A NEW VIEW OF MEXICAN MIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES

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Abstract

This thesis analyzes Mexican Migration to the United States.

The plan of this study is to review most of the data that has been used to measure the importance of this migration flow, and provide new information, both empirical and theoretical to show that both the data and its interpretation has been in most cases not entirely correct.

Chapter I briefly sketches out the basic questions that arise under the light of previous empirical evidence and interpretation of this flow. Chapter II provides a general overview of international migratory flows into the U.S. with specific reference the structure of the U.S. labor market, and Mexican illegal migrants. Chapter III contains an analysis of the quantitative evidence, and provides new data and analysis on remittances and its economic importance at a regional level for both countries. It also provides an estimate of probable range within could be placed the number of Mexican undocumented migrants may be. Chapter IV looks into the nature of emigration from rural Mexico, the general characteristics

of the migrants and the importance of this flow to some rural communities. It also offers a theoretical explanation of the possibility of coexistence of two entirely different patterns of migration coming from the rural villages. Here a description of the role of Mexican migrants in the U.S. labor market is undertaken urban migration is studied, and finally some conclusions regarding the complementarity of the labor markets of both countries are presented. Chapter V describes further evidence of the existence of two patterns of migration coming from the same rural areas, and census data is used to verify the compatibility of this data with the theoretical propositions advanced in Chapter IV.

We conclude that the new evidence advanced here shows that different migratory patterns coexist with the same villages being both perfectly rational although entirely different, and closely related to land tenior institutions. It is also shown that the regional distribution of Mexican migrants in the U.S. is becoming increasingly urban and that the relative importance of Mexican undocumented migration in relation to the total undocumented migrants has to be revaluated. Remittances are less important than what was usually considered and it is very likely that the same has happened with the estimates of Mexican undocumented migration. The U.S. labor market contains within its segments a "limbo" labor market composed by undocumented migrants of all nationalities which operates fluidly although in a clandestine way and suggest the urgent need for its study.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The general purpose of this study is to examine the phenomenon of undocumented Mexican migration to the United States. It is presumed here that the problem is best analyzed through specific reference to the labor market structures and institutional arrangements of production in both countries.

The United States faces an apparent imbalance between jobs and native workers in the lower strata of the labor market. Historically, certain jobs have usually been taken by immigrants and refused by second generation migrants. This imbalance is similar to that faced by Germany, France, the United Kingdom, Switzerland, Belgium, the Netherlands, Sweden and Austria, and appears to be characteristic of most developed countries. The process of development entails upward mobility for the native labor force, and apparently after a certain stage of this process there is not enough native labor to take the jobs located at the bottom of the labor market. Historically, these jobs have not dissapeared, and thus foreign labor has been used to fill them.

The European countries have tried to deal with the problem by hiring migrant workers contracted specifically, and temporarily, for the purpose of closing the gaps between labor supplies and demands in certain areas. The U.S. has refused to implement similar policies except briefly -and on a limited scale- as in the case of the <u>bracero</u> program for Mexican workers and on even more restricted programs

affecting Jamaican nationals. The existing gaps did not originate or dissapear with the legislation, however, and have been continually filled by international migrants who are in most cases undocumented. The migrants are illegal in a technical sense but in many cases their presence is overlooked because it helps to satisfy existing needs.

The idea of temporary international migratory workers without citizenship rights as in Germany or Switzerland seems to be inadmisible in the U.S. At the same time the right to acquire citizenship has been severely curtailed --through reductions in the immigration quotas-- although not the need for migrant labor. The jobs are there and are being filled up with international migrants. The laborers are illegal, but the jobs are not. Migrant workers seem to accept jobs that are unattractive to native labor, and thus may serve a useful social and economic function by filling up existing gaps due to inadequate native supply; and support some other jobs which are more desirably placed in the labor market structure. If apprehended they have virtually no rights, except to choose voluntary deportation, and, consequently exist in a limbo located somewhere inside the secondary sector of the labor market.

The apparent major supplier of these migrants, Mexico, faces the problems of a dual economy. It has a fast growing modern sector coexisting with evident backwardness and rapid population growth in the rural areas and the "traditional" sector of the urban centers.

Heavy migration from the rural areas to the cities and the inability of the modern sector to absorb the tremendous growth of

labor supply[1], has resulted in a peculiar urban labor structure. The resulting structure of the economy reflects the contradictions of an improving modern sector and worsening conditions elsewhere. The rural sector is overcrowded, characterized by relatively low wages and a falling rate of labor productivity.

The other major outlet for the overcrowded rural sector is the U.S.

There seems to be a labor market complementarity between the U.S. and Mexico; a symbiotic relationship between workers searching for jobs in one country and jobs lacking workers in the other, operating fluidly but in a clandestine way.

The issue of international labor migration should be seen as one of a transfer of resources. The international transfer of resources has been studied mostly in the context of financial transfers of capital from rich to poor countries --in the form of development grants, financing of the trade balance, private foreign direct investment, etc. Foreign capital is necessary to supplement low domestic savings and also to help finance imports with needed additional foreign exchange. The objective is to supplement savings in order to optimally increase income per capita.

The simplest sort of production function includes, in its basic form, capital and labor as independent variables to obtain a greater income per worker, additional capital per man is generally required. Conversely, internal labor scarcity can be relieved by

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[1] The population of Mexico City grew at an annual average rate of 6% in the fourties, 5.2% in the fifties and 5.3% in the sixties.

foreign labor in order to increase output per unit of capital, Which strategy is optimal depends on the relative returns to, and costs of capital and labor in a national economy.

Historically, both labor and capital mobility have been important. Europe, for instance, exported sixty million people between 1851 and 1970, and four million migrants in Europe are currently working outside their native countries.[1]

International labor migration has been seen mostly as a sociological or demographic problem rather than an economic one. Few have argued that labor, like its economic complement, capital, flows across national boundaries obeying a fundamental economic calculus of cost and return.

Transfers of capital from developed to underdeveloped countries, do not generally meet with serious economic objections, although some have argued that they should. Labor transfers do not receive the same reception. Just as the World Bank estimates the national scarcity of capital in LDC's, the International Labor Office could estimate efficiency prices for labor in the markets of the developed economies.

Imports of labor should be seen as the mirror image of capital imports. It may be necessary for developed countries to supplement deficiencies of their low level, lower skilled workers in order to eliminate underutilization of resources because of bottlenecks in the labor market, and thus reach greater levels of national income. The gain in national income due to imported labor should be more

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[1] Kindelberger, C. International Economics R.D. Irwin, 1973, p. 209.

than enough to compensate for the wages paid.

When interpreting these flows of labor as an equilibrating reaction to international disparities in factor prices, the evidence that has been used to measure their importance to the U.S. and Mexican economies is highly imprecise. For instance, if one believes the conventional wisdom, which insists that there are from four to twelve million illegal aliens in the U.S. about five million of which are Mexican (a "silent invasion"), then one would also have to realize the following:

a) If those numbers were accurate, it would mean that the number of Mexican undocumented workers in the U.S. is almost equal to the total black and other male labor force in the U.S. (5.7 million in 1975).[1] It would also mean that it would be about as common to see a Mexican undocumented worker as a black male worker, and it would be much more common to see an illegal alien of any nationality than a black male worker. However, it is hard to believe that the above numbers are true, since no one seems to notice illegal aliens very much except in times of severe unemployment.

b) If five million Mexicans were working in the U.S., then 20 to 25% of the 15 to 59 year old Mexican labor force (or about 50% of the total 15 to 59 male labor force) would be working in the U.S.

In addition, if one believes the current estimates of the amount of remittances sent by these workers to Mexico, of over three

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[1] U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Handbook of Labor Statistics, 1979, p. 31, Table 3.

billion dollars in 1975[1], then one would also have to believe that remittances are as important to the Mexican economy as total merchandise exports, which were 3.0 billion in 1975.[2]

The reasons for believing these almost believable estimates are that there is an apparent excess demand for unskilled workers in the secondary sector of the U.S. labor market and an enormous wage differential. Even then, however, it would be hard to explain why every relatively poor person does not migrate to the U.S., and why apparently the very poorest ones migrate to the urban centers in Mexico, instead of to the U.S.

It will be shown below that the number of undocumented workers in the U.S. indeed seems to have been overestimated, as has the volume of remittances. It will also be shown that the fact that not everybody migrates to the U.S. does not reflect irrationality, but rather that the process of migration is more complicated than a simple calculus involving wage differentials and the probability of finding a job.

This dissertation is an attempt to answer some of these questions as they relate to the Mexican illegal migration to the U.S. Hopefully, it will also shed some light on the whole illegal migration issue: its causes, consequences, magnitude, and its relation to the process by which national labor markets complement each other through international flows.

The ideas developed in this study are derived primarily from a series of interviews with illegal migrants in their home communities.

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[1] W. Cornelius. "La Migracion Ilegal Mexicana a los Estados Unidos: Conclusiones de Investigaciones Recientes, Implicaciones Politicas y Prioridades de Investigacion. Foro Internacional. Enero-Marzo 1978.

[2] World Bank Special Study on the Mexican Economy 1979, Vol. II, Table 3.2.

In addition to the interview materials, and, as suggested by them, quantitative data was collected on Mexican migrants'remittances, through a sampling process.

The interviews were structured to cover certain basic questions, but were open ended, since personal contact and considerable cooperation on the part of the migrants was essential to success. Since the universe of undocumented Mexican aliens is unknown, it is impossible to obtain a scientifically valid sample. One region was therefore selected somewhat arbitrarily. Consequently, the interview materials cannot support any generally valid conclusions, but do indicate general patterns that were tested with additional information. The procedure followed was as follows:

a) First the field study was done.

b) The field study was complemented with information contained in anthropological and community studies of Mexican Villages.

c) A sample of migrant's remittances was undertaken.

d) Simple models of migrants'behaviour were tested with published data on migration and other variables related to the migratory processes.

The work is structured on a number of particular Chapters:

In Chapter II, a general overview of labor migration to the U.S. is offered, with particular reference to Mexican migration.

In Chapter III a reevaluation of the issues on the amount of remittances, the geographical distribution of migrants and the possible magnitude of the undocumented Mexican migration to the U.S. is undertaken.

Chapter IV deals with the nature of emigration from rural

Mexico, as observed while conducting field research, and provides a theoretical explanation for the coexistence of an internal flow to the urban areas alongside an international flow to the U.S.

In Chapter V, further evidence is presented to prove the hypothesis advanced in Chapter IV through the analysis of community studies and census data.

Chapter V advances some general conclusions.

CHAPTER II

A GENERAL OVERVIEW

"Man spends his life building mechanisms of which he becomes a more or less voluntary prisoner" wrote Marc Bloch[1] in trying to show how we could explain the present with the past.

Throughout history, labor migration to the U.S. has been seen from exactly the same points of view. In 1850, Edward E. Hale gave the following description of the impact of the Irish migration on the labor market:

> "We are here, well organized, masters of the soil,. It must be that when they come in among us, they come to lift us up. As sure as water and oil each finds its level they will find theirs,. Their inferiority.. compels them to go to the bottom, and the consequence is that we are, all of us, the higher lifted because they are here.. Factory,. and farmwork comes into the hands of Irishmen,. Natives are simply pushed up, into foremen,., superintendents.., railway agents, machinists, inventors, artists, etc.,"[2]

In his view -which was fairly widespread- there is the sense of levels in the labor market and a need, although somewhat uncomfortable, for foreign labor to fill certain jobs.

Hale's view is comparable, in a Victorian way, to that of the dual labor market theorists and to the opponents of indiscriminate labor immigration restrictions. Labor migration is seen as a consequence of, and a need for, further development. Second

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[1] M. Bloch. Introduccion a la Historia. Fondo de Cultura Economica, 1952. p. 35. (author's translation).

[2] E. Hale. Letters on Irish Immigration quoted in Oscar Handlin, Boston's Immigrants: A Study in Acculturation. Cambridge, Belknap, 1959, p. 84.

generation migrants may not always have been "lifted up", nevertheless, they seem to have rejected the jobs that were traditionally held by their parents. They tend to move forward[1], leaving the base of the labor market empty and, thus, invite new immigration.

New immigration has always been immediately available from all over the world, due to seemingly persistent absolute and relative differences in wages and job opportunities in the U.S. And so, the cycle completes itself.

A contrasting view is the also historically persistent and well-known Neo-Malthusian position that "Every foreign workman who comes into this country takes the place of some American workingman".[2] In this view, immigrants displace natives dominating certain markets and depressing wages simultaneously.

Both views seem to have truth to them but allowances have to be made for different types of migration and for the kinds of jobs migrants have been taking, before it can be decided into which framework they fit. Labor markets are highly segmented, and -unless one wants to consider immigration as homogeneous- migrants, according to their social, cultural and technical background, will and have fitted into different segments of this market. For example, Dominican illegal laborers are known to have concentrated primarily in the garment industry in New York, and Mexicans are thought to be predo-

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[1] Michael J. Piore. "The Role of Immigration and Industrial Growth: A Case Study of the Origins and Character of Puerto Rican Migration to Boston", MIT, Department of Economics. Working Paper Num. 122, May 1973.

[2] Isaac A. Howrwich. Immigration and Labor: The Economic Aspects of European Immigration to the U.S. C.W.Y. Huebsch and Co. 2nd edition, 1922.

minantly in agricultural tasks in the Southwest, in Los Angeles garment industry and in industrial jobs in the Chicago area. Similarly, one would also find less visible Canadians working in the construction industries in the Northeaster states, and Portuguese, Poles, Greeks and Italians in a wider spectrum of industries.

In the literature on Industrial and Labor Relations, descriptions of "common" occupations abound. These occupations, due to their low skill requirements -like laboring or domestic service- have traditionally been taken by immigrants. In 1890, 32 percent of Italian born males were laborers.[1] Few of the immigrants could speak English, and most of them planned to work in the U.S. for several years, save money, send it home, and return to their families in Italy. In 1910, the male/female ratio for the Italian born population in the U.S. was 190 to 6, denoting clearly the intentions of a temporary stay for mostly male laborers. Their intentions for a short stay made investment in either English or labor market information irrational. The Italian migratory wave replaced to some extent the Irish in "common" occupations. The Irish started concentrating in "Irish occupations" like teamster, police or firemen. Italian migration changed the Irish occupational structure, although, apparently, it did not change perceptibly their welfare.[2] In certain common occupations, wages decreased and forced the move

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[1] Yoram Ben-Portah. "Labor Force Participation and the Supply of Labor", Harvard Institute of Economic Research Discussion Paper. 1973.

[2] Brendan O'Flaherty. "The American Irish and Italian Immigration: On the Uses of Despised Minorities", Unpublished Paper, Economics 2810a. Harvard University. May 1972.

in others the move came before. Some of the available jobs taken by the new migrants placed them in direct competition with native laborers, while others remained open to new laborers.

The above example illustrates the role that was traditionally assigned to the new waves of immigrants. Immigrants were handicapped in many cases by having a limited knowledge of needed skills, the institutions, and, many times, the language. This, however was not true for the sons of the migrants, who normally overcame their parents'handicaps, refused to take their jobs, and thus left a vacuum at the bottom of the labor market. That vacuum was filled by new immigrants and the cycle continued. When immigration quotas were established, this historical pattern did not dissapear, and the need for foreign workers persisted. The flows simply changed their status from "documented workers" to "undocumented workers" maintaining the same characteristics: mostly male, unskilled, with intentions of a temporary stay.

2.1 Mexican International Migrants.-

Mexican migration to the "land of opportunity" has a long history. From the first migrants recorded in the census of 1900[1], and the first important "wave" recorded in 1909-10 -composed mainly of upper class Mexicans fleeing the revolution of 1910- many people have crossed the border as documented or indocumented migrants. At the same time, since at least 1900, many U.S. employers have been employing Mexicans who crossed the border with or without proper documentation.

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[1] 103 410 foreign born Mexicans.

