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Migration intentions and Cultural Traits in Latin America**

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Do you want to migrate to the United States? Migration intentions and Cultural Traits in Latin America.*

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Abstract

This paper empirically investigates whether aspiring emigrants from nineteen Latin American countries to the United States hold a different set of cultural traits compared to stayers. Using Gallup World Poll data and proxy on individual pro social behaviors and political attitudes towards the president of the United States, we observe that aspiring migrants share more pro social behaviors and support more the U.S. political leader than stayers. We find that already existing migration network reduces cultural selection on social behaviors, which holds mainly among the young and less educated population, and in less developed countries. The paper shows that such cultural self-selection is unlikely to affect the distribution of cultural traits in the origin countries, avoiding potential negative effects for Latin American countries. If any, culturally selected immigrants should have a beneficial effect to the United States.

Keywords: International migration, migration intentions, self-selection, cultural traits, Latin America region.

JEL codes: F22, O15, N36, Z10

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I Introduction

As the most recent figures show, the population of international migrants is rising all over the world. In 2019, the stock of international migrants reached 272 millions, while it was 77 millions in the 1960 (United Nations, 2019). Even though the actual size of the international migrants population compared to the global population remains almost stable across the years and now accounts for 3.5% of the world population, these rising numbers plus the increased resonance of immigration in the political debate pushed researchers to increase their understanding of the whole migration phenomenon and its implications for origin and destination countries (Borjas, 2015). In particular, scholars in sociology and economics explored intensively the *selection* of emigrants on several dimensions, namely whether emigrants are substantially different compared to the population left-behind. Several micro level characteristics have been emphasized as key factors to explain emigration, like age and education (Docquier and Rapoport, 2012; Grogger and Hanson, 2011; Belot and Hatton, 2012). However, little or small evidence are provided on the role of non socioeconomic factors, in general, and on cultural traits, values and beliefs, in particular. Given the implications of cultural traits and beliefs for human development and preferences, modernization, economic growth and democratization (Guiso et al., 2006; Campante and Yanagizawa-Drott, 2015; Atkin, 2016; Tabellini, 2010; Murin and Wacziarg, 2014), a potential emigrants' cultural self-selection can have relevant implication due to its consequences on the distribution of cultural traits both at the origin and destination countries.

This paper empirically investigates whether aspiring emigrants to the United States from nineteen Latin American countries are culturally different compared to the stayers in the origin countries. Using Gallup World Poll microdata over the 2009-2011 period, we focus on the comparison between aspiring migrants to the United States and the stayers population. After selecting relevant proxies of social behaviors and political attitudes and constructing synthetic indicators of these two dimensions, we first test whether intending migrants hold a different set of cultural traits compared to stayers. Second, we investigate whether the presence of friends or relatives already in the United States influences the process of cultural selection. By affecting the information set and net benefit return from migration, migrants network could influence the set of aspiring migrants cultural traits. Third, to increase our understanding of potential mechanisms at play, we explore whether aspiring migrants' cultural selection intensity varies across individual and origin countries characteristics.

We believe that investigating the determinants of migration aspiration, in general, and the role of attitudes and personal connection, in particular is extremely relevant in our context of analysis. First, by studying selection on intending migrants, and given the fact that intentions are the first step towards actual migration, we can provide novel evidence on the cultural selection of actual migrants, which can affect both origin and destination countries. This aspect is particularly salient in the U.S. context as destination country, where it has been argued that the inflows of culturally distant immigrants compared to the U.S. could deteriorate local institutions and support for the welfare system (Alesina et al., 2004; Collier, 2013; Borjas, 2015). Moreover, if aspiring and actual migrants are culturally selected, that can

generate a shift in the distribution of cultural traits in the origin countries, which can have implication on democratization and knowledge diffusion (Desmet et al., 2011; Spolaore and Wacziarg, 2016), if it is not compensated by social remittances (Spilimbergo, 2009; Pfitze, 2012). Second, our focus on selection on social behavior and political attitudes can increase the understanding of the mechanisms behind the consequences of immigration and emigration. For instance, Putnam (2007) shows that an increase of the share of immigrants at the community level reduces mutual trust in the United States, due to an increase in ethnic diversity. However, such result could be partially explained by a process of cultural selection of immigrants: if immigrants (actual and aspiring) are characterized by a low level of social behavior, then we should have a by product reduction in trust and social cohesion in the destination communities. Conversely, the literature shows that emigrants in democratic societies, after experiencing host country's institutions, influence the process of democratization in the origin countries (Chauvet and Mercier, 2014; Barsbai et al., 2017; Docquier et al., 2016). Nonetheless, such effect could be explained by a process of selection of emigrants: if emigrants are selected on democratic values and political attitudes, then part of their influence on the origin country democratization can be driven by selection (Hirschman, 1993). Berlinschi and Harutyunyan (2019) provide evidence that intending migrants from post-Soviet countries are on average more critical to their origin-country political institutions and they have actively criticized them through strikes participation. Third, although evidence are provided of the impact of emigrants on stayers' norms and attitudes (see Tuccio and Wahba (2020) for a recent survey on social remittances) and on the willingness to move abroad (Bertoli and Ruysen, 2018; Docquier et al., 2020b), no evidence are provided on the simultaneous relation between migration intentions, attitudes and personal connection abroad. By affecting the information set of individuals' in the origin country (Turati, 2020), connection in the destination country can influence the role and relevance of beliefs and behaviors in shaping individual migration intentions.

Our work is not the first that studies the pattern of self-selection of Latin American (actual and potential) emigrants to the United States. In 2010, around 44% of the total immigrants population in the United States - which counts around 40.3 millions of immigrants - came from Latin American countries (World Bank, 2010).¹ Since Mexican diaspora in the United States² is sizeable, several papers focused on Mexicans self-selection, in particular based on their skill content and exploiting the role of migration networks (Ambrosini and Peri, 2012; McKenzie and Rapoport, 2010; Moraga, 2011; Chiquiar and Hanson, 2005; Burzyński and Gola, 2019). Although the strong focus on education and economic factors, the role of attitudes, past experiences and beliefs has been also explored. Becerra et al. (2010) and Becerra (2012) show that young aspiring migrants from Tijuana have a stronger pre-migration acculturation and higher perceived discrimination. Studying the Latin American context, Wood et al. (2010) show that being victim of a crime increases the willingness to leave the country. This paper aims to contribute to the

¹To be more precise, 44% is the share of immigrants from our set of nineteen countries in analysis, namely: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela.

²Figure 7 in the Appendix shows that Mexican diaspora accounts for almost 30% of the total immigrants population in the United States in the 2010.

understanding of Latin American aspiring emigrants' selection on a set of relevant cultural traits.

The paper presents three main findings. First, we find that Latin Americans who want to move to the United States hold a different set of cultural traits compared to stayers. They tend to share stronger pro-social behavior and have a positive stance towards the U.S. politics. Taken at their face value, having an increase of one standard deviation of the social behavior index is associated with an higher likelihood to move abroad of 0.8 percentage points, while an increase of one standard deviation in political attitudes towards the U.S. is related with an higher likelihood to move abroad of 2.9 p.p., on average. These results hold after controlling for a wide set of determinants of migration aspirations, country and intra-country regional fixed effects and matching techniques. Moreover, we find similar patterns once we focus on more stringent individual actual plans to migrate, rather than migration intentions. Second, we observe that the presence of already existing migration network in the United States influences the set of cultural traits hold by intending migrants. Having a friend or relative in the United States - defined henceforth as connectedness (Turati, 2020) - reduces the positive selection on social behavior of aspiring migrants, but not on political attitudes. This result suggests that connectedness may influence the information set of individuals, which could affect potential emigrants selection. Third, we show that the intensity of cultural selection on social behaviors varies substantially across individual and origin countries characteristics. Young and low educated individuals in less developed countries are characterized by a stronger selection. However, we observe that selection on political attitudes is rather robust and constant across different groups of respondents and origin countries, confirming as a robust evidence the relation between individual political attitudes and migration intentions. Our results confirm the intuition of Desmet and Wacziarg (2018), which suggest that mechanisms are not necessarily homogeneous across cultural traits, but they can be trait specific.

The interest in exploring selection on cultural values is driven by the rising awareness of the implications of culture on human development and countries economic growth (Guiso et al., 2006). The literature provides strong evidence on the relation between cultural aspects and individual preferences (Campante and Yanagizawa-Drott, 2015; Atkin, 2016; Moriconi and Peri, 2019), quality of economic interactions (Guiso et al., 2009) and institutional development (Tabellini, 2010). Human and cultural diversity has been highlighted as one of the potential contributors of countries development, in particular for its capacity to expand the variety of goods produced (Alesina et al., 2016; Docquier et al., 2020b; Bahar et al., 2020). By holding a different set of cultural traits, culturally selected emigrants can influence the distribution of cultural traits both at the origin and destination countries (Rapoport et al., 2020); a change in countries' cultural distances can have strong implication for speed of democratization and countries knowledge diffusion (Spolaore and Wacziarg, 2011; Murtin and Wacziarg, 2014). Discussing our results, we show that the highlighted potential migrants' cultural selection is unlikely to have negative effects in the Latin American context, although could have beneficial implications for the United States.

Given its wide coverage and the uniqueness of the information, we are not the first one to explore the determinants of migration intentions at the micro level using Gallup World Poll. Dustmann and Okatenko (2014) show that the quality of local amenities influence migration aspirations. Focusing on

female migration, [Ruysen and Salomone \(2018\)](#) observe that perceived gender discrimination increases women willingness to move abroad. Focusing on Latin American countries, [Frigo et al. \(2020\)](#) investigates perceived children’s well-being on parental migration intentions. Connectedness not only influence individual cultural traits ([Turati, 2020](#)), but also affects migration intentions and desired country of destination ([Bertoli and Ruysen, 2018](#)). More close to our paper, [Docquier et al. \(2020a\)](#) show the aspiring migrants from the Middle East and North Africa region which would like to move to developed countries are less religious and more gender-equal compared to the stayers population. Moreover, they observe that the cultural selection intensity decreased after the 2011 Arab Spring for the most affected countries. Our paper aims to contribute to such literature, providing novel evidence on the relation between cultural traits and migration intentions in the Latin American context.

The paper is organized as follows. Section II presents the theoretical framework and the hypotheses we want to test, while describing the data that proxy the cultural variables and the migration intentions. The empirical strategy and challenges are defined in Section III, while Section IV shows the main results of our analysis. Section V presents the results associated to our heterogeneity analysis both on individual and origin countries characteristics. The implication of our results are discussed in Section VI. Finally, Section VII concludes.

