

The Re-emigration of American children living in Mexico

La reemigración de niños estadounidenses que viven en México

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Abstract

This paper analyzes the situation of children born in the United States who reside in Mexico, with emphasis in their decisions to return to the United States with the purpose of joining the American educational system in a context of transnationalism. The results indicate that children born in the United States live in households with relatively educated head of households, but in which the paternal presence is low. These children have the same probability of attending school, but accumulate more years of schooling than comparable children born in Mexico. These children return to the United States in a high proportion at some point in his life, with a high probability of doing so with the aim of joining the American school system.

Key words: Return migration, transnational students, educational outcomes.

Resumen

El presente trabajo analiza la situación de los niños nacidos en Estados Unidos que residen en México, con énfasis en sus decisiones de retornar a Estados Unidos con fines de incorporarse al sistema educativo estadounidense en el contexto de vínculos transnacionales. Los resultados indican que los niños nacidos en Estados Unidos viven en hogares con jefes relativamente educados, pero en los que la presencia paterna es baja. Estos niños tienen la misma probabilidad de asistir a la escuela, pero acumulan más años de escolaridad que los niños nacidos en México comparables. Una alta proporción de estos niños regresa en algún punto de su vida a Estados Unidos, con una alta probabilidad de hacerlo con el objetivo de incorporarse al sistema escolar estadounidense.

Palabras clave: Migración de retorno, alumnos transnacionales, asistencia escolar.

INTRODUCTION

There has been a high return migration of Mexican migrants in the United States in recent years. Related to the phenomenon just described, the number of children born in the United States that lives in Mexico grew from about 261 to 570 thousand people between 2000 and 2010 (INEGI, 2000; INEGI, 2010). The latter figure represents 14.2 per cent of the four million American children with at least one parent without documents in the United States in 2008 (Passel and Cohn, 2008). The number of children born in the US residing in Mexico has remained stable since 2010. The aim of this research is to provide a description of the socio-demographic characteristics of these American children living in Mexico, its insertion in the Mexican school system and their return to the United States with the purpose of joining the educational system, in the framework of transnationalism, return migration and re-emigration.

Data used in this paper comes from the population censuses of 2000 and 2010, and the nationally representative survey on occupation and employment (ENOE) for the rounds of 2005 to 2014. A question about the birthplace of the individuals is used in both cases to determine their place of birth. Data on socio demographic characteristics of children, households and localities where they reside, as well as their status within the Mexican educational system is obtained from the censuses. ENOE is a rotational panel survey that follows the same individuals during five quarters, which allows establishing the destination of migration for a year after the first interview.

The main results of the research show that children born in the United States living in Mexico when compared with children born in Mexico come from households with relatively educated heads, they are less likely to live with their father, they are more likely to live in Mexican states with high historical migration and in the US Mexico border. The children born in the US have a similar probability of attending school than children born in Mexico, controlling for socio demographic characteristics, but they have 0.21 more schooling years. Also they have a high probability of migrating to the United States, so it can be projected that a high proportion of this population group will end up returning sometime in their life to that country. The ENOE questionnaire includes a question about the reasons for the migration. If the migration of children born in the United States occurs

before 18 years one of the main objectives is joining the U.S. educational system; the effect is very high, 33 percentage points higher than the migrants of the same age group born in Mexico, even after controlling for socio-demographic characteristics of the household of origin. These results allow to conclude that re-emigration is the concept that best describes the migratory behavior observed among children born in the United States living in Mexico.

Decisions of re-emigrating to United States are part of the construction of transnational communities, a concept that is reviewed in section 2 of this document, as well as theories on migration and return migration. In addition, this research reviews previous literature on children of Mexican parents born in the United States, particularly literature studying inclusion as measured by educational variables. Section 3 describes the methodology of this research. Section 4 provides a statistical portrait of these children, compared with two other groups of population: children born in Mexico who have resided for a time in the United States and children born in Mexico without international migration experience. Section 5 describes the inclusion of American children living in Mexico in the Mexican educational system using assistance and accumulated schooling. Section 6 describes the process of return to the United States and the reasons for international migration are analyzed. Finally, the conclusions are presented in section 7.

TRANSNATIONALISM, RETURN MIGRATION AND RE-EMIGRATION

Transnationalism

According to Basch et al. (1994) transnationalism is the process by which migrants create and maintain social relations that link the societies of origin and destination, and in doing so, they build partnerships that cross geographical, cultural and political barriers. These individuals develop and maintain family, economic, social, organizational, religious and political relationships that transcend the borders, which defines them as transmigrants. They face multiple complications both in their communities of origin and destination; their language, actions, subjectivities and identities are embedded in their networks of relationships that are simultaneously connected between two or more nation-States.

