The Unknown Immigration: How state policy shapes the characteristics of inter-country adoptions to the United States

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Abstract

Children adopted from abroad are an immigrant group about which little is known. What are the characteristics of children who are adopted from abroad and what incentives drive families to adopt them? According to the U.S. Census more than one and a half million children living in the U.S. are adopted, with fifteen percent of them born abroad, and with more than twenty thousand new adopted orphans from abroad entering the country each year. The families of these adopted orphans are mostly white, wealthy, and well educated (see Kossoudji, 2008), yet we know very little about them. In this paper we use the 2000 census to examine to what extent policy changes have shaped the landscape of international adoption. How does policy in other countries and in the United States change the demographic characteristics of the children adopted from abroad and the families that adopt them? Although the paper is preliminary, it appears that U.S. born parents respond to changes in adoption policy abroad and foreign-born parents respond to changes in immigration policy in the United States.

I. Introduction

According to the U.S. Census more than one and a half million children under the age of eighteen living in the U.S. are adopted. Fifteen percent of these children were born abroad. While the adoption of foreign-born children was a relatively isolated occurrence before 1980, from 1989 (the first year of national data collection) through 2000 the number of foreign-born adopted children rose from just over 8,000 to more than 18,000 per year. Foreign-born adoption immigration reached a peak in 2004 at 22,375 using adopted orphan visas. We do not know how many foreign-born adoptees enter the country by other visas. In this paper we document the evolution of foreign adoptions in the United States during last twenty years and the role that adoption policy, both in the United States and abroad, plays in the shifting characteristics of children adopted from abroad.

The growth in international adoptions responded to demographic changes in the United States that contributed to an increased demand for adopted children. The baby boom generation, the largest generation in history, reached child-bearing age in the 1960's and 1970's, and the increasing labor force participation among women in this cohort led to a delay in childbearing until the ages where infertility was more common. Their childlessness led to a soaring demand for adoption. Yet there was a significant shortage of children available to be adopted in the United States, because of the availability of the birth control pill, because so many women delayed child bearing, and because of the legality of abortion. At the same time, Americans became aware of the problems occurring in the rest of the world through economic exchange, immigration,

and travel, and with this came the realization that there is a large number of children abroad waiting to be adopted.

Before the 1980s, there was little in the way of articulated policy about international adoption either in the United States or in other countries. As the numbers of international adoptions grew, however, and as problems emerged, either in the United States or elsewhere, specific policies arose to address problematic issues. For example, Korean children constituted more than two-thirds of all foreign-born adoptions in 1986.[1] After the Olympic games in1988, Korea's adoption policy emphasized placing children within Korea instead of internationally, leading to a gradual but constant restriction in supply of babies from Korea. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, American families began to adopt children from the former socialist republics. In 1992, China instituted the Chinese Adoption Law that allowed American families to adopt Chinese children. Domestically policy shifted as well—in 1994 congress approved the Multi-Ethnic Placement Act (MEPA), which facilitated adoptions by parents who are from a different race/ethnicity than the child. These policies, and others in concert, acted to selectively shape the landscape of adoption in the United States.

II. The 2000 Census and Adopted Children

We use the 5% sample of the 2000 U.S. Census for the data in this paper. The 2000 census asked, for the very first time, the relationship status of the head of the household to the children in the household. Before the 2000 census, biological children, adopted children, and step-children were indistinguishable. We restrict our sample to

[1] http://www.casanet.org/library/foster-care/fost.htm#ADOPTION%20IN%20GENERAL, accessed 02.21.2009

adopted children under the age of 18. In the 2000 census there were 59.8 million biological children, 1.6 million adopted children, and 3.3 million step-children under the age of eighteen living with householders in the United States. To investigate only foreign-born adoptees, we use additional information from the census. The census provides information on the place of birth for all individuals and, for those born abroad, the year the immigrant arrived in the United States. The actual date of adoption is not enumerated in the census. Using the immigration information, we infer the age, and year, at which a child born abroad was adopted. We assume that the year the child entered the United States is the year of adoption. We do not know if a foreign born child was actually adopted some time before immigrating to the United States, so for older children who are adopted from abroad, the year of adoption we estimate may be later than the actual adoption took place. In many cases this is only a minor problem as many children adopted from abroad are adopted as infants or toddlers. We delineate the discussion by the birthplace of the parents. Because we focus on inter-country adoptions we exclude from the sample all adopted children born abroad, whose parents were born abroad as well, and whose year of migration is the same as either parent. In some cases, we look at the age of adoption in different years. Since older children have aged out of the household, we restrict the years of analysis in those cases. While the census is not the optimal data set to examine changes in adoption over time because of this problem, it affords us a first glimpse of changing adoption in the United States during a growth period.

II. The Demography of Adoption

Figure 1 shows both the number of adopted U.S. born and foreign born children by year of birth, and the number of adopted foreign-born children by year of immigration for all children age 1-17. For all adopted children who are U.S. born, the number of children born in each year is relatively stable around 80,000 until the years approach 2000. Domestic adoption acquires a series of legal steps and U.S. born children are not adopted until the birth parents have had their parental rights removed, the adopting parents pass a home inspection and are approved for the adoption, and the courts approve the adoption. As a result, the average age of adoption for children in the United States is seven years old (Child Welfare League of America, 1999). Thus, there are relatively few children born in the 1990s who were available for adoption before 2000 and the number of children born in the 1990s who were adopted declines dramatically.

There is no such plunge for foreign-born adoptions. We include both the year of birth and the year of immigration for foreign-born adoptees in Figure 1 because we do not know the exact time of adoption. The age distribution for children born abroad is much more uniform, maintaining the same numbers even as the years approach the 2000 census year. Children born abroad are more likely to be adopted at young ages and so the numbers by birth year do not decline. Looking at the year of immigration, the evidence from the census shows a continuous upward slope and a dramatic rise beginning in 1994 in the number of foreign-born adopted orphans immigrating. Many of these adoptions were of young toddlers.

For both U.S. born and foreign-born adoptees, the number in the 2000 census is an underestimate of the number adopted for the earliest years because children who were

adopted during those years (especially U.S. born children who are adopted at older ages) are likely to have aged out of the household.

III. The Demography of Adoption of the Foreign-Born

As a result of specific policy in the United States, citizens who wish to adopt abroad have the right to petition for the immediate immigration of a child adopted abroad. If the adoption is finalized abroad, the child becomes a citizen upon entry to the United States using the IR3 visa. If the adoption is finalized in the United States, the child enters the United States on an IR4 visa and becomes a citizen automatically when the court issues the final adoption decree.[2] Legal residents, however, must petition for immigration under family preferences, which could take years, although there are exceptions:[3] Adopted children of legal residents can petition for citizenship after the age of eighteen.

Further, potential parents who adopt may have different incentives for the adoption. Parents who are born in the United States are likely to fit the model of the infertile couple or the couple driven by charity incentives to adopt a child from abroad.

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[2] This specific process is a result of the Child Citizenship Act of 2000, which postdates the census information in this paper.