II Theoretical Framework and Data

II.A Theoretical Framework

Following the literature in economics and demography, we describe individual emigration as a two-step process. In the first step some individuals, based on their information set, characteristics and beliefs, express the aspiration to move abroad, while others have not such aspiration. In the second step, aspiring migrants face constraints and real-life opportunities (as winning a visa lottery), and they realize their migration aspirations once the conditions are favorable. In such set up, the pool of aspiring migrants should always be larger than the people that actually emigrate. This paper focus on the first step of the process, and it aims to shed new light on the factors that influence Latin Americans’ aspiration to move to the U.S.

Our theoretical model defines migration aspirations to the U.S. for each individual i in country c as depending negatively from the costs and positively from the returns of migrating ([Chort, 2014](#); [Ruysen and Salomone, 2018](#); [Docquier et al., 2020a](#)). We define the individual net benefit return from migrating to the U.S. as BM as follows:

$$BM_{ict} = f(X_{ict}) + \epsilon_{ict} \tag{1}$$

where X_{ict} is a set of individual characteristics, while ϵ_{ict} is a random component and $f(\cdot)$ is a function that determines the net benefit from migrating. Individuals express intention to move to the U.S. if BM_{ict} is positive, while they do not express such desire if they evaluate a negative net benefit return from

migrating.

Defining $Imig_{ict}$ the intention to migrate to the U.S. of individual i in country c and at year t as a dummy that takes value equal to one if the individual express an intention to move, we model in the empirical section the probability that an individual i is an aspiring migrant as follows:

$$Pr(Imig_{ict} = 1) = \Gamma(\beta X_{ict}). \quad (2)$$

The function $\Gamma(\cdot)$ is a linear function and β is a vector of parameters that has to be estimated through a linear probability model.³ The vector X_{ict} includes a set of standard relevant individual characteristics (e.g education, living in an urban area, gender, age, presence of relatives or friends in the U.S., etc.) and, additionally, individual cultural traits and an interaction term with the presence of relatives/friends in the U.S. and individual cultural traits. The set of included regressors allows us to test the following hypotheses:

HP1 cultural traits are related with individual migrants aspiration

HP2 the presence of relatives/friends in the aspired destination country can alter the role of cultural traits in shaping emigrants aspirations.

Our first hypothesis is based on the fact that to migration intention are also influenced by attitudes, past experiences and beliefs. [Becerra et al. \(2010\)](#) and [Becerra \(2012\)](#) show the relevance of perceived discrimination and pre-migration acculturation to explain emigration aspirations of youngsters in Tijuana. In the same vein, [Wood et al. \(2010\)](#) show that crime victimization is another relevant factor that can enhance Latin Americans aspirations to move abroad. In this context, cultural traits can influence individuals economic outcomes and behaviors ([Falck et al., 2012](#); [Campante and Yanagizawa-Drott, 2015](#); [Atkin, 2016](#)), which can influence the net benefit of migrating and migration intentions. [Docquier et al. \(2020a\)](#) provide evidence of such self-selection pattern in the MENA context, showing that intending migrants to OECD countries are less religious and more gender-egalitarian than intending stayers.

Our second hypothesis relies on two considerations: first, emigration and connectedness influence behaviors and traits of stayers in the origin country; second, by providing a more complete vision and description of the destination country cultural context connectedness can directly influence intending migrants cultural selection. The empirical literature on emigration and social remittances have shown the impact of emigrants on stayers' behaviors attitudes and beliefs ([Levitt, 1998](#); [Tuccio and Wahba, 2020](#)). By sharing their experience abroad, friends and relatives abroad not only influence individuals' migration intentions and aspired destination countries ([Bertoli and Ruysen, 2018](#); [Manchin and Orazbayev, 2018](#)), but it also influences cultural traits of natives in the origin countries ([Nikolova et al., 2017](#); [Turati,](#)

³Being aware that modelling a dichotomous variable with a linear model can rise some concerns, we decide to follow [Hellevik \(2009\)](#) and we use a linear probability model as benchmark to highlight the relationship between the variable of interests and the dependent variables. Nonetheless, Table 3 in the robustness section provides the estimates with a probit model. The main results are confirmed after implementing a non-linear model.

2020). McKenzie and Rapoport (2010) show in the Mexican context that networks abroad shaped the self-selection patterns on education of emigrants to the United States. Influencing the set of individual information on the destination country and depending on individual preferences, friends and relatives in the U.S. could affect the role of cultural traits in shaping migration intentions. If we follow Rapoport et al. (2020) and we assume that intending migrants holds homophilic preferences (their net benefit increases by living in a place with individuals with similar cultural traits), connectedness can directly influence the cultural selection of intending migrants by providing a more comprehensive and realistic description of the destination country context. For instance, if the connection abroad reveals that his/her experience of the U.S. cultural context is the opposite of the cultural traits hold by the the intending migrants, then the cultural gains of emigrating should be reduced. In this latter case, the additional information of the destination country context should reduce the pattern cultural selection. Our empirical analysis will test both hypotheses in the Latin American context.

II.B Data and Stylized Facts

To test our hypotheses we use data obtained from the unique Gallup World Polls (GWP). Covering 148 countries of the world, GWP provides for each country and year a sample of around 1000 representative individuals of the population over 15. For our analysis, we focus on a subset of 19 Latin America countries where at least two waves of survey were conducted over the 2009-2012 period.⁴ The sample of countries includes Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela.⁵ Data are collected through face-to-face interviews. Our full sample includes around 69109 working-age natives respondents.⁶

GWP provides micro-level information on individuals socioeconomic characteristics, intra-country geographical location, values, beliefs and *migration intentions*. Such set of information available for a broad set of countries makes GWP and unique database, and particularly well-suited for our purpose to investigate whether intending migrants to the U.S. are culturally selected compared to intending stayers. Given the unique nature and rather recent availability of the data, the literature using GWP to investigate migration intentions is still relatively small and growing, both at macro (Docquier et al., 2014, 2015; Dao et al., 2018) and micro level (Dustmann and Okatenko, 2014; Bertoli and Ruysen, 2018; Ruysen and Salomone, 2018; Docquier et al., 2020a).

⁴The focus on the time span 2009-2011 is driven by the availability of the country of residence of relatives and friends abroad only until 2012. Due to data limitation, we have to remove from our sample Cuba, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago and Suriname.

⁵Table 9 provides the full list of countries and their average characteristics.

⁶Working-age individuals means individuals aged between 15 and 64. We remove from the sample migrants, i.e. individuals that are born in a country which is not their country of residence. Table 1 provides descriptive statistics of the population of intending migrants and stayers.

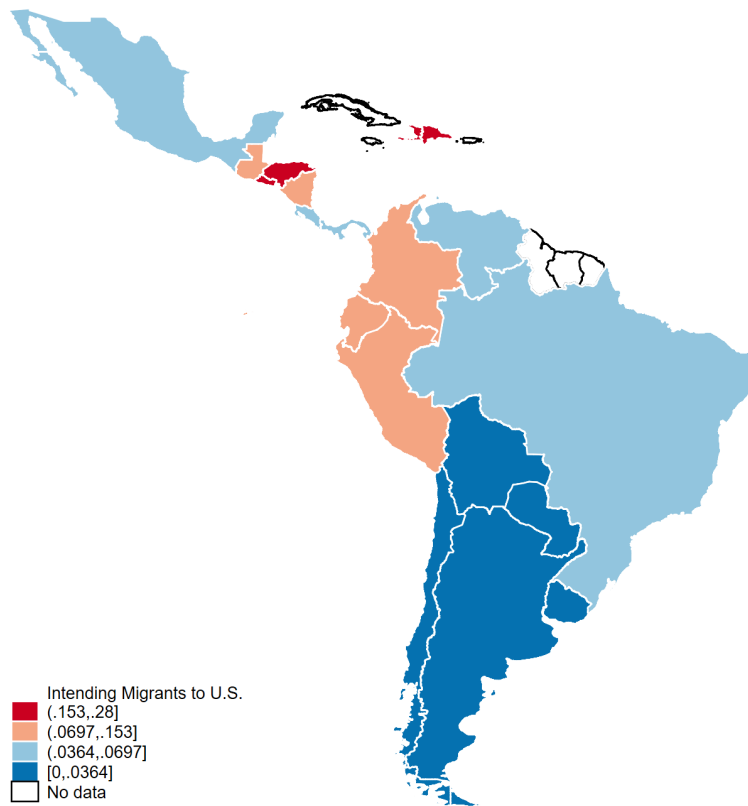
II.B.1 Migration Aspiration, migrants connections and actual migration to the U.S.

From the GWP we use the following information about individuals' migration intention:

- Ideally, if you had the opportunity, would you like to move permanently to another country, or would you prefer to continue living in this country?
- Are you planning to move permanently to another country in the next twelve months, or not?

If the respondent answers affirmatively to the first question, the GWP enumerator asks also the desired country of destination. We define as aspiring migrants to the U.S. an individual that would like to move permanently to the United States. The second question is only asked to respondents who already express their intention to migrate.

Figure 1: Intending Migrants to the U.S. - Country Averages



Note: authors calculation on GWP data. The figure plots country average share of intending migrants to the U.S. over the total population.

Figure 1 shows the average share of aspiring migrants to the U.S. over the total population in our sample of Latina American countries. The country characterized with the highest share of intending migrants is the Dominican Republic, where the 28% of the respondents would like to move to the U.S.

if he/she had the opportunity. Central American countries are characterized by a substantial share of intending migrants to the U.S., like Haiti (23%), El Salvador (19%), Honduras (19%), Nicaragua (15%) and Guatemala (14%). Latin American countries, instead, are characterized by a lower share of intending migrants to the United States. Surprisingly, only the 6% of the Mexican population would like to move over the U.S. boarder.

