

The Social and Economic Determinants of Recent Unauthorized Mexican Border-
Crossers

By Carmencita H. Navarro

B.A. in Sociology/Spanish, May 2014, San Jose State University

A Thesis submitted to

The Faculty of
The Columbian College of Arts and Sciences
of The George Washington University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Masters of Arts

August 31, 2016

Thesis directed by

Daniel E. Martinez
Assistant Professor of Sociology

© Copyright 2016 by Carmencita H. Navarro
All rights reserved

Dedication

The author wishes to dedicate this master's thesis to the millions of immigrants and refugees around the world, whose courage has inspired me to research the lives of unauthorized Mexican migrants, men and women, who are constantly risking their lives across the U.S.-Mexico border to provide for a brighter future for their families.

Acknowledgments

The author wishes to thank the Department of Sociology of The George Washington University for providing me the opportunity to conduct this master's thesis. The purpose of this master's thesis is to provide new insights upon the experiences of unauthorized Mexican immigrants within our contemporary era of increased border enforcement, post-recession economic recovery, and expanded economic neoliberalism. I am deeply thankful to Dr. Daniel Martinez and Dr. Hiromi Ishisawa, whose thoughtful insights on international migration greatly contributed to the realization of this master's thesis. I am also grateful for encouraging me to think about the intersection on gender and migration based on the MBCS. I also extend a special thanks to my mother, Maria Haydée Unzaga, an immigrant from Peru, for her support over the long telephone conversations between California and Washington D.C. and for spurring her daughter to advocate for the human rights of all immigrants.

Abstract

The Social and Economic Determinants of Recent Unauthorized Mexican Border-Crossers

Research pinpoints to important differences for first-time and repeat migration among men and women, which this study concentrates on individual-level factors in having migrated for economic or social reasons. Data come from the second wave of the Migrant Border Crossing Study (MBCS), which surveyed recently deported Mexican migrants in five border cities and Mexico City between 2009 and 2012. The subsample of unauthorized Mexican immigrants attempted an authorized border crossing after the Great Recession of 2007-2009. The key findings reveal that migration continues to be a highly gendered social process among recent border-crossers: men are still more likely to have migrated for economic reasons rather than social reasons when compared to married women. However, several findings depart from this commonly observed pattern among unmarried women or those employed prior to their most recent border-crossing attempt for economic reasons relative to women without prior labor market experiences, but it did not affect men's reasons to migration. The present study also finds that men *and* women alike are beginning to migrate for social reasons (e.g., for the purposes of family reunification) relative to economic reasons, which departs from prior work regarding the role of having family members in the United States and having U.S. citizen family members in the social process of migration. When compared to the existing studies on unauthorized Mexican migration, this study suggests that men and women's reasons for undertaking an unauthorized trip have not remained static in the contemporary era of increased border enforcement along the U.S.-Mexico border, post-recession economic recovery in the United States, and expanded global economic neoliberalism.

Table of Contents

Dedication.....	iii
Acknowledgments.....	iv
Abstract of Thesis.....	v
List of Tables.....	vii
Chapter 1: [Introduction].....	1
Chapter 2: [Literature Review].....	4
Chapter 3: [Methods].....	30
Chapter 4: [Findings]	31
Chapter 5: [Discussion].....	36
Chapter 6: [Conclusion].....	43
[References].....	47

List of Tables

Table 1.....	7
Table 2.....	29
Table 3.....	34

Chapter 1: Introduction

Unauthorized Mexican migration to the United States is not a recent phenomenon and has characterized migration flows from Mexico since the mid-20th century. The termination of the Bracero Program (1942-1964) effectively transformed legal guest workers into unauthorized immigrants from one season to the next. Many Braceros, who had forged strong working relations with their employers, continued to migrate across the border but did so as unauthorized migrants (IMIS 2016; Rural Migration News 2016). And although the passage of the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act regularized the immigration statuses of nearly three million people by 1992 (Massey, Durand, and Malone 2003), increased border enforcement measures, coupled with a continued structurally-embedded demand for immigrant labor (Cornelius 1998), led to the growth of the unauthorized population throughout the 1990s and 2000s (Passel, Cohn, Krogstad, and Gonzalez 2014). Because of this notable demographic change, unauthorized migration is again a politically contested issue. Whether they are seeking family reunification or economic mobility, the absence of comprehensive immigration reform and access to legal immigration channels has forced many unauthorized Mexican immigrants to rely on social networks and prior occupational experience in Mexico to facilitate the unauthorized migration process and integrate into receiving communities in the United States (Creighton and Riosmena 2013; Massey et al. 1993).

But why would Mexican nationals chose to leave their country of origin in the first place? Existing theories of migration offer greater insight into this process. In general, theories of migration describe the mechanisms that initiate, facilitate, and sustain

the migration flows (Massey et al. 1993). These mechanisms can operate at the individual, household, community, and national levels and play a significant role in the social processes of migration, ultimately offering great insight into unauthorized migration from Mexico. There is a marked difference between macro- and micro-level neoclassical migration theories. Macro-level theory focuses on the supply and demand of laborers, while micro-level theories examine an individual's decision to migrate (Massey et al. 1993). In an attempt to move away from the individualistic neoclassical perspective, the theory of new economics of migration examines the collective decisions of households to avert economic risks related to a volatile economy or minimal access to job markets. Some family members might be selected to work locally while others might be sent abroad, depending on his/her prospects for economic net gains in order to diversify their earnings (Massey et al. 1993; Massey 1999; Massey and Espinosa 1997). Dual labor market theory suggests migrants' decisions to migrate depend on the overall economic needs of a receiving country in order to fill in the gaps within its lower-level labor markets (Massey et al. 1993). In addition to the examination of push and pull factors, the migration literature has also focused on the importance of social capital (i.e., social networks) in the migration process (Massey and Espinosa 1997). When couples or single individuals plan their move out of a sending country, they must also rely on social networks to sustain them on their travels into a new territory as in the case of unauthorized migration. Aspiring migrants may also depend on family and friends to help them secure employment to make ends meet in a receiving country (Van Hook and Glick 2007).

In addition to highlighting the mechanisms that initiate, facilitate, and sustain migration flows, there has also been a substantial amount of attention paid to the gendered nature of the social process of migration. For instance, research has demonstrated that there are important differences between men and women in terms of the reasons for first-time and repeat migration. Historically, men have tended to migrate for economic reasons while women have migrated for family reunification or other social factors (Cerrutti and Massey 2001; Feliciano 2008; Massey et al. 1993; Massey and Espinosa 1997). Existing theories of migration can offer much insight into contemporary unauthorized migration from Mexico to the United States, particularly the specific reasons why people felt compelled to leave their country of origin. And while there exists a robust sociological literature on unauthorized migration for Mexico, the majority of the quantitative studies in this area of scholarship have come from two seminal studies: The Mexican Migration Project (MMP), which examines Mexican households' migration patterns into the United States particularly about the head of household's migratory history (Aguilera and Massey 2003; Massey, Durand, and Malone 2003) and the Mexican Migration Field Research Program (MMFRP), which also examines the migration to the United States in a handful of sending-communities within Mexico (Cornelius 2015). However, the majority of the scholarly literature on Mexican migration is based on data collected prior to the increased border militarization efforts, before the 2007-2009 economic recession, and prior to increased deportations (Jasso and Rosenzweig 1995; Massey et al. 1993; Martinez and Slack 2013; Massey and Espinosa 1997). To what extent do findings from these prior studies hold in the post-economic recession era of increased border and immigration enforcement? For instance, are women still more likely

to migrate for social reasons rather than economic factors relative to men? Does social capital (e.g. social ties to family or friends in the United States) continue to play an important role in shaping contemporary unauthorized migration flows from Mexico? Given these considerations, the research questions driving the present analysis are as follows: What individual-level factors, if any, help explain differences in having migrated for economic or social reasons in the contemporary era characterized by increased border enforcement, post-recession economic recovery, and expanded economic neoliberalism? This study addresses these questions by drawing on a subsample of recent border-crossers surveyed between 2009 and 2012 through the second wave of the Migrant Border Crossing Study (MBCS).

Chapter 2: Literature Review

THEORIES OF MIGRATION

The vast literature on migration offers insights into the mechanisms that trigger Mexicans' unauthorized entrance across the U.S.-Mexico border (Massey et al. 1993). Thus, if we want to understand the process of unauthorized Mexican migration, we need to understand the broader social scientific theories of migration, which may be connected to various “push” and “pull” factors. In the following section, I highlight the central tenets of the following theories: neoclassical economics, the new economics of migration, dual labor market, and social capital.

NEOCLASSICAL ECONOMIC THEORY

Neoclassical economic theory describes the immigration process by focusing on the supply of laborers at the macro level and a series of costs and benefits at the micro level and the demand. At the macro level, the economic climate of a particular geographical region may profoundly shape unauthorized international migration through the supply and demand of laborers (Massey, Durand, and Malone 2003). Migration to new destinations typically occurs when there is an oversupply of laborers in a sending-country and earnings remain relatively low. On the other hand, when a receiving countries' workforce is in short supply, they tend to offer competitive wages due to its increasing demand for laborers (Massey et al. 1993). Thus, the economy is a major contributor to the migration of millions of people who may find it difficult to earn a living within a competitive labor market due to the oversupply of laborers. Indeed, volatile labor markets play a significant role in inducing the migration of millions of people. Moreover, governments may alter the balance of labor supply and demand through policies that may either deter or encourage immigration through higher costs or benefits, respectively (Massey et al. 1993). If economic development in communities of origin is targeted through the reduction of income inequality, it will reduce international migration due to its effect on wages and working conditions. Thus, the supply and demand for laborers often dictates the odds of migration and the fulfillment of a first-trip (Massey et al. 1993).