[3] "The U.S. Department of State has clarified that U.S. permanent residents may petition for their adopted alien child to immigrate as a qualified derivative only if they completed the adoption prior to their admission as lawful permanent residents. In other words, only children who were adopted before their parent became a Green Card holder and who satisfy the three requirements for adoption: (i.e., (1.) adoption before the age of 16; (2) two years custody by their adoptive parent; and (3) two years of residence with the parent) may immigrate into the U.S. together with their parent as a derivative." Again, these children are excluded from the sample.

Parents who were born abroad and immigrated to the United States, however, may also have incentives to adopt based on family or community obligations in the home country.

As a result, there are two principal sources of adoption of children born abroad and the census data show how those two kinds of adoption reflect the characteristics of the adults who adopt them. Figure 2 shows that of foreign-born children who are adopted at age five or younger, the vast majority of children are adopted by parents who were both born in the United States. The top line documents all foreign-born adoptions in this age group, the middle line documents foreign-born adoptions when at least one parent is U.S. born, and the bottom line documents foreign-born adoptions when both parents are U.S. born. A second, but smaller, group of adopters is parents who have only one partner who was born in the United States (this also includes single parents, who may adopt in only some countries). The difference between the bottom two lines in Figure 2 represents adopting couples where only one partner was born in the United States. Finally there are parents who are both immigrants and who adopt young children from abroad, but their number is very small. The number of foreign born parents adopting children at the age of five or below is the difference between the top line and the middle line of Figure 2. These parents may or may not have become naturalized citizens of the United States.

The number of children adopted at five or younger grows even as the census year grows closer, and it particularly accelerates after 1992. Inter-country adoption opened up in the 1990s because of changes in the law in China, Guatemala, and elsewhere. Families from the United States found the doors to the adoption of young children open in many countries. The numbers, however, are artificially low between 1983 and 1987. A baby

adopted in 1983 would still be in the household but a child adopted at age five in 1983 would have aged out of the household by 2000.

The next figure, Figure 3, shows the same trends for children adopted at age six or older. Again, the top line documents all foreign-born adoptions in this age group, the middle line documents foreign-born adoptions when at least one parent is U.S. born, and the bottom line documents foreign-born adoptions when both parents are U.S. born. The numbers of entering adoptees by the birthplace of the parents in almost completely reversed. Parents who are both foreign born, themselves (the difference between the top and middle line), are responsible for more than one-half of the adoptions of older children. Parents who are both U.S. born are typically responsible for less than one-third of the adoptions of older children from abroad. The number of adoptions of older children, like the adoptions of younger children, climbs dramatically through the 1990s as the census year gets closer, especially those by immigrant parents, but again, the early years are truncated.

Figure 4 documents a crucial difference in the adopted children of immigrant parents and the adopted children of U.S. born parents. First notice that, just as in the other graphs, the levels of adoption are truncated for higher age. But the shape of the adoption patterns still show through in this graph. The difference in the ages of adoption for foreign-born adopted children are stark when comparing parents when both born in the United States and parents when neither is born in the United States. When both parents are U.S. born, nearly one-half of all the adopted children are babies at adoption. Another 18 percent are age one and 10 percent are age two. Over 84 percent of children are adopted at age five or below. After that, there is a low but similar percentage across the

ages. Families with at least one parent U.S. born have kids with similar characteristics, but with a slightly lower percentage of infants adopted. But when both parents are immigrants, only 14 percent of the adoptees are infants and 10 percent are adopted at age one, and there are large numbers of children adopted at all ages. More than 50 percen tof children are adopted at age six or above. In summary, Figures 2 to 4 show stark differences between the age characteristics of children adopted by U.S. born parents and children adopted by parents born abroad living in the U.S. It is important to highlight these differences, particularly if the time spent with one's adopted children is a normal good, the more advanced age the adopted child is, the lower will be the present value of the utility derived from adopting. The incentives for adoption may rest on different factors for U.S. born and foreign born parents in the United States. As a result, inter-country adoption, itself, needs to be considered separately depending on the birthplace and incentives of the parents who adopt.

IV. Country Policy and the Demography of Adoption—Country of birth

Until recently, inter-country adoption existed in a policyless environment.[4] Cohorts of adopted children have tended to present a picture of geopolitics and country disaster. Large scale adoption began after WWII as Americans adopted children from war torn Europe and Japan, and Korean adoption followed the Korean War. The newest wave of inter-country adoption, however, while a relatively small component of overall

[4] In 1993, one of the most important policy documents affecting inter-country adoption, the Hague Convention on Protection of Children and Cooperation with respect to Inter-country Adoption, was held (entered into force 1995). The design helped to settle numerous legal issues in an international environment where people were moving children across state lines. The Hague document outlined the rights and responsibilities of the families and the states, and tried to stabilize an environment with international co-operation and agreements to certain principles. Ratification by countries is still ongoing.

immigration, is significant because both country specific policies, and U.S. policies in response to country specific events can have such a large impact on the source countries of adopted orphans. These adopted babies and young children, many of whom are immigrants in name only, come in waves from specific countries in response to events or policy changes. As a result, cohorts of foreign-born adoptees to the United States will have very different characteristics. Figure 5A shows the State Department's visa entrants for all years between 1989 and 2008.[5] Figure 5B shows foreign born adopted children in the 2000 Census who arrived in the United States between 1984 and 1999.

Often, singular events or policies change the character of inter-country adoption. As noted, Korea has been a source of adopted orphans since the Korean War. Korea was still responsible for 44 percent of all foreign-born adoptees in 1989. That year, the Korean government, responding to democratization and negative publicity about the large numbers of children adopted and sent abroad, vowed to reduce, and eventually eliminate, adoptions of Koreans by people from other countries. This policy was not completely successful but, as Figure 5A shows, adoptions from Korea went from 44 percent of all adoptions to 12 percent of all adoptions in just ten years. Over the twenty year period, as the number of adoptions from all countries increased, both the percentage and the number of adoptions from Korea decreased. Fewer than one-third as many children were adopted from Korea in 2008 than twenty years before even though overall adoption more than doubled. Similarly, the overthrow of Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania in 1991 was accompanied by publicity about "thousands of children" in understaffed orphanages because of population expansion policy.[6] U.S. adoptions from Romania, numbering only

[5] Any country that has not had at least 4 percent of entrants in any year is in the "other" category.
[6] http://www.adoptioninstitute.org/FactOverview/international.html

a couple of hundred before 1991, rose to 2,594 during 1991, making Romanians 31 percent of foreign-born adopted orphans in 1991. Immediately, cries of widespread corruption and the discovery of problems among Romanian children who were adopted led to a temporary moratorium on inter-country adoptions from Romania at the end of 1991. As a result, there were almost no Romanian born adopted children entering in 1992 or 1993. Attempts to promote both inter-country adoption and local social services led to increases in adoption from Romania until a harsher moratorium was put through after the 2000 census and adoptions from Romania were virtually halted.

Romanian adoption was replaced by adoption from other countries. Although there was almost no adoption from Russia or the Soviet satellites before 1992, the break-up of the Soviet Union was responsible for a tidal wave of adoption from the former satellites and Russia, itself. As orphanages filled to capacity, Russia opened its doors to international adoption. So did Kazackstan, Ukraine, and Bulgaria and other soviet satellites. All show a growing stream of children adopted in the United States. By the late 1990s, over one-third of all foreign-born adopted orphans come from the former Soviet Union.