Nonetheless, the actual size of the immigrants population from these countries is relevant both for the United States and for the origin countries. Using the Bilateral Migration Matrix of the 2010 from [World Bank \(2010\)](#), Figure 7(a) in the Appendix shows for our sample of countries the origin-specific share of immigrants over the total population of immigrants in the United States. The Mexican diaspora accounts for almost the 30% of United States immigrants population. Other well represented countries are El Salvador (2.7%), Dominican Republic (1.9%) and Guatemala (1.8%). Overall, our sample of 19 origin countries accounts for 44% of the total immigrants population in the United States. To grasp the importance of the emigration to the U.S. for the origin countries, Figure 7(b) in the Appendix shows the origin-specific share of emigrants to the U.S. over the total population in the origin country. The country with the biggest share of emigrants compared to the origin population is El Salvador, with a diaspora to the U.S. that accounts for 18% of the total population in the origin countries. Other countries with a relevant U.S. diaspora compared to the total population are Mexico (9.8%), Dominican Republic (7.9%) and Honduras (6.2%). Overall, the emigration patterns from South American countries are less relevant compared to the other countries in our sample.

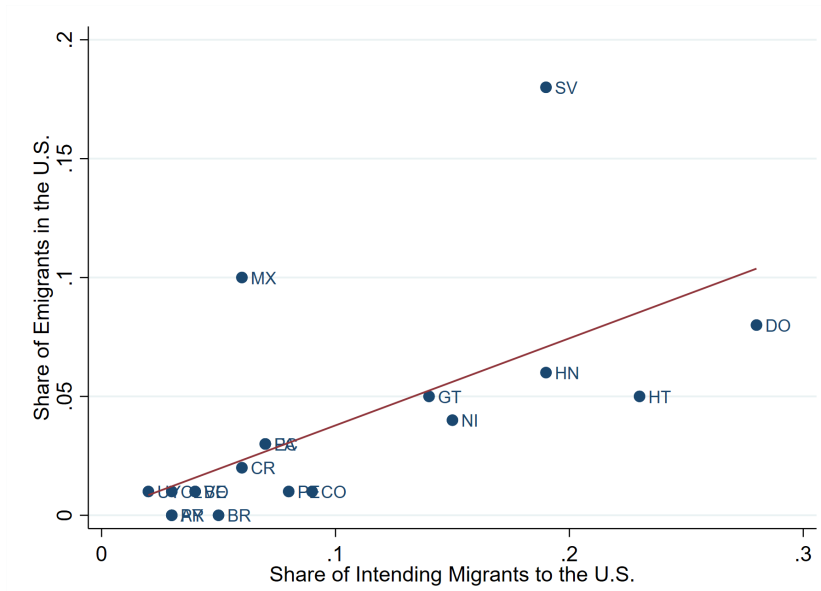
The theoretical framework presented in Section II.A assumes that the emigration process is a two-step process, where individuals first develop emigrants aspirations and then some of them actually move abroad. Indeed, [Bertoli and Ruysen \(2018\)](#) and [Docquier et al. \(2020a\)](#) show that migration intentions and actual emigration stocks are nicely correlated. We explore whether this assumption is confirmed in our case, by plotting in Figure 2 the correlation between the origin-specific share of aspiring migrants to the United States and the actual share of emigrants in the United States over the origin country total population. The figure shows a positive and statistically significant correlation between migration intentions and actual migration, suggesting that exploring self-selection patterns on natives migration intentions could also unveil relevant information for actual emigration.

Since we want to explore whether the presence of relatives or friends already in the United States could affect the process of aspiring migrants self-selection, we use the following item available in the GWP:

- Do you have relatives or friends who are living in another country whom you can count on to help you when you need them or not?

If the respondent answers affirmatively, the enumerator asks the country of residence of such connection. We define the individuals who answer affirmatively to the above question and that have such connection in the United States as connected individuals and such event as connectedness ([Turati, 2020](#)). Having a reliable connection abroad not only shapes migration intentions and cultural traits ([Bertoli and](#)

Figure 2: Intending Migrants to the U.S. and Actual Migration



Note: authors calculation on GWP data, Bilateral Migration Matrix (World Bank, 2010) and Penn World Table data (Feenstra et al., 2015). The figure plots origin-specific share of intending migrants to the U.S. and the share of emigrants in the U.S. compared to the total population in the origin country. The coefficient associated to the plotted regression line is equal to 0.382 and statistically significant at the 1% level.

Ruysen, 2018; Nikolova et al., 2017), but can also provide a more exhaustive description of destination country’s cultural context and experience. In our sample 13% of the natives have a relative or friend in the United States.

Finally, Table 1 provides the descriptive statistics of our sample for the population of intending stayers and aspiring migrants to the United States. Since the process of self-selection could be affected by the aspired destination country (Docquier et al., 2020a), we remove from our sample all the intending migrants that would like to move permanently towards other countries, excluding the United States. In that way, we are able to compare intending migrants towards the U.S. and intending stayers. Columns (1) and (2) provide the average characteristic of each group, while column (3) shows whether there is a relevant difference between the two groups. Excluding the degree of education and place of residence, aspiring emigrants to the United States are on average younger, having a child in the household, male and single compared to intending stayers. Moreover they are more likely to be unemployed and they have a lower household income. Unsurprisingly, the share of individuals with a friends or relative in the United States is higher among intending migrants. Given these substantial differences, we control for all these relevant characteristics in any of the specifications used in the paper to reduce concerns regarding omitted variable bias. Moreover, to avoid any bias due to an unbalance distribution of covariates across intending stayers and intending migrants, we follow Imbens and Rubin (2015) and we construct a new trimmed sample

after matching individuals with similar characteristics. We perform a covariates matching based on the *Mahlanobis Metric Matching* method, and we match intending migrants and intending stayers within the same country after minimizing the distance in terms of covariates (Zhao, 2004; Docquier et al., 2020a; Turati, 2020). Since this method does not include the dependent variable, it does not introduce any additional estimation bias. Columns (4) and (5) show the average characteristics of the two more comparable groups of intending migrants and intending stayers. Although the differences in terms of average characteristics remain still significant on gender, age and connection abroad, the size of the difference is dramatically reduced compared to the full sample. In Section IV.B we estimate our main coefficients over such trimmed and more balanced sample of individuals as additional robustness check, in order to minimize even more the potential threat driven by an unbalanced distribution of covariates.

II.B.2 Measuring Social Behaviors and Political Attitudes

In this paper we decide to focus on two specific set of cultural traits available in GWP: social behavior and political attitudes. Our focus on these traits is not only driven by the increasing general awareness of the need of accounting for political and cultural aspects to better understand the complex migration phenomenon (Clemens et al., 2014), but also for their specific resonance in the actual debate in the migration literature. Concerning social behavior, some worries have been raised on the inclusion in western democratic societies of individuals coming from culturally distant countries: in particular, it has been shown that immigrants presence reduces trust and support for the welfare system (Alesina et al., 2004; Putnam, 2007). Such effect could be explained by a negative self-selection of potential migrants on social behaviors. However, if aspiring migrants are characterized by strong and similar pro-social behavior compared to destination country's natives, then such negative effect on trust should not be related to emigrants selection, but on other potential local and institutional factors, like natives' attitudes and legal framework. Investigating the cultural selection on social behavior of aspiring migrants would provide suggestive evidence of the determinants of the reduction of trust and social cohesion in destination countries communities. Related to political attitudes, a burgeoning strand of the literature has shown how emigrants and emigration positively influence origin country democratization and political participation (Baudassé et al., 2018; Beine and Sekkat, 2013; Docquier et al., 2016; Barsbai et al., 2017; Spilimbergo, 2009). Such effect has been mainly explained by the emigrants' positive experience of destination countries institutions, and their attempt to implement them in their origin countries, through peer-pressure or by returning in the origin country (Chauvet and Mercier, 2014). However, this positive effect could be also complemented by an initial positive selection of emigrants on political attitudes: if emigrants are already characterized by a specific and pro-democratic set of political attitudes, then they will try to shape origin country institutions following their political preferences. Our analysis on the potential cultural selection on political attitudes can contribute to enhance our understanding of emigrants' political remittances.

First, we proxy individual *social behavior* with the following three questions⁷ on whether he or she

⁷We focus on these three questions to proxy social behavior for two main reasons: first, there are no other items available for

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics

	Full Sample			Matched Sample		
	(1) Stayers	(2) Int. Mig.	(3) Difference	(4) Stayers	(5) Int. Mig.	(6) Difference
<i>Education</i>	0.114 (0.317)	0.105 (0.307)	-0.00872 (-0.58)	0.108 (0.310)	0.107 (0.309)	-0.000719 (-0.19)
<i>Female</i>	0.531 (0.499)	0.481 (0.500)	-0.0506*** (-5.34)	0.500 (0.500)	0.480 (0.500)	-0.0201** (-3.19)
<i>Marital</i>	0.384 (0.486)	0.249 (0.432)	-0.135*** (-6.47)	0.251 (0.434)	0.240 (0.427)	-0.0116 (-1.27)
<i>Child</i>	0.641 (0.480)	0.687 (0.464)	0.0467* (2.11)	0.679 (0.467)	0.682 (0.466)	0.00243 (0.29)
<i>Age</i>	36.03 (13.98)	30.95 (12.64)	-5.085*** (-8.03)	31.51 (12.68)	31.04 (12.77)	-0.469** (-2.95)
<i>Unemp.</i>	0.0682 (0.252)	0.122 (0.328)	0.0540*** (4.99)	0.104 (0.305)	0.118 (0.322)	0.0137 (1.67)
<i>Income</i>	2922.0 (4611.7)	2359.1 (4885.4)	-562.9** (-3.14)	2496.3 (6503.3)	2384.9 (5098.2)	-111.4 (-1.50)
<i>Urban</i>	0.848 (0.359)	0.797 (0.402)	-0.0509 (-1.86)	0.795 (0.404)	0.792 (0.406)	-0.00342 (-0.67)
<i>Conn_{US}</i>	0.0914 (0.288)	0.260 (0.439)	0.169*** (9.58)	0.226 (0.418)	0.264 (0.441)	0.0379*** (4.85)
Observations	31556	4003	35559	5845	1432	7277

Note: author calculation on GWP data. The Table shows the average characteristics of the population of the intending stayers and intending migrants to the United States and the differences between the two groups over the full sample (col. (1)-(3)) and over the matched sample (col. (4)-(6)). The set of characteristics include: education, gender, marital status, having a child in the household, age, unemployment status, household income, living in an urban area and having a relative or friend in the United States. Standard errors are reported in parenthesis in columns (1),(2),(4) and (5), while p-values are reported in parenthesis in columns (3) and (6).

has done one of the following activities during the last month:

SB1 how about donated money to a charity?