The Mexican migrants resemble very much the migratory waves of the Irish, Italians, Portuguese, etc., but observe one important difference. As previously mentioned, most international migrants have gone to the U.S. with the main purpose of working for some time, saving some money and going back to their countries. This was impossible for many of them, however, due to the great distance and the sum of money involved in return migration.[1] Mexican migrants, on the other hand, can return home easily if they so desire, and, therefore, have retained the same occupational characteristics throughout their migratory history. They have always been a new wave of migrants. The "second generation migrant" phenomenon has happened only in a parallel, although different, group of Mexican migrants i.e., the Mexican-Americans who had already been there before, or the ones who stayed in the U.S. The reader is reminded of the fact that after the Mexican American war, on February 2, 1848, Mexico signed the Treaty of Guadalupe under which it surrendered to the United States an area of 890 000 square miles comprising Texas, New Mexico, and California, or more than half its national territory.

The first two important studies dealing with Mexican labor migration describe Mexican laborers in about the same terms in which they are described today. Victor S. Clark's field study reported in 1908 on the increase of low-cost Mexican labor in the mines, railroads and agriculture in the Southwest and in other

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[1] See Michael J. Piore, Birds of Passage^ Migrant Labor and Industrial Societies. Cambridge University Press. 1979. p. 149.

places.[1] He described the Mexican laborers as the scavengers of the industry, those who picked up the positions left vacant by other classes and supplanted the least skilled and least reliable Europeans.

It seems that the jobs that have been held by Mexican migrants have always tended to possess the characteristics described as secondary work by Piore for the dual labor market hypothesis; low pay, poor working conditions, little chance for advancement, and a personalized relationship between employers and supervisors.[2]

In 1911, Mr. Dillingham, in his report to the Immigration Commission on the Mexican labor problem, gave a similar, neo-victorian dual labor market interpretation. He wrote:

> "That Chinese and white men of the older type are no longer available in any considerable number under present conditions and at any price is evidenced by the efforts made by one company to secure laborers at higher wages to supplement the Mexicans.. the Mexican immigrants are providing a fairly acceptable supply of labor in a limited territory in which it is difficult to secure others, as for as their residence and their personal qualities, so that their incoming does not involve the same detriment to labor conditions as is involved in the immigration of the other races who also work at comparatively low wages".[3]

Mexican labor has been an important part of the social and

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[1] V.S. Clark, "Mexican Labor in the U.S.", U.S. Bureau of Labor Bulletin, 1978, September 1908, p. 466-522.

[2] Michael J. Piore. "The Role of Migration in Industrial Growth: A Case Study of the Origins and Character of Puerto Rican Migration to Boston". M.I.T. Working Paper 112, May 1973.

[3] Dillingham Commission. Report to the U.S. Immigration Commission, 61st. Congress (42 vols., Washington). 1911.

economic mechanism of the U.S. for a long time, retaining many of its original characteristics. It has also been a very important part of the Mexican mechanism. Among the first important pronouncements regarding labor migration from Mexico was one by Francisco I. Madero.

> "The situation of the Mexican worker is so precarious that, in spite of the humiliations that he suffers across the Rio Grande, thousands of our fellow countrymen annually emigrate to our neighboring Republic, and the truth is that their lot is less sad there than in our land".[1]

Labor migration to the U.S. has also been a fact in the history of Mexico, and has been viewed from two different standpoints. An important segment of Mexican literature on undocumented migration to the U.S. has been somewhat critical to the migration movement. Manuel Gamio[2] in 1930 felt that, while permanent migration to the U.S. should be discouraged because Mexico was very sparsely populated, transitory migration should be encouraged, for it provided jobs during recessions, trained labor and was an important source of income through the remittances sent to their families in Mexico.

Some documents reflected the fact that they did not believe in surplus labor, and estimated the loss in agricultural production and exports as being higher than the benefits from migration.[3] Some others argued, without much proof, that Mexico was losing its

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[1] F. I. Madero. La Sucesion Presidencial. San Pedro, Coahuila, Partido Nacional Democratico, Diciembre 1908, Mexico, Los Insurgentes, 1960.

[2] Manuel Gamio. Quantitative Estimate Sources and Distribution of Mexican Immigration into the U.S. Talleres Graficos, Mexico 1930. p. 10-11.

[3] Luis G. Zorrilla. La Emigracion de Braceros y la Economia Nacional. Mexico. Imprenta Aldina, 1963.

better and more educated workers to the U.S.[1], or that given the low probability of finding a job and the amount of money needed for the process of migration, this flow suggested a negative input into the Mexican Economy.[2]

On the other hand, most anthropological and field studies underline the importance of -and, in most cases, the benefits derived from- international migration as it concerns rural villages in Mexico, where the economic benefits are more obvious than the social ones.[3]

Irregardless of the academic controversies on the importance of Mexican labor migration to the U.S., the fact is that under different legal status, the flow has never been interupted, reflecting a symbiotic relationship between Mexican migrant laborers and U.S. employers that has been historically persistent.

Along with the economic ups and downs of both, the U.S. and Mexican economies, there has been a steady flow of Mexican immigrants to the U.S. Of these, some have been legal, permanent entrants,

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[1] Moises T. de la Peña. El Pueblo y su Tierra: Mito y Realidad de la Reforma Agraria en Mexico. Cuadernos Americanos, Mexico 1964, p. 117.

[2] Jorge Bustamante. Mexican Migration and the Social Relations of Capitalism. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Notre Dame, 1975, p. 160.

[3] Luis Gonzalez. Pueblo en Vilo. El Colegio de Mexico. Mexico 1972, p. 222-227.
E. Fromm and M. Maccoby. Social Character in a Mexican Village. Prentice Hall 1970.
G.M. Foster. Tzintzuntzan. Fondo de Cultura, Mexico 1972. p. 37.
R.V. Kamper. Campesinos en la Ciudad. Sepsetentas. Mexico 1976. p.47.
O. Lewis. Tepotzotlan. Village in Mexico. Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1966, p. 98.
A. Iszaevich. Modernizacion en una Comunidad del Valle de Oaxaca. Sepsetentas. Mexico 1973, p. 149.

fulfilling selective occupational requirements and family reunification provisions. Some others were admitted from 1947 to 1964 on a temporary basis to perform specific seasonal jobs in the agricultural sector. These latter entered through the provisions of a specific arrangement which, in 1951, was formalized by the U.S. Congress as Public Law 1978 or the Bracero Program. It was started to supplement U.S. labor temporarily as a result of the Korean war, and finally ended, after four successive extensions, on December 31, 1964.

Thereafter Mexican laborers were allowed in under the provisions of Public Law 414 and, since then, there has not been any contracted Mexican labor working legally in the U.S.[1]

At the same time that legal immigrants and the braceros, Mexican laborers without documentation were also crossing the border.

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[1] For an excellent study on braceros see H. Campbell. Bracero Migration and the Mexican Economy 1951-1964. Ph.D. Thesis, The American University, 1972.

CHAPTER III

QUANTITATIVE DIMENSIONS OF THE MEXICAN EMIGRATION TO THE U.S.

Undocumented Mexican migration (because it is perceived to be responsible for most of the illegal immigration into the U.S.) has received a great deal of the blame for unemployment in the U.S., especially among youths. The Mexican worker has been receiving the same reception that was given to the German, Chinese, Japanese, Irish, Italian and Portuguese migrants, with the additional burden that he is technically illegal.

Although it is possible that most of the illegal immigration into the U.S. may come from Mexico, it is also true that most of the existing estimates of illegal migration are obviously biased, due to the fact that they are based on apprehension statistics.

The undocumented migratory process is one that, due to its very nature, has proven to be unmeasurable. Therefore, a great deal of the debate in the literature pertaining to illegal aliens is centered around how many undocumented immigrants there are in the U.S., and where they come from.

Most of what is "known" about illegal migrants in the U.S. comes from data on apprehensions (See Table I). In 1972, Commissioner R.F. Farell of INS estimated the number of illegals to be about 1 013 000.[1] This estimate was labeled as conservative by the Subcommittee on Immigration, reasoning that, since one

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[1] U. S. Congress. 1973. p.4.

TABLE III.I

DEPORTABLE ALIENS

Year	Deportable Aliens Located	Deportable Mexican Aliens Located	Deportable Mexican Aliens as a percentage of total deportable aliens (%)
1961	88 823	29 817	33.57
1962	92 758	30 272	32.64
1963	88 712	39 124	44.10
1964	86 597	43 844	50.63
1965	110 371	55 349	50.15
1966	138 520	89 751	64.79
1967	161 608	108 327	67.03
1968	212 057	151 705	71.54
1969	283 557	201 636	71.11
1970	345 353	277 377	80.32
1971	420 126	348 178	82.87
1972	505 949	430 213	85.03
1973	655 968	576 823	87.93
1974	788 145	709 959	90.08
1975	766 600	680 392	88.75
1976	875 915	781 474	89.22

SOURCE: For 1960-1975: Annual Reports of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, Table 27B. Deportable Aliens located by status at entry and nationality.

For 1976 same source, Table 30.

million aliens were deported in 1954 as a result of Operation Wetback, the number should therefore be larger in 1972. The Subcommittee then placed the estimate at between one and two million. Both these estimates were based on the assumption of a constant ratio of apprehended to unapprehended aliens. Commissioner Chapman estimated that, in 1975, there were between 4 and 12 million undocumented aliens.[1] A more interesting, although equally spurious estimate, was done by Lesko Associates in 1975.[2] They repeated an exercise done by Howard Goldberg of Georgetown University for a seminar on immigration. He studied the 1960 Mexican population census and applied life-table survival rates by age an sex to project the population to 1970. He then compared this projection with the actual 1970 census, substracted the legal Mexican immigrants to the U.S., and came up with a difference of 1 597 000 persons missing. This number was considered to be the number of Mexicans illegally working in the U.S. in 1970. Then, using this as base-line data, and fixed completely arbitrary apprehensions to escape ratios, an estimate of 5 200 000 Mexican illegals for 1975 was reached.

For mid-1975, a total estimate of all illegal was placed at 8 180 000. This estimate was arrived at through the use of a Delphi panel, and represented the mean of the estimates of the six panelists after the third Delphi round. The estimates of the panelists consisted merely of their opinions, without any proof

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[1] C. B. Kelly, S.M. Tomasi: "The Disposable Worker", Occasional Papers and Documentation; Center for Migration Studies, N.Y. 1976.

[2] Lesko Associates. Basic Data and Guidance Required to Implement a Major Illegal Alien Study During Fiscal Year 1976. October 1975.

required. The range of the estimates was 4 to 12 million. The criticisms of these "estimates" are obvious. The pannel was too small, the people who had more knowledge of the phenomenon (INS employees) were excluded, adequate baseline data was not provided, the number of questions was insufficient. In general it was a poor application of the Delphi process, and there is an ample body of literature dealing with these problems.[1]

The base-line data can also be criticized on several points that range from the life-table survival method of projection itself, to an important undercounting[2] in the 1970 census, thus casting further doubt on the validity of the estimate.

After these attempts, several others have been made, but only one other deserves particular attention. Clarise Lancaster and Federick J. Scheuren,[3] using capture-recapture techniques with a sample of the population, including illegal aliens (who were not identifiable as such) and an independent estimate or count of the population excluding illegal aliens, which was matched to Internal

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[1] The most complete is probably D.L. Little Congressional Research Service, "Memorandum to Congressman Herman Badillo", 1976.

[2] See for example: Eduardo Cordero, "Evaluacion y Correccion de la Estructura por Edad y Sexo del Censo de 1970" in Evaluacion y Analisis. Proyecciones de la Poblacion Mexicana 1970-2000. Secretaria de Programacion y Presupuesto. Serie III. Abril 1978. Also Oscar Altimir. "La Medicion de la Poblacion Economicamente Activa de Mexico". Demografia y Economia. Vol. I, 1974.

[3] Clarise Lancaster and Federick J. Scheuren. "Counting the Uncountable Illegals: Some Initial Statistical Speculations Employing Capture-Recapture Techniques". Proceedings of the American Statistical Association. 1977.

Revenue Service individual income tax records, and Social Security Administration earnings and benefit data substracted this last estimate from the initial sample (Exact Match Study Data). Their estimates, which varied widely, suggested that the value could be anything from 2.9 million to 5.7 million in 1973, and ended up saying that there may be about four million illegal aliens in the U.S. This study, although clearly the best, has not received as much publicity as the others that use apprehension statistics. These statistics by themselves are interesting but, as a whole, reflect several biases.

The first obvious bias regarding the relative importance of the Mexicans in the overall problem is that the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) has consistently concentrated most of its resources on the southwest border, due to the fact that this strategy is more cost effective.[1] This problem, however, creates certain other problems. It would be misleading to characterize most of the illegal aliens as male and as Mexican (although they are being characterized as such) on the basis of this data, because there is no reason to believe that the rest of the aliens are similar to the Mexicans who are apprehended, and there is no reason to believe that apprehended Mexican aliens are representative of the ones who are not caught, a fact that will be documented later.

A much more startling problem related to this data is described in a recent unpublished study done by the Centro Nacional

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[1] M. Houstoun and D. North. The Characteristics and Role of Illegal Aliens in the U.S. Labor Market, and Explanatory Study . Washington, D.C. Litton and Co. March 1976. p. 49.

de Informacion y Estadisticas del Trabajo.[1] They claim, that, when taking a sample of the Mexican illegals deported, they could only detect a much smaller number than the total reported by the INS. While the INS deportation statistics for 1978 cited a total of 1 058 000, of which 90% are Mexican (950 200), CENIET could only account for 325 000 Mexican illegals by taking a sample of all the Mexicans deported at all points of deportation. This discrepancy suggests the need for a reevaluation of the whole "silent invasion" issue.

3.1 The evidence from the remittances: Geographical Distribution and Importance.

As stated earlier, in almost all cases, migrant transitory workers sent money back to their families on a regular basis. During this survey, it was found that even though the sums were variable, they normally stayed within a range of 80 to 400 dollars. Yet, there was no typical sum, or frequency of remittance, to speak of.

Money orders, and postal money orders were the usual means to make the remittances and, in both cases, transitory workers utilized certified mail service. Yet, 88% preferred money orders since these could be easily purchased even at supermarkets. Postal money orders were less attractive -selected in 6 percent of the cases- since they had to be acquired at a Post Office, and because of the fear of being discovered.

Documented workers, on the other hand, tended to send small sums, or no money at all, since their families made their residence

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[1] Carlos Zazueta H. "Consideraciones acerca de los Trabajadores Mexicanos Indocumentados en los Estados Unidos: Mitos y Realidades", CENIET. Mimeo 1979. p.8.

in the U.S. Whenever they did send money, documented workers utilized personal checks sent through certified mail. They usually had checking accounts and personal checks had the advantage of being less costly, and more attractive to the since they eventually received the cancelled check in their bank statements. They could be cashed as easily as money orders.[1]

An obvious procedure for finding their impact on the Mexican economy and identifying the source regions and destinations of the migrants was to trace those checks. The problem here was that no record was kept of them. All checks were registered along with many other documents (travellers checks U.S. treasury checks, etc.), simply as dollars. In addition, because of the absence of capital controls in Mexico, there is no legal obligation on the part of the banks to report this money. It is not registered and will not necessarily appear in the balance of payments.

The banks received the checks and sent them immediately to a correspondant bank in the U.S., where, in turn, they were passed on to the clearing house. Fortunately, these transactions were microfilmed, in case there was some later claim.

This research is based on data taken from four commercial banks which will remain unnamed for reasons of confidentiality. A sample of the transactions recorded in one day in each bank was

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[1] Cashing the money orders or the personal checks in the communities was a simple matter, the only requirement was to have a checking account in a bank. If they did not, they usually sold their checks to somebody who had an account. This represented a good business to some people, who went around the communities buying checks at 20% or more below the going rate of exchange.

initially taken and the results were very similar. The complete one year survey, however, was carried out in only one bank, hereby referred as Bank X. The selection is justified since this bank had all its operations centralized in Mexico City. The other banks were either just state banks or did not centralize their operations thus making it very difficult for a national sample to be undertaken.

Initially a sample of one day per week was selected at random. Afterwards, due to time and budget limitations the sample was limited to one working day per month throughout the year 1975.

The sample of remittances was weighted afterwards by the total number of working days at banking institutions in order to come up with a total monthly and annual figure for remittances. To obtain a national estimate of remittances, it was assumed that the total absorption of foreign currency at this particular bank in every state was representative of its total absorption of remittances. The bank's share of total absorption (liabilities) by state was obtained from unpublished data of the Bank of Mexico, and a total national estimate was calculated.