Expansionary policy within countries was a haphazard process, probably responding to the emergence of nascent adoption networks and local state needs and issues. There was essentially no adoption from mainland China until 1992, when the Chinese government passed *The Adoption Law of the People's Republic of China* that allowed international adoptions. China had an abundance of adoptable girls, probably as a result of the one-child policy and families within China preferred boys and so there was little demand for girls. Adoption from China jumped from 0.7 percent of the total in

1991 to 29.4 percent in 1996 and China remains the largest country grouping of foreign-born adoptions.

Importantly, Figure 5A, from State Department Visas, and Figure 5B, from the U.S. Census, are similar in the proportion of adopting children coming from three major source countries: Korea, China and Russia, although there is a significantly higher percentage of Korean children in the census datq. These figures do differ especially, however, in the number of adopted children from countries that are traditional labor exporting economies to the United States: mainly Mexico, Philippines, El Salvador, Dominican Republic and Vietnam.

Not only in age characteristics,but in source country does the birthplace of the parents matter. To further explore these differences, Figure 5C and Figure 5D divide the sample again by nativity of the parents, where Figure 5C documents households with both parents U.S. born and Figure 5D documents those children adopted by two foreign born parents. When both parents are U.S. born, the source country distribution follows the history of inter-country adoption and clearly identifies other countries' policies. But when both parents are foreign-born, the source country distribution appears more like the source country distribution for immigrants to the United States. The countries highlighted in this last figure are different than in the former; while Mexico, the Philippines, El Salvador and Dominican Republic are barely featured in Figure 5C, these countries are featured predominantly in Figure 5D. The laws of entry are different by citizenship in the United States and the incentives to adopt may well be different as well. Further, foreign born parents appear to adopt from their own home country. Immigration policy in the

United States may have a strong influence on the timing of the immigration of these children.

Before we explore the impact of U.S. immigration policy, we want to document the impact of China's One Child policy on U.S. adoptions. China's one child policy (even though waning) and the preference of parents for males has starkly characterized orphans from China. Figure 6 shows the gender distribution of children from the major source countries. Other source countries do have varying gender ratios, but they hover around parity. Over 92 percent of China's children who immigrate to the United States as adoptees are female. As a result of China's domination of the numbers of adoption, that means that a large number of adoptees in any year are Chinese girls.

Do foreign-born parents respond to a different set of incentives than U.S. born parents? From the census, we can get little information on parents' actual incentives but we can test the idea that foreign-born parents may respond to changes in U.S. immigration policy by adopting children so that they may enter the United States. In this section we explore one more policy that may be driving differences between U.S. born and foreign-born adopting parents: border enforcement. Border enforcement can be used as a proxy for the availability of immigrant alien family visas. That is, in the face of more stringent visa regulations and quotas during the last 20 years, adoption may be an inter-family alternative to other channels of migration into the United States. The age limit for adopted orphans is sixteen years old. It may be that as the costs of migrating to the United States increase, adoption may be a vehicle for younger people to migrate to the United States.

Because we have only a cross section, the average age in the later adoptee cohorts (those closest to 2000) is greater than for earlier cohorts, this is due in part to an statistical artifact: a child adopted at four years of age in 1985 will be 19 years old in 2000, and likely to live outside the adopting parents' household. In contrast a child who is adopted at sixteen years of age in 1999, is likely to still be living in the same household as the adopting parents in 2000. This will bias downwards the age of adoption for the earliest cohorts. In addition, this may explain the differences between U.S. born and foreign-born parents if the latter are over-represented in the most recent adopting cohorts. In Table 1 we report some basic statistics on the parents of adopted children from different countries. The pattern of the birthplace of the parents is notable. Children from countries associated with expanded adoption policy, like China and Russia, have very low percentages of foreign-born parents adopting them. Children from countries with high immigration to the United States, like Mexico, have high percentages of foreign born parents adopting them.

Does the pattern of adoption vary with U.S. immigration policy behavior? We use different measures of U.S. policy to offer a very preliminary attempt to answer this question. Our proxy for adoption sensitive to policy is the age of the adopted child. While there are incentives for adopting older children, like teenagers, traditional incentives for adoption suggest that younger children are preferred. First we use border enforcement as a measure of visa availability, and note that (1) border enforcement is positively correlated with the age when the child was adopted – this is partly because border enforcement has increased across time, and age when adopted is biased downward for earlier cohorts; (2) the relationship between border enforcement and age when the

child is adopted should be greater for children coming from countries with high immigration to the United States; and (3) this correlation will be stronger for children adopted by foreign born parents, who are likely to maintain informal channels to the source country. We use the variation from (2) and (3) to identify the role that border enforcement may have on age when child was adopted. In what follows we estimate the following equation for each country separately[7]:

$$A_{ic} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 B_c + \beta_2 B_c \times F_{ic} + \beta_3 F_c + x_{ic}^{|}\theta + \varepsilon_{ic} \qquad (1)$$

where A_{ic} is a variable indicating the age the child was adopted. B_c is a variable measuring border enforcement. The vector x_{ic} includes the following demographic characteristics: father's age, mother's age, family income; an indicator variable showing whether the parent with highest education achieved a high school degree, attended some college, or graduated college (the coefficients on these variables are not reported in the tables). The estimate of β_1 shows the correlation between border enforcement and the age of adoption. This coefficient will be positive, partly because *age adopted* is biased downward for earlier cohorts, but also since it is possible that more enforcement makes adoption an alternative to migration for older kids. The estimate for β_3 should be positive if foreign-born households adopt older children, and finally the estimate of β_2 should be positive if, as border enforcement increases the age of the child adopted increases for foreign-born families increase as well. Note that B_c and $B_c \times F_{ic}$ are mutually exclusive, and β_2-β_1 estimates the difference in the relationship between age adopted and border

[7] To increase sample size, we pool observations form Mexico and Central America together, and do the same for observations from countries within Southeast Asia and countries within the Caribbean.

enforcement for children born in a given country adopted by U. S. and foreign born parents. Any bias from the nature of the data should be captured by β_3 and as long as this bias is the same across foreign and US born parents, then our underlying assumption is that the covariance between the year adopted and the age when adopted should be the same regardless of parent's nationality. Finally, to attenuate the effect that the bias of age adopted has on our results, we restrict our sample to all children adopted in 1990 or later.

The dependent variable, then, is the age when the child was adopted. We use three different immigration policy variables separately: total apprehensions in the southern border and total watch hours in the southern border. These variables have a monthly frequency and are maintained by Gordon Hanson, we add them up to annual values. The third variable is total immigrants expelled in the year as reported by the Homeland Security Yearbook of Immigration Statistics. The third variable is logically associated with adoptions from all countries while the first two are indicative of expansions and contractions in U.S. policy. We construct the family income variable to be representative of income at the time of adoption. That is, it gives the place in the distribution of income adjusted for the household head's age. First, we calculate where in the income distribution a household's income currently falls, then we calculate income distributions for households in different age groups. We use the following age categories: less than 25 years, 24-29 years, 30-24 years, 35-39 years, 40-44 years, 45-49. Then we assign the same rank income within the age category that fits the actual age of adoption.

