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Religiosity and Migration Aspirations among Mexican Youth

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Abstract

International migration has become an important topic of discussion from a policy and humanitarian perspective. Part of the debate includes a renewed interest in understanding the factors that influence decisions about migration to the US among Mexican youth still residing in their country of origin. The purpose of this study was to advance knowledge specifically about internal and external religiosity and their influence on youths' migration aspirations. The data for this study were collected in 2007 from students enrolled in an alternative high school program located in the state of Guanajuato, Mexico. The findings indicated that as external religiosity increases, the desire to work or live in the USA decreases. Furthermore, as internal religiosity increases, the desire to work or live in the USA and plans to migrate increase. The results are interpreted and discussed in light of previous research on religious and cultural norm adherence.

Keywords

Migration; Religiosity; Mexico; Adolescents

Recent legislation in Arizona, Alabama, and other states seeking to enhance the states' power to enforce immigration laws has inflamed an already heated debate surrounding Mexican immigration to the USA. This topic has captivated the public's attention in recent years as 31 % of foreign born immigrants living in the USA have come from Mexico, and as Mexican migrants make up more than a third of all new immigrants since 1990 (Hanson 2006). State legislators are deliberating how to adapt policies to their rapidly changing populations, especially in states such as Arizona where recent census data shows that almost

half of all the children in the state are Latinos (National Council of La Raza 2011). Demographic trends and a persistent economic downturn have in part rekindled the international migration debate. As part of it, there is a renewed interest in better understanding the factors that influence Mexican migration to the USA.

While migration from Mexico to the USA is traditionally thought of as a purely economic decision (Alba et al. 1999; Borjas 1989; Kandel and Massey 2002), it is now understood that other influences also play a significant role in migration patterns (Massey and Espinosa 1997), including human capital investment, socioeconomic status (SES), social networks, and violence (Kanaiaupuni 2000; Martin and Widgren 2002; Nieri et al. 2011). Although many of these factors influence migration at the macro level, they do not completely explain individual reasons to migrate (Rogler 1994), resulting in recent studies seeking to better understand micro-level migration factors (e.g., Castellanos 2007; Nieri et al. 2011). The purpose of this study, therefore, is to increase understanding on one such micro-level aspect of migration that has not received much attention from the academic community—the influence of religiosity on migration aspirations.

Religiosity in Mexico

When considering religiosity in Mexico, the influence of the Roman Catholic Church in Mexican society cannot be understated, as it has been described as an integral part of Mexican culture (Levin et al. 1996). In fact, Catholicism has influenced Mexican society in such a way that various church activities such as baptisms and communions are considered social events (Hovey 1999). As such, religious associations are a large source of social capital for the population, as evidenced by their high rate of church attendance (50 %) (University of Michigan News and Information Services 1997; Wilson 2008). Not surprisingly, 84 % of Mexicans say that religion is important to them, with only 3 % stating that it has no meaning in their lives (Camp 2000). This enmeshed relationship between Mexican culture and Catholicism has, in some cases, been a primary reason that studies in Mexico have distinct results as compared to studies conducted in neighboring countries such as the USA (Benjamins and Buck 2009). However, some religion-focused research studies in Mexico have found that affiliation with the Catholic Church is not as important a factor as regular church attendance, regardless of affiliation (Hovey 1999; Leach 2000), leading to the question of how much influence the actual teachings of the Catholic Church have when compared to its socio-cultural influence. These questions, and others, have led social scientists to suggest that religiosity in Mexico is a research area in need of further attention (Wilson 2008). Following the migration theory of microeconomic human capital (Sjaastad 1962), we hypothesize that religiosity is associated with intentions to migrate among Mexican youth, but that the direction of such association will vary by type of religiosity (external vs. internal).