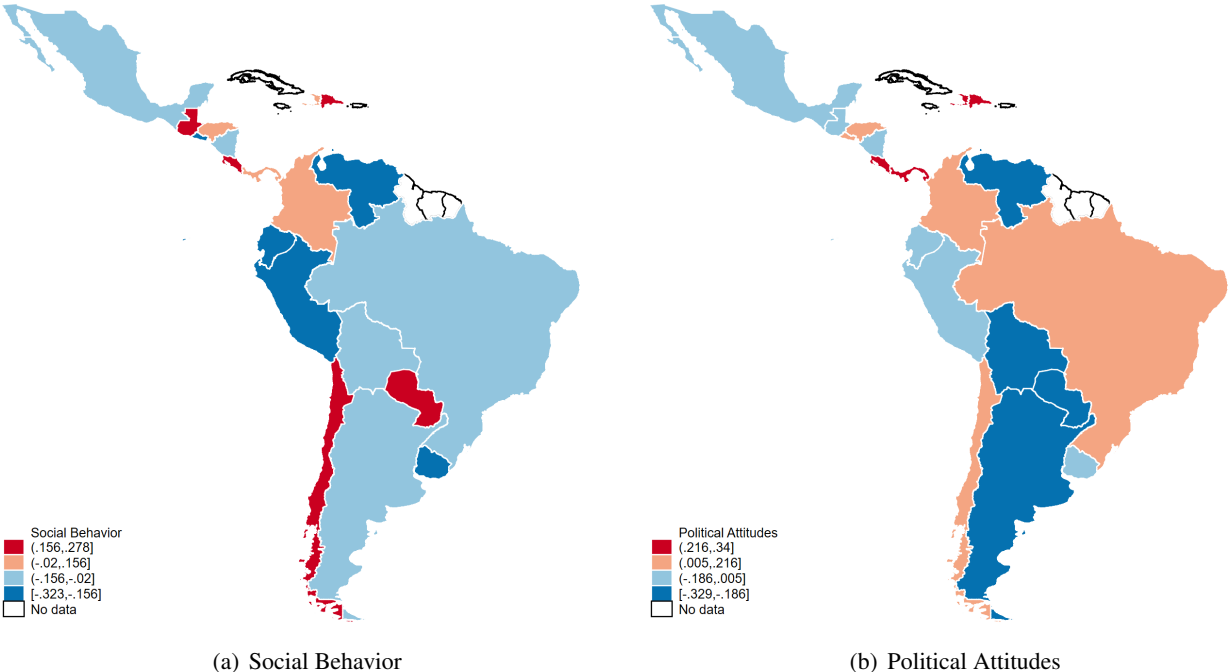
SB2 how about helped a stranger or someone you didn't know who needed help?

SB3 how about volunteered your time to an organization?

The respondent could answer either yes or no to the above questions. We code them as dummies that our set of nineteen countries that could proxy social behavior; second, we follow [Turati \(2020\)](#) in the construction of the social behavior index.

take value of one if the respondent answers affirmatively to the question. These variables capture individuals altruistic and pro-social behaviors, which are positively related with individual civic engagement, a beneficial factor for a country’s democratic functioning, trust and personal growth (Tabellini, 2010; Flanagan and Levine, 2010; Falk et al., 2018). Moreover these variables proxy whether individuals participate with active interaction in the society, contributing to the enrichment of the social cohesion of a given country.⁸ We combine these three questions through a Polychoric Principal Component Analysis (PPCA) (Kolenikov et al., 2004). Relying on the same intuitions of a standard Principal Component Analysis, PPCA also relaxes the assumption of a normal distribution of the data. Following the Kaiser criterion we kept the first component as our synthetic index, which has an eigenvalue above one and explains a relevant size of the variance of the variables (Preacher and MacCallum, 2003). Finally, we define the standardized measures (i.e. mean zero and standard deviation equal to one) of the first component as our *Social Behavior* index (Turati, 2020). Such index takes his maximum value when the respondent answered affirmatively to all the three questions described above.

Figure 3: Cultural Traits - Country Averages



Note: authors’ calculations on GWP data. The figure plots country average of: (a) social behavior index and (b) political attitudes index.

Second, we proxy individual *political attitudes* exploiting individual answers to the following ques-

⁸Turati (2020) shows that the country averages of these variables are highly correlated with country averages from the World Values Survey, suggesting a relevant degree of convergence across different data sources.

tions:⁹

POL1 do you approve or disapprove of the job performance of the leadership of the United States?

POL2 do you think the relationship between Latin American countries and the United States will strengthen, remain the same, or weaken with the new president Barack Obama?

We code these political attitudes variables as dummies, which take value of one if the respondent supports the leadership of the United States or believes that Barack Obama will strengthen the U.S./Latin American relationship.¹⁰ In the same vein of the *Social Behavior* index, we combine these questions through a PPCA and we define the first standardized component as our *Political Attitudes* index. We believe that such index can act as good proxies of respondent political attitudes at two different levels. First, by expressing their support to the actual U.S. leadership, these variables proxy individual political stance towards a democratic-type of political system, in general, and the U.S. in particular. Second, focusing on the support for the United States leadership, these variables also proxy the individual's personal taste towards the United States per sé. Hence, such index reveals individual's taste towards one institutional aspect of the destination country, which is politics. A potential positive relation between migration intentions and our index of *Political Attitudes* will reveal that intending migrants are already selected to better match and absorb the U.S. political context, which could also help to explain the strong effects of emigration on origin countries' democratization (Spilimbergo, 2009; Barsbai et al., 2017; Pfutze, 2012; Docquier et al., 2016). Then, emigrants positive effect on origin countries' institution would not be explained just by the experience of destination country democratic institutions, but also by an initial positive selection on political attitudes. Focusing on post-Soviet countries, Berlinschi and Harutyunyan (2019) show that intending migrants are more politically active compared to the rest of the population. Investigating the relation between individual political attitudes on the intended destination country and migration aspirations, in particular in the Latin American context, is one of the novelty of our work.

Figure 3 presents the average distribution of these cultural traits across our sample of Latin American countries. Figure 3(a) shows that Chile and Costa Rica are the countries that exhibits the highest score of pro-social behavior, while Ecuador and Venezuela are characterized by the lowest score of individuals social behavior. Concerning political attitudes, Figure 3(b) shows that Colombia, Dominican Republic and Chile are the countries with the highest scores in the political attitudes index.¹¹ Given the treatment experienced by the United States in the recent years, Mexicans are not particularly in favor of the U.S. from a political standpoint.¹² Bolivia and Paraguay are the countries characterized by the lowest scores on political attitudes.

⁹GWP provides only a limited set of questions on political preferences that are asked for the whole set of origin countries in analysis. Excluding the two items used in the construction of political attitudes index, other questions ask respondent's approval or disapproval of other countries political leaders.

¹⁰Since the period of our analysis goes from 2009 to 2011, our analysis covers the first mandate of Barack Obama as president of the United States.

¹¹Not surprisingly, Chileans are particularly in favor of the United States, given also the contribution of the United States to the development of their country (Borzutzky, 2005).

¹²Table 9 in the Appendix provides the average value of each cultural trait and some socioeconomic indicators.

$$Imig_{ict} = \alpha + \beta Culture_{ict} + \gamma Conn_{ict}^{US} * Culture_{ict} + \eta Conn_{ict}^{US} + \Delta \mathbf{X}_{ict} + \theta_c + \theta_t + \epsilon_{ict}, \quad (3)$$

where $Culture_{ict}$ is our proxy for the two cultural traits described in Section II.B.2, which are synthetic proxy of individual social behavior and political attitudes. Both measures are standardized with mean zero and standard deviation equal to one. We explore their role in separated linear probability models to avoid confounding effects. $Conn_{ict}^{US}$ is a dummy that is equal to one if the respondent has friends or relatives in the United States. To capture the influence of having a connection abroad on the role of cultural traits in shaping migration intentions we include the interaction term between cultural traits and connectedness. The vector \mathbf{X}_{ict} includes a set of relevant determinants of migrants aspirations, which can influence both the costs and returns of migration. The set includes age, gender, marital status, the level of income per household member, the employment status, the presence of at least a child in the household, the education level (a dummy variable that takes value of one if he/she has completed four years of education beyond secondary, as in Dao et al. (2018)) and whether the individual live in an urban area. Country fixed-effects are included (θ_c) to capture time-invariant unobserved heterogeneity across countries, like the level of institutions, historical and colonial background, language and culture. Finally, the model includes year fixed-effects (θ_t) to capture common time trends across countries.

Estimating equation (3) with a linear probability model provides us the estimates of the partial correlation between cultural traits and migration intentions ($\hat{\beta}$) and the influence of having a reliable connection on the above mentioned relation ($\hat{\gamma}$). Namely, a positive $\hat{\beta}$ suggests a positive self-selection of intending migrants to the U.S., while a negative $\hat{\gamma}$ suggests that having a reliable connection in the United States reduces the positive self-selection of aspiring migrants towards the United States. We recall that our sample excludes all the aspiring migrants towards other destination countries, to have a proper comparison between intending migrants to the United States and intending stayers.

Our main dependent variable captures the *intention* to move permanently to the United States. However, intentions and aspirations are not always realized, and several potential migrants have to stay put in their country of origin. To explore whether cultural traits affects migration patterns, we use as a robustness check migration plans as dependent variable. After answering affirmatively to their intention to migrate to the United States, GWP enumerators asked whether he/she "(...) [is] planning to move permanently to another country in the next 12 months, or not?". After constructing a dummy variables that takes value of one whether they answer affirmatively, we use such variable of migration plans as alternative dependent variable. Finding consistent estimates across migration intentions and plans would suggest that the relation between cultural traits and migration aspirations is robust.

We estimate our benchmark model presented in equation (3) as a linear probability model. Using a linear model with a dichotomous variable could rise some concerns, in particular for the possibility to predict the dependent variable outside the 0-1 range. Nevertheless, linear probability models are still valid, particularly to identify a statistically significant relationship between the dependent variable and the

variables of interest and to facilitate the interpretation of the estimated coefficients (Hellevik, 2009). To avoid potential concerns related to the linear assumption of our benchmark model, we estimate equation (3) with a probit model as additional robustness check.

