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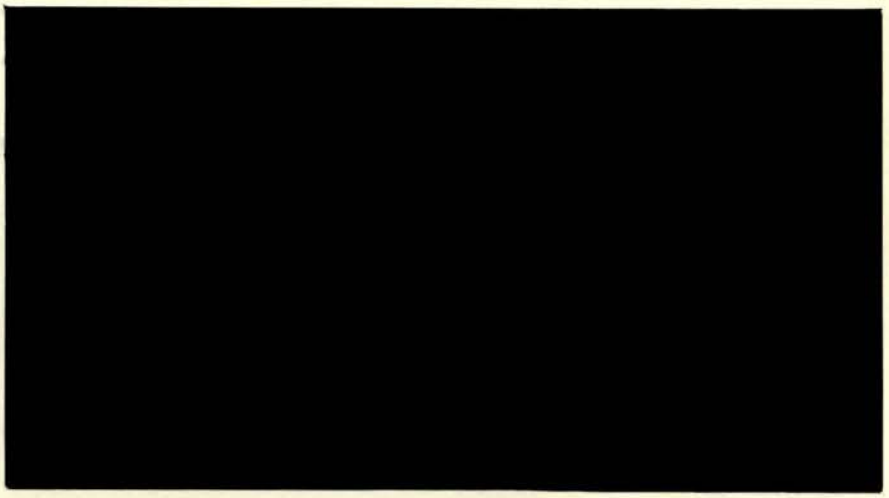

WORKING PAPER SERIES

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WORKING PAPER

IMMIGRATION, DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE, AND *COLONIA* FORMATION IN CALIFORNIA: A CROSS-SECTIONAL ANALYSIS OF RURAL COMMUNITIES WITH HIGH CONCENTRATIONS OF LATINOS

by

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I. INTRODUCTION

I.A.Issues: An Overview

There has been increasing interest by researchers of immigration, demographics, ethnic minority communities, in the concomitant socio-economic issues related to each. The few descriptive studies conducted on the topic of Latino immigration and rural settlement indicate that Latinos tend to be farmworkers whose annual earnings are below the poverty level. The rural communities Latinos settle in, appear to lack a number of basic services such as health care, literacy and special bilingual educational programs, and affordable housing. Also, the problems of rural Latinos appear to be exacerbated by the fact that during the peak agricultural employment period, populations explode in many of these communities due to the seasonal in-migration of Latino farmworkers from other U.S. regions and Mexico, adding a considerable strain to the already inadequate public services available.

Although Mexican and other Latino immigrants have a long tradition of settling in dispersed rural communities of California, there is relatively little research available on the recent effects of changing demographics on the socio-economic conditions of those rural communities. What happens when Latinos concentrate in certain rural communities? What are the socio-economic conditions of communities where Latinos constitute the majority of the local population? Do communities with relatively high concentrations of Latinos show "underclass" traits such as those described by W.J. Wilson (1987) in his analysis of ghetto formation: e.g., severe poverty, low educational attainment, un- and underemployment, low public expenditure per capita, a relatively high number of single-headed households, etc? On the other hand, do rural communities with relatively large numbers of Latino residents have "ethnic enclave" characteristics such as those found by A. Portes and Bach (1985) in Cuban immigrant enclaves of

Miami: e.g., relatively high representation of self-employed Latino entrepreneurs, prosperous Latino business activity, and high ethnic control of capital and property?[1] Or do rural communities have similar traits and socio-economic conditions regardless of the population's Latinos?

I.B.Research Objectives

This study presents a cross-sectional analysis of many of California's small rural communities to determine if they have undergone major socio-economic shifts since the '50s wherein many are now comprised of majority proportions of Latinos. In particular we attempt to see if communities with very high proportions of Latinos, which we call *colonias,* are relatively disadvantaged communities vis-a-vis the State's population and other small rural communities where Latinos are a relatively small minority. We want to know if *colonias developed "underclass" traits or "enclave" conditions.* The former would be evidenced by such socio-economic indicators as low educational achievement, high levels of unemployment, segregated and low-status employment patterns (primarily in agriculture), and a high incidence of poverty. The "enclave" conditions would be established if rural *colonias* are relatively advantaged in terms of private sector activities, enjoying the effective development of local business establishments which provide basic goods and services (e.g., food, clothing, and transportation). In addition, in an "enclave," business-oriented community we would expect that local government public expenditures per capita would be higher than those of other similar size rural communities, indicating that high concentrations of Latinos tend to foster favorable economic enterprises within their communities. If we do not find "underclass" traits or "enclave" conditions in communities with high

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[1]A more detailed review of literature concerning the flow and settlement patterns of immigrants and "minority communities" is presented in M. Castillo, 1991.

concentrations of Latinos, then we will conclude that the immigration and settlement of Latinos has a neutral effect in most rural communities of California.

II. BACKGROUND

II.A. Latino Immigration Since the 1950s

Since the 1950s the volume and composition of immigration to the United States have changed considerably, from a preponderance of Europeans to a preponderance of Asians and Latin Americans. According to Bean, Schmandt and Weintraub:

> During the 1950s Europeans made up over half of the legal immigrants, whereas in the years since 1970 they have composed only about 15 percent. Persons of Latin American origin [Latinos] increased their share over this same period from about 25 to nearly 40 percent. Asians have also shown a sizeable increase in their fraction of legal immigration. (1989:1)

These shifts in immigration have drawn increasing attention to the U.S. immigration policy and to the social costs and benefits of the immigrants themselves (Marshall, 1991; Martin and Taylor, 1990). Attention has also focused on the changing geographic distribution of population by races and ethnicity and the socio-economic consequences of this demographic change in major populated regions (Bean, et al., 1989). Although it is generally acknowledged that a "Hispanization" of the Southwest and California is occurring rapidly in metropolitan areas, there is very little recognition of the effects of immigration in rural communities where Latinos also tend to settle (Weintraub, 1989).

According to a recent report of the University of California, Latinos in California are clustered in clearly defined socio-economic strata and in perfectly identifiable communities. In particular, the U.C. report notes that:

There are three distinct types of Latino settlements: the urban-metropolitan *barrio*, non-metropolitan city neighborhoods, and rural towns and communities. These settlements are alike in many ways. For example, they contain a critical mass of Latinos and yet they are politically disenfranchised; they are inflicted by a high incidence of poverty, unemployment and underemployment; they experience a rapid rate of population growth; they possess weak or deficient community infrastructure and resources; and they are generally neglected in the delivery of basic public services. However, despite similarities, each possesses unique circumstances and conditions which must be adequately addressed.

II.B. Demographic Transformations: General Hypothesis

Despite the fact that most of California's Latino population settle in metropolitan and urban spaces forming culturally and ethnically distinct barrio settlements, it is estimated that over one-half million Latinos live in many small rural towns and communities spread throughout the State (The Report of the University of California SCR 43 Task Force 1989). These rural communities differ greatly in population size and structural organization from the urban communities.

According to the preliminary findings of the UC-SCR-43 Report (1989),[2] many rural Latino settlements are located within the primary agricultural regions of California. In addition, the UC-SCR-43 Report notes that these communities have experienced rapid population growth primarily since 1970 in spite of massive rural to urban migration. High Latino fertility as well as continued Mexico-United States immigration may be responsible for these demographic changes.

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[2]The UC-SCR-43 Report is based upon a qualitative assessment of the changes affecting California Latinos, thus serving as a point of departure for identifying the major issues and hypotheses to be examined regarding rural Latino settlements.

A hypothesized feature of rural Latino concentration is derived from the SCR-43 Report, to quote:

> An interesting feature of this demographic process which is not revealed by the data is that while Latinos grow in numbers, the non-Latino population diminishes in both relative and absolute terms since the latter is more likely to migrate out of the community. Therefore, Latinos in rural communities increase the relative importance of their population at a much faster rate than in most metropolitan and non-metropolitan cities where the general population is also growing (1989:153).

The UC-SCR-43-Report (1989) also indicated that most rural Latinos are farmworkers whose annual earnings are far below the poverty level. It is therefore surmised in the Report that rural Latinos constitute the poorest of California's poor. What appears to account for the poverty is the seasonal nature of farmwork which makes unstable employment among agricultural workers and brings about dramatic fluctuations in the income of rural settlements throughout the year. Moreover, according to the Report, many of the Latino workers remain in these rural communities throughout the year, obtaining off-season employment where available. When not employed, they are left to rely on limited local services. Others are temporary residents who continue to follow the harvest of labor intensive fruit and vegetable crops from region to region. For temporary, migrant workers, housing shortages, inadequate health care, and limited schooling are among the many problems which arise during the peak agricultural employment period in these communities. In addition, the SCR-43 Report indicates that many of these seasonal laborers are from rural Mexico who are undocumented or who have only recently applied for amnesty under the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act

(or IRCA) and may be unable to obtain important public goods or services provided in the community (de la Torre and Rochin, 1990).

According to the UC-SCR-43 Report, rural Latinos suffer from the neglect of policy makers and researchers while at the same time they are the very backbone of California's agricultural sector and contribute directly to the State's economy by providing the labor for the nation's supply of agricultural products. Moreover, it is argued that continued labor demand on commercial farms specializing in high value, labor intensive specialty products (e.g., horticultural products, fruits and vegetables) as well as loopholes in the enforcement of employer sanctions specified under IRCA have encouraged continued migration from Mexico and settlement into rural California communities.

Despite these several assertions in the SCR-43 Report, the observations still beg the question; namely, what is a "rural Latino settlement" and when (and by how much) does the increase in the proportion of Latinos in a community call for attention by policy makers and researchers. Moreover, given the myriad of small rural communities in California, is there really any significant difference between communities housing proportionately large numbers of Latinos for farmwork and other rural communities? Are rural "Latino settlements" more deprived than other rural communities which contain relatively few Latinos?

II.C. The Origin of Colonias

Before outlining the procedures used in this study to address these concerns, it is first necessary to point out that California has a large variation in towns, *ranchos*, and small cities which serve agriculture and agribusiness. About 300 relatively small communities (with fewer than 20,000 residents) maintain close ties to agriculture. Moreover, there is quite a range in the number of Latinos per community and no consensus as to what constitutes a "Latino rural settlement."

Hence it is important to identify the types of rural communities where Latinos have settled and to distinguish those places with high concentrations of Latinos.

With regard to this task, we introduce the concept of *colonia*, that is, a rural community wherein the majority population is Latino. In this study the meaning and importance of the term derives, in part, from Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary (1972) which defines a "colony" (the English translation of *colonia*) as a body of people settled in a new territory foreign, sometimes distant, retaining ties with the motherland, in this case, Mexico.

In the earliest known use of the term, Ernesto Galarza (1977) referred to *colonias* as rural communities of California which housed Mexican-American farmworkers and other Mexican immigrants employed in agribusiness. Galarza made no attempt to identify all of California's *colonias* nor did he specify the extent to which Latino residents would constitute a *colonia*. Instead he observed that some rural communities, *colonias*, were emerging in the sixties as Mexican towns of seasonal farm laborers (many of them *braceros*) who were primarily dependent on labor intensive farm employment. Galarza wrote that *colonia* settlements were natural ports of entry for new Mexican migrants, owing to their unique ethnic and cultural characteristics. Continued migration and settlement from Mexico, according to Galarza, created a labor pool within *colonias* which was continuously replenished, much to the benefit of local employers. Describing the complex set of working relationships among *colonia* settlers (*colonos*), Galarza writes:

> In the Mexican *colonias* and Filipino clubs acculturation of the newcomers began and the skills required by highly specified cropping were passed on. It was from the ranks of domestics that the industry recruited row bosses, field foremen, checkers, and camp overseers (1977:28).

What is also interesting about Galarza's observation is that the *colonias* of the 1950s and 1960s were destination sites for guestworkers under the Bracero Program which sharply disrupted the existing demographic balance (i.e., the young male workers displaced local farmworker families). As Galarza observed:

> The process of displacement in the southern counties and the Central Valley [of California] deposited newcomers around the established *colonias* of Hollister, Gilroy, Morgan Hill, Sunnyvale, Decoto and Union City. For most of them moving to the locations was an important step out of agricultural employment...but there were many for whom farm work remained the only available occupation, and these workers, discarded by the industry in areas that had been overrun by braceros, increased the local supply of experienced labor (1977:246).

More recently, in Texas a *colonia* has been defined by the State Department of Human Services as a "highly concentrated poverty pocket that is physically and legally isolated from neighboring cities" (1988:iii). In Texas, these greater-urban settlements which are locally known as *border colonias* or *colonias populares* refer to underdeveloped unregulated border communities with sub-standard housing, poor roads, inadequate water and wastewater systems.

The Texas *border colonias* share some features with the rural *colonias* of this study. Both are relatively disenfranchised settlements, lacking in many basic public services. Rural *colonias* of California, however, are relatively smaller communities than the unregulated *border colonias* of Texas and therefore undergo problems to a lesser degree in absolute terms. Nonetheless, to the extent that California *colonos* [*colonia* residents] are largely employed in the seasonal and low-wage agriculture and food processing industries, unemployment and poverty are likely more prevalent.

The use of the concept was proposed by Brannon (1989), who characterized *colonias* not only as poverty-stricken, physically and legally separated settlements lacking in basic services, but also suggested that "the residents of U.S. border colonias are overwhelmingly of Hispanic origin (over 90 percent in many cases), and that the few studies that have been done suggest that many colonia households contain one or more people who have recently migrated from Mexico" (1989:2).

After consideration of the above, we propose to use the concept of a *colonia* as a community of Latino immigrants and recent descendents (e.g., Chicanos) residing as the majority in a rural place and retaining ties to cultural identity and roots of origin.[3] For our purposes, a *colonia* connotes a binational, cross-cultural concept of a California community which has important implications for researchers and policymakers in addressing the unique problems and needs of such communities. For us, an essential feature of *colonias* is their relative isolation and geographic distance from large urban agglomerations and their connections to agricultural employment. However, we must admit that the idea of "rural" and "agricultural" features are not determined with precision.

III. THE STUDY

III.A. The Problem

The preceding background serves to clarify several issues regarding immigration, demographic change and rural communities of Latinos. It remains to be determined, however, if California *colonias* are relatively disadvantaged communities with respect to other communities of similar size with fewer Latinos.

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[3]The increasing importance of Latinos in rural settlements in California derive from the continued immigration of Mexican workers and families as well as high fertility rates experienced by rural Latinos. The extent to which these immigrants maintain ties with Mexico can only be surmised at this time. We also note that other Latin Americans are immigrating into California communities. Therefore, we use the term Latinos, instead of Chicanos or Mexican Americans.

Also, to what degree can *colonias* be differentiated from other, comparison communities and in what respects? Are *colonias* clearly disadvantaged in terms of poverty, educational attainment, employment patterns, local business activity and public services? Do *colonias* contain the foundations for ethnic enclave economic development, i.e., the existence of Latino owned enterprise? Or are *colonias* no better nor worse-off than any other rural community with fewer Latinos?

III.B. Operational Variables

It is crucial to define two key variables of this study: *colonias* and *Latinos*.

1. Colonias

An operational definition must be established before *colonias* can be compared with other (similar) communities. For this study, a *colonia* is operationally defined as a "rural" town or community of California with fewer than 20,000 inhabitants and a majority proportion of Latinos within the community. "Rural" is not easily determined. However, we have identified a set of non-metropolitan communities and other metropolitan communities which are similar in several ways by having at least an agricultural base of employment and economic activity. To identify a set of such communities, a list of all "rural" places reported in the 1980 Census of Population was compiled and sorted out. From over 200 places with 20,000 or less in population, 148 places were found to fit these additional criteria: (1) they were "rural" in character as determined by mappings and prior information about these communities, (2) they were relatively "agricultural" in 1980 in terms of employment and agribusiness activities, and (3) relatively isolated from large central places and/or metropolitan areas. Among the list of 200 we excluded communities with fewer than 15 percent Latinos because such communities did not come close to the percentage of Latinos in California's population, about 19 percent in 1980 (Fay and Fay, 1990:3). Moreover, a rural community with fewer than 15

percent Latinos would be unusual in California, more like a retirement community and/or a white elite settlement. We also excluded Indian reservations and *rancherias*, although many of the Native Americans of these places have Spanish surnames and work in agriculture.

As illustrated in Figure 1, concentrations of rural Latinos were spread throughout several different communities. In 1980, Latinos were over 45 percent of the population in 49 rural communities. In 1990, Latinos were a majority (over 50% of the population) in at least 74 rural communities.[4] In all cases, the communities included in the study were considered rural by a reference of their geographic distance from a large urban place and by knowledge that they were near or surrounded by agricultural activity in 1980. In the final analysis, some are located within metropolitan areas as defined by the U.S. Bureau of the Census. For the most part, high concentrations of Latinos are located in California's "Central Valley," near metropolitan areas of Sacramento, Stockton, Fresno and Bakersfield, and near the border with Mexico.

