.216	.224
	(.406)	(.410)	(.418)	(.418)	(.411)	(.417)
Parent Migration History						
No Parent Migration	.581	.653	.638	.649	.597	.678
	(.493)	(.475)	(.408)	(.477)	(.490)	(.466)
Parent Migrated Earlier	.338	.309	.306	.321	.332	.294
	(.473)	(.462)	(.461)	(.466)	(.471)	(.455)
Parent Migrated in Person Year	.079	.036	.054	.029	.070	.026
	(.270)	(.187)	(.227)	(.466)	(.255)	(.161)
N	18641	130801	15074	69601	33714	388388

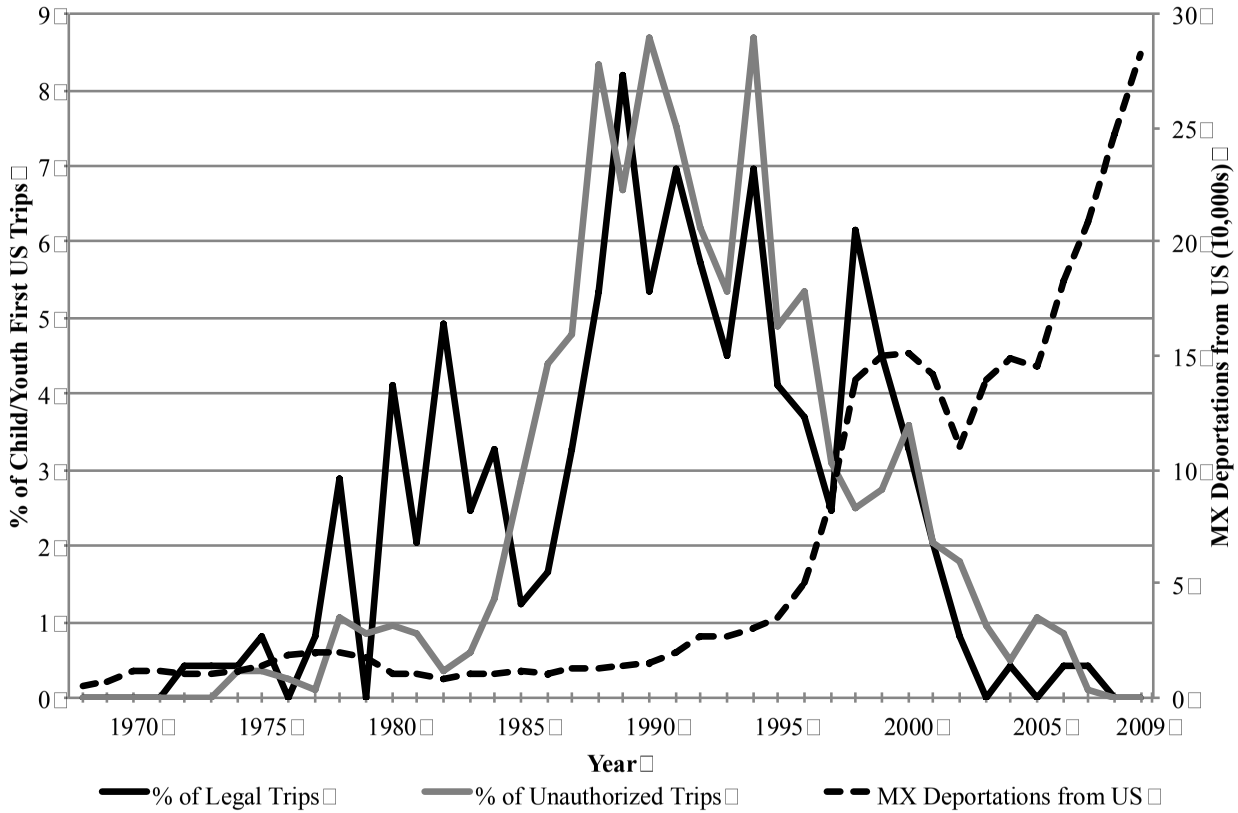
Note: Standard deviations below in parentheses. Data: MMP(128). [a] For 0 –19 and 12 –19 age groups, means and standard deviations for 1997 – 2002 period; for 0 – 11 age group means and standard deviations for 1997 – 2009 period.

