

Mexicans in America

María Eugenia Genoni
World Bank

Gabriela Farfan
World Bank

Luis Rubalcava
CAMBS

Graciela Teruel
Universidad Iberoamericana

Duncan Thomas
Duke University

Andrea Velasquez
University of Colorado Denver

February 2017

This research, which has benefited from discussions with Erika Arenas, Gordon Hanson, Doug Massey and Andres Villarreal, was first presented at the 2012 Population Association of America meetings. Financial support from CONACYT, the National Institute of Aging (R01-AG030668), the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (R01-HD047522), the Fogarty International Center (D43-TW007699), the National Science Foundation (SES-1227052) and the Hewlett Foundation are gratefully acknowledged. The findings, interpretations, and conclusions expressed in this paper are entirely those of the authors. They do not necessarily represent the views of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/World Bank and its affiliated organizations, or those of the Executive Directors of the World Bank or the governments they represent.

Abstract

Using data from the Mexican Family Life Survey (MxFLS), we establish the feasibility and value-added to science of tracking international migrants in a population-representative longitudinal survey. The MxFLS baseline, conducted in 2002, is representative of all Mexicans living in Mexico. The follow-ups are designed to track and interview movers including those who moved to the U.S. In the 2005 follow-up, 91% of baseline respondents who moved to the U.S. were interviewed. Information collected from interviewing these migrants in the U.S. is used to provide scientific evidence on the extent and selectivity of under-enumeration of Mexican-origin migrants in the American Community Survey and Current Population Survey. Between 20 and 35 percent of Mexican-origin migrants who moved between the baseline and follow-up are not enumerated in the U.S.-based surveys. They are more likely to be younger, single, male, and less educated than those who are enumerated in the U.S.-based surveys. 85 percent of MxFLS migrants report entering the U.S. without documentation: they are more likely to be younger, single, male and less educated than those who entered with documentation: the undercount of those who entered without documentation is likely to be larger than the overall estimate. Conditional on age and education, those not enumerated in the U.S.-based surveys are more likely to be working and they earn less than those who were enumerated. Taken together, these results have implications for interpretation of evidence on the number of migrants and their contributions to the U.S. economy and society.

Key words: International migration, longitudinal survey, undercount, selectivity.
JEL codes: O15, J61

1. Introduction

It is difficult to overstate the importance of constructing accurate estimates of the number of Mexican-origin migrants living in the United States (U.S.). Current best estimates are about 12 million Mexicans which amounts to around 10 percent of the entire Mexican population. Counting the number of Mexicans entering the U.S. in any year, the number resident in the U.S. and their characteristics has been at the center of considerable debate for many years (Hanson and McIntosh, 2009, 2010; Bean et al., 1998 and 2001). Creative methods have been developed and implemented to estimate the number of Mexicans living in the U.S., as well as cross-border flows of migrants in each direction, drawing on data collected either in the U.S. or in Mexico. (Bean and Van Hook, 1998; Bean et al., 2001; Passel and D’Vera Cohn, 2009, 2016; Rendall et al., 2011). These data have been used to study the characteristics of the Mexican migrant population, their assimilation, and impact on the U.S. domestic population as well as family members left behind in Mexico. As many studies have noted, a key problem with inferences drawn from data collected either in the U.S. or Mexico is that those data may not be representative of all cross-border migrants which complicates inferences about the size and composition of the Mexican-origin population in the U.S. (Hanson, 2006). This research directly addresses that limitation and provides new evidence on recent migrants from Mexico to the U.S.

On one hand, data collected in Mexico provide information only on migrants with roots in Mexico because the informant reporting on the migrant has to be a member of a household in Mexico in order to be included in the census or eligible for the survey conducted in Mexico. As a result, more permanent migrants to the U.S. and households that move entirely to the U.S. will be excluded from the study. In a recent, creative study that uses data from the Mexican Family Life Survey (MxFLS), Hamilton and Savinar (2015) conclude that this accounts for a substantial fraction of the undercount based on data collected in Mexico.

On the other hand, U.S. data sources are likely to undercount the hardest to find, particularly more transitory and undocumented migrants. This is a serious concern since 80 percent of recent Mexican-origin migrants and 55 percent of the total Mexican population living in the U.S. is thought to be undocumented (Passel and D’Vera Cohn, 2008). Moreover, given the proximity of Mexico and the U.S., many migrants are thought to be circular, crossing the border frequently, and they are likely to be especially hard to survey.

The characteristics of those who are under-counted are also important. If they are selected on age, education, earnings or traits that are associated with success, then inferences about the impact of migration on the domestic and migrant populations will be complicated as will inferences about assimilation of migrants.

The limited evidence that exists on these issues suggests they are important concerns. Ong and Houston (2002) find that neighborhoods in Los Angeles County with the highest undercount rates in the 2000 census tend to be poor and predominantly minority, and have a relatively large number of children. In addition, Ibararan and Lubotsky (2007) compare Mexican-origin migrants counted in the U.S. with reports of migrants to the U.S. in the Mexican census and find that migrants counted in the U.S. are older and better skilled than those enumerated in the Mexican census. They conclude that the differences are likely to be explained by the undercount of young undocumented migrants and the over reporting of education in the U.S. census. Orrenius and Zavodny (2005) point out that if the likelihood of being included in the U.S. census depends on skills, results based on the U.S. census will be biased. Similarly, Fernandez-Huertas Moraga (2011) finds evidence that undercounting is selective in terms of education, by comparing the U.S. census and the American Community Survey (ACS) with the Mexican Employment and Occupation Survey.

This paper examines unique longitudinal data designed to provide direct evidence on the extent and selectivity of Mexican-origin migrants living in the U.S. We study a sample of recent Mexican migrants who have been interviewed in the U.S. in 2005 as part of MxFLS; a study that is representative of the population of Mexico at the time of the baseline survey conducted in 2002.

An innovative feature of MxFLS that is key for this study is our decision to track and interview all respondents who moved to the U.S. after the baseline interview. In the first follow-up 90 percent of those believed to be migrants in the U.S. were interviewed. Given the low attrition rates, the MxFLS sample of Mexicans in the U.S. provides a very close representation of the population of all Mexicans who moved from Mexico to the U.S. since 2002 and were living in the U.S. at the time of the 2005 follow-up. This unique feature supports estimation of the size and characteristics of recent Mexican migrants living in the U.S. and an assessment of

the extent to which the ACS and the Current Population Survey (CPS), widely-used surveys in this literature, undercount or misrepresent the recent Mexican population living in the U.S.

This research makes three contributions to the literature. First, we establish the feasibility of following international movers in longitudinal population-representative surveys, even in an extremely challenging study environment. We describe the methods that we used to track and interview in the U.S. 91% of the respondents who were enumerated in Mexico at baseline and had moved to the U.S. and were living in the U.S. at the time of the follow-up survey.

Second, we provide a substantively important example of the value-added for science of this approach to conducting longitudinal studies. Specifically, with these individual-level data on migrants to the U.S., we provide direct evidence on the extent and, importantly, the selectivity of the undercount of Mexican-origin migrants living in the U.S. by comparing the characteristics of migrants we interviewed in the U.S. with migrants interviewed in the ACS and CPS. We estimate that approximately 2.07 million Mexicans age 13 and older in 2002 moved to the U.S. between 2002 and 2005 and were living in the U.S. in 2005. This is over 20 percent higher than the estimate based on the CPS and over 30 percent higher than the estimate based on the ACS. The U.S.-based surveys substantially undercount recent migrants from Mexico to the U.S.

Third, we establish that those Mexican-origin migrants who are not enumerated in the U.S.-based surveys are selected on demographic and socio-economic characteristics. Relative to the ACS and CPS, MxFLS respondents are younger, less educated, more likely to be single, and more likely to be renters. The differences are both statistically significant and substantial in magnitude. For example, about 38 percent of recent migrants in CPS and ACS have at least completed high-school. This group accounts for only 18 percent of MxFLS respondents. Conditional on age and education, migrants interviewed in MxFLS are more likely to be working and earn substantially less than respondents in CPS and ACS. The differences suggest the undercount of more transitory (and likely undocumented migrants) is greater than has been estimated to date.

Supplementary analyses draw comparisons with the Mexican Migration Project (MMP) which is an important source of evidence on migration between Mexico and the U.S. (Massey et al, 1990; Donato, Durand and Massey, 1992). Because the MMP is a sample of respondents in the U.S. who have been identified by family members living in selected areas in Mexico, it tends

to oversample migrants who have roots in Mexico and whose origins are in communities with a history of sending migrants to the U.S.. Relative to comparisons with the CPS and ACS, the differences between MxFLS and MMP are smaller although MMP migrants are significantly more likely to be male, married, and less educated than MxFLS respondents.

2. Data

The MxFLS baseline was conducted in 2002 and collected detailed information on 35,677 individuals living in 8,440 households in 150 communities spread across 16 states in Mexico. The sample was selected by INEGI, the Mexican statistical agency, and is designed to be representative of the entire Mexican population living in Mexico at the time of the baseline survey (Rubalcava and Teruel, 2004). The first follow-up, MxFLS-2, was conducted in 2005-2006 and interviews were completed with at least one individual from over 90 percent of the baseline households covering 89.2 percent of all baseline respondents.¹

Tracking international migrants in MxFLS

A novel feature of MxFLS, which is key for this research, is that we not only follow respondents who move within Mexico but also follow respondents who move to the U.S. and interview them in the U.S.² Following movers in a longitudinal survey is hard. Following international movers is even harder. It is, however, important if movers and, especially international movers, are selected in ways that are not readily observed. MxFLS is the first large-scale population-representative survey that has successfully followed respondents across international borders. Prior to the follow-up survey, we conducted a series of pilots to assess the feasibility of tracking movers to the U.S. and to test alternative tracking and recontact strategies to maximize the probability of successful follow-up.

We started MxFLS-2 fieldwork by returning to the baseline location of each household and asking the whereabouts of every respondent who was living there at the time of the 2002 interview. When a member of a baseline household was found, the person was asked about the location of every other member of the baseline household. If one of those respondents had

¹ The second follow-up was in the field between 2009 and 2015. We use data from the first follow-up since data from the second follow-up have not been finalized although information has been collected from 90 percent of the baseline respondents.

² It is estimated that about 95 percent of Mexican international movers go to the U.S.

moved, information about the new location was recorded including physical addresses, telephone numbers, electronic mail addresses and contact information for people in the new location who may know the whereabouts of the respondent. When none of the origin household members was located, we sought information about the respondents from other MxFLS respondents in the same community as well as from other informants in the community including local leaders, teachers, health providers, post office workers and employers.

Obtaining information about migrants in the U.S. is not straightforward and our pilot work highlighted two critical lessons that were included in the design of MxFLS. The first lesson was the importance of conducting multiple visits and building trust with the informants who could provide information about the migrants. We encountered very different situations in terms of the capacity and interest of informants to provide contact information about migrants.³ In general, obtaining this information required multiple re-visits to the informant's home. Importantly, whenever we obtained contact information, we asked the informant to let the migrant know we had been to their home and that we would like to conduct the same interview with the migrant. We followed up with a phone call to the migrant to make contact, tell the migrant we have been in touch with the family in Mexico, bring news of the family and request permission for the follow-up interview. Of course, the fact that we had interviewed the respondents in the baseline and that we were re-interviewing them to find out how their lives had changed contributed to gaining their confidence and trust.