Although controlling for a relevant set of regressors, our benchmark model could still suffer of endogeneity issues which could lead to biased and inconsistent estimates of the partial correlations between cultural traits, intention to migrate and connectedness. In particular, our average estimates could be influenced by an omitted variable bias and could be unable to capture the heterogeneity of the effects across individuals and countries of origin. To reduce the concerns associated to potential omitted variables, we proceed as follows. First, to control for all time invariant unobserved heterogeneity at a more local level, we include intra-country regional fixed effects (θ_r) rather than country fixed effects. To have a consistent definition across countries we focus on the first level of intra-country geographical sub-division following the classification suggested by the Global Administrative Database (GADM). Our benchmark model will be augmented then by 343 regional fixed-effects, compared to the more aggregated 19 country fixed-effects. Second, we estimate our benchmark model over the trimmed sample presented in Table 1 after matching aspiring migrants and stayers within the same country over a wide set of covariates. Minimizing covariate distances makes the comparison between the two groups more reliable (Imbens and Rubin, 2015). Moreover, if unobserved characteristics are correlated to the set of observable individual characteristics, then minimizing distances in observables should also reduce disparities between individual unobserved factors (Altonji et al., 2005). Finding consistent estimates after including regional fixed-effects and over such trimmed and more balanced matched sample should minimize the concerns associated to biased estimates due to an omitted variable.

The estimated partial correlations over our full sample will deliver the average relation between cultural traits, connectedness and intention to migrate to the United States. However, given the huge heterogeneity both at the individual and origin country level, our average effect could hide relevant mechanisms and patterns of such process of self-selection. We then decide to exploit both levels of heterogeneity as follows. At the individual level, we first investigate whether our results are destination-country specific. Our main analysis explores Latin Americans migration intentions towards the U.S., given the relevance of the United States as country of destination and recipient of migration flows. Nonetheless, the data available from the GWP allows us to investigate whether the process of cultural selection is U.S.-destination specific, or whether it is common across all intending migrants. We empirically explore such issue by firstly including in our sample all intending migrants (i.e. disregarding the specific aspired country of destination) and we compare the potential cultural selection between intending migrants and stayers. To better exploit whether intending migrants towards the U.S. holds specific cultural values compared to intending migrants that would like to move to other countries, we then estimate equation (3) over the sample of intending migrants only. The results of this exercise will provide us evidence on whether the process of cultural selection is an average phenomenon, or it is destination specific (Docquier et al., 2020a).

Migration intentions can be driven by several factors simultaneously. For instance, Berlinschi and Fidrmuc (2018) and Rapoport et al. (2020), providing a theoretical framework to study emigration ac-

counting both for economic and cultural factors, pointed out that cultural motives to migrate can be outplayed by economic motives, and that depends on the expected economic and cultural gains after moving into the destination country. Given the fact that expected economic and cultural gains from moving can vary across types of individuals and by the acquired information on the destination country, we investigate whether the cultural self-selection and the interaction effect with the connection abroad varies across individual characteristics. We perform a subsample analysis over several individual characteristics. Given the recent feminization of migration and the gender-specific motives of moving abroad (Ruysen and Salomone, 2018), we firstly split our sample between male and female. Since both the economic and cultural gains and the set of information and knowledge hold by individuals varies across education and age groups, we explore whether we find education-specific or age-specific self-selection patterns. Intuitively, if connectedness can influence the cultural selection of aspiring migrants by changing their set of information, the effects should be more relevant for who know less, i.e. younger and lowly educated individuals (DellaVigna and Gentzkow, 2010; Moriconi et al., 2018). Finally, given the potential cultural differences between urban and rural areas (Dewey, 1960), we perform our estimates over the different subsamples based on the place of domicile.

At the origin country level, we first estimate our equation (3) over subsample of countries grouped by broad geographical areas: South American countries, Caribbeans countries and Central American plus Mexico countries. The reason is twofold. First, since geographical distance can be reasonably assumed as a proxy of cultural distance (Spolaore and Wacziarg, 2016; Docquier et al., 2020a), we want to explore whether the effects varies between closer and more distant countries. Second, given the different historical relation¹³ between these geographical areas and the United States, we investigate whether historical linkages affect aspiring migrants cultural selection.

Lastly, since countries may differ not only by geographical and historical differences, but also on a set of other relevant macroeconomic indicators, we design a second exercise, by performing a subsample analysis after splitting the sample of countries above and below the median of relevant country-level macroeconomic characteristics calculated in the year 2010. We exploit the heterogeneity over the following characteristics: (i) the degree of democracy, using the Polity 2 index as proxy (Center for Systemic Peace, 2020), (ii) the degree of development, captured by the GDP per capita (Feenstra et al., 2015), (iii) the level of human capital from Barro and Lee (2013), and (iv) the share of emigrants compared to the total population at the origin (World Bank, 2010). Since our analysis concerns political attitudes, exploring whether the cultural selection of aspiring migrants varies across the degree of democratization of countries can be relevant to identify a process of "exit and voice" (Hirschman, 1993). Economic and human capital development are associated with stronger pro social behaviors and liberal political values, on average (Falk et al., 2018; Turati, 2020). Finally, countries characterised by a stronger emigration history are also more prone to be culturally influenced by destination countries culture, if emigrants abroad remit social values and beliefs (Tuccio and Wahba, 2020). Hence, these estimations will unveil whether the

¹³A clear example would be the strong ties between Chile and the United States, thanks to the contribution of the Chicago school on the development of their local institutions.

cultural self-selection process of aspiring migrants pertains some specific countries, or whether is a more homogeneous process.

IV Main Results

Following the empirical strategy structured above, our results are organized as follows. Section IV.A shows the estimates associated to each cultural trait and migration intentions, with and without the interaction term with the presence of relative and friends abroad. In Section IV.B we test whether the estimates hold once we use the plan to migrate to the United States as dependent variable, and whether they are robust to the estimation of a non-linear model, to the inclusion of intra-country regional fixed-effects and over the trimmed sample after our matching procedure.

IV.A Benchmark Results

The estimates of our benchmark model described in equation (3) are presented in Table 2. Having as dependent variable the intention to migrate to the U.S., each column tests the relation between migration aspirations and a different cultural trait: social behavior (col. (1) and (3)) and political attitudes (col. (2) and (4)).

Columns (1) and (2) present the results without including the interaction term between each cultural trait and connectedness. Column (1) shows that the social behavior index is positively related with migration intentions to the United States, although the coefficient is small and not precisely estimated. Political attitudes, instead, are nicely correlated with individual migration intentions. The coefficient is equal to 0.029 and is significant at the 1 percent threshold level. Namely, an increase of one standard deviation of the political attitudes index is associated with an increase of the probability to move abroad of 2.9 percentage points.

To explore the influence of connectedness on intending migrants cultural self-selection, columns (3) and (4) present the estimates associated to the benchmark model with the inclusion of the interaction term between each cultural trait and connectedness. Two are the main findings. First, social behavior index is positively related with migration intentions and the coefficient is precisely estimated. An increase of one standard deviation of the social behavior index is related to an increase of the probability to aspire to move around 0.8 p.p. However, having a relative or friend in the U.S. undermines such positive effect: the estimates associated to the interaction terms are negative, and the size is big enough to nullify or even flipping the positive self-selection of intending migrants. Interestingly, connectedness influences the pattern of cultural self-selection based on altruistic behaviors. A potential explanation of such negative effect would be that providing more information on the cultural context in the United States, connectedness can reduce the expected cultural gains from emigration. For instance, discovering that the United States is characterized by less open and pro social society, could then undermine any cultural motive of pro social individuals, if they holds homophilic preferences. Second, the estimates associated to individual

Table 2: Benchmark Results

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	No Interaction		Interaction Model	
	2009-2011	2009-2011	2009-2011	2009-2011
Time span				
Cultural Trait	Social Behavior	Political Attitudes	Social Behavior	Political Attitudes
<i>Culture</i>	0.004* (0.002)	0.029*** (0.006)	0.008*** (0.003)	0.028*** (0.005)
<i>Interaction</i>			-0.031*** (0.010)	0.011 (0.013)
<i>Education</i>	-0.021 (0.014)	-0.026* (0.015)	-0.021 (0.014)	-0.026* (0.015)
<i>Female</i>	-0.019*** (0.005)	-0.015*** (0.005)	-0.019*** (0.005)	-0.015*** (0.005)
<i>Married</i>	-0.015*** (0.003)	-0.016*** (0.003)	-0.015*** (0.003)	-0.016*** (0.003)
<i>Child</i>	0.006 (0.005)	0.007 (0.005)	0.006 (0.005)	0.007 (0.005)
<i>Age</i>	-0.002*** (0.000)	-0.002*** (0.000)	-0.002*** (0.000)	-0.002*** (0.000)
<i>Unempl.</i>	0.039** (0.015)	0.039** (0.015)	0.039** (0.015)	0.039** (0.015)
<i>Income</i>	-0.000* (0.000)	-0.000** (0.000)	-0.000* (0.000)	-0.000** (0.000)
<i>Urban</i>	0.014 (0.008)	0.010 (0.008)	0.014 (0.008)	0.010 (0.008)
<i>Conn_{US}</i>	0.129*** (0.017)	0.126*** (0.016)	0.133*** (0.016)	0.123*** (0.014)
Country F.E.	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year F.E.	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	35559	35559	35559	35559
Countries	19	19	19	19
Adj. R-Square	0.12	0.13	0.12	0.13

Note: author calculation on GWP data. Standard errors are in parenthesis and clustered at country level. The dependent variable is the intention to migrate to the United States (*Immig*). Level of significance: * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$. The variable *Culture* measures individuals' pro-social behavior (*Social Behavior*) and political attitudes (*Political Attitudes*). The *Interaction* term is associated to the interaction between the cultural trait and the variable of connectedness. Each regression includes country and year fixed-effects.

political stance with the respect to the U.S. leadership remains positive and statistically significant at the 1 percent threshold. The influence of connectedness is not statistically significant. Such results suggest that individual political attitudes with respect to the aspired country of destination are strongly related

with migration intentions, and they are not affected by the additional source of information gained by the connection in the United States.

Concerning the set of relevant control variables, they have intuitive signs in line with the literature (Dustmann and Okatenko, 2014; Berlinschi and Harutyunyan, 2019; Docquier et al., 2020a). Being male, single, young and unemployed increases the willingness to move to the United States. Connectedness is particularly relevant: having a reliable connection in the U.S. increases on average the willingness to move to the United States of 12 p.p. Although not precisely estimated, less educated and the poorer individuals are characterized by an higher willingness to move to the United States.

IV.B Robustness Analysis

This section explores whether the identified self-selection patterns are robust across different specifications, estimation methods, samples and set of controls. Precisely, the aim of this section is to reduce some endogeneity concerns related to omitted variable bias and a potential improper comparison between intending stayers and migrants due to an unbalanced distribution of covariates. Moreover, it investigates whether the same pattern of selection holds using more stringent definition of willingness to move above and more sophisticated regression models.