2. *Latinos*

In our study we prefer to use the term *Latinos*, which conveys a rubric encompassing Mexican, Central American and other Latin American people. Operationally, *Latino* and *Latina* refer to males and females who are categorized Hispanics or persons of Spanish origin by the U.S. Bureau of the Census. In 1950, Latinos in the Census covered persons of foreign-born stock from Mexico. In 1960, it included the foreign-born from Mexico and from other Spanish-speaking Latin American countries. In 1970, Latinos were all persons of Spanish language or Spanish surname. In 1980, Latinos were persons who self-identified as belonging to the "Spanish-origin" population. Accordingly, persons of Hispanic origin or descent

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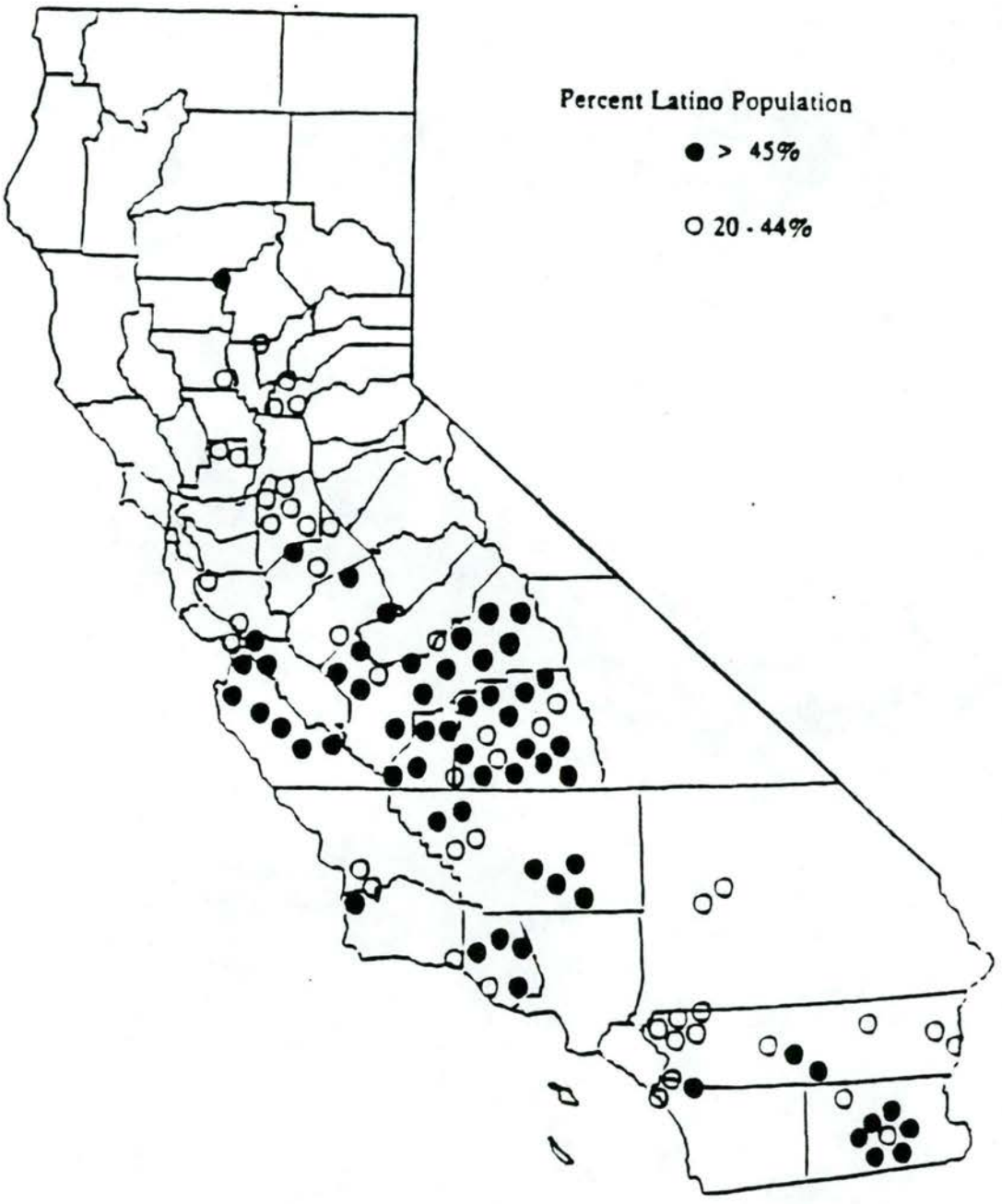
[4]This information is available on CD-ROM of the U.S. Bureau of the Census, found in major libraries.

Figure 1. Latino Rural Settlements, 1980



Source: The Report of the University of California SCR 43 Task Force. The Challenge: Latinos in a Changing California, June 1989.

who reported either Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, or other Spanish/Hispanic origin in the 1980 Census, constitute the main population of this study.

III.C. Method of Analysis

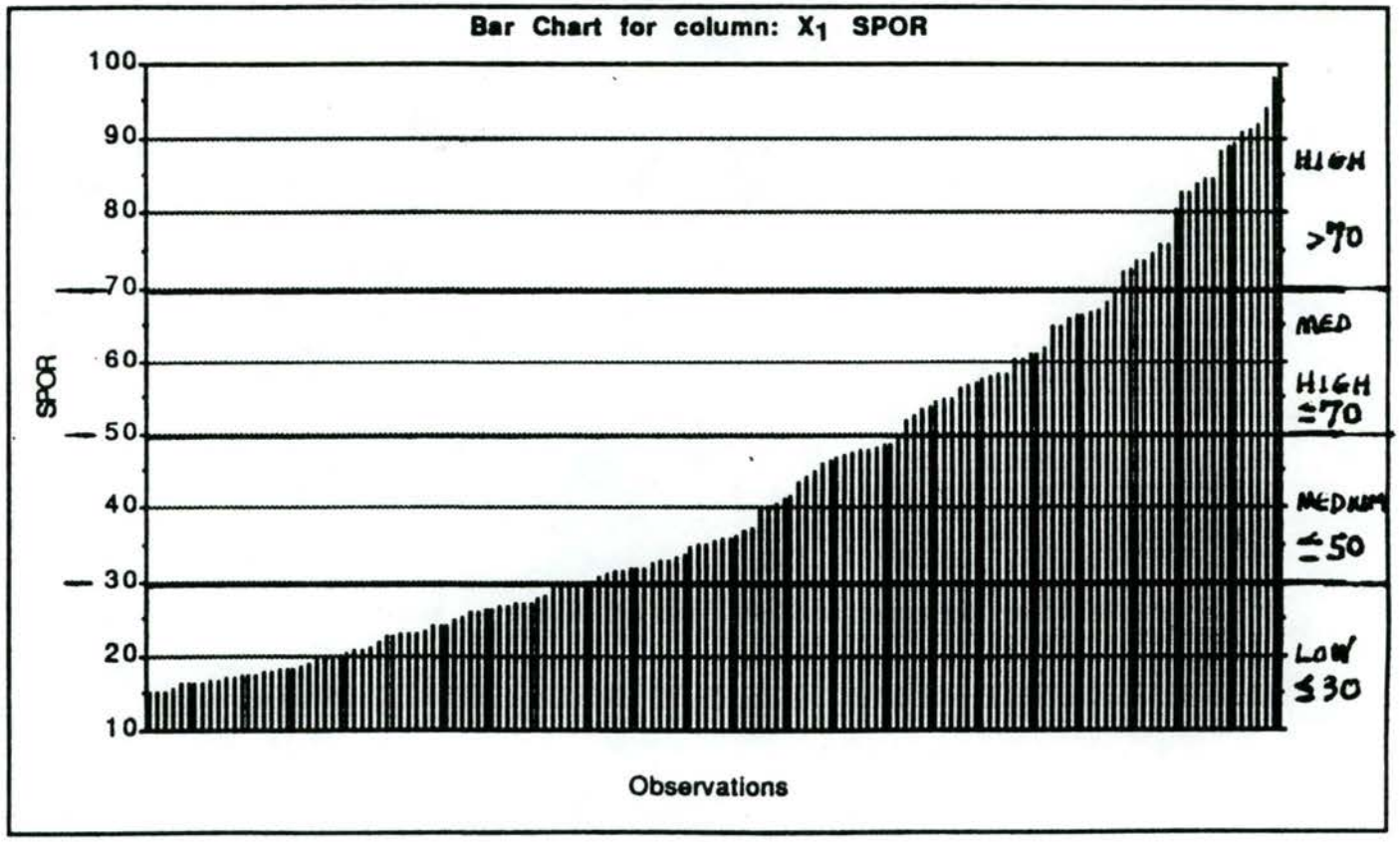
Due to the timing of this study, our analysis on *colonias* and *Latinos* does not benefit from recent data of the 1990 Census. Instead, the Census of 1980 provides the principal data for identifying and selecting the "rural" communities of this study. To proceed with the 1980 data, we ordered all communities along a continuum according to the proportion of Latinos in each community. The 1980 Census data provided us with 148 rural communities which could be analyzed according to the proportion of Latinos. This is illustrated in Figure 2. Accordingly, each vertical bar represents a community and each contains a different proportion of Latinos ranging from 15 percent to 98 percent of the population. Four categories were designated to distinguish communities ranging from those with relatively few Latinos to many:

Categories of Rural Communities

	Variable		Designation for Community
1)	Low % SPOR	=	% Spanish Origin ≤ 30% Population
2)	Medium % SPOR	=	30% < % SPOR ≤ 50% Population
3)	Majority % SPOR	=	50% < % SPOR ≤ 70% Population
4)	High % SPOR	=	% SPOR > 70%

The term "% SPOR" was used to refer to the proportion of Latinos in each community. With these four categories, it is possible to sort out rural communities according to low and high proportions of Latinos. Thus, *colonias* in this study comprise those communities that are defined in categories (3) "majority % SPOR" and (4) "high % SPOR." With communities clearly ordered by the proportion of

Figure 2. Distribution of Rural Communities From "Low Latino" (on the left) to "High Latino" on the right. Each vertical line represents a community. Data for 1980.



Latinos in each, it is relatively easy to compare and contrast communities which are low in Latinos against the *colonias*.

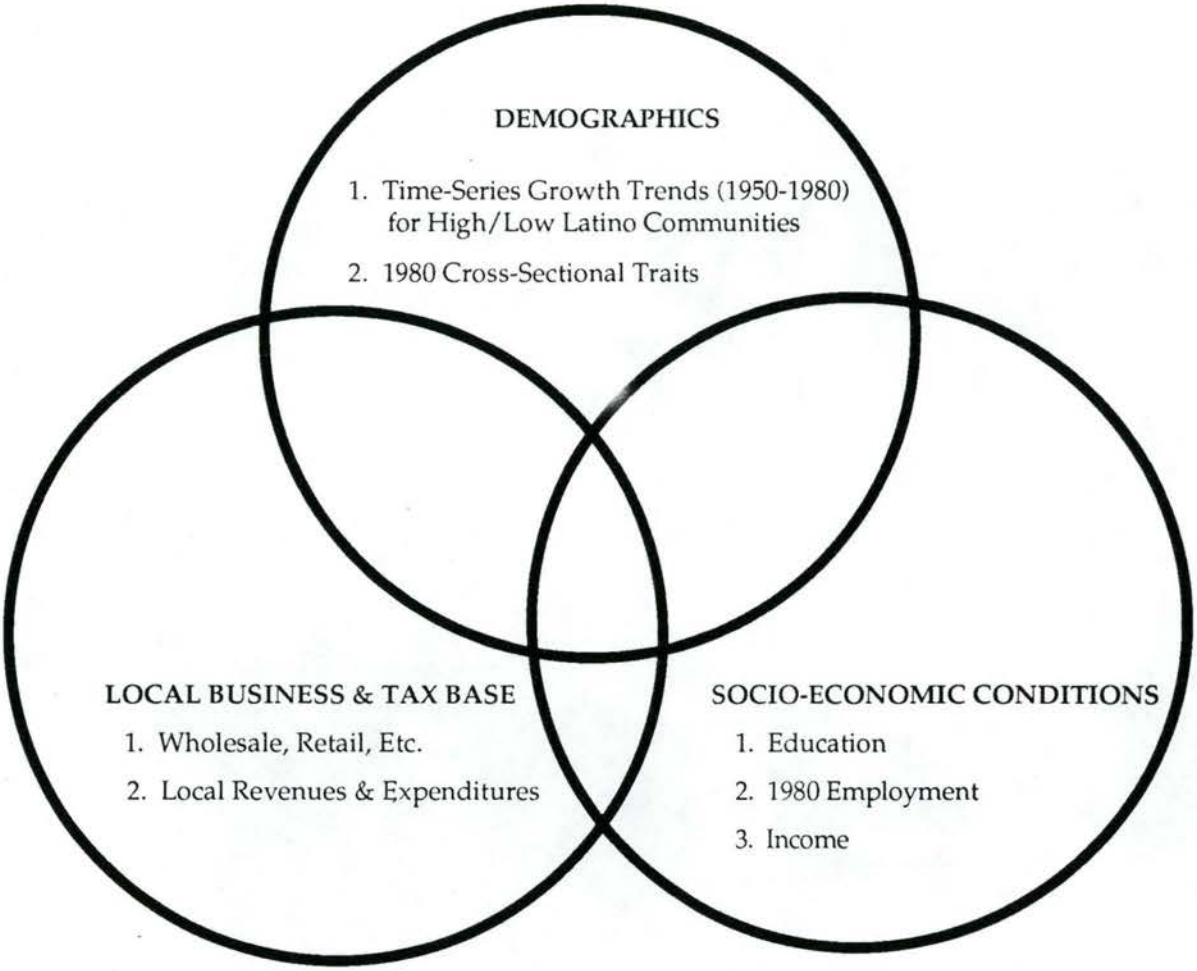
III.D. Analytical Framework

We started our analysis with three basic questions. One, have *colonias*, or those rural communities with high concentrations of Latinos, a long history of serving as the locus of Latino settlement? Two, do *colonias* have "underclass traits?" Three, do *colonias* contain "enclave" conditions in terms of the private and publics sectors. The research has three major facets: (1) an analysis of the demographic changes that occurred in the 148 rural communities of this study from 1950 to 1980; (2) a cross-sectional analysis of employment, education, income, poverty, etc. in each community in 1980; and (3) a cross-sectional analysis of the degree to which *colonias* contain retail and wholesale businesses and an effective tax base relative to communities with fewer Latinos. These analytical components are highlighted in Figure 3.

Under the analysis of "demographic changes," we go to the 1950 Census and those of other years (1960, 1970) and ask if Latinos were already prominent in the *colonias* back then and over time. In particular, we examine the demographics of 1950, 1960, 1970 and 1980 in terms of several variables like ethnicity, age and gender, etc. across all communities. It should be noted, however, that the earlier Census reports use different concepts and measures. Also, we lose communities which did not exist as Census places in earlier years.

With regard to analysis of "underclass traits" and "enclave conditions," we apply cross-sectional analysis of 1980 data to compare and contrast the most recent demographic and socio-economic factors of *colonias* against the other communities of our study.

Figure 3. COLONIA STUDY: ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK



MAJOR FEATURES:

- Community Focused Research
- Low Latino Community Comparisons vs. *Colonias*
- Time-Series and Cross-Sectional Evaluations

There are two ways we compare and contrast communities to determine "underclass" or "enclave" conditions:

1. The first is to apply variable correlational analysis for demographic and other variables which we hypothesize will differ with the proportion of Latinos (%SPOR) in a community. For example, some of the variables include the following:

y_i = % SPOR, where i = 1-148 Communities

x_{1i} = % Under 18 Years of Age

x_{2i} = % Between 18 and 65

x_{3i} = % Over 65 Years

x_{4i} = Median Age

x_{5i} = Fertility or Number of Births per 1,000 Women 15 Years and Older

x_{6i} = Total Number of Households

x_{7i} = 1970-80 % Change in Household Numbers

x_{8i} = No. of Persons per Household.

The correlational analysis between y_i and each x_i applies this formula, for example, using x_1:

$$\text{corr (\% SPOR, } x_1) = \frac{\text{cov (\% SPOR, } x_1)}{\sqrt{\text{var (\% SPOR)}} \cdot \sqrt{\text{var } (x_1)}}$$

If there are no significant differences between communities regardless of the proportion of Latinos, then the t-ratio of the variable correlation coefficients should not be statistically significant at the 0.05 level using a two-tailed test. If there are unique differences between *colonias* and other communities, then the t-ratios of the variable correlation coefficients should be statistically significant at the 0.05 level.

2. The second way we compare communities is graphically with bivariate regressions between y_i and each of the independent variables (x_{ji}, where j = 1-8). By

placing the % SPOR on the horizontal axis and examining how x_{ji} changes with changes in % SPOR, we have a unique and clear indication of how rural communities differ in rural California according to the proportion of Latinos in each. Our general hypothesis is that the proportion of Latinos in a community is important in explaining the direction and magnitude of each social variable.