Religiosity and Migration

Thus far, the study of religiosity and migration has focused on how migrating impacts a person's level of religiosity, leading social scientists to identify interesting trends in religious behavior among migrants in receiving countries (e.g., Bosswick and Husband 2005; Connor

2008). Although there is general agreement that aspects of religiosity change because of migration (Smith et al. 1998), some research suggests that migration decreases religious participation (Finke and Stark 1992), while other studies suggest that it increases an immigrant's spiritual consciousness and participation (Hagan and Ebaugh 2003; Warner 1998). Despite this ambiguity, it is evident that migration has an impact on people's beliefs, place of worship, and level of religious involvement (Levitt 1998; Smith et al. 1998), and this change seems to be associated with gender, religious affiliation, family structure, economic activity, and marital status once in the receiving country (Connor 2008; Van Tubergen 2006).

While some studies have looked at religiosity among migrants in their new country, there is very little research focused on the association between migration aspirations and religiosity in the migrant's native country. Studies have shown that, just as religious persecution among the people in England during the 17th century motivated families to migrate for religious refuge, fleeing religious persecution continues in certain regions of the world today (García 2006). However, that could be considered an extreme circumstance, similar to seeking refuge in another country during times of war. More applicable to the purposes of this study is to understand how religion influences more voluntary forms of migration. Although limited, there are a few studies that have looked at this relationship. Using longitudinal data collected from married persons living in the USA, Myers (2000) found that connections with socioreligious friends and neighbors are not generally continued after migration, and the loss of such a network could deter an individual from migrating because they would be unsure of their ability to duplicate such connections in a new location/environment. He also found that while church attendance was not related to migration, there was a negative association identified between attendance at church social activities and migration. Although Myers did not find an association between actual church attendance and migration, others have. In another US-based study conducted by Stinner et al. (1992) focusing on how Mormon church-related factors influenced migration aspirations, they found that individuals reporting high levels of church activity were the least likely to anticipate migrating out of Utah. These contradicting findings are not surprising given the different sources from which the data were drawn (i.e., US multid denominational sample vs. sample of only Mormons living in Utah), and while neither sample included Mexican participants, it is interesting to note that the research conducted among Mormons living in Utah may be somewhat applicable to Mexican citizens because, just like Mexico, Utah has a highly homogeneous religious population (Associated Press 2008; Hovey 1999).

Measuring Religiosity

Religiosity is a multidimensional construct that consists of more than just church attendance, church affiliation, or involvement in church activities (Amey et al. 1996). Confirmatory factor analyses suggest that single-factor models do not fit the data well, and multidimensional models have been recommended as more robust (Neff 2006; Masters et al. 2009; Tran et al. 2011). Most recent studies looking at religiosity divide the construct into two parts: internal and external religiosity (Piko and Fitzpatrick 2004; Resnick et al. 2004; Van Den Bree et al. 2004). Internal religiosity can be defined as the importance one puts on religious behaviors such as studying religious books, while external religiosity reflects

involvement and participation in religious activities such as church attendance (Fiala et al. 2002; Nasim et al. 2006). It is often difficult to conceptually distinguish spirituality from internal religiosity. Spirituality is often identified in the Latino-specific literature as a personal relationship with the divine, and the belief that God or some other higher power has the ability to help the individual and the family to get through stressful situations (Ojeda et al. 2011). It does not necessarily require a church affiliation. For the purposes of this study spirituality was not measured separately, but it is important to note the possible overlap between internal religiosity and spirituality in the Mexican and Mexican-American communities.

As of yet, studies looking at the connection between migration and religiosity have used various measures of external religiosity, but have not specifically investigated the possible influence that internal religiosity has on migration intentions. If internal religiosity is found to be associated with migration aspirations, it may help explain why previous research focusing solely on the connection between external religiosity and migration has led to contradicting results (see Finke and Stark 1992; Hagan and Ebaugh 2003; Warner 1998).