Benencia (2005) defines transnational migration as a series of constructions that make social agents, establishing networks linking the origin and the destination communities. Doña (2003) argues that transmigrants carry out socio-cultural adjustments within a context of capital and labor, lea-

ding to a double life, through the exchange of two cultures (Doña, 2003), living a bifocal experience of what is considered the here and the there, with practices that are part of much broader processes of globalization.

Return migration

The literature has developed different explanations for return migration with implications for the duration of migration and the transition from temporary to permanent migrant status. The Theory of Circular Migration states that migrants take advantage of the differences in the economic cycles of expulsion and reception areas, and therefore return migration is part of a planned process to take advantage of those differences (Elkan, 1959; Hugo, 1981). The transition from temporary to permanent migrants occurs when travels of return become difficult, by institutional, family or work situations, and therefore the whole family decides to migrate to United States (Massey et al., 1987). According to Migrant Social Networks Theory, as the network grows and gains experience it reduces the costs of seeking employment for their members and improves the wages they can attain in the United States (Munshi, 2003), reduces the direct and indirect costs of migration to new members (Cornelius, 1976) and eventually may lead towards permanent migrations (Mines, 1981).

For the Disappointment Theory, return migration occurs because migration is made in a context of imperfect information at the individual level (Herzog and Schottman, 1982). Since success cannot be predicted with certainty the benefits of emigration are uncertain. If the realized benefits fall short from their expected value, individuals may decide to return home.

According to Target Income Theory migrants depart to the United States with the dream of returning home, and therefore set out specific goals to achieve, perhaps the construction of a house, their children's education or the startup of a business. Once the immigrant reaches its goals, decides to return to his place of origin (Borjas and Bratsberg, 1996; Massey et al., 1993).

Some authors claim that there are multiple types of returnees and, therefore, it is possible to develop a characterization according to the different reasons for returning home. Hirai (2013) refers to the following typologies: i) according to the intention and the result of migration: the return of migrants who migrated for short periods of time since they intended to return home, those who postponed return, or those that wished to remain in destination, but for a variety of reasons return to their home ii) according to the evolution of the migratory process and assimilation: retirees, individuals

who failed to adapt, individuals that return to invest with the objective of maintain their place of origin as before migration, and those who return to transform their places of origin; (iii) according to the length of stay in the origin: temporary returnees, which includes those who only carry out regular visits, especially when there are family events or holidays, or those who return after a season of work or a school year; and there are those who choose to return on a more permanent basis. In some cases, return migration occurs with the firm intention or with a high probability of returning or re-emigrating abroad.

As far as the different processes of migration that refer to children, Valdez (2012) provides with the following characterization:

- There are girls and boys who remain in the community of origin, while their parents or one of them migrated to the US.
- Boys and girls, accompanied or not, participating in international migration for various reasons, including family reunification, work and circular migration.
- Girls and boys who were born in the US and whose parents are migrants, going in and out of the two countries without visa problems and for various family reasons.

Children and young people who return involuntarily to Mexico. The study about the causes and effects of children migration is located around the early 1990s in the literature (Valdez, 2012), the most common phenomena studied were family reunification, the emotional effects among those who remain and those who leave and migration as a ritual of passage. A group of studies consider migrant children as social actors in transit, crossing and returning; while other research considers their migration as part of family reunification within households of US resident families or within families with some members holding a U.S. citizenship. Recently some authors study the problem of school reintegration of transnational students to their places of origin, including the bureaucratic problems, teaching abilities and family issues, linked with the process of teaching and learning, among others (Valdez, 2011; Griego, 2012; Vazquez, et al., 2014).

Re-emigration

According to Hirai (2013: 97) re-emigration “refers to the movement of people who returned to their places of origin and then emigrate again”. In this case, the re-emigration arises from return migration, a process that involved an intention of returning home somewhat relative, unlike returns

occurring in seasonal, circular and pendulum migration. Arjona and Checa (2005) define re-emigration as the process by which people have the possibility of migrating to the same destination more than once after returning a first time; which they differentiate from processes where returnees migrate towards a different destination, a process that they consider a new emigration. They also argue that the children of migrants have the greatest propensity to re-emigrate in Latin America. Martí and Ródenas (2011) make reference to the concept as multiple or repeated migrations, provoked by different causes that depend from the personal characteristics, to the migratory chains in origin and destination places.