Table 3: Plan to migrate and Probit Model

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Plan to Migrate to the U.S.		Probit Model	
Time span	2009-2011	2009-2011	2009-2011	2009-2011
Cultural Trait	Social Behavior	Political Attitudes	Social Behavior	Political Attitudes
<i>Culture</i>	0.002** (0.001)	0.003** (0.001)	0.052*** (0.014)	0.188*** (0.026)
<i>Interaction</i>	0.002 (0.002)	0.000 (0.002)	-0.121*** (0.038)	-0.070* (0.041)
Individual Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓
Country F.E.	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year F.E.	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	35559	35559	35559	35559
Countries	19	19	19	19
Adj. R-Square	0.02	0.02		
Pseudo R-Square			0.15	0.17

Note: author calculation on GWP data. Standard errors are in parenthesis and clustered at country level. The dependent variable is the plan to migrate to the U.S. (col. (1) - (2)) and the intention to migrate to the United States (*Imig*) (col. (3) - (4)). Columns (1) and (2) present the estimates of a linear probability model, while columns (3) to (4) present the estimates associated to a probit model. Level of significance: * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$. The variable *Culture* measures individuals' pro-social behavior (*Social Behavior*) and political attitudes (*Political Attitudes*). The *Interaction* term is associated to the interaction between the cultural trait and the variable of connectedness.

Table 3 firstly checks whether we identify similar self-selection patterns once we explore the relation between individual cultural traits and actual plans to move to the United States. Interestingly, columns (1) and (2) show that altruistic behaviors and political preferences are positively related with individual concrete migration plans to the United States. Moreover, having a reliable connection abroad has no significant effect on the cultural selection of individuals who are planning to move to the United States in the next 12 months. This result can be rationalized by the fact that individuals who are planning to move abroad have already acquired a substantial set of information concerning the destination country, hence there is no additional marginal effect by being exposed to the information of the connection abroad. Columns (3) and (4) show the estimates of our benchmark equation (3) assuming a probit model rather than a linear probability model. The main results presented in Table 2 are confirmed: intending migrants have stronger social behavior and have a more positive perception of the U.S. politics than intending stayers; however, having already a reliable connection in the United States reduces the positive selection pattern on social behaviors.

Table 4: Regional fixed effects and Matched Sample

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Regional F.E.		Matched Sample	
	2009-2011	2009-2011	2009-2011	2009-2011
Time span				
Cultural Trait	Social Behavior	Political Attitudes	Social Behavior	Political Attitudes
<i>Culture</i>	0.009*** (0.002)	0.029*** (0.003)	0.026*** (0.009)	0.080*** (0.013)
<i>Interaction</i>	-0.027*** (0.010)	0.014 (0.009)	-0.034* (0.018)	-0.022 (0.018)
Individual Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓
Region F.E.	✓	✓		
Country F.E.			✓	✓
Year F.E.	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	29759	29759	7277	7277
Countries	320	320	19	19
Adj. R-Square	0.14	0.14	0.01	0.02

Note: author calculation on GWP data. Standard errors are in parenthesis and clustered at regional/country level. The dependent variable is the intention to migrate to the United States (*Imig*). Columns (1) and (2) present the estimates after including regional fixed effects, while columns (3) and (4) present the estimates over the matched sample. Level of significance: * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$. The variable *Culture* measures individuals' pro-social behavior (*Social Behavior*) and political attitudes (*Political Attitudes*). The *Interaction* term is associated to the interaction between the cultural trait and the variable of connectedness. Each regression includes geographical (country or region) and year fixed-effects and a vector of individual controls: age, gender, education, marital status, having children in the household, employment status, household income, domicile and a proxy for connectedness.

To minimize the concerns of potential omitted variable bias, Table 4 presents the estimates after controlling for a more demanding set of geographical fixed effects and after performing a matching procedure

over our full sample of individuals. By including intra-country regional fixed-effects rather than country fixed-effects, columns (1) and (2) present the estimated coefficients after controlling for local time invariant unobserved heterogeneity, like the presence of amenities or local culture and tradition. The results are consistent after including a more demanding structure of spatial fixed-effects: intending migrants to the U.S. express more altruistic behaviors and support the U.S. political leadership. The size and the precision of the estimates are coherent with the ones presented in Table 2. Finally, columns (3) and (4) show the estimates over the trimmed sample after matching intending migrants and intending stayers in a given country on the set of available covariates. Such design phase before the analysis not only minimizes the unbalance distribution of covariates which could affect the precision of the estimates, but can also reduce disparities across unobservables, if observable and unobservable characteristics are related (Altonji et al., 2005). Given the significant reduction on the number of observations, this exercise is rather demanding. Nonetheless, the results confirm our previous findings: pro social behavior and political attitudes in favor of the U.S. leader are positively related with the willingness to move to the United States.

V Heterogeneity Analysis

This section presents the results associated to our heterogeneity analysis. Section V.A shows the individual heterogeneity analysis, exploring whether the specific set of cultural traits pertains only aspiring migrants towards the United States or is common to the overall population of aspiring migrants. We then estimate our benchmark model over the subsamples of individuals based on their characteristics. The results of our origin countries heterogeneity analysis are presented in Section V.B.

V.A Individual Heterogeneity Analysis

Table 5 investigates whether aspiring migrants towards the United States hold a distinctive set of cultural traits compare to the rest of the population that would like to move abroad. Columns (1) and (2) show the estimates after including in the sample all the individuals that would like to move abroad, disregarding the aspired destination. The estimates show that individuals with more pro social behavior and with a positive stance towards the U.S. politics have on average an higher willingness to move abroad, disregarding the country of destination. These results suggest that the positive cultural self-selection pertains all intending migrants, and it is not destination specific. However, once we compare individuals that would like to move to the U.S. with other aspiring migrants (col. (3) and (4)), we can see that individuals that would like to move to the U.S. have a more positive stance towards U.S. politics compared to other aspiring migrants. This result suggests that the choice of the aspired destination is strongly related with the destination-specific political attitudes of potential emigrants. Concerning social behaviors, aspiring migrants towards other countries have stronger pro-social behavior, however the difference is barely statistically significant.

Table 6 shows the estimates associated to our individual subsample analysis. Each panel presents the estimates of our benchmark model associated to a different individual cultural trait, namely: social

Table 5: Overall Selection and U.S. Specific Selection

Time span Cultural Trait	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Overall Population		Intending Migrants	
	2009-2011 Social Behavior	2009-2011 Political Attitudes	2009-2011 Social Behavior	2009-2011 Political Attitudes
<i>Culture</i>	0.026*** (0.004)	0.025*** (0.007)	-0.010* (0.005)	0.058*** (0.010)
<i>Interaction</i>	-0.020** (0.007)	0.005 (0.007)	-0.010 (0.018)	-0.036 (0.023)
Individual Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓
Country F.E.	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year F.E.	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	42618	42618	11074	11074
Countries	19	19	19	19
Adj. R-Square	0.11	0.11	0.11	0.12

Note: author calculation on GWP data. Standard errors are in parenthesis and clustered at country level. The dependent variable is the intention to migrate abroad (col. (1) and (2)) and to the United States (col. (3) and (4)). The sample of analysis includes: all intending stayers and migrants (col. (1) and (2)), and just intending migrants (col. (3) and (4)). Level of significance: $*p < 0.1$, $**p < 0.05$, $***p < 0.01$. The variable *Culture* measures individuals' pro-social behavior (*Social Behavior*) and political attitudes (*Political Attitudes*). The *Interaction* term is associated to the interaction between the cultural trait and the variable of connectedness. Each regression includes country and year fixed-effects.

behavior (panel A), and political attitudes (panel B). To fully exploit individual heterogeneity, we run our linear probability regressions on different subsamples of individuals. We differentiate individuals by gender (men and women), education (low and high education), age groups (between 15-30, 31-45 and 46-65) and domicile (rural and urban area). In the Mexican context, [Kaestner and Malamud \(2014\)](#) show that migrants self-select on a set of individual characteristics: they are more likely to be male, young and coming from rural areas. Moreover they are selected from the middle of the education distribution.

Results associated to altruistic behaviors are presented in panel A of Table 6. Even though the direction of the coefficients is coherent with our previous estimates (i.e. intending migrants share stronger pro social behaviors, but connectedness undermines such positive self-selection), the results show a substantial degree of heterogeneity across different groups. In particular, young individuals (15-30) and low educated respondents exhibits a stronger selection on pro social behaviours than older and highly educated individuals. Given the precisely estimated interaction terms among these groups, these results confirm the intuition that having a reliable connection abroad and accessing to novel information related to the destination country matters more for individuals who know less ([DellaVigna and Gentzkow, 2010](#); [Moriconi et al., 2018](#)). We do not find substantial differences across gender, while we find evidence of a positive and stronger self-selection on pro social behavior in rural rather than urban areas. This is a relevant result,

Table 6: Individual Heterogeneity

Subsample	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	Gender		Education		Age Group			Domicile	
	Male	Female	Low Ed.	Highly Ed.	15-30	31-45	46-65	Rural	Urban
Panel A - Social Behavior									
<i>SocialBehavior</i>	0.009** (0.003)	0.007** (0.003)	0.009*** (0.002)	-0.001 (0.010)	0.010** (0.004)	0.007** (0.003)	0.005 (0.003)	0.020*** (0.006)	0.005* (0.003)
<i>interaction</i>	-0.040*** (0.011)	-0.022 (0.013)	-0.031** (0.013)	-0.017 (0.018)	-0.050** (0.022)	-0.016 (0.011)	-0.015 (0.009)	-0.016 (0.025)	-0.031*** (0.011)
Observations	15090	20469	31587	3972	13611	10904	11044	5804	29755
Countries	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19
Adj. R-Square	0.13	0.11	0.13	0.10	0.11	0.12	0.11	0.15	0.11
Panel B -Political Attitudes									
<i>PoliticalAttitudes_{US}</i>	0.030*** (0.006)	0.026*** (0.005)	0.028*** (0.005)	0.030** (0.013)	0.033*** (0.006)	0.029*** (0.006)	0.017*** (0.004)	0.033** (0.013)	0.027*** (0.004)
<i>interaction</i>	0.010 (0.014)	0.011 (0.015)	0.013 (0.016)	0.017 (0.013)	0.020 (0.014)	0.004 (0.017)	-0.001 (0.019)	0.005 (0.024)	0.014 (0.013)
Observations	15090	20469	31587	3972	13611	10904	11044	5804	29755
Countries	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19
Adj. R-Square	0.13	0.12	0.13	0.11	0.12	0.13	0.11	0.16	0.12
Individual Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Country F.E.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year F.E.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Note: author calculation on GWP data. Standard errors are in parenthesis and clustered at country level. The dependent variable is the intention to migrate to the United States (*Imig*). Level of significance: * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$. Each panel presents the estimates related to individual pro-social behavior (panel A) and political attitude (panel b). The *Interaction* term is associated to the interaction between the cultural trait and the variable of connectedness. Each regression includes country and year fixed-effects and a vector of individual controls: age, gender, education, marital status, having children in the household, employment status, household income, domicile and a proxy for connectedness. We perform a subsample analysis on the following characteristics: Gender (Male (1), Female (2)), Education (less than four years of education beyond secondary education (3), more than four years of education beyond secondary education (4)), Age groups (15-30 (5), 31-45 (6) and 46-65 (7)) and Domicile (Rural (8) and Urban (9)).

since it would have been expected that cultural motives for moving abroad are less salient for individuals in rural areas, which are on average poorer (De Janvry and Sadoulet, 2000). Overall, these evidence suggests that individual characteristics are relevant to shape the process of self-selection on social behavior of Latin American intending migrants to the United States.