The estimates for equation (1) are presented in Table 2. The top panel shows estimates when border enforcement is measured by total southern border apprehensions and the middle panel presents estimates when border enforcement is measured by total

southern border watch hours, the last panel measure the estimates when border enforcement is measured with total expulsions. Again, our empirical test is to compare β_1 with β_2, where we expect the difference to be positive for children coming from Mexico and Central America, South East Asia or the Caribbean -- the traditional labor exporting countries to the United States (columns 4 to 6). We would expect that there would be less difference or no difference in columns 1 to 3. The results in the top panel suggest that β_1 is positive for all nationalities, not surprising due to the sample bias, and β_2- β_1 is positive and statistically significant for children born in Mexico, the Caribbean, Korea, and South East Asia. Similarly, in the middle panel of Table 2 β_2- β_1 is positive and statistically significant in the cases of Korea, Mexico and Central America, and South East Asia. The bottom panel, using a broader policy variable, shows exactly the same pattern. In no case do China and Russia, two of the three low immigration countries, have significance in the interaction. While it is tempting to suggest that this shows that incentives to adopt follow U.S. policy, the case of Korea following the same pattern means that more careful investigation is required.

An alternative to equation 1 is to change the response variable from age when adopting, to an indicator variable that takes a value of one if the child was adopted at age 14 or later. The estimates are presented in Table 3, and again the top panel shows estimates when border enforcement is measured by total southern border apprehensions, the middle panel presents estimates when border enforcement is measured by total southern border watch hours, and the bottom panel presents estimates when all expulsions is the immigration policy variable. Under this specification, the difference β_2- β_1 is positive and statistically significant in the immigrating countries (Mexico, South

East Asia, and the Caribbean) but not for the others (Korea, China, Russia). A response to immigration constrictions may be more important only for the oldest children

VI. Summary

The adoption of foreign-born children by parents living in the United States has more than doubled during the last twenty years, and warrants attention from social scientists. In this paper we highlight the importance of understanding economic and policy changes in sending countries, and we consider any difference in the adoption process of children abroad by U.S. and foreign-born families. The estimates presented in here show that the characteristics of the children differ according to the nationality of the parent: while U.S. born parents tend to adopt babies mostly from Korea, China and Russia; foreign-born parents tend to adopt children of all ages from their country of origin. Very preliminary evidence suggests that it is possible that adoption from countries with heavy immigration to the United States is sensitive to U.S. immigration policy. This suggests that the incentives and reasons to adopt may very well differ across parents.

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Figure 1

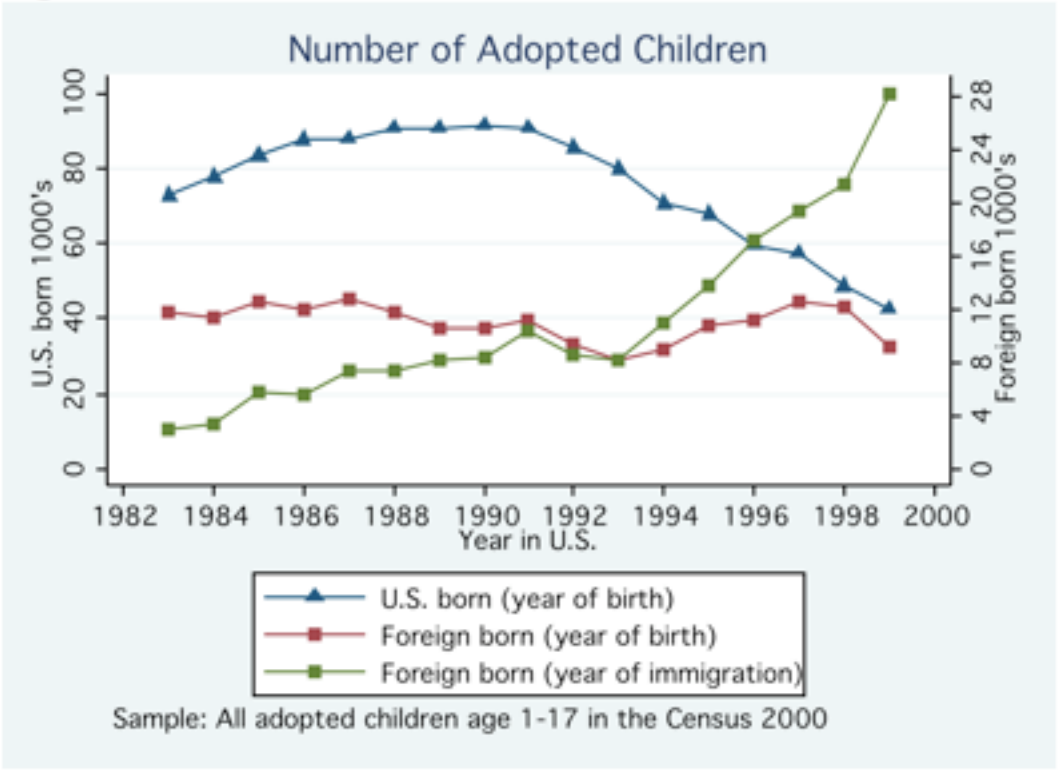

Number of Adopted Children
U.S. born 1000's
0
20
40
60
80
100
Foreign born 1000's
0
4
8
12
16
20
24
28
1982
1984
1986
1988
1990
1992
1994
1996
1998
2000
Year in U.S.
U.S. born (year of birth)
Foreign born (year of birth)
Foreign born (year of immigration)
Sample: All adopted children age 1-17 in the Census 2000