A second lesson from the pilots was that migrants in the U.S. were initially very reluctant to speak with our enumerators. Telling the migrants about their families that we had just interviewed allayed these fears and, once we had gained the confidence of one migrant, we were able to interview other migrants in the same social network – typically people living together, working together or migrants from the same village in Mexico. Key for our success is the fact

³ Some informants are able to provide an address and telephone number for the target migrant living in the U.S.; others only know how to contact someone else in the U.S. who can contact the target migrant. A large fraction of informants had no contact information as the target migrant moved around and telephoned the informant regularly. In many cases, the informant was reluctant to provide contact information without first checking with the target migrant; we asked the informant to call the target migrant right away or, if that was not possible, to request such permission the next time the informant spoke to the target migrant.

that the MxFLS enumerators are Mexican, use Mexican slang and speak with identifiable Mexican accents.

This effort paid off. As shown in panel A of Table 1, in MxFLS-2 we re-interviewed 89.2 percent of the 35,121 baseline respondents who were alive in 2005. Of those respondents, 854 had moved to the U.S. and 90.6 percent of them were interviewed there. As shown in panel B of the table, of the migrants who were age 16 and older in 2005, 91 percent were re-interviewed in the U.S. Respondents in this age group form our analytical sample for two reasons. First, younger children are likely to have moved with one or both parents and it is the characteristics of those parents that is likely to drive selection. Second, some of the information of interest is only collected for respondents age 16 and older in the U.S. surveys.

MxFLS follows individuals who split off from their baseline households as well as entire baseline households if everyone in the household moved. This implies that the analysis is not restricted to migrants with roots in Mexico, and as additional waves of MxFLS are added, it will include more settled and permanent migrants. In other words, since the baseline sample is representative of the population living in Mexico in 2002, respondents interviewed in the U.S. in the first follow-up are representative of all Mexicans who moved to the U.S. since 2002 and are still living in the U.S. in 2005.⁴

Comparison surveys conducted in the U.S.

The MxFLS respondents in the U.S. are compared with respondents in the 2005 American Community Survey (ACS) and the 2006 March Supplement of the Current Population Survey (CPS). Both ACS and CPS have been major sources of information for studies of migrants in the U.S. Importantly, there is evidence that these surveys undercount migrants, in particular those undocumented.

⁴ In MxFLS a household member is an individual who usually lives in the household; it does not matter if he or she is temporarily absent (less than a year). Additionally, a person who currently lives in the household and has been living in the household for less than a year but plans to stay for a year or longer is a household member. This implies that the MxFLS sample of respondents living in the U.S. in 2005 will not include very short-term circular migrants since those will be considered household members in Mexico. In other words, the MxFLS sample interviewed in the U.S. will include respondents who left their original households in Mexico expecting to be out for longer than a year. From the migration histories we know that the average date of arrival for the MxFLS respondents living in the U.S. in 2005 is 2003 and that the majority of these migrants only crossed the border once (the average number of border crossings between 2002 and 2005 is 1.3) which is consistent with the household definition used in MxFLS.

ACS, a monthly survey that collects information on demographic, social, and economic characteristics of the U.S. population and housing, is the largest household survey in the United States. The 2005 wave sampling frame includes about 3 million housing unit addresses throughout the country. It has been estimated that the ACS misses about 10 percent of the undocumented migrants (Hoefler et al., 2006).⁵

CPS is a monthly survey of about 55,000 households and it is the primary source of information on the labor force characteristics of the U.S. population; the sample is expanded to about 80,000 households for the March supplement. For the CPS March Supplement, it has been estimated that the undercount of unauthorized migrants is about 12 percent (Passel and Vera-Cohn, 2008 and 2009).⁶

In order to draw comparisons with the MxFLS sample, both the 2005 ACS and 2006 March CPS samples are restricted to include all Mexican born respondents age 16 or older at the time of the survey who report having arrived in the U.S. since 2002.⁷ For the ACS the sample size consists of 8,533 respondents and for the CPS the sample size is 1,108 respondents. The samples will be directly comparable with the MxFLS sample of recent migrants assuming that recall error in the date the migrant reports moving to the U.S. in the ACS and CPS is small. This seems a reasonable assumption given the short recall period and the likely saliency of the move that brought the respondent to the U.S. We explore this conjecture in section 4, below, by using alternative windows for date of arrival in the ACS and CPS.

⁵ The ACS uses the concept of current residence to determine who should be considered residents of a sample housing unit. Everyone who is currently living or staying at a sample address is considered a current resident of that address, except for those staying there for only a short period of time (less than 2 consecutive months). Moreover, a person who is staying at a sample housing unit when the interview is conducted, but has no place where he or she stays for periods of more than 2 months, is considered to be a current resident

⁶ In CPS a household is defined as all individuals whose usual place of residence at the time of the interview is the sample unit. Individuals who are temporarily absent and who have no other usual address are still classified as household members even though they are not present in the household during the survey week. College students comprise the bulk of such absent household members, but persons away on business or vacation are also included.

⁷ For ACS, we use country of birth to identify the Mexican born and year of entry to identify recent migrants. The year of entry variable in ACS asks all respondents born outside the U.S. for the year in which they came to live in the U.S. For respondents who have entered the U.S multiple times, the interviewers were instructed to request the most recent year of entry. For CPS, we use place of birth to identify the Mexican-born and recent movers are identified by the response to a question about when the respondent came to the U.S. to stay.

3. Results

We begin with a comparison of estimates of the number of Mexican-origin migrants age 16 or older living in the U.S. in 2005 who moved from Mexico in 2002 or later. Next, the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of respondents in MxFLS are contrasted with the characteristics of respondents in ACS and CPS to provide insights into the selectivity of those not enumerated and suggest reasons for discrepancies in the estimated number of new migrants. Then, we explore estimates of earnings functions based on these data in order to assess whether inferences about assimilation and selectivity of migrants may differ depending on the data source. We also examine the correlates with documentation status in the U.S. using MxFLS. Finally, we contrast respondents interviewed in the U.S. as part of the MMP with migrants interviewed in the U.S. as part of MxFLS.

3.1 Number of recent migrants from Mexico to the U.S.

Table 2 reports estimates of the number of recent migrants from Mexico to the U.S. by gender, age and education, using data from MxFLS (column 1 in each panel), ACS (column 2), and CPS (column 3). All of the estimates are weighted to take into account the sampling design of each survey.

Estimates of the total number of migrants age 16 and older in the U.S. in 2005 who had moved from Mexico in 2002 or later is displayed in the first panel of the table. According to MxFLS, this estimate is 2.07 million Mexicans which is 35 percent higher than the ACS estimate of 1.35 million and 22 percent higher than the March CPS estimate of 1.61 million.⁸ The MxFLS-based estimates are calculated using the sample of all respondents thought to be living in the U.S. in 2005 and includes 9 percent of respondents who we are confident are in the

⁸ The MxFLS population estimates are based on the sample of all respondents thought to be living in the U.S. in 2005, this includes the 9 percent of respondents thought to be in the U.S. in 2005 but who could not be found. If the 9 percent are in Mexico, the estimated undercount will be 28 percent in the ACS and 14 percent in the March CPS. The estimate from CPS includes migrants who arrived during the first quarter of 2006. Because arrival dates are reported in two-year intervals in CPS we cannot exclude these individuals in the comparison with MxFLS and ACS. Thus, the undercount in CPS may be larger than the one presented in Table 2.

U.S. in 2005 but who were not interviewed. If those people are in Mexico, the estimated undercount will be 28 percent in the ACS and 14 percent in the CPS.

Estimates by age (as of 2005) are reported in panel II of the table. For respondents age 25 and older, the estimates in MxFLS and CPS are extremely close: they differ by less than 1%. The ACS are 20% smaller. The patterns are substantially the same by gender and none of the differences is statistically significant. However, for 16-24 year olds, the picture is completely different. The ACS and CPS estimates are close and much smaller than the MxFLS estimates, especially for males. MxFLS estimates twice as many young Mexican-origin males migrated to Mexico during the three years before the survey relative to ACS and CPS. For females, ACS and CPS estimate about three-quarters as many females in this age group as MxFLS. These differences are greatest for the youngest group (16 to 19 year olds) and they are statistically significant.

The third panel of the table reports the estimates by level of education. According to all three sources, it is estimated that there are about half a million recent Mexican-origin migrants who have completed high school or more in the U.S. The estimates in ACS and CPS are slightly higher than MxFLS, especially for males. However, estimates of the number of migrants who have not completed primary school is about 25% to 33% lower in the CPS and ACS, relative to MxFLS. The gaps between MxFLS and the other two sources are greatest for those migrants who have completed primary school but not completed high school. MxFLS estimates there are about 1.4 million migrants with this level of education but ACS and CPS put the estimate at around half that number. These differences are also statistically significant.

According to MxFLS, there are about half a million more recent migrants to the U.S. than estimated by the ACS or CPS. Moreover, the differences between the U.S.-based and Mexico-based survey estimates are concentrated among young migrants and among those in the middle of the education distribution. In sharp contrast, estimates in the ACS, CPS and MxFLS of the number of older migrants and migrants who completed high school are very close.

3.2 Selectivity of migrants interviewed in the U.S.

In order to more fully explore differences in the selectivity of migrants interviewed in the three data sources, we exploit the unique feature of MxFLS, namely the tracking of international

movers to the U.S. Specifically, we restrict attention to those MxFLS respondents who were interviewed in the U.S. and compare respondents in the three data sources in terms of key demographic and socio-economic characteristics that vary over the life course.

Table 3 presents means and standard errors for respondents in MxFLS, ACS and CPS in columns 1 through 3, respectively for all respondents in panel A, males in panel B and for females in panel C. All estimates are weighted and standard errors take into account the sampling design of each survey. As shown in Table 2, MxFLS respondents are more likely to be male, younger and not as well educated as the ACS and CPS respondents. Specifically, according to MxFLS, 67 percent of recent migrants are male; this is higher than in the ACS (62 percent) and CPS (63 percent) (the gap between MxFLS and ACS is statistically significant at a 5% size of test). The average age of migrants is 27 years in MxFLS compared with 29 years in the U.S. surveys (gaps that are also statistically significant) with males being slightly younger than females.

In ACS and CPS, about 30 percent of recent Mexican migrants have at most completed primary school while 38 percent have at least completed high school. However, among MxFLS migrants, 40 percent have at most completed primary school and only 18 percent completed high school: estimates that are significantly different from the U.S.-based estimates. The MxFLS sample is not only considerably less educated than the samples of migrants interviewed in the U.S. – a point made by Ibarra and Lubotsky (2007) – but the differences are substantially larger for males than females. About one in eight male migrants in MxFLS completed high school or more but over one in three of the male migrants in the ACS and CPS achieved this level of education.