The method of analysis should not be interpreted to mean that a particular demographic or social variable is a direct cause or effect of the proportion of Latinos, or vice-versa; rather, the statistical analysis is used to understand the general nature and condition of *colonias*, i.e. where Latinos are the majority in a community.

IV. DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES: 1950-1980

IV.A. Demographic Patterns Among Colonias

Between 1950 and 1980, an impressive demographic transformation occurred in rural California. According to the U.S. Population Census, only 79 of the 148 study communities identified in the 1980 base year existed as census "places" in 1950. The mean population of the 79 communities in 1950 was 2,987 with a standard deviation of 2,099. The largest population was 11,922 (Brawley, Imperial County) and the smallest population was 632 (San Joaquin, Fresno County).[5]

The closest approximation to "Latino" or "Spanish Origin" in the 1950 census was the category, "Foreign Born, Mexico". Using this 1950 definition, the average percentage of Latinos for each of the 32 communities providing such information was 6.8 percent, with a standard deviation of 4.78 percent. The maximum percentage was 22.6 percent (or 1,456 inhabitants) in the community of Calexico, Imperial County. Calexico is located adjacent to the Mexican border city of Mexicali. Thus, in 1950, we found that no rural community had a majority population of

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[5]Appendix A lists all communities by categories as of the 1980 Census of Population.

Latinos. In fact, Latinos were a small proportion in each rural community of California in 1950.

By 1980 many rural communities had significant growth in Latino settlers. It was discovered, however, that the proportion of Latinos grew rapidly in select communities. Whereas the Latino presence in rural places was significantly lower in 1950 (i.e., 0.1% to 22.6%) the proportion of Latinos ranged from 15.1% to 98.2% in 1980.

Table 1 shows that there was an increase in the number of rural communities reported by the Census over the 30 year period from 1950 to 1980. Preliminary data from the 1990 Census Bureau (on CD-ROM) covered population numbers for 131 of the 148 communities counted in 1980. What is evident in 1990 is an absolute increase in the number of rural *colonias*, from 49 to 68 communities between 1980 and 1990. By 1990, 51 percent of the study communities contained a majority of Latinos compared to 33 percent of the communities in 1980.

Table 1. Change in Number of Rural Communities by Category: 1950-1990

	Number (and Percent) of Communities:					
	1950		1980		1990*	
1) Low %SPOR	30	(.38)	59	(.40)	27	(.21)
2) Medium %SPOR	20	(.25)	40	(.27)	36	(.27)
3) Medium High "Colonia"	18	(.23)	28	(.19)	32	(.24)
4) High %SPOR "Colonia"	11	(.14)	21	(.14)	36	(.27)
All Communities	**79**	**(1.00)**	**148**	**(1.00)**	**131**	**(1.00)**

Source: 1950 and 1980 U.S. Population Censuses and 1990 count of preliminary estimates on CD-ROM, Census Bureau.

Table 2 shows the average size in population of all study communities between 1950 and 1980. It indicates a high rate of growth in community population for all

four types of communities. Only a handful of communities failed to increase population between 1950 and 1980. None had a reduction in population. Further analysis (not shown) reveals that many of the fastest (population) growth communities were located in Southern California in close proximity to large metropolitan centers like Los Angeles and Fresno. On the other hand some of the slowest growing communities with high concentrations of Latinos were located near areas of large, commercial agricultural lands. The importance of commercial farming in such areas as the Central Valley's Westlands Water District (created in 1952), may have fostered the continued, though slower, rate of growth and concentration of Latinos in these rural communities (Khoii, 1983). At any rate, by 1980 several rural communities became clear-cut *colonias* as defined above. In particular, Table 3 shows the importance of Fresno County in housing exceptionally high concentrations of Latinos. Also, the *colonias* of Riverside and Imperial counties experienced high growth and Latino settlement. Overall, Tulare, Fresno, and Riverside counties were the primary geographic centers for *colonia* formation in California. Tulare and Fresno counties are also sites of the greatest numbers of "High %SPOR" communities as indicated in Appendix A.

Table 2. Growth in Population of Communities by %Latino Categories: 1950-1980

	Average Population Level: 1950	Average Population Level: 1980	Total % Change: 1950-1980
1) Low %SPOR	2,934	6,327	115.6
2) Medium %SPOR	3,123	4,989	59.7
3) Medium High "Colonia"	3,266	5,432	66.3
4) High %SPOR "Colonia"	2,425	4,291	76.9
All Communities	**2,987**	**5,507**	**84.4**

Source: 1950 and 1980 U.S. Population Censuses

Table 3. The Ten Communities of Highest Latino Proportion: 1980

Community	County	1980 %SPOR
1) West Parlier	Fresno	98.2
2) Calexico	Imperial	94.1
3) Del Rey	Fresno	92.0
4) Huron	Fresno	91.3
5) Parlier	Fresno	91.0
6) Coachella	Riverside	89.3
7) Cutler	Tulare	88.9
8) Mecca	Riverside	88.2
9) Mendota	Fresno	84.7
10) Pajaro	Monterey	84.6

Source: 1980 U.S. Population Census

In contrast to the very rapid growth in Latino populations in rural areas, it was found that several other demographic variables did not change significantly since 1950. It was expected that with the rapidly increasing proportion of Latinos in the study communities, the proportion of young persons (i.e. under 18) would increase rapidly while that of elderly persons (i.e. over 65) would sharply fall, owing to expected higher fertility rates among Latino families and continued Mexico-U.S. migration of younger migrants. From Table 4, it appears that this trend may have occurred until about 1970, but after this time the age structure trend was reversed to a pre-1950 level. Nonetheless, the average number of persons under 18 years of age remained at least 4 percentage points above the state average for the four Census years, indicating a substantial difference between the urban and rural age structure. Similarly, the median age figures of the study communities were

Table 4. Demographic Profile of California and Study Communities: 1950-1980

	Item[1]	1950 Mean	1960 Mean	1970 Mean	1980 Mean
I.	Population				
	Study Communities	2,986.6	3,792.9	4,883.5	5,507.3
	California	10,586,223	15,717,204	19,957,304	23,667,902
II.	%Spanish Origin				
	Study Communities	4.1	N/A	16.5	42.4
	California	1.5	4.8	15.5	19.2
III.	%Under 18 Years[2]				
	Study Communities	37.3	37.0	38.6	34.2
	California	30.5	34.7	33.3	27.0
IV.	%Between 18 and 65[3]				
	Study Communities	54.2	53.4	51.7	55.6
	California	61.0	56.6	57.7	62.8
V.	%Over 65 Years				
	Study Communities	8.4	9.0	9.7	10.2
	California	8.5	8.8	9.0	10.2
VI.	Median Age				
	Study Communities	28.5	N/A	26.4	27.2
	California	32.1	30.0	28.1	29.9
VII.	Fertility				
	Study Communities	N/A	557	N/A	403
	California	N/A	472	334	272
VIII.	Total No. of Households				
	Study Communities	1,545.7	1,143.8	1,480.4	1,768.2
	California	3,336,391	4,981,024	6,573,861	8,629,866
IX.	%Change in No. of Households[4]				
	Study Communities	-----	50.9	37.6	31.9
	California	-----	49.3	32.0	31.3
X.	No. of Persons per Household				
	Study Communities	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.2
	California	3.0	3.0	2.9	2.7

Source: 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1980 U.S. Population Censuses

[1] Using Census definitions for respective years shown; see Appendix B. Community sample size varies with census year; see Appendix Tables A1, A2, A3. (In 1980, n = 148 communities.)

[2] In 1950 this variable is "% Under 19 Years."

[3] In 1950 this variable is "% Between 19 and 65."

[4] "%Change" refers to the change in total population over the preceding decade (e.g. for 1980 column this is the total percent change between 1970 and 1980).

"N/A" indicates the value was not available.

expected to decrease over time. However the values shown in Table 4 (line VI) suggest that the lowest (median) age of rural communities occurred in 1970, after which the value increased to 27.2 (in 1980) from 26.4 (in 1970). Again, it is worth noting that in all Census years the median age (on average) among study communities was two years less than the statewide values for corresponding years.

IV.B. Cross-Sectional Analysis of Demographic Conditions: 1980s

Here we compare the "High" and the "Low" Latino communities to see if in fact *colonias* or "High" %SPOR communities contain disproportionately more persons under 18 and also the lowest proportion of persons over 65. For this comparison we rely on calculations of t-ratios between % SPOR and each of several demographic variables. As evident in Table 5, each of the t-ratios calculated from the slope coefficients of simple regressions of 1980 %SPOR on each of the four age structure variables was statistically significant. The variable correlation coefficients were particularly strong and positive for the variable "% Under 18", while the "Median Age" variable correlated strongly negative with 1980 %SPOR (see Figures 3(a) and 3(b)). These findings tend to confirm the thesis that *colonias* ("High" %SPOR) contain proportionately younger populations than the "Low" %SPOR communities of this study, i.e. where Latinos are a small proportion.

Furthermore, as shown in Table 5, the t-ratios derived from the simple regressions for "Fertility", and "Number of Persons per Household" were statistically significant. These variables had strong positive correlation coefficients, as expected. These results reinforce the assertion that *colonias* ("High" Latino communities) are more likely than "Low" Latino communities to have large families, and thus a proportionately greater young population. (Figures 4(a) and 4(b) demonstrate these findings quite well.)

Figure 3(a) Percent of Population Under 18
Versus %Latino in 1980

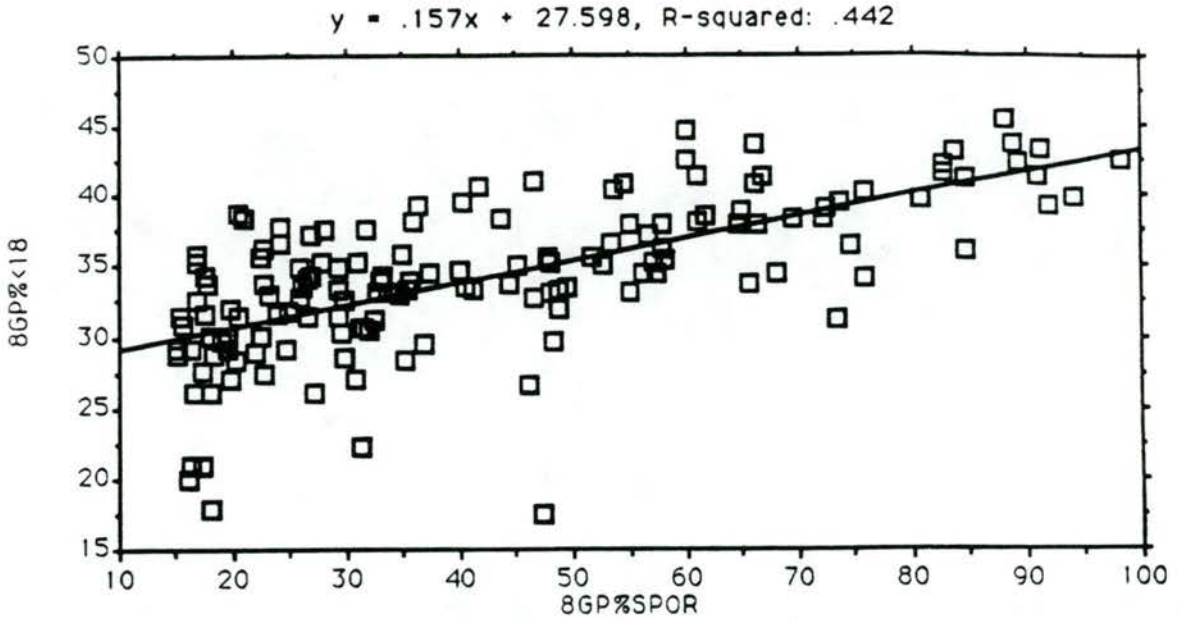
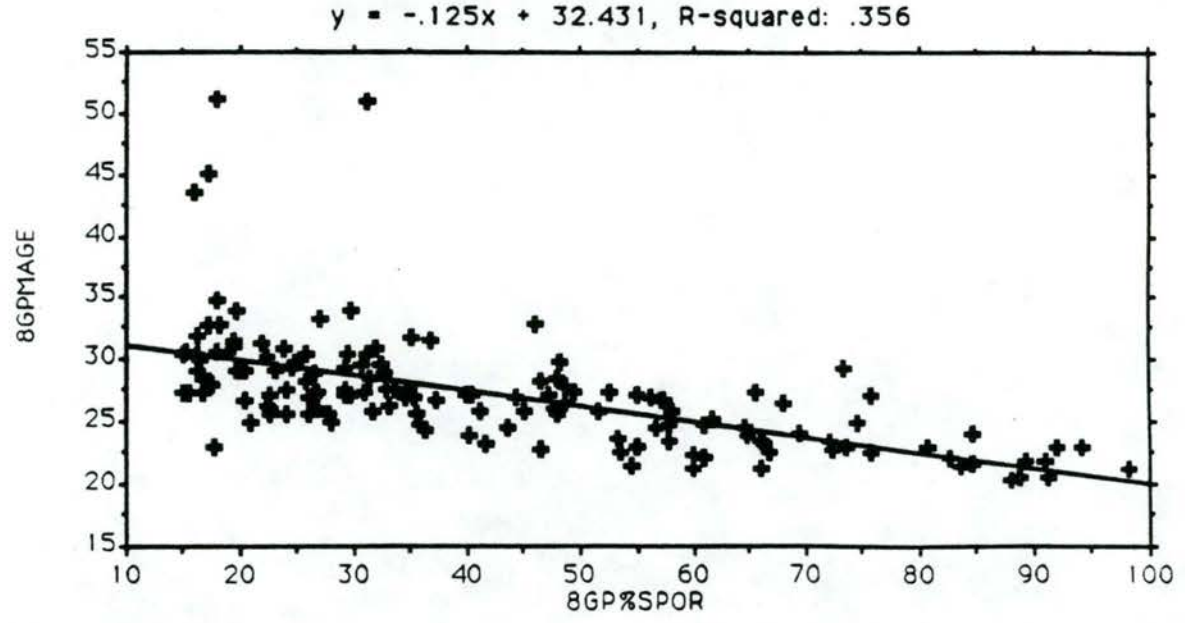


Figure 3 (b) Median Age Versus %Latino in 1980



Source: 1980 U.S. Population Census n = 148 communities

Table 5. Demographic Profile of Study Communities by %Latino: 1980[1]

Var. Code Name	Item	Mean Value	Std. Dev.	t-ratio[2]	Corr Coef[3]
POP	Population	5,507.3	4,258.2	1.59	-0.13
%SPOR	%Spanish Origin[4]	42.4	22.5	-----	-----
%<18	%Under 18 Years	34.2	5.3	10.75*	0.66
%BAGE	%Between 18 and 65	55.6	3.8	4.82*	-0.37
%>65	%Over 65 Years	10.2	4.9	5.74*	-0.43
MAGE	Median Age	27.2	4.7	8.98*	-0.60
FERT	Fertility[5]	403.1	82.8	8.84*	0.59
HTTL	Total No. of Households	1,768.2	1,511.7	2.92*	-0.23
HCHG	1970-80 % Change in No. of Households	31.9	33.6	0.79	-0.06
#/HOUSE	No. of Persons per Household	3.2	0.5	17.16*	0.82

Source: 1980 U.S. Population Census

[1] n = 148 communities for all listed variables.

[2] The t-ratios were calculated from the slope coefficients of simple regressions of each of the demographic variables on 1980 %SPOR. * Indicates statistical significance at the 0.05 significance level using a two-tailed test.

[3] Correlation Coefficient between 1980 %SPOR and each demographic variable.

[4] Using 1980 Census definition of Spanish-origin population (self-identification).

[5] Fertility is defined as the number of births per 1,000 women aged 15 and over.