Figure 2

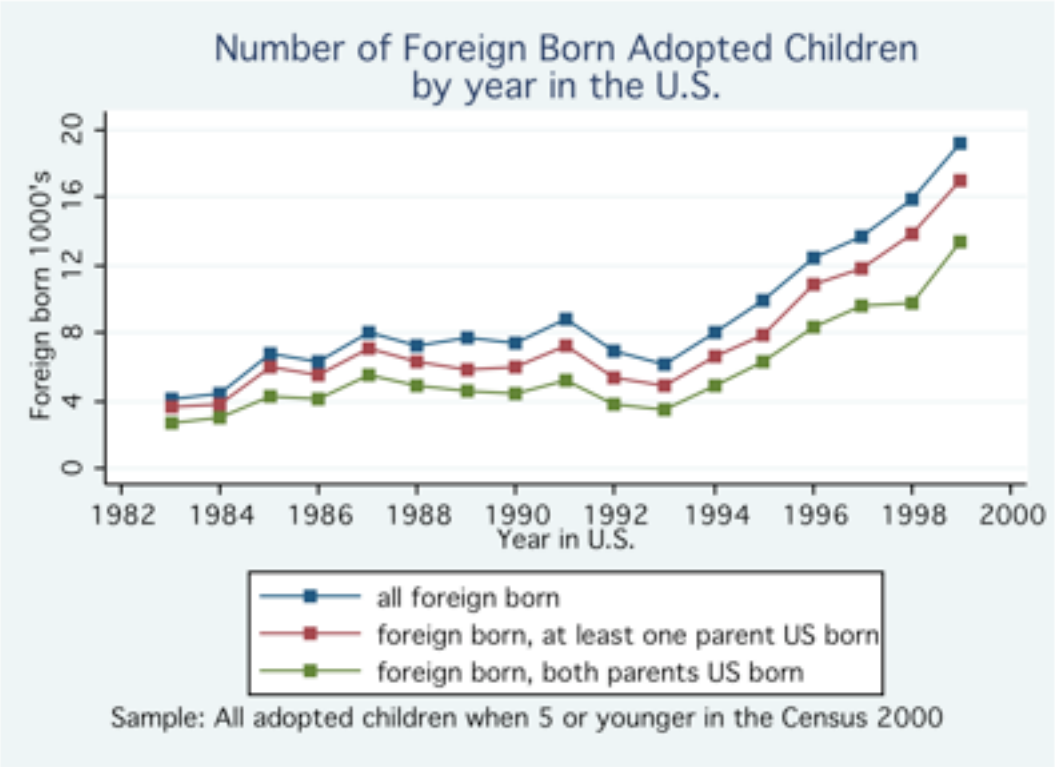

Number of Foreign Born Adopted Children
by year in the U.S.
Foreign born 1000's
0
4
8
12
16
20
1982
1984
1986
1988
1990
1992
1994
1996
1998
2000
Year in U.S.
all foreign born
foreign born, at least one parent US born
foreign born, both parents US born
Sample: All adopted children when 5 or younger in the Census 2000

Figure 3

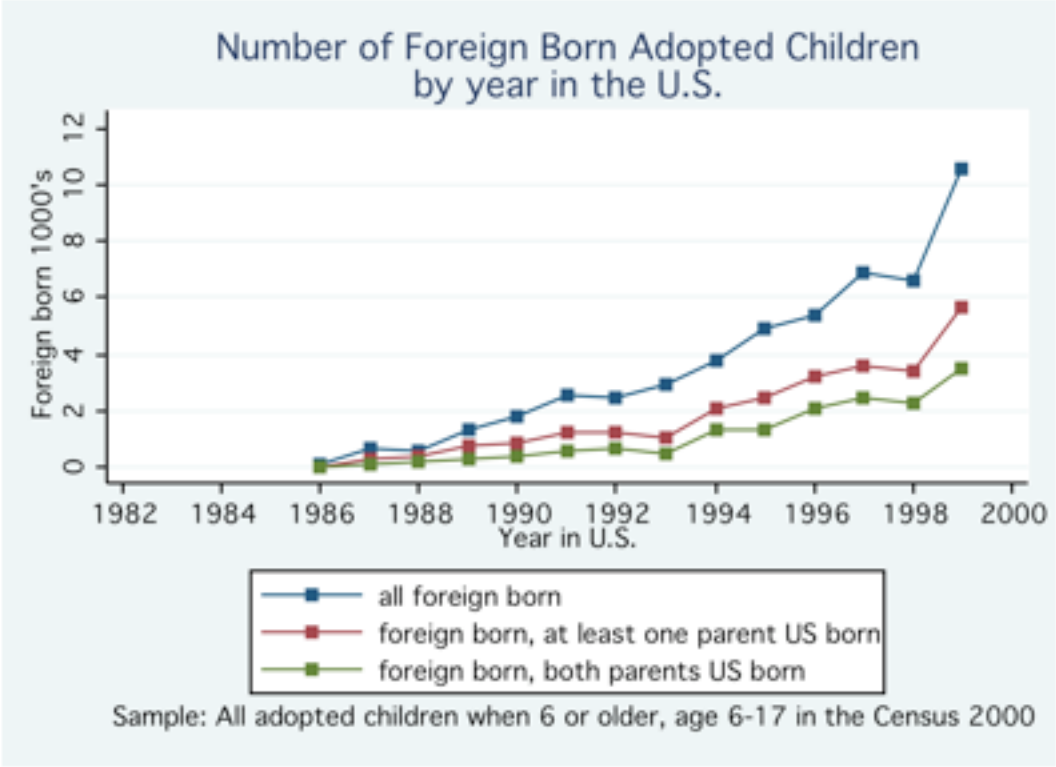
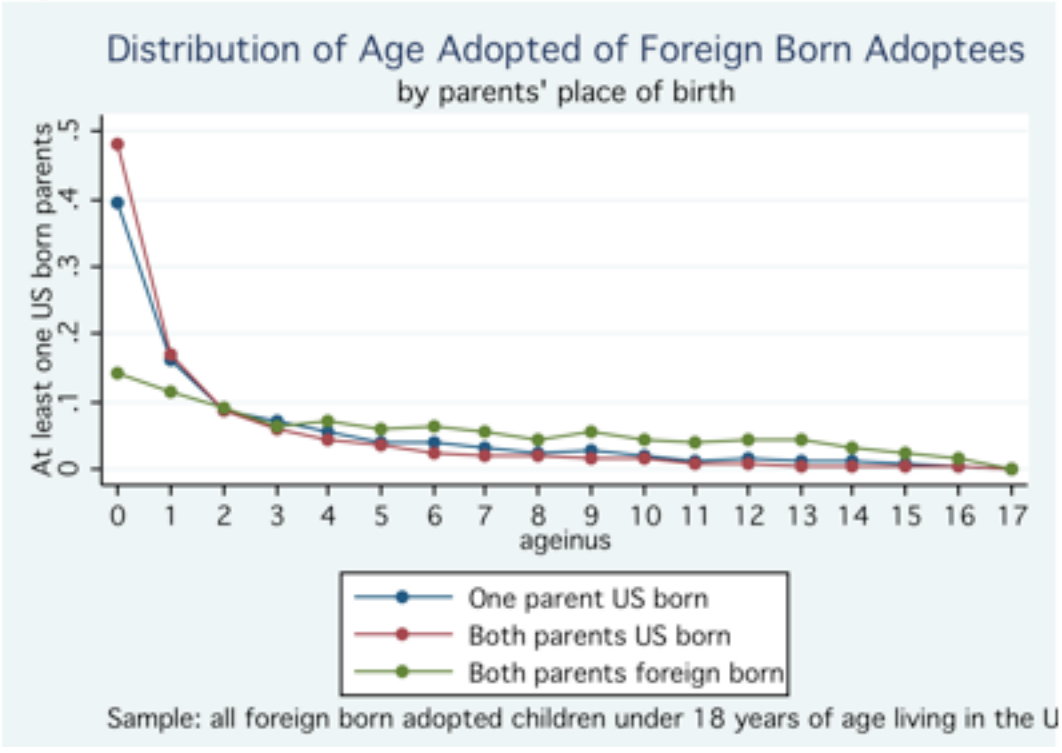
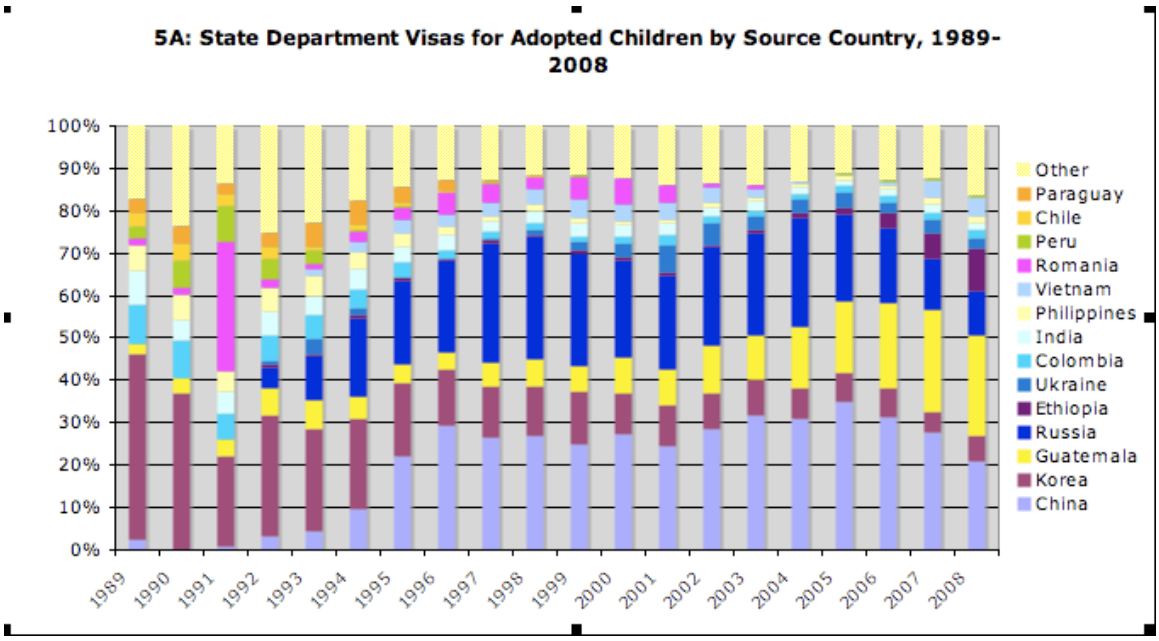


