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THE EVOLUTION OF MEXICAN MIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES: A Case Study

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THE EVOLUTION OF MEXICAN MIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES: A CASE STUDY*

Richard Mines¹ and Carole Frank Nuckton²

INTRODUCTION

At the dawn of human existence, man was born a migratory being. What began as a search for new hunting and gathering grounds, away from areas that had been depleted, continues today as persons move toward places offering relatively better opportunities and away from areas which are opportunity impoverished. Mexico is no exception to this general human migratory phenomenon. The disruptive impacts of the Mexican Revolution and civil wars of 1913 to 1920 and the Cristero Revolution of 1926 to 1929 were centered in populated areas in central Mexico (Regions IV, V, and VI, Figure 1), creating what is still Mexico's core out-migration area (Camara and Kemper, 1979). Three other regions have become major in-migration areas: Mexico City (Region VII, Figure 1); the Northeast (Region III), where the booming industrial metropolis of Monterrey and border cities continue to absorb newcomers; and the Northwest (Region I), where the border cities of Tijuana and Mexicali and the relatively modern agriculture of the area offer opportunities better than those back on the central plateau (Table 1).

The core emigration areas of the West and North-Center (Regions IV and V) are also principal sources of international migration to the United States (Gamio, 1969; Bustamante, 1977; Dagodag, 1975; and North and Houston, 1976). The other major source for migration to the United States is the area flanking the southern U.S. border, but a large part of this migration really comes indirectly from the central region of Mexico since nearly half of the adult inhabitants of border cities originated in the central plateau states (Revel-Mouroz, 1975). Roberts (1980) analyzed in detail and compared characteristics of one region which sends many migrants to the United States with three which do not.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF MEXICAN MIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES

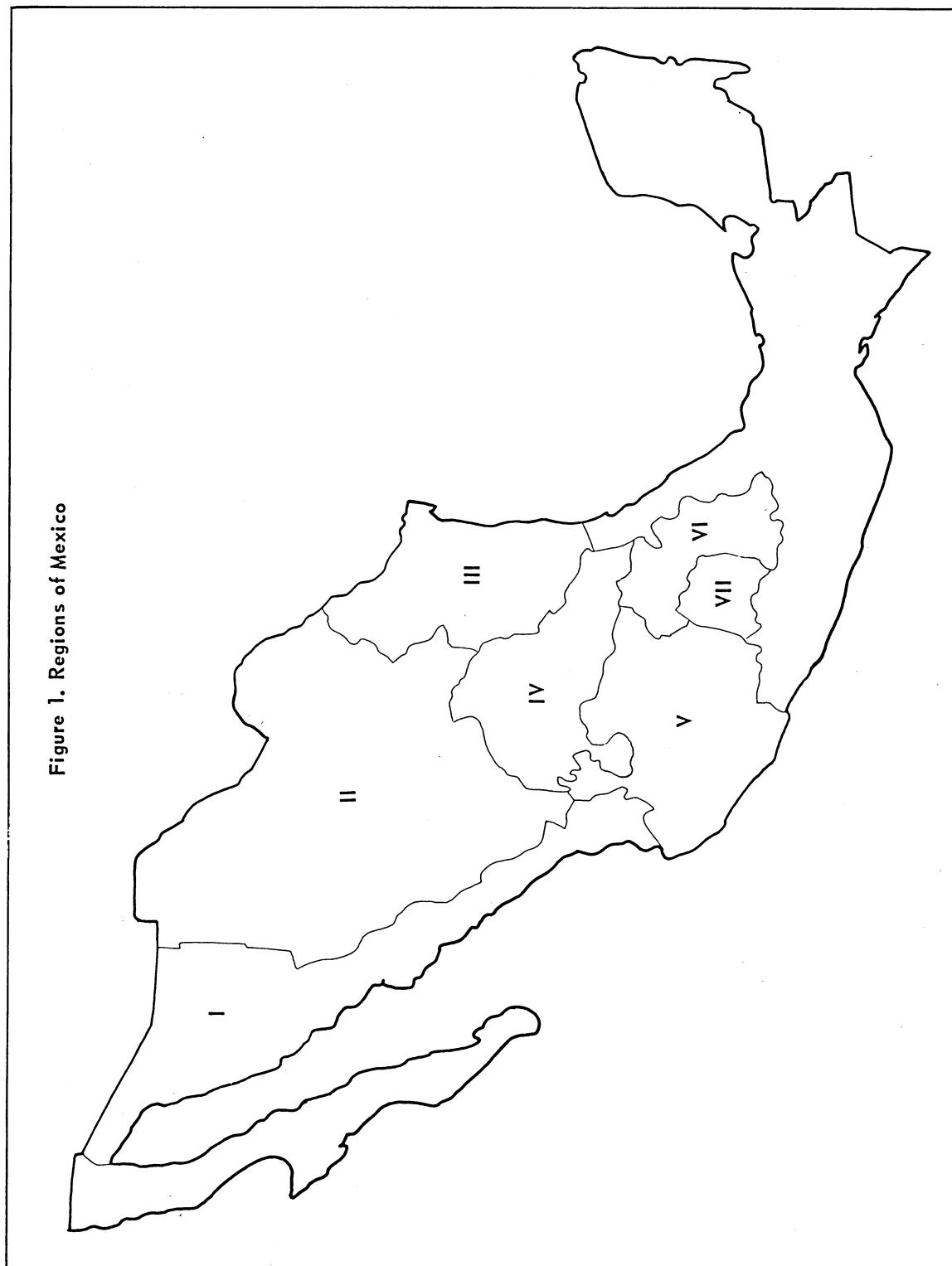
Large-scale migration to the United States began in earnest as a result of developments on both sides of the border in the early 20th Century. In Mexico, as was previously mentioned, the violence of the 1910-1930 period, which upset socially stable relations in the Mexican countryside, produced not only internal but also international migration streams. Meanwhile, the southwestern United States was experiencing rapid economic development. The infrastructure needed for a modern agriculture and transportation system was being constructed. With the limitations placed on Asian immigration in force by 1906, Mexicans became greatly prized as laborers in construction, railroads, and agriculture. Between 1910 and 1930, hundreds of thousands of Mexicans

*Acknowledgment is made to Davis McEntire and Refugio I. Rochin for their helpful comments on an earlier draft.

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Figure 1. Regions of Mexico



entered legally and illegally into the United States. By 1930, Mexicans had begun to spread out of the rural Southwest, find urban jobs, and settle far from the border in the industrial Midwest (Reisler, 1976). The first large wave of Mexican migration ended with the Depression years when thousands of unemployed Mexicans left voluntarily and thousands of others experienced compulsory repatriation (Grebler, 1966). A small population of permanent settlers, however, remained.

TABLE 1
In-Migration and Out-Migration Regions
Mexico, 1900 and 1970

Region ^a	Total population	
	1900	1970
	percent	
In-migration		
I	5.3	8.1
III	4.0	6.5
VII	12.0	23.4
Out-migration		
IV	7.6	4.6
V	24.4	17.5
VI	14.9	8.5

^aFor designation of regions, see Figure 1, *supra*, p. 2.

Source: Camara and Kemper (1979).

The second wave of Mexican migration began during World War II when the reserve of domestic unemployed had been exhausted and recruitment of Mexican agricultural labor was considered part of the war effort. Bilateral agreements between the United States and Mexican governments allowed recruitment of thousands of contract laborers and their assignment to specific U. S. employers. The workers soon came to be known as *braceros*—those who do hand labor. Hundreds of thousands of *braceros* were recruited legally; many others either deserted their contracts or crossed the border illegally (Galarza, 1964).

Although the migration wave received a serious setback in 1954 with a highly effective deportation action termed "Operation Wetback," *bracero* recruitment continued, reaching its peak in the late 1950s. Opposition to the program was mounting, however, for it was claimed that only a relatively few large growers benefited—those who could provide labor camps, transportation, and other facilities. Further, the program was thought by

some to be detrimental to domestic workers, depressing wages and taking away jobs. Under pressure from organized labor, church groups, and others, the law (P. L. 78) was officially ended on December 31, 1964.

As the second wave was dying down, the seeds for an even larger third wave were being sown. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, many Mexicans were able to obtain permanent resident status in the United States since it was relatively easy for an employer to regularize the status of a *bracero* or even an undocumented worker under his employ by certifying him as a needed worker (Reichert and Massey, 1979). Although this procedure became much more difficult after passage of the 1965 Immigration Law, thousands of Mexicans had already become legal residents and were able to provide a support group for the third migration wave—the surge of migrants since the mid-1960s.

THEORIES OF MIGRATION

Two major approaches to migration theory were described by Roberts (1980) who gave a comprehensive literature review of the development of each: (1) the “push pull” hypothesis and (2) the historical-structural approach. In applying these theories to the U. S.-Mexican case, the first assumes that migration to the United States is generated by “push” factors in Mexico—widespread poverty and a shortage of job opportunities—and by “pull” factors in the United States which attract migrants. Push-pull theorists, according to Roberts, look on migration as a problem to be solved; generally, proposed solutions have to do with bettering conditions to lessen the intensity of the push.

The second approach reviewed by Roberts sees migration not so much as a problem but rather as an integral part of the historical-structural relationship between sending and receiving areas. Economic disparity between two countries (*i.e.*, economic push-pull) is not a sufficient condition for migration; if it were, many more of the world's borders would be continually penetrated. Rather, the institutional setting in both the sending and the receiving countries must be conducive to immigration. Institutional conditions in the United States that have favored immigration (and illegal immigration) were reviewed by Rochin (1978). The historical ups and downs of U. S.-Mexican migratory waves just recounted correspond closely to changes in immigration policy in response to changes in domestic labor force requirements. Not only migration in general but also the illegal problem in particular is “one whose seed has been planted time and time again by the United States when it has been in need of Mexican labor” (Cardenas, 1975, p. 66).

When conditions are right in both the sending and the receiving areas, however, the magnet (or pull) seems to begin operating. According to Roberts (1980), the push-pull hypothesis was a merging of an individual-level micromodel adopted from Lee (1969) and a neoclassical macromodel developed from Lewis (1954). In Lee's model an individual with his unique attributes and preference makeup responds to factors in his environment associated with his place of origin, his potential destination, and the obstacles in between. As the micromodel was developed, it became less general and more explicitly a cost-benefit analysis of migration at the individual level. Todaro (1969) added to the theory by pointing out that it is the individual's expected wage at the destination that is the relevant pull factor—that is, if the wage times the probability of his getting the job exceeds his current wage, he is motivated to move.

As the microtheory was evolving, a macrotheory based on Lewis' work was also emerging. The thesis was that one central factor of production (labor) is a mobile resource

so that, despite initial endowments of labor in a given area, competitive equilibrium will be approached as labor moves from labor-surplus to labor-short areas. Institutional and other impediments, of course, may prevent the movement. The push-pull hypothesis then amounts to the union of these microlevel and macrolevel theories.¹

Various empirical models have been formulated to test the push-pull hypothesis. Analysts have attempted to quantify the relevant economic variables, to weigh quality of life factors, and to isolate characteristics of the migrants themselves to determine the relative importance of these factors with respect to the rate, volume, and nature of migration (Jenkins, 1977). Although results have varied greatly among the studies, the predominance of economic factors as the cause of migration is the general finding of this work.