There is a marked difference between the macro and the micro level of the neoclassical theory, in which the former is exemplified through the supply and demand of laborers and the latter is based on individual choice (Massey et al. 1993). At the micro

level, neoclassical theory examines the costs that immigrants take into account when planning to migrate, which may be offset by the gains obtained through future competitive earnings. Recent immigrants must invest in their human capital in order to cover the costs of their travels, make ends meet, attain new language fluency, search for employment, and cope with family separation (Massey 1999). After estimating the costs and benefits, migrants often embark to new regions where their human capital investment may reap the most benefit or “wherever the expected net returns to migration are greatest” (Massey 1999:36). Thus, costs and benefits of international migration remain vital particularly during the first time an individual embarks on an authorized trip across the U.S.-Mexico border. The costs weighed against the benefits are quantified through the bi-national wage differentials or different earning scales in both Mexico and the United States. The costs become unbearable in periods of peso devaluation, which affects the price of clandestine border-crossing services (Massey and Espinosa 1997). Although the cost of devaluation may discourage immigration, inflation may have the opposite effect despite the fact that Mexican wages tend to decline. However, inflation may induce the migration of low-wage earners due to the expected higher earnings from U.S. wage labor (Massey and Espinosa 1997).

THE NEW ECONOMICS OF MIGRATION

As the previous macro- and micro-level neoclassical migration theories revealed the factors that often trigger migration, the collective decision-making of households have also been examined by immigration scholars (Massey et al. 1993). The new economics of migration focuses on households’ occupational diversification through the

selection of a family member to send abroad who is most likely to secure a living wage to withstand market failures common in developing countries. Besides the volatile labor market, where there might be a high risk of unemployment or decreased wages, the minimization of investments, capital, and insurance markets might also suppress families' limited resources (Massey et al. 1993; Massey and Espinosa 1997). Thus, while family members may select someone to send abroad in search for employment, the selection of a specific family member depends on their prospects for economic net gains. Potential income from a family member abroad, in the form of remittances, may be invested in a small business or construction projects in a sending country (Massey 1999). Indeed, economic opportunity is related to the demand for certain jobs in a receiving country that may have a greater impact in the decision making process regarding who would become profitable. For instance, a female may be selected in terms of the demand for women laborers through the feminization of jobs. The common assumption that males make the ultimate decision does not always reflect women's own agency, which it can also be attributed to their age and matriarchal role (Cerrutti and Massey 2001).

The new economics of migration asserts that markets do not work accordingly to the rules of supply and demand within a framework of fair market competition. In Mexico, market failures constitute a high risk for households due their common occurrences, which is also ubiquitous across developing countries. Thus, the vulnerability of markets induces migrants to search for better economic opportunities through higher wages in promising industries abroad whose vigorous markets may offer greater access to financial capital. The acquisition of capital remains one of the major incentives to send a family member abroad in order to sustain the productivity of their enterprises at home.

Therefore, unlike wages, access to capital abroad is the key factor of the new economics of migration through the potential to minimize the risks associated with various market failures at home in insurance, agricultural, and credit markets. Over the past decades, Mexican households have had to withstand a weakened economy through price inflation and currency devaluation (Massey and Espinosa 1997). The minimization of economic risk factors among Mexican households often leads to the unauthorized migration of a specific individual who will most likely contribute to his/her families' capital gains in Mexico.

DUAL LABOR MARKET THEORY

Dual labor market theory identifies major pull factors that induce the high demand for laborers in the migration process (Massey 1999). A receiving-country's economic demands for laborers are particularly high in lower level occupations and reflect the potential net gains of industrialized nations when replacing native workers for immigrants. The theory of structural inflation of the economy asserts that employers are hesitant to raise the salaries of unskilled workers during times of labor shortages because they would be forced to do so at higher levels of the labor hierarchy. Thus, labor-intensive occupations that are in high demand in industrialized nations are poorly compensated during times of labor shortages. If the wages of low-status occupations were to be increased, it would disrupt society's occupational hierarchy (Massey et al. 1993). However, if unauthorized immigrants lack access to stable job opportunities that offer competitive salaries, they might be willing to work for long hours in underpaid occupations to make ends meet. The informal labor sector might pull immigrants who

perceive these occupations as temporary despite their possible detrimental working conditions because they lack the regulations of the formal labor sectors (Massey et al. 1993). Even if low-level jobs are deemed unattractive for native workers due to their low-status, they might offer temporary economic relief for unauthorized immigrants until they acquire better job opportunities.

The distribution of workers between the primary and secondary sectors due to the “inherent dualism between labor and capital” generates a “segmented labor market structure” (Massey et al. 1993: 443). In the past, the demand for transient laborers was met through women and teenagers. Currently, migrants are filling this labor gap, which may compensate them with higher wages relative to their country of origin (Massey et al. 1993). Consequently, unauthorized immigrants tend to concentrate in the secondary or labor-intensive sector. Productivity depends on capital, which can be interrupted due to lower demand where laborers risk layoffs when demands for certain products decrease (Massey et al. 1993). Thus, short-term demands are met through the secondary sector, which is labor-intensive and employers bear minimal costs after massive layoffs, but the primary sector is capital-intensive where the labor standards offer high quality occupational benefits for professionals. Indeed, retention would constitute costs to firms during periods of relatively low productivity because the expendable labor force usually bears the costs of their unemployment due to the instability of the secondary sector labor market (Massey et al. 1993). Therefore, native workers tend to concentrate within well-remunerated occupations that offer stability and career advancement through the primary or capital-intensive sectors unlike the secondary sectors often filled by the unauthorized population.

SOCIAL CAPITAL THEORY

In addition to the economic pull and push factors of migration previously examined, social networks also play an important role in the migration process. Friends and family in a receiving-country or those with extensive migration experience might become key sources of information for anyone embarking on an unauthorized migration attempt (Bernabe-Aguilera 2003; Singer 2013). In this sense, first-time immigrants in a sending-country might depend on their communities in a receiving-country for all of their trip arrangements before their unauthorized entrance. The concept of social capital dates back to 1900s, which was then defined by Hanifan as the social benefits imparted through tight-knit groups, whether formal or informal, by means of their mutual assistance and compromise in times of need (Granberry and Marcelli 2007). In other words, social ties become a source of support among community members. In 1986, Bourdieu distinguished social capital as the collective rewards conferred to specific communities based on their membership (Granberry and Marcelli 2007). In the context of unauthorized migration, social capital offers a sense of belonging within a community that may facilitate integration during an initial trip. Despite stringent immigration policies, social networks may become a buffer for vulnerable populations, who might share a common heritage, culture, and language. In particular, studies conducted in states that have enacted anti-immigrant legislation show that it might affect unauthorized immigrants' access to stable occupations with competitive salaries, healthcare, housing availability, affordable food, and increase poverty (Valdez, Padilla, and Lewis Valentine 2013). Thus, social capital reveals the potential benefits for communities who share some kind of ties due to their group membership.

The reliance on peers or family circles remains a key part of the migration process because undertaking an unauthorized entrance usually requires the assistance of more than one individual. Therefore, social networks constitute a source of social capital for newly-arrived unauthorized Mexican immigrants due to their vulnerability. The support provided before and after an initial trip will ease the integration of vulnerable groups. Social networks, whether friends or family members, usually assist in search for jobs, transportation, and housing (Curran and Rivero-Fuentes 2003; Van Hook and Glick 2007). Unauthorized Mexican immigrants, whether single individuals or family units, depend on their communities of origin to make their first and subsequent trips into the United States through the different migratory networks that have been established between-the sending- and receiving-country through close or distance family members or friends (Van Hook and Glick 2007). It is also important to rely on extensive sources of networks whether formal or informal (Molina 2014), which comprise close family members or friends in the former and paid guides or coyotes in the latter (Creighton and Riosmena 2013; Singer and Massey 1998). However, when comparing costs against potential gains, first-time migrants who rely on extended informal social networks will reap most of the benefits for these connections are already highly knowledgeable about the migration process (Molina 2014). Unauthorized immigrants greatly benefit from social capital, particularly through informal social ties by lowering their costs of migration (Granberry and Marcelli 2007). Formal social networks might be key informants about potential job opportunities or housing through close family members, but informal ties might further assist unauthorized immigrants through their extensive access to diverse networks.

The previously discussed theories revealed the different factors that initiate, facilitate, and sustain unauthorized immigration. This section began with an overview of the macro- and micro-level neoclassical theories of migration with the former focusing on the supply and demand of laborers and the latter concentrating on an individual-level cost-benefit analysis of unauthorized migration (Massey et al. 1993). Unauthorized immigration can be costly, particularly if immigrants face apprehension or if there is a lack of reliable information, jeopardizing a clandestine entrance (Slack et al. 2015). The new economics of migration theory examines the decision-making process of a household during the selection of a specific family member to work abroad in an attempt to overcome market failures (Cerrutti and Massey 2001). Consequently, families depend on each other for their economic sustenance and to provide for their most basic needs, which might be supplemented by their chosen family member. Moreover, unauthorized immigration can also be initiated by pull factors in the receiving country, which is associated with labor demands in a segmented labor market as exemplified through dual labor market theory. For instance, if there is a high demand for lower-level workers in a specific industry, it is usually met through the labor of unauthorized immigrants (Massey et al. 1993). Social capital continued to serve as an important resource for unauthorized immigrants, particularly during their first-trip (Bernabe-Aguilera 2003), through the key role of social networks in the migratory process (Aguilera and Massey 2003). Collectively, these theories suggest that unauthorized Mexican migration is a complex social process that may be contingent upon individual- and household-level decisions, macro-level economic disparities between countries, labor market conditions in

receiving-communities, and aspiring migrants' access to social capital (Cerrutti and Massey 2001; Massey et al. 1993).