Figure 1: Relationship Between the Percent of Child/Youth (Ages 0-19) First US Trips Made and MX Fertility Rate by Year



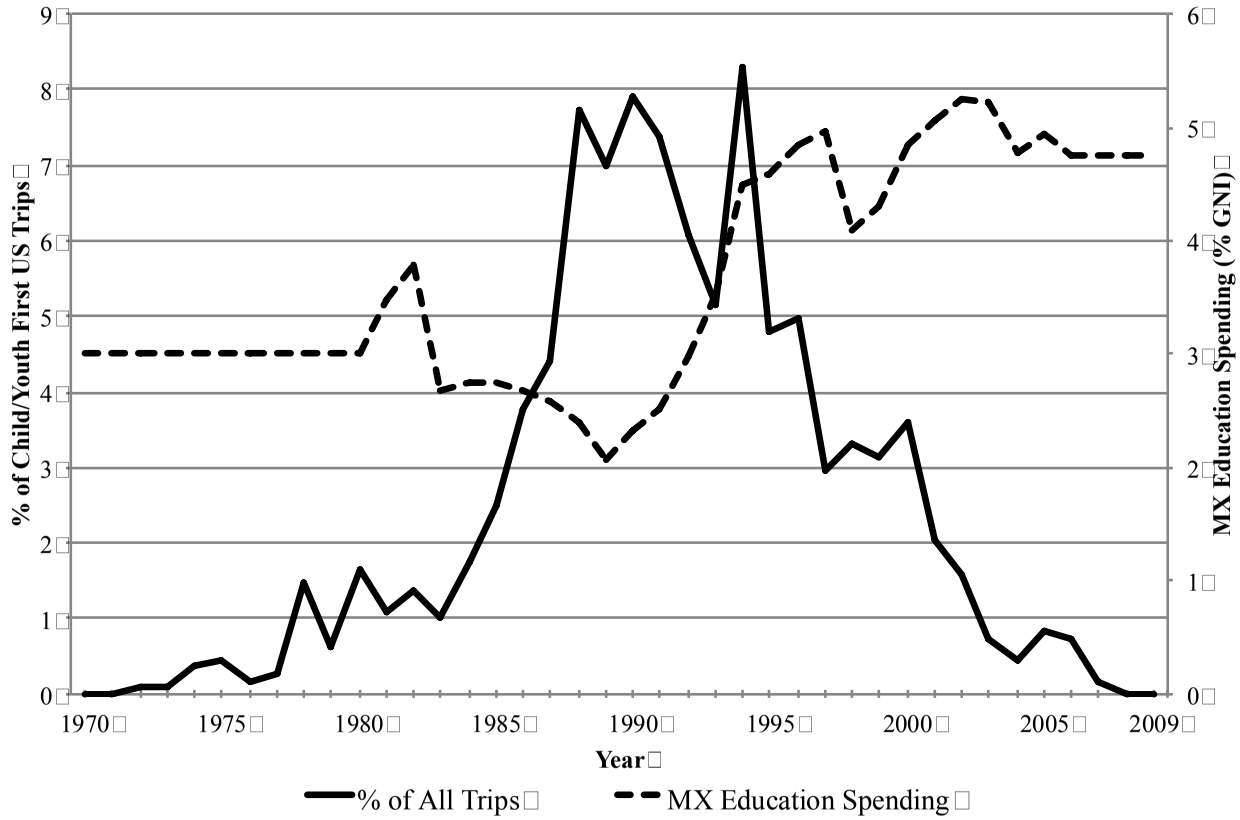
Source: MMP(128), World Bank.

Figure 2: Relationship Between the Percent of Child/Youth (Ages 0-19) First US Trips Made and MX Deportations from US by Year



Source: MMP(128), Department of Homeland Security.

Figure 3: Relationship Between the Percent of Child/Youth (Ages 0-19) First US Trips Made and MX Education Spending (% GNI) by Year



Source: MMP(128), World Bank.