Now, based on the previous ideas, for the purpose of our research re-emigration can be summarized as follows: It is a process built by the people who return to their places of origin and who then migrate to the same destination or another, for socioeconomic and cultural reasons, without determining this process in time and space, which has a beginning, but not an end, based on networks in both directions of provisional origin and destination, within a transnational framework. The definition of this process is unfinished because it is not known with certainty who re-emigrate, and even knowing, the dynamics change from the causes that provoke it, the spatial scales, to the groups of age or the generations that participate in such process of re-emigration.

Perhaps the difference with the concept of circular migration is that there is no specific place where the migrant can permanently re-emigrate. In any case, the differences can be only of emphasis, because the works that have investigated return migration tend to suggest that the migration does not end with the return, but rather it is the first circular migration that encourages the re-emigration (Lopez and Ariel, 2013).

The assimilation of Mexican Americans

In the United States, the children of migrants have been the subjects of extensive literature with the aim of knowing the degree of economic and social assimilation in American society (Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco, 2003; Portes and Rivas, 2011). The children of Mexican migrants born in the United States reach indicators of accumulation of human capital closer to those of the natives than their parents. However, there is a strong debate about the reasons why they do not get the same degree of schooling, compared to the children of the native population. Recent literature has suggested that the undocumented status of parents limits success in the educational field (Bean et al., 2014). For example, the children of undoc-

umented migrants are subject to fear of family dissolution and confusion about the impact of the undocumented status of their parents on their lives (Dreby, 2012;) Capps et al., 2012).

In recent years, Mexico has begun to document the residence of children born in the United States and the different problems that the Mexican educational system faces to adequately attend their educational needs (Vázquez, 2011; Zuñiga, 2013). However, little has been explored if the residence of these children in Mexico has a temporary or permanent character. The literature on Latin American migration to the United States has found that the previous migration experience within the family facilitates the immigration of young people (Massey and Aysa-Lastra, 2011). In addition, Mexican communities have established transnational linkages that affect identities and social practices in the localities of origin and destination (Mouw, 2014), with some parents exploring to send their children to Mexico as a way to correct behavioral problems (Orellana et al., 2001). Without a doubt, such topics require theoretical and empirical analyses, this work is an approximation and contributes showing that the children born in the United States and who reside in Mexico seek in a high proportion to return to their country with the objective of reinserting in the American educational system.

Methodology

To describe the demographic characteristics of children living in Mexico who were born in the United States, we use the expanded questionnaires of population and housing censuses in the years 2000 and 2010. The expanded questionnaires represent a sample of the total Mexican population that by its design has representativeness at national and state level and is available in the website of Mexico's National Institute of Statistics and Geography (INEGI)¹. The questionnaire includes a question by country of birth, so that the population born in the United States is easily identifiable and all the characteristics available for the population can be consulted.

To find out if there are differences in school attendance or years of schooling accumulated among children born in the United States with respect to children born in Mexico without migratory experience the following model is estimated:

$$His = \alpha + \beta USi + \gamma Xi + \varepsilon i \quad (1)$$

1 <http://www.inegi.org.mx/est/contenidos/proyectos/ccpv/cpv2010/Default.aspx>

His it is a variable that measures the human capital outcomes school attendance or years of schooling for the individual i in municipality s . US_i is a dummy variable that takes the value of 1 for individuals born in the United States and 0 for those born in Mexico. The parameter β measures the average difference in educational outcome associated with the country of birth. X is a set of control variables that allow us to determine the impact of the country of birth, controlling by the observable characteristics of the individuals included in the sample, ε it is the term of error that, because the data is representative at the municipal level, it is assumed that it could have a process of heteroscedasticity and spatial correlation at the level of municipality.

To analyze the re-emigration process, Mexico's National Employment and Occupation Survey (ENOE) information is used². With the information in this survey it is possible to follow the same individuals for four quarters after the first interview. Then it is possible to have information about what happened for a year to individuals. In particular, it is possible to know whether individuals leave the home again to another country and what was the reason for migration. In the case of Mexico this is practically equivalent to emigrate to the United States. In addition, the survey has information about the birthplace; each quarter from 2005 to the first quarter of 2014 captures information from more than 1,461 individuals born in the United States. Unfortunately, in the case of ENOE, for children born in Mexico it is not possible to distinguish between those who have not migrated to the United States and those who have had some migration experience.