Figure 4




5A: State Department Visas for Adopted Children by Source Country, 1989-2008
100%
90%
80%
70%
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%
1989
1990
1991
1992
1993
1994
1995
1996
1997
1998
1999
2000
2001
2002
2003
2004
2005
2006
2007
2008
Other
Paraguay
Chile
Peru
Romania
Vietnam
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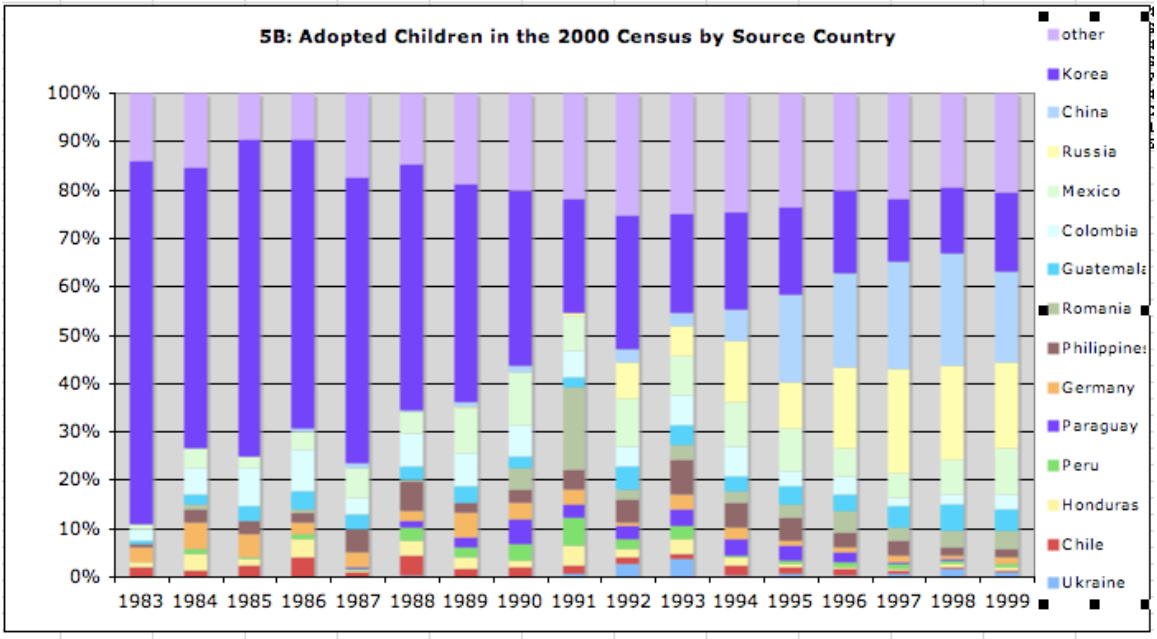
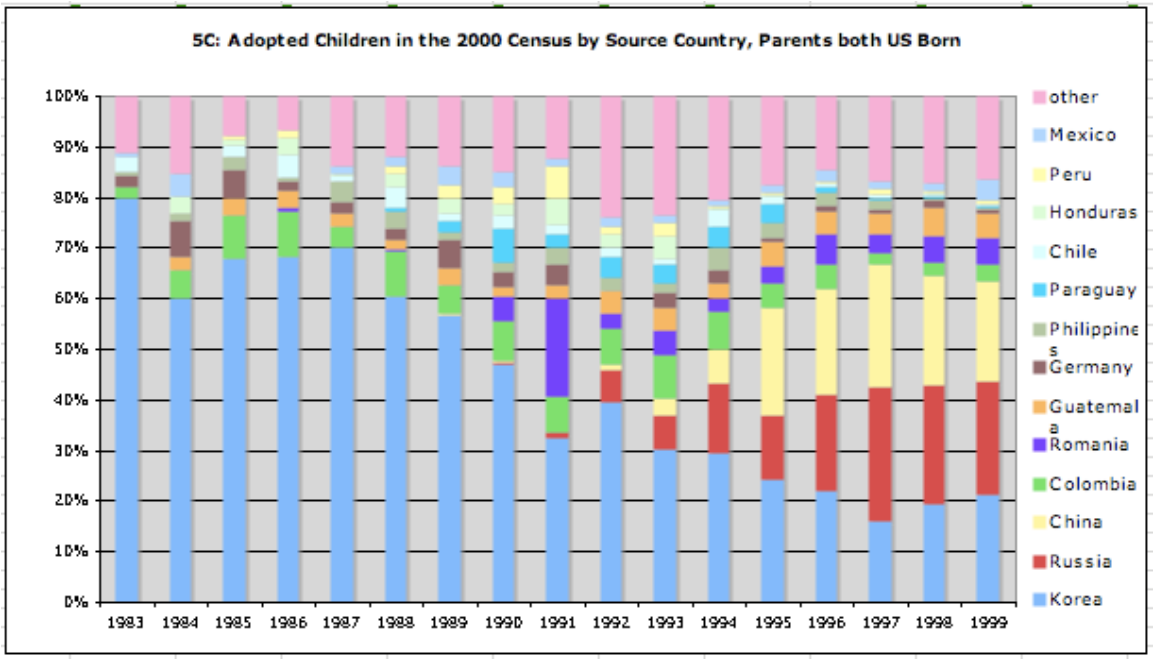
Colombia
Ukraine
Ethiopia
Russia
Guatemala
Korea
China