The Present Study

The purpose behind studying the association between religiosity and migration is not solely centered on understanding the micro-level factors influencing migration, but is equally important as a means of enhancing the quality of life of those who migrate. Previous research has identified religiosity as a protective factor against numerous negative outcomes such as substance use (Miller et al. 2000; Nonnemaker et al. 2003), mental illness (Colucci and Martin 2008; Helliwell 2007; Levin 2010), and poor physical health (George et al. 2002; Hill and Pargament 2003; Powell et al. 2003). However, as previously mentioned, some research has shown that migration tends to decrease religious participation (Finke and Stark 1992). Therefore, if the association between religiosity and migration can be better understood by migrants and high migration communities, efforts can be taken to maintain or enhance one's religious strength during the migration process.

When studying migration intentions among Mexican youth, central Mexican states are an ideal location to conduct such research due to the high percentages of youth expressing a desire to work (40 %) or live (35 %) in the USA (Kandel and Massey 2002). Also, because of the social networks created in states such as Guanajuato and Jalisco, these areas have historically been among the highest sending states in all Mexico (Jewell and Molina. 2009; Massey et al. 2002). In fact, in this region of the country, young males are expected to migrate, and the culture is such that those who do not are perceived unfavorably by the community (Kandel and Massey 2002). Furthermore, despite abundant job opportunities in their own communities and increased efforts by the USA to curb Mexican migration, migration patterns have not been substantially interrupted (Arias 2004).

Another reason youth in central Mexico are a favorable population to study is because of the applicability of the migration theory of microeconomic human capital (Sjaastad 1962) to their social and economic context. The migration theory of microeconomic human capital suggests that individuals migrate because they anticipate a positive net return from moving

(Massey et al. 1993). The expected positive net return can be in the form of money, social capital, or other factors. While it is unreasonable to assume that people are sufficiently able to consider every factor that would be influenced by moving, this theory would suggest that individuals with strong connections to their religious place of worship (i.e., high levels of external religiosity) would be less likely to migrate (assuming equality among all other factors). However, as personal beliefs and convictions (i.e., internal religiosity) is not something that is necessarily compromised by migration, it may be assumed that there would be no association between internal religiosity and migration.

Based on the results from previous studies (e.g., Stinner et al. 1992; Myers 2000), and guided by the migration theory of microeconomic human capital (Sjaastad 1962; Massey et al. 1993), we hypothesize that among adolescents living in the high migratory communities of Guanajuato, Mexico, high levels of external religiosity will predict lower levels of migration intentions, while levels of internal religiosity will not be associated with migration aspirations.

Methods

The data for this study were collected in 2007 from students enrolled in an alternative high school program located in Guanajuato, Mexico. At the time of data collection, there were 252 alternative program centers located within 100 km of the state's capital city of León, and eight were randomly selected for this project. Alternative schools are common in this area as they serve youth in rural or semirural communities that often do not have access to more traditional high schools. All students at the eight programs centers were eligible to participate, and a 95 % response rate led to a final sample of 702 participants. Under the direction of the university research team and with approval by the Arizona State University Internal Review Board under exempt status 7.4., surveys were administered by the teachers in each center. Of the 702 students who participated in the study, 60 % were female, and 90 % were between 14 and 18 years old, the traditional age range for secondary education. The measures in the questionnaire were tailored for this specific population by using straightforward questions and uncomplicated response categories that have been shown to work well with Spanish-speaking individuals from Mexico (Knight et al. 2009).

The final analytic sample consisted of 474 single Catholic youth under 18 years of age. The decision to exclude participants who were not single ($N=51$) was made to ensure that the information gathered regarding migration aspirations was based on individual hopes and desires rather than a reflection of family circumstances, such as having to leave a spouse or children at home. Those 18 and older ($N=159$) were excluded because they may have different responsibilities and opportunities influencing their decisions, thus producing an experience substantially different than those who were left in as part of the final sample. Lastly, participants not of the Catholic faith ($N=51$) were excluded as the specific focus of our study is the influence of religiosity on migration among members of the Catholic Church.