Once the population group that has migrated is known, it is possible to establish the motives of migration, particularly if migrant children intend to join the American educational system. Among those who began their interviews in the first quarter of 2005 to the fourth quarter of 2012 ENOE captures 1,258 international migrants between 12 and 17 years, of which 144 were born in the United States. With this sample, it is established if the motives for this new migration are different for children born in the United States with respect to those born in Mexico. To do this, equation (1) is again estimated, but now His represents a *dummy* variable with a value of 1 for those who migrate with the intention of joining the American educational system and 0 for the rest of the reasons. Even when we incorporate a set of control variables X there is no certainty that the effect β comes

² <http://www.inegi.org.mx/est/contenidos/proyectos/encuestas/hogares/regulares/enoe/default.aspx>

from the American citizenship to which the born in the United States are entitled, or whether there are other factors correlated with the fact of being born in the United States and the intention to join the educational system that are not in the set of control variables X. As an example, being born in the United States could be correlated with a higher level of income or a broader migration network to finance educational expenditure in that country. An estimate using instrumental variables can solve that problem if you find a factor associated with being born in the United States, but not correlated with those factors in the term of error. This research uses the proportion of children born in the United States at the municipal level in the year 2000 as an instrument of being born in the United States among international migrants in the period 2005 to 2013, considering that the migratory processes have an important inertial component. Section 6 shows that this variable explains the migratory process in a relevant way. In all cases, the expansion factors provided by INEGI are used.

A STATISTICAL PORTRAIT OF MIGRANT CHILDREN BORN IN THE UNITED STATES AND LIVING IN MEXICO

Table 1 presents features for children under 18 in the year 2000 and 2010. The child population is divided into three types: non-migrants, born in the United States and return migrants. The last two groups are considered children with migrant experience. Non-migrants are individuals born in Mexico who reported living in Mexico five years before the census takes place. Those born in the United States are individuals born in the United States and currently residing in Mexico. Return migrants are individuals who were born in Mexico, but their place of residence shows that five years earlier they were living in the United States.

The first group of variables refers to the characteristics of households. We can see that the schooling of the household heads is greater where children with migrant experience (born in the United States or return) live in both census periods. One feature that differentiates children with migrant experience from non-migrants is that the former tend to live in households where the household head is not their mother or father. In 2000, 75 per cent of children born in the United States and 79 per cent of return migrant children lived in a household where one of their parents was the household head. On the other hand, for non-migrant children, the percentage reached 85 per cent. In 2010, the probability of residing in a household with a parent as household head decreases for all groups. However, for children with migrant experience, the probability remains lower in five percentage points

for those born in the United States and in a percentage point for return children. In the case of children born in the United States, the 2010 data show a higher probability of living in households where the head of household is one of their grandparents (Table 1).

The 2010 census shows whether the father or mother resides with the children in Mexico. It is found that for children born in the United States, the probability of living in the same household with the mother in Mexico is 93 percent, barely a percentage point lower than for non-migrant children. Instead, for children with migrant experience but born in Mexico, the probability of living with the mother is 90 percent. Where the differences between children with migrant and non-migrant experience are greater is in the residence with the father. While 77 percent of non-migrant children reside with the father, 68 percent of U.S.-born children live with the father and only 65 percent in the case of return migrant children. In general, it can be said that children born in the United States and return migrant children belong to households where the household head has more schooling, but they tend to live in households where paternal absence is more likely. The last line of household variables shows that there are few children with migration experience living in households whose heads were born in the United States, so the migration to Mexico could be registered for the most part in the voluntary or forced processes of return to Mexico where one of their parents has been involved.

Personal variables show that there is little difference in the proportion of sex between non-migrant children and children born in the United States or return migrants. Although adult migration tends to be a mostly male experience, female and male children have a similar probability of being a migrant from the United States to Mexico. Children born in the United States are younger than non-migrants. Section 5 will show that there is a very high probability of return of children born in the United States as age increases, which could explain the differences found. On the contrary, return migrant children tend to be older than non-migrants. This could be expected considering that in order to experience the migration and return process months or years are necessary.

Children born in the United States between 15 and 17 years are more likely to attend school and have accumulated more years of schooling than non-migrants in both census periods. This is consistent with the fact that household heads accumulate more schooling years and the high correlation that often exists in human capital between generations. This possibility is analyzed in the next section.

Table 1: Population characteristics 0-17 years old

	2000			2010		
	No migrants	Migrant experience		No migrants	Migrant experience	
		US born	Return		US born	Return
<i>Household</i>						
Household head schooling	6.66	7.91	7.52	7.73	8.73	8.32
Household head age	45.00	43.81	43.11	42.80	41.91	41.45
Household head parent	0.85	0.75	0.79	0.79	0.74	0.78
Household head grandparent				0.17	0.22	0.14
Lives with the mother				0.94	0.93	0.90
Lives with the father				0.77	0.68	0.65
Household head US born	0.00	0.03	0.01	0.00	0.02	0.01
<i>Individual</i>						
Sex	0.51	0.51	0.49	0.51	0.51	0.48
Age	8.45	6.27	11.11	8.62	6.98	11.75
Attendance	0.56	0.67	0.51	0.67	0.74	0.63
Schooling	7.93	8.69	8.28	8.55	8.99	8.72
Indigenous language	0.07	0.01	0.01	0.06	0.01	0.01
<i>Geography</i>						
Rural	0.29	0.21	0.22	0.27	0.24	0.24
Border	0.16	0.49	0.25	0.17	0.44	0.26
High historical migration	0.23	0.31	0.45	0.22	0.27	0.32
Estimated population (thousands)	38,962	261	36	38,703	570	66

Source: Self-calculation with data from the expanded questionnaire of population and housing censuses 2000 and 2010.

