

Strangers in the Homeland?

The Academic Performance of Children of Return Migrants in Mexico

Nathan Hoffmann
UCLA Sociology

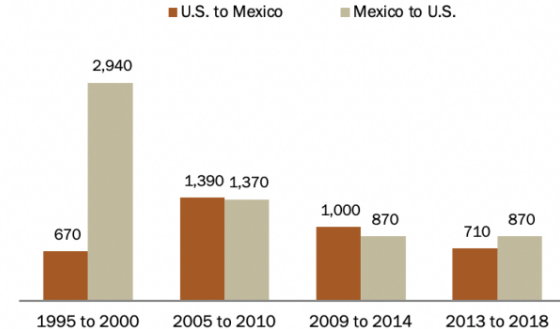
UCLA California Center for
Population Research



Introduction

Net migration from Mexico to U.S. returned to positive between 2013 and 2018

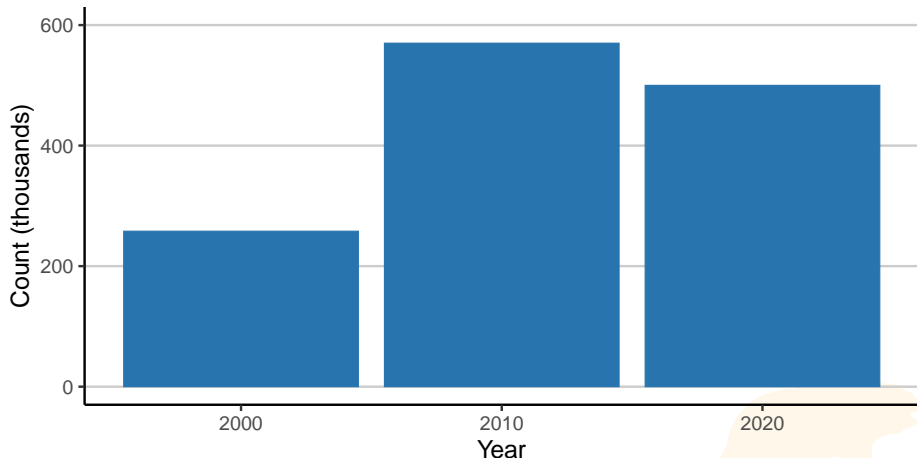
In thousands



Pew Research Center

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U.S.-born minors in the Mexican census



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- Abundance of research on return migration, but few on the children who accompany returnees
- About 500,000 American-born minors live in Mexico (~2 percent of school enrollment) (Masferrer 2021, 39)
- *0.5 generation*: children of Mexican immigrants who are born in the U.S. and later migrate to Mexico (Zúñiga and Giorguli Saucedo 2018)



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- Diverging findings in previous, mainly qualitative, studies of these children in Mexico
- Predominant narrative of struggles: difficulty with written language, invisibility to teachers, stigma and exclusion from other youths
- Bybee et al. (2020): teachers characterize them as “star students,” capitalizing on their binational and bicultural assets



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- Is the typical experience of these students of academic advantage or disadvantage?
- If disparities exist, is this due to the challenges of migration or a process of migrant selection?



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Empirical Expectations

Why might these adolescents be *disadvantaged*?

- Neoclassical economics: Parents return due to negative factors, such as unemployment, deportation
- Transnationalism: Alienation and exclusion in the “home” society
- Institutionalism: lack of infrastructure for investment (Hagan and Wassink 2020, 539).
- Cassarino (2004): deportation means that migrants not “ready and willing” to migrate
- **Rough re-entry hypothesis:** Compared to Mexican-born children in Mexico, children of return migrants attain lower PISA scores.



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- Ready and willing to migrate (Cassarino 2004)
- Benefit from resources such as dual nationality, bicultural facility, and experience in better resourced schools (Gándara & Jensen 2021)
- Assimilation theory: absence of most social markers of difference \implies smooth integration (Alba & Nee 2003)
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Role of return-migrant selection?