In spite of being less educated, migrants in MxFLS are more likely to be working than migrants in CPS and ACS. About 94 percent of male recent migrants in MxFLS report that they were working at the time of the survey, compared to 84 percent in ACS and 87 percent in CPS. For females, the gaps are also large; 49 percent of female migrants worked in MxFLS compared to 33 and 38 percent in ACS and CPS, respectively. While this may partly reflect differences in the nature of the employment questions⁹, the gaps between the surveys are large enough to

⁹ In MxFLS, an individual is *employed* if the person responded that he/she is currently employed in the U.S. In CPS and ACS employed persons are those who worked at a paid job or business for at least one

suggest that the differences reflect a higher rate of connection with the labor market among MxFLS respondents.

The MxFLS respondents are apparently considerably less settled than those in the ACS and CPS. Whereas about half the respondents in the U.S. surveys are married, in MxFLS only 35 percent of the respondents are married. These gaps are large and statistically significant for males and females. Moreover, relative to those interviewed in CPS and ACS, migrants in MxFLS are also more likely to be renters, which along with being more likely to be younger and single suggests the MxFLS respondents are more transitory migrants who are working in the U.S. and have not put down roots in the country.

Multivariate comparisons

We turn next to multivariate models to identify the key characteristics of MxFLS migrants that are different from those of recent migrants in ACS and CPS conditional on other characteristics. Results are presented in Table 4 which reports estimates from linear probability models in which respondents in MxFLS and the comparison survey are stacked and the dependent variable is an indicator that the respondent is in MxFLS. The coefficient estimates measure how much more or less likely a respondent with a specific attribute is included in the MxFLS sample relative to the comparison survey, conditional on the other attributes. All models are weighted and standard errors take into account the sampling designs. Panel A of the table includes all respondents, panels B and C are restricted to males and females, respectively. In each panel, MxFLS is compared with ACS and CPS in columns 1 and 2, respectively.

Table 3 established that MxFLS migrants are more likely to be male than migrants in the comparison surveys. This result is reversed after controlling for age, education, employment and home ownership: relative to ACS and CPS, MxFLS migrants are statistically significantly less likely to be male. The conditional age distributions are similar across surveys for females but not for males. MxFLS males are less likely to be age 25 to 44 years relative to the excluded group, age 16 through 24 years old. In addition, MxFLS respondents are significantly less likely to be

hour during the reference week, or worked at an unpaid family business for 15 or more hours during the reference week or who did not work last week, but held a job or owned a business from which they were temporarily absent during the reference week.

married than those included in ACS and CPS. These differences are significant for both males (in the ACS) and females (in both surveys).

The differences in education of MxFLS respondents, relative to the ACS and CPS, remain large and significant for both males and females after other socio-demographic characteristics are controlled. Relative to the excluded group of those with no more than primary schooling, respondents who completed at least high school are 23 percentage points less likely to be in the MxFLS sample than in the ACS or CPS. In addition, conditional on all other characteristics, MxFLS respondents are significantly more likely to be working and are also more likely to be renting their place of residence than those included in the U.S. surveys.

3.3 Comparison of migrant earnings

Earnings have played a central role in studies of assimilation and economic success of migrants to the U.S., including those from Mexico. This research has relied on surveys conducted in the U.S. We therefore compare earnings reported by migrants in MxFLS with those in ACS and CPS. The distribution of monthly earnings over the 12 months preceding the survey are summarized in box-and-whisker plots in Figure 1.

There are slight differences in the earnings measures in each survey. In MxFLS the respondent is asked: “Approximately, how much do you earn per month at your main employment in the U.S.?” About 6.5 percent of the respondents did not know the amount they earned at their main job. Interviewers were instructed to probe using unfolding brackets which elicited an estimate of earnings from over 40 percent of the respondents who could not provide an answer. As a result, only 3.7 percent of the MxFLS respondents did not provide information on monthly earnings.

In CPS, pre-tax earnings from the longest job held in the past 12 months are recorded. This includes earnings from employers or net earnings from business/farm after expenses. The amounts are converted to monthly earnings based on the number of weeks worked in the past year. In ACS, earnings are similarly defined but include income from all jobs in the past year.

As shown in Table 3, average earnings reported in MxFLS are 23 percent lower than in CPS and 17 percent lower than in ACS. However, for both males and females, median monthly

earnings are very similar for MxFLS and ACS. In contrast, median earnings in CPS are 7 percent higher for males and 16 percent higher for females. Moreover, the distributions of earnings in MxFLS are far more concentrated than in either ACS or CPS. For example, among males, the inter-quartile range (the length of the shaded box in Figure 1) is about US\$560 in MxFLS but about US\$827 and US\$868 in ACS and CPS, respectively. The right tails of the distributions, the whiskers in Figure 1, are longer in CPS and ACS than in MxFLS. It is this difference that drives the lower mean earnings of MxFLS respondents.

Part of the differences in the earnings distributions is likely to reflect differences in the age and education of respondents. Table 5 reports estimates of Mincer-type models of (the logarithm) of earnings. The covariates include indicators for gender, age groups, education levels, marital status, and fixed effects for the state of residence in the U.S. at the time of the survey. Each covariate is interacted with an indicator for the respondent being in MxFLS. The models are estimated to draw comparisons between MxFLS and ACS (in column 1) and between MxFLS and CPS (in column 2). OLS models are reported for all respondents in panel A and for males and females in panels B and C, respectively. Least absolute deviation models for all respondents are reported in panel D.

The interactions between MxFLS and each covariate provide information on how the estimated ‘returns’ to that characteristic differ in a study that relies on migrants who are interviewed in the comparison survey, relative to migrants interviewed in MxFLS. We find, that among ACS and CPS respondents, the difference between the earnings of those who only have primary school or less and those who attended but did not complete high school is very small and not statistically significant. However, among MxFLS respondents, those who attended but did not complete high school earn 18 to 21 percent more on average (or 11 percent more at the median). The difference for males is about 17 or 25 percent higher in MxFLS, depending on the comparison survey. For females, the differences in the returns of education between MxFLS and the U.S. surveys are not statistically significant.

According to ACS, migrants who completed high school or more earn, on average, about 12 percent more than those who completed primary school or less. According to MxFLS, these respondents earn 28 percent more than the least educated, thus the returns to completing high school or more are about 16 percentage points higher according to MxFLS, relative to the ACS

sample. When stratifying by gender, the difference in returns is also statistically significant for males. Comparisons with the CPS are similar although the differences with MxFLS are not statistically significant.¹⁰

In sum, the relationship between earnings and education is much flatter for recent migrants in the ACS and CPS samples relative to recent migrants interviewed in MxFLS. There are two possible explanations. One is that high earning well-educated migrants from Mexico are undercounted in ACS and CPS relative to MxFLS. However, it is clear from Table 3 that this is not the case. An alternative explanation is that low earning, less educated migrants are undercounted in ACS and CPS relative to MxFLS. This explanation is supported by Figure 2 which displays the average log of earnings by education group for the 3 surveys. Among the least educated, average earnings are substantially higher in ACS and CPS relative to MxFLS. This indicates that the U.S. surveys are undercounting those with the lowest earnings within the least educated groups, thus driving the flatter slope between earnings and education.

Many studies have drawn inferences about the economic success of migrants in the U.S. by comparing earnings of Mexican-origin migrants to the native-born. The results from this subsection suggest that such inferences based on the ACS or CPS will indicate substantially greater success of migrants than inferences based on MxFLS.

3.4 Correlates with documentation status in MxFLS

There is a paucity of scientific evidence on the documentation status of migrants in the U.S. The least educated and lowest earning migrants, who tend to be under-counted in the ACS and CPS, are also likely to be the most transitory and least likely to be documented. An additional advantage of the design of MxFLS is that the survey collects information about the way migrants crossed the border which allows us to infer their documentation status in the U.S.

¹⁰ We have estimated quantile regressions for the 25th and 75th percentiles of the earnings' distribution. The flatter association between education and earnings in the CPS and ACS still holds, except for the CPS at the 75th percentile. In addition, we check whether the differences in the relationship between education and earnings are driven by imputed values to non-responses. In the ACS and CPS samples, a significant number of cases have imputed earnings. Conditional on working, 34 percent of ACS cases and about 20 percent of CPS cases have imputed earnings. We run the earnings' regressions excluding the imputed cases and the results are not affected.

Questions about documentation status were asked at the end of the interview when rapport between the respondent and interviewer was likely to be at its greatest. Cognitive interviewing conducted as part of the development of the MxFLS instrument indicated that after building trust necessary to conduct the interview, respondents were keen to share their experiences in the U.S. including how they entered the country. In fact, some respondents in the cognitive interviews volunteered detailed descriptions of different strategies they had taken to cross the border.

Using the information about documentation status at the time of entry in the U.S., we assess whether those who were not documented at the time are more likely to be missed in the U.S. surveys. About 84 percent of the MxFLS migrant sample did not have any documentation to enter the U.S. at the time they came to the U.S. to stay (i.e. no visa or green card and they were not citizens). Assuming ACS and CPS include all migrants who arrived with documentation, the undercount of undocumented migrants is estimated to be 42% in ACS and 26% in CPS (in comparison with 35% and 22% for all migrants, respectively, as shown in Table 2).

Table 6 displays summary statistics by documentation status for the MxFLS sample. We include the characteristics measured in 2005 and some baseline characteristics measured in 2002. Whether the difference between those who arrived in the U.S. with documentation and those who arrived without documentation is significant is reported in the final column which displays the p-value for the t-test that the mean of the two groups is different.

Migrants who arrive without documentation are more likely to be male, substantially younger, less educated, single and renting their place of residence. All of these differences are statistically significant and they are the same characteristics that are predictive of the undercount in the US-based surveys. The education differences are stark: whereas half of the documented migrants have completed high school or more, only one in eight of the undocumented migrants have attained this level of education. Migrants who have not completed primary school account for nearly half the undocumented migrants but only one in five of the documented migrants.

The undocumented migrants are much more likely to be working than those who are documented and while their earnings are lower, this difference is not statistically significant. This is a remarkable result given the documented are better educated than the undocumented.

Turning to characteristics measured at baseline, the lower levels of human capital among undocumented migrants is indicated by two additional measures: height, a marker of early nutritional deprivation and background, and scores on a Raven's Progressive Matrices assessment that provides a non-verbal measure of abstract reasoning. The Raven's scores are significantly different.

The households in which the undocumented migrants were living at baseline are much poorer and more likely to be in rural areas. Household per capita expenditure is a measure of current resource availability and is about half the level among the undocumented relative to documented migrants. The wealth gaps are even larger with the undocumented living in households at baseline with less than one fifth of the wealth of documented migrants who arrived with documentation.

Table 7 presents linear probability models for being documented. The first column includes only the basic correlates measured in 2005 and the second column adds the characteristics measured at baseline in 2002. Taken together, the characteristics in the models can explain almost one quarter of the variation in documentation status. Conditional on socio-demographic characteristics, the key significant predictors of whether a migrant was documented at the time of entry to the U.S. are age, education, whether the migrant is a renter and the level of resource at baseline as indicated by per capita household expenditure.