Figure 4(a) Fertility Versus % Latino in 1980

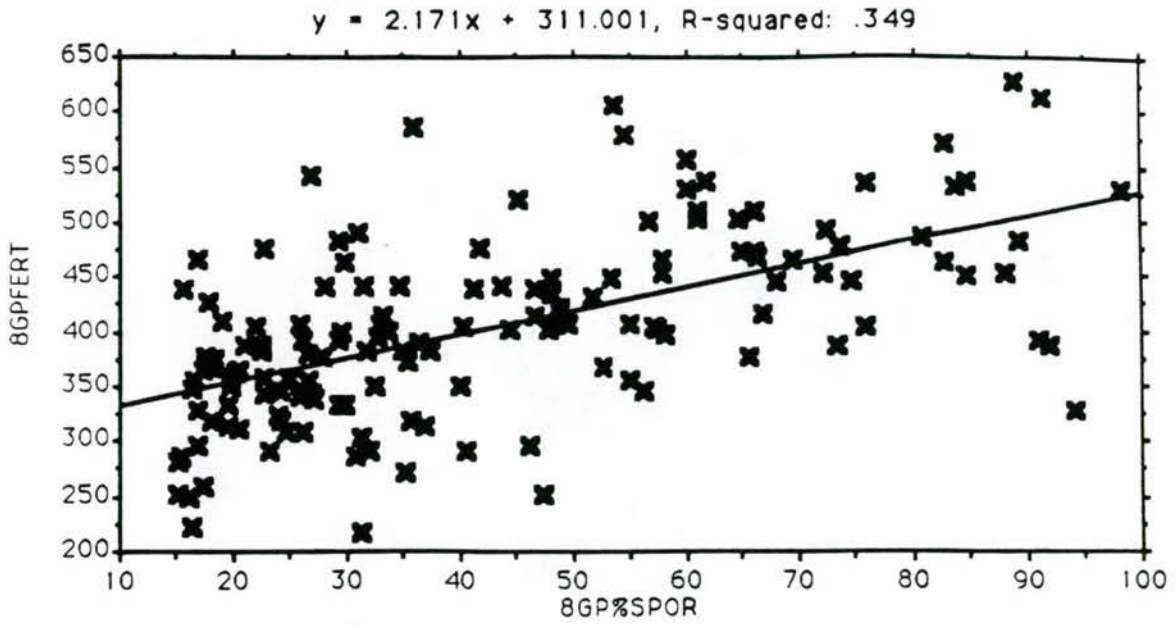
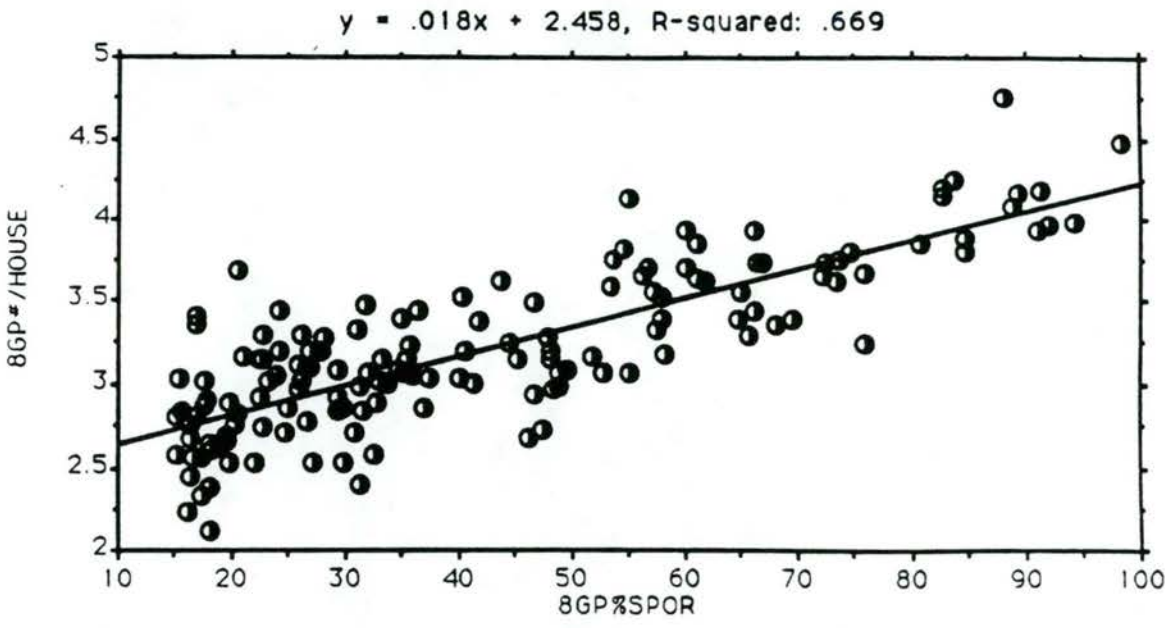


Figure 4(b) Number of Persons per Household Versus % Latino in 1980



Source: 1980 U.S. Population Census n = 148 communities

The reasons for the larger households among *colonias* may reflect a number of factors including: (1) lower educational attainment and limited access to family planning information, (2) poverty conditions (which are generally considered to correlate strongly with fertility and lower education conditions), and (3) cultural and economic factors, e.g. a greater number of children may improve a family's welfare if the cost of having them isn't too expensive in the short run.

In summary, the demographic findings suggest that while on average the population and proportion of Latinos grew at a tremendous rate over the 1950-1980 period, several demographic changes did not always occur for all communities. In general the proportions of young and old remained much the same on average for all rural communities. However, our cross-sectional analysis revealed that in 1980 the *colonia* ("High" Latino) communities were comprised of significantly younger populations, had significantly higher fertility rates and had significantly larger households, compared to other rural communities of similar size. That is, between 1950 to 1980, rural communities became differentiated in demographic terms. California's rural communities did not change all alike. *Colonias* emerged after the 50s with initial traits of other "underclass" communities found in other parts of the United States (Wilson, 1987).

V. CONDITIONS OF EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT

V.A. Changes in Education between 1950 and 1980

Table 6 demonstrates that educational attainment rose dramatically between the years 1950 and 1980 in the State of California, perhaps reflecting positive changes in attitudes toward education as California's population increased. Whereas in 1950 a mere 26.7 percent of the State's population (aged 25 and over) possessed a high school degree, by 1980, 73.5 percent of the population had completed high school, representing a 175% increase. The rise in the number of persons with four years of

Table 6. Educational Attainment Statewide and in Study Communities: 1950 and 1980[1]

Educational Category[2]	California Mean (1950)	Study Mean (1950)	California Mean (1980)	Study Mean (1980)
I. Median School Years Completed	11.6	9.5	12.7	11.9
II. Percent of Population with a High School Degree	26.7	19.4	73.5	50.0
III. Percent of Population with Four Years of College or More	8.1	4.9	19.6	7.7

Source: 1950 and 1980 U.S. Population Censuses

[1] Community sample size varies with census year: In 1950, n = 32; in 1980 n = 99, except for the variable "Median School Years Completed" which had a sample size of 22 communities.
[2] Education variables (except Median School Years Completed) are given as a percent of the total community population 25 years or over.

college or more in the State was no less dramatic, increasing 142 percent, from 8.1 percent of the population in 1950 to 19.6 percent in 1980.

However, while Californians in general completed more years of schooling than ever before, Californians of the rural communities of this study did not complete as many years of schooling. In 1980, only 50 percent of the rural community members (25 years and older) completed high school and only 7.7 percent had four years of college or more, compared with the statewide average of 73.5 percent and 19.6 percent respectively. Although some improvements in educational attainment occurred between 1950 and 1980, the advances in rural education were clearly not on a par with the statewide changes. Nonetheless the question remains, is the set of *colonias* any different from the rest of the rural communities in this study or are all rural communities equally beset with problems of educational attainment? To address this issue, we analyzed differences in

education according to the %SPOR of each place. As evident in Table 7, a disparity exists in educational attainment within the study communities. The t-ratios for three variables covering (1) median years of schooling, (2) high school completion, and (3) college rates, are highly significant and the variables' correlation coefficients highly negative,[6] suggesting a strong inverse relationship between educational attainment (particularly in pre-college education) and the proportion of Latinos in a rural community. These results lend strong support to the prevalence of additional "underclass traits" in rural *colonias*.

Nonetheless, it must be reemphasized that these results do not reflect the educational attainment of Latinos per se; only the performance of students in each community on average. Indirectly however, it can be surmised that *colonia* ("High" %SPOR) communities are suffering from disproportionate educational shortcomings in conjunction with the strong Latino presence.

V.B. Cross-Sectional Analysis of Educational Attainment

Figure 5 provides a bivariate analysis between the proportion of Latinos in 99 communities of this study[7] and two variables on educational attainment. The regression between %SPOR and high school completion had an R-square of 0.614 and the correlation coefficient was negative and statistically significant. That is, as a rural community takes on the demographic traits of a *colonia*, the level of high school completion drops significantly within the community. The regression between %SPOR and college rates (the bottom line) has a low R-square of 0.178 and an insignificant correlation coefficient (probably zero). This suggests that all rural communities have poor rates of college completion by residents 25 years and older.

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[6] This is true with the exception of the variable "Percent of Persons with Four Years of College or More" which was only moderately negative.

[7] Data on 49 of the communities were not included in the 1980 Census covering education and schooling.

Table 7. Educational Attainment in Study Communities by %SPOR: 1980

Educational Category by %SPOR[1]	Mean Value	Std. Dev.	Count	t-ratio[2]	Corr. Coef[3]
I. Median School Years Completed					
High %SPOR	9.4	1.7	2	-----	-----
Low %SPOR	12.6	0.4	10	-----	-----
All Communities	11.9	1.2	22	5.11*	-0.75
II. Percent of Population with a High School Degree					
High %SPOR	27.2	8.1	14	-----	-----
Low %SPOR	61.1	12.0	40	-----	-----
All Communities	50.0	15.5	99	12.41*	-0.78
III. Percent of Population with Four Years of College or More					
High %SPOR	3.1	1.5	14	-----	-----
Low %SPOR	9.4	6.6	40	-----	-----
All Communities	7.7	5.1	99	4.58*	-0.42

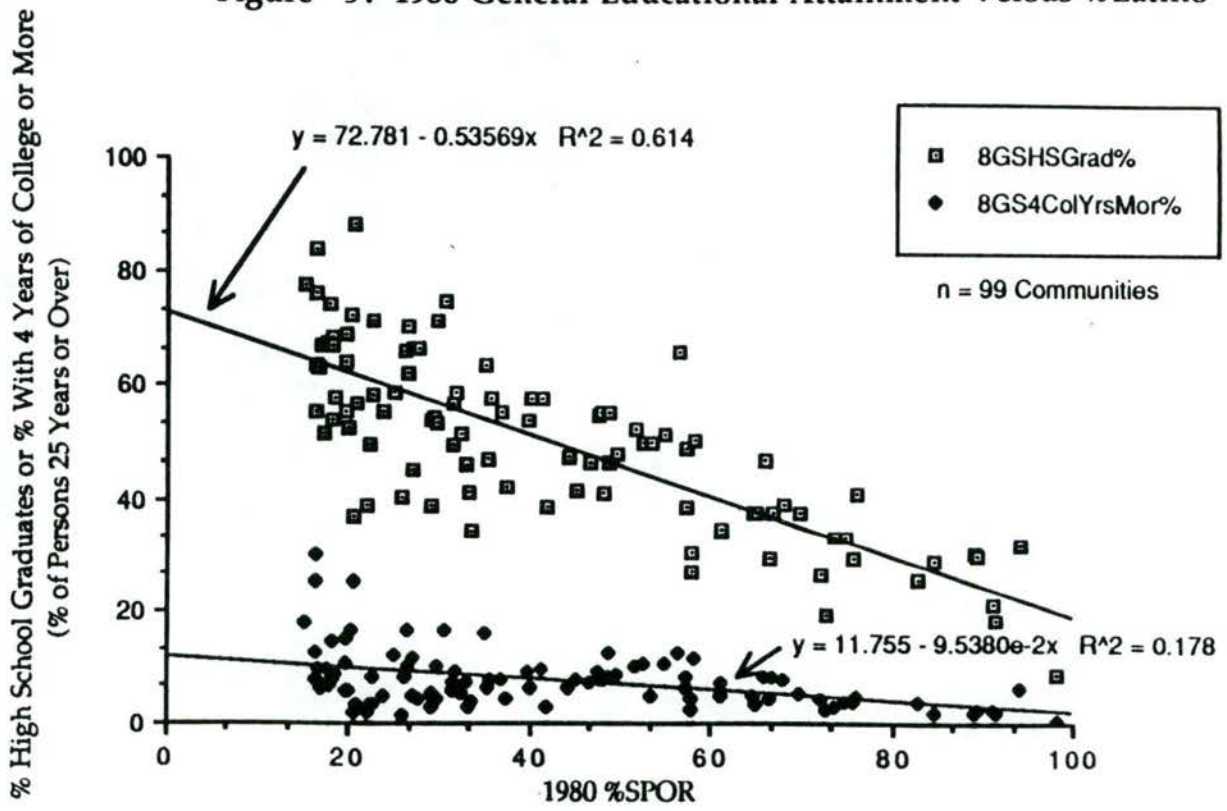
Source: 1980 U.S. Population Census

[1] Education variables (except Median School Years Completed) are given as a percent of the total community population 25 years or over. The variable Median School Years Completed had data points from a small sub-sample of communities, i.e. those with populations over 10,000. Results from this variable must therefore be viewed cautiously.

[2] The t-ratios were calculated from the slope coefficients of simple regressions of each of the educational attainment variables on 1980 %SPOR. * Indicates statistical significance at the 0.05 significance level using a two tailed test.

[3] Correlation Coefficient between 1980 %SPOR and each education variable.

Figure 5. 1980 General Educational Attainment Versus %Latino



Source: 1980 U.S. Population Census

V.C. Employment by Occupation, Subdivided by Gender

As the demographic conditions indicate, *colonias* have disproportionately young populations which may be a source of future social dislocation and underclass formation, at least according to W. J. Wilson (1987). If Wilson's scenario unfolds within *colonias*, then we can expect to see concomitant problems such as low wage occupational stratification, higher unemployment and poverty affecting *colonos*.

In this part of the analysis three other comparisons are considered: (1) a comparison of rural employment to statewide employment since 1950; (2) a cross-sectional comparison of employment by gender; and (3) a comparison of *colonias* to other rural communities in terms of occupations.

In 1950, women and men were employed in very different occupational areas statewide. The largest share of the State's women, 32.1%, were employed as Clerical and Kindred Workers while the largest proportion of men (21.0%) were employed as Craftsmen, Foremen, and Kindred Workers. (See Table 8). By 1980,[8]the State's employed males were engaged primarily as Executive, Administrative, Managerial and Professional Specialty Workers (26.7%), while women in the state continued to be employed primarily as Technicians, Sales and Administrative Support Workers, at 48.1%, as seen in Table 9. (The earlier prominent "Clerical Workers" fall into this occupational category.)

Likewise, within the study communities in 1950, the largest share of employed females worked as Clerical and Kindred Workers (20.0% on average) while the greatest share of males were employed as Craftsmen, Foremen, and Kindred Workers (20.6% on average). The proportion of rural community workers

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[8]Unfortunately, strict comparisons between occupational categories cannot be made between 1950 and 1980 due to differences in occupational categories. Nonetheless, for purposes of discerning a general historical pattern, some attempts will be made to compare the two years.

Table 8. Employment by Occupation, Subdivided by Gender Statewide and in Study Communities: 1950

Occupational Category by Gender[1]	Calif Mean Value	Study Mean Value	Study Std. Dev.	Study Count	Study Z statistic[2]
I. Professional, Technical, and Kindred Workers					
Females	14.1	15.2	4.8	30	>>> 9.20*
Males	9.8	6.3	2.1	30	
II. Farmers and Farm Managers					
Females	0.6	0.4	0.7	30	>>> -7.32*
Males	3.8	2.9	1.7	30	
III. Managers, Officials, and Proprietors (except Farm)					
Females	6.3	7.0	3.1	30	>>> -6.53*
Males	13.4	12.5	3.4	30	
IV. Clerical and Kindred Workers					
Females	32.1	20.0	6.0	30	>>> 13.87*
Males	6.6	4.2	1.8	30	
V. Sales Workers					
Females	9.2	11.4	3.3	30	>>> 7.35*
Males	8.3	6.2	2.0	30	
VI. Craftsmen, Foremen, and Kindred Workers					
Females	1.4	0.9	0.7	30	>>> -18.01*
Males	21.0	20.6	5.9	30	
VII. Operatives and Kindred Workers					
Females	13.1	13.1	9.5	30	>>> -2.05*
Males	16.2	17.6	7.3	30	
VIII. Private Household Workers					
Females	6.7	6.4	3.4	30	>>> 10.31*
Males	0.2	0.1	0.1	30	
IX. Service Workers (except Private Household)					
Females	13.3	18.0	4.5	30	>>> 13.54*
Males	7.0	6.2	1.5	30	
X. Farm Laborers and Foremen					
Females	1.3	3.7	6.3	30	>>> -4.06*
Males	5.0	13.6	11.8	30	
XI. Laborers (except Farm and Mine)					
Females	0.6	0.9	1.4	30	>>> -11.86*
Males	7.7	9.0	3.5	30	

Source: 1950 U.S. Population Census

1 Employment is given as a percent of the respective number of employed civilian females or males, aged 14 years or over.

2 The Z statistic was calculated to test the hypothesis that no statistically significant difference exists in mean occupational employment between sexes. * Indicates statistical significance at the 0.05 significance level.