- For return migrants from the U.S. to Mexico, negative selection on characteristics such as education and income has predominated in recent years
- Hernández-León, Zúñiga, and Lakhani (2020) suggest that “U.S. policies [...] effectively externalize downward assimilation to communities of origin.”
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 - reading, math, and science
 - mean of 500, sd of 100
 - each analysis performed once for each of 5 plausible values
- Pre-migration variables: mother's and father's education (6-category ISCED), cultural possessions, home educational resources, age (15 for most respondents), early childhood education and care (ECEC), two-category gender
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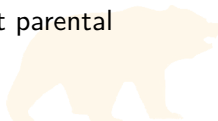
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- What is migrant success? Importance of comparison group
- Main sample: 465 children born to two Mexican parents in the U.S., now living in Mexico
- Mexico comparison: 40,710 children of non-immigrants in Mexico
 - Descriptive assessment of Mexican educational context
- U.S. comparison: 926 Spanish-speaking children of two immigrants in the U.S.
 - Counterfactual: what would have happened to these children had they not migrated to Mexico?
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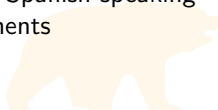
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- Adjusting for pre-, then post-migration characteristics (mediators)
- Analysis of moderators
- HC1 clustered standard errors at the school level, sampling weights
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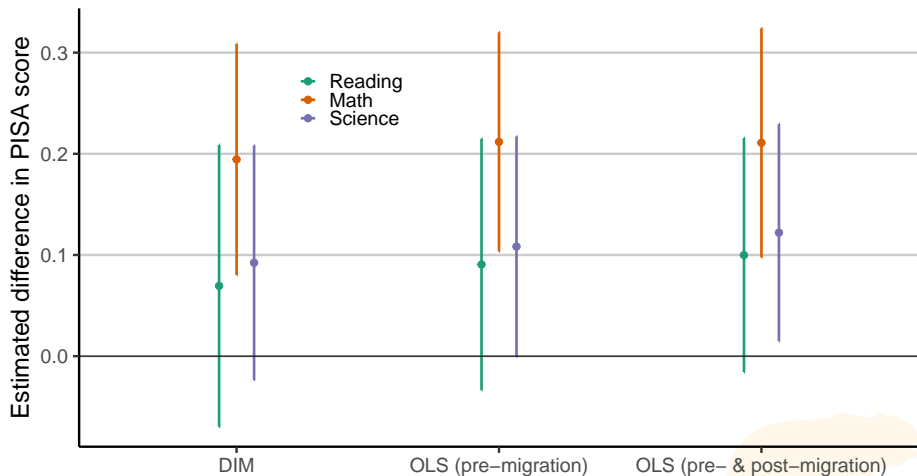


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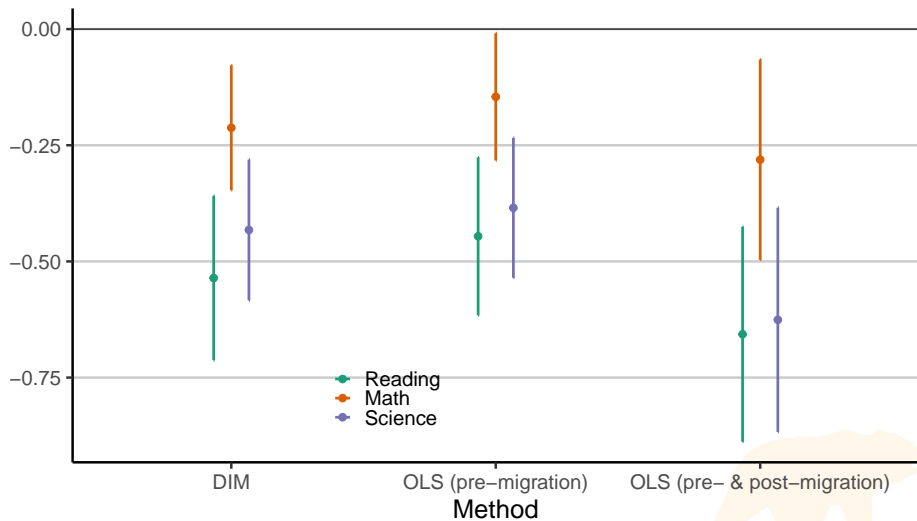
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Mexico Comparisons