The survey, as will be seen later, proved to be very interesting, for several reasons. To begin with, it was the first attempt at measuring the illegal alien problem, which was not based on a tally of apprehended illegals and as such did not have inherent biases in origins or destination. It was obviously not

simply registering entrants without inspection (EWI's).[1] It also offered the chance of getting a precise idea of the geographical distribution, both in Mexico and the U.S., of this mass of workers functioning in a 'limbo' labor market. A third important fact was that it made possible an assessment of the importance, in terms of money remitted and amounts of people, of this phenomenon in Mexico and in the U.S., in different states and occasionally in cities. At a city level it would be possible to have an idea of the magnitude of urban migration.

The procedure adopted required a classification of the checks registered in account 1110 of the Catalogo General de Cuentas para Instituciones de Credito y Uniones[2], in which the great bulk of money orders are recorded. The data was classified as follows:

a) Type of check

b) Origin, by city and state destination

c) Amount of the check

d) Issuer of the check

   1) a company

   2) a person with a Spanish surname

   3) a person with a foreign surname

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[1] Entrants without Inspection (EWI's) in the term used by the Immigration and Naturalization Service referring to the aliens who entered the U.S. without any authorization (wetbacks, alambristas). The other form of illegality is the "Visa Abuser" who violates the terms of his non-immigrant visa by overstaying or working contrary to the conditions of that visa.

[2] Comision Nacional Bancaria y de Seguros. Catalogo General de Cuentas para Instituciones de Credito y Uniones. Mexico 1976.

e) Recipient

1) a company

2) a person with a Spanish surname

3) a person with a foreign surname

Postal money orders could only be classified by destination, since they are standard all over the United States.

Account 2204 of the same catalogue also registered money orders issued by associate banks in the U.S., however the amount of checks was extremely small, or nil, so it was not considered for this sample.

The money and postal money orders that were sent and received by individuals with Spanish surnames will be analyzed. These checks are considered to be the money remitted by undocumented workers residing in the U.S. One could safely assume that only illegals would have any reason to send money orders to Mexico, as money orders sent to companies or foreigners were classified separately. As noted by Manuel Gamio in 1930, "permanent residents who have their families and interests with them rarely remit money".[1]

The results of this research seem to indicate that when they do remit, documented workers do it though personal checks. Moreover, although they sometimes may bring money along with them, these sums are unimportant since they are afraid of losing it.[2]

A further indication that the money orders are being sent by

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[1] Manuel Gamio. Quantitative Estimate Sources and Distribution of Mexican Immigration into the United States. Talleres Graficos Editorial y "Diario Oficial". Mexico 1930.

[2] See also Carlos Zazueta and Cesar Zazueta. En las Puertas del Paraiso. CENIET. Unpublished 1979, p.62-65.

braceros is found whenever a fraud is discovered in a post office in Mexico. These frauds are usually discovered after the post office receives complaints from braceros who were sending money to their families.[1]

Money orders do seem to give a much wider and unbiased estimate of the geographical distribution and importance of the Mexican laborers in the U.S., and can be used to define areas of location of the migration in Mexico, and their relative importance.

3.2 Source Regions, New and Old Findings.-

In absolute terms Table III.2 shows that most money orders go to the state of Guanajuato (35.4%), followed by Zacatecas (16.3%), the Distrito Federal (11.6%), the state of Mexico (9.1%), Durango (3.5%), and San Luis Potosi (3.2%). These states, with the exception of the D. F. and the state of Mexico (mostly Mexico City's Metropolitan Area) have a long tradition of emigration to the U.S.

Gamio found out, in his outstanding 1930 study, that 60% of the Mexican migrants came from the states of Michoacan, Guanajuato, Jalisco, and Nuevo Leon; in 1969, Samora[2] found that 37.5% of a sample of 493 apprehended Mexican illegals came from those states and San Luis Potosi. In the North and Houstoun study,[3] 38.3% of a group of 481 apprehended Mexican illegals came from the same states.

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[1] 110 000 complaints of workers and banking institutions were received by the postal office in one case, as documented in Proceso, August 1, 1971. Mexico.

[2] Julian Samora. Los Mojados: The Wetback Story. The University of Notre Dame. 1971.

[3] M. Houstoun and D. North. "The Characteristics and Role of Illegal Aliens in the U.S. Labor Market, and Explanatory Study". Washington, D.C. Litton and Co. March 1976.

TABLE III.2

TOTAL REMITTANCES FROM UNDOCUMENTED MIGRANTS 1975
Dollars

	Total Amount	*Remittances (per capita)	% Total
Total	317 559 988.00	5.6	
Aguascalientes	2 923 375.00	7.2	.92
Baja California	22 898.90	.02	.01
Campeche	1 808 793.75	6.11	.57
Coahuila	346 500.00	0.3	.11
Colima	257 419.35	0.9	.08
Chiapas	7 031 907.94	3.8	2.21
Chihuahua	3 725 686.14	1.9	1.17
Distrito Federal	36 944 255.00	4.5	11.63
Durango	11 342 037.037	10.3	3.57
Guanajuato	112 617 612.90	41.1	35.46
Guerrero	10 204 365.18	5.3	3.21
Hidalgo	1 663 606.50	1.2	.52
Jalisco	6 657 913.37	1.7	2.10
México	28 965 057.89	6.1	9.12
Michoacán	9 824 992.37	3.5	3.09
Morelos	3 234 829.97	4.2	1.02
Nayarit	1 387 312.50	2.1	.44
Nuevo León	1 181 787.27	0.6	.37
Oaxaca	1 871 881.95	0.8	.59
Puebla	2 383 640.13	0.8	.75
Querétaro	3 288 745.45	5.5	1.04
Quintana Roo	66 366.41	0.5	.02
San Luis Potosí	10 237 211.04	6.8	3.22
Sinaloa	101 040.10	0.1	.03
Tabasco	79 011.04	0.1	.02
Tamaulipas	2 572 574.80	1.5	.81
Tlaxcala	116 285.10	0.2	.04
Veracruz	1 472 891.66	0.3	.46
Yucatán	3 542 833.33	4.2	1.12
Zacatecas	51 687 155.93	48.9	16.28

* 1975 population taken from:
Statistics on the Mexican Economy. Nacional Financiera, S.A. México, D.F., 1977. Table I.5, pág. 10.

Samora, among others has suggested that the sources of Mexican illegal immigration are becoming more widely distributed. According to my data (See Tables III.3 and III.4), sources are indeed widely distributed. The studies mentioned above -except Gamio's- are (See Appendix) probably reflecting one of the biases mentioned before: Jalisco has around 42% of its migrants going to the border states of California and Texas while Michoacan has 49%, Guanajuato 45% and Nuevo Leon 45%. Due to the border patrol concentration in the border states they are bound to capture either the EWI's, or basically agricultural migrants, who work mainly in California and Texas. The Distrito Federal, which along with an important part of the state of Mexico, forms Mexico City's metropolitan area, has less than 30% of its migrants going to those border states, while almost 40% of them go to Illinois and New York. The fact that apparently an important fraction of Mexican illegals from some regions do not seem to go to agricultural jobs in border states explains why they are under-reported. The historical trend of migration to agricultural jobs from certain other regions may explain, on the other hand, the excesive attention placed on Mexican agricultural laborers in the U.S. The over-representation of Mexican agricultural laborers seems to be further exaggerated if one believes recent findings that suggest an apparent artificial inflation of the apprehension figures produced by the INS.[1]

The predominance of agricultural laborers in the whole

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[1] Carlos Zazueta and Cesar Zazueta. En las Puertas del Paraiso. CENIET. Unpublished 1970, p. 62-65.

SUMMARY TABLE III.3A

REMITTANCES BY MEXICAN STATE (DESTINATION) BANK X, 1975

	Total Amount	Mean	% Under 500
Aguascalientes	350 805	106	99
Baja California Norte	4 305	68	100
Campeche	1 011 518	1 338	86
Chihuahua	618 464	167	98
Chiapas	1 504 824	824	93
Coahuila	52 668	61	100
Colima	31 920	95	100
Distrito Federal	11 479 600	212	96
Durango	1 224 941	128	99
Guanajuato	10 464 513	135	98
Guerrero	1 611 450	139	98
Hidalgo	204 624	135	100
Jalisco	1 129 848	85	98
Estado de México	550 336	125	99
Michoacán	2 318 698	124	99
Morelos	1 090 138	140	98
Nayarit	621 516	82	100
Nuevo León	334 446	106	99
Oaxaca	1 015 592	264	97
Puebla	696 590	112	97
Quintana Roo	8 694	52	100
Querétaro	180 881	144	95
Sinaloa	12 222	73	100
San Luis Potosí	1 852 935	112	99
Tabasco	28 602	65	100
Tamaulipas	396 339	131	99
Tlaxcala	38 258	228	88
Veracruz	1 253 329	216	98
Yucatán	594 568	113	100
Zacatecas	3 044 775	120	99
0 0 0 0 a)	174 531	109	99
Total	43 897 472	151	98

a) 0000.- Money orders, origin unknown.

See Table III.3 in appendix.

phenomenon is, however, still apparent. The data found confirms that the states of Guanajuato and Zacatecas, with a long tradition of migration of this type, still account for the bulk of migration to the U.S. Guanajuato accounted for 35.5% of the total remittances, which represented 41.1 dollars (1975) per capita for the state. (See Table III.2). Migrants went, basically to California, Illinois and Minnesota, but were dispersed in 35 U.S. States. The average check was of $135 and 98% of the total checks were under $500. (See Table III.3 in the appendix).

Zacatecas accounted for 16.3% of the total remittances, and represented more on a per capita basis: $48.9. Migrants from Zacatecas also went, in order of importance, to California, Illinois, and Minnesota. 26 U.S. States appeared as destinations, with an average check of $120, and 94% of those checks were under $500. The results confirm that these two states do seem to have an important dependence on remittances money.

Another state, also from the central region, apparently has an important dependence of this kind. The state of Durango is important (from an absclute point of view) with $10.3 per capita total population of remittance money, and migration to California, basically, although New York came up in second place. 20 states overall were chosen as destinations. 99% of the checks were of less than $500; the mean check was $128.

San Luis Potosi is another state where remittances play an important absolute and relative role. This state has $6.8 per capita, and 3.22 percent of the total remittances. Illinois was

apparently the favorite destination, followed by California and Colorado. The mean check was $112, with 99% under $500. The state of Campeche, in the Southeast is another state which is important on a per capita basis. The most popular destinations were Texas, California, and Illinois.

The average remittance by the Mexican aliens was reported in the North and Houstoun study as being $129 a month[1], with the Mexicans aliens the illegals that sent the most money. As may be see in Table III.2A, this figure is somewhat similar to the overall mean, which was $151. The standard deviation was not very high, with 98% of the checks under $500.[2]

According to this survey, California, Illinois, Texas, New York and Minnesota are the most important states for migrant'destinations. California was chosen as a destination by migrants coming from 28 (out of a total of 32) Mexican States. Most came from Guanajuato (the most important source) Mexico City, and Zacatecas. Table number 10 shows that regardless of the origin of the migrant, the mean check sent from California was very similar, with an overall mean of $135, a small deviation, and 99% of the checks less than $500. It appears that the income received by migrants is very similar, and the remittances are therefore also very similar. These

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[1] David North and Marion Houstoun. "The Characteristics and Role of Illegal Aliens in the U.S. Labor Market, and Explanatory Study". p.86.

[2] See Tables in the appendix to this chapter. (Source author's sample of remittances).

SUMMARY TABLE III. 4A

REMITTANCES BY AMERICAN STATE (ORIGIN) , BANK X, 1975

State	Total Amount	Mean	% Under 500
Alabama	16 527	98.4	100
Arizona	304 945.2	175.0	95
Arkansas	274 785	1 635.6	88
California	11 666 342	134.7	99
Colorado	1 383 947.6	102.0	99
Connecticut	891 699.1	89.6	100
Delaware	4 200	100.0	100
Florida	923 811.4	637.6	91
Georgia	15 372	146.4	100
Hawaii	6 762	161.0	100
Idaho	204 724.2	221.6	91
Illinois	8 165 167.2	193.0	96
Indiana	179 340.8	258.8	91
Iowa	38 894.3	102.9	95
Kansas	141 162	129.3	98
Kentucky	61 918.5	491,4	83
Louisiana	68 851.9	364.3	78
Maryland	7 600.7	72.4	100
Massachusetts	16 485	87.2	100
Michigan	98 574	142.2	94
Minnesota	2 012 209.7	85.9	100
Mississippi	4 200	200.0	100
Missouri	574 185.1	976.5	93
Montana	8 009.6	63.6	100
North Carolina	27 300.0	260.0	80
Nebraska	17 850	212.5	100
Nevada	17 631.6	52.5	100
New Jersey	138 989.5	147.1	95
New Mexico	46 536	123.1	94
New York	3 550 061.7	347.8	92
Ohio	164 808	356.7	73
Oklahoma	63 711.3	233.4	92
Oregon	95 490.6	108.3	100
Pennsylvania	257 966.5	178.0	96
Rhode Island	7 511.3	178.8	100
Tennessee	6 804	81.0	100
Texas	3 922 051.1	208.9	97
Utah	65 541.0	240.1	85
Vermont	4 304.6	51.2	100

TABLE III.4A continued

State	Total Amount	Mean	% Under 500
Virginia	36 708.0	134.5	100
Washington	242 362	160.3	94
Wisconsin	569 866.5	935.7	90
Virginia (UP)	483	11.5	100
0000 M. MO. (a)	1 341 790.4	144.6	98
???? M. UP. (b)	6 249 994.2	105.5	100
Total Final	43 897 472	151.4	98

(a) 0000.- Money orders, origin unknown.

(b) ????.- Postal money orders, origin unknown.

See appendix.

facts suggest that in California there is a high probability that illegals do cluster in specific areas or jobs, and therefore earn about the same amount of money. The "illegal" labor market is definitely a defined market in this state, which apparently is also heavily dependent on Mexican laborers.

People from 27 states of the Mexican Republic choose Illinois as their destination. Most of them come from Mexico City and the State of Guanajuato. The total mean check is $193 and the deviation, as expected, is much higher than the one found in California. 96% of the checks were under $500. This state shows a very high variability in the size of check remitted, and this may reflect important differences in the labor market, and also in the characteristics of the migrants. It can be seen from Table 10 that, apparently, overall income must be higher in this state, and that probably there are important differences in income perceived due to diversity in jobs. Migrants from Mexico City may be making more money than the rest due to skill differences. The mean check remitted was $364[1] and the deviation was much higher. Although Guanajuato sent more people, its total income and average check sent were smaller, probably revealing occupations in lower skill jobs.

The next state in importance, Texas received people from 27 states, wich an average check of $209. Guanajuato, the D. F., San Luis Potosi and Zacatecas are the most important source states.

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[1] See tables in the appendix to this chapter.

New York is the fourth state in importance in terms of remittances. People from 22 Mexican States go to New York. The mean check is $348 and the dispersion is relatively high, with only 92% of the checks less than $500. An interesting result is that the most numerous group going to New York comes from Mexico City which a mean check of $345, higher than in other places, and also indicative of the existence of a different class of illegals. Presumably they are more skilled and presumably they may be visa abusers: The differences in mean checks and deviations suggest that the Mexicans do not seem to cluster in this market in specific occupations. The evidence from other studies does not point to New York as having Mexican illegals in important numbers. This is another indicator of how little is known of the relative importance of aliens of different nationalities in the U.S. Labor Market.

The state of Minnesota is the fifth in importance as a destination for people, also from 27 states of Mexico. This state, however, has never been found to be an important destination for Mexican illegals, probably because the INS, has very few agents in this state, and these few are also probably looking for Canadian aliens. Mexican illegals are clearly working there. Minnesota's newspapers do not spend much time with the illegal alien issue, for although it exists, it is not thought to cause unemployment. The mean check here is among the lowest, as is the standard deviation; 100% of the checks were less than $500. Most migrants are from Guanajuato, Mexico City, Zacatecas, San Luis Potosi and Guerrero.

In all cases the mean check is small, denoting, possibly, several things. First, agricultural jobs, and second, distance and living expenses, probably enable the migrants to send less money. The average check was $86, and the deviation was not very high (67.3).