Variables

The following three dependent variables, all measuring migration intentions, will be used to help determine the connection between religiosity and migration aspirations: (1) desire to work in the USA, (2) desire to live in the USA, and (3) plans to migrate to the USA. Desire to work in the USA was measured by asking, “Some day would you like to work in the US?” (0=Not at all, 3=Yes a lot). Desire to live in the USA was measured by asking, “Some day would you like to live in the US?” (0=Not at all, 3 = Yes a lot). Plans to migrate to the USA were measured by asking, “I am thinking about migrating to the US someday” (0=Definitely not, 3 =Definitely).

The main independent variables for this study are internal and external religiosity. Internal religiosity was measured by asking, “How important is religion to you?” Responses ranged from 0=not important to 3= very important. External religiosity was measured by asking, “How often do you attend religious services at your church, mosque, synagogue, or temple?” Responses ranged from 0=never to 4=every week. Also, included in the model are two questions addressing whether or not the respondent or a family member had been to the USA (Have you ever been to the US? How many of your relatives have ever lived in the US?). These were included because having been to the USA previously, or knowing a family member who had, could influence whether or not the student has migration aspirations—especially in a community like Guanajuato with a long history of circular migration (Massey et al. 2002).

Controls used for this study were gender, age, socioeconomic status (SES), parent-child relationship, whether or not the respondent has ever been to the USA, whether or not the respondent's relatives have ever been to the USA, and place of birth. Gender was included in the model because research shows that boys and girls have different social norms regarding migration, and there are longstanding gender differences surrounding opportunity in Mexico (Cortez 2001; Kandel and Massey 2002). Age, as previously mentioned, was included because thoughts and plans regarding migration are substantially different between a 14-year-old respondent who just started high school and a respondent who is over 17 (Nieri et al. 2011). SES is included as it has consistently been found to be a significant predictor of migration intentions (Alba et al. 1999; Martin and Widgren 2002). The SES measured in this study was a scale created from five question: “In your home, is there enough money to: (1) buy food, (2) buy gasoline for your car or truck, (3) pay for basic services (light, water, etc.), (4) buy clothing you need, (5) do fun things (take vacations, go to the movies, go out).” The responses categories were 0= Never, 1 =Sometimes, 2 = Almost always, and 3 = Always. The internal reliability of this scale was found to be well within the acceptable range ($\alpha=.854$).

A measure of parent/child relationship was included because the quality of this relationship could be an influential factor in shaping a youth's desires to leave home (Nieri et al. 2011). This measure was created from two questions: “How would you describe your relationship with your mother,” and “How would you describe your relationship with your father.” Responses ranged from 0=Bad to 4=Excellent. The mean of both responses was calculated for each parent; or, if the student only had one parent, the score from the only parent was used. The measure addressing place of birth was included because Guanajuato is a unique

state in Mexico. Adolescents who grew up in Guanajuato are exposed to a culture and lifestyle of migration, and will likely have a different outlook regarding migration than those who were not exposed to such norms (Kandel and Massey 2002). This variable asked: “Where were you born?” Response options were dichotomized into two categories: 0=Born in Guanajuato and 1=Not born in Guanajuato.

Analysis Strategy

First, data were entered and cleaned using SPSS software. Second, descriptive statistics were run to identify associations between variables. Third, STATA software was used to run the linear regression models so as to control for nesting effects based on school location.

Results

Table 1 presents descriptive statistics for all variables included in the analyses. The sample was almost evenly split between those who had desires to work/live in the USA and those who did not, with the average student leaning slightly towards desiring to travel to the USA (Work in the USA, $M=1.70$, $SD=0.96$; Live in the USA, $M=1.77$, $SD=0.98$). The students were also split on having plans to migrate; however, the average student for this question reported slightly lower plans to migrate ($M=1.35$, $SD=1.11$). Most students attended church somewhere between a few times a year to a few times a month ($M=2.44$, $SD=1.28$), and the average student reported high levels of internal religiosity ($M=2.50$, $SD=0.69$). The average participant age was 16.04 years ($SD=0.79$), and 66 % of the students were female. The majority of students reported having a very good relationship with their parents ($M=3.08$, $SD=0.77$), and the average student had more than three relatives who had been to the USA, although hardly any of them had traveled there themselves.