5B: Adopted Children in the 2000 Census by Source Country
100%
90%
80%
70%
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%
1983
1984
1985
1986
1987
1988
1989
1990
1991
1992
1993
1994
1995
1996
1997
1998
1999
other
Korea
China
Russia
Mexico
Colombia
Guatemala
Romania
Philippines
Germany
Paraguay
Peru
Honduras
Chile
Ukraine


5C: Adopted Children in the 2000 Census by Source Country, Parents both US Born
100%
90%
80%
70%
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%
1983 1984 1985 1986 1987 1988 1989 1990 1991 1992 1993 1994 1995 1996 1997 1998 1999
other
Mexico
Peru
Honduras
Chile
Paraguay
Philippines
Germany
Guatemala
Romania
Colombia
China
Russia
Korea

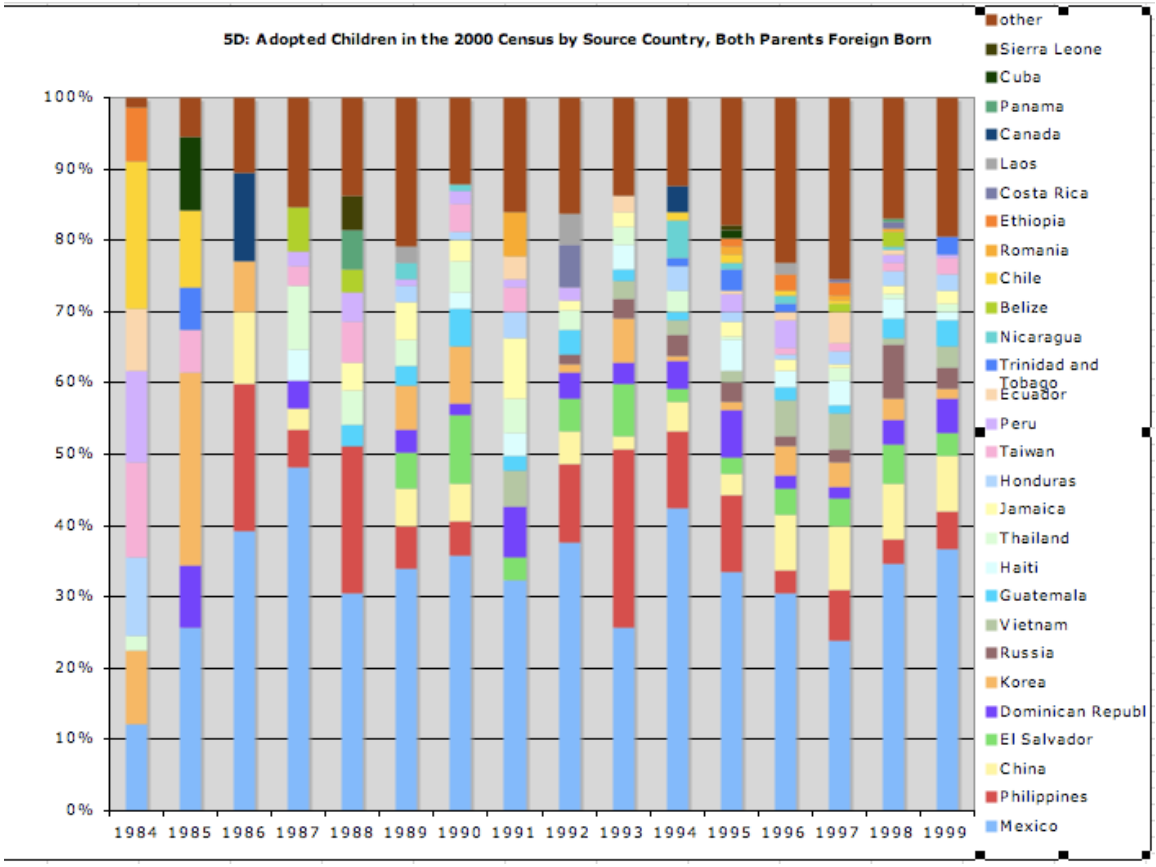

5D: Adopted Children in the 2000 Census by Source Country, Both Parents Foreign Born
100%
90%
80%
70%
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%
1984 1985 1986 1987 1988 1989 1990 1991 1992 1993 1994 1995 1996 1997 1998 1999
other
Sierra Leone
Cuba
Panama
Canada
Laos
Costa Rica
Ethiopia
Romania
Chile
Belize
Nicaragua
Trinidad and Tobago
Ecuador
Peru
Taiwan
Honduras
Jamaica
Thailand
Haiti
Guatemala
Vietnam
Russia
Korea
Dominican Republ
El Salvador
China
Philippines
Mexico

Figure 6

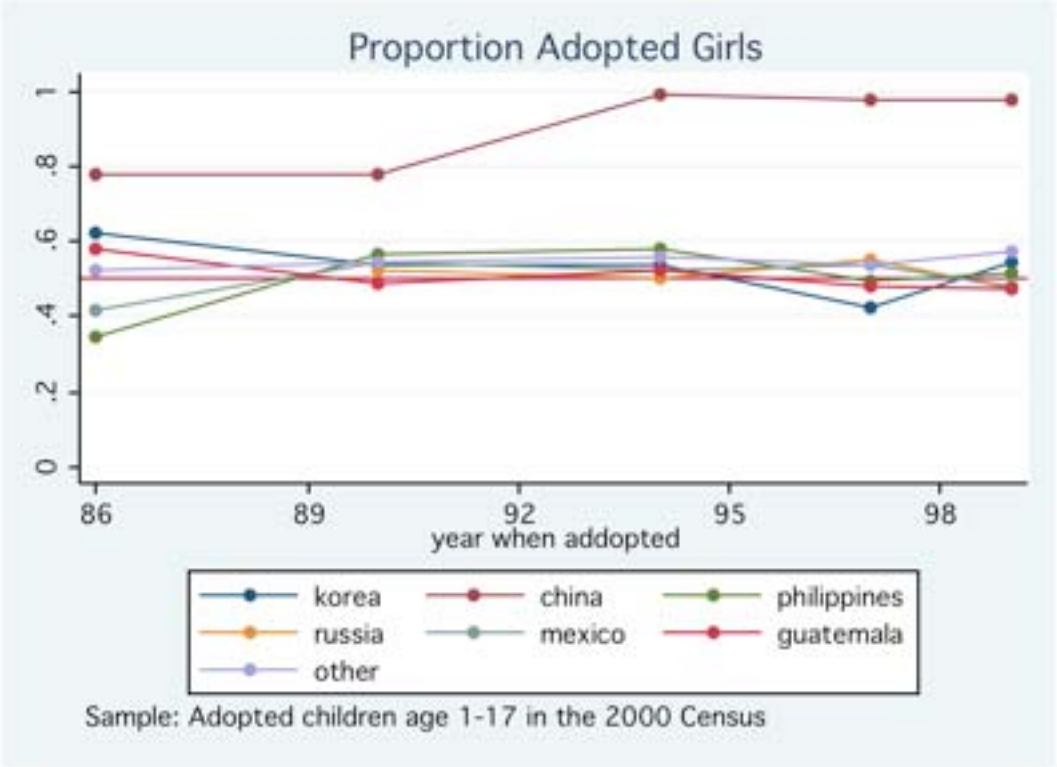

Proportion Adopted Girls
0
.2
.4
.6
.8
1
86
89
92
95
98
year when addopted
korea
china
philippines
russia
mexico
guatemala
other
Sample: Adopted children age 1-17 in the 2000 Census