Demographic Characteristics and the Social Process of Migration

GENDER AND MIGRATION

Gender is an important socio demographic factor in the social process of unauthorized migration. In the past, a great proportion of Mexican male farm workers received sponsorship to work in the agricultural sector through the Bracero Program (1942-1964). Today, the literature continues to characterize Mexican males as economic migrants due to their high rates of participation within the informal labor market (Feliciano 2008; Johnson 2014). Other studies suggest that more males than females tend to migrate as a socially accepted cultural practice in Mexico, which may conform to hegemonic notions of masculinity due to patriarchy (Feliciano 2008). Similar studies found that in addition to considering economic factors, Mexican males have also sought adventure through migration (Feliciano 2008). Traditional cultural norms in Mexico may conceptualize the unauthorized crossing of males as a common rite of passage, particularly for those seeking individual social mobility. On the other hand, women are usually depicted in the literature as migrating for family reunification. Some studies that compared recently arrived male and female migrants indicated that women who risk crossing the U.S.-Mexico border are more vulnerable than males because they are defying the dangerous crossing as well as traditional patriarchal gender roles (Feliciano 2008). Indeed, the process of international migration is often perceived as a male-dominated activity where women become passive followers of the patriarchal figures of

the family whether the father or husband (Cerrutti and Massey 2001). Despite gender barriers, single as well as married women have a say in their decision to migrate whether to participate in the labor market or as married women to be reunited with family members (Cerrutti and Massey 2001; Mahler and Pessar 2006; Slack et al. 2015).

Immigrants' gender remains a critical factor for individuals' probability of migration. Among the unauthorized border-crossers who crossed the southwestern border, men continue to surpass women in their migration. In fiscal year 2011, migrant women comprised 13% of all U.S. Border Patrol apprehensions nationwide (Customs and Border Protection 2013). Moreover, a study based on the Mexican Family Life Survey conducted in 2002 and 2005/2006 found that Mexican women's probabilities to migrate usually resulted in an unfulfilled trip or remained delayed until a later period (Chort 2014). In addition, married women who tend to reunite with their relatives often seek to participate in the labor market (Cerrutti and Massey 2001). Some women may follow traditional norms by relying on their husbands for sustenance, but the majority attains greater autonomy in their households after migration. Thus, migrant women are active participants, who often break traditional female gender roles (Cerrutti and Massey 2001; Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994; Poggio and Woo 2001). Even though women have been largely ignored from the migration literature, they continue to make the difficult journey across the U.S.-Mexico border (Mahler and Pessar 2006) regardless of their marital status (Slack et al. 2015). The role of gender reveals the struggles that Mexican women often endure to take part in the migration process even after challenging traditional patriarchal norms.

Due to the prior research regarding gender and migration, this study aims to examine the effects of gender on recent migrants' reasons for having migrated.

Specifically, this study tests the following hypothesis:

H1: Women are more likely to have migrated for social reasons, whereas men are more likely to have migrated for economic reasons.

AGE AND MIGRATION

The new economics of migration exerts great influence through the collective decision of households to embark on an unauthorized migration attempt (Massey 1999). Moreover, several factors usually predict the unauthorized migration of Mexican adult children through the diversification of their labor abroad to counteract risk economic factors at home. According to the new economics of labor migration, the unit of the household and even an entire community may find themselves vulnerable to a volatile economy through the lack of capital, credit, or insurance markets (Massey, Durand, and Malone 2003). Given that the median age of the unauthorized population is estimated at 36.3 years-old (Weinger 2011), it suggests that it is a prime age for income earning at this stage of their lives through the option of an unauthorized immigration. The new economics of migration predicts that migrants' access to capital will abet market failures, which are common occurrences in Mexico. Adult children of business owners may be selected for the possibility to assist the family through a steady flow of income in the form of remittances. In particular, when economic conditions deteriorate in Mexico through high rates of unemployment and inflation, resulting in meager wages, the incentives of adult children to send remittances may offer household members with the

needed capital to withstand their temporary or long-term precarious economic conditions (Massey and Espinosa 1997; Massey, Durand, and Malone 2003). The economic participation of older children reveals that family dynamics may contribute to their first-time out-migration based on a collective household decision making process.

Access to social ties in destination communities is another indicator of unauthorized Mexicans' out-migration, which may offer first-time migrants an advantage through their social ties with family or community members already settled in a receiving country (Massey and Espinosa 1997). Due to the high rates of young adults among the unauthorized population, a study by Massey and Espinosa (1997) further elucidates the predominance of adult children to migrate when their parents and siblings had already migrated and continue to reside in the United States. When a large proportion of the community's members had previously migrated to the United States, it also induces further migration. Thus, the major incentives for an individual can be tangible through his/her exposure through their families and communities' migratory experiences, which are an integral part of the migration process for younger generations of first-time migrants (Massey and Espinosa 1997). Moreover, young adults are still trying to find a sense of purpose for their lives, which may tend to omit the potential risks; particularly, if they still rely on the support of their community. During middle age, on the contrary, individuals may find themselves taking on additional responsibilities based on financial constraints due to job loss or divorce (Lachman, Teshale, and Agrigoroaei 2015). Thus, age likely constitutes a key factor that predicts migration.

Considering the extant research on the relationship between age and migration, this study examines the relationship between age and migration. Specifically, this study tests the following hypothesis:

H2: Younger adults are more likely to have migrated for economic reasons.

HUMAN CAPITAL AND THE SOCIAL PROCESS OF MIGRATION

The migration literature conventionally defines human capital in terms of educational attainment, English-language ability, or formal labor market experience. However, unauthorized immigrants may rely on their work experience in their country of origin when searching for job opportunities abroad, even when lack of work permit may constrict them into the informal labor market (Hall and Farkas 2008). According to neoclassical economic theory, international migration is ultimately guided through the supply and demand of laborers between two countries where the former may offer competitive wages due to the lack of workers. At the micro level, neoclassical theory would suggest that individuals make the choice to migrate based on a cost-benefit analysis. Likewise, human capital theory compares an individuals' educational attainment with prospective competitive salaries and occupational mobility (Massey, Durand, and Malone 2003). Despite the fact that some segments of the Mexican population show high rates of educational attainment (Feliciano 2008), they must also estimate the costs and benefits before migration due to their "double disadvantage" as both minorities and immigrants (Hall and Farkas 2008: 624). Therefore, when Mexicans resort to unauthorized migration, they may rely on their human capital through their prior work

experiences where neither their lack of education nor English-language ability might become barriers for their economic prosperity.

Furthermore, immigrants continue to participate in the U.S. labor market, regardless of their citizenship status, particularly through the informal job sectors (Mullan Harris 1999). Unlike authorized migrants, who may rely on multiple alternatives within the job market, unauthorized migrants lack the necessary work permits to legally work in the United States (Aguilera and Massey 2003). Even though most unauthorized immigrants tend to work in the informal economy, a poll by the GSS (2000) revealed that 60% of the respondents believed that immigrants take jobs away from Americans. Immigrants participate in the informal labor market, but usually in occupations that most Americans would not care to do. For instance, almost half of migrants from Mexico and Central America work in production, construction, and janitorial services compared to 14.8% of U.S.-born workers (Ferraro 2014). The majority of Latin American immigrants come from low-income backgrounds, which may have prevented them from attaining higher levels of education. Consequently, 75% of immigrants from Mexico and Central America occupy lower level occupations within manufacturing such as in maintenance, painting, and construction contrary to 26% of U.S.-born laborers and 31.8% of all other immigrant groups. Furthermore, there are other segments of lower level occupations that 34% of immigrants also take part of as farm workers, house cleaners, dishwashers, and in hand-packing compared to 6.7% of U.S.-born workers and 9.8% of other immigrant groups (Ferraro 2014). In particular, Singer (2013) contends that ethnic enclaves may offer the right environment for newly arrived migrants until they become economically stable to migrate into other regions of the country.

As described in the previous paragraphs, unauthorized Mexican migrants may rely on their human capital through prior work experiences to potentially open up opportunities to participate in the informal labor market. Thus, studies often reveal the high rates of labor participation of unauthorized males as economic migrants in lower level occupations (Aguilera and Massey 2003; Fry 2006). Moreover, the dearth of studies about Mexican women's migration often fail to offer a dynamic portray of women's lives in Mexico as heads of households. During their husbands' absence, Mexican women are left in charge of their households, challenging traditional patriarchal norms. Thus, women in the sending communities reproduce male gender roles even before migrating into the United States through their active participation in the Mexican labor market (Gordillo 2010). A study by Cerrutti and Massey (2001) revealed that after reuniting with their family members, single or married immigrant women, often hoped to participate in the U.S. labor market as economic migrants, whose contributions are often invaluable for the economic mobility of migrant families. Given a review of the existing literature regarding the relationship between human capital and unauthorized migration, the present study empirically tests the following hypotheses:

H3: Women who were employed before their most recent migration attempt are more likely to have migrated for economic purposes rather than social reasons.

H4: Because men already make up a large share of economic migrants, and are already more likely to have labor market experience, we would not expect employment prior to one's most recent crossing attempt to matter for men.

SOCIAL CAPITAL AND THE SOCIAL PROCESS OF MIGRATION

Social networks represent an important resource in the migration process for unauthorized migrants who must rely on family members and friends to orient them as recently arrived immigrants in a receiving country. Moreover, Mexican immigrants depend on their communities of origin to make their journeys into the United States through the migratory networks that have long been established between the sending- and receiving-countries (Van Hook and Glick 2007). In general, people tend to draw on some form of social capital (i.e., social ties) in various aspects of their lives, because people usually do not live as isolated entities but rather are active members in the social activities of their extensive community. Social participation may forge strong social ties through migrants' reliance on social, economic, and political support within a community. When individuals rely on social networks, whether through friends, family, or the community, it may assist them during dire economic times or when trying to immigrate into the United States and afterwards. Aguilera and Massey (2003) emphasized the importance of social networks on the wages of unauthorized immigrants and found that Mexican males had easier access to well-paid jobs based on the recommendations of friends and families with migratory experiences. Indirectly, immigrants might rely on social networks to access jobs within both formal and informal jobs sectors, but it might further assist the unauthorized population due to their inability to access formal labor markets (Aguilera and Massey 2003). Thus, social capital is a great resource to rely upon for newly arrived immigrants, which might attain greater benefits depending on the migratory experiences of friends or family members.