Although economic motivation has been emphasized in the literature and is no doubt the primary motive behind wage-laborer type migration, other factors are extremely important. The presence of kin and friends in the receiving area, for example, can greatly reduce the risks and costs of a move. Part of the pull of a receiving area is the network of social contacts which allows the newcomer not only to find work and improve his standard of living but also to adjust emotionally to his new surroundings. An effective network greatly increases the probabilities of a migrant's success both in finding a job and in many other ways as well. The converse of this, of course, is that lack of an effective network may be associated with the less-successful migrants, *i.e.*, those finding only temporary employment at low-paying jobs requiring only unskilled labor or no job at all.

The establishment of a network depends on the efforts of successful pioneers. Then, sending communities with successful pioneers have the potential to develop migratory networks since the pioneer may help his relatives cross the border and find work. These secondary migrants, in turn, may do the same favor for others in their social network.

There are currently several different types of migratory networks at different stages of their evolutionary process. The older established ones have a core of permanent-settler legal U. S. residents who house (temporarily) and job-place relatives and friends (Zarruch, 1974). Other networks, though they have a high proportion of experienced legal migrants, have never formed beachhead communities north of the border but commute annually to seasonal agricultural jobs in the United States (Weist, 1973, and Reichert and Massey, 1979). Still others who have more recently joined the international flow also send seasonal migrants to the United States but usually without legal papers. These migrants may originate in the interior of Mexico or in "launching pad" settlements that have formed in Mexican border cities (Kearney and Stuart, 1979).

The majority of studies of Mexican migration report that most migrants have only a temporary commitment to the United States (Reichert and Massey, 1979; Cornelius, 1978; North and Houston, 1976; and Riviere d'Arc, 1975). While this assessment is correct overall, it masks the complex phenomenon of an ever-growing U. S. orientation found among migrants as they—and the network that envelopes them—evolve and mature.

There is a great variation in the degree of U. S. orientation found among sending areas as explained in part by the percentage of legal migrants within each community's networks, the degree to which the community has permanent settlers in U. S. communities,

¹Roberts (1980) offers substantial criticism of the expected-income, push-pull theory, documenting his analysis with extensive data from four different regions of Mexico.

and the nature of U. S. job contacts (*i.e.*, urban or rural). Immature sending areas without large numbers of permanent U. S. resident members in their networks send almost entirely temporary migrants to the United States (Kearney and Stuart, 1979). Other communities, which have a high proportion of legal migrants but have no settlement colonies north of the border, send mostly shuttle migrants to seasonal agricultural jobs (Reichert and Massey, 1979). Lastly, some communities are able to establish permanent-settler cores in U. S. cities where both legal and undocumented migrants stay for long periods (Zarruch, 1974). The degree of U. S. orientation is found to be progressively greater from the first type mentioned through the last. It should be pointed out here that, although it may be theoretically possible to rank communities on their degree of orientation to (or, to put in another way, degree of dependency on) the United States, several types of networks may be associated with any one sending area.

It is the contention of this study that, as migratory communities evolve and their networks mature, they progress from tentative, furtive migratory movements toward an established solid, permanent-settler based pattern of dependency on the U. S. job market. Actual communities and their associated networks will be at all stages on the spectrum between these two extremes. By looking in depth at one well-established migratory community—Las Animas, Zacatecas, a sending area with over four decades of migratory development—the maturation process can be observed in two ways: (1) by time series analysis as the history of this “typical” migratory community is unfolded and (2) by cross-sectional analysis as community and network members are grouped by age cohorts and their attitudes and successes are compared.

While the results of the study probably cannot be generalized beyond postwar, central plateau Mexican sending areas, sister communities at various stages in the development of migratory networks can be expected to follow patterns analogous to those in the evolution of Las Animas. The analysis will focus on several tendencies discovered among the Animeños on both sides of the border as the binational community has matured. The trends are indicative only of the directions which other communities in beginning migratory stages might be expected to follow but not the extent to which the pattern will be realized nor the length of time the development will take.

THE CASE STUDY: THE EVOLUTION OF A MIGRATORY COMMUNITY

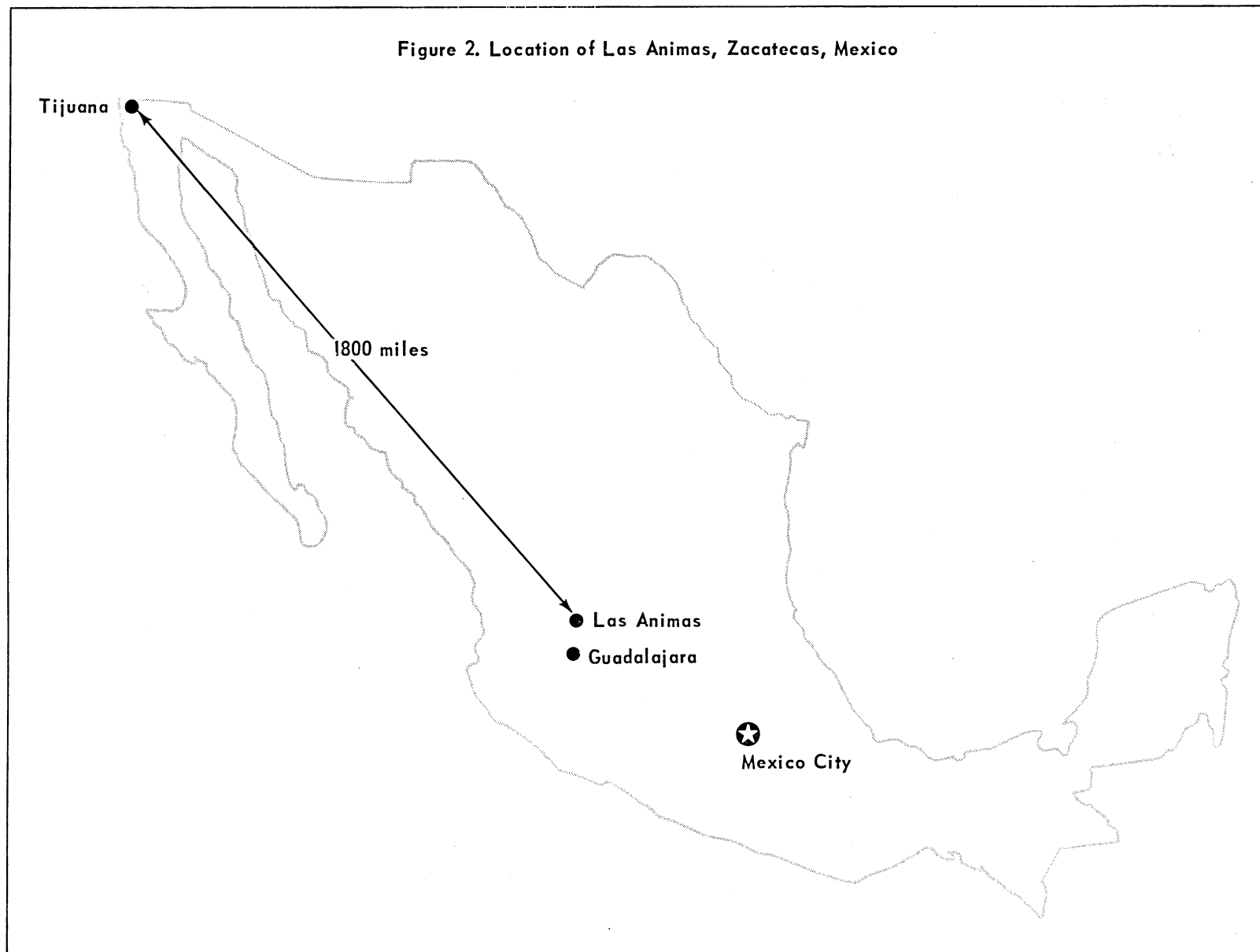
Las Animas, Zacatecas, a village some 1,800 miles south of the U. S. border (Figure 2), has only about 1,300 local residents; but another 2,000 or so native Animeños are living either temporarily or permanently elsewhere. The community was chosen for close study because of its deeply rooted tradition of cross-border migration and its linkage to mature settlement colonies in the United States.

Detailed analysis of survey data gathered from Animeños based in the village, the border, or the United States reveals a community that has become increasingly dependent on international migration. Inasmuch as Animeños can be regarded as typical, the patterns uncovered here can be generalized to other communities in central Mexico as they also evolve from immature to well-developed migratory communities.

BACKGROUND MATERIAL

Before abstracting several significant general patterns, we begin with an explanation of the survey; definitions and explanations of the various types of migrants; a brief history of Animeño migration; and a description of the three main Animeño branches—the village, the border settlement, and the U. S.-based community.

Figure 2. Location of Las Animas, Zacatecas, Mexico



The Survey and Kin Network Systems

A random sample of 67 men over 20 years old was drawn in October, 1978, in the village which was complemented by 10 representative border-based men from Las Animas living in Tijuana and 66 men working in the United States, also from Las Animas. Complete kin information was gathered from 122 core individuals—67 villagers, 10 border-based men, and 45 U.S.-based men—and complete life histories were obtained from all 143 individuals. Data were gathered on the kin networks of each by asking the same seven questions about themselves; their wives, children, siblings, and parents; and their wives' siblings and parents with the result that detailed information was recorded on a master list (eliminating duplications) for 1,454 persons. Responses were checked by a paid local advisor and by constant cross-checking in the community.

From the data for these 1,454 persons, three main network systems were reconstructed: (1) the 67 villagers and 911 of their close relatives, (2) the 10 border-based men and their 141 close relatives, and (3) the 45 U. S.-based interviewees and 636 of their relatives.

Details of these and other samples drawn from the Animeño population are found in the Appendix. Information in this report will reference the relevant sample on which it was based. Also found in the Appendix is an explanation of how the senior author and his wife were successful in gathering such an extensive mass of personal data.

Types of Migrants

In this study migrants have been differentiated by their relationship to the U. S. job market into (1) a U. S.-oriented group consisting of those who have chosen the U. S. job market as a permanent place of work and (2) a "temporary" group who recognize that work in the village is necessary as well for survival (Table 2).

These two basic groups were further categorized. Among the U. S.-oriented types are (1) "legal shuttles" who have their family in the village but their work in the United States; (2) long-term permanents who have their work and families in the United States but may visit the village at vacation time; and (3) beginner permanents, a new group having recently migrated but intending to stay. This last type consists of young undocumented men and their wives who seek urban semiskilled employment and become established and legalized after a period of time. The existence of a beginner-permanent group is made possible by the network system which nurtures members toward their objectives.