Table 1: Summary statistics

	korea	china	russia	mexyca	seasia	caribb	other
Proportion both parents foreign born	0.022	0.061	0.030	0.430	0.281	0.295	0.134
	(0.004)	(0.008)	(0.006)	(0.016)	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.009)
Proportion both parents US born	0.852	0.676	0.772	0.348	0.465	0.560	0.617
	(0.010)	(0.015)	(0.014)	(0.015)	(0.025)	(0.025)	(0.012)
Age both parents US born	3.800	1.710	3.171	3.996	3.231	4.485	3.774
	(0.123)	(0.067)	(0.112)	(0.231)	(0.217)	(0.252)	(0.106)
Age both parents foreign born	8.305	3.898	3.640	7.458	6.880	7.609	7.249
	(0.978)	(0.586)	(0.785)	(0.230)	(0.418)	(0.448)	(0.326)
Observations	1,150	965	869	970	396	390	1,564

[a]ample: All families living in the U.S. in the 2000 Census who adopted a foreign born child between 1990-1999.

Table 2: OLS estimates: Dependent variable *child age when adopted*

	(1) korea	(2) china	(3) russia	(4) mexyca	(5) seasia	(6) caribb	(7) other
border apprehensions	0.068*	0.017*	0.014*	0.057*	0.007	0.071*	0.043*
	(0.003)	(0.006)	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.004)
border appreXparents foreign	0.164*	0.030	0.018	0.087*	0.080*	0.090*	0.057*
	(0.027)	(0.055)	(0.042)	(0.010)	(0.014)	(0.017)	(0.023)
parents foreign	-5.973*	1.194	-0.321	-0.833	-5.652*	0.035	1.391
	(2.720)	(5.965)	(3.742)	(1.296)	(1.731)	(1.574)	(2.205)
constant	-43.177*	2.479	-5.959*	-5.493*	-4.177	-9.489*	-2.950
	(1.802)	(1.961)	(1.360)	(1.839)	(2.622)	(2.959)	(1.736)
r^2	0.380	0.152	0.100	0.242	0.264	0.320	0.157
N	1,074	730	763	776	336	316	1,280
border linehours	0.059*	0.012	0.003	0.052*	-0.003	0.067*	0.036*
	(0.003)	(0.006)	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.011)	(0.007)	(0.005)
border linehrsXparents foreign	0.177*	0.029	-0.002	0.079*	0.065*	0.092*	0.051*
	(0.033)	(0.057)	(0.034)	(0.011)	(0.013)	(0.016)	(0.021)
parents foreign	-2.075*	1.550	0.387	0.892	-1.579	0.977	2.170*
	(1.735)	(3.037)	(1.193)	(0.832)	(1.009)	(0.779)	(1.062)
constant	-41.726*	3.702*	-4.182*	-2.420	-3.139	-5.820*	-0.191
	(2.308)	(1.633)	(1.117)	(1.649)	(2.215)	(2.707)	(1.678)
r^2	0.372	0.155	0.096	0.246	0.257	0.342	0.149
N	1,074	730	763	776	336	316	1,280
expelled	0.054*	0.012*	0.012	0.042*	0.008	0.057*	0.035*
	(0.003)	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.003)
expelledXparents foreign	0.126*	0.029	-0.003	0.067*	0.060*	0.085*	0.041*
	(0.021)	(0.039)	(0.031)	(0.009)	(0.012)	(0.016)	(0.017)
parents foreign	-7.398*	-0.154	2.515	-1.532	-6.099*	-1.949	1.908
	(2.945)	(6.046)	(4.056)	(1.518)	(2.170)	(1.958)	(2.316)
constant	-44.073*	2.502	-6.379*	-5.848*	-4.709	-10.934*	-3.808*
	(1.866)	(1.992)	(1.522)	(1.874)	(2.722)	(2.641)	(1.753)
r2	0.389	0.151	0.101	0.239	0.263	0.345	0.162
N	1,074	730	763	776	336	316	1,280

[2]ample: All families living in the U.S. in the 2000 Census who adopted a foreign born child between 1990-1999. Robust standard errors in parenthesis clustered at the state level. Other explanatory variables variables: parents highest level of education, household income rank, fathers age, mothers age.

Table 3: OLS estimates: Dependent variable *child adopted after age 14*

	(1) korea	(2) china	(3) russia	(4) mexyca	(5) seasia	(6) caribb	(7) other
border apprehensions	0.001	0.000	0.000	0.001	0.001	0.003*	0.001
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.000)
border appreXparents foreign	0.008	0.002	-0.000	0.004*	0.004*	0.005*	0.003*
	(0.004)	(0.002)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
parents foreign	-0.546*	-0.176*	0.037	-0.196*	-0.314*	-0.178	-0.175*
	(0.345)	(0.189)	(0.019)	(0.080)	(0.119)	(0.107)	(0.094)
constant	-0.801	-0.027	-0.030	-0.245	-0.296	-0.603	0.014
	(0.215)	(0.029)	(0.033)	(0.090)	(0.129)	(0.078)	(0.119)
r^2	0.103	0.045	0.025	0.112	0.220	0.195	0.058
N	1,074	730	763	776	336	316	1,280
border linehours	0.001	0.000	0.000	0.001	0.001	0.003*	0.001
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.000)
border linehrsXparents foreign	0.008	0.002	-0.000	0.004*	0.005*	0.006*	0.003*
	(0.005)	(0.002)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.001)
parents foreign	-0.204	-0.086	0.013	-0.084*	-0.151*	-0.104	-0.089
	(0.193)	(0.098)	(0.008)	(0.040)	(0.052)	(0.071)	(0.040)
constant	-0.854*	-0.018	-0.015	-0.186*	-0.239*	-0.493*	0.052
	(0.296)	(0.026)	(0.031)	(0.078)	(0.110)	(0.070)	(0.114)
r^2	0.113	0.061	0.025	0.143	0.267	0.256	0.074
N	1,074	730	763	776	336	316	1,280
expelled aliens	0.001	0.000	0.000	0.001	0.000	0.002	0.001
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.000)
expelledXparents foreign	0.006*	0.001	-0.000	0.003*	0.003*	0.004*	0.002
	(0.003)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
parents foreign	-0.562	-0.168	0.040	-0.226*	-0.339*	-0.287*	-0.198*
	(0.334)	(0.183)	(0.021)	(0.085)	(0.121)	(0.127)	(0.100)
constant	-0.767*	-0.037	-0.028	-0.267*	-0.304*	-0.627*	0.006
	(0.197)	(0.037)	(0.033)	(0.094)	(0.128)	(0.083)	(0.120)
r^2	0.097	0.041	0.024	0.114	0.211	0.201	0.059
N	1,074	730	763	776	336	316	1,280

[3]ample: All families living in the U.S. in the 2000 Census who adopted a foreign born child between 1990-1999. Robust standard errors in parenthesis clustered at the state level. Other explanatory variables variables: parents highest level of education, household income rank, fathers age, mothers age.