Immigrant families from Latin America and Mexican couples in particular continue to enter U.S. territory through different means of clandestine transportation based on their reliance on social networks. Social ties to people with extensive U.S. migration experience may assist aspiring migrants with clandestine entrance through the strategic points of entry or through their knowledge of trustworthy smugglers. Social networks may also help aspiring migrants negotiate coyote fees, avoid frauds, and learn how to prepare in case of an apprehension (Singer and Massey 1998). Access to social capital may also be highly gendered in the context of unauthorized Mexican migration and be shaped by whether or not a person is migrating as part of a family unit, through family chain migration, or migrating individually on their own. The migratory experiences of Mexican families take different directions either when couples arrive together in the United States or when a spouse follows her husband after a certain period for the purposes of family reunification (Creighton and Riosmena 2013). Patriarchy in Mexican society may expect women to stay home waiting for their husbands to make the decision to migrate because *marianismo* calls for women in Latin America to sacrifice their lives for their families and to obey their male partners (Wagner 2003). However, a study by (Creighton and Riosmena 2013) revealed that the matrilineal lines of networks exerted a strong influence on families' migration regardless of the husbands' patrilineal source of networks abroad. The patrilineal migrant networks revealed similar results showing that men as well as women contributed to the family's migration. Thus, when women are active in the migration process, the equality of decision-making may shift patriarchal norms within migrant households whether social or economic factors were involved in the decision-making process.

The decision to migrate is also contingent upon the family dynamics as well as the social networks established in the United States. As the new economics of migration might suggest, family dynamics may play a role in the decision to send a specific family member abroad through the demand for certain gendered-related occupation within the American labor market (Massey et al. 1993). Moreover, many Mexican families have already formed ties with family and friends, who will most likely assist them in their journey to the United States. Thus, both men and women spouses or significant others may influence the family to take the trip to reunite with their loved ones, depending on the matrilineal or patrilineal lines of the migrant family (Creighton and Riosmena 2013). In other instances, women may wait for their husbands to return to Mexico or may attempt a first-trip to stay close to their family members (Andrews 2014). One of the additional critical factors that might initiate unauthorized migration depends on whether children, a spouse, or parents are U.S. citizens. In 2012, for instance, 4.5 million U.S. born children lived with at least one undocumented parent (Bump 2015). The separation of immigrant families might be grounds for Mexican immigrants to take the risk to enter the United States unauthorized in order to stay close to family members, who might be U.S. citizens. Moreover, unauthorized households' earnings might be further secured through U.S. citizen family members because they tend to offer greater access to formal labor markets (Aguilera and Massey 2003). Therefore, economic and social factors are also important incentives to risk an unauthorized migration in order to bear the family's costs collectively and to stay connected as a family unit.

Given a review of the literature regarding the relationship between social capital and unauthorized migration, this study tests the following hypotheses:

H5: People with family ties in the U.S. are more likely to have migrated for social reasons rather than economic reasons.

H6: We do not expect there to be any differences between men and women in terms of how these mechanisms operate.

REGION OF ORIGIN AND OTHER STATE-LEVEL FACTORS

Dire economic conditions in Mexico play a significant role in spurring unauthorized migration from Mexico to the United States (Mackey 2013). Market consolidation has disproportionately and negatively affected laborers in certain sectors of the Mexican economy. Market consolidation refers to the economic partnership between the Mexican and the U.S. governments within a globalized capitalist system, which has led to the demise of the agricultural sector of the Mexican economy and “the displacement of manual workers, the concentration of land, and the mechanization of production” (Massey and Espinosa 1997: 990). This has been especially true since the passage of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1994. According to Mackey (2013), a significant proportion of Mexican *campesinos* (agricultural laborers) lost their agricultural means of subsistence due to the importation of U.S. agricultural goods that were heavily subsidized by the U.S. government. These imports flooded the Mexican market and undercut Mexican farmers. Consequently, two million Mexican *campesinos* and farmers have been displaced into urban areas and abroad, particularly to the United States, in search of jobs (Mackey 2013). Furthermore, studies suggest that neoliberal reforms disproportionately affected *campesinos* in southern Mexico. For instance, indigenous people from Oaxaca have left their hometowns in search for jobs in agricultural areas of the United States. Mexican meat producers have also been displaced

due to U.S. imports, leading to price volatility determined by the dictates of U.S. agricultural policies (Bacon 2014). Thus, unauthorized migrants displaced by NAFTA remain vulnerable due to abject poverty in Mexico when searching for low-level paying jobs in the United States (Mackey 2013).

Marginalization, which consists of various measures of poverty, education, and social isolation (Trueba 1998), has also led to high levels of outmigration from certain regions of Mexico. Marginalization indicators calculated by the Consejo Nacional de Poblacion (2010) using the 2000 and 2010 Mexican census data have revealed important national disparities among the Mexican population. The states of Guerrero, Chiapas, and Oaxaca demonstrate the highest rates of marginalization, with more than half of their local residents living under extreme poverty, but Guerrero fares the worst among these three states (Rivera and Maldonado 2013). Furthermore, the Consejo Nacional de Poblacion (2010) found that 16.8% of the state of Guerrero's population was illiterate, 31.6% had not graduated from high school, 30% lacked access to water, and more than half supported themselves through two low-wage jobs, followed by the states of Chiapas and Oaxaca. These regions comprise large concentrations of indigenous populations, who face continuous discrimination due to their race (Godoy 2015). There are an estimated 312 indigenous municipalities in Mexico, which 218 showed high rates of marginalization (Consejo Nacional de Poblacion 2010). Due to the high incidence of marginalization within indigenous Mexican counties, it has also affected their access to employment, affordable housing, and competent public services (Godoy 2015). Indigenous populations must withstand their marginalized status in the midst of high poverty rates and lack of access to well-paid jobs (Cengel 2013). Thus, marginalization

due to racial discrimination may also lead indigenous groups to become economic migrants (Cengel 2013). Indigenous groups may risk an unauthorized migration in order to improve their standards of living due to their marginalized state that often keeps them from attaining equity within Mexican society.

Given a brief overview of the economic effects of NAFTA, and lasting impact of marginalization on certain segments of the Mexican population, this study aims to examine the effects of NAFTA and marginalization on migration to the United States. Specifically, this study tests the following hypotheses:

H7: People from southern Mexico, which was negatively economically affected by NAFTA, are more likely to have migrated for economic reasons relative to social reasons, but we do not expect there to be any differences between men and women in terms of how these mechanisms operate.

H8: People from states with higher levels of marginalization are more likely to have migrated for economic reasons relative to social reasons, but we do not expect there to be any differences between men and women in terms of how these mechanisms operate.

Data and Sample

Data used in this study come from the second wave of the Migrant Border Crossing Study (MBCS; N = 1,109). The MBCS is a bi-national, multi-institution Ford Foundation-funded research project that examined recent deportees' border crossing experiences and time spent living in the United States. In order to be eligible to participate in the study, potential participant must have attempted a border crossing after

the 2007-2009 economic recession, been apprehended by any U.S. authority (either while crossing the border or after successfully arriving to their U.S. destination), and repatriated to Mexico within one month of prior to being surveyed. However, the subsample used in the present study focuses on people who most recently crossed the border after the Great Recession of 2007-2009. Potential participants must have also been at least 18 years of age at the time of the survey. The surveys were administered by bilingual graduate students and professional researchers in the Mexican border towns of Tijuana and Mexicali, Baja California; Nogales, Sonora; Ciudad Juarez, Chihuahua; Nuevo Laredo, Tamaulipas, and in Mexico City among people who had participated in the Mexican Interior Repatriation Program (MIPRP) (Slack et al. 2013:9; Slack et al. 2015:11). Study participants were randomly selected at migrant shelters and ports of entry, screened for eligibility, and invited to participate in the survey. The response rate was approximately 94%. The present study specifically examines recent deportees' reasons for having migrated in the contemporary era of increased border enforcement, economic recovery, and neoliberal expansion, with special attention to differences between men and women. Thus, a subsample of the second wave of the MBCS was used to accomplish this goal. The subsample of men and women consists of migrants whose most recent border-crossing attempt had taken place within one year prior to being surveyed.

Measurement of Variables Used in the Analyses

Dependent Variable

All MBCS respondents were asked where in Mexico their hometown was located, when they most recently left their hometown, and to elaborate on the reasons why they

had left. Naturally, the responses to the latter follow-up question varied drastically in nature, but generally fell into three broad categories: “economic reasons,” “social reasons,” and “other reasons.” Responses coded as “economic reasons” varied among participants and included low wages, underemployment, or unemployment in Mexico as well as to search for work in the United States (Martinez et al. 2015: 81). On the other hand, responses explicitly mentioning personal reasons, family reasons, or family reunification as the motive for having most recently left Mexico were coded as “social reasons” (Martinez et al 2015). Finally, mentions of searching for the “American Dream”, looking for adventure, having left Mexico as a child, or violence in Mexico (without having specifically indicated economic necessity or social reasons) were coded as “other reasons” (Martinez et al. 2015). Table 1 provides the descriptions and descriptive statistics for the dependent variable examined in this study. As noted in table 1, 74% of the total sample left their hometown due to “economic reasons,” 16% left for “social reasons,” and 15% left for “other reasons.” However, there appears to be important differences in the reasons for first leaving one’s hometown by gender. Approximately 74% of men indicated that they had left due to “economic reasons” compared to 54% of women ($p < 0.001$). On the other hand, 12% of men left due to “social reasons” relative to 28% of women ($p < 0.001$).