Importantly, it is young migrants with less education who are renters that are significantly more likely to be undocumented – the same characteristics that predict the undercount in the U.S. surveys. These people are also the most likely to successfully evade border control. If that is the case, then the biases inherent in the U.S.-based surveys are likely to also be reflected, at least to some extent, in estimates of the number of Mexican-origin migrants based on data from border control.

3.5 Comparisons with the Mexican Migration Project

While U.S. based surveys have been extensively used to study Mexican migration, Mexican-origin surveys have also been an important resource for research in this area. Many studies have relied on data from the Mexican Migration Project (MMP), an ethnographic survey of communities in Mexico that are expected to have high rates of migration to the U.S. In the

MMP two to five Mexican communities are surveyed each year during the months of December and January of successive years, when most U.S. seasonal migrants return to Mexico. Within these communities a random sample of about 200 households is selected.

The communities included in the MMP survey are selected to provide a broadly representative cross-section of communities where out-migration is likely. However, the MMP is not designed to be representative of the Mexican population or the population of Mexicans living in the U.S. It does not necessarily represent all migrants who returned to Mexico or all who continue to reside in the United States. By design, the MMP would be more likely to include seasonal migrants and migrants with roots in Mexico than MxFLS. Nonetheless, given its extensive use in migration studies, it is useful to compare MxFLS with MMP respondents.

The MMP sample we consider includes all household members who were reported as being on a trip to the U.S. at the time of the interview. The definition of a U.S. trip in this context is a visit to the U.S. that involves work, an active job search, or a reasonably stable residency. This means that the respondents who were currently on a U.S. trip were still living in the U.S. at the time of the interview. Some of them were back in Mexico for a visit and others were reported to be in the U.S. by another household member. We consider the respondents from communities interviewed after 2000 who report that the current trip lasted 3 years or less. Table 8 presents summary statistics for the MMP sample.

Relative to the MxFLS respondents, this sample of MMP respondents is more likely to be male, married and as likely to be working, conditional on gender. The distribution of education of MxFLS and MMP respondents is similar although the MMP sample is less well educated and includes a larger fraction of males who did not progress beyond primary school. Recall that, relative to ACS and CPS, MxFLS respondents are more likely to be male, unmarried, working and are less well educated. In terms of these characteristics, apart from marriage, the MxFLS sample lies between the MMP sample and the ACS/CPS. Recall, by design, the MMP respondents are more transitory and more likely to be married since they are more likely to have maintained roots in Mexico. Taken together, these comparisons suggest that at least part of the difference between the MxFLS respondents and the ACS/CPS respondents is driven by the latter undersampling more transitory migrants in the U.S.

4. Assessment of the evidence

We turn now to several important assumptions underlying our analyses and discuss the potential roles of attrition, recall error in date of arrival in the U.S. and measurement error in earnings. We also discuss the implications of the small sample sizes.

4.1 Attrition in MxFLS

A key assumption at the foundation of the interpretation of the comparisons between MxFLS and the other surveys is that the sample in MxFLS is representative of the population of recent migrants in the U.S. This assumption may not be true if attrition in MxFLS is selective. In this section we explore the extent to which selective attrition can explain the results.

Table 1 presents the tracking results for the follow up done in 2005-2006. The number of adult individuals interviewed in 2002 who were not found in 2005 is 2,841. This implies an 11 percent attrition rate for the entire adult sample independently of their location.

During the tracking period for MxFLS-2, interviewers relied on informants from the members of same household and community to obtain information about the potential destination areas of migrants. Special attention was paid to identify potential movers to the U.S. Thus, although some respondents were not found, we know their likely location from the tracking data. Assuming that this information is reliable, we can assess whether attrition in MxFLS is a problem by looking at the baseline characteristics of the group that attrited but was known to be in the U.S. in 2005.¹¹

Appendix Table 1 compares the characteristics measured at baseline for the sample known to be in the U.S. in 2005 for those found in the U.S, in column 1, and those not found, in column 2. Since the contact rates were very high, only 64 out of the 711 adult respondents were known to be in the U.S. but could not be contacted in 2005 (See Table 1).¹² Note that, in 2002, the respondents who attrited were less likely to be male (62 percent versus 67 percent of those

¹¹ At baseline adult respondents were asked whether they expected to move out of their current locality and, if so, the most likely destination. There is no correlation between expectations about future migration and attrition indicating that attrition is unrelated to migration plans. Among respondents thought to be in the U.S., 88 percent of those who reported at baseline that they planned to move to the U.S. were interviewed in the U.S. and 92 percent of those who did not plan to move to the U.S. at baseline were interviewed in the U.S. This difference is not statistically significant.

¹² Appendix Table 1 excludes 3 observations due to missing information about education.

found), older (30 years versus 23 years), and more educated (about 21 percent had high school complete or more, compared to 13 percent of those found).

We can adjust the comparisons presented in Table 3 using the baseline characteristics for the lost sample and make assumptions about the variables measured in 2005. To be conservative, we assume that all individuals who were lost to follow-up completed an additional 4 years of education, they all got married, none of them work in the U.S, and none of them rents their home. These assumptions make the differences between MxFLS and the U.S. samples smaller. The key question is: do our conclusions change substantially when we include attriters with these (extreme) characteristics?

Appendix Table 2 presents summary statistics pooling the lost and found samples. We can see that, although the differences become smaller between the MxFLS and U.S. surveys the patterns are little altered. Some of the differences become statistically insignificant, in particular with the CPS sample. However, even under the most conservative assumptions, the MxFLS respondents are significantly more likely to be younger, single, less educated than the ACS and MxFLS females are more likely to be working than females in ACS. We conclude that attrition is not large enough and unlikely to be selective enough to explain the key differences between the MxFLS and U.S. surveys.

4.2 Measurement error

An additional concern that could drive part of the differences between the MxFLS and U.S. surveys is measurement error in arrival dates in ACS and CPS. There are legitimate concerns about the accuracy of retrospective dates of entry to the U.S. collected in survey data. We know that the MxFLS respondents were in Mexico in 2002 and in the U.S. in 2005; the concern is that some of the respondents in the ACS and CPS arrived before 2002 but reported arriving after 2002 whereas others arrived after 2002 but reported arriving before 2002. To assess the extent to which this is an important problem for our comparisons, we vary the windows for date of arrival. Extending the window back will tend to result in the sample including more longer-term Mexican-origin people who are living in the U.S. Reducing the size of the window will shift the sample in the opposite direction.

Appendix Table 3 presents summary statistics using alternative arrival dates to 2002; since 2001 (in Panel A), since 2003 (in Panel B) and since 2004 (in Panel C).¹³ We find that the characteristics of the sample are not very sensitive to the arrival date. Appendix Table 4 presents the earnings regressions using these alternative arrival dates. Overall, moving the windows has little impact on magnitudes or inferences about the differences between MxFLS and the U.S. samples.

An additional source of measurement error relates to the report of earnings. It is difficult to know whether measurement error in earnings explains the differences in the estimated returns to education in MxFLS and the U.S.-based samples. It is possible that the poorest educated in the U.S. samples overstate their earnings. It is also possible that MxFLS respondents with little education understate their earnings. Our analyses using preliminary data collected from the second follow-up (MxFLS-3), which has more comparable earnings measures, give similar findings to the ones presented using MxFLS-2.¹⁴

4.3 Sample sizes

Finally, the sample of migrants interviewed in MxFLS is small. This reflects the fact that the baseline MxFLS interviewed about 35,000 respondents and, of them, about 850 moved to the U.S. In principle, the size of the sample of migrants should not affect our estimates of location but will affect inferences about significant differences. The fact that many of the differences between MxFLS and ACS or CPS are statistically significant suggests that the samples are large enough to be informative. Note also that the CPS sample of recent migrants is about the same size as MxFLS.

¹³ In CPS the date of arrival is available in two-year intervals. Thus, we can only compare migrants arrived after 2004.

¹⁴ The third wave of MxFLS was fielded between 2009 and 2015. Over 91 percent of the respondents who were thought to be living in the U.S. were interviewed and we have compared this sample with migrants in the 2010 ACS and 2010 March CPS. The same socio-economic and demographic differences emerge in these comparisons: the U.S.-based surveys appear to systematically miss less educated, younger, unmarried and migrants who are working.

5. Conclusion

Undocumented and more transitory migrants are hard to enumerate in surveys. They are likely to be especially difficult to enumerate if they are international migrants since they are unlikely to be listed in sampling frames and are unlikely to be willing to complete surveys in the destination country. This project provides evidence on the extent and nature of this problem using unique data from MxFLS, a longitudinal survey of Mexicans that was designed to address this issue. MxFLS, which is representative of the Mexican population at baseline, follows and interviews movers to the U.S. in subsequent rounds. We establish the feasibility of following international migrants in longitudinal surveys: in the MxFLS follow-up, we interviewed 91 percent of movers to the U.S. MxFLS is the first longitudinal population-representative survey to have successfully followed migrants including those that are the hardest to enumerate.

Not only is following migrants feasible, it is also critical for science. First, failure to follow international migrants will likely result in selective attrition in the study and thus affect generalizability of results based on those data. Second, the migrants provide a wealth of information that is important both for understanding who migrates, their lives after migrating the the lives of those family members who are left behind.

Using data from MxFLS, we compare respondents who moved to the U.S. after the baseline with recent migrants from Mexico interviewed in the ACS and CPS. According to MxFLS, in 2005, there were about 2.07 million adult Mexicans who have moved to the U.S. in the prior three years. This is about 35 percent more than estimates based on the ACS and 22 percent more than estimates based in CPS. These estimates of the undercount are much higher than estimates in the literature.

Reaching beyond counting migrants, we compare the characteristics of Mexican-origin migrants across the three data sources and thereby draw conclusions about the selectivity of those who are not enumerated in U.S.-based surveys. These analyses exploit the fact that individuals are tracked and interviewed in the U.S. which provides uniquely rich information on the migrants themselves. MxFLS respondents interviewed in the U.S. are different from those interviewed in the ACS and CPS: MxFLS respondents are younger, significantly less educated, more likely to be single, more likely to be working and more likely to be renters. Not only are the differences statistically significant but they are also substantively important. Comparisons of

the relationship between earnings and education indicate that the returns to education are estimated to be higher in MxFLS, a difference that is driven by the undercount of the lowest earners among the least educated migrants in U.S. based surveys. If this is correct, it suggests that estimates of assimilation and economic success among the least educated may be overstated in U.S. samples.

Exploiting information collected in MxFLS on documentation status at the time the migrant entered the U.S., we show that 5 out of 6 of the migrants interviewed in the U.S. in MxFLS entered without documentation and they also tend to be male, young, single, less educated, renters and more likely to be working than those who entered with documentation. Put another way, they are less likely to put down roots in the U.S. These are the same characteristics that predict the migrant is not interviewed in the ACS or CPS.