Three important differences with other studies were found in this survey. First, as was pointed out above, Mexico City appears to be among the most important source regions of migrants to the U.S. Second, New York has fourth place in importance as a destination, after the traditional areas of: California, Illinois and Texas, third, Minnesota ranks very close to Texas and New York in order of magnitude.

It was especially interesting to note that Mexico City was an important source of migrant workers and that New York and Minnesota were important destinations for them.

This result may also reflect the fact that other studies did indeed have important biases, having obtained their results from samples of apprehended aliens. The 00 figure was used when it was not possible to determine the origin of the money order from the microfilm. It is an interesting figure, because it represents (if we assume that the defects in the microfilm were evenly distributed) an average for a random sample of origins; here the average check was $109, and California, New York and Illinois were the most important; 99% of the checks were less than $500.

The 00 destinations were D.F., Jalisco and Michoacan; the average check $145, and 98% under $500.

The studies of illegal Mexican migration or INS statistics rarely report illegal aliens coming from Mexico City into New York or any other area. The probable causes are: first, there semm to be a considerable num-

ber of aliens of other nationalities working in or around New York so they are not easily detected; and secont most of the INS policing is done along the Mexican border. The Mexicans that enter the country as "entrants without inspection"[1] (swimming across the river or crossing the fence in the California area) usually go to California, Texas or Chicago. Therefore it is understandable that most apprehensions are of Mexican EWI's, while the stock of "visa abusers", Mexican or otherwise, are bound to be dramatically misrepresented.

3.3 Amount of Remittances.

Using the sample and the procedure described a total of 317,559,988 dollars of remittances was obtained.[2] This figure may be critiziced on the ground that it is an underestimation. It may argued that it does not include the amount of money brought back by the undocumented aliens. A "guesstimate" -as it has often been done in this regard- could have been obtained but that approach was rejected for several reasons:

1.- There is evidence that they avoid bringing much money with them. The Zazueta's found that when migrants brought money back, they were abused by the authoroties on both sides of the border.[3] In my

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1 In 1974, for example, 90.1% of all apprehensions of illegal migrants were Mexicans, most of these were EWI's.

2 See table III.2

3 Zazueta Carlos and Zazueta Cesar. En las Puertas del Paraíso. (Observaciones hechas en el levantamiento de la Primera Encuesta a Trabajadores Mexicanos Indocumentados Devueltos de los Estados Unidos. CENIET. 23 de octubre - 13 de noviembre de 1977).

survey I found that they tried not to bring much money, or if they had to, they bought a money order. A response given to this question by a worker may help to illustrate the point: "When ready to return, if I had money left I always bought a money oder. The money could be stolen on the way back, but with a money order, you keep the copy of the check in a different place and that way you never lose it. I never carried bills".[1]

2.- When they brought money back many times they spent it in gifts and clothes and travel expenses before crossing the border. Thus, although when they left some money was brought back, it was not much, and an important part was spent in the U.S.

Another figure which closely resembles the amount of remittances found in this study may be seen when examining closely the 1968 National Survey on households incomes and expenditures:[2] This survey includes two tables with the following information:[3] Aid received by households, which includes, Remittances, Gifts, and other sources of income. As a counterpart of this table we have Transfers made from Outside the Family Unit. Ideally, these two figures, transfer given and received should cancel out, however they do not. There is a positive balance of 222,432,000 dollars which might be atributed to bracero remittances.[4] If we accept this figure as a possible remittance figure for 1968, and the 317,559,988 figure found in this study for 1975, the annual rate of growth would be of .052, which resembles the mean rate of growth of non-agricultural wages in the U.S. which was of .068.[5]

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1 This from author's interviews.

2 La Distribucion del Ingreso en Mexico. Encuesta sobre los Ingresos y los Gastos de las Familias 1968. Banco de Mexico F.C.E. Mex. 1974.

3 Jesus Reyes Heroles. Politica Fiscal y Distribucion del Ingreso. Tesis de Licenciatura. ITAM. 1976, p. 54.

4 Ibid.

5 Economic Report of the President. 1978, p. 298. Table B35.

3.4 Remittances and the Number of Illegals: Counting the Uncontables Once Again

It was mentioned in Chapter I that illegal migration, due to its characteristics, has proven to be unmeasurable. What follows is an exercise that aims to assess the possible magnitude, and the ranges within which the number of undocumented Mexican aliens may fall, on the basis of data from this research.

Our procedure will be to apply assumptions about the remittance behavior of Mexican migrants to out data on total remittances. Reasonably reliable data on the remittance behavior of apprehended illegals has been collected in an excellent study by North and Houstoun (1976). In that study, the authors found illegals captured in the South<u></u>est were, as a group, making the largest average monthly remittances, followed by, respectively, Mexican illegals (in general), Western Hemisphere illegals, visa abusers, and (remitting the least) Eastern Hemisphere illegals (see Table III.5).

Given assumptions about the incidence of payment (IP), and average remittance (AP), we shall further correct the average monthly payment reported for apprehended illegals by a correction factor (PR). Since this correction factor is less than one, this procedure has the effect of increasing the number of illegals <u>above</u> the levels implicit in the use of the raw North and Houstoun results.

We expect PR to be less than one (<u>apprehended</u> illegals make larger average monthly payments than the general population of Mexican illegals) for three reasons. First, as noted by North and Houstoun, visa abusers

make smaller average monthly payments than those that enter without inspection, and as noted in the last chapter, the remittance data suggests a substantial undetected population of Mexican 'visa-abuser' type illegals. Second, North and Houstoun found that aliens apprehend ed in the Southwest made greater monthly payments than other apprehend ed aliens, and Sothwestern apprehensions probably overrepresent the true probability of finding a randomly selected Mexican alien in the Southwest. Third, North and Houstoun suggest some tendency on the part of apprehended aliens to exaggerate their remittances to families.

Definitions:

TRM = NI x IP x PR x AP

with TRM total remittances in a given month by illegal aliens

NI number of illegals

IP incidence of payments (% of illegals remitting money)

PR average monthly remittance among all Mexican aliens as a propor tion of average monthly remittance among apprehended Mexican al iens

AP average monthly payment per remitting illegal

i.e., total remittances in a given month are equal to the number of aliens, weighted by the incidence of payments, multiplied by the average remittance corrected for overreporting of monthly remittances among apprehended aliens. Solving for NI (number of illegals) we have:

NI = TRM / (IP x PR x AP).

Using the incidence of payments and the average monthly payments from the North and Houstoun study (page 86) the following estimates may be made: (See Table III.5).

TABLE III.5

PAYMENTS MADE TO HOMELAND RELATIVES AND WAGES OF SELECTED GROUPS OF APPREHENDED ILLEGAL ALIEN RESPONDENTS

Groups of Respondents	Average Weekly Wage	Average Monthly Payments[1]	Percentage of Group Making Payments	Average Monthly Payments[2]	Total Number of Respondents
REGION OF ORIGIN					
Mexican Illegals	$ 106	$ 169	89	$ 129	481
Western Hemisphere Illegals (excluding Mexico)	127	116	72	76	237
Eastern Hemisphere Illegals	195	104	44	37	75
ENTRY TECHNIQUE					
Entered Withour Inspection[3]	108	162	87	124	555
Visa Abusers	150	115	63	63	238
Illegals in SW Border Counties	74	186	89	129	68
ALL APPREHENDED RESPONDENTS	120	151	79	105	793

SOURCE: Linton & Company Illegal Alien Study, 1975. (Taken from D. North and M. Houstoun, The Characteristics and Role of Illegal Aliens in the U.S. Labor Market. An Exploratory Study. Linton & Co. March 1976, pag. 86)

[1] Average based on only those making such payments.

[2] Average based on all illegals, including those not paying.

[3] INS term for aliens who enter the U.S. without authorization.

Upper Bound.-

It is assumed that .44 of the Mexican illegals send money -a proposition similar to that reported by North and Houstoun for Eastern Hemisphere illegals- and that they send the same average monthly remittance, which is $104. This is a conservative estimate, since Easterns and pressumed to have a low average propensity to send money. To truly provide an upper bound, we assume that Mexican illegals send only one fifth of the average monthly remittance reported by apprehended Eastern Hemisphere illegals.

IP = .444 AP = 104 PR = .20

26 460 000 ÷ 9.15 = NI^u 2.9 million

Lower Bound.-

It is assumed now that all Mexican illegals behave like the Mexican illegals of the North and Houstoun study. Yet as was mentioned above, to accept, as a standard, the behavior of apprehended Mexican illegals implies introducing severe biases on various grounds.

It is statistically incorrect to assume that because most apprehended illegals are Mexican, most illegals are Mexican. It is also untenable to assume that non-apprehended Mexican illegals are similar to apprehended Mexican illegals.

Again from Table III.5 we have:

IP = .89 AP = 169 PR = .75

PR = .75 amounts to assuming that the general population of Mexican illegals sends three quarters of the average monthly remittance reported by apprehended Mexicans.

26 460 000 ÷ 112.8 = NI^L = 234 575.46

Middle Range.-

For this estimate it will be assumed that Mexican illegals behave, on average, like their Western Hemisphere counterparts, as reported in the North and Houstoun study. PR will be .4, or equivalently, all illegals send 40 percent of the remittances sent by apprehended illegals.

IP = .7 AP = 116 PR = .4

$$26\ 460\ 000 \div 32.48 = MR = \underline{\underline{814\ 655.17}}$$

Thus, using the data of this research and on the basis of the evidence found by North and Houstoun, there could be a population of Mexican illegals working in the U.S., in any given month in 1975, ranging from 243 575 up to 2.9 million. A more likely figure is around 815 000.

3.5 Taking into account remittances through personal checks.

It could be argued -and, of course, the possibility exists- that the remittance figure for illegal labor is underestimated, because personal checks are also sent by illegals. In this section the effect on the magnitudes of adding up the personal checks will be analyzed. The reader is remainded, that although some illegals may send this money through this channel, no evidence from it was found in this study.

The reader is also reminded that it could be argued in a similar way that the remittance figure is overestimated. Total personal remittances will include personal checks plus money orders,

however, illegal remittances were exclusively sent through postal and money orders; and were the ones taken into consideration in the previous section.

The personal checks sent from person with Spanish surname to persons with the same characteristic added up on the basis of the methodology applied to postal money orders and money orders described in the previous section to 216 894 980 dollars for the year 1975. Adding this sum to the illegal remittance estimation, a total remittance of 534 454 968 is obtained. That implies a monthly average of 44 537 914 dollars.

Upper Bound total PC and illegal.-

IP = .44 AP = 104 PR = .20

44 537 914 ÷ 9.15 = $\underline{NPC + I^u = 4\ 867\ 531.5}$

Lower Bound total PC and illegal.-

IP = .89 AP = 169 PR = .75

44 537 914 ÷ 112.8 = $\underline{NPC + I^L = 394\ 839}$

Middle Range total PC and illegal.-

IP = .7 AP = 116 PR = .4

44 537 914 ÷ 32.48 $\underline{NPC + I^M = 1\ 371\ 241.1}$

3.6 Sensitivity Analysis.-

Let us assume that the remittances figure is equal to W. Cornelius'figure of "probably exceeding 3 billion dollars"[1] first,

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[1] Wayne Cornelius. "La Migracion Ilegal Mexicana a los Estados Unidos: Conclusiones de Investigaciones Recientes, Implicaciones Politica y Prioridades de Investigacion". Foro Internacional. El Colegio de Mexico. Enero-Marzo, 1978. p. 415.

and then from W. Cornelius'other figure of "probably in excess of 2 billion per year"[1] (NIC2). (Table III.6) This will be done on a monthly basis to avoid any seasonality problems and using again North and Houstoun's data on average payment and incidence. Three billion dollars implies a monthly average of 250 000 000; as opposed to my estimate of around 26 million a month.

Upper Bound.- IP = .44 AP = 104 PR = .2

$NIC1^u$ = 27 322 404

Lower Bound.- IP = .89 AP = 169 PR = .75

$NIC1^L$ = 2 216 312

Middle Range.- IP = .7 AP = 116 PR = .4

$NIC1^M$ = 7 697 044.3

Now: using the two billion estimate:

average monthly = 166 666 666

Upper Bound.- IP = .44 AP = 104 PR = .2

$NIC2^u$ = 18 214 935

Lower Bound.- IP = .89 AP = 169 PR = .75

$NIC2^L$ = 1 477 541.3

Middle Range.- IP = .7 AP = 116 PR = .4

$NIC2^M$ = 5 131 362.6

The total Mexican labor force[2] estimated for the year 1975

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[1] Wayne Cornelius. "Mexican Migration to the U.S., Causes, Consequences, and U.S. Responses". Center for International Studies. M.I.T. 1978, p. 46.

[2] Population from 12 to 65 years old.

TABLE III.6

DIFFERENT ASSUMPTION ON AMOUNT OF REMITTANCES AND THEIR DISTRIBUTION BY STATE[a] (MILLIONS OF DLLS.)

	(b) Remittances (3 billion)	(d) Remittances per capita	(c) Remittances (2 billion)	(d) Remittances per capita
Aguascalientes	27.6	68.31	18.4	45.5
Baja California	.3	0.3	.2	0.2
Campeche	17.1	57.8	11.4	38.5
Coahuila	3.3	2,5	2,2	1.6
Colima	2.4	8,0	1,6	5.4
Chiapas	66.3	35,9	44,2	24,0
Chihuahua	35.1	18,2	23,4	12,1
Distrito Federal	348.9	42.1	232,6	28.0
Durango	107,1	97,0	71.4	64.7
Guanajuato	1 063,8	388,4	709,2	258.9
Guerrero	96,3	50,2	64,2	33,4
Hidalgo	15.6	11,0	10.4	7.3
Jalisco	63,0	15.8	42.0	10.5
Mexico	273.6	57,3	182,4	38.2
Michoacan	92,7	33,3	61,8	22.2
Morelos	30.6	39,3	20,4	26.2
Nayarit	13.2	19,5	8.8	13.0
Nuevo Leon	11.1	5,2	7.4	3.4
Oaxaca	17,7	7,5	11.8	5.0
Puebla	22,5	7,4	15,0	5,0
Queretaro	31.2	52,2	20,8	34,8
Quintana Roo	.6	4,8	.4	3,2
San Luis Potosi	96,6	64,4	64,4	43.0
Sinaloa	.9	0,6	.6	0.4
Tabasco	.6	0.6	.4	0.4
Tamaulipas	24,3	13,9	16,2	9.3
Tlaxcala	1.2	2,4	.8	1.6
Veracruz	13.8	3,0	9.2	2.0
Yucatan	33.6	40,3	22,4	26,9
Zacatecas	488,4	462,1	325,6	308,0
Total	3 000.0	53,0	2 000,0	35.3

(a) The distribution by state was assumed to be the same as found in this study, see Table

(b) Wayne Cornelius. "La Migracion Ilegal Mexicana a los Estados Unidos. Conclusiones de Investigaciones Recientes". p. 415

(c) Wayne Cornelius. "Mexican Migration to the U.S., Causes, Consequences and U.S. Responses". p. 46

(d) Population for 1975 taken from: Statistics on the Mexican Economy, Nacional Financiera, S. A. Mexico, D. F. 1977, Table 1,5 p. 10.

is 16,334,000. Clearly the upper bounds imply in one case $NIC1^{u}$ al most eleven million more people in the labor force than the existing ones, while in the second case $NIC2^{u}$ implies almost two million addi tional non-existing people. The lower bounds, with clearly exaggerated parameters, reflect acceptable levels.

The Middle Range.-

$NIC1^{M}$ implies that almost 50 percent of the population 12 years and older (1975) are working in the U.S. illegally and in $NIC2^{M}$ that more than 30 percent of the labor force as described above, is working in the U.S. in any given month.

Now, as it was mentioned before (Table III.2) in this study, Zacatecas and Guanajuato were considered to be states heavily depend ent on remittances. The per capita money remittances in 1975 were 48.9 and 41.1, respectively. If the three and two billion estimates are considered, and the same distribution by state is used, some interesting results are obtained.

The three billion estimate would be equivalent to 53.0 dlls. per capita on a national level and with the two billion estimate of 35.3 dlls., per capita.