Panel B presents the estimates related to political attitudes. They confirm that having a positive stance towards U.S. politics is associated with an higher likelihood to migrate towards the United States. The main results, however, is that individual characteristics plays a minor role in shaping the process of cultural selection. These results are in line with the intuition of Desmet and Wacziarg (2018), that each cultural value (in their own words, meme) has its own trajectory and pattern. Hence, it is not surprising to see that the important role played by individual characteristics in panel A is almost absent in panel B. Nonetheless, the findings confirm that aspiring migrants from Latin American countries towards United States, disregarding their characteristics, are rather supportive of United States politics.

V.B Origin Country Heterogeneity Analysis

Our sample of countries includes nineteen Latin American countries. Even though they belong to the same geographical area and they represent well the majority of the Latin American countries, they are extremely different in terms of economic development, quality of institution, emigration pattern and geographical distance from the United States. All these aspects could influence the cultural selection of aspiring migrants towards the United States.

Table 7: Broad Geographical Areas

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Cultural Trait	Social Behavior			Political Attitudes		
Broad Regions	Sou. Am.	Car.	Cen. Am.	Sou. Am.	Car.	Cen. Am.
<i>Culture</i>	0.003 (0.002)	-0.009 (0.002)	0.016*** (0.004)	0.022*** (0.003)	0.047 (0.008)	0.033** (0.013)
<i>Interaction</i>	-0.031 (0.027)	-0.016 (0.009)	-0.034** (0.013)	-0.000 (0.015)	-0.015 (0.020)	0.019 (0.015)
Individual Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Country F.E.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year F.E.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	18891	2646	14022	18891	2646	14022
Countries	10	2	7	10	2	7
Adj. R-Square	0.05	0.05	0.08	0.05	0.06	0.09

Note: author calculation on GWP data. Standard errors are in parenthesis and clustered at country level. The dependent variable is the intention to migrate to the United States (*Imig*). Level of significance: * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$. The variable *Culture* measures individuals' pro-social behavior (*Social Behavior*) and political attitudes (*Political Attitudes*). The *Interaction* term is associated to the interaction between the cultural trait and the variable of connectedness. Each regression includes country and year fixed-effects and a vector of individual controls: age, gender, education, marital status, having children in the household, employment status, household income, domicile and a proxy for connectedness. We perform a subsample analysis on the following broad geographical area: South America (Sou. Am.), Caribbean (Car.) and Central America plus Mexico (Cen. Am.).

In Table 7 we present the estimates after running our linear probability model over the following subsamples of countries, grouped by broad geographical areas: South America (Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela), Caribbean (Haiti and Dominican Republic) and Central America (El Salvador, Costa Rica, Belize, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama and Mexico).¹⁴ A part from their different historical background, these geographical areas are characterized by substantial differences in terms of geographical distance from the U.S. border. We can observe two main findings by performing such analysis. First, self-selection on pro social behaviors is particularly strong among Central American natives. This result suggests that cultural motives to move abroad may be

¹⁴Although Mexico should be taken apart, we decide to pool it with the other Central American countries to have more coherent groups and avoid the analysis over just one singly country.

more important to individuals who are geographically closer (i.e. lower economic cost to move abroad) rather than individuals who lives in more geographically and culturally distant countries. The negative effect on the cultural self-selection process of connectedness is confirmed across the different geographical areas. Second, the relationship between political preferences and migration intentions remain positive and statistically significant across the geographical areas. Caribbeans countries (i.e. Haiti and Dominican Republic) are characterized by the highest point estimate, however it could suffer of statistical precision due to the small number of observations. Nonetheless, these results confirm the importance of individuals perception of destination country’s political leader to shape migration intentions.

Table 8: Origin Country Macroeconomic Characteristics

Indicator	(1)		(2)		(3)		(4)		(5)		(6)		(7)		(8)	
	Polity 2		GDP		Human Capital		Emig. Rate		Below	Above	Below	Above	Below	Above	Below	Above
Median	Below	Above	Below	Above	Below	Above	Below	Above	Below	Above	Below	Above	Below	Above	Below	Above
Panel A - Social Behavior																
<i>SocialBehavior</i>	0.005*	0.013**	0.011**	0.005**	0.008	0.008***	0.003	0.014***	(0.003)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.002)	(0.005)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.004)
<i>Interaction</i>	-0.031**	-0.030	-0.026	-0.036***	-0.024*	-0.048**	-0.014	-0.039**	(0.013)	(0.016)	(0.015)	(0.010)	(0.013)	(0.016)	(0.020)	(0.012)
Observations	23539	12020	16602	18957	18358	17201	19619	15940								
Countries	13	6	10	9	10	9	10	9								
Adj. R-Square	0.13	0.07	0.09	0.15	0.11	0.04	0.04	0.10								
Panel B - Political Attitudes																
<i>PoliticalAttitudes_{US}</i>	0.029***	0.026**	0.037***	0.021***	0.037***	0.019***	0.022***	0.036**	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.010)	(0.004)	(0.009)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.012)
<i>Interaction</i>	0.020	-0.015	0.020	0.003	0.007	0.008	-0.009	0.012	(0.016)	(0.015)	(0.016)	(0.012)	(0.016)	(0.018)	(0.015)	(0.016)
Observations	23539	12020	16602	18957	18358	17201	19619	15940								
Countries	13	6	10	9	10	9	10	9								
Adj. R-Square	0.14	0.07	0.10	0.15	0.12	0.05	0.05	0.11								
Individual Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓								
Country F.E.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓								
Year F.E.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓								

Note: author calculation on GWP data. Standard errors are in parenthesis and clustered at country level. The dependent variable is the intention to migrate to the United States (*Imig*). Level of significance: * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$. Each panel presents the estimates related to individual pro-social behavior (panel A) and political attitude (panel b). The *Interaction* term is associated to the interaction between the cultural trait and the variable of connectedness. Each regression includes country and year fixed-effects and a vector of individual controls: age, gender, education, marital status, having children in the household, employment status, household income, domicile and a proxy for connectedness. We perform a subsample analysis after splitting the sample of countries above and below the median of the following country characteristics: the Polity 2 index (col. (1)-(2)), the GDP per capita (col. (3)-(4)), the level of human capital (col. (5)-(6)) and the emigration rate (col. (7)-(8)).

To explore whether the process of cultural selection of aspiring migrants varies across country specific characteristics, Table 8 presents a subsample analysis after splitting our sample of countries above and below the median of the following characteristics: degree of democracy, captured by the Polity 2 index (columns (1)-(2)); economic development measured by the GDP per capita (columns (3)-(4)); average education, proxy by an human capital index (columns (5)-(6)) and the historical emigration rate to the

United States, measured by the origin-specific share of migrants in the United States over the origin country population (columns (7)-(8)).¹⁵

Two are the main evidence from Table 8. First, focusing on panel A, we observe that macroeconomic characteristics influence the pattern of self-selection of aspiring migrants on social behaviors. Selection on altruistic motives is stronger in countries characterized by an above-median level of emigration rate (col. (7) and (8)) and in poorer countries (col. (3) and (4)). Hence, it pertains the main countries of origin, like El Salvador, Nicaragua and Honduras, with a relevant diaspora abroad and with low economic condition. Moreover, the selection effect on social behavior seems to be precisely estimated in countries with above-median level of the Polity 2 index and human capital index. These results suggest that self-selection on social behaviors pertains the most politically stable and educated countries in our sample. Nonetheless, the negative effect of connectedness on cultural self-selection is confirmed across the different subsamples. Indeed, having a peer abroad seems to influence the inner motivations and the set of information of aspiring migrants, disregarding origin country characteristics. Second, aspiring migrants self-selection on political preferences is always positive and statistically significant across the different subsamples. This evidence, combined with the ones presented in Table 6, points out two relevant findings. First, the role of political preferences in shaping migration intentions is extremely robust and independent to individual and countries characteristics. Namely, does not matter who you are or where you are from, but supporting United States political leader is positively related with the desire to move permanently to the Land of Liberty. Second, the mechanisms at play to explain patterns of cultural selection are trait specific (Desmet and Wacziarg, 2018).

VI Discussion

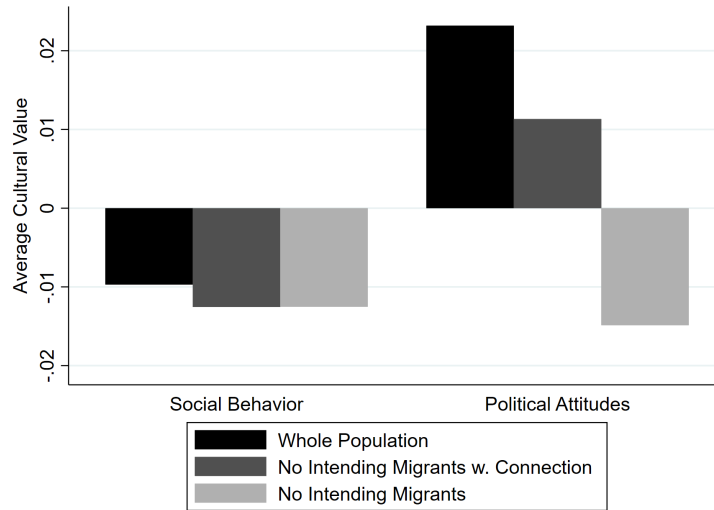
Investigating the potential self-selection process of aspiring migrants from nineteen Latin American countries to the United States, our analysis observes two main facts. First, aspiring migrants to the U.S. are culturally self-selected. Compared to the population of natives stayers, they are more altruistic and more supportive of the United States political leader. Second, we observe that having relatives and friends abroad (defined as "connectedness") reduces the positive self-selection of intending migrants on social behavior. By influencing individuals' information set, connectedness can affect the cultural motives related to the willingness to move abroad.