Return migrants, however, although have more schooling years; attend school in a lower proportion between the ages of 15 and 17. In addition, the indigenous-language-speaking condition is low among children with migrant experience, whether born in Mexico or the United States.

The regional distribution of children born in the United States and return migrant children contrasts with the regional profile of Mexican migrants; typically, Mexican migrants are more likely from rural areas. On the other hand, children with migrant experience reside in a relatively minor proportion in rural areas of Mexico. This can be seen in the last section of Table 1. In addition, they tend to reside in US-Mexico Border States in greater proportion than non-migrants. 49% of children born in the United States lived in 2000 in the US Mexico border, while 44% of children born in the US lived in that region in 2010. Mexican states located in the center of the country and with a high migratory tradition (Aguascalientes, Durango, Guanajuato, Jalisco, Michoacán, San Luis Potosi and Zacatecas) concentrate the second largest proportion of children born in the US. This pattern of concentration at the border and states with high migratory tradition tends to decline in 2010.

Finally, Table 1 presents an estimate of the total population of these groups, using the expansion factors provided by the INEGI in the expanded questionnaire database. It can be seen that between the year 2000 and 2010 there was very little variation in the number of non-migrant children, consistent with a demographic transition towards higher age groups in the Mexican population. By contrast, the number of children born in the United States more than doubles, from 261 thousand to 570 thousand, and the number of return migrant children also increases significantly from 36 thousand to 66 thousand.

Insertion in the mexican educational system

From the characteristics observed in Table 1, it can be noted that children born in the United States who live in Mexico attend in greater proportion to the school and accumulate more years of schooling than their counterparts born in Mexico. They also differ substantially in their age structure, household characteristics and geographical location, variables that could affect differences in human capital variables.

Table 2: Inclusion of children born in the United States in the Mexican school system. 13-17 years. 2010

	Attendance			Schooling		
	1	2	3	4	5	6
US born	0.03**	0.01	0.01	0.33**	0.22***	0.21***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.08)	(0.06)	(0.06)
N	1,452,810	1,452,810	1,452,810	1,449,489	1,449,489	1,449,489
<i>Controls</i>						
Individual	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Household		Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes
Geography			Yes			Yes

Notes: Self-calculation with data from the expanded questionnaire of the population and housing census 2010. Individual includes an indicator variable for each year of age and another by sex. Household includes the number of household members, schooling and age of the household head, a variable indicating whether the household head is one of the parents. Geography includes indicator variables for different locality sizes: less than 2500 inhabitants, between 2500 and 15000, between 15,000 and 100,000 and 100,000 or more. Standard errors clustered at the municipal level are in parentheses.
 * p < 0.10, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01

Table 2 presents estimation results of equation (1) by ordinary minimum squares, with clustered errors at the municipal level for attendance and accumulated schooling. Three groups of control variables are used. The first only includes variables indicative of the age and gender of children, considering that there is a gradual desertion of the educational system as age progresses and that school attendance varies by gender. In the second group of control variables household level factors are added: household size, schooling years and age of the household head, as well as a variable indicating whether the household head is one of the child's parents. Households with a larger number of members are considered to face difficulties in investing in human capital, that schooling years and age are indicators of economic resources in the long term with which the household could count to invest in human capital, as well as provide experience in the functioning of the education system. Finally, it is considered that the presence of parents in the home could result in emotional benefits for children that would enable them to perform better in the educational system. In the third group, variables indicating the size of the locality are added, considering that the supply of educational services could be scarce in the rural localities, especially in the higher secondary education. The model is estimated only for children over 12 and under 17 years old, as coverage in primary education has become almost universal in Mexico.

Column 1 indicates that, considering age and gender differences between children born in the United States and those born in Mexico, children born in the United States have 0.03 more probability of attending school compared to children born in Mexico. This difference decreases to only 0.01 when considering the differences in the characteristics of the home in column 2, and is maintained at 0.01 when differences in geographic location are considered in column 3, although in the last two cases the differences become statistically non-significant. Using a logit model, similar results are obtained. Columns 4 to 6 repeat the specifications of columns 1 to 3, but now the cumulative years of schooling is used as the outcome variable. It is found that children born in the United States and who have returned to Mexico accumulate more years of schooling than children born in Mexico, although the difference does not reach more than half a year of schooling, controlling for other characteristics.