Using the three billion estimate and the distribution by state found in my study, Zacatecas would have to receive 462.06 dollars per capita per year (every man, woman and child). The comparative numbers for Guanajuato and Durango would be (388.4 and 97.0). If the two billion estimate is used, Zacatecas would have 308.0 dollars per capita, Guanajuato 259.0 and Durango 64.6 per year.

The per capita GNP for México, in 1975, was 1,360.08 dollars while Zacatecas[1] had 483.9 dollars, Guanajuato 643.78 dollars, and Durango 819.8 dollars.

This means that with the three billion estimate 95.4 percent of Zacatecas per capita GNP, and 60.3 percent of Guanajuato per capita GNP would be due to remittances. With the two billion plus estimate, at least 63.6 percent of Zacatecas per capita GNP and at least 40 percent of Guanajuato would be due to remittances.

In conclusion, the two estimates mentioned above would imply that almos all or nearly the income generated in all of Zacatecas and Guanajuato would depend on illegal laborers, or that, at the very least, Zacatecas should be considered another setate of the Union.

The foregoing analysis raises serious questions regarding the validity and credibility of Cornelius' estimates.

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1 The only available figures of GNP per capita per state are for 1965 from I. Navarrete, "Distribución del Ingreso en México, Tendencias y Proyecciones a 1980". In Leopoldo Solís, Ed. La Economía Mexicana, Vol. I, 1973, pag. 310. The percentage distribution of income among states was considered to be the same for 1975 and the estimates were done using the national GNP per capita 1975.

CHAPTER IV

THE NATURE OF EMIGRATION FROM RURAL MEXICO

Economists have studied the question of geographical labor mobility following the lines of what J.R. Hicks stated as:

> "...differences in net economic advantages, chiefly differences in wages are the main causes of migration." [1]

Migration, indeed, seems to have followed economic opportunity. Available evidence indicates that wage differentials and job oppenings matter to the migratory flows and thus, in the long run, if seen from a classical point of view, wages end employment opportunities should tend to equalize.

Econometric studies show complete unanimity on the positive effect of income on migration to a region, and near unanimity on the effect of income in the region of origin, which is normally negatively related to migratory flows.[2]

Among other variables which have been taken into account in econometric studies are: Education, whose effect is ambiguous; urbanization, which like destination is positively related to migration (though it does not appear to be clear which effect it does have in the region of origin) and distance whose effect appears to be negative.[3]

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[1] Hicks J.R. The Theory of Wages, London: Macmillan 1932, pag. 76

[2] Krugman P. and Bhagwati J. "A Decision to Migrate: A Survey" MIT, mimeo, June 1975. See also Greenwood M.J. "Research on Internal Migration in the U.S.: A Survey" Dec. 1975.

[3] Ibid.

This dissertation deals mainly with Mexican international migration from the rural areas; however, it is necessary to analyze some specific qualitative differences to explain the fact that two distinct patterns of migration originate within the same villages.

Three patterns of migratory flows are studied:

a) Internal migration (rural-urban)

b) International temporary migration to the U.S. from the rural areas

c) International temporary migration to the U.S. from the urban areas

The first two patterns of migration, -- in an apparent paradox-- coexist within the same villages. Migration to the U.S. from the rural areas might (at first glance) be thought to be more rational than internal migration, for the wage differential is higher, and the labor demand in the U.S. for the relevant segment of the labor market seems to be much greater. However, internal migration to the informal sector of the urban labor market is much more common.

The existing legal barriers to labor migration in the U.S. do not seem to be an important factor in deciding the pattern of migration to be followed. As shall be shown, this pattern will be highly correlated with the prevailing land tenure institutions and the organization of production in the rural Mexico.

Alongside the "typical" or traditional Mexican international migrant (mostly agricultural workers, unskilled, of a rural origin, non-English speaking) and as revealed by interview materials

and remittances data, there seems to be another more sophisticated, skilled, English speaking, visa-abusers urban worker similar to most of the "non Mexican" undocumented workers. These workers are urban, and seemingly prefer urban destinations in the U.S. This may be viewedas a third type of migrant additional to the two rural migrants mentioned above.

4.1 Research Methodology

As was mentioned before, the main interest of this dissertation is the international Mexican migration to the U.S., on this issue there exists little information, and considerable disagreement on the numbers, importance, and in general the whole process of this migratory phenomenon. Given that this flow has been predominantly clandestine, it is necessary to exercise great caution in the collection and interpretation of the available evidence. The misuse and/or lack of care in the use of existing evidence has resulted in a poor understanding of the phenomenon.

The empirical evidence we were able to draw on for this work comes from diverse sources:

a) Field research, which consisted of in-depth interviews with Mexican international migrants in their home communities.

b) Anthropological and other community studies of Mexican villages, which, although never focused directly on the phenomenon under study, always incidentally mention the flows of international return migration.

c) Data on remittances collected as suggested by a) and b), analyzed with the objective of evaluating the economic importance and distribution of the Mexican undocumented workers, both in México and U.S.

d) Census data was used in order to verify at an aggregate level the general hypothesis advanced in this study. Although information on key variables is either not collected or spread among a number of sources which cannot be fitted together, the available census data aded another element that helped to round out the analysis.

In what follows, the different sources are analyzed and a theoretical model explaining the migratory flows from the rural areas is tested using census data.

4.2 Field Research

The writer spent five months in Mexico, the Winter of 1975-1976 and the Summer of 1976 interviewning and researching in several communities of the State of Jalisco. The research site was chosen --in some sense-- accidentally; since Professor Wayne Cornelius was doing research "to assess the impact of various government policies and programs upon rates of out migration from rural communities", and needed research assistants.

The research site, consisting of nine communities of the region of Los Altos, in Jalisco, Mexico was chosen by Cornelius because national census data show that Los Altos was one of the two zones of heaviest out-migration in the entire country in the period of 1960-1970.

The region had a total population growth of 0.8%, despite the high rate in the natural population increase of 3.5% per year. The region is also located near three important cities (Leon, population 800 000^ Guadalajara 1.5 million, and México City over 10 million), which are potential destinations for migrants.

Taking advantage of this trip, I was able to pursue my own interests which were to study agricultural organization, and to interview illegals migrants in their communities, since the State of Jalisco is also well known for being an important source of braceros and undocumented aliens (as can be seen Table IV.1), during this period of field research, we found that, indeed, an important part of the migration from these communities was to the U.S. While part of the team was making a census of nine communities, Cornelius and I interviewed illegal and legal migrant workers to the U.S. Our efforts resulted in a joint paper presented at the American University in March 1976.[1]

Migration to the U.S. from the State of Jalisco has been an institution for many years. It appears to have started as such during the Cristero wars 1925-38, and has been, since then, an important piece of the mechanism of the region.

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[1] Wayne Cornelius and Juan Diez-Canedo. "Mexican Migration to the U.S.: The view from rural sending communities". Paper presented at the conference. "Mexico and the United States". The Next Ten Years". School of International Service, The American University, Washington, D.C. March 1976.

TABLE IV.1

SOURCE REGIONS

a) GAMIO (1930)

		%
1.	Michoacán	20.0
2.	Guanajuato	19.6
3.	Jalisco	14.7
4.	Nuevo León	8.0
5.	Durango	5.9
6.	D. F.	5.0

b) CAMPBELL (1960)

		%
1.	Guanajuatio	12.9
2.	Jalisco	10.6
3.	Michoacán	10.5
4.	Chihuahua	9.9
5.	Zacatecas	8.9
6.	Durango	8.8

c) SAMORA (1970)

		%
1.	Chihuahua	18.5
2.	Durango	9.9
3.	Michoacán	8.3
4.	Guanajuato	8.3
5.	Zacatecas	6.9
6.	Jalisco	7.5

d) COMISION INTERSECRETARIAL (1973)

		%
1.	Guanajuato	14.5
2.	Chihuahua	12.7
3.	Michoacán	9.9
4.	Jalisco	9.2
5.	Zacatecas	8.5
6.	S. L. P.	6.6

e) NORTH AND HOUSTOUN STUDY (1975)

		%
1.	Jalisco	11.6
2.	Chihuahua	11.2
3.	Michoacán	10.2
4.	Zacatecas	9.4
5.	Guanajuato	8.1
6.	Coahuila	6.4

a) Manuel Gamio. Mexican Immigration to the U.S. University of Chicago Press, 1930. pag. 11.
b) H. Campbell. Bracero Migration and the Mexican Economy.
c) Julián Samora. Los Mojados. pag. 92
d) Comisión Intersecretarial. Encuesta 1973. unpublished. pag. 12
e) North and Houstoun. Illegal Alien Study. 1975

We turn next to the results of my field research.

The field research was oriented exclusively towards understanding the process of migration to the U.S. alone, and therefore, only people known for having experiences of this type were interviewed.

Two hundred and eighteen interviews were done. They were open ended, but oriented basically toward exploring the reasons for migration, their jobs at home, their jobs in the U.S. their experience in that labor market, and the mechanism of the migratory process itself. These interviews provided general principles for subsequently obtaining complementary information for understanding and modeling this behavior.

The aspect that always came through was that they seemed to be underemployed workers who nevertheless had access to land or other means of rural livelihood, and wanted to migrate in order to improve their situation at home. The technicalities of the migratory process itself did not seemed to be very important. For instance, the passing, and subsequent abrogation of Public Law 78 (the bracero program) were of little significance. It did not affect their chances for getting a job, and perhaps only meant subtle differences in crossing the border. The one apparent difference was that instead of having to go to the hiring centers --as they had to do during the bracero program-- and bribe somebody to get hired, now they had to go to the border and bribe somebody else to get across. Forged documents became a feature of the new order for some while

for others nothing had changed, since they had always travelled without documents anyway.

The respondents answered in almost all cases (84%) that they had made trips to the U.S. with an original intention of making money, saving most of it and making a productive use of it back home (irregardless of their migratory status). This process of migration was transitory, essentially planned with a long term perspective, and was not normally intended to be a permanent way of life.

The enormous wage differential involved in this type of migration made the move very attractive. However, the main factor taken into consideration was the near cerainty of being able to find a job in a short period of time. The fact that the jobs seemed to be plentiful ("trabajos sobran"), or that there is an excess demand for their services in the U.S. is common knowledge. This was indeed a recurrent theme in all the villages visited. The only problem for working across the national boundary remained in actually crossing the border and, for that, they anticipated two or three tries —if deported-- before giving up. Only <u>one</u> respondent, with exceptionally bad luck, gave up.

The typical period of stay was from about March to December (6 or 7 months), but some people stayed for up to three years. (D. North and M. Houstoun found 2.5 years to be the average period of stay of the illegal Mexican workers in the U.S.)[1] The villagers reasoned that they came back because there were ways of making a

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[1] David North and Marion Houstoun. "Illegal Aliens. Their Characteristics and Role in the U.S. Labor Market". Washington, D.C. Linton and Co. March 1976.

better living in their home communities. There was room for improvement if they could get sufficient capital to get started. There existed many alternatives for rural livelihood besides agriculture, although agricultural improvements such as irrigation ditches or wells and the purchase of livestock --especially pigs for breeding purposes-- were the most common. Obviously opinions of the ones who made a permanent decision to migrate to the U.S., were not available but there is some evidence[1] indicating that they were not any better off. There was a small group of people (7), who after residing in the U.S. on a legal basis, returned with enough capital to purchase textile machines, declaring that they were living much better in their original community (more respected, in the top instead of the bottom of the income distribution, primary labor market) (Villa Hidalgo). There were also some other people who were temporary migrants on both sides. They were legal residents in the U.S. but every year they came back to their villages during the Winter. They were among the richest and preferred to have their families in town, working in the family's business.[2]

In all cases temporary migrants were initially underemployed. They had work but not as much as they obviously wanted, and the migration of one family member was a good business. The family's overall product did not seem to decrease --(in the case of agriculture)-- and remittances were either put to use in consumption or repairs, or they were saved for some future project.

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[1] See Luis Gonzalez. Pueblo en Vilo.

[2] 17 people, two families.

The reasons for migrating to the U.S. were essentially to supplement or replace deficiencies in, or a total lack of, capital markets; to make up for a bad year in agriculture; to buy land; to start or improve whatever business they were engaged in. In all cases it was implicitly recognized that success was measured by access to commercial credit institutions or to regular commercial credit.

When the villagers were asked how they felt about borrowing money, they immediately verbalized a reluctance based upon a feeling of economic insecurity, since their ability to repay a loan would be determined by elements beyond their control. Heavy or unseasonal rains, frosts, or droughts may ruin the harvests, and any obligations to repay debts would greatly worsen already difficult situations. Furthermore, the sources of credit available to them are primarily informal. Apart from the occasional availability of friends or relatives as lenders, the almost sole credit source is the local moneylender, or the cacique (local political boss) who charges extremely high interest rates. Large loans are usually taken out for becoming a bracero, or acquiring goods to trade. They are burdened with heavy interest rates varying from 5 to 10% per month, and typically, amount to "twice the sum lent by the time the loan is paid back".[1] Commercial banks play a very small role, for they can find more secure risks at the going interest rates. Loans from government credit institutions are available, but the problem here is corruption, which makes borrowing very expensive, plus the fact that credit is usually granted to a group rather than individuals.

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[1] From the interviews.

Thus, most government credit is extended to ejidatarios.

The reasons advanced in the literature for a lack of formal credit use in the rural sector apply to some extent here. One of them is the existence of an urban bias;[1] another is related to problems of allocation that arise within the financial institutions themselves, and the obvious preference given to large, more secure borrowers. There are also fewer investment opportunities in the rural sector in relation to the urban sector, and a limitation of information that impedes access to credit.

An important segment of the migrants seemed to be working, in fact, in accumulating capital and building an investment fund through the saving of remittances. In this sense, international migration serves a mean of capital accumulation. In some instances, as will be seen later, they were able to earn a high return on this capital. This phenomenon was explored extensively during the field work. The investment capital, once accumulated opened up the gates to commercial credit. Although profitable ventures existed in the communities, before having built up investment capital (leverage) they did not have access to credit, since they lacked the necessary collateral for the loan. If the investment capital was used as a down payment for the purchase of light machinery, for instance, then the gate to regular commercial credit was opened, and the necessity for migration to the U.S. ceased to exist.

Remittances from illegal migrants to the U.S., are probably

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[1] Michael Lipton. "Agricultural Finance and Rural Credit in Poor Communities". World Development, 1976, Vol. 4, Num. 7.

among the most important sources of capital for many individual communities. Mexican illegal migrants seem to save and send home a substantial proportion of their wages on a regular basis, North and Houstoun found in their sample that the average remittance for the Mexican undocumented workers was of 189 dollars per month.[1]

In the survey, it was clear that in all cases (although not necessarily on a regular basis or with set amounts) important sums of money were being remitted, in 88 percent of the cases through bank money orders, and in 6 percent through postal money orders. Those that had legal papers sometimes sent money through personal checks. The sums remitted ranged from 80 to 400 dollars, but none of the respondents had any very definite numbers. In 81 percent of the cases they claimed to spend the minimum necessary for living (which varied from month to month) and remitted the rest home immediately as a precautionary measure, since it could be stolen or spent inadvertently. At any rate, they claimed to send home the maximum amounts possible. There were also some migrants who apparently came from the higher income stratas. They were typically young men, without many obligations at home, and remitted irregularly and, in very small sums unless money was requested by their families for a specific purpose.

When migrants return home, they often times have an important sum of money which in many cases, as mentioned, is invested in a business.

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[1] D. North and M. Houstoun. "Illegal Aliens. The Characteristics and Role in the U.S. Labor Market and Explanatory Study". p.86

4.3 General Characteristics of the Migrants: Who Migrates and Where.

Mexicans who go to the U.S. as migrant workers from the Jalisco area have the following general characteristics:

1) They are male --the women go only when the whole family gets established legally in the U.S.-- in the 18 to 35 year age group, although there are some up to 68 years old. The ones in the older age group were in all cases legal migrants.

2) They had little education, usually from 3 to 6 years.

3) Contrary to what some studies[1] have found, migrants were not even close to the bottom of the income distribution in their home communities. Although they appeared to be landless jornaleros, they were not. In most cases they could be considered as underemployed family members in the middle to upper middle class strata.[2] Those in the lowest classes which include the landless jornaleros could not afford the cost of migrating, which included transportation to the border and money for being smuggled across the border which amounted to up to 250 dollars.