These observed patterns can have implications both for origin countries and the United States. Concerning *origin countries*, experiencing a positive self-selection on social behavior could lead to a reduction of altruistic habits, which can undermine origin countries social cohesion and social capital over the long run. Moreover, if the individual political support to the U.S. president is correlated with individual support to democratic institutions, then emigration could influence the overall average perception of democracy

¹⁵All these macroeconomic variables are calculated on the year 2010. Data related to the level of democracy are provided by the Polity V project (Center for Systemic Peace, 2020). The GDP per capita and the human capital index are available from the Penn World Table (Feenstra et al., 2015). The emigration rate to the United States is computed over the Bilateral Migration Matrix (World Bank, 2010).

and can affect electoral outcomes. From the viewpoint of the *United States*, receiving more altruistic and pro-U.S. immigrants would not only contribute to the enhancement of social behaviors in the United States, but could also help the pattern of migrants assimilation. However, immigrants should remain fairly stick to their preferences and attitudes after reaching the United States and after experiencing the status of immigrants.

Figure 5: Origin Countries Scenario



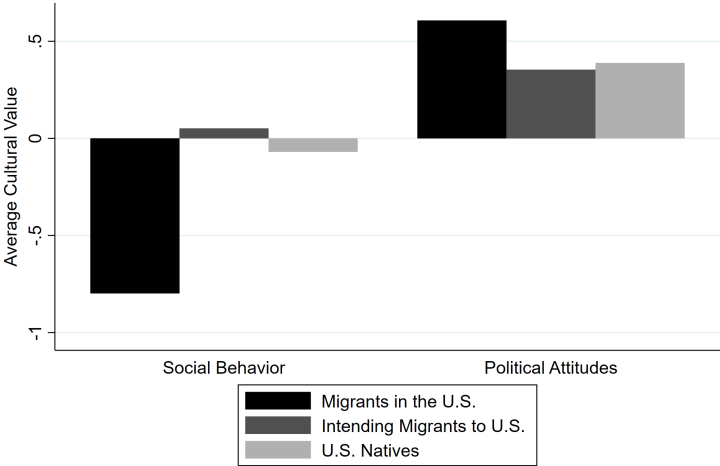
Note: authors' calculations on GWP data. The figure plots the average cultural traits in the origin countries computed over: (i) the whole origin country population, (ii) the origin country population after excluding aspiring migrants to the U.S. with already a relative or friend in the United States, and (iii) the origin country population after excluding all the aspiring migrants to the United States.

Figure 5 compares the country averages of each cultural trait in the origin countries once we compute the averages over the whole population, and after mimicking the emigration of potential migrants, by excluding from the population: (i) intending migrants with a connection in the United States and (ii) all intending migrants to the United States. Looking at social behaviors, we do not find relevant differences after excluding intending migrants compared to the whole population. Taking the average computed over the whole population as benchmark, excluding all the intending migrants reduces the average social behavior index from -0.009 to -0.013. We can appreciate a more substantial variation once we focus on political attitudes: excluding intending migrants reduces the political attitudes towards the United States from 0.023 to -0.015. Given these results, we believe that emigration from Latin American countries to the United States is unlikely to influence negatively social cohesion, due to minimum drop of social behaviors. However, the process of cultural selection can reduce the share of U.S. supporters in Latin American countries.

Finally, Figure 6 presents the average cultural traits of intending migrants, actual immigrants and natives in the United States. Being aware that Gallup World Poll is not representative of the immigrants

population and that we have only a small number of observations (64) associated to actual immigrants in the United States from our set of Latina American countries, the figure shows that U.S. natives' and intending migrants' cultural traits are rather similar, while intending migrants holds different cultural traits compare to actual migrants. Given their economic status, actual immigrants are less likely to have strong pro social behavior. Such lower level of pro social behavior could be part of the explanation of the negative effect of immigration on trust described by Putnam (2007). Moreover, actual immigrants are even more in favor of the U.S. political leadership than aspiring migrants. Given both the positive socio-economic implications of a small cultural distance between immigrants and natives (Casey and Dustmann, 2010; Battu and Zenou, 2010; Islam and Raschky, 2015; Fernandez and Fogli, 2009) and the positive implications of these traits on social cohesion and assimilation, the cultural selection of immigrants is more likely to have a positive effect on the United States.

Figure 6: U.S. Scenario



Note: authors' calculations on GWP data. The figure plots the average cultural traits computed over the population of Latin Americans already in the United States and over the sample of intending migrants to the United States.

VII Conclusions

This paper empirically explores whether Latina Americans who would like to move to the United States are culturally selected. Using micro data on migration intentions and cultural traits on nineteen Latin American countries over the period 2009-2011, we show that aspiring migrants share stronger pro social behavior and support more the United States politics than the rest of the population. These results are highly robust to a wide set of controls, to the inclusion of intra-country regional fixed effects and to covariates matching techniques.

Furthermore, we explore whether the process of cultural selection is independent from individual and

origin countries characteristics. The paper reveals that the degree of dependence is specific to each cultural trait. Concerning pro social behaviors, we show that having a friend or relative abroad significantly reduces the positive self-selection. Moreover, we show that cultural selection on altruistic behaviors is particularly strong among young, low educated and living in rural areas natives, and in less developed countries. Nevertheless, selection on political preferences is fairly stable and positive across individual and origin countries characteristics.

Finally, the paper discusses the potential implications of migrants' cultural selection for both origin countries and United States. The paper shows that cultural selection from Latin American countries is unlikely to influence negatively the degree of social cohesion and democratization of origin countries, while, if any, it should have positive effects on immigrants assimilation and socio-economic outcomes in the United States.

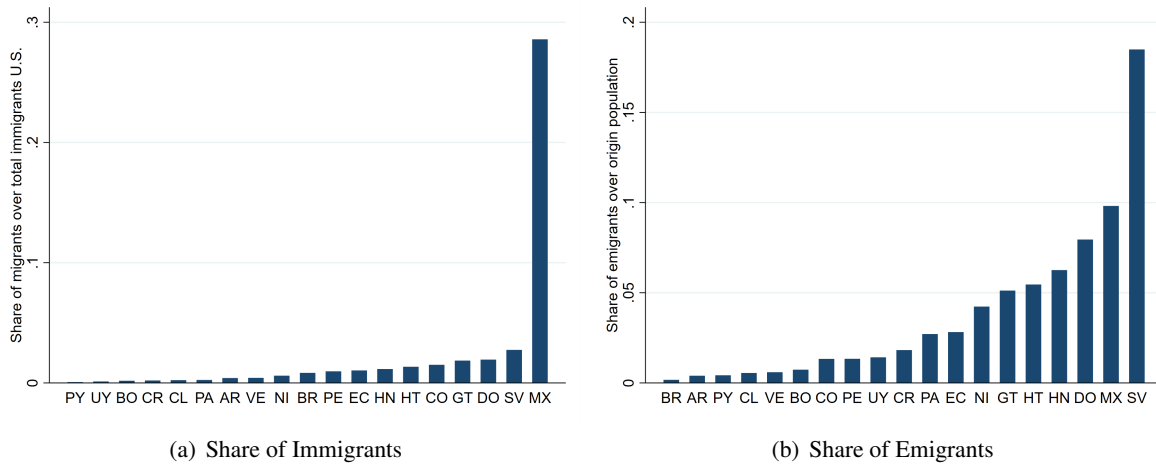
A Additional Material

Table 9: Sample of Countries and Characteristics

Country	Int. Mig.	Social Behavior	Political Attitudes	HC	GDP	Polity2	Emig
Argentina	0.030	-0.120	-0.210	2.830	18649.030	8.0	0.0
Bolivia	0.040	-0.030	-0.270	2.720	5149.020	7.0	0.010
Brazil	0.050	-0.100	0.020	2.470	14411.220	8.0	0.0
Chile	0.030	0.210	0.210	2.980	18821.850	10.0	0.010
Colombia	0.090	0.150	0.210	2.390	11176.500	7.0	0.010
Costa Rica	0.060	0.160	0.340	2.520	11975.170	10.0	0.020
Dominican Republic	0.280	0.210	0.310	2.450	11506.750	8.0	0.080
Ecuador	0.070	-0.320	-0.120	2.710	9407.120	5.0	0.030
El Salvador	0.190	-0.230	0.220	2.020	7405.0	8.0	0.180
Guatemala	0.140	0.280	-0.190	1.760	6521.220	8.0	0.050
Haiti	0.230	0.060	0.340	1.610	1584.250	0.0	0.050
Honduras	0.190	0.100	0.050	2.070	4324.080	7.0	0.060
Mexico	0.060	-0.020	-0.110	2.600	14852.490	8.0	0.100
Nicaragua	0.150	-0.130	-0.140	2.090	3991.850	9.0	0.040
Panama	0.070	0.050	0.290	2.750	15246.530	9.0	0.030
Paraguay	0.030	0.210	-0.330	2.370	7165.090	8.0	0.0
Peru	0.080	-0.160	-0.030	2.680	9559.050	9.0	0.010
Uruguay	0.020	-0.220	0.0	2.580	16420.140	10.0	0.010
Venezuela	0.040	-0.310	-0.190	2.590	17288.450	-3.0	0.010

Note: author calculation on GWP data, Bilateral Migration Matrix ([World Bank, 2010](#)) and Penn World Table data ([Feenstra et al., 2015](#)).

Figure 7: International Migration to the U.S. - Latin Americans



Note: authors' calculations on the Bilateral Migration Matrix ([World Bank, 2010](#)) and Penn World Table data ([Feenstra et al., 2015](#)). The Figure plots for the year 2010: the share of immigrants over the total population of immigrants in the United States (figure a) and the share of emigrants to the United States over the total population in the origin country (figure b).

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