Source: Self-calculation with data from ENOE (I2005-I2014).

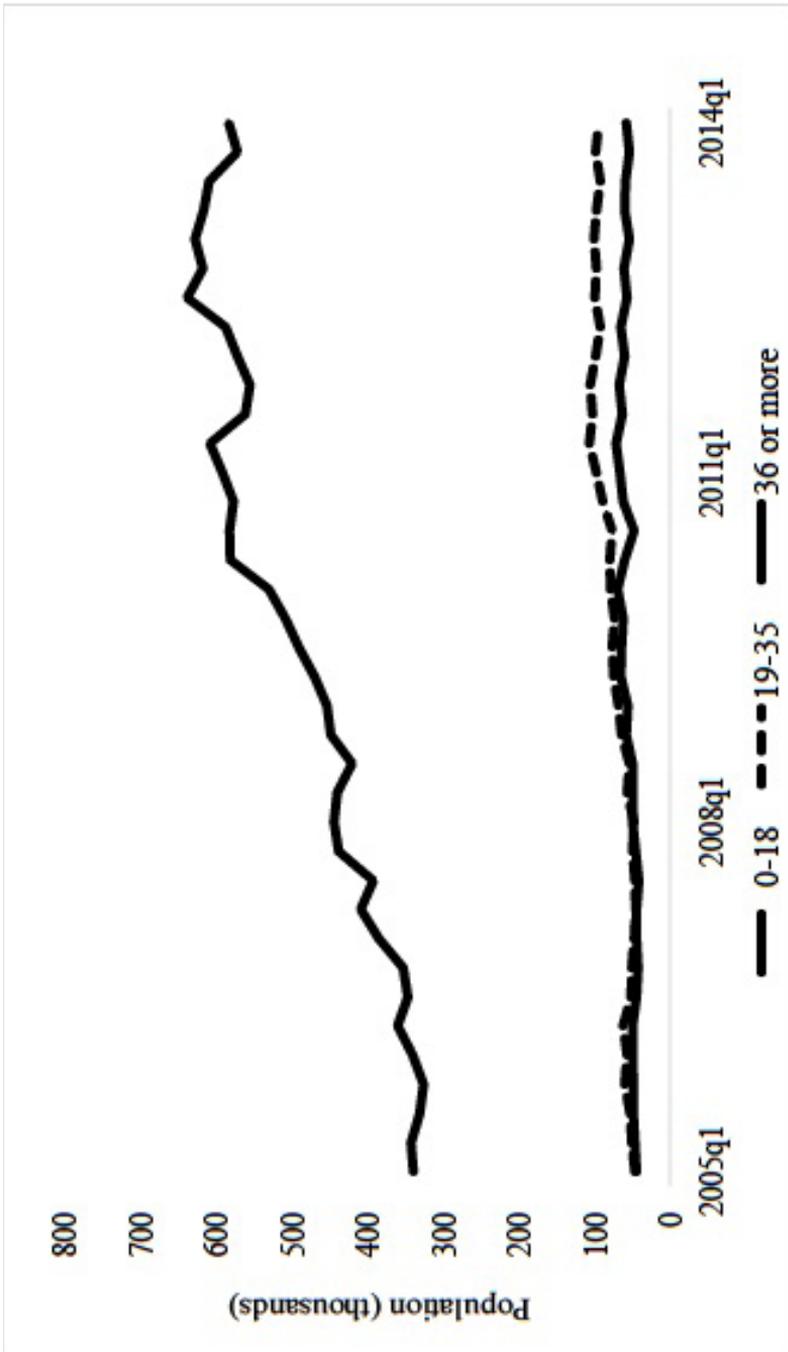


Figure 1: Evolution of US born population living in Mexico by age group

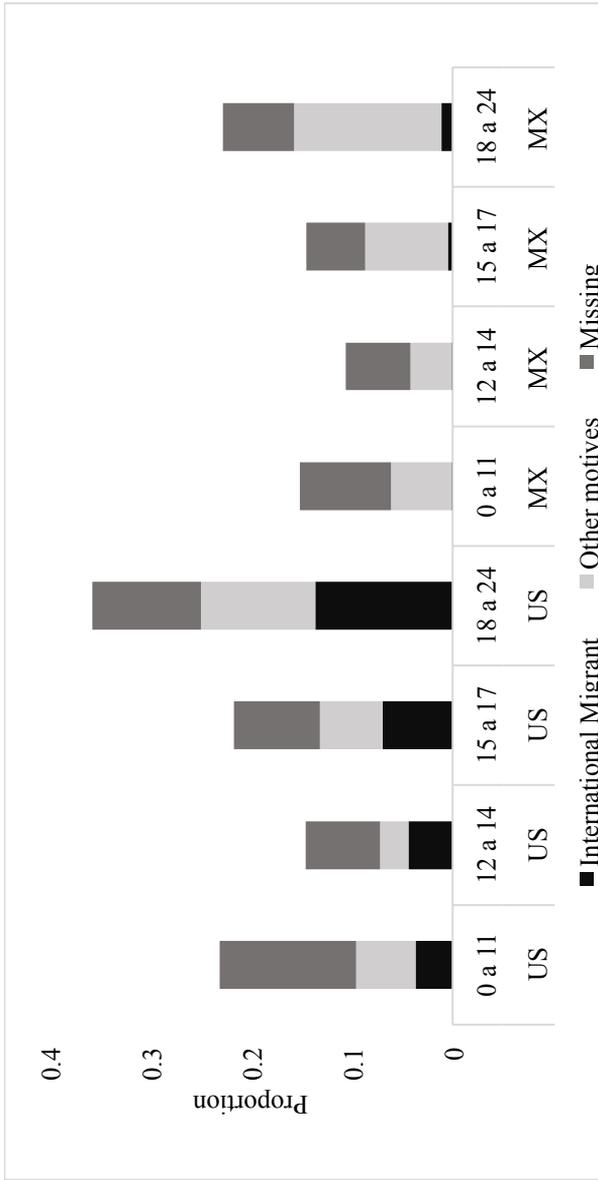
Recent evolution and re-emigration with educational purpose

A question about the place of birth similar to the population censuses is used in the ENOE questionnaire. Figure 1 uses the survey's expansion factors to estimate the number of children born in the United States with information each quarter from the first quarter of 2005 to the first quarter of 2014. At the beginning of 2005 the population of children born in the United States was close to 300 thousand and gradually grew to nearly 600 thousand in the first quarter of 2011, a figure that has remained relatively constant since that year. In conjunction with the census evidence, the data show an important population of children born in the United States prior to the economic crisis that began in 2008. The graph also presents information for other age groups of the U.S.-born population, showing that the overwhelming majority of U.S.-born people living in Mexico are children. These numbers suggest that the phenomenon related to the residence in Mexico of children born in the United States started prior to the economic crisis of 2008.