Table 9. Employment by Occupation, Subdivided by Gender Statewide and in Study Communities by %Latino: 1980

Occupational Category by %SPOR[1]	Mean Value	Std. Dev.	Count	t-ratio[2]	Corr. Coeff[3]	Z Stat[4]
I. Executive, Administrative, Managerial and Professional Specialty Workers						
Females:						
High %SPOR	10.2	3.5	14	-----	-----	-----
Low %SPOR	16.7	5.9	41	-----	-----	-----
All Communities	**14.5**	**5.2**	**100**	**4.87***	**-0.44**	
Statewide	**23.0**	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
						> 2.45*
Males:						
High %SPOR	6.0	3.6	14	-----	-----	-----
Low %SPOR	15.3	7.0	41	-----	-----	-----
All Communities	**12.5**	**6.3**	**100**	**6.14***	**-0.53**	
Statewide	**26.7**	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
II. Technicians and Related Support Workers, Sales and Administrative Support Workers						
Females:						
High %SPOR	28.3	8.5	14	-----	-----	-----
Low %SPOR	42.5	5.0	41	-----	-----	-----
All Communities	**38.9**		**8.2**	**100**	**5.88***	**-0.51**
Statewide	**48.1**	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
						> 28.24*
Males:						
High %SPOR	7.8	4.9	14	-----	-----	-----
Low %SPOR	14.3	4.1	41	-----	-----	-----
All Communities	**12.3**	**4.5**	**100**	**5.31***	**-0.47**	
Statewide	**21.0**	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
III. Private Household, Protective and Other Service Workers						
Females:						
High %SPOR	18.3	6.7	14	-----	-----	-----
Low %SPOR	23.5	5.5	41	-----	-----	-----
All Communities	**21.9**	**6.0**	**100**	**3.20***	**-0.31**	
Statewide	**16.2**	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
						> 18.27*
Males:						
High %SPOR	8.2	3.0	14	-----	-----	-----
Low %SPOR	10.9	3.1	41	-----	-----	-----
All Communities	**9.6**	**3.1**	**100**	**4.13***	**0.38**	
Statewide	**9.9**	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
IV. Farming, Forestry, and Fishing Workers						
Females:						
High %SPOR	28.6	13.5	14	-----	-----	-----
Low %SPOR	3.1	3.6	41	-----	-----	-----
All Communities	**9.9**	**11.2**	100	10.97*	0.74	
Statewide	**1.1**	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
						> -5.05*
Males:						
High %SPOR	42.1	19.6	14	-----	-----	-----
Low %SPOR	9.0	7.0	41	-----	-----	-----
All Communities	**19.8**	**16.1**	100	10.15*	0.72	
Statewide	**4.1**	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

Table 9 (continued)

Occupational Category by %SPOR[1]	Mean Value	Std. Dev.	Count	t-ratio[2]	Corr. Coeff[3]	Z Stat[4]
V. Precision Production, Crafts, and Repair Workers						
Females:						
High %SPOR	1.5	1.6	14	-----	-----	-----
Low %SPOR	2.6	1.7	41	-----	-----	-----
All Communities	**2.3**	**1.9**	**100**	**2.11**	**-0.21**	
Statewide	**2.9**	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
						> -26.90*
Males:						
High %SPOR	13.0	6.0	14	-----	-----	-----
Low %SPOR	25.1	6.1	41	-----	-----	-----
All Communities	**20.9**	**6.6**	**100**	**7.65***	**-0.61**	
Statewide	**19.4**	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
VI. Machine Operators, Assemblers, Inspectors, and Laborers						
Females:						
High %SPOR	13.0	9.7	14	-----	-----	-----
Low %SPOR	11.4	5.7	41	-----	-----	-----
All Communities	**12.4**	**7.3**	**100**	**0.64**	**0.06**	
Statewide	**8.7**	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
						> -11.92*
Males:						
High %SPOR	22.8	9.6	14	-----	-----	-----
Low %SPOR	25.5	8.3	41	-----	-----	-----
All Communities	**24.9**	**7.6**	**100**	**1.12**	**-0.11**	
Statewide	**18.8**	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

Source: 1980 U.S. Population Census

[1] Employment in each occupational category is given as a percent of the respective number of employed civilian females or males, aged 16 and over.

[2] The t-ratios were calculated from the slope coefficients of simple regressions of each of the employment occupation variables on 1980 %SPOR, using all (100) communities. * Indicates statistical significance at the 0.05 significance level.

[3] Correlation Coefficient between 1980 %SPOR and each occupation variable (n =100).

[4] The Z statistic was calculated to test the hypothesis that no statistically significant difference exists in mean employment by the occupational category between sexes when all (100) communities are included.

* Indicates statistical significance at the 0.05 significance level using a two-tailed test.

employed as Farm Laborers and Foremen was substantially higher than the statewide average at 3.7% for rural females and males respectively. Thus, in 1950, rural residents had patterns of employment which were similar to statewide patterns.

By 1980, rural and statewide patterns of employment were remarkably different. In 1980, a substantial share of rural community women were employed as

Technicians, Sales and Administrative Support Workers, at 38.9% on average (which again includes "Clerical Workers"), while their male counterparts were primarily employed as Machine Operators, Assemblers, Inspectors, and Laborers (24.9% on average). The third highest occupational category for rural community men was that of Farming, Forestry and Fishing Workers (mean of 19.8%), though only 9.9% of employed women were engaged in this category on average. This gender difference suggests that while new technologies in agriculture have allowed increasing numbers of women into the farm labor force,[9] it is still primarily comprised of male workers.

Statistically, our analysis finds that the largest occupational employment gap in 1980 between the sexes existed in the category of Technicians, Sales, and Administrative Support Workers, where women were 3.2 times more likely to be employed on average than men. On the other hand, in 1980 rural community men were 9.1 times as likely to be employed as Precision Production, Crafts and Repair Workers as their female counterparts. These findings and those for 1950 strongly suggest therefore that rural community women continued to hold traditional "support" and service positions, while men maintained their positions in traditional production and craft areas. Again, the central question: are men and women of *colonias* employed in similar patterns as men and women of other rural communities?

V.D. Cross-Sectional Analysis of Occupational Patterns

We find that *colonos* have different occupational patterns from persons of other rural communities. The most significant t-ratio (as indicated in Table 9) finds

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[9]Mechanization has clearly affected the composition of the California farm labor force. As an example, harvested tomatoes previously required lifting 50 lb. lug boxes. Tomato harvest mechanization has since eliminated this requirement, allowing more women in the previously male-dominated field.

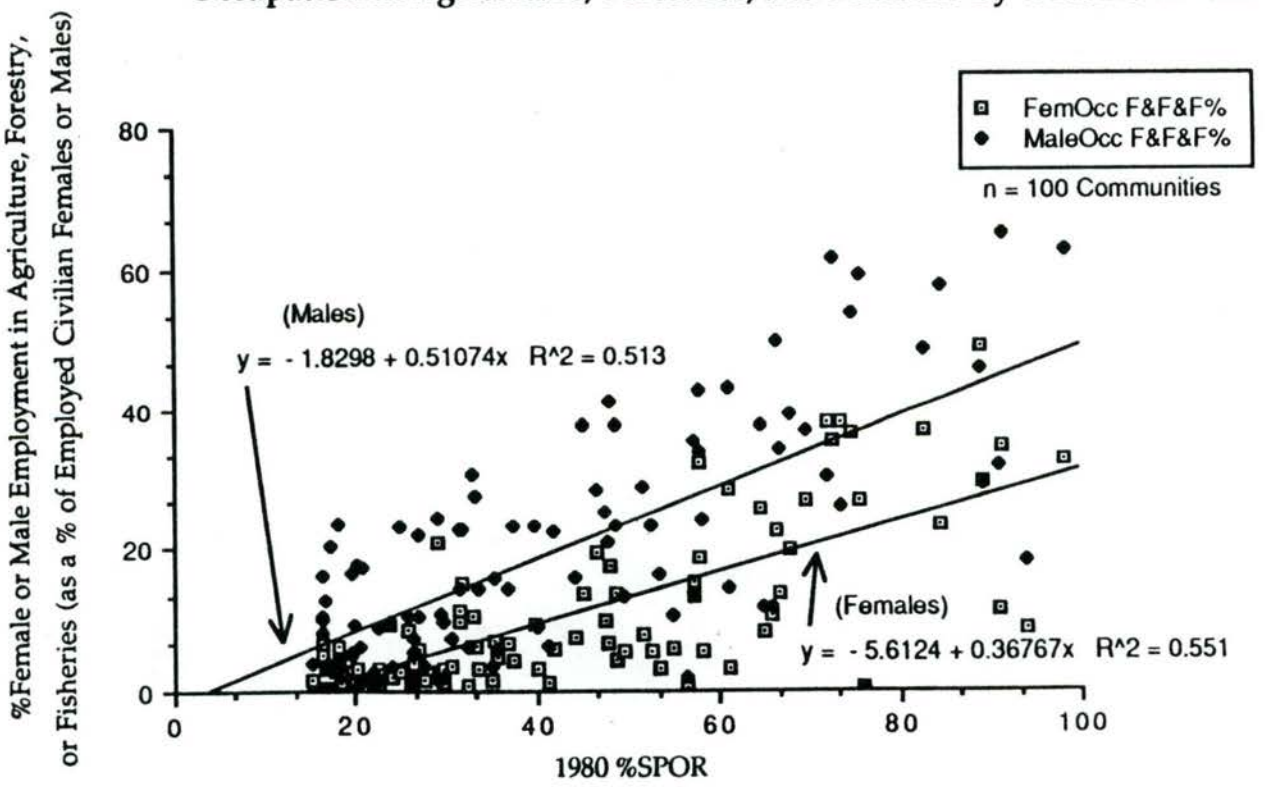
colonos employed disproportionately in the area of Farming, Forestry and Fisheries, which had a remarkably strong and positive Correlation Coefficient. (All other variables with significant t-ratios had moderately strong and negative variable correlation coefficients.) Moreover, the "High" Latino *colonias* employed the greatest proportion of both women and men in Farming, Forestry and Fishing Workers, at 28.6% and 42.1% on average respectively, than the communities with few Latinos.

This particular occupational pattern of *colonias* is clearly indicated in Figure 6, where the regressions for males and females are positive between %SPOR and the proportions of the workers employed in agriculture. Clearly, *colonia* residents are dependent upon agricultural employment whereas residents of communities with few Latino workers are dependent upon alternative types of employment.

We also find that the category of jobs listed as Technicians, Sales and Administrative Support Workers are important for employed *colonas* (women) of "High" Latino communities. For males within *colonias*, the next most important occupations were for Machine Operators, Assemblers, Inspectors, and Laborers. Thus it appears that in the *colonias*, agricultural work is the mainstay for both men and women, followed by the more traditional occupations separated by gender.

In summary, these findings reveal important employment patterns by gender among rural communities and in particular, *colonias*. When examined cross-sectionally in 1980, rural communities with the highest proportion of Latinos, had disproportionately more men and women engaged in agricultural employment, though *colonos* (men) were 1.5 times as likely to be employed in this area than *colonos* (women). It is evident then that *colonias* are principal centers of labor for farm production and food processing, providing mostly seasonal work. For the residents of *colonias* who make up much of the cannery and frozen vegetable

Figure 6. Comparison Between Female and Male Employment by Occupation in Agriculture, Forestries, and Fisheries by %Latino in 1980



Source: 1980 U.S. Population Census

workforce, it also appears that they are more vulnerable to the performance of agriculture in general. When the farmers experience bad times, *colonos* suffer long periods of unemployment, depressed wages and earnings, the threat of work-related injuries, a lack of adequate, employment alternatives, etc. When the farmers experience good times, the *colonias* absorb more *colonos* and immigrant workers. Do *colonias* become better off when the employment conditions of the agricultural economy improve?

V.E. Household Income in 1950 and 1980

Changes in household income tend to reflect the well-being of households as well as the welfare of the community as a whole. In 1950, total median income was $3,021 in California and $2,645 in 32 rural communities for which data was available (see Table 10.) While there appears to be a substantial rural-urban disparity as indicated by this income measure, it is also true that rural community income would be expected to be lower than the statewide amount given a relatively lower cost of living in rural areas.

In 1980, median household income was $18,243 in California and $15,171 in the rural communities of this study (see Table 10). Again, a continuing disparity between rural and statewide income.

In 1980, the mean household income was $17,388 in the rural communities. However, as indicated in Table 10, the mean income of all rural communities was much lower than the statewide mean income of $22,415 and even lower than the statewide mean income of Spanish Origin people in general—($17,729). This suggests that household incomes for Latinos are worse in rural communities than in non-rural areas, a fact which highlights an additional deprivation facing rural Latinos.

The cross sectional analysis of the communities by %SPOR in 1950 indicates that while no statistically significant correlation of income variables existed in 1950 between rural communities, in 1980 this was no longer true. Indeed, both median and mean household income variables differed significantly between *colonias* and

Table 10. Household Income Indicators Statewide and in Study Communities: 1950 and 1980

Item	Mean Value ($)[1]	Std. Dev. ($)[1]	Count	t-ratio[2]	Corr. Coeff[3]
I. 1950 Median Household Income					
Study Communities	2,645	639	32	1.25	-0.22
Statewide	3,021	-----	-----	-----	-----
II. 1980 Median Household Income					
Study Communities	14,631	3,679	101	2.80*	-0.27
Statewide:					
i) Spanish Origin	15,171	-----	-----	-----	-----
ii) All	18,243	-----	-----	-----	-----
III. 1980 Mean Household Income					
Study Communities	17,388	3,592	101	4.01*	-0.37
Statewide:					
i) Spanish Origin	17,729	-----	-----	-----	-----
ii) All	22,416	-----	-----	-----	-----

Source: 1950 and 1980 U.S. Population Censuses

[1] Dollar figures are given in 1950 and 1980 dollars.

[2] The t-ratios were calculated from the slope coefficients of simple regressions of 1950 or 1980 median household income variables on 1950 or 1980 %SPOR, respectively. * Indicates statistical significance at the 0.05 level using a two-tailed test.

[3] Correlation Coefficient between 1950 %SPOR and 1950 household income variable and between 1980 %SPOR and 1980 household income variable.

other rural places in 1980, with *colonias* showing very low household incomes on average. In brief, *colonias* have evolved into low income communities since 1950.

V.F. Poverty Status by Family Type in 1980

In 1980, California was considered the nation's wealthiest state and the world's leader in agriculture. By 1986 per capita income approached $18,866, which was 15 percent greater than the national average.[10] According to the California Almanac (Fay and Fay, 1990), the typical California family had an income (adjusted for inflation) that was 37 higher than in 1959, 8 percent higher than in 1969, and 5 percent higher than in 1979. No doubt, California has been a prosperous state.

Depite the prosperity, personal income is far from equally distributed in California. And as shown by Kawamura, et. al. (1989), pockets of poverty are a reality of the State's landscape. Considering only the 1980 Population Census, it was found that 16.0% of all persons in the State lived in poverty as defined by the Census (see Table 11.) Of these, 34.9% were children under 18 years of age. But, the incidence of rural poverty in California was much higher than urban poverty in 1980, affecting women and people of color the most (Kawamura, et. al, 1989).

With regard to *colonias*, we compared first, the aggregate communities' income averages with the statewide figures, and then we checked for differences in the variables: "Persons in Poverty" and "Persons Under 18 in Poverty". In Table 11 we shown these indicators of poverty. Accordingly, the highest incidence of poverty pertains to Persons Under 18 in *colonias*, 49 percent. Interestingly, the lowest incidence of poverty pertains to Persons Over 65 in *colonias*, reflecting a generation gap. But overall, *colonias* contain the highest incidences of poverty for all persons compared to other places.

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[10] From the 1990 *California Almanac*, Section 14: "Income and Wealth".

Table 11. Poverty Status and Family Type Statewide and in Study Communities by %SPOR: 1980

Category by %SPOR[1]	Mean Value	Std. Dev.	Count	t-ratio[2]	Corr. Coeff[3]
I. Persons in Poverty					
High %SPOR	23.0	8.1	9	-----	-----
Low %SPOR	12.2	3.4	25	-----	-----
All Communities	15.3	6.5	67	6.42*	0.62
Statewide	16.0	-----	-----	-----	-----
II. Persons Under 18 in Poverty					
High %SPOR	49.0	5.6	9	-----	-----
Low %SPOR	37.4	8.9	25	-----	-----
All Communities	43.0	9.2	67	5.48*	0.56
Statewide	34.9	-----	-----	-----	-----
III. Persons Over 65 in Poverty					
High %SPOR	4.8	4.2	9	-----	-----
Low %SPOR	10.2	7.2	25	-----	-----
All Communities	8.1	6.0	67	2.85*	-0.33
Statewide	10.1	-----	-----	-----	-----
IV. Ratio of the No. of Female Headed Households to Married Couple Families					
High %SPOR	0.2	0.0	14	-----	-----
Low %SPOR	0.2	0.0	41	-----	-----
All Communities	0.2	0.0	100	1.62	0.16
Statewide	0.2	-----	-----	-----	-----

Source: 1980 U.S. Population Census

[1] Poverty variables are given as a percent of the total population for whom poverty status was determined. See Appendix B.2 for census definitions.

[2] The t-ratios were calculated from the slope coefficients of simple regressions of each of the poverty or family type variables on 1980 %SPOR, using all communities. * Indicates statistical significance at the 0.05 significance level using a two-tailed test.