U.S. Comparisons



Moderators

- How are results moderated by gender, age at migration, and rural vs. urban locality?
- For within-Mexico comparisons, results do not vary
 - even when excluding 1/3 of the main sample migrated before the age of 1
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- Previous studies have mixed findings, with negative outcomes predominating
- **Star student hypothesis:** slight advantage compared to Mexican youths
- **Rough re-entry hypothesis:** stark disadvantage compared to similar U.S. adolescents
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- Importance of comparison group and institutions: focus on only one country fails to capture the importance of institutional context
 - Mexican schools under-resourced
- Smooth assimilation, but to relatively low educational average
- Another way U.S.-citizen children of undocumented immigrants are harmed by punitive immigration policy



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Thank You

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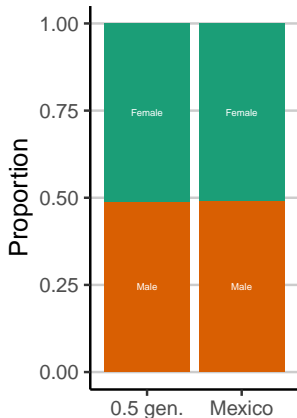
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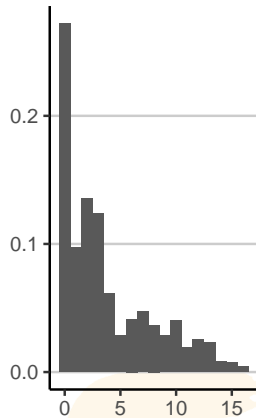
Gender



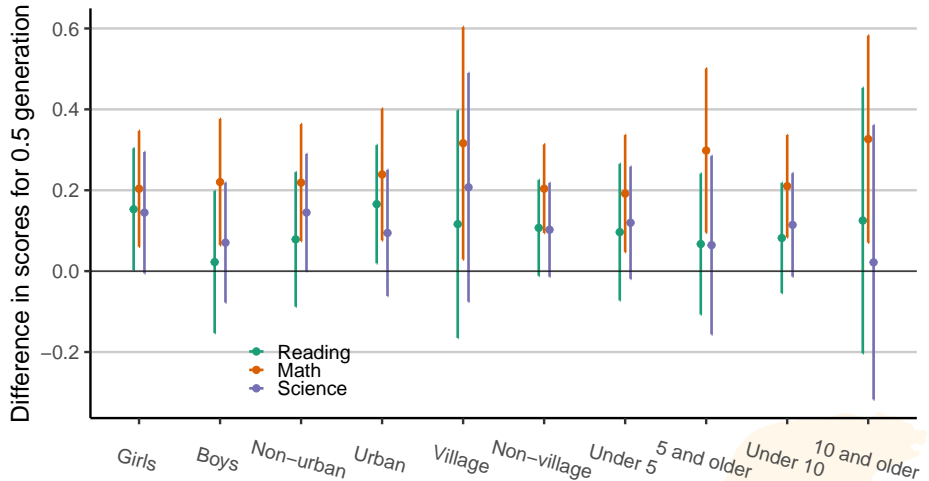
School Location



Age at Arrival

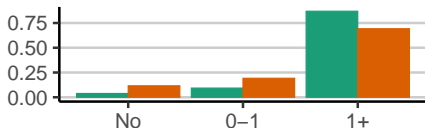


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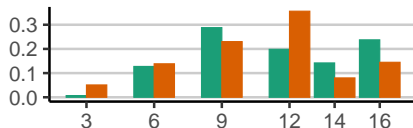