The underemployed (not surplus) family member had his family's backing and everyone was benefited by this migration. Those staying behind did not really need him for labor, had one less mouth to feed, and had the prospect of receiving money from him. When the migrant returned he could use some of the money pre-

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[1] Wayne Cornelius. "Mexican Migration to the U.S., Causes, Consequences and U.S. Responses". Center for International Studies, M.I.T. (1978).

[2] See also O. Lewis. Tepoztlan.

viously sent for a business project. According to this research, these family members are the ones that apparently have been mistakenly included in the illegal alien surveys as landless jornaleros. Although they are in fact landless, they did not usually work outside the family unit which, in turn, worked the land communally. The landless jornaleros are the ones at the bottom of the economic scale, being surplus laborers most of the year. Other studies[1] corroborate the fact that the ones at the bottom of the economic scale seldom migrate to the U.S., although the same studies, in apparent confusion name jornaleros as the ones that migrate mainly to the U.S. The jornaleros seem to migrate on a permanent basis to the urban centers, if at all. This was not possible to document in the communities for obvious reasons (they were not there), but it is amply documented in many other studies.[2]

After analyzing the interview materials, the following was apparent:

When land or other means of rural livelihood allow families to live above the subsistence level, the prevailing migratory pattern will be of a temporary character to the U.S. When the family plots get overcrowded, and thus its members live at or close to subsistence,

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[1] Wayne Cornelius. "Mexican Migration to the U.S., Causes, Consequences and U.S. Responses". Center for International Studies. M.I.T. (1978).

[2] This is an important distinction to be made an necessary for understanding the theoretical explanation of the phenomenon done in Section 3.
See for instance Abraham Iszaevich. Modernizacion en una Comunidad del Valle de Oaxaca.

new or additional members will be forced to migrate permanently to the urban centers. Unless this distinction is made, the picture would be one of migration to urban centers (which show a marked excess supply of unskilled labor) paradoxically coexisting with an entirely different flow to the U.S. (with an apparent excess demand for this type of workers, and where the minimum wage is at least four times higher than the highest minimum in Mexico.) (See Table IV.2).

4.4 How Capital Accumulation Worked: A Success Story.

The flow of remittances into some small communities was amazing. Interviews conducted with return migrants (both legal and illegal) in their communities showed the enormous leverage that remittances have. A particularly interesting case is the one observed in Villa Hidalgo, a small town in the state of Jalisco. Up to 1967, this community had been losing population. An individual who had been the U.S., working in many different jobs on and off for nine years --sometimes illegally-- in many jobs, (including in a two year stint as a foreman in a rubber factory), returned home and used the $1 600 he had saved to buy two small manually operated looms. He established a small factory at this house, and applied the workplace rules and organization of production schemes he had learned in the U.S. Soon, he began producing polyester and clothing. He established a production line, piece rates, automatic dismissal after three unjustified absences, piece rates and simple accounting procedures. He became very efficient and very successful, and was

TABLE IV.2

MINIMUM WAGES PER REGULAR 8 HOUR DAY FOR MEXICAN BORDER STATES AND MEXICO CITY 1977

	CITY		RURAL AREAS	
	Pesos	Dollars	Pesos	Dollars
Baja California Norte	133.90	(5.95)	105.50	(4.68)
Sonora (Nogales)	105.50	(4.68)	96.00	(4.26)
Chihuahua (Cd. Juarez)	111.30	(4.94)	97.30	(4.32)
Coahuila Norte	95.20	(4.23)	71.10	(3.16)
Tamaulipas Norte	108.90	(4.84)	90.60	(4.02)
Distrito Federal (Mexico City)	106.40	(4.72)	99.00	(4.40)

Source: Comision Nacional de Salarios Minimos.

The minium wage in the U.S. is 2.50 dollars per hour = 20 dollars per regular 8 hour day.

(1 dollar = 22.5 pesos in April 1977).

imitated first by relatives, and then by neighbors.

Today Villa Hidalgo's population has more than doubled, and at last count, there were 210 small factories, ranging from one manually-operated loom with a couple of laborers, to factories of 70 workers with the most advanced automatic circular weaving machines, worth hundreds of thousands of dollars.

The accounting systems of these factories are still non-existent or rudimentary. But, according to textile industrialists of Puebla and Mexico City, these simple factories seem to be extremely efficient, possessing a wider profit margin than their urban counterparts have.

Today, while the population of Villa Hidalgo has more than doubled, the fundamental problem of the village, --as seen by the factory owners regardless of size-- is the scarcity of labor. In 1967, people were continually knocking at their doors searching for jobs. Today, they have to go to surrounding villages to look for workers. Most of the laborers are women hired on an informal bases and paid on a basis of piece work. The mean wage was around 800 pesos a week (35 dollars in 1977) a week, figure which was much higher than the minimum wage.[1] Family income is now quite high and, since most labor is female, the agricultural output, --though never extraordinarily high--, does not seem to have dropped.

In this town, the process of migration has reversed, and the reasons for going to the U.S. have almost disappeared. Previously,

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[1] Minimum wage .1977 = 4.44 dollars a day = $26.6 a week of a 6 days.

about 20% of the young men migrate to the U.S. Today almost no ones goes. Even villagers who were already legalle established in the U.S. have come bakc, and claim to be doing much better in Villa Hidalgo. In the U.S., they were working in curseries, construction firms, restaurants, car washes, and butcher shops-typical secondary labor market jobs.

Villa Hidalgo, however, does not fit the typical Mexican pattern. The majority of rural Mexican communities have not yet developed the rather advanced economic infraestructure generated by return migrants in this fortunate town. Capital accumulation through temporary migration to the U.S., however, seems to be typical.

4.5 A theoretical explanation of the possibility of coexistence of two patterns of migration from the same rural villages.

In previous sections it was found that the two different types of migratory flows emerging from the rural areas were conditioned initially on the production arrangements prevailing in the place of origin. In this section a graphical analysis considering the specific structure of Mexican agriculture will be developed.

The Mexican agricultural sector is divided into two broad categories: Ejidos and small private property.

The ejido is not private property. It is a plot of land (whose dimensions vary according to the use and the zone) handed to a community of peasants by the government. It cannot be sold, leased or mortgaged. It is owned by the Nation through a community of ejidatarios. The ejido is a small plot, not distant in many cases from "petty

landholding". The small private property has been categorized for census and analysis purposes in two board categories: private plots of less than five hectares, and private plots of more than five hectares.

A glance at table IV.3 will suggest to the reader that the plots that have the greatest marketable surplus are seemingly the ones that have more than five hectares, while the ejidos are, in at least 83% of the cases, subsistence plots. This also indicated that in most cases these parcels seem to be overcrowded, and with production largely for home consumption. The plots of less than five hectares are, in at least 96 percent of the cases, at subsistence 50 percent of the producers (mostly ejidos and small private property) produced only 4 percent of the product while 0.5 percent produced 32 percent.

In 1970 55.12% of the arable land belonged to the ejidos, while 3.07% to plots of less than five hectares, and 41.8% to plots bigger than five hectares.

The general picture that emerges is that of an apparently overcrowded sector with limited amounts of land and institutional restrictions on land sales.

Families living in subsistence plots are generally producing in a communal fashion. Families with incomes above subsistence may produce communally, in a 'pure capitalistic' fashion, or communally while (occasionally) hiring some additional workers.

When family income was at subsistence, and one of its members left, this was usually a permanent move. Her or she neither received from, nor contributed anything to the family. The had to earn their

TABLE IV.3

STRATIFICATION BY TYPE OF TERNURE

	Total (Thousands of plots)	1960 More than 5 has.	1960 Less than 5 has.	Ejido plots
Under-Subsistance[a]	1 241	43	528	670
Sub-Family[b]	821	120	171	530
Family[c]	307	86	21	200
Medium Multi-family[d]	67	31	1	35
Large Multi-family[e]	12	12	-	-
T o t a l	2 448	292	721	1 435

SOURCE: Eckstein Salomon. El Marco Macroeconomico del Problema Agrario Mexicano. Centro de Investigaciones Agrarias. 1968 pag. IX.

a) -Under subsistance plots.- Annual production of less than $1000 (80 dlls.) 1960, 50% of all the plots are included here. Their share in total agricultural production was 4%.

b) -Sub-family plots.- Annual production between $1000 and $5000 (80-400 dlls.) 1960; one third of the plots are included here and their share in total agricultural production was of 17% these are considered as subsistance plots.

c) -Family plots.- Annual production between $5000 and $25000 (400-2000 dlls.) their share in total agricultural production was of 25% in 1960.

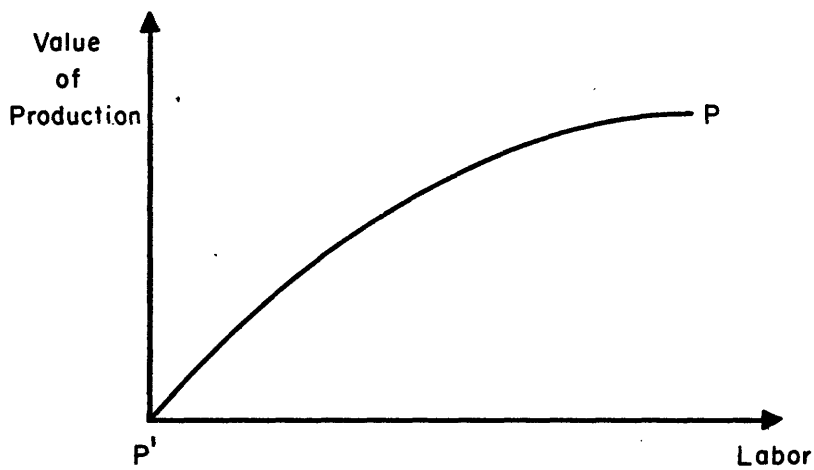
d) -Medium multi-family plots.- Annual production of between $25000 and $100 000 (2000 - 8000 dlls.) their share in total agricultural production was of 22% in 1960 representing 2.8% of the total plots.

e) -Large multi-family plots.- Production of over $100 000 (8000 + dlls.) their share in total agricultural production was of 25% in 1960 representing only 0.3% of the total plots.

subsistence (esentially biological subsistence) wage outside the family farm. This usually happened when a member decided to form a new family. He or she were off by themselves.

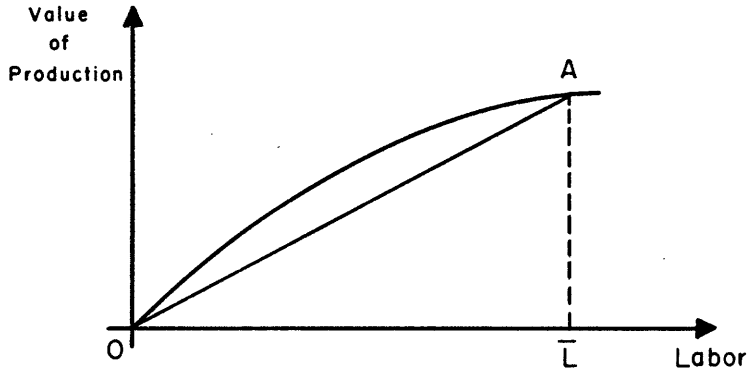
In what follows it will be shown graphically how, when combining the existing instituitional and production arrangments with the population pressure on land, the two patterns of immigration may be explained.

Figure 1



The curve PP of figure 1 describes the production function for an individual farm. Underlying this curve are identifiable production processes with different input mixes and different outputs.

Figure 2

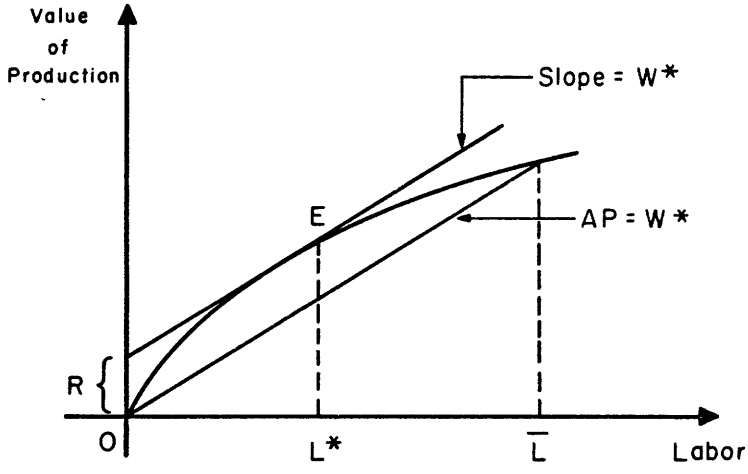


In figure 2, the slope of the line OA represents the average output per man in a farm when there are L family members. Every member of the family living on the farm gets the average product.

Most farms are subsistence farms and the prevailing average product or wage in the rural areas will be at subsistence.

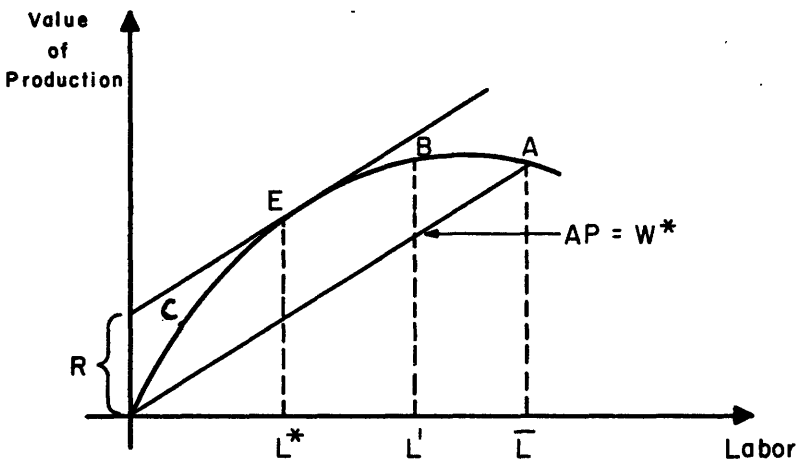
In the rural areas, the demand for labor will be determined by the prevailing rural wages, which, to simplify, will be assumed to be at biological subsistence.

Figure 3



Capitalist families may be thought of as disembodied profit-maximizing managers of the land, and will produce at the optimal output. E. At this point the prevailing rural wage will just equal the marginal product of labor, and a line with slope equal to the wage will be tangent to the production function. L* laborers will be demanded and a rent R will be obtained.

Figure 4



From figure 4, three different types of production units may be identified"

A) "Capitalist" families

B) Families working the land communally (i.e., no hired labor with a marginal product of labor less than the prevailing rural wage), but whose average product is above subsistence

C) Families working the land communally, but whose average product is at subsistence

A profit maximizing capitalist will produce at point E of Figure 4. At that point, he will nedd L* workers and will receive R

as rent. It should be mentioned that if 'subsistence' ejidos, (with average product at subsistence, and a marginal product of labor below subsistence) would be put up for sale; (which cannot legally be done) demand for farm labor in the rural areas might be lessened, as labor is discharged until the marginal product of labor increases to the prevailing wage. ($\bar{L} - L^*$ would have to migrate). In the same figure, it may be seen that some family units produce in a communal way, yet still hire some labor as long as family members provide less than L^* in labor, as at point C. At point B, members of these production units receive a total return which is higher than the subsistence wage, since they will have more than L^* and less than $\bar{L}$ members, they won't hire labor since the going wage would be less than their marginal product.