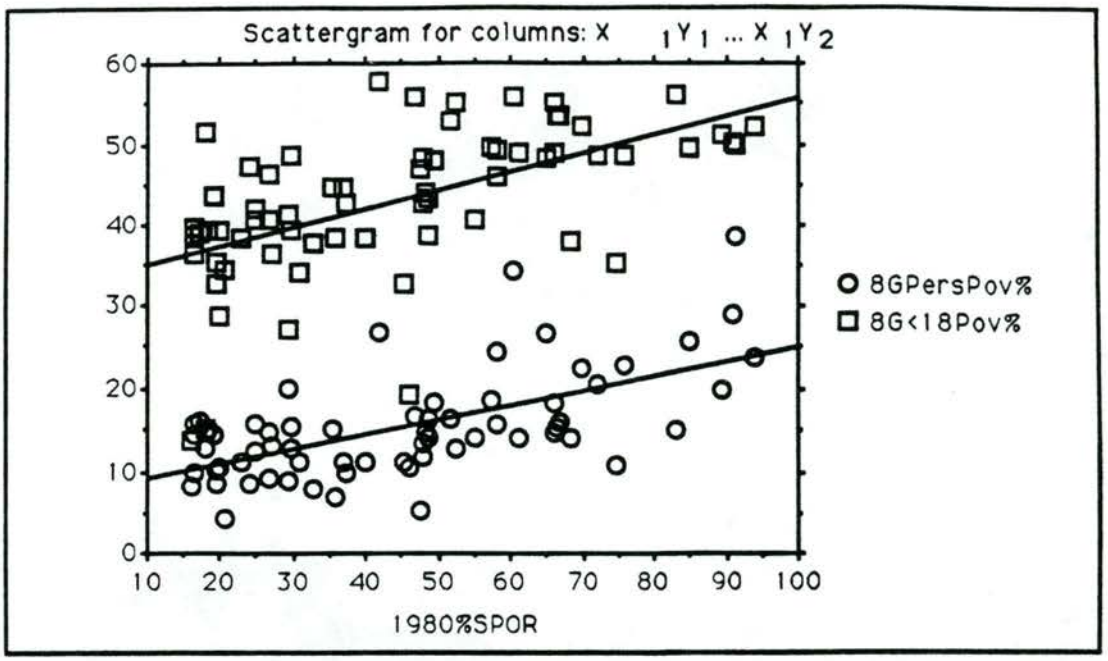
[3] Correlation Coefficient between 1980 %SPOR and each of the above variables.

In addition, we find that the t-ratios are highly significant and the Correlation Coefficients moderately strong for the variables "Persons in Poverty" and "Persons Under 18 in Poverty". In contrast, the t-ratio for "Persons Over 65 in Poverty" was significant but the variable correlates negatively with 1980 %SPOR. Figure 7 provides a clear picture of the regressions' estimated poverty and the %SPOR of the rural communities. Although the R-square for each line is less than .39, there is a positive correlation between the concentrations of Latinos and poverty in rural communities.

We venture to explain the poverty as follows. As the demographic data demonstrate, *colonias* are characterized by relatively young populations, larger households, farm employment, and on average lower educational attainment. It is likely that the lower human capital formation of *colonos* (as reflected in educational attainment) in addition to other obstacles (such as language difficulty, employment discrimination, and lack of legal documentation) translate to poor job opportunities and lower wages in the labor market. Given that employment in the agricultural sector is highly seasonal, we can add that *colonia* residents face a precarious and unstable income for their households. Lower incomes, in turn, must be divided up among the relatively larger families and perhaps even remitted to family in Mexico so that what remains is economic deprivation. Poverty would be particularly acute for the youngest residents of the *colonia* population in this scenario, since they would be entirely dependent upon a few wage-earning household members for their well-being.

Also included in Table 11 is the ratio, "Number of Female Headed Households/Number of Married Couple Households" which was calculated to determine whether it was significantly correlated with the 1980 %SPOR variable. As indicated, the ratio is constant throughout California at 20 percent. The t-ratio also

Figure 7. Two Poverty Variables Versus %Latino in 1980



Source: 1980 U.S. Population Census n = 67 Communities

□ Persons Under 18 in Poverty ====> $Y = 32.733 + 0.23050X$ $R^2 = 0.316$

○ Persons in Poverty ==========> $Y = 7.2593 + 0.17948X$ $R^2 = 0.388$

* (Poverty variables are given as a percent of the total population for whom poverty status was determined.)

suggests no significant mean difference within the State in 1980. Nor was there a significant correlation with %SPOR suggesting that the study communities do not exhibit this particular underclass trait of having a disproportionately high ratio of female headed households to married couple households.[11]

But given the finding that female headed households are not disproportionate in rural communities, we find that *colonias* do not exactly fit the underclass model developed by Wilson (1987).

VI. LOCAL BUSINESS AND TAX BASE

Thus far the analysis has demonstrated that *colonia* inhabitants are indeed disadvantaged in terms of several "underclass" traits compared with inhabitants of "Low" Latino communities and the State as a whole. Here we aim to further build on these findings by testing the other possibility that *colonias* have "ethnic enclave" attributes in terms of local private and public sector activity. In particular, we examine each community's Wholesale, Retail and Service establishments in 1982 and cross-sectionally compare communities in terms of the concentration of Latinos. The analysis serves to determine if the business activity of *colonias* shows positive signs of economic independence for each community. In particular we analyze each community in terms of: (1) the number of establishments, and employment, (2) the total sales volume, and (3) the annual payroll to local employees.

Before our analysis, we should mention more about the reasons for measuring "ethnic enclave" conditions. Basically, according to Portes and Bach (1985) and Portes and Manning (1986), it is possible that proportionately more Latinos within a community could build upon ethnic and cultural ties and generate

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[11]The t-ratio was statistically insignificant and the Correlation Coefficient was only slightly positive.

a sense of collective purpose and solidarity in business. As solidarity develops, Latino entreprenuers could feel compelled to provide training and skill upgrading for local community workers also fostering a commitment by *colonos* to shop and trade locally. In combo, the process of educational, occupational and income attainment could improve, and in time, stimulate the local tax base, revenues and public expenditures.

According to the "ethnic enclave" hypothesis of Portes and Manning (1986), communities with high concentrations of Latinos can have strong public sectors supported by local taxes. We should also note that Portes and Bach claimed that Mexican immigrants do not have an enclave option, but are entrenched instead in a long historical working-class migrant flow. Nonetheless, *colonias* have never been studied in terms of the activities of private business.

Given our earlier findings, however, we doubt that *colonias* are forming "enclaves" in terms of local private sector activity. We doubt, for example, that the ratio of self employed persons to private wage and salary workers is significantly lower in *colonias* compared to the ratio found in "Low" Latino communities. Moreover, given the incidences of poverty, the negative correlations between educational attainment and %Latino, and also between wages, employment, and %Latino, we expect that *colonos* have neither the necessary entrepreneurial solidarity nor the necessary capital to develop an enclave economy without exogenous assistance or more public policy efforts. Also in comparing local government revenues and expenditures for two fiscal years, 1979-80 and 1987-88, we do not expect to find a viable local tax base within *colonias*.

VI.A. Wholesale, Retail and Service Establishments

Table 12 shows that in terms of sheer numbers of business establishments, Retail Trade was the predominant business type within all rural communities,

having 1.3 establishments on average per community. There were far fewer Service and Wholesale establishments, on average.

In terms of the total sales volume, the Wholesale Trade area had the greatest sales, at $58,594,000 in 1982 on average per community. Retail Trade followed closely behind having average sales of $53,294,000 in 1982.

In terms of annual payroll, Retail Trade accounted for most local employment and/or pay, having an average payroll of $5,826,000 per community in 1982. The Retail sector thus generated among the greatest sales and paid the greatest share of annual payroll, making it the most economically dynamic private activity within the rural communities in absolute terms.

Considering now the conditions in *colonias* and the relationship between the business establishment variables and the proportion of Latinos in 1980 (or %SPOR), only the Service category revealed statistically significant t-ratios with fairly strong Correlation Coefficients for all three variables covering: "Number of Establishments", "Total Sales", and "Annual Payroll". These results suggest that *colonias* depend on the retail business sector but do not have a prosperous service sector. Indeed the relative absence of local services like legal and medical services, museums and recreational services, hotels, and other personal services suggests that *colonias* are deprived of many basic necessities, typical of larger urban communities.

Only one other variable, "Number of Establishments" in the Retail Trade exhibited a statistically significant t-ratio, and moderately negative variable correlation coefficient.

VI.B. Retail Store Transactions

Given the importance of the Retail Trade in rural communities, further analysis of the taxable sales of retail stores for the second quarter, 1989 was undertaken. The objective here was to determine which type of retail store

Table 12. Characterization of Wholesale, Retail and Service Establishments

Establishment Category		Mean Value[1]	Std. Dev.	Count	t-ratio[2]	Corr. Coeff[3]
I.	Wholesale Trade					
	No. of Establishments	0.20	0.11	48	0.05	-0.01
	Total Sales (A)	585.94	586.41	48	0.86	0.12
	Annual Payroll (B)	35.07	30.32	48	1.52	0.22
	Ratio of (A)/(B)	16.71	-----	48	-----	-----
II.	Retail Trade					
	No. of Establishments	1.30	0.58	62	2.36*	-0.29
	Total Sales (A)	532.94	324.90	62	1.59	-0.20
	Annual Payroll (B)	58.26	35.58	62	1.64	-0.21
	Ratio of (A)/(B)	9.15	-----	62	-----	-----
III.	Service Industries					
	No. of Establishments	0.52	0.29	58	5.42*	-0.59
	Total Sales (A)	97.51	71.06	58	4.41*	-0.51
	Annual Payroll (B)	31.70	23.48	58	4.67*	-0.53
	Ratio of (A)/(B)	3.08	-----	58	-----	-----

Sources: 1982 Census of Wholesale Trade, 1982 Census of Retail Trade, 1982 Census of Service Industries (Geographic Area Series, California). Data was provided for places with 2,500 inhabitants or more.

[1] Mean values for the Number of Establishments are given by: x/100; mean values for Total Sales and Annual Payroll are given by: x (in thousands of dollars)/100.

[2] The t-ratios were calculated from the slope coefficients of simple regressions of each of the above variables on 1980 %SPOR. * Indicates statistical significance at the 0.05 significance level using a two-tailed test.

[3] Correlation Coefficient between 1980 %SPOR and each listed variable.

provided most tax receipts in the communities, as well as which type correlated significantly (in terms of taxable sales) with 1980 %SPOR. In brief, we want to know if *colonias* are relatively disadvantaged in terms of retail sales activity?

As indicated in Table 13 (and highlighted in Figure 8), Auto Dealers and Auto Suppliers provided the most receipts in rural communities, at 20.1% on average. Not surprisingly, Service Stations figured next at 14.3%, followed by Eating/Drinking Places and Food Stores at 13.4% and 12.9% on average, respectively.

It appears therefore that transportation and food retailers are the most important private activities in the rural communities. Retailers providing basic necessities (e.g. food, clothing) might have been expected to dominate among *colonias*, given their higher level of poverty.

The t-ratio and Correlation Coefficient values indicate that Apparel Stores and General Merchandise Stores correlated significantly and positively with 1980 %SPOR. Though these businesses are important locally, it is surprising that Food Stores did not figure more prominently in *colonias*. It must be made clear however, that due to lack of appropriate data, this subsample of 14 communities included the largest of the study communities and cannot be considered entirely representative. Indeed it is possible that the smallest, *colonia* communities would have demonstrated a higher number of Food Stores.

In summary it was found that transportation and food retailers are most important (in taxable sales terms) among all rural communities, whereas clothing and general goods retailers become increasingly important the greater the proportion of Latinos in a community. Food stores did not figure prominently in *colonias*. As such, *colonos* are very limited in having nearby the basic necessities of life.

Table 13. Taxable Sales for Retail Stores in Several Study Communities, Second Quarter 1989

Retail Store Category	Mean Value[1]	Std. Dev.	Count	t-ratio[2]	Corr. Coeff[3]
Apparel Stores	3.0	2.5	14	3.78*	0.74
General Merchandise	8.3	7.7	14	2.22*	0.54
Drug Stores	3.9	3.2	14	0.96	-0.27
Food Stores	12.9	3.9	14	0.24	0.07
Packaged Liquor Stores	0.8	0.8	14	0.47	-0.13
Eating & Drinking Places	13.4	4.2	14	1.82	-0.47
Home Furnishings & Appliances	2.6	1.1	14	0.37	0.10
Building Materials & Farm Implements	10.2	5.6	14	0.29	0.08
Auto Dealers & Auto Suppliers	20.1	8.5	14	0.18	-0.05
Service Stations	14.3	6.2	14	1.18	-0.32
Other Retail Stores	10.5	6.5	14	0.81	-0.23

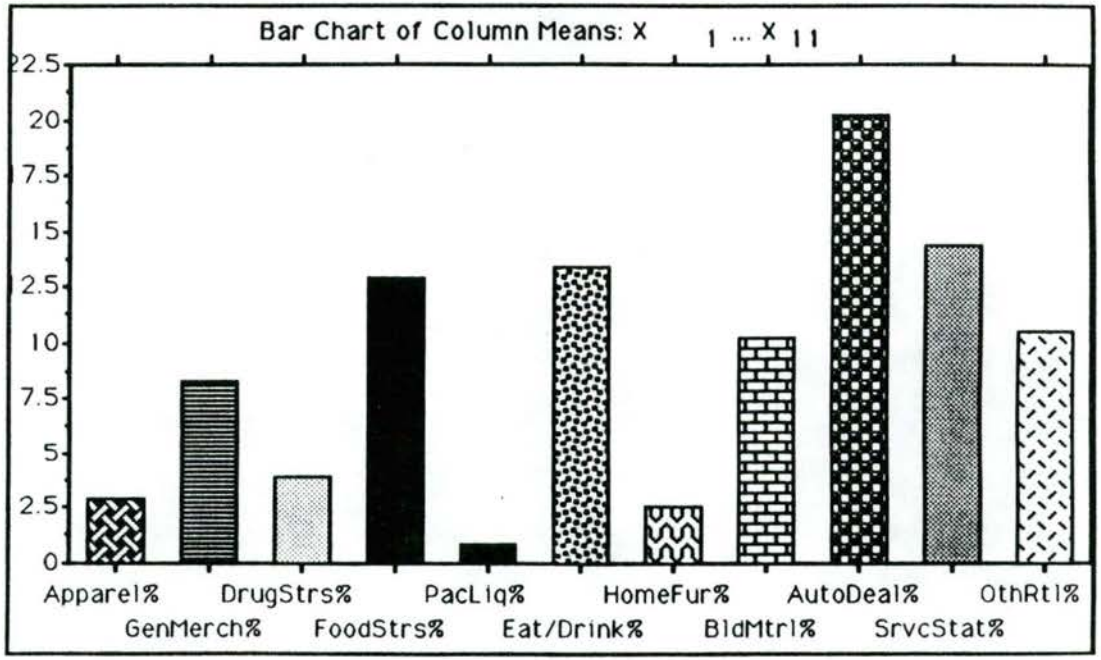
Source: Taxable Sales in California Sales and Tax Use, Second Quarter 1989.

[1] Mean taxable transactions for each retail category are given as a percent of total retail store taxable sales.

[2] The t-ratios were calculated from the slope coefficients of simple regressions of each of the above variables on 1980 %SPOR, using only 14 communities. * Indicates statistical significance at the 0.05 significance level using a two-tailed test.

[3] Correlation Coefficient between 1980 %SPOR and each listed variable (n =14).

Figure 8. Mean Taxable Transactions for Several Retail Categories (as a Percent of Total Retail Store Taxable Sales)



Source: Taxable Sales in California Sales and Tax Use, Second Quarter 1989
n = 14 communities

VI.C. Local Government Revenues and Expenditures

In order to analyze the local fiscal health of *colonias* and the other communities, total city revenue and expenditure data was compared for two fiscal years: 1979-80 and 1987-88. Since data was available for only incorporated communities, this analysis reflects a subsample of 70 communities from the 148 of 1980.

It is observed in Table 14 that on average, total city revenues per capita increased by 145 percent (in money terms[12]) between the two fiscal years. Similarly, total expenditures per capita increased by 154 percent, suggesting

Table 14. Comparison of Revenue and Expenditure Characteristics for Two Fiscal Years, Correlated with 1980 %SPOR

Item by Year	Mean Value1 ($/capita)	Std. Dev. ($/capita)	Count	t-ratio2	Corr. Coef3
I. Total Revenues					
1979-80	199.34	135.47	70	0.71	-0.09
1987-88	487.95	261.14	70	4.51*	-0.48
II. Total Expenditures					
1979-80	190.26	130.09	70	0.54	-0.07
1987-88	483.50	247.89	70	4.24*	-0.46

Source: Financial Transactions Concerning Cities of California (1987-88)

1 Values are given in respective fiscal year dollar terms.

2 The t-ratios were calculated from the slope coefficients of simple regressions of each of the above variables on 1980 %SPOR, for 70 study communities. * Indicates statistical significance at the 0.05 significance level using a two-tailed test.