Table 2 shows the results for each of the three linear regression models. Model 1 shows that higher levels of internal religiosity among adolescents predicted an increased desire to work in the USA ($b=0.19$, $p<0.01$), while higher levels of external religiosity predicted a moderately significant decrease in desire to work there ($b=-0.07$, $p<0.10$). Model 2 had a similar pattern, except that internal religiosity was only a moderately significant predictor of increase desires to live in the USA ($b=0.12$, $p<0.10$), while higher levels of external religiosity was a strong predictor of decreased desires to live there ($b=-0.14$, $p<0.001$). Lastly, model 3 shows that students with higher levels of internal religiosity had more plans to migrate to the USA ($b=0.17$, $p<0.05$), while their levels of external religiosity were not at all related to migration plans.

Each of the models showed significant differences between males and females. Due to that trend, additional models were run to see whether gender moderated the relationship between internal/external religiosity and the migration variables. Only two of the six models hinted at gender moderating the said relationship, but those models only showed marginal significance (models not shown in tables). Increased SES predicted increased desires to live in the USA ($b=0.26$, $p<0.01$), but was not significantly related to desires to work or plans to migrate to the USA. In both models 1 and 2, poorer parent-child relationships predicted increased desires to work and live in the USA (Model 1, $b=-0.15$, $p<0.05$; Model 2, $b=-0.16$, $p<0.05$), but they did not predict plans to migrate. With regards to previous travel,

whether a participant had been to the USA did not predict their desires or plans, but having more relatives that had been to the USA was a strong predictor of their migration aspirations in each model (Model 1, $b=0.10$, $p<0.001$; Model 2, $b=0.14$, $p<0.001$; Model 3, $b=0.16$, $p<0.001$). Furthermore, when compared to students born in Guanajuato, respondents born outside of Guanajuato had a moderately significant elevated desire to work in the USA ($b=0.39$, $p<0.10$) and statistically more plans to migrate to the USA as well ($b=0.54$, $p<0.05$).

Discussion

The findings reported in this article start to address a gap in the migration and health literature regarding the possible influences of religiosity in Mexico and the influence of religiosity on immigrants in general (Wilson 2008; Cadge and Ecklund 2007). The present study specifically examined the relationship between religiosity, a micro-level influence (Castellanos 2007), and migration intentions among Mexican youth. Understanding how religiosity in the native country is associated with having migration intentions moves beyond typical migration/religiosity studies which have usually focused on religiosity post international migration (e.g., Bosswick and Husband 2005; Connor 2008). The results highlight the nuances of the association between religiosity and migration intentions because it separates the influences of internal religiosity (the importance placed on religion) and external religiosity (the attendance at church events; Piko and Fitzpatrick 2004; Resnick et al. 2004; Van Den Bree et al. 2004). The findings indicate that, as hypothesized, as external religiosity among Roman Catholic adolescents living in Mexico increases, the desire to work or live in the USA decreases. However, contrary to the hypothesis that there would be no relationship between internal religiosity and migration aspirations, as internal religiosity increases not only does having a desire to work or live in the USA increase, but having plans to migrate also increase.