The temporary group was subdivided into two categories based on the number of years in the United States. The "one or two times" group is composed of (1) older migrants who went once or twice and decided against U. S. migration and (2) beginning migrants whose future is yet undetermined. The "undocumented shuttles" are men with a medium-term commitment to the U. S. job market. In middle age, members of this group normally return permanently to their families in the village.

In general, those in the U. S.-oriented group are, or intend to be, legalized and have, or aim for, semiskilled positions. Those classed as temporary are undocumented and normally employed at unskilled jobs. The categorization required a careful assignment of individuals to each group so that changes could be discerned in the composition of the migrant community over time as it matured.

TABLE 2
Definition of Kinds of U. S. Migrancy

Kind of migrant	Intend to work in the United States throughout working years	Shuttle or long stay	Wife and children in village	Usual type of work in the United States	Total years in the United States	Legal or undocumented
<u>U. S. oriented</u>						
Legal shuttle	Yes	Shuttle	Yes	Semiskilled	Any number	Legal
Long-term permanent	Yes	Long stay	No	Semiskilled	Seven or more	Usually legal
Beginner permanent	Yes	Long stay	No	Semiskilled	Three to six	Usually undocumented
<u>Temporary</u>						
One or two times	Undecided or no	Shuttle	Yes	Unskilled	Two or less	Undocumented
Undocumented shuttle	No	Shuttle	Yes	Unskilled	Three or more	Undocumented

A Brief History of Migration from Las Animas to the United States

The first wave of Animeño migration, remembered by those still alive, reached its peak in the 1920s when Animeño men went across the border to take agricultural, railroad, and mining jobs. Also, a group worked in metal foundries in South San Francisco. During the job-scarce days of the Depression in the 1930s, when many Mexicans were repatriated, most Animeños returned to the village to their animal-powered corn and beans production.

During World War II, the *bracero* program rekindled the thrust northward for Animeños where at first they picked cotton or thinned sugar beets in Texas and the Midwest. Migration shifted toward California when two ex-villagers who had survived the hard times of the 1930s—one a labor contractor and the other a farmer—began to recruit actively in the village, enlisting dozens of Animeños. In the peak period 1950–1954, 30.7 percent of all U. S. jobs held by Animeños were with these two employers. Partly because of these two ex-villagers, the northward flow became dominated by undocumented workers. By 1948, over 80 percent of months worked in the United States among Animeños were by those without papers.¹

By the early 1950s, many others from Las Animas followed kin ties to South San Francisco where a resident settlement community of mostly undocumented Animeños was

¹See Sample 143, *infra*, p. 38.

forming. The tide of migration toward the two expatriate farm employers and to South San Francisco, however, suffered a rude shock in 1954—the year of Operation Wetback. Any extensive urban settlement was delayed a decade by the penetrating police action. Migrants were also afraid to come without papers to rural areas. The two job sites in California, where undocumented Animeño farm laborers had clustered, experienced a steep decline of these workers during the 1955–1959 period. The 1954 police intervention had recreated the situation of the early 1940s when Animeño men who wanted U. S. work were again limited to contract farm labor.

It took several years after Operation Wetback for U. S. migration to regain its importance in the Animeño community. In 1953, 39.4 percent of village men, 16 years of age or older, worked at least one month a year in the United States. This percentage plummeted to 18.3 percent in 1956 and did not regain the earlier peak until nine years later in 1965 (Figure 3).

Although migration received a severe setback from Operation Wetback in the summer and fall of 1957, the community suffered a more severe shock—the rains did not come. The drought pushed many out of the village in search of a way to feed their families. Nearly one-third of men over 15 years of age left the village that year—some went elsewhere in Mexico, while many went to the United States. In the next year, 1958, most absent men returned to the village, at least for the planting season; but the habit of going north had been quickly relearned. In 1958, over 30 percent (of the sample) again went to the United States to work (Figure 3).

The drought-caused exodus from Las Animas sent men primarily to rural areas in California for farm jobs since they were not being “pulled” by hopes of settling in the United States but were “pushed” out in search of survival. The percentage of legals among the U. S. migrants fell by half at this time.¹

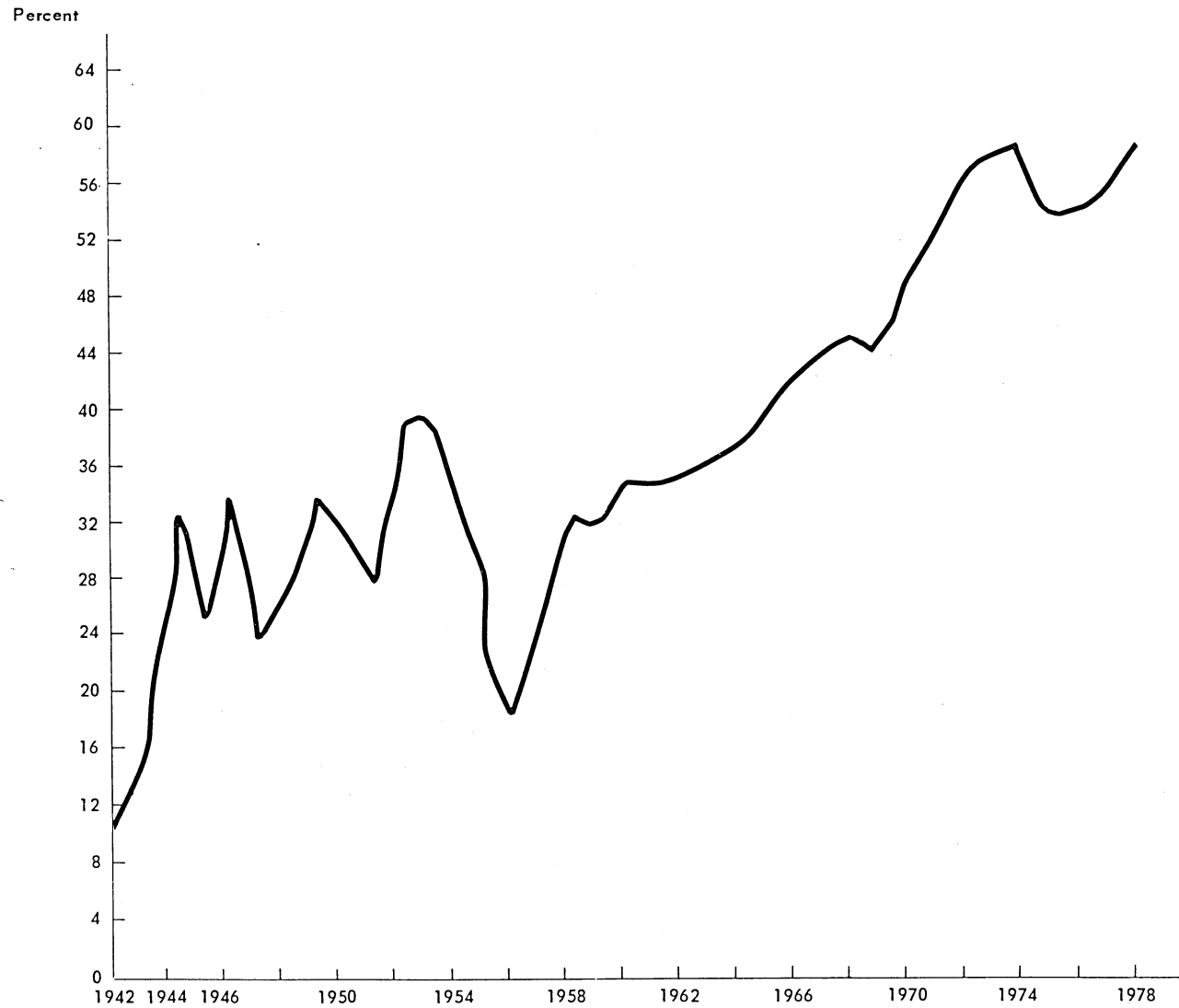
Another important push factor was the decline of the Las Animas lumbering trade. Until the mid-1960s, at least one-fourth of the men working in the village derived part of their income from readying wood for market. Pine trees were felled, sawed into planks and beams, and taken by muleteers to local towns. But in the 1960s, this trade suffered a drastic decline, partly because of competition of cheaper metal planks manufactured in urban areas. As the option of work in lumber declined, work in the United States became more attractive as a way to supplement corn, beans, and cattle production. (It is also apparent that the availability of U. S. jobs disinclined people to work in lumbering for supplementary income.)

The predominantly rural-oriented character of U. S. migration during the drought-push period changed radically at the beginning of the 1960s, for the phenomenon that had been stunted in South San Francisco in 1954 began to flourish again as permanent settler cores began to take root. Then, as settlements in South San Francisco and somewhat later in east Los Angeles grew, sanctuary could be offered to newcomers.

The 1960–1964 period was one of entrenchment, not expansion, with the percentage of Animeño men working in the United States rising only 1 percent—from 36.5 to 37.5 percent (Figure 3). The shift was from rural areas to cities where Animeños gained a foothold in urban job markets, were legalized, and brought in their families. Once settlements were established, the stage was set for a large wave of new migrants from the village. From

¹The U. S.-based portion of Sample 143, *infra*, p. 38.

Figure 3. Percentage in the Sample Who Worked in the U.S. One Month or More During Each Year



Source: Sample 143, *infra*, p. 38.

1965 to 1974, a steep increase occurred (Figure 3), with 59.6 percent of adult males working in California part of the year in 1974.¹ Although another drought in 1965 forced many poorer villagers to seek agricultural employment in California, pathways led predominately to the growing urban settlements by 1967.

The 1970s saw the Animeño migrant community reach maturity with relatively stable migratory patterns. The average age of the U. S. male Animeño population was about 36 years, with the age of young arrivals balanced by that of old returnees. The average work time (in number of months) of the male population in the sample was split evenly between the United States and Mexico, with the short-term trips balanced by long stays. Also, the proportion of legal migrants among all migrants in the United States at a given moment had stabilized at about one-half.²

Thus, the migratory flows over time can be seen as a series of ups and downs, with the final "up" period lasting over a decade (Figure 3). The pattern appears to be an influx of shuttle migrants pushed by circumstances—a period of entrenchment (as in 1960–1964) and settlement followed by a new phase of shuttle migration as relatives are invited and hosted by settlers.

Description of the Branches of the Animeño Community

To a limited extent, Animeños have migrated to Guadalajara, but the major migratory pathway is to Tijuana and across the border to California. At the border and in several areas of California, daughter communities have developed where Animeños are surrounded by friends and relatives. A description of the various branches of the Animeños community will provide the setting for the analysis to follow.

The Village. The local economy, excluding remittances from the United States, is based on rain-fed corn and beans production on only about 12 percent of the land, supplemented by low-productivity cattle raising. Chili peppers, which are grown on about 0.5 percent of the land, can generate a living wage; but production is highly labor intensive, requires irrigation and fertilizer, and is vulnerable to pests and hailstorms.