3 Correlation Coefficient between 1980 %SPOR and each listed variable (n =70).

12 This is a straight average increase, and does not account for inflation.

substantial overall improvements in local public sector well-being in rural communities. The overall revenues covered in such areas as local administration, police and fire safety, transportation, community development, health, culture and leisure, and public utilities.

When the revenue and expenditure data was analyzed by the proportion of Latinos in the communities (using 1980 %SPOR), we noticed that while the t-ratio of the simple correlation of %SPOR on Total Revenues or Total Expenditures was not significant in the earlier fiscal year (1979-80), it was significant in the more recent fiscal year (1987-88). Moreover, the variable correlation coefficient was moderately strong and negative for both Total Revenue and Total Expenditure in 1987-88. Figures 9 and 10 clearly show how fiscal conditions improved for communities with few Latinos and worsened for rural *colonias* during the 1980s, noting that the revenues and expenditures are not corrected for inflation. The results demonstrate that while there were substantial increases in total revenues and total expenditures per capita over time within "Low" Latino communities, no improvement was made by the "High" Latino communities.[13]

A closer look in Table 15 at 1987-88 revenues highlights another disparity. Here we show Functional Revenues, which comprised the vast majority of total revenues on average in the rural communities. (Functional Revenues are associated with a specific expenditure and include current service charges, e.g. water service, charges, and electric revenues.) Moreover, we show General Revenues, which made up approximately one-third of Total Revenues. (General Revenues are those which cannot be associated with a specific expenditure, e.g. property taxes, sales tax and business license tax).

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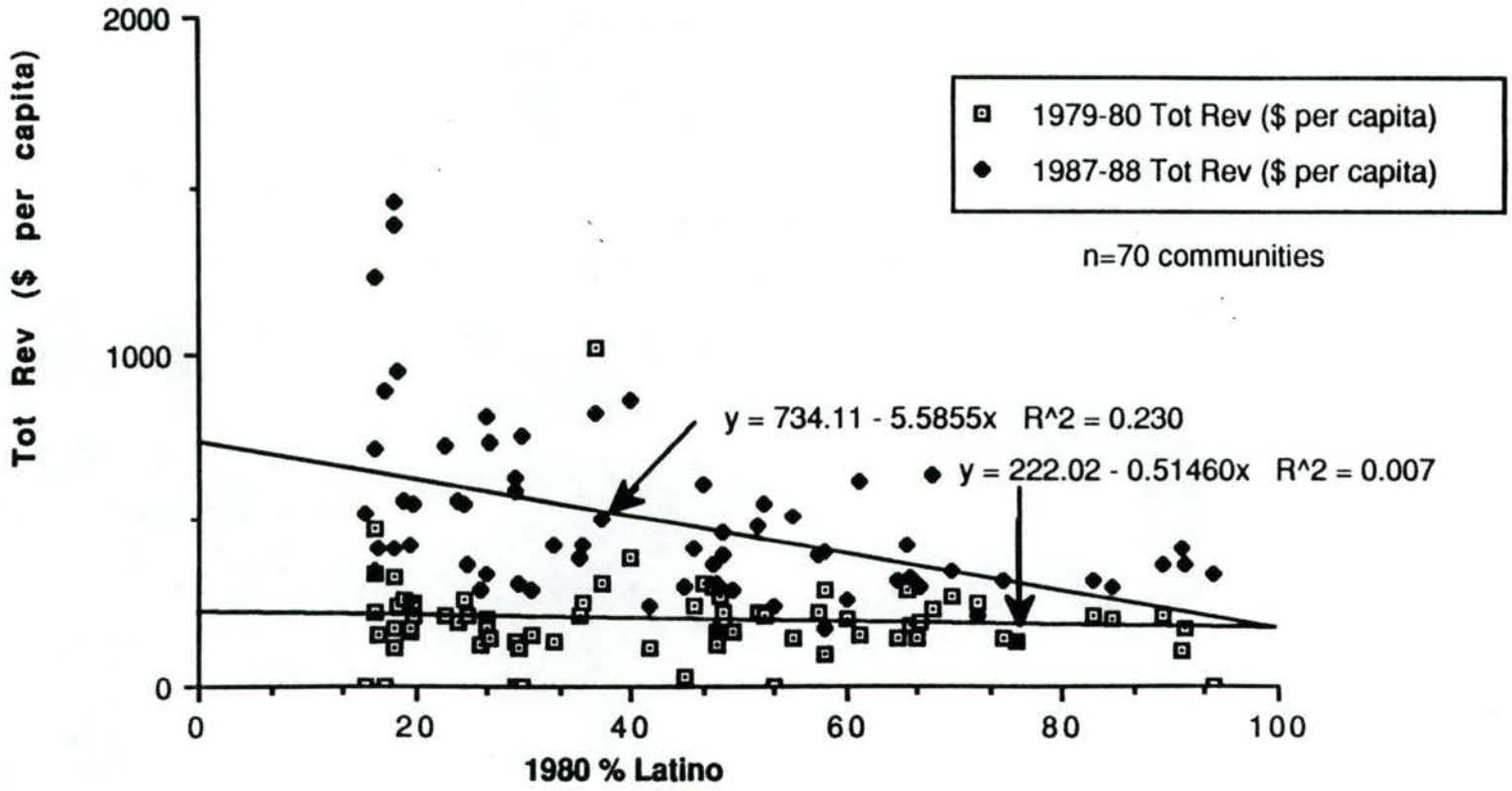
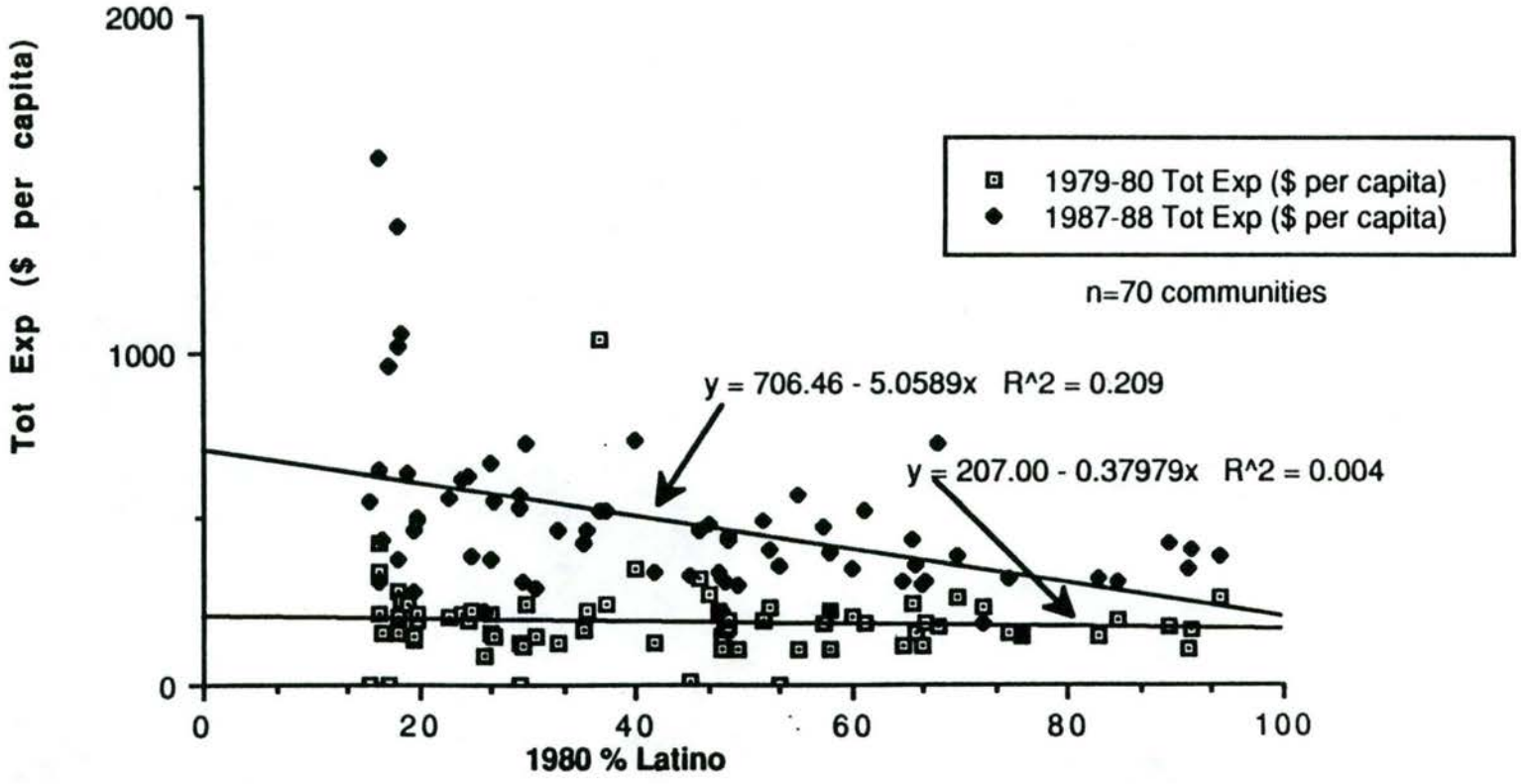
[13] Revenue and expenditure data used in the analysis represent the reported values for the respective year, such that comparisons are made in absolute terms (i.e. not real terms adjusted by the annual inflation rate).

Figure 9 . Comparison of Total Community Revenues by %Latino for Two Fiscal Years (1979-80, 1987-88)



Source: Financial Transactions Concerning Cities of California (1987-88)

Figure 10 Comparison of Total Community Expenditures by %Latino for Two Fiscal Years (1979-80, 1987-88)



Source: Financial Transactions Concerning Cities of California (1987-88)

Table 15. Revenue and Expenditure Characteristics for Fiscal 1979-80, Correlated with 1980 %SPOR

Item by Year	Mean Value[1] ($/capita)	Std. Dev. ($/capita)	Count	t-ratio[2]	Corr. Coef[3]
I. Functional Revenues	321.48	225.78	70	3.06*	-0.35
II. General Revenues	177.31	67.61	70	5.96*	-0.59
III. Total Revenues	487.95	261.14	70	4.51*	-0.48
IV. Total Expenditures	483.50	247.89	70	4.24*	-0.46
IV. Net Expenditures	172.33	111.38	70	2.14*	-0.25

Source: Financial Transactions Concerning Cities of California (1987-88)

[1] Values are given in 1987-88 fiscal year dollar terms.

[2] The t-ratios were calculated from the slope coefficients of simple regressions of each of the above variables on 1980 %SPOR for 70 communities. * Indicates statistical significance at the 0.05 significance level using a two-tailed test.

[3] Correlation Coefficient between 1980 %SPOR and each listed variable (n =70).

General Revenues can go to improve conditions of local employment and amenities. But, given the relatively poorer conditions of *colonias*, in terms of unemployment, poverty and entrepreneurship, it could well be expected that General Revenues (which to a great extent reflect relative community affluence) also would be significantly lower in *colonias*. As expected, *colonias* collect fewer General Revenues per capita and hence suffer greater inequities compared to other rural communities. General Revenues had the most highly significant t-ratio and most strongly negative Correlation Coefficient with 1980 %SPOR.

VII. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Immigration and demographic changes have left their marks on California rural communities, in particular on rural settlements with high concentrations of Latinos (referred to as *colonos*). This study identified disturbing demographic and

socio-economic disadvantages experienced by rural residents of *colonias* relative to other rural communities which have lower concentrations of Latinos. *Colonias* were roughly defined as small rural communities which have majority populations of Latinos as determined by the 1980 Census of Population. The problems facing *colonos* and *colonias* were significant in terms of lower levels of educational attainment, higher poverty levels, limited employment choices, weak local business activity, and declining local government expenditures on public services. We noted too that the 1990 Census of Population shows that more rural communities of California are now populated by high concentrations of Latinos, as many as 68 rural places have majority populations of Latinos and more are becoming *colonias*.

Three possibilities were analyzed in the study: (1) Rural *colonias* could be expected to have significant "underclass traits" (e.g. high dropout rates, poverty, and female headed households) to a greater degree than rural communities of similar size with low concentrations of Latinos, (2) Rural *colonias* could be expected to have a proportionately higher number for low-wage agricultural workers and a higher relative dependence on agriculture and agribusiness for employment and income and (3) *Colonias* could be expected to foster "ethnic enclave" characteristics as solidarity and common causes stimulate Latinos to develop local entreprenuers. With regard to this possibility, enclave traits could be measured by the improvement of local business activity within *colonias* and signs of an effective base for local taxes and expenditures. Overall, the analysis largely confirmed the first two possibilities and did not find the formation of "ethnic enclave" conditions within *colonias*.

VII.A. Demographic Changes, "Underclass Traits" and "Enclave Conditions"

Since 1950, California's rural communities have shown enormous growth in both the number of rural communities and their populations. Approximately sixty

(60) have become *colonias*, communities where Latinos are the majority and where most are primarily located in the agricultural regions of the state: the Central Valley, Central Coastline, and Imperial Valley areas. *Colonias* are characterized by young populations, high fertility rates, and large households. These traits, together with continued in-migration of Mexican migrants appear to foster high levels of social and economic disadvantage for residents of *colonias*.

In terms of educational attainment in 1980, *colonias* or"High" Latino communities were significantly more disadvantaged than the "Low" Latino communities and yet more so when compared with the State figures on high school completion. As yet, however, we have little research on the causes and correlates of low educational performance associated with *colonias*.

We found that inhabitants of *colonias* were at highest risk of being unemployed. (Indeed they were three times as likely to be unemployed as Californians statewide.) Moreover, *colonia* workers were half as likely to be self-employed as their Latino counterparts in other rural settlements with fewer Latinos.

Limitations in the types of data used in the study make it difficult to confirm whether structural transformations in California's agricultural production are the source of the employment patterns and conditions of *colonos* within agriculture. It was nonetheless interesting to note that in 1980, six times as many *colonia* inhabitants were employed in "Farming, Forestry and Fishing" occupations (on average), as compared with their Latino counterparts in communities with smaller concentrations of Latinos.

Results from the employment and occupational analysis also affirm that *colonia* residents face low wages and earnings. Moreover, the exceptionally high poverty observed in *colonias* is associated with the general employment of *colonos* in agriculture. Poverty might also be explained by the poorer educational attainment within *colonias* which limits to access of *colonos* to alternate

employment in the labor market. Similarly, the low representation of *colonos* among the ranks of self-employed may be a function of their acute poverty and unemployment (which limits accessibility to investment capital) as well as a lack of entrepreneurial skills (owing to a lack of skills training in local business). The *colonias* of this study thus do not have the ethnic enclave conditions described by Portes and Bach and Manning. Both the availability of capital and business know-how seem to be seriously lacking among *colonos* at this time.

The low status, poor wage and extremely difficult working conditions that characterize agricultural employment are important factors in understanding why the highly disadvantaged Latinos are disproportionately housed in *colonias*. Moreover, despite the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act many rural Mexican migrants continue to settle at high rates within *colonias* (Mehra, 1989; Martin and Taylor, 1990). Established migration networks between *colonias* and rural Mexican villages may continue to produce a steady or increased supply of Latino agricultural workers (Mines and Anzaldua, 1982). Of course, changes in consumer preferences for food and fiber products as well as changes in international trade barriers (particularly between the U.S. and Mexico), and resource constraints (e.g. water availability) will ultimately determine whether the current agricultural production levels of labor intensive crops are maintained, increased or decreased in the future. If agriculture falters, so will the residents of *colonias*.

Local business enterprises and fiscal data were studied to examine the private sectors of *colonias*. Generally, the relatively impoverished *colonias* are unable to support such luxury service industries as legal services, medical services, recreational activities, and the like. Analysis of the Retail Trade sector alone revealed that clothing and general merchandise retailers are more prominent locally the greater the proportion of community Latinos. Although the sample size

was limited, these results nonetheless indicated that *colonos* can only buy within most *colonias* basic retail goods. Many must shop for groceries elsewhere.

Given the employment patterns outlined above, it seems that *colonos*, by necessity, must sell their labor at relatively low wages to primarily large-scale agro-industrial employers, and still must pay for "imported" finished retail goods (e.g. clothing and household goods) such that the terms of trade are against the *colonia* economies. The relative poverty of *colonos*, compounded by dollars drained by shoppers going to other towns, leaves a situation of low capital formation and local investment. The low business cycle is perpetuated in *colonias*, as few new jobs are created by the private sector of benefit to the community. Furthermore, continual in-migration of Latinos results in stiffer competition in the agricultural labor market for locals to find jobs.

The analysis of local government revenues and expenditures per capita indicated that while *colonias* and "Low" Latino communities were not significantly different in fiscal year 1979-80, by 1988 there was a significant and negative correlation between total revenues per capita (and total expenditures per capita) and the proportion of Latinos in a rural settlement. These findings support the conclusion that *colonias* have become increasingly disadvantaged in terms of public expenditures for public safety, transportation, community development, health, culture and leisure, and public utilities. Perhaps a combination of factors are responsible for declining public expenditures in *colonias*, including the passage of Proposition 13, the eroding tax base of *colonias* (due to high unemployment and low personal incomes) and the economic recession of the early 1980s. But for the most part, *colonias* do not have the same fiscal *conditions* as rural communities with fewer Latinos. They are definitely worse off today than they were in 1980 in terms of public support.