Overall, our analysis provides evidence that the undercount of migrants in U.S. surveys is larger than currently thought and those who are not counted are selected on both demographic and socio-economic characteristics and that the undercount is greatest among the undocumented and more transitory. These results have important implications for interpretation of evidence on the number of migrants and their contributions to the U.S. economy and society.

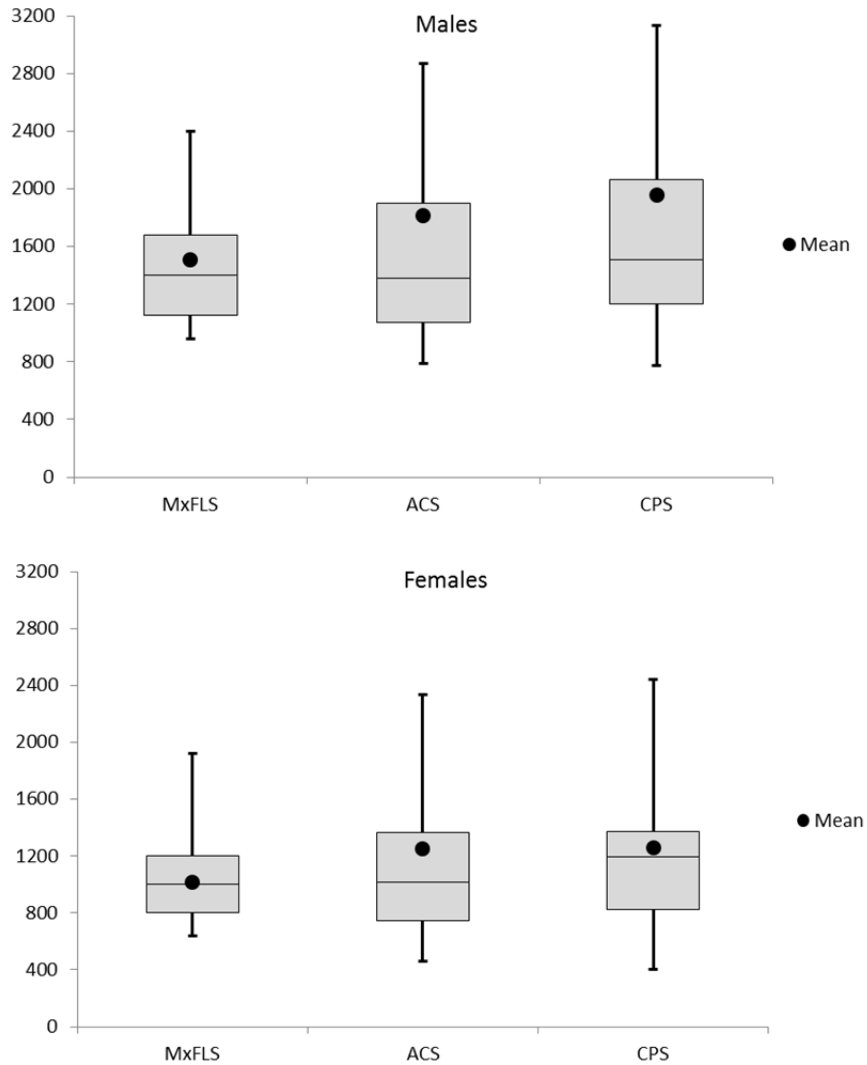
Twenty years ago it was generally believed that tracking domestic migrants in longitudinal surveys conducted in developing countries was either impossible or too expensive. That is no longer the perceived wisdom (Thomas et al, 2001, 2012). This project has moved the field one step further: we have established that it is not only feasible to track international migrants in population-representative longitudinal studies but we have also shown that successful tracking across international borders can contribute substantially to the scientific value-added of the study.

References

- Bean, F. D., Corona R., Tuirán R., Woodrow-Lafield K. A., and J. Van Hook (2001). Circular, Invisible, and Ambiguous Migrants: Components of Difference in Estimates of the Number of Unauthorized Mexican Migrants in the United States. *Demography*, 38(3): 411–22.
- Bean F. D. and J. van Hook. (1998). Unauthorized Migration to the United States: Issues and Results. In *Migration between Mexico and the United States, Binational Study*, vol. 2, ed. Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs and U.S. Commission of Immigration Reform. Austin: Morgan Printing, 511–50
- Bean, F. D., Corona, R., Tuirán, R., and Woodrow-Lafield, K. (1998). The quantification of migration between Mexico and the United States. *Migration Between Mexico and the United States, Binational Study*, 1, 1-90.
- Donato, K. M., Durand, J., Massey, D. S. (1992). Stemming the Tide? Assessing the Deterrent Effects of the Immigration Reform and Control Act, *Demography*, Vol. 29, No. 2, pp. 139–157.
- Fernández-Huertas Moraga, J. (2011). New Evidence on Emigrant Selection. *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, 93(1):72-96
- Hamilton, E. and R. Savinar (2015). Two Sources of Error in Data on Migration From Mexico to the United States in Mexican Household-Based Surveys. *Demography*, 52, 1345-1355
- Hanson, G.H. (2006). Illegal Migration from Mexico to the United States. *Journal of Economic Literature*, 44(4), 869-924
- Hanson, G.H. and C. McIntosh. (2009). The Demography of Mexican Migration to the U.S. *American Economic Review*, 99:22-27. Hanson, G.H. and C. McIntosh. (2011). The Great Mexican Emigration. *Review of Economics and Statistics*. 92.4:798-810.
- Hoefler, M., Rytina, N. and C. Campbell (2006). Estimates of the Unauthorized Immigrant Population Residing in the United States: January 2005. Washington, DC: Office of Immigration Statistics, Policy Directorate, U.S. Department of Homeland Security.
- Ibarraran, P. and D. Lubotsky (2007) .Mexican Immigration and Self-Selection: New Evidence from the 2000 Mexican census. In G. J. Borjas (ed) *Mexican Immigration to the United States*. University of Chicago Press.
- Massey, D. *Mexican Migration Project*, <http://mmp.opr.princeton.edu/home-en.aspx>
- Massey, D. S., R. Alarcon, J. Durand, H. Gonzalez. (1990). *Return to Aztlan: The Social Process of International Migration from Western Mexico*, University of California Press.
- Ong, P.M., and D. Houston. (2002). The 2000 Census Undercount in Los Angeles County. The Ralph & Goldy Lewis Center for Regional Policy Studies. Working Paper # 42
- Orrenius, P.M. and M. Zavodny (2005). Self-selection among undocumented immigrants from Mexico. *Journal of Development Economics* 78, 215–240

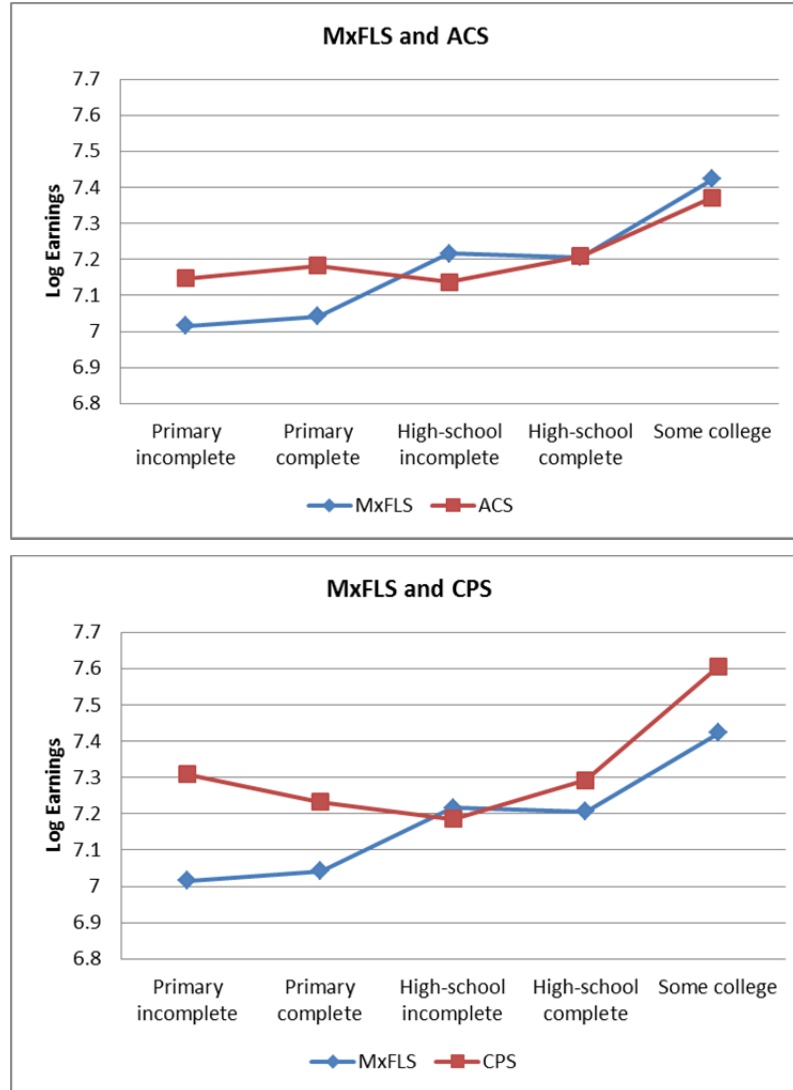
- Passel, J.S., and D'Vera Cohn. (2008). *Trends in Unauthorized Immigration: Undocumented Inflow Now Trails Legal Inflow*. Washington, DC: Pew Hispanic Center.
- Passel, J.S., and D'Vera Cohn. (2009). *A Portrait of Unauthorized Immigrants in the United States*. Washington, DC: Pew Hispanic Center.
- Passel, J.S., and D'Vera Cohn. (2009). *Mexican immigrants: How many come? How many leave?* Washington, DC: Pew Hispanic Center.
- Passel, Jeffrey S. and D'Vera Cohn. (2014) "Unauthorized Immigrant Totals Rise in 7 States, Fall in 14: Decline in Those From Mexico Fuels Most State Decreases." Washington, D.C. Pew Research Center's Hispanic Trends Project, November.
- Passel, Jeffrey S. and D'Vera Cohn. (2016) "Size of U.S. Unauthorized Immigrant Workforce Stable after the Great Recession." Washington, D.C. Pew Research Center's Hispanic Trends Project, November.
- Rendall, M., P Brownell and S. Kups. (2011). Declining return migration from the United States to Mexico in the late 2000s Recession. *Demography*. 48.3:1049-58.
- Rubalcava, L. and Teruel, G. "The Mexican Family Life Survey User's Guide 2002, 2005", www.ennvih-mxfls.org
- Thomas, D., E. Frankenberg and J. P. Smith. (2001). "Lost but not forgotten: Attrition and follow-up in the Indonesia Family Life Survey." *Journal of Human Resources*, 36.3:556-92.
- Thomas, D., F. Witolear, E. Frankenberg, B. Sikoki, J. Strauss, C. Sumantri and W. Suriastini. (2012). Cutting the costs of attrition: Evidence from the Indonesia Family Life Survey. *Journal of Development Economics*, 98.1: 108-23.