Families working the land communally, but whose average product is <u>at</u> subsistence will be at point A. So, on one extreme we will have family plots worked communally with an average product or salary equal to subsistence. On the other extreme, there will be the large farms which produce in a capitalist fashion hiring labor at the going wage, and in between them there will be found family farms worked communally, but where the average product is above subsistence. The case of the communal production unit working at subsistence levels can probably be identified with most of the <u>ejido</u> plots and the private plots of less than five hectares (which are very few; having 3.0% of the total arable land in 1970). In general, most plots are subsistence plots, and will be producing with

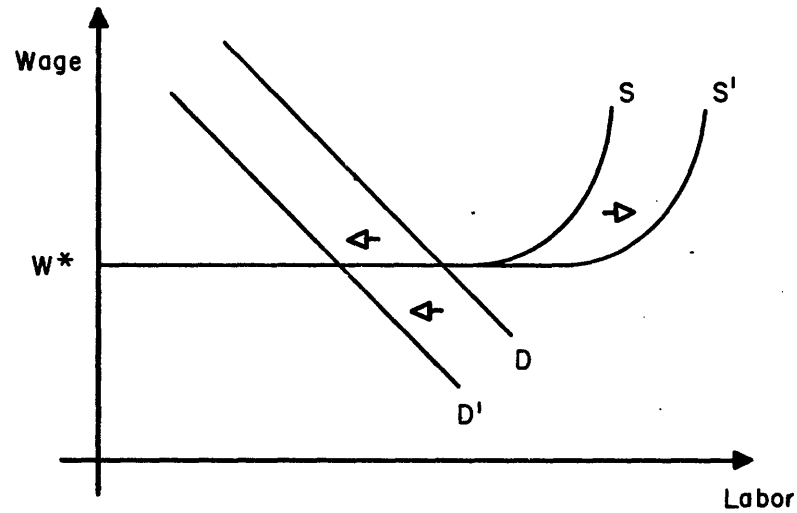
the maximum number of people that still permit a subsistence average income. In the ejido case, there is no legal possibility of selling, renting or letting the land lie idle. The plots here are small and, the natural population growth in the rural areas is very high (3.5%). Many of these plots are, consequently, in the condition where the average product is at the subsistence level or close by. When the families on these plots grow, or when some family member marries, an extra head may bring the whole family under subsistence. The majority of the rural population seems to be in these conditions, since 70% of the rural population in 1970 was composed of the ejidatarios and their families, and they had a ratio of 3.4 hectares of arable land per ejidatario. For plots of less than five hectares the same ratio was 0.8, while this ratio for plots bigger than five hectares was 13.38.

These facts suggest that most people in the rural areas are living at subsistence levels, and therefore tend to confirm the hypothesis that prevailing rural income must be the average product on these plots.

"Capitalist" farms are the only ones that are going to demand labor in the agricultural sector, at the going subsistence wage. The reader is reminded of the fact that the wage could not possibly be lower, because once that one family member has to work outside the family and the ties with the family are cut, he or she does not receive help from the family. Therefore, the minimum wage has to be at least the subsistence wage.

The labor supply in the rural areas will be perfectly elastic at the going subsistence wage (See Figure 5).

Figure 5



There is a large pool of landless laborers which is composed of the workers who, due to population growth, are forced outside the family units, and an already existing stock of jornaleros (or landless peasants). This implies that the relevant segment of the supply curve is the horizontal one. Population growth will shift curves to s' and extend the horizontal portion of the curve. The upward-sloping portion of the supply curve exists because, as the wage rises above the average product on the wealthier farms, additional farmers may be attracted into the rural labor market.

As was already mentioned, the demand for labor in the rural areas will come from the 'capitalist' farms. Population growth could also imply that capitalist families could grow above L^* unless labor on such families migrated (figure 4) and thus the demand would

shift to the left (figure 5) as capitalist farms become pure communal farms producing with an average product above the subsistence wage, but where the going wage will be less than their marginal product, and thus they will not hire any additional labor.

Now, going back to our original problem, we need to know why there may be two different migratory patterns coming from the same areas.

Capitalist farms and families producing an average product above subsistence have the flexibility of producing, if necessary, with more people. This flexibility does not exist in subsistence plots, in which, if more people are included, or families grow, all the members'incomes will drop below subsistence. At this point some of the members will have to migrate elsewhere with no possibility for these migrants to return. People living on ejidos have very limited possibilities for saving, and ejido plots cannot be legally rented or sold or even mortgaged to raise capital.

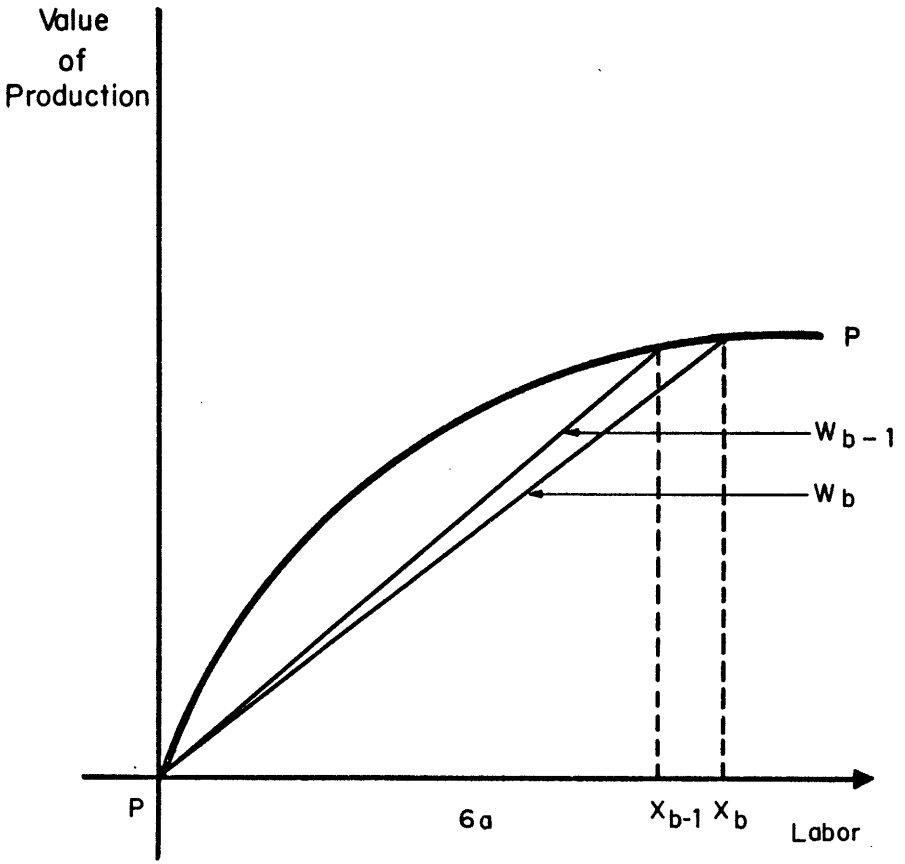
Surplus ejidatarios may stay close by the family by working for some time at the prevailing subsistence wage on a capitalist farm, bur their income is effectively independent of the ejido's. For an ejido family, the gain of having one family member working outside will be the increase in consumption per capita on the farm. However, the worker who was laboring close by will eventually have to migrate on a permanent basis to an urban center. When he marries, and a new family starts to grow, he will have to raise his subsistence supply price i.e. his price will no longer be his own, but

will have to reflect his family's needs, His new price will include the minimum subsistence income per capita of his family.

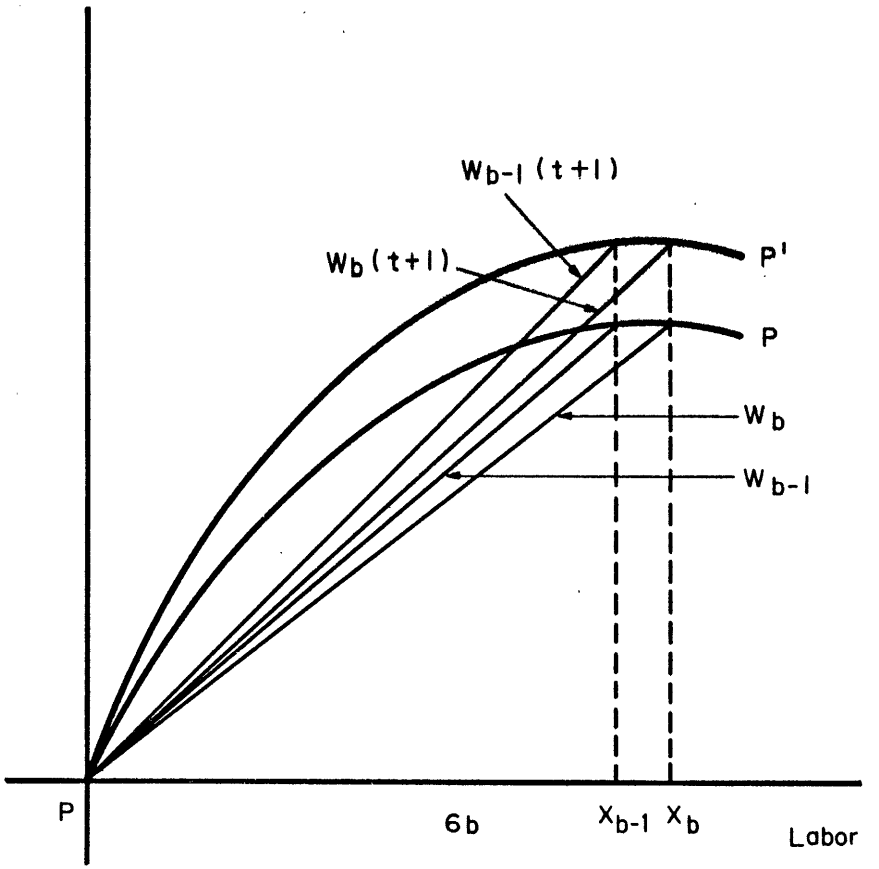
The local capitalist farmers are going to hire single jornaleros who have lower subsistence requirements and supply price. The new family unit will be expelled from the original nucleus and the only place where this new family's supply price could probably be matched will be in the cities. Wages in the lower tiers of the urban labor market will pressumably allow the family to survive even if they have to work -as it is fairly common- in such occupations as begging or sorting out saleable objects from the municipal garbage dump. The "jobs" available to these migrants are in most cases definitely not very desirable, and this may be the reason why they will postpone their migration to the urban areas until it is unavoidable..

Migration to the U.S. for these people, although probable is not likely for several reasons. First it is very hard for them to get the necessary capital for the travel expenses that are involved in going to the U.S., which sometimes include around 250 dollars for the smuggler fee, plus transportation cost, plus income foregone. This last aspect, when at subsistence, is fairly important. Another problem is that even if they go temporarily to the U.S., since there is no possibility of buying any land at their place of origin due to legal restrictions, they will still have to get established elsewhere. They cannot leave their families and cannot take them to the U.S. Practically, the only solution is therefore

Figure 6



$W_{b_1} < W_{b-1}$



$W_b(t+1) < W_{b-1}(t+1)$

to migrate permanently to an urban center in Mexico.

The migratory perspective of family units who live above subsistence is altogether different. Since family members are relatively unskilled, many of the jobs that they may be able to get in the urban areas will probably pay wages below their supply price (average product forgone). So, first of all there might even be a negative wage differential with respect to the cities, and thus this alternative will not be even considered. On the other hand, temporary migration to the U.S. is very attractive for them. There is an obvious positive wage differential, and the outlook for finding a job is very good as confirmed by past experiences.

Suppose, in figure 6, a) that x_b members of the family enterprise are working at a given moment and that one member decides to work for a time in the U.S. At the moment he leaves, and assuming that he doesn't receive any money from the family after he leaves, the average wage will rise making every remaining member better off. After he leaves, he will probably remit some additional money, which may be used to further improve the family's position through immediate consumption, or perhaps after the funds are invested in a water well or some other improvement to the land, thus increasing production possibilities. Here as well as in the case of the subsistence plot, the average product rises when one family member leaves; the marginal productivity of that member is lost, but the gains in terms of the per capita consumption of the rest of the family and the money remitted more than compensate for

the losses. As this is the case, when one member leaves, the remaining family members will see their earnings increased from w_b to w_{b-1}. If the migrant remits money and the family puts it to a productive use, they will see their salary further increased to (figure 6_b) wb-1, t + 1. When he or she return, everybody will be better off having their income increased to wbt + 1. He may also start an independent business buying some land and starting as a Capitalist hiring labor at w^s and his family will nevertheless be better off at wb-1. Highly efficient capitalist farms hiring labor at the prevailing wage will have high rents and provide no incentive for its owners to work abroad, since they must manage the farm to collect their rents.

In summary, from the same general geographical areas two different migratory decisions will take place. Both will be perfectly rational, one clearly more profitable, but foreclosed to poorer families without savings or mortgageble land.

It could be added, that afterwards, the migrants who had to go to the urban areas will possibly take the option of migrating on a temporary basis to the U.S., following the patterns that they observed in their towns, but could not follow at that time. So summarizing, when a family produces communally and one member leaves, indpendently of whether they are at subsistence or above, the average product of the remaining family members increases. However, when living at subsistence, the marginal member cannot return to the family unit because he or she would push all the family

below biological subsistence. As the number of families at subsistence conditions grows, marginal members are pushed off of the land.

Since there is no income pooling, once a family member leaves the farm, he or she is off by themself, and will have to earn at least a subsistence wage. Since there is an excess supply of labor, the going wage is going to be precisely the individual subsistence wage. When the families of these expelled, landless worker (jornaleros) grow, the jornalero's supply price will have to reflect their families'increased needs. This price will be higher than the going wage (individual subsistence), and they will have to go to an urban center, the only place where their supply price can be matched. These people will not migrate to the U.S., basically because when at subsistence (biological), there is no possibility of the savings which are required for the migratory process to the U.S., a move which entails a large period of income forgone and a relatively high migration cost. Besides, they cannot legally get established in the U.S., so they will have to have a permanent residence in some other place inside Mexico, and probably far away from their original family nucleus, where there often may not be any possibility of buying land.

Afterwards, the migrants who had to go to the urban areas will possibly take the option of migrating on a temporary basis to the U.S., following the patterns that they observed in their towns, but could not follow at that time.

When families are producing above subsistence, the outlook

is altogether different. As in the subsistence case, when one family member leaves, the average product of the remaining family members increases (assuming, of course, that they do not send him or her money). One important difference is that their average product is higher than the subsistence wage, and probably higher than the prevailing wage in the informal sector of the urban labor market. This means that, first, they are not pushed off of the farm, and second, that there is no incentive for them to migrate to the cities. These people thus have the possibility of saving, and they will probably take advantage of the basic economic incentives provided by an important U.S. wage differential and an excess demand for their services. Afterwards, as capital is accumulated, they may return and produce on the land as capitalists, receiving rents higher than the prevailing wage for their services in the U.S., and their rationale for continuing to migrate temporarily will cease to exist.

4.6 Considerations regarding the place of destination of internal labor migration

When explaining the process of migration in general, and in Mexico in particular, one usually attempts to explain several things at the same time. In the process of doing so, one's vision of the problem becomes blurry, and the basic economic factors that determine migration are usually lost.

Internal migration can hardly be understood from its economic point of view by assuming that it happens only because there

is a positive wage differential between two given regions. Claims that the migrant weighs the wage differential alone, perhaps along with an unemployment rate, will give us an incomplete view. This is hard to document for several reasons:

First, there is an empirical problem. Since the urban labor market in Mexico is rather segmented, with all sorts of dualities[1] existing in many cases, it would be difficult for an unskilled rural migrant to determine what would be his or her possible wage. Wage data for unskilled labor refer to the legal minimum wage, which is supposed to be about the same in real terms for both the urban and the rural sectors.

This wage is not paid by many of the employers in urban as in rural areas. The U.S. Bureau of International Labor Affairs has commented on this fact:

> "Many employers fail to pay the minimum wage. Estimates of non-compliance range from 30 to 50 percent among employers of urban workers, to as high as 80 percent in the rural areas. The best record of compliance is in Mexico City" [2]

Within the "modern sector", wage differentials based on size of firm are incredibly high: up to 600% in the manufacturing sector.[3]

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[1] A complete suty of the urban labor markets in Mexico has not been done. Such a study, however, is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

[2] Bureau of International Labor Affairs, U.S. Department of Labor, Profile of Labor Conditions in Mexico. Washington 1979. p. 6.

[3] Kenneth S. Flamm. Technology, Employment and Direct Foreign Investment. Evidence from the Mexican Manufacturing Sector. Ph.D. Thesis. M.I.T. 1979. p.43.

A quick glance at Table IV.4 should convince the reader that in the smallest firms of the manufacturing sector the mean wage lies well below the legal minimum. Reported wages are probably biased upward (it is illegal to pay under the minimum so firms probably over-report their wage bills in industrial census reports). The modern sector, however, is the best organized, and is where the labor market has the best information.