Besides agriculture, other sources of local income include employment as occasional day laborers such as laying bricks, fixing fences, or tending animals or crops of others. Few men, however, can find 50 days of such work a year. The poorest families gather firewood in the mountains for sale in nearby towns. Although women and children help not only in domestic chores but also as unpaid labor in agriculture, most contribute almost no cash income to the household.

In 1977 and 1978, considered excellent crop years by locals, an owner-operator made an average of \$355 per yunta³ from corn, beans, and fodder production (including the value consumed by the household). A family must control at least 4 yuntas to make income

¹See Sample 143, *infra*, p. 38.

²See Sample 143, *infra*, p. 38.

³A yunta is about 3.5 hectares of tillable land—the amount one man is expected to take care of in a year.

sufficient to meet minimum living standards, but few families do. While cattle production is relatively lucrative and requires little labor, many hectares must be controlled to make a substantial contribution to family income since one animal is pastured on more than 2 hectares.

Of the 67 village-based interviewees, 59 gave detailed earnings, assets, and U. S. remittance data.¹ From this, the average income from various sources was compiled in Table 3, with remittances from the United States representing over one-half of total income.

TABLE 3
Average Value of Income Earned by 59 Village Families
From Various Local Sources and From U. S. Remittances
1977 and 1978

Source of income	Average income earned
Cash earned by wife or children ^a	\$ 20
Local business ^b	148
Corn-bean production	284
Day labor and firewood gathering	125
Other crops	33
Animals and milk	<u>218</u>
Total (local) income	\$ 828
Remittances from the United States	<u>875</u>
Total income	\$1,703

^aThe principal money-making activity among the women is embroidering pillowcases; some work during the seasonal chili harvest; three women are involved in their husband's grocery store; and one sells clothes imported from the city.

^bIncludes the butcher and grocers.

Source: Sample 59, *infra*, p. 38.

¹See Sample 59, *infra*, p. 38.

Not only does cash sent home from the United States amount to over half the villagers' income but the U. S. connection also indirectly stimulates other commercial activities. Animals may be bought with northern earnings, for example, and day laborers are employed in construction—building homes for absent migrants who want a vacation house in the village.¹ Migrants returning, especially during the October to February festival season, may spend rather freely. Beef is slaughtered only during this period of influx of vacationing migrants; during the rest of the year, pork is the only meat sold in the village.

Despite the stimulus of U. S. earnings, most people in Las Animas are quite poor. The average family of six lives in four rooms (several children may sleep in a single bed), with one of the rooms usually used for storing corn.²

The population of Las Animas remained stable in the 1970s despite large outflows due, in part, to a high birthrate among the 125 village women of child-bearing age. A high proportion of prime-age males is absent at a given time, however, weighting the population toward children, women, and the aged. In Table 4 the percentage distribution of males and females is shown by age group for the village, Tijuana, and the U. S.-based branches. The distribution of the village population toward women, children, and the aged was significantly different from that of the total population at the 95 percent confidence level.

The Tijuana Animeños Community. Approximately 40 men raised in Las Animas have relocated themselves and their families in Tijuana, resulting in an estimated total Animeño population there of 165 persons (in 1979). Most reside in one *barrio* and live in close contact with one another. Since entire families migrate, the Tijuana branch has the same age-sex composition as the total sample (Table 4). Also, since their families are with them, they do not tend to move back and forth to the village as do migrants in the United States.

Tijuana residents prefer life on the border to that of migrating to the United States or that of remaining in their native village. The move to Tijuana does not entail separation from their families as the U. S. trip usually does. There is more work in Tijuana than in Las Animas, and it is steady. Many men clean cactus leaves which they bag and sell as a cookable vegetable to grocery stores; and others work as janitors, factory employees, or potters. Several ex-villagers have become quite well-to-do as vegetable merchants so that other Animeños work for them.

The sample of Tijuana interviewees included one relatively wealthy merchant; their average income in 1978 is shown in Table 5. Although in Tijuana reliance on direct remittances is much less than in the village, work is still closely tied to the United States. Among the 10 men interviewed, 2 migrate seasonally to the United States, 5 sell vegetables imported from the United States, and 1 does upholstery work for U. S. customers.

The shantytown where some Animeños live has dirt streets and small, poorly constructed houses without sewers; but these Tijuana residents are neither trapped in poverty nor dependent on U. S. migration for a minimal standard of living as are their relatives in Las Animas (compare Table 5 with Table 3). Also, their children have better options than do those in the village including going on to secondary school.

¹A house-by-house count of two *barrios* of the village revealed that 20.6 percent of the houses were unoccupied.

²See Sample 59, *infra*, p. 38.

TABLE 4

Percentage of Males and Females^a in Different Age Classes
by Animeños Branches, 1978

Branches	Age group					
	1 to 15			16 to 39		
	Total number	Male	Female	Total number	Male	Female
Village	205	percent of total		267	percent of total	
		51.2	48.8		39.3	60.7
	19	52.6	47.4	34	50.0	50.0
	78	52.6	47.4	272	65.0	35.0
	Age group					
	40 to 54			55 or older		
Village	105	44.8	55.2	150	56.0	44.0
Tijuana	22	54.5	45.5	15	53.3	46.7
United States	98	68.4	31.6	28	60.7	39.3

^aVillage women apparently have a shorter life span than village men.

Source: Sample 1454, *infra*, p. 38.

TABLE 5

Average Income for Tijuana Families, 1978

Number of families	Local earnings	U. S. remittances	Total
10 ^a	dollars		
	5,056	500	5,556
9 ^b	2,848	550	3,398

^aIncludes one wealthy merchant.

^bNine families (without wealthy merchant).

Source: Ten Tijuana interviews; see Sample 1454, *infra*, p. 38.

Better opportunities in Tijuana attract not only young people from the village but also retiring Animeños from the United States. Housing is cheaper to build in Tijuana than in the village due to a shortage of bricks and workers in Las Animas. Also, those whose children have settled permanently in southern California can visit them conveniently from Tijuana. Finally, migrants who are accustomed to life in U. S. cities prefer the conveniences of Tijuana over the slow-paced and difficult life of the village.

The Tijuana settlement serves a crucial function for the greater Animeño community. It offers a haven for those on their way to a border crossing and asylum for those temporarily deported by the U. S. Immigration and Naturalization Service which is similar to the "underground railroad" provided to blacks before the Civil War.

One older Animeño couple, perhaps the first to settle on the border, has run a boarding house in downtown Tijuana for over three decades. Throughout the year, but especially in the late winter and early spring, dozens of undocumented Animenõs assemble at the boarding house for their meals and sleep in the yard, in nearby hotels, or with relatives. There in the courtyard they plan their crossing; wait; usually cross to Chula Vista within a day or two; and find refuge with California relatives; or, perhaps, they return to the courtyard to try again. Usually, the process is repeated until success is achieved. Also, employed but deported Animenõs seldom lose more than two days before returning to their U. S. jobs. Thus, place-of-origin ties at the border give Animeños a large advantage over those attempting to migrate without such connections.

The U. S.-Based Animeños in Rural Areas. Animeños who work in agriculture are concentrated in four rural areas of California. The southernmost area is Escondido (near the Mexican border) where all Animeños work for one farm employer, a native of Las Animas. Workers live on the ranch, irrigate, weed, and harvest vegetables; but pay is low compared to opportunities farther north so only a few Animeños still work there. These job slots are now being filled by other Mexicans who lack contacts beyond the border area.

In Los Angeles County a strip of nonresidential land used for power lines runs through the middle of an urban area. Small farms and nurseries lease spots along this strip where hundreds of minimum-wage jobs are offered to Mexican migrants. While the farm jobs are mostly seasonal (April to November), nursery work can last year-round. Almost all of the three dozen Animeño men who work there live in one apartment complex where five men live in each two-bedroom apartment.

Another traditional rural location for Animeños is the Reedley-Sanger peach and grape country near Fresno where the men live in town under conditions similar to those just described and commute to the orchards and vineyards. Since the work is predominantly seasonal and the pay is relatively poor, only a few Animeños still go there for employment. Their places have been taken by men from a village near Las Animas whose people have had less experience in California. Two Animeños families have, however, settled permanently in the area. Also, on the other side of Fresno near Mendota, the seasonal melon harvest attracts Animeño men most of whom migrate from other places in California.

The last agricultural town in which Animeños locate is Watsonville where a group of five or six Animeño men live with their families and work for the railroad or in service industries. Temporary migrants from Las Animas also come seasonally to work in strawberry and lettuce fields and in nurseries. Recently, some single women have moved from the village to Watsonville where they work in nurseries and in an apparel factory.

The life-style of Animeños in rural California has undergone a transformation during the last 15 years. Before 1965, farm worker migrants who came predominantly without papers or as *braceros* usually stayed in male-only shacks on their employer's land. Recently, Animeño farm workers have shifted their residences to small agricultural towns where some live with friends or relatives, but most are renters who now represent 60 percent of the Animeño rural population.¹

Another indication of transformed living patterns of Animeños while in rural California is the decline of the use of labor contractors. Now newcomers looking for their first job or migrants returning after long stays in the village tend to depend on personal contacts to find jobs. Traditionally, initial contacts were with a labor contractor or boss; but as permanent-settler cores have formed, the source of job advice has shifted from labor contractors to relatives and personal friends. These more trustworthy contacts multiply the options available to the novice (Table 6).

TABLE 6
Job Changes and Sources of Job Placement Information
for Undocumented Workers, 1960-1964 to 1974-1979

Time period	Number of job changes	Job contact through:		Job searched on their own
		A friend or relative	Labor contractor	
		percent		
1960-1964	67	40.3	52.2	7.5
1965-1969	116	50.0	42.2	7.8
1970-1974	184	67.4	21.1	12.5
1974-1979	114	67.9	13.1	19.0

Source: Sample 125, *infra*, p. 38.

Another change in rural California for the Animeños is that a growing proportion of men who do farm jobs supplement their income with nonfarm jobs (Table 7). Also, Animeño men with urban jobs migrate seasonally to rural areas where their main destination is the July-to-September melon harvest near Mendota. Thus, permanent settlements in California cities have replaced the village as a starting point for this seasonal migration. This type of intrastate migration to peak-season, well-paid piecework agriculture contrasts sharply with migration from the distant village for the whole agricultural season. Not only does the hourly wage received by the village migrant amount to much less than the piece rate, but the village migrant may experience periods of unemployment since he comes for an extended period, not just peak harvesttimes.

¹See Sample 125, *infra*, p. 38.

TABLE 7

Percentage of Men Who Worked in Both Agricultural
and Nonagricultural Jobs, 1973-1978

Year	Men workers in:	
	Agriculture	Agriculture and nonagriculture percent
1973	23	17.4
1974	27	11.1
1975	21	23.8
1976	23	4.3
1977	22	22.7
1978	20	30.0

Source: Sample 143, *infra*, p. 38.