Figure 1
Box Plot for Earnings by Gender



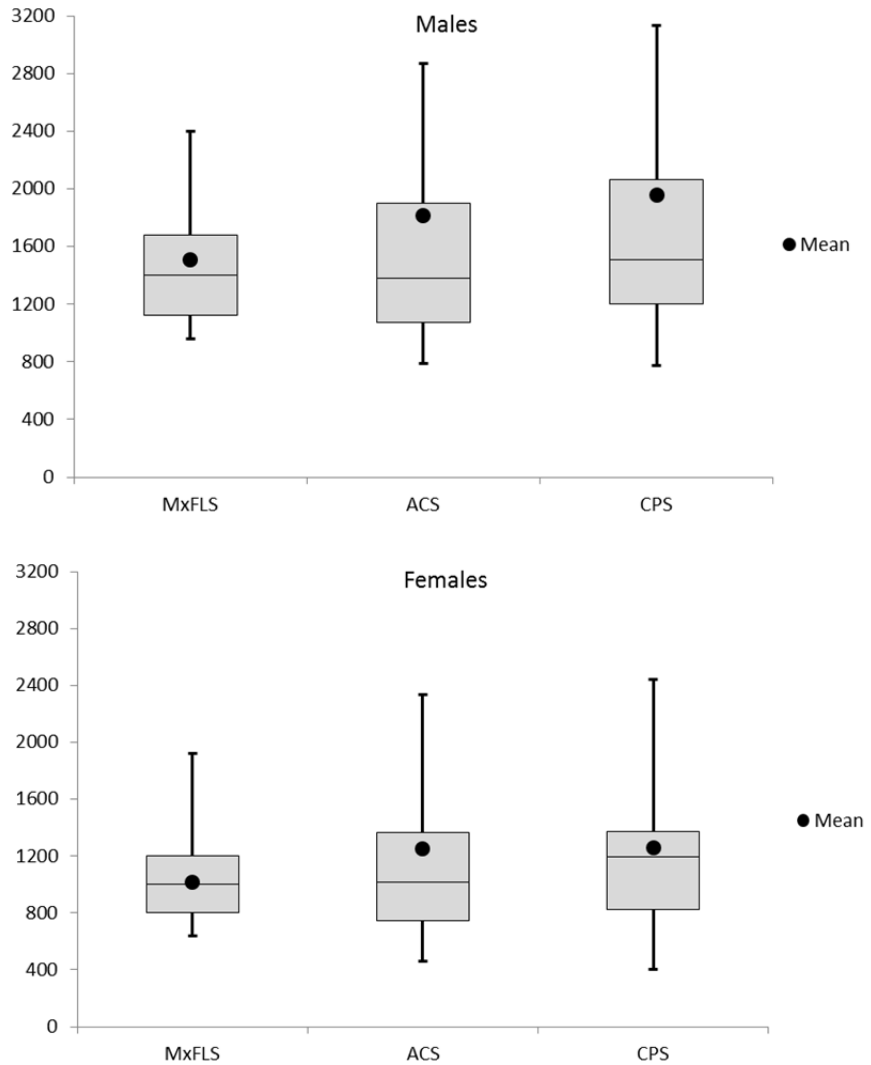
Notes.- Sample consists of Mexican-born individuals 16 years or older who arrived to the U.S. since 2002 and received earnings in the past year. Earnings are defined as monthly income from the main job received in the past year. The horizontal lines of each box show, from bottom to top, the 25th, 50th and 75th percentiles of earnings. The `whiskers' that extend from each box show the 10th and 90th percentiles. The black dot shows the mean value.

Figure 2
Log Earnings by Education



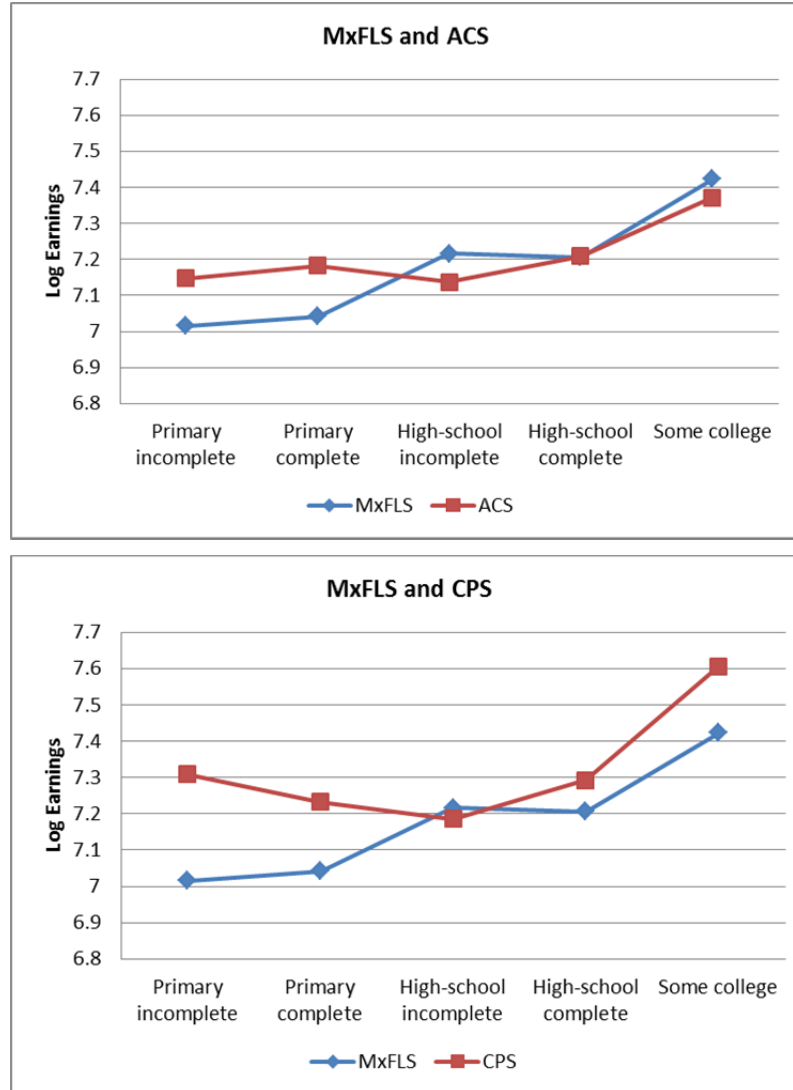
Notes.- Sample consists of Mexican-born individuals 16 years or older who arrived to the U.S. since 2002 and received earnings in the past year. Earnings are defined as monthly income from the main job received in the past year.

Figure 1
Box Plot for Earnings by Gender



Notes.- Sample consists of Mexican-born individuals 16 years or older who arrived to the U.S. since 2002 and received earnings in the past year. Earnings are defined as monthly income from the main job received in the past year. The horizontal lines of each box show, from bottom to top, the 25th, 50th and 75th percentiles of earnings. The `whiskers' that extend from each box show the 10th and 90th percentiles. The black dot shows the mean value.

Figure 2
Log Earnings by Education



Notes.- Sample consists of Mexican-born individuals 16 years or older who arrived to the U.S. since 2002 and received earnings in the past year. Earnings are defined as monthly income from the main job received in the past year.

Table 1. Sample sizes and recontact rates in MxFLS-2005
By age in 2005

	A. All ages		B. Age 16 and older	
	Number	%	Number	%
Total respondents in MxFLS-1 (baseline)	35,121	100.0	25,831	100.0
who were subsequently in Mexico	34,267	97.6	25,120	97.2
who were subsequently in US	854	2.4	711	2.8
Baseline respondents re-interviewed in MxFLS-2				
Total	31,338	89.2	22,990	89.0
In Mexico	30,564	87.0	22,343	86.5
In US	774	2.2	647	2.5
% of US respondents recontacted		90.6		91.0

Notes. Excludes panel respondents who died between 2002 and 2005

Table 2. Estimates of size of population of recent migrants from Mexico to the United States in 2005
By gender, age and education

	A. Males and Females			B. Males			C. Females		
	MxFLS (1)	ACS (2)	CPS (3)	MxFLS (1)	ACS (2)	CPS (3)	MxFLS (1)	ACS (2)	CPS (3)
I. Total (standard error)	2,074,189 (59,551)	1,349,464 (11,556)	1,613,609 (28,635)	1,373,305 (63,226)	835,185 (11,813)	1,021,090 (35,055)	700,884 (48,306)	514,279 (9,564)	592,519 (26,157)
II. By age									
Age 16-19 years	383,798 (35,776)	182,523 (6,056)	212,443 (18,087)	259,573 (31,185)	113,635 (4,745)	141,598 (15,282)	124,225 (20,010)	68,888 (3,992)	70,845 (10,569)
Age 20-24 years	644,768 (50,652)	376,097 (9,015)	393,710 (23,928)	468,277 (47,211)	242,726 (7,644)	237,178 (19,148)	176,492 (23,978)	133,371 (5,494)	156,531 (16,521)
Age 25-29 years	393,713 (43,106)	284,498 (8,312)	391,835 (26,538)	243,900 (34,702)	177,318 (6,989)	252,191 (23,337)	149,813 (27,553)	107,180 (4,956)	139,645 (14,943)
Age 30-39 years	384,836 (40,122)	297,821 (7,884)	369,449 (25,611)	228,854 (30,301)	183,449 (6,366)	239,894 (23,083)	155,981 (28,186)	114,372 (5,137)	129,555 (13,388)
Age >40 years	267,075 (32,684)	208,525 (6,856)	246,172 (20,363)	172,701 (27,543)	118,057 (5,592)	150,229 (17,154)	94,373 (18,884)	90,468 (4,261)	95,943 (12,100)
III. By level of education									
Primary incomplete	223,531 (28,859)	142,436 (5,690)	164,388 (17,545)	156,956 (25,823)	87,923 (4,665)	120,816 (15,740)	66,575 (14,012)	54,513 (3,421)	43,572 (8,341)
Primary complete	557,709 (48,425)	271,045 (7,615)	298,598 (22,146)	371,750 (42,291)	177,784 (6,457)	196,909 (19,266)	185,959 (27,511)	93,261 (4,479)	101,689 (12,469)
High school incomplete	845,312 (50,524)	423,814 (9,162)	561,385 (28,563)	605,488 (47,379)	256,084 (7,469)	359,200 (25,298)	239,825 (27,007)	167,730 (6,157)	202,185 (17,523)
High school complete or more	447,637 (46,512)	512,169 (10,252)	589,237 (29,234)	239,112 (34,043)	313,394 (8,742)	344,165 (25,298)	208,526 (33,891)	198,775 (6,544)	245,073 (19,157)

Notes. Samples of Mexican-born individuals age 16 year and older in the U.S. in 2005 who arrived between 2002 and 2005 in each survey.

All estimates weighted by to take into account survey sampling.