The association between religiosity and migration intentions among Mexican youth may be best understood by looking at religious and cultural norm adherence. In Mexico, the influence of the Catholic Church is a central part of the culture (Levin et al. 1996). For adolescents, religion can provide a normative structure serving as a guideline for behaviors (Longest and Vaisey 2008). Thus, for adolescents, adherence to religious norms (placing a high importance on religion) may support or reinforce their adherence to other normative cultural behaviors. General adherence to the normative cultural behaviors and beliefs is reflected in our other findings looking at the relationship between gender and migration intentions and the relationship between number of relatives who have lived in the USA and migration intentions. In Guanajuato, the site of our current study, young males are expected to migrate or risk being viewed by their community adversely (Kandel and Massey 2002), and our findings reaffirm this cultural normative expectation because males have significantly more desire to work and live in the USA compared to females. Furthermore, Guanajuato is a historical sending state of migrants to the USA (Jewell and Molina 2009; Massey et al. 2002), and the influence of this community tradition of migration is apparent in our findings as having a higher number of relatives who have visited the USA increased adolescent desires to live and work there. Thus, adolescents who have higher internal religious adherence may not only follow religious norms—as echoed by Camp (2000)

finding 84 % of Mexicans find religion important to them—but may be more likely to adhere to the general cultural norms in Guanajuato as well. For adolescents with higher internal religiosity, this overall adherence to norms could result in an increased desire to not only work and live in the USA, but also to have plans to migrate to the USA someday. From a migration theory of microeconomic human capital perspective (Sjaastad 1962), one could approach internal religiosity as an asset for these youths. They may feel a stronger connection to the divine, and as such, may feel that they will be protected during the arduous and often dangerous trip north. In sum, internal religiosity may be interpreted as a tool or resource in their resiliency knapsack.

This explanation, however, appears to be contradictory to our findings surrounding the association between external religiosity and migration intentions. If adhering to religious social norms and a stronger sense of protection from the divine are possible explanations for higher levels of intentions to migrate, why do adolescents who have high external religiosity have lower migration intentions? While research has indicated that attending church can reinforce religious norms, having higher levels of external religiosity is not simply a function of the adolescent desiring to adhere to social norms or having a strong connection to a higher force (Tamney and Johnson 1998; Iannacone et al. 1995; Iannacone 1994). External religiosity is also a function of social ties and connectedness (Smith 2003; Strawbridge et al. 1997; Wills et al. 2004). Having close social ties and social networks in the context of organized religion may deter migration because of the potential loss of the adolescent's homogenous religious network and the fear and uncertainty surrounding creating similar ties in the receiving country (Myers 2000). This idea is supportive of previous research findings concluding that when both the community and religion affiliation are homogeneous, higher church attendance decreased migration intentions (Stinner et al. 1992). Deterrence of migration may also be linked to the higher well-being and life satisfaction found among individuals with frequent church attendance (e.g. Ferriss 2002; Krause 2003; Lim and Putnam 2010), thus decreasing their intentions to migrate because adolescents are more satisfied with their current lives and social networks. Furthermore, because external religiosity can also be a reflection of parental religious participation (Hodge et al. 2001), youth may not have a choice regarding their attendance at religious services. As adolescents are still under the authority of their parents, external religiosity might not necessarily be reflective of the adolescents' individual religiosity (Marsiglia et al. 2005), and may not be reflective of strict adherence to other cultural beliefs and norms, or to their relationship to the divine, thereby decreasing the desire to migrate.

While this study adds to the body of literature surrounding religiosity and migration, there are several limitations that should be noted. First, not all adolescents who desire to migrate are actually able to migrate; therefore, it should be restated that the individuals in this study reported a desire to migrate, but are not likely to do so. Future research should use longitudinal data to control for time ordering of variables, add clarity to the effect of religiosity on migration intentions, and seek to understand the causal relationship rather than the associational one. Moreover, longitudinal data could follow these adolescents into adulthood to determine if migration intentions are realized, lending further understanding to these complex relationships. Second, these data are cross-sectional, which leaves conclusions of cause and effect undetermined. The results of the study assume that