Also, there has been a change in the strawberry industry near Watsonville which has long attracted Animeños. As the industry expanded markedly in the 1970s, some experienced Animeño migrants assumed the role of middlemen for strawberry growers. Each Animeño manages several acres of land on a sharecrop basis for the owners. The farmer pays taxes; provides land, water, equipment, and seedlings; and pays for the spraying of the plants. The sharecroppers pay low wages to a labor force composed principally of inexperienced Indian-speaking people from migrant communities in Oaxaca.¹

As these changes have occurred among the rural Animeño community, rural labor market conditions have become comparable to low-wage jobs in the city. Further, as greater numbers of experienced workers with urban options work in agriculture, an increasing proportion of Animeño farm workers are obtaining better working conditions.

¹In 1979 sharecroppers paid \$2.00 an hour for weeding and watering and \$1.00 a box for harvesting.

The U.S.-Based Animeños in California Cities. An estimated 750 Animeños or about 86 percent of all U. S.-based migrants from Las Animas are living in California cities which are concentrated in four urban areas; and they remain in close contact with each other. In all four areas, a permanent-settler core has taken root, with about half of the 150 permanent residents having bought houses in the United States.

The most southernly urban colony is in the Santa Ana-Artesia area where undocumented workers are employed primarily in construction cleanup, while legal workers have found semiskilled jobs in factories. East Los Angeles contains the largest Animeño settlement; perhaps 65 permanent-settler families live there with most within a radius of a few blocks. The undocumented workers are mostly in service industries and at entry-level factory jobs. Recently, many newcomers and some wives of legal residents entered the expanding garment industry in Los Angeles. Legal male employees work at semiskilled jobs in food, leather, and apparel factories. A few miles north in San Fernando is a small Animeño settlement rooted in 15 permanent families. Here both legal and undocumented workers are in construction although the legal element earns twice the pay. The oldest community, formed around 40 long-term permanent families, is in South San Francisco. Its undocumented component works as kitchen helpers and in light manufacturing. The legal workers have semiskilled jobs in food factories, metal foundries, and construction.

The presence of the core of permanent residents is crucial for the other two-thirds of the Animeño migrants who came seasonally and/or without documents. (While the ratio of legal to undocumented in the United States at a given moment is approximately one to one, there are greater numbers of the undocumented since they are part of a changing pool of workers who come and go, while most legal city dwellers are part of an unchanging year-round stock.) The permanent-settler core provides food, housing, and job placement opportunities to fellow Animeños. Although there is a tacit two-month limit during which a newcomer must find a job or go home, in the short run the hosts do not begrudge hospitality to their covillagers.

When legal workers change jobs, they often search for a new position on their own. Over half have found their own work since the middle 1960s (compare Table 8 with Table 6). Then, once established in a semiskilled position on a work site, they are often in a position to place newcomers in entry-level job slots. Recall the two-tiered job positions in each of the four urban settlements just discussed.

A good example of the two-level job situation for established and novice Animeños is in the San Mateo restaurant industry where the South San Francisco community regularly places newcomers at entry-level jobs (earning \$3.50 an hour in 1979). Meanwhile, the more experienced Animeños have moved up to positions of cook's helper or salad maker (earning \$4.50 an hour).

DIRECTIONS OF CHANGE AS A MIGRATORY COMMUNITY MATURES

All that has been written so far has been background material for the analysis to follow. It remains, therefore, to extract from information already given several, perhaps generalizable, patterns and to document each with the example of Las Animas. Recall that the patterns indicate directions toward which a migrant community may be expected to evolve as it matures; there is no specification of the time limit within which they are realized. The patterns are posited as inherent in the evolutionary process of maturing Mexican-American migratory communities.

TABLE 8

Job Changes and Sources of Job Placement Information
for Legal Workers, 1960-1964 to 1974-1979

Time period	Number of job changes	Job contact through:		Job searched on their own
		A friend or relative	Labor contractor	
		percent		
1960-1964	12	66.7	8.3	25.0
1965-1969	52	38.5	9.6	51.9
1970-1974	76	35.5	2.6	61.8
1974-1979	37	46.2	0	53.8

Source: Sample 125, *infra*, p. 38.

Patterns of Change in Migratory Communities

Pattern 1:

At its earliest stages, a village migratory network links its members to agricultural, rural, and unskilled work and the migrants are most often undocumented. As the network matures, jobs tend to become nonagricultural, urban, and semiskilled and its migrants legalized.

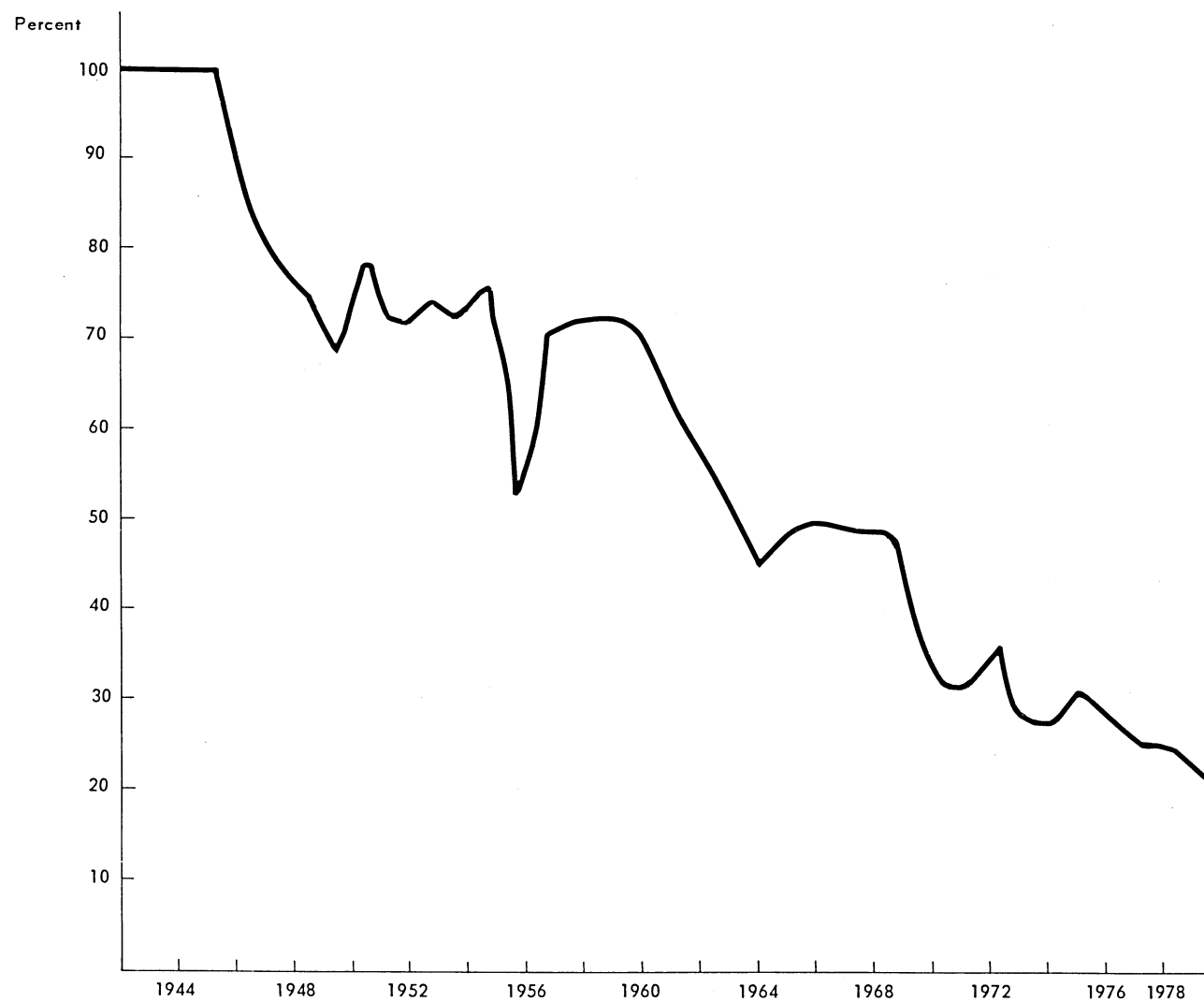
In an analysis over time, using the combined job histories of 143 Animeño men,¹ a steady shift toward nonagricultural work can be seen so that by 1978 nearly 80 percent of months worked were in nonfarm jobs (Figure 4). Wage rates do not fully explain the shift to nonfarm employment since an agricultural job held by a legal migrant may pay a higher wage than a service job held by either legal or illegal migrants.² Migrants report that the steadiness of the work is the crucial factor. Dishwashing or sewing machine work at \$3.50 an hour may be preferred to farm work which is less dependable.

Concomitant with the shift in employment was a shift in residence from U. S. rural areas to cities with over 70 percent of the group's U. S. time being spent in the cities in the

¹See Sample 143, *infra*, p. 38.

²The average wage received by a legal migrant for farm work in 1979 was \$4.57 an hour; for service work performed by legal migrants, the average wage was \$3.67 an hour (see Sample 143, *infra*, p. 38).

Figure 4. Percentage of Months Worked in U.S. Agriculture out of Total Months Worked in the U.S., by year



Source: U. S. base of Sample 143, *infra*, p. 38.

1970s. By contrast, in the 1960s the group's time was divided equally between city and rural areas with the latter providing the setting for agricultural employment.

By 1970, a considerable proportion of the work done by Animeños was semiskilled, and the average U. S. wage earned by the group then was \$3.58 an hour.¹ In 1979, 22 of the group were in construction where the 12 legals were earning an average of \$8.18 an hour while the undocumented earned \$4.40.

Another approach in finding support for Pattern 1 is to look at the most frequent type of occupation of Animeño men of different generations (Table 9). Those who entered the migratory stream when the network was young, *i. e.*, those now over 55, are still oriented to agricultural work, while younger migrants tend toward semiskilled urban jobs.

TABLE 9

Type of Occupation Obtained Most Frequently by Migrants
in the United States by Age Group, 1979

Occupation	Age group		
	16 to 39	40 to 54	55 or older
	(N = 259)	(N = 120)	(N = 91)
	percent		
Agricultural	21.2	43.3	67.0
Low wage (urban)	38.6	21.7	23.1
Semiskilled (urban) ^a	40.2	35.0	9.9

^aDefined as a job paying \$4.50 per hour or more in 1978 dollars.

Source: Sample 1454, *infra*, p. 38.

Returning to the time series approach among the sample of 143 men, the proportion of legal migrants increased steadily over time so that by the 1970s over half were legal. Although the proportion of legal migrants has been undeniably rising, there are two trends running counter to Pattern 1 to be explained. First, among male migrants, there is a tendency for the youngest age group to have a high percentage undocumented—even higher than among the middle-aged group (Table 10). This is a short-run circumstance, however, since the youngest group is at the beginning of its migratory cycle; and many undocumented in this group will attain legal status in the future. On the other hand, the undocumented in the middle-aged group have, in general, given up on attaining legal status; many have returned permanently to the village.