Table 3. Summary statistics at time of 2005 interview

	A. Males and Females			B. Males			C. Females		
	MxFLS	ACS	CPS	MxFLS	ACS	CPS	MxFLS	ACS	CPS
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(3)
% Mmale	66.8 (2.3)	61.8 (0.7) *	63.3 (1.6)						
Age (years)	27.3 (0.4)	29.2 (0.1) *	29.4 (0.4) *	26.8 (0.6)	28.6 (0.2) *	29.2 (0.5) *	28.3 (0.8)	30.1 (0.2) *	29.7 (0.6)
<i>Education attainment (%)</i>									
Primary complete or less	40.5 (2.4)	30.8 (0.6) *	28.7 (1.6) *	42.4 (3.1)	32.0 (0.8) *	31.1 (2.1) *	36.7 (3.9)	28.9 (1.0)	24.5 (2.3) *
High school incomplete	41.4 (2.4)	31.4 (0.6) *	34.8 (1.7) *	44.6 (3.0)	30.6 (0.8) *	35.2 (2.2) *	35.1 (3.8)	32.6 (32.6)	34.1 (2.5)
High school complete or more	18.1 (2.1)	37.8 (0.7) *	36.5 (1.7) *	13.0 (2.2)	37.4 (0.9) *	33.7 (2.2) *	28.2 (4.3)	38.5 (1.1) *	41.4 (2.6) *
<i>Labor market</i>									
% Employed	78.4 (2.1)	64.9 (0.7) *	69.4 (1.6) *	93.7 (1.5)	84.4 (0.7) *	87.4 (1.5) *	48.5 (4.2)	33.2 (1.0) *	38.4 (2.6) *
Monthly earnings (US\$) (in main job)	1,410 (37)	1,704 (41) *	1,828 (105) *	1,511 (43)	1,814 (49) *	1,954 (127) *	1,017 (42)	1,253 (44) *	1,257 (65) *
% Married	35.3 (2.5)	49.6 (0.7) *	50.2 (1.7) *	31.5 (3.0)	44.9 (0.9) *	43.0 (2.3) *	42.5 (4.3)	57.4 (1.1) *	62.5 (2.6) *
% Rent home	89.7 (1.6)	82.2 (0.5) *	81.8 (1.3) *	93.7 (1.4)	85.3 (0.6) *	84.3 (1.6) *	82.3 (3.6)	77.3 (0.8)	77.5 (2.2)
Sample size	646	8533	1108	412	5044	655	234	3489	453

Notes. Samples include Mexican born individuals 16 years or older interviewed in the U.S. in 2005 who arrived in the U.S. in 2002 or later. Means and standard errors are calculated using sampling weights. Standard errors in parentheses. * indicates statistically different from MxFLS at 5%

Table 4. Multivariate models of differences between migrants in MxFLS and ACS or CPS

Linear probability models of probability respondent is interviewed in MxFLS

	A. Males and Females		B. Males		C. Females	
	MxFLS and ACS (1)	MxFLS and CPS (2)	MxFLS and ACS (1)	MxFLS and CPS (2)	MxFLS and ACS (1)	MxFLS and CPS (2)
Male	-0.097** [0.026]	-0.096** [0.032]				
Age 16-24 (omitted)	.	.	.	.	.	.
Age 25-34	-0.035 [0.031]	-0.081* [0.036]	-0.096** [0.036]	-0.162** [0.044]	0.065 [0.052]	0.054 [0.058]
Age 35-44	-0.047 [0.042]	-0.059 [0.050]	-0.058 [0.053]	-0.134* [0.065]	0.001 [0.064]	0.073 [0.075]
Age 45+	-0.045 [0.047]	-0.082 [0.056]	0.025 [0.056]	-0.059 [0.070]	-0.130+ [0.071]	-0.114 [0.083]
Married	-0.097** [0.030]	-0.100** [0.035]	-0.094* [0.037]	-0.050 [0.044]	-0.119** [0.045]	-0.190** [0.051]
Primary complete or less (omitted)	.	.	.	.	.	.
High school incomplete	-0.022 [0.026]	-0.067* [0.033]	0.005 [0.031]	-0.036 [0.040]	-0.071 [0.045]	-0.123* [0.055]
High school complete or more	-0.228** [0.036]	-0.235** [0.039]	-0.299** [0.042]	-0.279** [0.047]	-0.139* [0.057]	-0.189** [0.063]
Employed	0.171** [0.033]	0.122** [0.039]	0.253** [0.051]	0.218** [0.061]	0.110** [0.043]	0.040 [0.049]
Renting	0.088+ [0.046]	0.102* [0.048]	0.175** [0.049]	0.183** [0.053]	0.031 [0.066]	0.037 [0.073]
Constant ⁽¹⁾	0.542** [0.053]	0.557** [0.059]	0.312** [0.065]	0.314** [0.073]	0.571** [0.072]	0.625** [0.083]
Observations	9179	1754	5456	1067	3723	687
R-squared	0.15	0.15	0.21	0.20	0.11	0.13

Notes.- Samples include Mexican born individuals 16 years or older interviewed in the U.S. in 2005 who arrived in the U.S. in 2002 or later. Robust standard errors in brackets. Regressions are weighted using survey weights. Dependent variable is an indicator variable that takes value 1 if the observation comes from MxFLS and 0 if it comes from the comparison survey.

+ significant at 10%; * significant at 5%; ** significant at 1%

⁽¹⁾ Represents difference in the probability that a young, unmarried male with no schooling who is unemployed and not renting his home is included in the MxFLS sample relative to the comparison survey.

Table 5. Characteristics that predict migrant income in MxFLS, ACS or CPS

Dependent variable is log(monthly income)

Interaction of covariate with MxFLS reflects difference in association among MxFLS migrants relative to contrasting survey.

	A. OLS		B. OLS		C. OLS		D. LAD	
	Males and females		Males		Females		Males and females	
	MxFLS and ACS (1)	MxFLS and CPS (2)	MxFLS and ACS (1)	MxFLS and CPS (2)	MxFLS and ACS (1)	MxFLS and CPS (2)	MxFLS and ACS (1)	MxFLS and CPS (2)
Male	0.408** [0.026]	0.378** [0.058]					0.312** [0.018]	0.266** [0.051]
Male* MxFLS	0.033 [0.067]	0.069 [0.085]					0.109+ [0.062]	0.145+ [0.078]
Age 25-34 ⁽¹⁾	0.181** [0.024]	0.192** [0.065]	0.203** [0.025]	0.201** [0.074]	0.118+ [0.063]	0.184 [0.128]	0.084** [0.018]	0.126* [0.050]
Age 25-34* MxFLS	-0.061 [0.063]	-0.071 [0.088]	-0.051 [0.071]	-0.051 [0.101]	-0.183 [0.123]	-0.219 [0.167]	0.048 [0.065]	0.003 [0.081]
Age 35-44	0.231** [0.032]	0.152+ [0.084]	0.255** [0.038]	0.181+ [0.104]	0.186** [0.070]	0.056 [0.147]	0.154** [0.023]	0.085 [0.066]
Age 35-44* MxFLS	-0.102 [0.090]	-0.019 [0.119]	-0.095 [0.102]	-0.023 [0.143]	-0.138 [0.170]	0.025 [0.224]	0.029 [0.088]	0.097 [0.109]
Age 45+	0.239** [0.045]	0.189* [0.093]	0.260** [0.052]	0.193+ [0.107]	0.230** [0.087]	0.160 [0.209]	0.140** [0.030]	0.096 [0.083]
Age 45+* MxFLS	-0.278** [0.090]	-0.244* [0.122]	-0.267** [0.083]	-0.214+ [0.126]	-0.555+ [0.318]	-0.586 [0.400]	-0.060 [0.105]	-0.064 [0.132]
High school incomplete ⁽¹⁾	0.002 [0.026]	-0.019 [0.064]	0.022 [0.028]	-0.048 [0.073]	-0.087 [0.065]	0.153 [0.136]	0.028 [0.019]	0.017 [0.052]
High school incomplete* MxFLS	0.178** [0.059]	0.210* [0.084]	0.167* [0.065]	0.248** [0.095]	0.153 [0.123]	-0.114 [0.175]	0.115* [0.058]	0.111 [0.076]
High school complete or more	0.124** [0.024]	0.184** [0.069]	0.142** [0.026]	0.148+ [0.079]	0.059 [0.056]	0.404** [0.132]	0.098** [0.017]	0.100+ [0.051]
High school complete or more* MxFLS	0.159* [0.062]	0.106 [0.091]	0.160* [0.075]	0.160 [0.107]	0.129 [0.108]	-0.246 [0.165]	0.126 [0.082]	0.082 [0.095]
Married	0.019 [0.022]	0.053 [0.061]	0.008 [0.026]	0.055 [0.073]	0.016 [0.050]	0.059 [0.099]	0.041* [0.016]	0.014 [0.046]
Married* MxFLS	-0.032 [0.059]	-0.075 [0.083]	-0.016 [0.059]	-0.068 [0.092]	-0.028 [0.152]	-0.144 [0.181]	-0.078 [0.066]	-0.083 [0.079]
MxFLS	-0.051 [0.079]	-0.139 [0.110]	-0.014 [0.063]	-0.094 [0.091]	-0.026 [0.103]	0.126 [0.173]	-0.114 [0.074]	-0.209* [0.099]
Constant	6.691** [0.050]	6.807** [0.090]	7.069** [0.047]	7.193** [0.075]	6.860** [0.073]	6.664** [0.165]	6.859** [0.028]	6.994** [0.079]
Observations	5775	1136	4530	887	1245	249	5775	1136
R-squared	0.15	0.15	0.08	0.09	0.11	0.19	0.05	0.08

Notes. Samples include Mexican born individuals 16 years or older interviewed in the U.S. in 2005 who arrived in the U.S. in 2002 or later. Robust standard errors in brackets. Regressions include state/region fixed effects. Regressions are weighted using survey weights. Dependent variable is the log of monthly income from the main job average over the past year. + significant at 10%; * significant at 5%; ** significant at 1%

Table 6. Summary Statistics by Documentation Status in MxFLS

	Undocumented		Documented		P-value
	Mean	Se	Mean	Se	
% Male	69.3	2.4	51.8	6.5	0.01
Age	26.47	0.45	32.50	1.56	0.00
Educational attainment					
% Primary complete or less	43.9	2.7	20.0	4.5	0.00
% High school incomplete	43.6	2.6	28.9	5.1	0.01
% High school complete or more	12.5	2.0	51.1	6.4	0.00
% Working	80.8	2.1	64.7	6.6	0.02
Monthly earnings (US \$)	1,397	40	1,511	92	0.25
% Married	31.3	2.6	57.5	6.5	0.00
% Renting	93.2	1.4	69.3	6.6	0.00
<i>Characteristics measured at baseline in 2002</i>					
Height	160.15	0.53	162.68	1.34	0.08
Raven's score (max = 12)	5.78	0.19	7.02	0.41	0.01
Household per capita monthly expenditure	759	71	1,435	263	0.01
Household per capita wealth	27,001	2,496	115,893	26,883	0.00
Rural area	43.8	2.6	25.7	4.6	0.00
Observations	541		105		
% of sample	83.7		16.3		

Notes. Samples include Mexican born individuals 16 years or older interviewed in the U.S. in 2005 who arrived in the U.S. in 2002 or later. Numbers weighted using sampling weights adjusted for attrition. The P-value column displays the p-value for the test that the means are equal between the documented and undocumented.