Table 1. Description and Descriptive Statistics for Dependent Variable

Variables	Full Sample		Men		Women		Difference
	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.	
Why did you most recently leave your hometown in Mexico?							
<i>Economic Reasons</i>	0.74	0.46	0.74	0.44	0.54	0.50	0.20***
<i>Social Reasons</i>	0.16	0.36	0.12	0.33	0.28	0.45	0.16***
<i>Other Reasons</i>	0.15	0.35	0.14	0.34	0.18	0.39	0.04
	N = 636		N = 505		N = 130		

Source: *Migrant Border Crossing Study, Wave II*

*** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$, + $p < 0.10$

Independent Variables

Due to increased immigration enforcement, expanded economic neoliberalism, and the 2007-2009 Great Recession, unauthorized Mexican migration today may be qualitatively distinct when compared to previous eras (Slack et al. 2013; Beder 2009). Table 2 provides the descriptions and descriptive statistics for the independent variables used in this study, which focuses on contemporary Mexican migration. Descriptive statistics are provided for the total sample, for the subsample of men, and for the subsample of women. As illustrated, the independent variables consist of five broad theoretically-relevant conceptual groupings: Demographic Characteristics, Human Capital, Social Capital, Region of Origin, and State Level Controls.

Demographic characteristics consist of two key variables: marital status and age. Marital status is a dichotomous variable (1 = “yes”; 0 = “no”) indicating whether or not the respondent was married or in a civil union (*union civil*) at the time of the survey. As noted in table 2, 54% of the total sample were married or in a civil union. Roughly 55% of men were married or in a civil union relatively to 49% of women. The age variable consists of four categories (18-24 years old, 25-34 years old, 35-44 years old, and 45 years and older) that were dichotomized for the purpose of the analyses. Approximately 30% of the full sample was between 18 and 24 years old, while 37% fell in the 25-34 years old category. As noted in table 2, the age categories are fairly consistent between men and women. For instance, roughly 31% of men were 18-24 years old compared to 26% of women, while 36% of men were 25-34 years old compared to 37% of women.

Human capital is operationalized through whether or not the respondent had been gainfully employed prior to their most recent migration attempt (1 = “yes”; 0 = “no”).

Fifty-nine percent of the total sample had been employed before crossing, with notable differences between men and women (64% vs. 41%). I also include two measures of social capital: Family in U.S. Destination and U.S. Citizen Family Member, both of which are dichotomous. Among the total sample, 65% of respondents had a family member in their U.S. destination and 47% had at least one family member with U.S. citizenship. On average, 64% of men had a family member in their U.S. destination compared to 70% of women. An equal proportion of men and women (47%) had at least one family member with U.S. citizenship.

Table 2. Description and Descriptive Statistics for Independent Variables

Variables	Model I (Full Sample; N = 544)		Model II (Men; N = 424)		Model III (Women; N = 119)	
	Mean/Percent	Std.Dev.	Mean/Percent	Std.Dev.	Mean/Percent	Std.Dev.
Demographic Characteristics						
<i>Male</i>	0.79	0.40	-	-	-	-
<i>Marital Status</i>	0.54	0.50	0.55	0.50	0.49	0.50
<i>Age Categories</i>						
18-24 years old	0.30	0.46	0.31	0.46	0.26	0.44
25-34 years old	0.37	0.48	0.36	0.48	0.37	0.48
35-44 years old	0.25	0.43	0.24	0.42	0.29	0.46
45 years old and older	0.09	0.29	0.09	0.29	0.08	0.27
Human Capital						
<i>Employed Before Crossing?</i>	0.59	0.49	0.64	0.48	0.41	0.50
Social Capital						
<i>Family in US Destination</i>	0.65	0.48	0.64	0.48	0.70	0.46
<i>US Citizen Family Member</i>	0.47	0.50	0.47	0.50	0.47	0.50
Region of Origin						
<i>North</i>	0.19	0.39	0.21	0.40	0.13	0.33
<i>West-Central (Traditional)</i>	0.29	0.45	0.30	0.46	0.25	0.43
<i>Central</i>	0.20	0.39	0.16	0.37	0.33	0.47
<i>South</i>	0.32	0.47	0.33	0.47	0.30	0.46
State Level Controls						
<i>Unemployment Rate</i>	7.57	2.29	7.57	2.29	7.56	2.28
<i>Migration Homes</i>	5.26	3.14	5.30	3.20	5.14	2.88
<i>Marginalization Index</i>	0.55	1.20	0.54	1.17	0.56	1.29

Source: Migrant Border Crossing Study, Wave II

The Region of Origin category represents whether unauthorized Mexican immigrants originated from the Northern, West-Central (traditional), Central, or Southern regions of Mexico. As noted in table 2, 19% of the total sample was from the North, 29%

from the West-Central (traditional), 20% from the Central, and 32% from the Southern part of the country. Generally, a higher percentage of men were from the North (21%) relative to women (13%). On the other hand, a greater proportion of women were from the Central (33%) when compared to men (16%).

Lastly, State Level Controls include Mexican state-level unemployment rates, the percentage of homes in respondents' state of origin in Mexico that have at least one household member living abroad, and the marginalization index of respondents' states. The marginalization index was created by Mexico's CONAPO "using a principle components method and summarizes municipal- and state-levels of schooling, housing conditions, population density, and income characteristics" (Anzaldo Gómez and Prado López 2005 as cited by Martínez 2016). Higher values on the marginalization index are associated with higher levels of state-level marginalization.

Chapter 3: Methods

The aim of this study is to examine migrants' reasons for recent migration trips to the United States in an era characterized by increased border enforcement, U.S. economic recovery, and expanded economic neoliberalism. I do this by examining a subsample of MBCS respondents who had most recently tried crossing the border after the 2007-2009 Great Recession. Overall, I identified three broad reasons for migrating: economic reasons, social reasons, and other reasons. In this case, the dependent variable is categorical in nature and not logically ordered, so the use of multinomial logistic regression is the most suitable technique for this type of dependent variable (Long 1997). I estimate three separate multinomial logistic regression models: one for the full sample,

one for the subsample of men, and one for the subsample of women. The first model, which utilizes the full sample, will allow me to examine the “net effect” of gender on the dependent variable. On the other hand, the models focusing exclusively on the subset of men and the subset women will allow me to examine whether or not the mechanisms associated with reasons for migrating recently operate differently for men and women. Although included in the multinomial logistic regression models, the results for “other reasons” will be omitted due to the significant variance in the nature of participants’ responses within this category. Moreover, because the aim of the study is to examine whether the same factors consistently shown in prior research to influence economic and social migration continue to operate in a similar manner in the contemporary era, the results will focus exclusively on comparing “economic” and “social” reasons for having more recently migrated into the United States.

Chapter 4: Findings

MULTINOMIAL LOGISTIC REGRESSION RESULTS

“Economic Reasons” vs. “Social Reasons”: Full Sample

Table 3 reports the coefficients, standard deviations, and significant levels for the multinomial logistic regression models predicting the reasons that led unauthorized Mexican migrants to recently leave their hometowns. Model I consists of the regression results for the full sample, Model II the results of the subsample for men, and Model III the results of the subsample for women. The results in Table 3 directly address the research questions and empirically test the posited hypothesis. For the purpose of this

thesis, I focus exclusively on the statistically significant results for “economic vs. social” reasons in the three models. In all models, “18-24” years old and “North” are reference categories.

As noted in Model I, men are 3.4 times ($\exp[1.22] = 3.39$) more likely to have migrated for economic relative to social reasons when compared to women ($p < 0.001$). This finding is consistent with the extant migration literature and supports my hypothesis that men continue to migrate for economic reasons and women for social reasons (H1). Interestingly, the results for the full sample found no relationship between age and having migrated for economic reasons versus social reasons, which does not support H2. Results also suggest there is a positive association between being employed before one’s most recent crossing attempt and having migrated for economic reasons versus social reasons. In other words, people who were employed before their most recent crossing attempt were nearly two times more likely to have migrated for economic reasons relative to social reasons when compared to those who were not employed before crossing. On the other hand, the regression results for the full sample showed a negative association between having family in one’s U.S. destination and having migrated for economic reasons relative to social reasons. Consequently, respondents with family in their U.S. destination were 86% *less* likely ($1 - (\exp(-1.94)) = 0.856$) to have migrated for economic reasons versus social reasons relative to those without family in their U.S. desired destination ($p < 0.001$).

Table 3 also suggests that there is a negative association between having a U.S. citizen family member and having migrated for economic reasons among the full sample. For example, people with a U.S. citizen family member were 77% *less* likely to have

migrated for economic reasons relative to social reasons compared to those without a U.S. citizen family member ($p < 0.001$), which is consistent with H5. On the contrary, Table 3 reveals a positive association between originating from the Central region of Mexico and having migrated for economic reasons relative to social reasons: people from Central Mexico were about three times more likely to have migrated for economic reasons relative to social reasons when compared to those from Northern Mexico ($p < 0.05$). In a similar vein, people from Southern Mexico were 4.6 times more likely to have migrated for economic reasons relative to social reasons when compared to respondents from Northern Mexico ($p < 0.01$). This finding generally supports H7. Lastly, among the full sample, there appears to be a negative association between the marginalization index and having migrated for economic reasons versus social reasons. In other words, people from more marginalized states are less likely to have migrated for economic reasons relative to social reasons when compared to people from less marginalized states, which does not support H8.