religiosity impacted migration intentions and not the reverse. This assumes that migration intentions have not changed within the last 3 months and that religiosity remained constant longer than 3 months, and this assumption cannot be confirmed. While doubtful, it is likely that some adolescents' migration intentions have changed within the past 3 months or that recent migration intention influenced recent changes in the adolescent's religiosity. Third, because of the unique population from which this sample was drawn—students attending alternative high school programs—the sample overrepresents low income adolescents from rural areas in Guanajuato, Mexico. Thus, these findings cannot be generalized to all adolescents living in Mexico, particularly those living in urban areas. Future research should draw a representative sample of adolescents living in central Mexico to further elucidate the relationship between religiosity and migration intentions. Replication of this research in a national Mexican sample would also allow for trends, patterns, and more generalizations to be made about the impact of religiosity among youth in Mexico.

Future studies should also consider including a qualitative/open ended interview protocol in order to better understand the youths reporting higher levels of internal religiosity. There is a need to advance knowledge about the meaning these youth attach to their religiosity and spirituality. The youths' relationship to the divine (spirituality) should be qualified in conjunction and separately from organized religion and religiosity. Once more is known about their personal religious experience, a mixed method design will allow for a more complex approximation to the understanding of the association between internal religiosity and their intentions to migrate from a human capital perspective.

Despite the limitations of the study, our findings have practical implications for individuals living in high migration communities. Mexican policy makers, faith community leaders, and parents could use these initial findings to guide their efforts to support the youth in their decision making process about staying in their communities of origin or migrating. As migration is so prevalent in Guanajuato, policy makers may consider funding outreach efforts aimed at educating youth on the challenges and opportunities of migration through the public schooling system or in community centers. Such outreach efforts should include information about the association between religiosity and migration, education on employment opportunities in their local communities, and other community-specific training. This information may be of particular importance for the youth in alternative schooling programs serving rural or semirural communities (e.g., youth who took part in this study) as they may have limited exposure to community resources accessible to the youth in more urban areas. Finally, strong church-sponsored youth networks and supporting the development of a sense of belonging appear to be desired outcomes to achieve. The clergy, other religious leaders, and practitioners such as social workers could use these findings as a starting point to engage the youth in conversations about migration, their aspirations and plans, and their perceived safety, including the possible protection they may feel they will get from a divine source of power during their journey.

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Table 1
Descriptive statistics for study variables

Variable	N	Mean	Range	Standard deviation
Desire to work in the USA	456	1.70	0–3	0.96
Desire to live in the USA	440	1.77	0–3	0.98
Plan to migrate to the USA	455	1.35	0–3	1.11
Internal religiosity	460	2.50	0–3	0.69
External religiosity	459	2.44	0–4	1.28
Gender (female=0)	468	0.34	0–1	0.47
Age	474	16.04	14–17	0.79
SES	473	1.89	0–3	0.56
Parent child relationship	466	3.08	0–4	0.77
Ever been to the USA	439	0.05	0–1	0.23
Number of relative ever been to the USA	470	3.47	0–9	1.79
Place of birth (0=Guanajuato)	471	0.04	0–1	1.97

Table 2
Internal and external religiosity predicting desire to work and live in the USA and plans to migrate to the USA

	<i>N</i> =402 Desire to work in the USA	<i>N</i> =389 Desire to live in the USA	<i>N</i> =401 Plan to migrate to the USA
Internal religiosity	0.19**	0.12 [†]	0.17*
External religiosity	-0.07 [†]	-0.14***	-0.00
Gender (female=0)	0.38***	0.21*	0.53***
Age	0.10	0.01	0.06
SES	0.14	0.26**	0.04
Parent child relationship	-0.15*	-0.16*	-0.01
Ever been to the USA	0.15	0.29	0.40 [†]
Number of relative ever been to the USA	0.10***	0.14***	0.16***
Place of birth (0=Guanajuato)	0.39 [†]	0.36	0.54*
R ²	0.11	0.14	0.14

[†]
 $p < .10$;

*
 $p < .05$;

**
 $p < .01$;

***
 $p < .001$