Table 7. Linear Probability Model for Being Documented

	Documented	
	(1)	(2)
Male	0.009	-0.017
	[0.033]	[0.036]
Age	0.005**	0.004*
	[0.002]	[0.002]
High school incomplete ⁽¹⁾	0.055*	0.027
	[0.026]	[0.030]
High school complete or more	0.309**	0.257**
	[0.065]	[0.062]
Married	0.064	0.057
	[0.041]	[0.041]
Working	-0.051	-0.052
	[0.044]	[0.043]
Renting	-0.203*	-0.202*
	[0.080]	[0.082]
<i>Variables measured at baseline (2002)</i>		
Height		0.004+
		[0.002]
Raven's score		0.002
		[0.005]
Per capita HH expenditures (2nd quartile)		0.057+
		[0.034]
Per capita HH expenditures (3rd quartile)		0.098*
		[0.040]
Per capita HH expenditures (4th quartile)		0.106*
		[0.054]
Rural area in 2002		0.016
		[0.028]
Constant	0.126	-0.513
	[0.102]	[0.317]
Observations	646	646
R-squared	0.216	0.235

Notes. Samples include Mexican born individuals 16 years or older interviewed in the U.S. in 2005 who arrived in the U.S. in 2002 or later, and were interviewed in the U.S. in the first follow up. Robust standard errors in brackets. Dependent variable is an indicator that takes value 1 if the respondent had documents to enter to the U.S. at the moment of deciding to come to live to the U.S. and 0 otherwise.

+ significant at 10%; * significant at 5%; ** significant at 1%

Table 8. Summary statistics comparing MxFLS and the Mexican Migration Project

	A. Males and Females		B. Males		C. Females	
	MxFLS (1)	MMP (2)	MxFLS (1)	MMP (2)	MxFLS (1)	MMP (2)
Male	66.8 (2.3)	78.0 (2.0) *				
Age	27.3 (0.4)	29.3 (0.4) *	26.8 (0.6)	29.5 (0.5) *	28.3 (0.8)	28.9 (0.7)
Married	35.3 (2.5)	60.4 (2.4) *	31.5 (3.0)	57.1 (2.8) *	42.5 (4.3)	71.9 (4.1) *
<i>Education attainment</i>						
Primary complete or less	40.5 (2.4)	47.9 (2.5)	42.4 (3.1)	49.3 (2.9)	36.7 (3.9)	42.8 (4.9)
High school incomplete	41.4 (2.4)	37.3 (2.4)	44.6 (3.0)	38.6 (2.8)	35.1 (3.8)	32.7 (4.5)
High school complete or more	18.1 (2.1)	14.8 (1.6)	13.0 (2.2)	12.1 (1.5)	28.2 (4.3)	24.5 (4.7)
<i>Labor market</i>						
Employed	78.4 (2.1)	84.1 (1.8) *	93.7 (1.5)	96.0 (0.9)	48.5 (4.2)	42.0 (4.6)
Observations	646	1155	412	883	234	272

Notes. The MMP sample consists of Mexican born individuals 16 years or older who are currently on a U.S. trip. Standard errors in parentheses.

* Statistically different at 5%.

Appendix Table 1
Summary statistics for MxFLS migrants known to be in the U.S.

Variables measured in 2002	Found in U.S.	Not Found
Male	0.67 (0.02)	0.62 (0.07)
Age	23.22 (0.42)	29.78 (2.78) *
Married	0.25 (0.02)	0.32 (0.07)
<i>Education attainment</i>		
Primary complete or less	0.48 (0.02)	0.42 (0.07)
High school incomplete	0.40 (0.02)	0.37 (0.07)
High school complete or more	0.13 (0.02)	0.21 (0.06)
Observations	646	62

Notes.- Sample consists on panel respondents 16 years old or older in 2005 who were known to be in the U.S. during the 2005-2006 follow up with non-missing information. The variables are measured at baseline in 2002. Means and standard errors are calculated using 2002 sampling weights. Standard errors in parentheses.

* Statistically different at 5%

Appendix Table 2

Summary statistics adding migrants who attrited in MxFLS

	A. Males and Females			B. Males			C. Females		
	MxFLS with attritors	ACS	CPS	MxFLS with attritors	ACS	CPS	MxFLS with attritors	ACS	CPS
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(3)
Male	0.67 (0.02)	0.62 (0.01) *	0.63 (0.02)						
Age	27.95 (0.52)	29.19 (0.14) *	29.36 (0.37) *	27.38 (0.61)	28.64 (0.17) *	29.17 (0.47) *	29.11 (0.99)	30.07 (0.23)	29.69 (0.60)
Married	0.43 (0.02)	0.50 (0.01) *	0.50 (0.02) *	0.39 (0.03)	0.45 (0.01)	0.43 (0.02)	0.49 (0.04)	0.57 (0.01) *	0.63 (0.03) *
<i>Education attainment</i>									
Primary complete or less	0.38 (0.02)	0.31 (0.01) *	0.29 (0.02) *	0.39 (0.03)	0.32 (0.01) *	0.31 (0.02) *	0.36 (0.04)	0.29 (0.01)	0.25 (0.02) *
High school incomplete	0.41 (0.02)	0.31 (0.01) *	0.35 (0.02) *	0.44 (0.03)	0.31 (0.01) *	0.35 (0.02) *	0.35 (0.03)	0.33 (0.33)	0.34 (0.03)
High school complete or more	0.21 (0.02)	0.38 (0.01) *	0.37 (0.02) *	0.17 (0.02)	0.37 (0.01) *	0.34 (0.02) *	0.29 (0.04)	0.38 (0.01) *	0.41 (0.03) *
<i>Labor market</i>									
Employed	0.69 (0.02)	0.65 (0.01)	0.69 (0.02)	0.83 (0.02)	0.84 (0.01)	0.87 (0.01)	0.43 (0.04)	0.33 (0.01) *	0.38 (0.03)
Renting	0.78 (0.02)	0.82 (0.00) *	0.82 (0.01)	0.82 (0.02)	0.85 (0.01)	0.84 (0.02)	0.71 (0.04)	0.77 (0.01)	0.78 (0.02)
Observations	708	8533	1108	447	5044	655	261	3489	453

Notes.- The sample consists of Mexican born individuals 16 years or older who arrived to the U.S. since 2002. Means and standard errors are calculated using each survey's sampling weights. Standard errors in parentheses.

* Statistically different from MxFLS at 5%

Appendix Table 3
Summary statistics for different arrival dates in ACS and MxFLS

	A. Arrived since 2001	B. Arrived since 2003		C. Arrived since 2004		
	ACS	MxFLS	ACS	MxFLS	ACS	CPS
Male	0.60 (0.01)	0.65 (0.03)	0.64 (0.01)	0.68 (0.03)	0.65 (0.01)	0.65 (0.02)
Age	29.38 (0.12)	27.09 (0.55)	29.15 (0.17) *	25.98 (0.61)	29.39 (0.23) *	29.45 (0.54) *
Married	0.51 (0.01)	0.34 (0.03)	0.48 (0.01) *	0.33 (0.03)	0.49 (0.01) *	0.48 (0.02) *
<i>Education attainment</i>						
Primary complete or less	0.30 (0.01)	0.41 (0.03)	0.32 (0.01) *	0.33 (0.03)	0.31 (0.01)	0.30 (0.02)
High school incomplete	0.32 (0.01)	0.43 (0.03)	0.31 (0.01) *	0.49 (0.04)	0.31 (0.01) *	0.33 (0.02) *
High school complete or more	0.38 (0.01)	0.15 (0.02)	0.37 (0.01) *	0.18 (0.03)	0.38 (0.01) *	0.38 (0.02) *
<i>Labor market</i>						
Employed	0.65 (0.01)	0.79 (0.02)	0.65 (0.01) *	0.80 (0.03)	0.63 (0.01) *	0.69 (0.02) *
Earnings main job ⁽¹⁾	1715 (39)	1369 (39)	1708 (48) *	1355 (45)	1740 (72) *	1768 (82) *
Renting	0.81 (0.00)	0.90 (0.02)	0.83 (0.01) *	0.89 (0.02)	0.83 (0.01) *	0.83 (0.02) *
Observations	10893	465	6085	296	3627	591

Notes.- The sample consists of Mexican born individuals 16 years or older who recently arrived to the U.S. Means and standard errors are calculated using each survey's sampling weights. Standard errors in parentheses.

(1) Earnings are defined in monthly US\$

* Statistically different from MxFLS at 5%

Appendix Table 4

Characteristics that predict migrant income - Changing arrival dates

Dependent variable is log(monthly income)

Interaction of covariate with MxFLS reflects difference in association among MxFLS migrants relative to the U.S. survey

	A. Arrived since 2003	B. Arrived since 2004	
	MxFLS and ACS	MxFLS and ACS	MxFLS and CPS
Male	0.420** [0.033]	0.431** [0.048]	0.297** [0.083]
Male* MxFLS	-0.027 [0.075]	-0.140 [0.109]	0.003 [0.132]
Age 25-34 ⁽¹⁾	0.184** [0.028]	0.188** [0.038]	0.137 [0.086]
Age 25-34* MxFLS	-0.061 [0.073]	-0.049 [0.089]	0.026 [0.122]
Age 35-44	0.231** [0.040]	0.198** [0.057]	0.274* [0.106]
Age 35-44* MxFLS	-0.110 [0.106]	-0.135 [0.143]	-0.187 [0.177]
Age 45+	0.292** [0.056]	0.243** [0.076]	0.175 [0.127]
Age 45+* MxFLS	-0.331** [0.112]	-0.105 [0.127]	-0.015 [0.164]
High school incomplete ⁽²⁾	-0.004 [0.030]	-0.026 [0.041]	0.153+ [0.087]
High school incomplete* MxFLS	0.215** [0.066]	0.315** [0.093]	0.151 [0.125]
High school complete or more	0.108** [0.029]	0.122** [0.040]	0.262** [0.094]
High school complete or more* MxFLS	0.199** [0.070]	0.311** [0.098]	0.185 [0.133]
Married	0.003 [0.027]	0.029 [0.037]	0.034 [0.077]
Married* MxFLS	-0.010 [0.069]	-0.021 [0.086]	-0.070 [0.114]
MxFLS	-0.042 [0.087]	-0.039 [0.122]	-0.171 [0.163]
Constant	6.654** [0.053]	6.626** [0.073]	6.792** [0.119]
Observations	4173	2461	555
R-squared	0.15	0.15	0.17

Notes.- Sample consists of Mexican-born individuals 16 years or older who recently arrived to the U.S. Robust standard errors in brackets. Regressions include state/region fixed effects. Regressions are weighted using surveys' weights. Dependent variable is the log of monthly income from the main job received in the past year.

+ significant at 10%; * significant at 5%; ** significant at 1%

⁽¹⁾ Omitted 16-24

⁽²⁾ Omitted primary complete or less