¹See Sample 143, *infra*, p. 38.

TABLE 10

Undocumented Migrants by Age Group and Sex
Among U. S. Migrants, 1979

Age group	Migrants			
	Men		Women	
	Total number	Undocumented ^a	Total number	Undocumented ^a
		percent		percent
16 to 39	265	61.9	110	47.3
40 to 54	121	59.5	35	27.8
55 or older	91	71.4	11	8.3

^aEquals the sum of one or two times, beginner permanents, and undocumented shuttles. The percentage of undocumented is calculated by dividing this sum by the total number of U. S. migrants in each category.

Source: Sample 1454, *infra*, p. 38.

Second, there is a clear counter-tendency toward increased unauthorized migration among women (Table 10), related in part to the phenomenon of beginner permanency. Since more men are settling in urban colonies before they obtain legal papers than was the case previously, they also find it convenient to bring their wives to the United States without papers. Animeño women seem to be migrating earlier—coming before, rather than after, their husbands obtain legal status.

A direct corollary to Pattern 1:

Among the pool of adult males in a binational migratory network, the average length of stay per year in the United States grows longer; and in Mexico, shorter over time.

The lengthened average U. S. stay results from the fact that stays in cities tend to be longer than in rural areas; stays at nonagricultural jobs, longer than at agricultural jobs; and stays at legal jobs, longer than at undocumented jobs.¹

Another trend closely related to Pattern 1:

The proportion of shuttle migrants among total U. S. migrants declines over time in a given migratory network.

¹See Sample 143, *infra*, p. 38.

Looking at the combined life histories of the U. S.-based sample, the decline in shuttle migrancy is dramatic (Figure 5). Another approach to the same question is by age cohorts where it can be shown that there is considerably less shuttling by the youngest group.¹

Pattern 2:

As the village migrant community matures, the road to U. S.-oriented status is altered. Instead of passing through an undocumented shuttle stage, migrants tend increasingly to enter by way of a beginner-permanent stage.

Pattern 2 is best explained by age-cohort analysis (Table 11). In the two older age groups, almost all migrants began (and many remain) as undocumented shuttle migrants, for the traditional pattern was to migrate seasonally to agricultural jobs. Eventually, some of these older men were able to regularize their status, find an urban job, and stay for long periods in the United States. In the youngest age group, however, a new migrant category has been established—the beginner permanent. Until the permanent-settler cores were founded in the early 1960s, the beginner-permanent type migrancy was not a viable option for most Animeños. The beginner permanent, instead of serving an apprenticeship period as an undocumented shuttle, now comes directly to the urban colonies where, if he is able to find a steady job and to go undetected by the U. S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, he may achieve legalized, long-term status.

Pattern 3:

Although network migration is a male-led phenomenon over time, (a) a greater percentage of total U. S. migrants are women and (b) a higher percentage of women than men migrate without documents.

Accounts by older Animeño migrants indicate that in the 1920s virtually no women went to the United States from the village. In the oldest age-cohort group in the sample, only 11.5 percent of those who crossed the border were women; but in the younger age cohorts, women constitute a growing percentage of all U. S. migrants (Table 12).

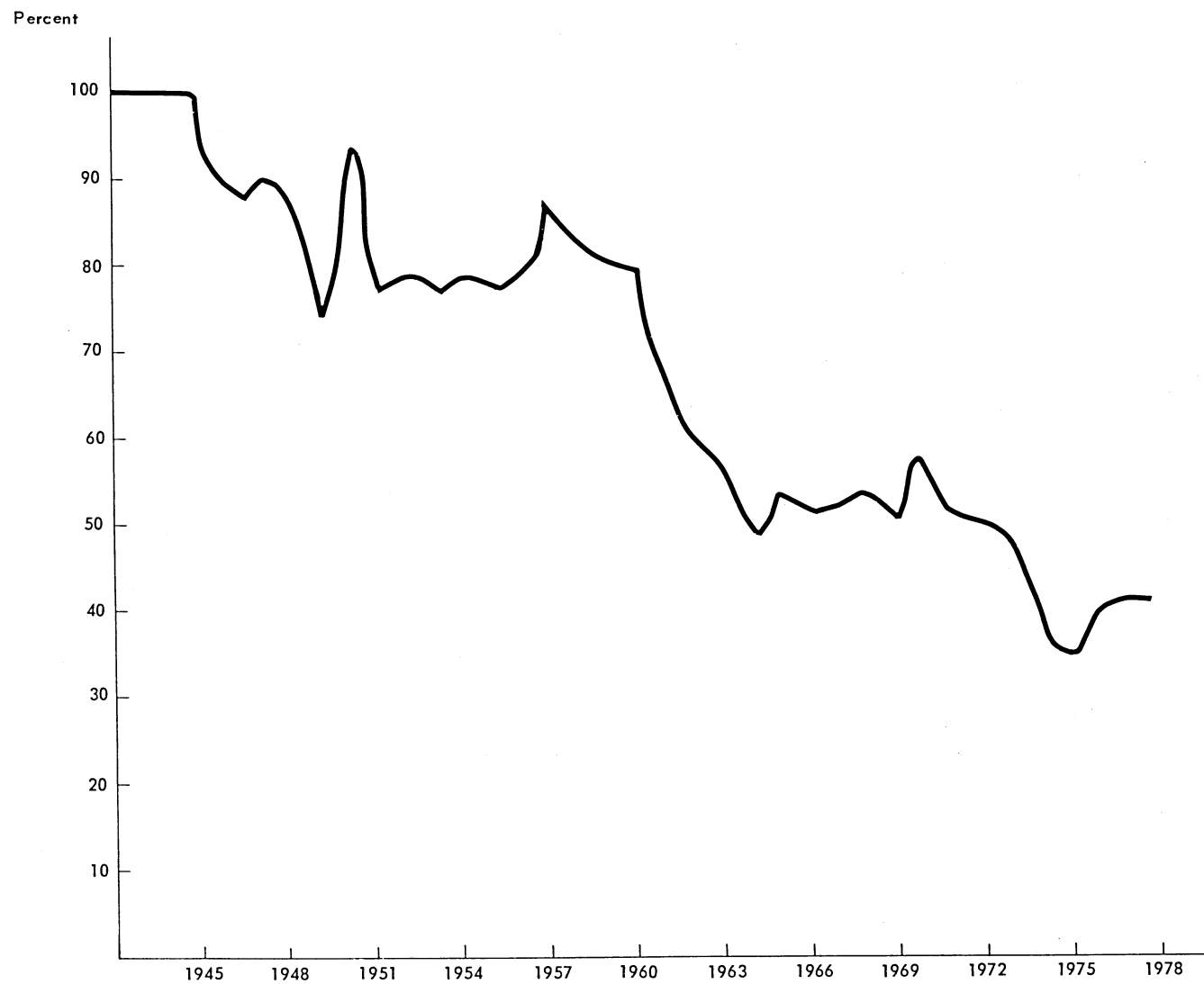
The second part of Pattern 3—the increase in unauthorized migration by women—has already been discussed as a countertrend within Pattern 1, that is, a movement counter to the general pattern of a growing proportion of Animeño migrants crossing the border legally.

Pattern 4:

Over time, network migrants tend to identify more with the immigrant life-style and less with their village orientation.

¹See Sample 1454, *infra*, p. 38.

Figure 5. Shuttle Migrants as a Percentage of U.S.-Based Migrants



Source: Sample 143, *infra*, p. 38.

TABLE 11

Type of Migrant in the United States by Age Group, 1979

Type of migrant ^a	Age group		
	16 to 39	40 to 54	55 or older
	(N = 259)	(N = 120)	(N = 91)
	percent		
<u>Temporary</u>			
One or two times	21.1	20.7	19.8
Undocumented shuttle	24.5	36.4	50.5
<u>U. S. oriented</u>			
Beginner permanent	16.2	2.5	1.1
Long-term permanent	32.8	38.8	22.0
Legal shuttle	5.3	1.7	6.6
Total	99.9	100.1	100.0

^aFor definitions of the types of migrants, see *supra*, p. 8.Source: Sample 1454, *infra*, p. 38.

TABLE 12

Percentage of Men and Women Who Migrated
One or More Times to the United States
by Age Group

	Age group		
	16 to 39	40 to 54	55 or older
	(N = 375)	(N = 156)	(N = 104)
	percent		
Men	70.7	77.6	88.5
Women	29.4	23.4	11.5

Source: Sample 1454, *infra*, p. 38.

Most older and many middle-aged migrants, some of whom remember Operation Wetback, have remained apprehensive about the United States and have not adopted what can be termed an "immigrant outlook."¹ Although several have had semiskilled jobs since 1950, no U. S. houses were purchased until 1974. Since then, 16 legal residents in the sample have bought homes in California, but all except one buyer had already acquired land or a house in the village previously. Most middle-aged and older immigrants still stress that they would like to return home; but since most of them have children who have grown up in California, they are effectively barred from long stays back in the village.

By contrast, many younger migrants come with the intention to stay permanently (the beginner-permanent group), adopting an immigrant attitude early during their apprenticeship period in urban California without returning or desiring to return for long stays in the village. These migrants gradually change their life-style patterns from village ways, *e.g.*, their mode of dress and taste in music and entertainment. As a result, many are more at home in the Hispanic *barrio* of a California city than in their home village.

Patterns of Change in Class Differentiation

Pattern 1:

In village migratory networks, during the young adult period of the male migrant's life cycle, the community becomes divided into successful and unsuccessful groups. Young men in the former group attain regularized status and begin a career in the United States that lasts throughout their working years. Those in the less-successful group fail to obtain a firm foothold in the U. S. job market, work only seasonally in the United States for one or two decades, and then return to the village.

With the exception of a small group of village-based legal shuttles (5 percent of all migrants), the successful group coincides with the U. S.-based group; the less successful, with the village-based group.²

Because of the long tradition of U. S. migration, young Animeños know that regularized status and a steady job in the United States are the paths to success. Both groups have similar success objectives at the start of their migratory cycle. Nearly all begin with low-wage, low-prestige work, be it urban or rural; but some are able to move out of low-status work, while others cannot. The lives of the two groups continue along similar lines in many ways even after this differentiation by type of job. Both groups return frequently to the village as young men, if only for a visit, to look for a wife and a house.³ Both groups keep track of land sales in the village in the hope of someday making a purchase, but the difference in the type of U. S. job soon leads to concrete distinctions in life-style.

¹The discussion of Pattern 4 is based on interviews with the U. S.-based portion of Sample 143, *infra*, p. 38.

²See Sample 1454, *infra*, p. 38.

³Only two men in Sample 143 married women who were not from the Nochistlán area.