Table 3. Multinomial Logistic Regression Coefficients for Full Sample, Subsample of Men, and Subsample of Women

Variables	Model I	Model II	Model III
	(Full Sample; N = 544)	(Men; N = 424)	(Women; N = 119)
	"Economic" vs. "Social"	"Economic" vs. "Social"	"Economic" vs. "Social"
Demographic Characteristics			
<i>Male</i>	1.22*** (0.31)	-	-
<i>Married or Civil Union</i>	-0.35 (0.29)	-0.09 (0.36)	-1.01+ (0.59)
<i>Age Categories</i>			
25-34 years old	0.21 (0.34)	0.14 (0.41)	0.19 (0.73)
35-44 years old	0.46 (0.38)	0.54 (0.49)	0.13 (0.71)
45 years old and older	0.54 (0.55)	0.43 (0.62)	-0.06 (1.53)
Human Capital			
<i>Employed Before Crossing?</i>	0.68* (0.28)	0.41 (0.34)	1.02+ (0.58)
Social Capital			
<i>Family in US Destination</i>	-1.94*** (0.43)	-1.73*** (0.51)	-3.03** (1.02)
<i>US Citizen Family Member</i>	-1.51*** (0.30)	-1.79*** (0.40)	-1.30* (0.57)
Region of Origin			
<i>West-Central (Traditional)</i>	0.37 (0.52)	0.19 (0.60)	1.28 (1.52)
<i>Central</i>	1.11* (0.45)	0.82 (0.57)	1.85 (1.17)
<i>South</i>	1.53** (0.56)	1.23+ (0.66)	2.87+ (1.49)
State Level Controls			
<i>Unemployment Rate</i>	-0.01 (0.08)	-0.07 (0.10)	0.25 (0.17)
<i>Migration Homes</i>	0.05 (0.08)	0.03 (0.09)	0.12 (0.16)
<i>Marginalization Index</i>	-0.37+ (0.19)	-0.39 (0.24)	-0.64 (0.41)
Pseudo R2	0.1477	0.1309	0.2720

Source: Migrant Border Crossing Study, Wave II

Note: "18-24 years old" and "North" are the referent categories

“Economic Reasons” vs. “Social Reasons”: Subsample of Men

Model II illustrates the regression results for the factors associated with migrating for “economic reasons” relative to “social reasons” among the subsample of men. Results suggest a negative association between having family in the U.S. destination and having migrated for economic reasons relative to social reasons. In other words, men with family in their U.S. destination were 82% *less* likely to have migrated for economic reasons compared to social reasons relative to men without family in their desired destination

($p < 0.001$). In a similar vein, men with a U.S. citizen family member were 83% *less* likely to have migrated for economic reasons relative to social reasons when compared to men without a U.S. citizen family member ($p < 0.001$), which again is consistent with H5. Finally, men from Southern Mexico were 3.4 times more likely to have migrated for economic reasons relative to social reasons when compared to men from Northern Mexico, which it is consistent with H7.

“Economic Reasons” vs. “Social Reasons”: Subsample of Women

Model III provides the regression results for the factors associated with migrating for “economic reasons” relative to “social reasons” among the subsample of women. Focusing exclusively on the subsample of women allows me to determine whether the mechanisms influencing reasons for recently migrating operate differently for men and women. In general, these mechanisms operate in a similar fashion, with two major exceptions. Being married or in a civil union as well as being employed before one’s most recent border-crossing experience impact women’s reasons for recently migrating, but both have no bearing on men’s reasons for migrating. Specifically, married women were 63% *less* likely to have migrated for economic reasons compared to social reasons relative to unmarried women ($p < 0.10$). On the contrary, women who were employed before their most recent crossing attempt were nearly 2.8 times more likely to have migrated for economic reasons relative to social reasons when compared to women who were not employed before crossing ($p < 0.10$), which it is consistent with H3.

As noted, with the exception of marital status and employment, the same factors that affect migrant men’s reasons for migrating also affect women in a similar fashion,

albeit in slightly different magnitudes. For instance, women with family in their U.S. destination were 95% *less* likely to have migrated for economic reasons compared to social reasons relative to women without family in their desired destination ($p < 0.01$), which is consistent with H5. Similarly, Table 3 also illustrates a negative association between having a U.S. citizen family member and having migrated for economic reasons among women. In this way, women with a U.S. citizen family member were 72% *less* likely to have migrated for economic reasons relative to social reasons when compared to women without a U.S. citizen family member ($p < 0.05$), which again is consistent with H5. Lastly, women from Southern Mexico were 17.6 times more likely to have migrated for economic reasons relative to social reasons when compared to women from Northern Mexico ($p < 0.10$), which it also supports H5.

Chapter 5: Discussion

The literature on international migration has found that Mexican males are more likely to migrate for economic reasons compared to women for social reasons, a highly gendered social process. However, most quantitative studies on Mexican migration have come primarily from two sources of data, the Mexican Migration Project (MMP) and the Mexican Migration Field Research Program (MMFRP), which until recently, did not focus on the migration experiences of women. Moreover, the majority of data gathered in both of these projects were collected *prior* to increased border enforcement measures in the mid-1990s and 2000s, *before* the 2007-2009 Great Recession, and *prior* to expanded economic neoliberalism. Drawing on a subsample of male and female *recent* border-

crossers who crossed after the 2007-2009 Great Recession from wave II of the MBCS, this thesis examines whether or not migration continues to be a highly gendered social process in the present era. Moreover, this study builds on the existing literature on unauthorized Mexican migration that seeks to identify the factors associated with recent migrants having left Mexico for either economic or social reasons. Overall, my findings support the existing literature while also offering a new, more nuanced understanding of how the social process of unauthorized migration differs between men and women. Results from the analysis of the full sample (Model I) support most of the gender-related hypotheses posited in this study. For instance, I find that men are more likely to report having migrated for economic reasons rather than social reasons when compared to women, which is consistent with the literature on patriarchal Mexican society (Cerruti and Massey 2001).

Additional results for the full sample (Model I) suggest negative associations between social capital and migrating for economic reasons relative to social reasons. Social capital is operationalized as having family in one's U.S. destination or U.S. citizen family members, which among the full sample increased the likelihood of migration due to social reasons relative to economic reasons. According to social capital theory, close or distant networks may assist a family member or acquaintances during their initial trip across the U.S.-Mexico border. Also, once unauthorized immigrants make it to their new destinations, they must rely on social networks when searching for jobs and housing in order to make ends meet and provide for their families (Curran and Rivero-Fuentes 2003; Van Hook and Glick 2007). On the contrary, there were positive associations between having originated from Central and Southern Mexico for economic reasons relative to

social reasons when compared to Northern Mexico. The states of Guerrero and Oaxaca, both of which are located in Southern Mexico, reflect some of the highest poverty rates in Mexico that often leads to the emigration out of these regions into higher income economies. The present study also finds that migrants from states with higher rates of marginalization are more likely to have migrated for social reasons relative to economic reasons among the full sample. Discrimination against indigenous peoples offers greater insight into this finding, as it may affect their access to employment, affordable housing, and public services (Godoy 2015). Thus, marginal groups in Mexico might risk an unauthorized migration due to the lack of equity within society.

This study also provides insight into men's reasons for having migrated (Model II). The migration literature tends to describe men as largely economic migrants (Cerrutti and Massey 2001; Feliciano 2008; Massey et al. 1993; Massey and Espinosa 1997). However, (Model II) illustrates that men with family in their U.S. destination or U.S. citizen family members are more likely to have migrated for social reasons relative to economic reasons when compared to men without such social ties. Indeed, the theory of social capital reiterates that social networks, whether formal or informal, tend to support unauthorized immigrants through the dissemination of survival information in relation to jobs, housing, and transportation (Curran and Rivero-Fuentes 2003; Van Hook and Glick 2007). In addition, social ties have the potential to assist low-income residents within inner-city neighborhoods with not only job information, but in relation to vital information regarding social services and community resources (Freeman 2006). Moreover, men's finding might be a reflection of their social affinity for their families abroad through their longing to stay united to lead fulfilled lives. These results highlight

men's disposition to also undertake an unauthorized migration due to family reunification, which it disrupts the common assumption that Mexican men do not care for their families' emotional needs as much as Mexican women do in general terms due to patriarchy (Cerruti and Massey 2001). Despite the fact that U.S. immigration policy advocates for family reunification by allowing U.S. citizens to sponsor close family members (Yoshikawa 2011), some Mexican men may not be eligible, resorting to risk an unauthorized border-crossing in order to reunite with family members.

On the other hand, (Model II) showed a positive association between men originating from Southern Mexico and migrating for economic reasons compared to social reasons relatively to people from Northern Mexico. People throughout Southern Mexico were displaced by NAFTA at high rates and therefore possibly are more likely to become economic migrants. The literature extensively contends that NAFTA left the Mexican agricultural sector disabled after the United States largely subsidized their corn through reduced prices, which weakened Mexico's corn market. Thus, the dire economic conditions in Mexico due to NAFTA constitute a key push economic factor for unauthorized migration (Mackey 2013). Since the passage of NAFTA, Southern Mexican farmers continue to migrate into the United States as farm workers such in the case of Oaxacan Mexican agricultural laborers in California, who comprise 300,000 out of the 500,000 nationwide (Bacon 2014). The displacement of Oaxacans from Mexico represents their resolve to emigrate out of the Southern region, which do not offers economic security due to NAFTA's detrimental effects upon their agricultural productions and labor. Thus, imported goods affected the Mexican market while jeopardizing Mexicans farmers' livelihoods, resulting in the clandestine migration of two

million Mexican agricultural laborers and farmers (Mackey 2013). In addition, the Southern states of Oaxaca and Chiapas share high concentrations of poverty rates, whose populations still lack access to quality of education and high-paying occupations (Consejo Nacional de Poblacion 2016). It is not surprising that Southern Mexican men would risk an unauthorized migration to escape extreme poverty due to the detrimental effects of NAFTA and their limited access to employment.