VII.B. Policy Implications

There are important policy implications which derive from the findings of this study. There is clearly a need to ameliorate the social and economic well-being of *colonos* and their communities, to the point where *colonias* can sustain economic development through self-determination processes.

Several policy strategies have been proposed by Manta (1976) deriving from his analysis of Latino *barrios* in urban settings. These strategies provide a useful framework from which to develop *colonia*-specific policies to improve the well-being of rural Latinos/Latinas and their communities. Three strategies, in particular, have been selected for discussion below, though somewhat modified from their original form to better address the unique needs of rural *colonias*.

First, Manta proposes a strategy in which reform of the entire mechanism of the disbursement of public goods is needed in order to improve worker productivity and hence income earning power. The currently inadequate education, healthcare, housing, childcare facilities and legal services (which affect worker productivity) must be improved through a more effective delivery of social goods. Such public goods and services must be tailored to the meet the needs of rural *colonos/colonas*, which means that policymakers must be sensitive to the bilingual, cross-cultural dimensions of rural *colonias*. The policies, in turn, should be designed to improve the socio-economic welfare of *colonos* and especially the highly disadvantaged *colonas* (women) with children. However, policies alone are not sufficient to meet the longer term objectives of *colono/colona* empowerment and *colonia* self-determination, which appear to be absent among *colonias*.

A second policy strategy is that of "Latino Capitalism" in which the government provides assistance in the form of low-interest loans and subsidies to *colonia* businesses in addition to training/leadership programs which teach

business skills and entrepreneurship. Such aid would be expected to empower *colonos* and *colonas* through a greater ownership of the means of production in their own communities. In addition, such a policy applied to rural *colonias* must attempt to promote alternative economic opportunities to agriculture, given the need to deal with the highly seasonal nature of employment and therefore unstable economic environment. By attempting to reduce the disparities of entrepreneurship between Anglos and Latinos, this policy has the potential advantage of abolishing any exploitative relationships along race and gender lines which may exist in rural *colonias*. However, this strategy too fails to take into account the need for improvement of the provision of public goods and services to rural *colonias*, an essential factor in the goal of sustained economic development through self-determination.

Third and last, Manta proposes a community economic self-determination strategy which would call for government assistance for *colonia*-wide efforts toward self-determined economic development. There could be the creation of community development corporations (CDCs) which would own and operate businesses as well as serve to channel investment capital into barrio and ghetto business establishments. In this strategy, all business establishments operating in a rural *colonia* would be owned by the CDC and would hire and train resident *colonos*. Profit dividends of these enterprises would be distributed among *colono* shareholders and invested in public community goods and services, e.g. health facilities, literacy programs, and the like. This strategy is thus differentiated from the above "Latino Capitalism" policy in that it entails a thoroughly comprehensive, *colonia*-wide effort, not only at the private business level but at the public social services level as well, in achieving *colonia* economic and social self-determination.

The problem with this strategy according to Manta is that there are numerous institutional and psychological obstacles to successful implementation. This policy

challenges more conventional free-market approaches since potential non-*colonia* firms would not be allowed to compete and operate in local markets where CDCs would monopolize business activity. In order for the strategy to be successful, legislators as well as *colonos* would have to be convinced that individual contributions to the entire community are necessary for the betterment of all members of the community.

VII.C. Issues for Further Research

It would be of great value to continue the *colonia* study, pursuing those findings which appeared somewhat ambiguous and testing new hypotheses which derive from the study results. Study areas in a future *colonia* study could examine some of the following questions, focussing on the analysis of both the inhabitants of *colonias* and the *colonias* themselves.

(1) Household Income and Occupational Status of *Colonos:* It would be of interest to know how the dominant occupational categories represented in *colonias* are compensated in terms of household income per capita relative to the compensation for similar occupational categories in "Low" Latino communities. Lower remuneration for a particular occupational category may be indicative of several factors, including an oversupply of qualified job applicants within *colonias* and/or racially discriminatory practices by employers. Also, future research might study to what degree *colonos* are 'marginalized' due to structured patterns of employment, after examining further breakdowns by occupational category. These further breakdowns may indicate the particular occupational areas in which *colonos* find themselves trapped, i.e. areas with little or no prospects for career advancement.

In addition, the hypothesis proposed by Palerm (1988) that structural transformations in the organization of agricultural production are responsible for increased demand of agricultural labor (and consequently the tremendous growth in

rural Latino communities) must be examined in future work. Palerm also suggests that increased differentiation is characteristic of the California agricultural labor force, involving a skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workforce. The existence of such a workforce would throw into question the conclusions of this study that rural *colonias* tend to resemble the barrio exploitation model or the underclass model in their relatively homogeneous workforce.

Further research could also develop a more sophisticated multivariate regression model to understand the complex set of factors which determine household incomes (and ultimately community well-being).

(2) Women's Issues: Future research in this area might examine what specific barriers prevent rural Latinas from participating in mainstream economic and political activities in their communities. Structural constraints (e.g. job promotion for primarily male 'breadwinners', male dominant worker unions, lack of female leadership programs) may be hindering Latinas' participation in such activities, which could then be specifically addressed by policymakers. Future research could also examine whether income by gender is a more valuable measurement (than total household income) of the welfare of rural *colonia* women, which could further substantiate a "double burden" on *colonas*. In addition, future *colonia* work could examine to what extent differential patterns of Mexico-U.S. migration, in time, by gender, are factors in the "double burden" outcomes observed by Melville, et. al. (1980). If for example it is true that men (principally) represented the first wave of rural migrants from Mexico to *colonias*, then it may be true that subsequent women migrants have had relatively less time to "establish themselves". Such a hypothesis may provide a starting point for further inquiry about gender stratification in *colonias*.

(3) Private Sector Issues: The economic linkages (forward and backward) defined by the local business activity of *colonias* could be an important topic for

future research. It would also be valuable to know who the primary beneficiaries of such business activities are, (i.e. are local *colonos* the primary recipients of such surplus or is potential investment capital extracted from the *colonia* to the benefit of outside investors?) In addition, research in the area of the private sector could examine whether *colonia* entrepreneurs are representative of the Latino community or if *colonos* learn trades and skills for private business.

(4) Education, Health and Housing Public Policy Issues: Further inquiry could determine the unique needs of rural Latinos in terms of public services that might be provided in their communities. (These might include low income and/or migrant farmworker housing, bilingual and/or migrant education, adequate sanitation and public health care, and childcare facilities.) The research could then examine whether these needs are being adequately met and how best to provide for them. For example, it could consider what community-based organizations currently exist which could best facilitate communication and working solutions of such problems.

(5) Local Political Representation: Subsequent colonia research could examine whether *colonia* residents are active in local politics or whether they are politically disenfranchised. If barriers to political participation exist, the research could attempt to determine what obstacles exist and how they might be overcome. Perhaps these include language or cultural barriers, or a lack of understanding of the political system.

VII.D. Conclusions

Demographers predict that California's Latino population will continue to grow rapidly, comprising an estimated 30-35 percent of the total state population by the year 2000. It is apparent that many incoming Latinos will inhabit rural *colonias*. High Latino fertility rates and increasing settlement of Latinos in inland agricultural

regions suggest that public policymakers and researchers alike will increasingly be challenged to address issues facing *colonia* populations. These settlements have and will continue to have unique and urgent problems, and will increasingly compete with other more established populations for the State's scarce available resources. Rural Latinos must not be forgotten in the decades to come, if only because they are an integral part of California's strong and expanding agricultural industry which generates sales of more than $16 billion a year. As major economic and historic contributors to what has become the economically and culturally dynamic state of California, rural Latinos and their communities are entitled to the same number and quality of services, resources and rights as those attained by others of the State's population. This study has identified several urgent and critical issues of *colonias*. We appeal for attention to their needs.

lk 8/16/91 RIR-46.0

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Appendix A: Rural Communities and Colonias

1980 CENSUS DATA:							
Community	CNTY	POP	%LATINOS	%NOTSCHL	%UNEMPL	MEDINC	%POOR
Newhall	LA	12029	15.1	12.0	3.9	24299	5.3
La Quintana	RIV	3328	15.5	6.9	6.4	20668	3.5
Coalinga	FRE	6593	16.3	8.5	5.3	20403	7.1
Exeter	TUL	5606	16.3	13.9	6.8	15557	12.4
Leucadia	SD	9478	16.3	11.5	5.9	21875	7.4
Grover City	SLO	8827	16.5	23.8	9.6	14217	13.1
Mira Loma	RIV	8707	16.9	7.5	8.5	24091	7.0
Gridley	BUT	3982	17.2	11.8	13.7	14358	12.7
Rubidoux	RIV	17048	17.5	19.3	7.8	18533	10.5
Edgemont	RIV	5215	17.8	24.1	9.0	13565	17.7
Calistoga	NAP	3879	18.0	12.0	4.4	14615	8.2
Lake Elsinore	RIV	5982	18.0	36.8	13.2	11432	16.9
Needles	SBD	4120	18.0	14.2	2.9	21037	12.3
Banning	RIV	14020	18.3	17.4	6.2	15162	11.8
Tehachapi	KER	4126	19.5	20.9	5.8	20238	7.0
Colusa	COL	4075	19.6	18.4	9.4	18301	7.6
Beaumont	RIV	6818	19.7	16.1	9.2	13509	7.5
Galt	SAC	5514	19.8	20.9	18.3	15893	10.0
Fallbrook	SD	14041	20.2	20.0	6.1	18961	10.3
Garden Acres	SJ	7361	20.5	24.0	19.2	13465	13.7
Walnut	LA	12478	20.5	7.1	3.8	30635	3.1
Armona	KIN	2644	20.9	7.1	9.2	15015	10.9
August	SJ	5445	21.9	37.5	18.4	11669	23.0
Muscoy	SBD	6188	22.4	40.7	14.8	12129	24.2
Bloomington	SBD	12781	22.7	23.2	9.7	17927	11.0
Port Hueneme	VEN	17803	22.7	21.8	8.8	17547	9.9
Sand Hill	CC	2606	23.8	25.2	7.8	20481	6.8
Morgan Hill	SCL	17060	24.1	10.0	4.4	26200	6.7
Porterville	TUL	19707	24.7	31.9	7.7	16893	13.1
Dos Palos	MER	3123	24.9	8.0	9.5	17605	12.7
Delphi	MER	2832	25.7	20.3	10.5	16000	11.5
Live Oak City	SUT	3103	26.0	18.0	27.8	12760	13.0
Citrus	LA	12450	26.1	14.3	5.6	22296	6.4
Dixon	SOL	7541	26.5	14.0	14.7	22054	7.9
Tracy	SJ	18428	26.5	15.6	10.7	19358	12.9
Hughson	STA	2943	26.9	33.0	21.3	17480	9.7
Cathedral City	RIV	4130	27.0	28.2	4.7	21518	6.0
Lenwood	SBD	2974	27.7	25.2	10.0	16104	13.6
Ivanhoe	TUL	2684	29.1	36.1	8.7	13678	13.0
Lincoln	PLA	4132	29.2	21.3	13.1	16518	8.9
Perris	RIV	6827	29.4	22.9	10.9	12850	16.0
San Jacinto	RIV	7098	29.7	19.4	6.6	11975	15.8
Barstow	SBD	17690	29.8	16.9	6.8	19608	10.9
Carpinteria	SB	10835	30.7	16.8	5.8	20102	9.0
Oceano	SLO	4478	31.5	22.5	17.1	12350	19.1
Lathrop	SJ	3717	31.6	14.6	17.6	14182	15.2
Nipoma	SLO	5247	31.8	36.6	11.2	16429	10.3
Broderick-Bryte	YOL	10194	32.4	23.3	14.1	13608	18.9
Shafter City	KER	7010	32.8	14.5	6.3	16360	7.0
East Porterville	TUL	5218	33.2	22.3	11.4	11184	19.5

RURAL COMMUNITIES

1980 CENSUS DATA:							
Community	CNTY	POP	%LATINOS	%NOTSCHL	%UNEMPL	MEDINC	%POOR
South Modesto	STA	12492	33.6	35.9	26.0	12516	19.2
Alum Rock	SCL	16890	35.0	19.2	5.8	23876	5.8
Riverbank	STA	5695	35.3	21.2	19.6	15843	12.4
Imperial	IMP	3451	35.6	9.0	4.2	17293	6.7
Winters City	YOL	2652	36.8	18.4	18.1	16699	9.9
Kerman	FRE	4002	37.3	20.2	9.2	14978	8.2
Blythe	RIV	6805	39.8	17.6	6.0	17861	11.2
Home Gardens	RIV	5783	40.2	19.9	7.3	19803	12.8
Oakley	CC	2816	41.2	11.9	16.0	20420	9.4
Farmersville	TUL	5544	41.7	18.6	12.3	11518	21.8
Freedom	SCR	6416	44.3	33.2	17.8	17295	9.5
Avenal	KIN	4137	45.0	44.4	7.4	14474	12.0
Lindsay	TUL	6924	46.6	33.8	6.9	15033	13.6
Holtville	IMP	4399	47.6	7.1	10.0	19702	4.3
Fillmore	VEN	9602	47.9	21.3	3.9	19074	8.4
Wasco	KER	9613	48.0	35.2	15.5	14704	12.7
Dinuba	TUL	9907	48.6	34.0	11.0	15348	10.8
King City	MON	5495	48.6	38.4	16.8	18636	12.7
Selma	FRE	10942	49.5	12.8	12.6	17222	15.2
Corcoran	KIN	6454	51.7	21.3	11.5	16152	12.4
Patterson	STA	3908	52.5	24.6	13.2	16556	12.4
Moorpark	VEN	4030	53.4	22.6	7.7	19383	10.6
Hollister	SBT	11488	54.9	24.2	18.6	17572	12.3
Avocado Heights	CA	11721	56.3	11.7	4.7	24541	8.7
El Rio	VEN	5674	57.2	22.4	6.9	21081	7.8
Delano	KER	16491	57.4	23.6	19.0	15206	15.8
Arvin	KER	6863	57.9	43.5	21.6	13574	19.6
Lamont	KER	9616	58.0	32.2	18.6	13387	18.0
Orosi	TUL	4076	61.0	30.5	16.9	12132	19.2
Livingston	MER	5326	61.1	20.8	15.2	16166	11.2
Woodlake	TUL	4343	64.7	30.2	7.8	11935	24.9
Calwa	FRE	6640	64.9	24.2	17.4	13176	25.3
Sanger	FRE	12542	65.8	18.2	17.7	16598	11.8
Greenfield	MON	4181	66.5	39.5	22.4	15258	13.8
Calipatria	IMP	2636	66.8	14.6	11.5	14103	12.3
Gonzales	MON	2891	68.1	17.7	14.7	17039	10.1
Firebaugh	FRE	3740	69.7	16.5	14.4	12417	20.0
Orange Cove	FRE	4026	72.2	38.9	18.8	11622	17.0
Earlimart	TUL	4578	72.6	24.3	45.5	10352	30.2
Castroville	MON	4396	73.7	30.9	11.4	17056	12.6
Guadalupe	SB	3629	74.7	26.4	12.8	14510	9.9
McFarland	KER	5151	75.8	28.4	20.2	12451	20.0
Walnut Park	LA	11811	75.9	29.1	7.0	16511	12.5
Soledad	MON	5928	82.8	34.4	20.9	15988	12.9
Mendota	FRE	5038	84.7	40.0	27.2	11966	23.8
Cutler	TUL	3149	88.9	18.1	13.8	11497	21.6
Coachella	RIV	9129	89.3	31.5	6.7	14315	16.8
Parlier	FRE	2902	91.0	25.8	33.0	11861	27.0
Huron	FRE	2768	91.3	41.2	9.7	11250	31.9
Calexico	IMP	14412	94.1	10.5	11.7	13010	21.3

1980 CENSUS DATA:							
Community	CNTY	POP	%LATINOS	%NOTSCHL	%UNEMPL	MEDINC	%POOR
West Parlier	FRE	2811	98.2	47.2	41.6	9935	34.9
Community = "Rural" Community							
CNTY = County							
POP= Population							
%LATINOS = Percent of Hispanics							
%NOTSCHL = Civilian persons 16-19 years old - % not enrolled in high school, not high school graduate							
%UNEMPL = Civilian labor force - % Unemployed							
MEDINC = Median Income for families in 1979 dollars							
%POOR = Income in 1979 below poverty level - % of Families							
SOURCE:							
1980 Census of Population, Volume 1							
Characteristics of the Population Chapter C: General Social and Economic Characteristics							
Part 6							
California							
PC80-1-C6							
Section 1 & 2							
Department of Commerce, United States of America							

"HIGH" ↓