The crucial difference between the two groups is the better pay obtained by the more successful. In 1978 the average yearly earning was about \$9,636 for U. S.-based men and \$4,837 for village-based men.¹

Those in the successful group tend to bring their families to live in California, while families of the less-successful group remain in the village. A small proportion of the successful migrants are legal shuttles who leave their families in the village, but these men normally see that their children, especially the males, are legalized as they reach working age. Members of the less-successful group, on the other hand, whose sons have no guaranteed access to the U. S. job market must teach their sons how to make a living locally by raising corn, beans, and animals.

The fact that one group earns nearly twice as much on the average as the other earns has given the former another advantage—better access to village land. Despite long absences from the village, a higher percentage of U. S.-based individuals has been able to buy land near Las Animas than has the village-based group. Of the U. S.-based households, 35 percent are landowners, while only 25 percent of village-based households own land.² If U. S.-oriented migrants can be thought of as belonging to the successful group and temporary migrants and nonmigrants as the less-successful ones, then clearly a higher percentage of the former group owns village land (Table 13).

TABLE 13
Village Landholdings of Three or More Hectares
by Type of Animeño, 1979

Type	Total number	Number of landholders	Percentage of all landholders
			percent
U. S. oriented	264	55	43.7
Temporary	237	43	34.1
Never left the village	252	28	22.2
Total	753	126	100.0

Source: Sample 1454 (adults over 21 years), *infra*, p. 38.

¹See Sample 143, *infra*, p. 38.

²See Sample 143, *infra*, p. 38.

Thus, one corollary to the basic pattern of class differentiation:

As a village-migrant community matures, land becomes increasingly concentrated in the hands of successful U. S. migrants.

Another corollary:

As a migratory network matures, an increasing proportion of U. S. remittances is used to buy assets in the village and a decreasing proportion is used for family sustenance.

In the early stages of the migratory period of the sending area, prime-age males migrate, remitting their earnings back to the village for the maintenance of families and parents. Later in the cycle, some men obtain semiskilled jobs in the United States and begin to make asset purchases in the village. If a man's wife and children remain in the village, they manage the assets; if the nuclear family moves to the United States, then the migrant's parents usually manage the assets. Of the 67 families interviewed in the village, 16 had benefited from a husband's having bought an asset for himself and his family with U. S. earnings and 14 had benefited from a son's having done so. One-half of 48 U. S.-based men had bought an asset in the village by 1979.¹

Although Mexico experienced an average annual inflation rate in the late 1970s of nearly 20 percent (*El Trimestre Económico*, 1980), the increased demand for village land and houses has added to the escalation of real estate values (Table 14). Those with a U. S. connection are the ones best able to afford these relatively high-priced assets.

TABLE 14

Number of Purchases and Average Purchase Price
for Land and Houses, 1940-1949 to 1977-1978

Time period	Land		Houses	
	Number of purchases	Average price per hectare	Number of purchases	Average price per house
		pesos		pesos
1940-1949	2	700	8	665
1950-1959	5	1,100	8	2,657
1960-1969	8	979	12	4,391
1970-1976	14	3,474	6	6,667
1977-1978	3	17,696	5	38,000

Source: Sample 59, *infra*, p. 38.

¹See Sample 143, *infra*, p. 38.

Recent Las Animas land purchases at inflated prices are clearly not for the farm income the land can yield. An 8-hectare parcel in corn and beans generated only 4 percent of its value for its owner-operator in 1978—a time when Mexican banks were paying 16 percent interest on long-term deposits. Rather, land purchases reported were made for prestige, security, and support of parents. Fifteen out of 19 U. S. residents holding land in the village used its return to support relatives.¹ Land managed by parents provides them with a steady supply of food and pasture. Such a once-only asset remittance absolves the migrant son from having to remit cash on a regular basis. Further, owning land in the village means security in case of a depression in the United States or a renewal of anti-Mexican hostility.²

Returning now to the discussion of Pattern 1, to the greater U. S. society, both the successful and less-successful groups are judged to belong to the lower class—the working class of unskilled or semiskilled laborers. Internal to the Animeño community, however, two distinct classes have developed—one “upper” and the other “lower.”

It is easy to tell the two social groups or classes apart when one visits Las Animas. A member of the successful group owns land, does not work in the village, has children who speak some English, and spends money quite freely while in the village. A member of the less-successful group usually sharecrops land owned by a U. S.-based migrant, has children who speak no English, and has little money to spend while in his home town. The ability of one group to obtain a semiskilled, long-term job in the United States—while the other group has to settle for temporary, unskilled U. S. work—has split the community into two distinct social classes.

Pattern 2:

Social mobility in village migratory networks depends principally on kinship ties (i.e., social class); education is not a determinant.

The indicators of success for Animeños are steady work in the United States and property in the village. The individual's chance of success is highly conditioned by membership in differently endowed kin networks. Education is not a differentiating factor since it is the same for all groups: almost no one in the village has gone beyond primary school.

Understanding the roots of success—belonging to the “right” network—necessitates looking back once more into the history of the community. At the turn of the century, almost all the land near the village was owned by one family, the Castanedas. The vast majority of Animeños worked as day laborers, sharecroppers, or shepherds for the *hacendado*. The rudimentary beginnings of an upper class can be traced to the few (about 25 of the 200 families) who owned small plots of land or small businesses in town and were able to supplement their incomes with at least some self-employment. Another group of five families was made up of foremen and managers for the elite family. These 30 families, then, constituted a small middle-class sector in the days before migration.

¹See Sample 143, *infra*, p. 38.

²A countertendency should be mentioned. Not all successful migrants are interested in owning land in the village; rather, the most recent generation of migrants to U. S. cities come with the intent to stay and, therefore, lose interest in the village. Only 2 of 52 beginner permanents have bought land in the village (see Sample 1454, *infra*, p. 38).

Most of the recruits for the migration wave of the 1920s were drawn from this middle sector because the trip north in those years was very expensive. Some of them secured urban jobs—for example, those who worked for Bethlehem Steel in South San Francisco.

Starting in the early 1930s and continuing through the 1940s, the Castaneda family gradually sold its land. The U. S. migrants of the 1920s who had savings from U. S. earnings were the ones able to take advantage of this division of property. Consequently, the small-proprietor class was able to expand its holdings significantly by the early 1940s.

Due both to improvements in transportation and to the *bracero* program, the postwar wave of migration was much larger than any earlier migratory wave. About three-fourths of the village men migrated to the United States during the 1942-1954 period, and they were not just those of the "middle class." Although many migrated, only about one-third became permanently successful and established in the U. S. job market. The successful group was made up, by and large, of those who had contacts with Animeños who had remained in the United States after the earlier migratory wave of the 1920s.

Thus, the middle class of the *hacendado* period provided most of the migrants of the 1920s and used the proceeds to buy land in the village. Their descendants, the small-proprietor class of the 1940s, provided most of the migrants who founded the permanent-settler cores in California cities in the 1960s. Then, in the 1960s and 1970s, the founders of the urban settlements and other Animeños who had joined them via the network began buying assets back in the village, creating the two-class structure described under Pattern 1.

Impacts on the Village from Increased U. S. Migration

Pattern 1:

Increased migration of all types and increased U. S. orientation among migrants direct attention away from the village.

The influence of holding a good U. S. job on the amount of work a person does in the village can be seen by comparing temporary and permanent migrants (Table 15) and even more clearly by comparing undocumented shuttles with legal shuttles (Table 16). Temporary and shuttle migrants work more in the village than do permanent migrants because they earn less in the United States.

Both U. S.-oriented and temporary migrants tend increasingly to shun work in the village because of the low return to be gained relative to U. S. opportunities. An upper-class landowner can earn about 66.7 pesos [\$2.68 (U.S.)] a day for labor on his own plot. Even if he installed irrigation, his earnings would be inferior to his wage as a semiskilled worker in the United States. Although owning and working a village plot might appeal to a temporary migrant who is also a village sharecropper, he does not have the means to buy land.

This landed/landless situation of the two classes gives rise to a paradox: there is a shortage of labor for those who have land and a shortage of land for those willing to labor. Those with the land and income to improve it do not hold land for income purposes. Those who might be interested in working and improving the land for income generally are landless and do not have the semiskilled California job needed to finance purchases and improvements.

TABLE 15

Number of Years in Which at Least Two Months Per Year
Were Worked in the Village Between 1973-1978

Type of migrant	Number of migrants	No years	1-3 years	4-5 years
		percent		
One or two times	72	2.8	16.7	80.6
Shuttles (legal and undocumented)	146	17.1	32.9	50.0
Permanents	189	82.5	12.7	4.8

Source: Sample 1454, *infra*, p. 38.

TABLE 16

Number of Years in Which at Least Two Months Per Year
Were Worked by Shuttle Migrants in the Village
Between 1973-1978

Type of migrant	Number of migrants	No years	1-3 years	4-5 years
		percent		
Undocumented shuttles	125	13.6	33.6	52.8
Legal shuttles	21	38.1	28.6	33.3

Source: Sample 1454, *infra*, p. 38.

Migration has led to a severe labor shortage in the village not only because of the absence of prime-age males (recall Table 4) but also because many of those present in the village choose not to work (Tables 15 and 16). The effect on the village is cumulative in that the migration-induced labor shortage forces high labor costs, reducing returns to the land. Each year a few more who had been attempting to make a living from the land lose money and enter the migrant stream, heightening the labor shortage and raising labor costs still further thus reducing farmer earnings and encouraging more migration.

In response, farmers have been altering their production techniques toward the use of less labor not, however, by substituting machines for labor but, rather, by tolerating lower production. For example, in 1978 farmers were eliminating the labor-intensive tassel, cornstalk, and natural pasture harvests which resulted in a loss of efficiency in the use of this feed source.

It would seem that such a labor scarcity, coupled with relative wealth among the U.S.-employed landowning class, would lead to laborsaving and productivity-enhancing investments; but such investment has not occurred in Las Animas. The old system is still firmly in place; men, using animals, do all the planting, weeding, and harvesting.¹ The widespread familiarity among Animeños, with advanced agricultural techniques in strawberries and tree crops, for example, has yet to be utilized in the village. To realize such a potential would require a fundamental change in attitude among those with the skills and resources to expand irrigation facilities in their home town, for they are the ones with the most secure jobs in California and the least likely to be interested in village development.

Considering the number of U. S. dollars remitted to the village each year,² it is somewhat surprising that there has been so little investment in increasing the productive capacity of the village. On the other hand, it is not so surprising when one remembers the not-for-profit motives for owning land reported by the growing number of absentee landlords.

Although not generally used for enhancing productivity, funds from the United States have greatly improved life in the village. Recall that over half of an average family's income is derived from U. S. remittances (Table 2) without which many (or even most) families would be living in poverty. Most people in the village now have steady incomes. Life has been made more comfortable for many; a large minority have conveniences such as wells, stoves, and televisions.