Although most of the findings from this study appear to be consistent with the migration literature, the present study does offer additional, more nuanced insight into the relationship between gender and reasons for undergoing a recent border-crossing attempt. Specifically, I uncover two unique results among the subsample of women (Model III) associated with marital status and employment before one's most recent crossing that do not operate in the same way for men. For instance, women who are married or in a civil union are less likely to have migrated for economic reasons relative to social reasons when compared to unmarried women, but this relationship does not hold among men. In other words, married women likely migrate to reunite with their family members abroad, while unmarried women may migrate in search of economic opportunities. It is possible that married women's marginalized status and submissive role based on the family unit might keep them from attempting an unauthorized migration until receiving their husbands' approval (Feliciano 2008). According to the literature on patriarchy, Mexican society tends to encourage men to undertake an unauthorized migration due to their authoritarian role within their households contrary to women's roles as stay-at-home mothers (Cerruti and Massey 2001). However, the literature on unauthorized Mexican migration is mixed, revealing that married women may also seek economic opportunities

after reuniting with their family members abroad (Cerrutti and Massey 2001; Hernandez and Darke 1999). On the other hand, unmarried women might not be dependent on a male partner to undertake a border-crossing attempt, which might free them to participate in the labor market as economic migrants (Cerrutti and Massey 2001). Therefore, unauthorized women might achieve economic independence according to their marital status.

The analysis among the subsample of women also reveals that women who were employed prior to their most recent border-crossing attempt were more likely to have migrated for economic reasons relative to social reasons when compared to women who were not employed (see Model III). However, this relationship does not hold for men likely due to their long history of economic migration (Feliciano 2008; Johnson 2014) or relatively higher rates of participation in the labor market in Mexico when compared to women. Economic independence for single women or women with prior employment experience has likely influenced their decision to attempt a recent unauthorized trip due to their freedom to seek occupational opportunities abroad (Cerrutti and Massey 2001). There are general assumptions about immigrant women ranging from their lack of culture when embarking on their journey from the “traditional” (sending country) into a “modern” (receiving country), which should be further examined by scholars (Brettell and Simon 1986: 16). In particular, cultural misinterpretations of immigrant women might seem trivial at first when their traditional customs are questioned. For instance, the French government had previously sponsored household-related classes for North African women as if they lacked competency to take care of their families. However, the general belief that women have not attained occupational experiences before migration or

even worked for salaried jobs might be inaccurate and misleading as well (Brettell and Simon 1986; Hernandez and Darke 1999). Thus, the results for single women or women with prior employment history ultimately challenge long-held scholarly assumptions about the gendered nature of unauthorized migration and suggest that certain women may be migrating for economic reasons much like their male counterparts.

The major findings from this study are consistent with those in the extant literature: men continue to migrate for largely economic reasons while women migrate due to social considerations. Due to patriarchy, Mexican men might have more autonomy over their decisions to migrate—particularly when it comes to economic reasons—while women might have to wait for their families’ assent (Cerruti and Massey 2001). However, one significant contribution of this study is that this long-held understanding of the gendered nature of unauthorized Mexican migration may be more nuanced than previously understood. For example, this study revealed that unmarried women are more likely to have migrated recently for economic reasons, but marital status had no bearing on men’s reasons for migrating. Likewise, women who had been employed before crossing were more likely to have migrated for economic reasons, but as with marital status, being employed did not affect men’s reasons for having migrated. Collectively, these results may suggest that unmarried women and women with labor market experience prior to their most recent crossing attempt may be searching for better economic opportunities abroad. Further, the consistent effects associated with my measures of social capital across all models suggest that social ties to the United States ultimately impact having migrated for social reasons among women and men in a similar fashion. Overall, these findings imply that gender norms within migration might be

shifting in Mexico. Men's expanding social ties to the United States might be gradually increasing their propensity to migrate for social reasons, while women with labor market experience prior to their most recent crossing attempt and unmarried women may be engaging in unauthorized migration due to economic considerations.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

There are common themes in the literature about the nature of Mexican men and women's unauthorized migration, which this study had tried to unravel in order to reveal current gender-based reasons for risking a recent border-crossing. The social and economic reasons for undertaking an unauthorized migration represent human rights issues for many Mexicans who risk their lives in order to seek family reunification or economic mobility. Anti-immigration laws often prevent this vulnerable population from living lawfully in the United States (Slack et al. 2015). Therefore, our main research question guided our study, which focused on the individual-level factors that might have initially led men and women to risk an unauthorized trip whether for social or economic reasons. In particular, this study examined whether previous reasons for migrating among Mexican men and women continue to hold in our contemporary era and whether they represent an important shift of our understanding of gender-based migration. Moreover, this study examined the responses of recent border-crossers, who had previously been surveyed in the second wave of the Migrant Border Crossing Study (MBCS). Findings from this study revealed similarities and differences between men and women's reasons for risking a recent unauthorized migration attempt. Ultimately, I find that men are *still*

more likely to have migrated for *economic* reasons rather than social reasons when compared to women. This result suggests that migration continues to be a gendered social process among recent border-crossers, which is consistent with studies that were largely carried out prior to the era of increased border and immigration enforcement efforts, the economic recession, and the expansion of economic neoliberalism (Model I).

Whether controlling for gender or examining subsamples of men and women independently of each other, the present study also finds that measures of social capital and region of origin affect men's and women's reasons for having migrated in a similar fashion. The social capital measures (i.e., having family in one's U.S. destination and having U.S. citizen family members) were negatively associated with having migrated for economic reasons relative to social reasons. For instance, the results from Model II offer greater insight on men's yearning to reunite with their family members, contrary to the common perception of men as economic migrants (Feliciano 2008). Although the magnitude of the effect of the social capital variables seem to be larger for women when compared to men (see Models II and III), the fact that these coefficients are significant and in the same direction for women and men could be indicative that both women and men remain determined to be reunited with their family members abroad regardless of gender. Prior studies using MBCS wave II data have found that social ties to U.S. citizen family members remained strong among recently deported migrants. Even though the present study focuses on recent unauthorized migrants, men's inclination to seek their loved ones abroad speaks of a new paradigm shift where family-oriented migration is becoming salient among the current unauthorized population (Slack et al. 2015: 123). Likewise, the measures for the region of origin reflect Mexican men's and women's

resolve to improve their economic conditions, particularly if they originate from Southern Mexico, which is plagued with high levels of poverty due to neoliberal reforms enacted by NAFTA (Bacon 2014).

Despite the similar results for the social capital and region of origin measures among men and women, there are two factors that shape their unauthorized migration differently: marital status and employment before crossing. When we focus on a subsample of men and women, the present study found that married women are less likely to migrate for economic reasons relative to social reasons when compared to unmarried women, but it had no bearing on men's reasons for having migrated. In other words, married women continue to migrate for the purposes of family reunification whereas unmarried women migrated for economic reasons. As the literature shows, women tend to migrate for social reasons while men migrate for economic reasons (Feliciano 2008; Johnson 2014), but this study further revealed that unmarried women may also be seeking financial opportunities as economic migrants. Moreover, the present study also found that women who were employed prior to their most recent border-crossing were more likely to have migrated for economic reasons relatively to women who were not employed. Nevertheless, employment before one's most recent border-crossing did not shape men's reason for having migrated. This gendered finding is striking since there is a possibility that women are starting to reverse their "traditional" roles as social migrants. According to Donato and Gabaccia (2015), the feminization of migration is shifting women's roles into autonomous labor migrants as studies show that they are leaving home at almost the same rate as men in search for jobs abroad within the service industry. In addition, these findings revealed that the previous economic and

social reasons for initiating an unauthorized trip among men and women respectively has not remained static during our contemporary era of increased border enforcement, post-recession economic recovery, and expanded economic neoliberalism.

REFERENCES

- Aguilera, Michael B. and Douglas S. Massey. 2003. "Social Capital and the Wages of Mexican Migrants: New Hypotheses and Tests." *Social Forces* 82(2): 671-701.
- Andrews, Abigail. 2014. "Women's Political Engagement in a Mexican Sending Community: Migration as Crisis and the Struggle to Sustain an Alternative." *Gender and Society* 20 (10): 1-26.
- Bacon, David. 2014. "Globalization and NAFTA Caused Migration from Mexico." Retrieved March 4, 2016 (<http://www.politicalresearch.org/2014/10/11/globalization-and-nafta-caused-migration-from-mexico/#sthash.hR7SJpQz.dpbs>).
- Beder, Sharon. 2009. "Neoliberalism and the Global Financial Crisis." *Social Alternatives* 8(1): 17-21.
- Bernabe-Aguilera, Michael. 2003. "The Impact of the Worker: How Social Capital and Human Capital Influence the Job Tenure of Formerly Undocumented Mexican Immigrants." *Social Inquiry* (73)1: 52-83.
- Brettell, Caroline B. and Rita James Simon. 1986. "Immigrant Women: An Introduction." Pp 3-20 in *International Migration: The Female Experience*, edited by Simon, Rita James and Caroline B. Brettell. Totoway, NJ: Rowman & Allanheld Publishers.
- Bump, Phillip. 2015. "How Many American Children are 'Birthright' Citizens Born to Illegal Immigrants?" Retrieved March 16, 2016 (<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2015/08/20/how-many-children-born-to-undocumented-immigrants-are-there-in-the-u-s/>).
- Cengel, Katya. 2013. "The Other Mexicans." Retrieved March 3, 2016 (<http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2013/06/130624-mexico-mixteco-indigenous-immigration-spanish-culture/>).
- Cerrutti, Marcela and Douglas S. Massey. 2001. "On the Auspices of Female Migration from Mexico to the United States." *Demography* 38(2): 187-200.
- Chort, Isabelle. 2014. "Mexican Migrants to the US: What do Unrealized Migration Intentions Tell Us about Gender Inequalities?" *World Development* 59: 535-552.
- Consejo Nacional de Poblacion. 2010. "Indice de Marginacion por Entidad Federativa y Municipio 2010." Retrieved March 3, 2016 (http://www.conapo.gob.mx/work/models/CONAPO/indices_marginacion/mf2010/CapitulosPDF/1_4.pdf).
- Cornelius, Wayne A. 1998. "The Structural Embeddedness of Demand for Mexican Immigrant Labor: New Evidence from California." Pp 113-144 in *Crossings: Mexican Immigration in Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, edited by Suarez-Orozco, Marcelo M. New York: Harvard University Press.
- Cornelius, Wayne A. 2015. "Border Fences are Succeeding – in Keeping Migrants in U.S." Retrieved March 21, 2016 (<http://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-0810-cornelius-border-security-20150810-story.html>).
- Creighton, Mathew J and Fernando Riosmena. 2013. "Migration and the Gendered Origin of Migrant Networks among Couples in Mexico." *Social Science Quarterly* 94(1): 1-20.