Figure 2 shows the causes by which individuals may not be found at home, in the next four quarters to the first interview using ENOE information. The population between 18 and 24 years is included for a comparative purpose. The first cause is international migration, the second is migration within Mexico mainly, and the third is the inability to obtain information from the individual by the interviewer, which include households that have moved with all their members. It is observed that the likelihood that the individual is no longer at home is greater for those born in the United States in all age groups and that difference comes primarily from international migration. The other possible causes of not having information show similar behavior with respect to children born in Mexico.

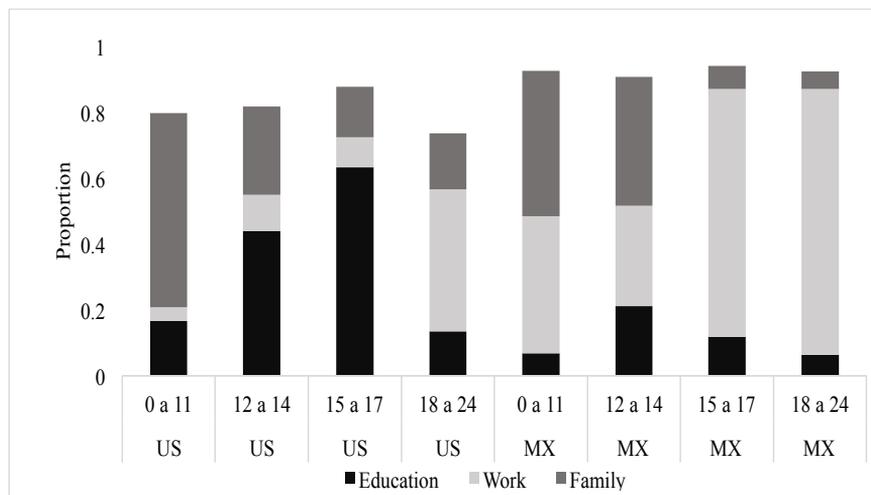
The reasons for migration depend on the age group and whether migrants are born in the United States or Mexico as shown in Figure 3. For children born in the United States between 12 to 17 years old the most important reason for re-emigration is to study; family reunion is the most important reason for children under the age of 12; while work related migration is the most important reason once they become young adults, after the age of 18. Data availability does not allow the analyzes of whether the purpose of joining the American educational system materializes, if there ends the migration process, the duration of it or other reasons that gave origin.