U.S. Comparisons

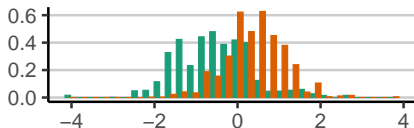
Early Childhood Education



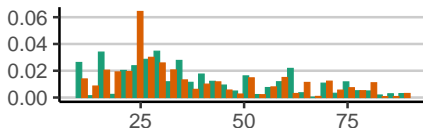
Parent's Years of Education



Wealth Composite



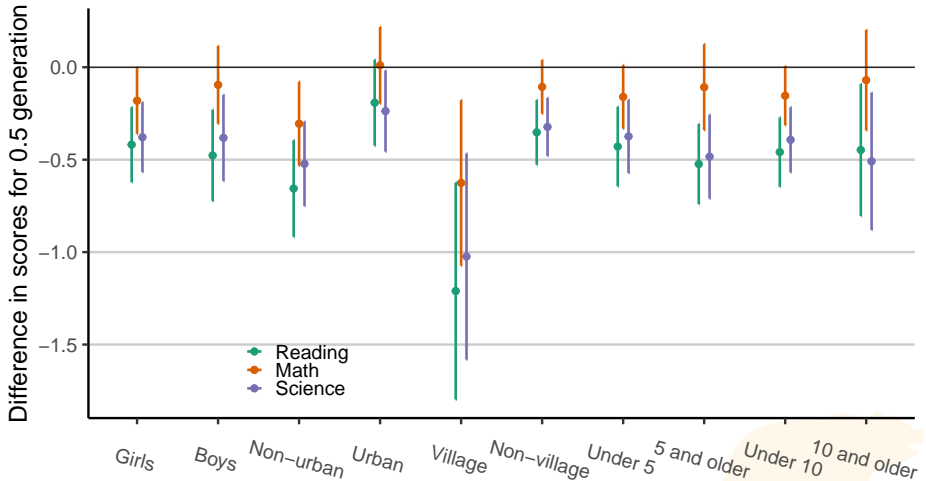
Parent's Occupation (ISEI)



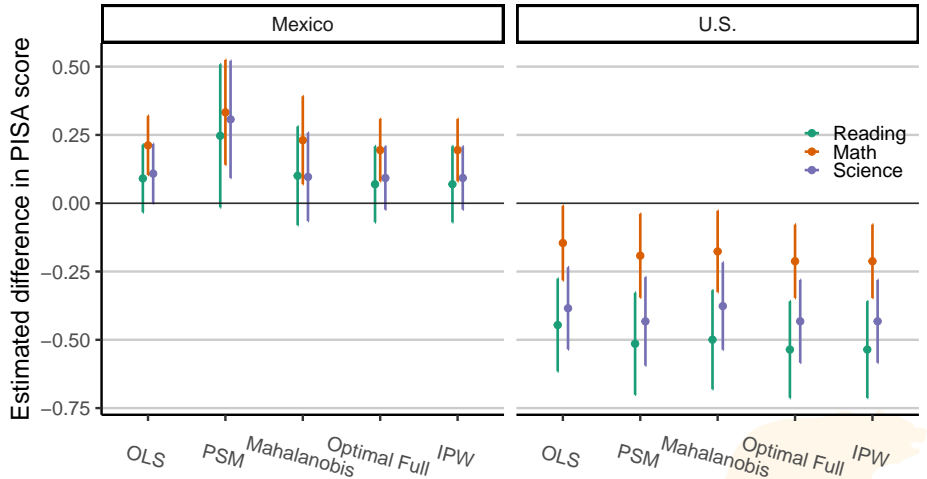
0.5 Generation U.S. Spanish-Speaking



U.S. Comparisons



Sensitivity Analysis



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Why the slight advantage compared to Mexican students?

- Bicultural resources or prestige bestowed by experience in the U.S.
- Facility with standardized tests
- Parental resource advantage: benefits of migration
- Bureaucratic hurdles might prevent the most disadvantaged students from enrolling in school (Mateos 2019) or they have dropped out completely (Zúñiga and Carrillo Cantú 2020)



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Why the disadvantage compared to U.S. students?

- In 2014, Mexico spent 2,000 USD per pupil, while the U.S. spent 18,000 USD (Santibañez 2021, 25)
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