- Curran, Sara R. and Estela Rivero-Fuentes. 2003. "Engendering Migrant Networks: The Case of Mexican Migration." *Demography* 40(2): 289-307.
- Customs and Border Protection. 2013. "United States Border Patrol: Apprehensions/Seizure Statistics – Fiscal Year 2011." Retrieved May 20, 2016 (<https://www.cbp.gov/sites/default/files/documents/U.S.%20Border%20Patrol%20Fiscal%20Year%202011%20Sector%20Profile.pdf>).
- Donato, Katharine M. and Donna Gabaccia. 2015. *Gender and International Migration: From the Slavery Era to the Global Age*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Feliciano, Cynthia. 2008. "GENDER SELECTIVITY: U.S. Mexican Immigrants and Mexican Nonmigrants, 1960-2000." *Latin American Research Review* 43(1): 139-160.
- Ferraro, Vicente A. 2014. *Immigrants and Crime in the New Destinations*. El Paso, TX: LFB Scholarly Publishing LLC.
- Freeman, Lance. 2006. *There Goes the Hood: Views of Gentrification from the Ground Up*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Fry, Richard. 2006. "Gender and Migration." Retrieved February 11, 2016 (<http://www.pewhispanic.org/2006/07/05/gender-and-migration/>).
- Godoy, Emilio. 2015. "Missing Students Case Highlights Racism in Mexico." Retrieved March 3, 2016 (<http://mintpressnews.com/missing-students-case-highlights-racism-mexico/201719>).
- Gordillo, Luz Maria. 2010. *Mexican Women and the Other Side of Migration*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- Granberry, Phillip J. and Enrico A. Marcelli. 2007. "In the Hood and on the Job": Social Capital Accumulation among Legal and Unauthorized Mexican Immigrants." *Sociological Perspectives* 50(4): 579-595.
- Hall, Matthew and George Farkas. 2008. "Does Human Capital Raise Earnings for Immigrants in the Low-Skill Labor Market?" *Demography* 45(3): 619-639.
- Hernandez, Donald J. and Katherine Darke. 1999. "Socioeconomic and Demographic Risk Factors and Resources Among Children in Immigrant and Native-Born Families: 1910, 1960, and 1990." Pp. 19-125 in *Children of Immigrants: Health, Adjustment, and Public Assistance*, edited by Hernandez, Donald J. Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press.
- Hondagneu-Sotelo, Pierrette. 1994. *Gendered Transitions: Mexican Experiences of Immigration*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Institut für Migrationsforschung und Interkulturelle Studien. 2016. "Focus Migration: Mexico." Retrieved March 4, 2016 (<http://focusmigration.hwwi.de/Mexico.5296.0.html?&L=1>).
- Jasso, Guillermina and Mark R. Rosenzweig. 1995. "Do Immigrants Screened for Skills do Better than Family Reunification Immigrants?" *International Migration Review* 29(1): 85-111
- Johnson, Danica. 2014. "The Truth about How Food Gets to our Table and Who Gets Hurt Along the Way." Retrieved June 10, 2016 (<http://everydayfeminism.com/2014/03/farmworkers/>).
- Lachman, Margie E., Salom Teshale, and Stefan Agrigoroaei. 2015. "Midlife as a Pivotal Period in the Life Course: Balancing Growth and Decline at the Crossroads of

- Youth and Old Age.” *International Journal of Behavioral Development* 39(1): 20-31.
- Long, Scott. 1997. “Regression Models for Categorical and Limited Dependent Variables.” Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publication.
- Mackey, Brian. 2013. “Racing to the Bottom – With the Pedal to the Metal: Re-Thinking, Reviewing, and Revising NAFTA.” *Law and Business Review of the Americas* 19(3): 357-380.
- Mahler, Sarah J. and Patricia R. Pessar. 2006. “Gender Matters: Ethnographers Bring Gender from the Periphery toward the Core of Migration Studies.” *International Migration Review* 40(1): 27-63.
- Martínez, Daniel E. 2016. “Coyote Use in an Era of Heightened Border Enforcement: New Evidence from the Arizona-Sonora Border. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 42(1): 103-119.
- Martinez, Daniel and Jeremy Slack. 2013. “What Part of “Illegal” Don’t You Understand? The Social Consequences of Criminalizing Unauthorized Mexican Migrants in the United States.” *Social and Legal Studies* 1-17.
- Martínez, Daniel E., Jeremy Slack, Alex E. Chávez, and Scott Whiteford. 2015. “The American Dream: Walking Toward and Deporting it” Pp 68-98 in *Latino American Dream*, edited by Hanson, Sandra L. and John K. White (eds.). Texas: Texas A&M University Press.
- Massey, Douglas S. 1999. “Why does Immigration Occur? A Theoretical Synthesis.” Pp. 34-52 in *The Handbook of International Migration: The American Experience*, edited by C. Hirschman, P. Kasinitz and J. de Wind. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Massey, Douglas S., Joaquin Arango, Graeme Hugo, Ali Kouaouci, Adela Pellegrino, and J. Edward Taylor. 1993. “Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal.” *Population and Development Review* 19(3): 431-466.
- Massey, Douglas S., Jorge Durand, and Nolan J. Malone. 2003. “Beyond Smoke and Mirrors: Mexican Immigration in an Era of Economic Integration.” New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Massey, Douglas S. and Kristin E. Espinosa. 1997. “What’s Driving Mexico-U.S. Migration? A Theoretical, Empirical, and Policy Analysis.” *American Journal of Sociology* 102 (4): 939-999.
- Molina, Paola. 2014. *Re-Immigration after Deportation: Family, Gender, and the Decision to Make a Second Attempt to Enter the U.S.* El Paso, TX: LFB Scholarly Publishing LLC.
- Mullan Harris, Kathleen. 1999. “The Health Status and Risk Behaviors of Adolescents in Immigrant Families.” Pp. 286-347 in *Children of Immigrants: Health, Adjustment, and Public Assistance*, edited by Hernandez, Donald J. Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press.
- Passel, Jeffrey S., D’Vera Cohn, Jen Manuel Krogstad, and Ana Gonzalez-Barrera. 2014. “As Growth Stalls, Unauthorized Immigrant Population Becomes More Settled.” Retrieved June 10, 2016 (<http://www.pewhispanic.org/2014/09/03/as-growth-stalls-unauthorized-immigrant-population-becomes-more-settled/>).

- Poggio, Sara and Ofelia Woo. 2001. *Migracion Femenina hacia EUA: Cambio en las Relaciones Familiares y de Genero como Resultado de la Migracion*. Mexico: EDAMEX.
- Rivera, Gabriela and Mariana F. Maldonado. 2013. "Oaxaca, Chiapas, Veracruz y Guerrero, Los Mas Beneficiados." Retrieved March 3, 2016 (<http://www.24horas.mx/oaxaca-chiapas-veracruz-y-guerrero-los-mas-beneficiados/>).
- Rural Migration News. 2006. "Braceros: History, Compensation." Retrieved March 4, 2016 (<https://migration.ucdavis.edu/rmn/more.php?id=1112>).
- Singer, Audrey. 2013. "Contemporary Immigrant Gateways in Historical Perspective." *Daedalus, The Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 142(3): 76-91.
- Singer, Audrey and Douglas S. Massey. 1998. "The Social Process of Undocumented Border Crossing Among Mexican Migrants." *International Migration Review* 32(3): 561-592.
- Slack, Jeremy, Daniel E. Martínez, Scott Whiteford, and Emily Peiffer. 2013. "In the Shadow of the Wall: Family Separation, Immigration Enforcement, and Security: Preliminary Data from the Migrant Border Crossing Study." Retrieved March 19, 2015 (http://las.arizona.edu/sites/las.arizona.edu/files/UA_Immigration_Report2013web.pdf).
- Slack, Jeremy, Daniel E. Martínez, Scott Whiteford, and Emily Peiffer. 2015. "In Harm's Way: Family Separation, Immigration Enforcement Programs, and Security on the U.S.-Mexico Border." *Journal on Migration and Human Security* 3(2): 109-128.
- Trueba, Enrique T. 1998. "The Education of Mexican Immigrant Children." Pp 253-275 in *Crossings: Mexican Immigration in Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, edited by Suarez-Orozco, Marcelo M. New York: Harvard University Press.
- Valdez, Carmen R. Brian Padilla, and Jessa Lewis Valentine. 2013. "Consequences of Arizona's Immigration Policy on Social Capital among Mexican Mothers with Unauthorized Immigration Status." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 35(3): 303-322.
- Van Hook, Jennifer and Jennifer E. Glick. 2007. "Immigration and Living Arrangements: Moving Beyond Economic Need Versus Acculturation." *Demography* 44(2): 225-249.
- Wagner, Mary C. 2003. "Belem do Para: Moving Toward Eradicating Domestic Violence in Mexico." *Penn State International Law Review* 22(2): 349-368.
- Yoshikawa, Hirokazu. 2011. *Immigrants Raising Children: Undocumented Parents and Their Young Children*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Weinger, Mackenzie. 2011. "Poll: Who are Illegal Immigrants?" Retrieved February 15, 2016 (<http://www.politico.com/story/2011/12/poll-who-are-illegal-immigrants-069551>).