Figure 2: Household leavings



Source: Self-calculation with data from ENOE (I2005-I2014)

Figure 3: International migration motives



Source: Self-calculation with data from ENOE (I2005-I2014)

Table 3 shows the differences in the educational motive of international migration between those born in the United States and those born in Mexico. Equation (1) is estimated with an indicator variable of the educational motive as a result variable. Two samples are used according to the age ranges: 12-17 years and 18-22 years. In the case of the sample between 12-17 years, of the 1 258 international migrants 144 were born in the United States; for the sample between 18 and 22 years, of the 2 425 international migrants 105 were born in the United States. The same sets of controls as in Table 2 were included, with no significant changes in results with the inclusion of different sets of control variables. The estimation with ordinary least squares (OLS) shows that the intent to join the U.S. educational system is greater among those born in the United States for the age range between 12 and 17 years, and it is between 33 and 35 points greater than the intention to join the American educational system for individuals born in Mexico. For those over the age of 18, there is no statistically significant difference. Table 3 also includes the R² of the ordinary least squares estimation that shows that the explanatory power of the model increases considerably when household controls are included in both age groups.

Table 3: Education as international migration motiv

	12-17 years			18-22 years		
	1	2	3	4	5	6
OLS						
US born	0.35*** (0.06)	0.33*** (0.06)	0.33*** (0.06)	0.06 (0.06)	0.05 (0.05)	0.04 (0.05)
IV						
US born	0.52** (0.21)	0.39** (0.20)	0.35* (0.19)	-0.03 (0.21)	-0.10 (0.21)	-0.18 (0.24)
F First Stage	24.73	24.41	24.38	19.29	18.57	18.93
R ² OLS	0.16	0.27	0.28	0.05	0.22	0.23
N	1258	1258	1258	2425	2425	2425
<i>Controls</i>						
Individual	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Household		Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes
Geography			Yes		Yes	Yes
Geography			Yes			Yes

NOTES: Self-calculation with data from the National Survey of Occupation and Employment 2005-2013. Individual includes an indicator variable for each year of age and another by sex. Household includes the number of household members, schooling and age of the household head, an indicator variable whether household head is one of the parents. Geography includes indicator variables for different locality sizes: less than 2500 inhabitants, between 2500 and 15000, between 15,000 and 100,000 and 100,000 or more. Standard errors clustered at the municipal level are in parentheses.
* p < 0.10, ** p < 0.05, ***p < 0.01

The OLS results are interpreted as a correlation, without being able to establish itself if the effect comes from American citizenship, or if there are other factors correlated with the fact of being born in the United States and the intention of joining the educational system of that country that are explaining the difference among the migrants between 12-17 years. One example might be that the fact that being born in the United States is correlated with a higher level of income between families or a broader migration network to finance educational expenditure in that country. It could also be related to language proficiency and greater experience in that educational system that allows children a better adaptation to it. The ENOE database does not have information to analyze these possibilities. An estimate using instrumental variables (IV) can solve that problem if an exogenous variable correlated with being born in the United States is found, which is not correlated with other factors in the error term.

Panel IV of Table 3 uses the proportion of children born in the United States at the municipal level in the year 2000 as an instrument of being born in the United States among international migrants. The first-stage statistical F shows that the instrument is highly correlated with the fact that it was born in the United States. The results show qualitatively similar effects to the OLS estimates, the educational motive is much higher among migrants born in the United States before the age of 18, without statistically significant difference after 18 years.

CONCLUSIONS

This study contributes to the literature about children of Mexican migrants in the United States that reside in Mexico in at least three ways: i) it shows the existence of an important group of US citizens living in Mexico and offers an statistical portrait of that population group that resides in Mexico, with representative data at national level; (ii) it documents that its insertion into the Mexican educational system is similar to that of children born in Mexico with similar sociodemographic characteristics; and, iii) it shows that there is a high probability that this population will return to the United States, with the primary objective of joining the American educational system. In order to understand the assimilation processes of Mexican-born population in the United States, it will be important to analyze, in the future, the effect produced by the fact that so many Mexican Americans have been living in Mexico during their childhood, and the effect produced by their latter remigration to the US. At another stage it would also be very interesting to follow-up on what are the sociocultural adjustments or mis-

alignments in their process of assimilation to the US. With the results presented already there are some certainties about the flows of population, but the efforts of other social disciplines interested in the topic are required to enrich the results achieved.

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