Thus, U. S. funds have been used mostly for consumptive rather than productive purposes. The prime example is in the construction of vacation and retirement houses by U.S.-based Animeños. While stimulating the local economy on a short-term basis, such activities have done nothing toward bringing about needed technological changes that would result in permanent improvements in production practices, thereby raising the entire economy to a higher level. An improved consumption level for the village has been a tremendous benefit of migration, but it is built on a shaky foundation—dependency on conditions in another nation.

Impacts on the U. S. Receiving Areas from Increased Migration

Pattern 1:

At first, a receiving area captures considerable benefits at a reduced cost; gradually, as the migratory community matures, costs to the receiving area increase.

¹Tractor power is used for the initial breaking up of fallow soil and occasionally for milling fodder in the fields.

²Estimated at \$300,000 annually in the late 1970s.

At early stages of penetration by a migratory community, workers accept lower wages and fewer fringe benefits than later when they are better established. Further, when beginning their migratory cycle, almost all workers keep their families in the area of origin where they return when sick, unemployed, or too old to work. Thus, at first, costs associated with family maintenance and child rearing, unemployment, and retirement are borne by the sending area. For example, only 8.2 percent of the undocumented group have ever received unemployment insurance, despite the seasonality of their jobs, since most simply return home if long periods of unemployment threaten.¹ No undocumented worker in the sample has collected disability insurance or social security payments. Nearly three-fourths of them pay full payroll taxes, but only 21 percent filed income tax returns. Therefore, most miss refunds due because of their large families.

Then, as the community matures and more workers become legalized, costs to the receiving area are gradually increased. For example, 60 percent of legals in the sample have collected unemployment insurance; 7.5 percent, disability; and 10 percent, Social Security.

Later in the migration cycle of a community, families join the migrants; and the receiving area incurs schooling and other costs. In 1965, there were virtually no Animeño children in the United States; in 1979, 25.9 percent of all children under 15 years in the total binational community were in the United States where school attendance of those under 16 is universal.²

Another factor gradually raising the costs to the United States is that over time an ever greater portion of the migrant community can be expected to retire in the United States rather than return to the village. Although this future phenomenon cannot be directly observed from the samples, the expectation coincides with several other tendencies which are observable, *i.e.*, the increasing proportions of permanent and legal migrants, women, and U. S. house purchases.

The benefit received in terms of low-wage work done is also gradually reduced as migrants are integrated into a growing system of protective contracts. For example, the percentage of undocumented jobs paying overtime has increased steadily from none in 1945-1949 to 1.8 percent in 1955-1959 and from 10.9 percent in 1965-1969 to 32.1 percent in 1975-1979.³ The average U. S. wage received by Animeños workers (both legal and undocumented) increased sharply after the 1960-1964 entrenchment period, rising 45 percent in real terms (constant 1967 dollars) between 1965 and 1970 (Table 17). In the 1970s, however, the average wage declined in real terms, not rising as fast as inflation.

A well-established migrant community provides a hidden advantage for the receiving area—the community absorbs a considerable part of recruitment and training costs. Young men in the village are prepared for their first venture by repeated stories of U. S. workplace routines. The need for punctuality, for example, is a recurrent theme of such conversations. As newcomers are placed in jobs and oriented by friends and relatives to the tasks involved, the community underwrites part of the costs of job placement and training for employers in the receiving area. This particular benefit may increase rather than diminish as the migrant community matures.

¹See Sample 122, *infra*, p. 39.

²See Sample 143, *infra*, p. 38.

³See Sample 125, *infra*, p. 38.

TABLE 17

United States Wages Earned, Selected Years

Year	Number of men	Average wage	Wage in 1967 dollars ^a
		dollars per hour	
1945	9	.65	1.21
1950	9	.79	1.10
1955	13	1.64	2.04
1960	22	1.65	1.86
1965	32	2.02	2.13
1970	39	3.58	3.08
1975	53	4.40	2.73
1978	79	4.70	2.39

^aNominal values, deflated by the Consumer Price Index, 1967 = 100.

Source: Sample 143, *infra*, p. 38.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The in-depth study of Las Animas has traced the microeconomic impacts on one community of people as it set up daughter settlements in the United States and became increasingly committed to the U. S. job market. The case study can be used as a guide to how similar communities may have developed and may continue to develop on both sides of the border.

From the history of Las Animas, it was observed that international migratory communities tend to bifurcate into successful (U. S.-oriented) and less-successful (temporary) migrants. Then, as successful ones get a firm foothold in the U. S. job market, the flow of new migrants can be sustained. A newcomer with the right "connections" has a better chance to be among the successful. Temporary migrants continue to come north as well but generally must supplement their U. S. earnings with work in the village.

It was observed that migration not only means the absence of the most able, prime-age working men from the village but also a scarcity of any willing to work at local wages. Further, since the people correctly perceive that social mobility and improvement of their

lives lie not in bettering the production system in Mexico but in migrating to the United States, both private and collective investments made by individuals and local communities are principally to make the hometown more comfortable—not more productive. Individuals build houses and buy consumer durables, and communities dig public drinking wells and install electricity for home use; but such consumptive expenditures do not produce multiplier effects in the local economy as would productive investments (as improved farming techniques).

The bifurcation of the migrant community has also accentuated the differentiation between the landed and the landless creating an absentee landlord class with secure jobs in California and a landless, sharecropper class which depends on seasonal, unskilled labor in the United States. Although the landholding class has the resources to improve the land, revenues made on improved land cannot compete with wages earned through semiskilled employment in California. In general, while the sharecropper class may want to stay in Las Animas and work improved land, it is landless and without resources to invest. As a result, neither group takes an interest in improving the village economy; and the production system remains unchanged.

Thus, by the time Animeño village migrants move into middle age, they become resigned to one of two destinies: (1) unskilled work in the United States and sharecropping in the village or (2) semiskilled work in the United States and recreation in the village. The coexistence of these two destinies has created two clear-cut social groups in the binational Animeño community. Meanwhile, the hometown remains in a relatively backward state of development, with its main economic functions being to serve as a rest-and-retirement center for successful U. S. migrants and as a reproduction area for future migrants.

On the U. S. side, the bimodal structure of Mexican migration, whereby some get good jobs while others are relegated to poor ones, tends to preserve the segmented nature of the labor market. Certain microsectors become dominated entirely by illegal, temporary workers—for example, the construction cleanup in southern California and the strawberry industry in Monterey County. In both, the low wages and poor working conditions have eliminated U. S. domestic workers for many years.

As observed in the case of Las Animas, as migratory communities evolve, their members become less willing to take the poorest jobs. Migratory networks tend to set up beachhead communities in which newcomers are more quickly directed toward better paying jobs. Young men tend to start up a job ladder and bring their families from Mexico before, instead of after, they become legal U. S. residents in these mature migratory communities. As a consequence, U. S. employers may tend to look for migrants from less-mature emitting areas who are willing to accept lower wages and poorer working conditions. This process could encourage the sources of migration to spread to new villages, towns, and urban slums in Mexico.

Although in these concluding remarks certain negative aspects of the Mexican migratory movement have been reviewed, many positive benefits, both to the migratory community and to the receiving area, have been discussed as well. Certain Mexican communities have been lifted out of the poverty trap by their U. S. option; and the United States has received and continues to receive substantial benefits as its low-wage jobs are filled at a reduced social cost.

As increasing numbers of sending areas become transfer-dependent on the United States, benefits continue to accrue and standards of living to improve but not without problems and costs. The present situation in the United States and Mexican economies promises a continual flow of Mexicans northward. Mexicans unable to find work in their labor-surplus economy will continue to follow their network contacts to U. S. jobs if permitted. In the United States, because of the existence of large numbers of low-wage jobs which domestic workers shun under the prevailing conditions, the demand for migrant workers will remain high. These patterns could be altered only by structural shifts in both economies to accommodate the demographic and economic forces at work. Both areas stand to lose much, however, were such changes enforced by governmental interference.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

Sampling Procedure and Methodology

Sample 143

The first 67 interviewees in Las Animas were chosen at random by dividing the village into its eight *barrios*, listing the men in each, and randomly choosing a sample from each list. The 10 border interviewees and the 66 U. S. interviewees were chosen not randomly but selectively to form a representative sample. Sample 143 includes 18 minors between 16 and 20 years old.

Sample 1454

The first 122 interviewees of the 143, all male heads of households over 20 years of age, were asked to answer seven questions about themselves; their wives, children, siblings, and parents; and their wives' siblings and parents—a total of 1,454 individuals for whom the following data were gathered:

1. The age class of the individual.
2. The kin relationship to the interviewee.
3. The usual work in the United States.
4. The kind of migrancy.
5. The place at the time of the interview.
6. The property held in the village.
7. For males, the number of years worked two months or more in the village out of the last five years.

All responses were checked by a paid local advisor and by constant cross-checking in the community. A master list was kept which recorded each of the 1,454 individuals if they appeared on any of the lists of relatives given by the 122 interviewees. The kin network of each interviewee includes, then, his children, his siblings and parents, and his wife's siblings and parents.

Sample 125

This group is made up of the first 122 interviewees plus three additional persons; all are over 20 years old and are in Sample 1454. Some analyses were done with these three life histories added to Sample 122.

Sample 59

Fifty-nine village families gave a detailed accounting of their earnings, assets, and remittances.

Sample 67

Besides those in Sample 59, eight other village families gave only partial answers to income and asset questions.

Sample 122

One hundred twenty-two male interviewees over 20 years of age gave responses to questions relating to housing, social services, and life-style in the United States.

The Researcher's Approach to the Study

To fulfill the objective of painting an accurate portrait of the evolution of one migratory community over the last four decades, the extensive quantitative data that were gathered were put into perspective by a qualitative appreciation of the history of the community obtained from hundreds of hours of conversations with four generations of community members.

The senior author and his family first visited the village for two months in the summer of 1977 to acquaint themselves with the community; in the fall of 1977, the author visited the various Animeños settlements in the United States. From extensive notes taken during these visits, initial categories for data were formed. After a review of international wage-labor migration literature in the winter and spring of 1978, categories were refined and put into questionnaire form with the emphasis on easily understandable questions that could be accurately answered by community members. Objective facts about destinations of migratory moves, the length of stay, jobs held, wages earned, remittances sent back or received, and the quantities of resources produced and invested in the village constituted the core of the information gathered rather than the solicitation of attitudes and opinions.

Most of the interviewees eventually gave detailed and often personal accounts of their family life and history despite deep initial distrust of the investigator. The author was able to win the confidence of the people in three ways. First, he took a keen interest in the kin relationships of the community. Accurate records of each interviewee's relationship to all other people in the binational sample were kept and memorized. Since Mexican villagers have a natural predilection to discuss their kin ties, a convenient area of mutual interest was established. Second, the author and his wife, concerned with the economic development of the village, procured a sizable grant to be given to a local garment-making cooperative by a U. S. foundation. Third, the author hired a well-known and liked member of the community to travel with him to Tijuana and California while he carried out interviews in settlement communities. For these reasons, by the end of the two-year period of study, most community members had reversed their initial mistrust of the author's intentions.

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