This "modern sector" however seems to be highly segmented, and generalizations about labor market conditions will be hard to make. In the tertiary sector, and especially in it's lower strata, where most of the rural unskilled migrants find jobs, there is much more disorganization. Here almost anything can be a job, self employment and child labor are very common, and to change occupations is not difficult. An almost continuous spectrum of underemployment is the rule, while open unemployment is rare. The close-to-subsistence wages force every member of the family to bring home whatever they can.[1] In this sense, any increase in labor supply that results from immigration must result in increased employment (or underemployment) in the urban areas.

The prevailing wage in the 'informal' sector of the urban labor market appears to be close to subsistence, although a little higher than the prevailing wage in the rural areas. In this sense, unemployment would mean starvation in a Malthusian sense, and thus althoguh the jobs may be almost anything, and underemployment extreme

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[1] Lisa Peattie. "Organizacion de los Marginales" in R. Ketzman and J.L. Reyna. Fuerza de Trabajo y Movimientos Laborales en America Latina. El Colegio de Mexico. 1979. p. 111.

TABLE IV.4

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PRODUCTIVE UNITS
OF THE MANUFACTURING SUBSECTOR 1970.

Manufacturing Sector	Number of Plants	Employment	Mean Wage	Net Capital Invested	Gross Value Added
				(thousands of pesos)	
Total	118 892	1 516 162	1 739.43	149 901 124	78 639 912
Family Units	57 394	91 680	536.7*	735 413	671 416
Artesanal Shops	38 959	106 160	552.29	2 111 072	2 037 286
Small Industry	10 761	96 795	983.74	4 463 320	2 799 365
Medium Industry	8 961	353 140	1 515.79	28 589 279	15 098 402
Big Industry	2 817	868 387	2 243.15	114 002 040	58 033 448

Source: Censo Industrial 1971, taken from Estadisticas de la Ocupacion por Sectores Economicos. CENIET.

* Calculated: $\frac{\text{Value added} - (\text{net capital x.11} \div 12)}{\text{Total employment}}$

Juan Diez-Canedo

NOTE: The minimum wage for 1970 was of 747.3.

unemployment is not possible.[1]

For rural unskilled migrants the decision to migrate to an urban center will often mean working in the tertiary sector, under the circumstances mentioned above. They will go to the urban center were the probabilities of survival are best.

4.7 The Mexican Migrants in the U. S. Labor Market.

As it was mentioned before, Mexican migration to the U.S., has a long history. The states of California, Texas and New Mexico were a part of Mexico until 1948. An important segment of the undocumented Mexican migrants seem to go these states, and blend with the Mexican-Americans with whom they share to some extent their cultural and ethnic background, and who were there before anybody else. The blend is so apparent that complaints from Americans from Mexican descent relating abuses from the authorities for taking them mistakenly as "illegals" abound.[2]

The Mexican bracero, or migrant worker to the U.S. is, as was mentioned before an institution that has prevailed through history in some rural communities. The fact that "Mexican wishing to come to the U.S., are confronted with several legal barriers and but a few real ones"[3] is also a well known fact among the

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[1] It is interesting to mention that there are some remarcable similarities between the occupations found in this 'informal' sector and the ones described by H. Mayhew for the 'informal' labor sector of the Victorian London. See H. Mayhew, London Labor and the London Poor.

[2] Unwanted Mexican Americans. A. Hoffman. U. of Arizona Press. 1974

[3] G.E. Hooyer. "Our Mexican Immigrants". Foreign Affairs. Vol. 8 Num. 1, October 1929. p. 99-107.

villages, and among the employers in the U.S. Historically persistent is also the fact that once they cross the border they will find little problem in finding a job on a farm or a gang where a limited knowledge of English on the part of one member will suffice.[1]

In 1929, people who studied the labor market argued the need for Mexican labor was basically due to increased specialization in the agriculture:

> "...where higly specialized agriculture is so generally practiced, he (the Mexican migrant) is in great demand, for the farmer who specializes needs other workers in addition to the members of his own family and cannot call in the neighbors, who are usually specialists in the same particular crop".[2]

Further specialization would require, it was argued, more Mexican migrants, calling for an "unending supply of fresh migrants".

The peculiarities of the migratory phenomenon have persisted over the years. One of the risks involving this process has been the risk of deportation, for if this flow is responding to economic needs on the part of migrants, the inability to enter the U.S. would mean an important net loss for the migrants. Apparently the risk of deportation was relatively high at entry, but that was taken into consideration by migrants. They knew there was a high degree of uncertainty regarding the intensity of the deportation "campaingns", INS raids to respond to cyclical fluctuations in the supply of

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[1] Ibid. p. 100.

[2] Ibid.

native labor, the type of job taken, and the economic cycles[1]. The risk of deportation has therefore been a persistent element in this phenomenon, and that has not deterred the flow.

Another element that has not varied very much during the different stages of this flow has been the possibility of finding a job. It could have been expected that, for instance, after the termination of the Bracero program, finding a job should have been more difficult. This was, according to the field research, definitely not the case.

According to the people who had both experiences (32% of the sample) things improved. With the bracero program, they were hired to work by a specific employer before even going to the U.S., and could not legally get another job. This sometimes illegally, on the U.S. side resulted in no work at all or in a terrible job with low pay, since, sometimes, contracts were not respected by the employers, who fired them prematurely. They were stuck with one job and one boss. On the other hand, as illegal workers, they had no problem finding a job. Moreover, if they did not like it or could get better pay elsewhere, they could always move. The only problem was to cross the border, and that was not difficult, particularly if you considered, --as they always did-- the possibility of weathering multiple (often up to 3) deportations before finally entering the U.S. Once there they could pick oranges, or grapes, or whatever happened to be the seasonal crop, and usually following

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[1] Michael Piore. Birds of Passage. p. 173.
Obviously the deportation risk exists since there is an immigration law, but the number of deportations has varied widely according to specific policies like "Operation Wetback", carried out in 1954 and which resulted in over a million deported Mexicans.

the different crops. The migrants looking for agricultural jobs usually found them, either directly in the fields or in small towns. The usual procedure was to begin, early in the morning, to scout for groups of workers lining up for employment. They just joined the group and were employed in a matter of a day or two.

In considering the kind of jobs taken by illegals, the question of exploitation is often raised. Exploitation is a difficult thing to measure, but nobody interviewed felt that they were exploited because of their illegal status. In all cases their wages were at the minimum wage of above. Usually they tried to make as much as they could. For example in one case one of the laborers with illegal papers was making $3.10 (1976) an hour in the fields working on a per-box (piece rate) basis, and $4.77 and hour in a Tomato Cannery, totalling for a 16-hour day $63. They felt they were working like slaves but earning like kings.

Exploitation in their villages was more obvious. Even though wages were very low -due to an overall labor surplus- and below the Mexican legal minimum, complaints were not voiced. They were afraid they might lose those jobs. These laborers were also the ones that normally would not migrate to the U.S., for the reasons discussed previously.

The destination chosen for work in the U.S., for those who had a preference for agricultural jobs, or feared the Winter[1], was basically California. They typically migrated for 6 or 7 months

[1] See Luis Gonzalez. Pueblo en Vilo. p. 225.

from March to August. Texas was another place of preference because it was closer; but wages and working conditions there were less preferible.[1] Those who planned to stay longer usually chose an industrial job in the areas of Chicago or Los Angeles. It depended very much on their skills, past experiences, preferences or plain luck. The ones that migrated to the industrial areas were usually the more skilled and had more experience.

They typically stayed at least one year and up to three years at the most. Their reasons for leaving were generally deportation, a strike or family motives. They usually migrated or considered migrating 3 or 4 times --never just once-- or were professional temporary migrants that went every year. This last group (18%) was composed mostly of legal migrants (14%) but included some who said they never had any problems even crossing the border, so they weren't worried at all about getting legal papers. However, 3 or 4 times engagements were sufficient to save enough money to get firmly settled back home and have access to commercial credit. It can be seen from Table IV.5 that this frecuency of migration has been observed at least since the start of the bracero program, and reflect to some degree the professional bracerismo often mentioned in anthropological studies. In the Monterrey migratory station, typically around 40 percent of the braceros had been contracted previously more than three times.

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[1] This fact is pointed out also in Gamio's study. (1930).

TABLE IV.5

NUMBER OF TIMES BRACEROS HAVE BEEN CONTRACTED IN THE UNITED STATES, MONTERREY MIGRATORY STATION, 1959-1962

Year	None (%)	Once (%)	Twice (%)	Three or more (%)
1959	28.8	16,2	17.2	37.8
1960	26.4	13,6	15.7	44.3
1961	35.1	13,6	13.2	38.1
1962	32.2	12,5	12.3	43.0

Source: H. Campbell. Bracero Migration and the Mexican Economy. 1951-64.

4,8 Destination

They usually had no control over the selection of a specific destination. Even though they headed for a specific locality, once they had started the trip, they stayed anywhere they thought might be a final destination.

They crossed the border through the point at which entry was easiest. It was very common to find that even though they had originally intended to go to Chicago, for instance, they would stop in Kansas City and immediately find a job in a butcher shop. At times, perhaps inadvertently, they took a bus with the intention of going to Chicago but continued all the way to Minnesota. Perhaps they wanted to go to Oakland and ended up in Denver, or wished to reach Chicago, bur ran out of funds and had to work for some time in Texas, before continuing their journey to the Middle West. They were always able to get a job in less than a week. It is amazing that all these people, without any knowledge of the English Language (in 92% of the cases) could cross the border, end up in a Chicago suburb and find a job, all in less than a week.

Although one could pressume that job hunting would tend to gravitate near places where friends or relatives were already established, tables IV.6 and IV.7 show that this wasn't the case for those included in the survey. On place was as good as other as long as they could find a job. This was no real problem, but it was very difficult to find a specific locality and address. The labor market and, industries in the U.S. take into account

TABLE IV. 6

U.S. DESTINATIONS OF MIGRANTS FROM "LA UNION", JALISCO, WORKING IN U.S. AS OF JULY 31, 1975, BY STATE AND LOCALITY*

State	Locality	Number of Migrants
Arizona (Total: 7)	Hayden	1
	Kearny	3
	San Luis	1
	Wellton	2
California (Total: 149)	Los Angeles	22
	Santa Ana	15
	Norwalk	8
	Union City	8
	Hickman	5
	Huntington Park	5
	Long Beach	4
	San Jose	4
	Compton	3
	Denair	3
	Huntington Beach	3
	Livingston	3
	Marysville	3
	Merced	3
	Oakdale	3
	Orland	3
	Selma	3
	Venice	3
	Acampo	2
	Bakersfield	2
	Kerman	2
	Rocklin	2
	Snelling	2
	Watsonville	2
	Westminster	2
	Whittier	2
	Alhambra	1
	Anaheim	1
	Artois	1
	Azusa	1
	Berkeley	1
	Chino	1
	Dinuba	1
	El Centro	1

TABLE IV.6 continued

State	Locality	Number of Migrants
California	El Monte	1
	Freedom	1
	Fresno	1
	Hayward (Castro Valley)	1
	Heber	1
	Indio	1
	King City	1
	Lamont	1
	Madera	1
	Manteca	1
	Montebello	1
	Newbury Park	1
	Oakland	1
	Orange	1
	Paramount	1
	Sacramento	1
	Santa Paula	1
	Solana Beach	1
	Soledad	1
	South Gate	1
	Vacaville	1
	Yuba City	1
	Other Localities	3
Colorado (Total: 23)	Pueblo	19
	Denver (Lakewood)	3
	Norwood	1
Florida (Total: 2)	Daytona (Allendale)	2
Illinois (Total: 31)	Chicago	23
	Elgin	2
	Harvey	2
	Joliet	2
	Onarga	3
Michigan (Total: 6)	Detroit	3
	Ferndale	3
Montana (Total:1)	Sidney	1

TABLE IV.6 continued

State	Locality	Number of Migrants
Nebraska (Total: 3)	Nebraska City	1
	Omaha	1
	Wood River	1
Nevada (Total: 2)	North Las Vegas	1
	Tonopah	1
New Jersey (Total: 3)	Atlantic City	2
	Clementon	1
New Mexico (Total: 3)	Anthony	3
New York (Total: 4)	Germantown	2
	Pine Bush	2
Ohio (Total: 2)	Toledo	2
Oklahoma (Total: 1)	Madill	1
Oregon (Total: 1)	Priceville	1
Pennsylvania (Total: 1)	McDonald	1
Texas (Total: 43)	Dallas	15
	Forth Worth	9
	San Antonio	5
	El Paso	3
	Corpus Christi	2
	Skidmore	2
	Water Valley	2
	Houstoun	1
	Levelland	1
	Lubbock	1
	Mission	1
	Ysleta	1
Washington (Total: 1)	Seattle	1

TABLE IV.6 continued

State	Locality	Number of Migrants
Wisconsin (Total: 2)	Milwaukee	1
	Racine	1

SUMMARY

States with largest numbers of migrants:

California	149
Texas	43
Illinois	31
Colorado	23

Cities with largest numbers of migrants:

Chicago, Ill.	23
Los Angeles, Cal.	22
Pueblo, Col.	19
Dallas, Texas	15
Santa Ana, Cal.	15

Total number of U.S. States represented:	19
Total number of U.S. Localities represented:	110
Total number of migrants working in U.S.:	285

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* Source: Address files maintained by the local priest. Data collected by W. Cornelius on July 31, 1975. Total estimated population of the community on that date: 3 100.
From W. Cornelius and J. Diez-Canedo. "Mexican Migration to the United States. The View from the Rural Sending Communities." p. 9-11.

TABLE IV. 7

U.S. DESTINATIONS OF MIGRANTS FROM "ARANDAS JALISCO, WORKING IN U.S. AS OF SEPTEMBER 1976, BY STATE AND LOCALITY

State	Locality	Number of Migrants
Arizona (Total: 1)	Campo Verde	1
California (Total: 17)	Chico	1
	Dixon	1
	Gehment	1
	Hollywood	1
	Inglewood	1
	Los Angeles	3
	Nerwalk	1
	Pitsburgh	1
	Sacramento	1
	Santa Ana	2
	San Jose	1
	San Pedro	1
	Vacanillo	1
	Yuba City	1
Illinois (Total: 3)	Aurora	3
Missouri (Total: 1)	Kansas City	1

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* Source: Address files maintained by the representatative of the +"Hijos Ausentes"+ in Mexico City.

+ Absentee Residents.

this type of migration implicitly, and thus it becomes an important part of the labor market mechanism.

4.9 The search for a job.

This aspect of the migratory process was not very well understood by the migrants, for there were no rules of thumb. They simply got where they thought they wanted to go and, somehow, tried to contact someone who spoke Spanish; the latter usually offered a helping hand, either taking them directly to a job, or helping them leave their names in the "job wanted" lists in different companies. These same people helped them find a place to stay and, in a short time, they were working.

Whenever they reached industrial centers, they tended to fill the so-called secondary labor market jobs. Due to the high turnover rates typically observed in that market it is easy to find job openings, which are constantly being filled up by these laborers. The job search process in the agricultural sector was, as described, also very quick.

A common topic of conversation in the mines in Montana, according to one worker, was how long the individual members of a crew had been going without missing a day's work. In most cases the legals missed at least a couple of days every two or three weeks and this particular illegal claimed to have worked 52 weeks without a day missed, working overtime whenever possible.

In another case, in an iron molding company in Illinois, the more important jobs, and most of the overtime which is offered

as a prize, went mainly to illegals, because of their reliability. The illegals went there to work, and the more work the better, for with the possibility of an INS raid, they knew everything might be over. They were even perfectly happy doing menial jobs, as long as they could work overtime. The rest of the work force did not appear to like their jobs, and often times did not show up for a couple of days, caused problems, and in general did not appear to be very reliable, characteristics that seem to be also typical of a secondary labor force.

4.10 The issue of illegality.

The illegal status of part of the work force did not seem to matter either for the job search process, or in labor relations. It did not seem to affect or modify in any way the internal labor market mechanisms.

Several reasons can be offered as an explanation. First of all, when somebody is working illegally his best guarded secret is precisely that, so he is going to try very hard to hide that fact. Although fellow workers widely suspected that there were many illegals working in a factory, there was no certainty except with the occurence of an INS raid. When this happened it was common that some they had suspected were not illegals, were, while some others, apparently above suspicion, were working without papers. The other reason is that the only thing that the employer needs to be "legal" is to hire those who have a social security card. A social security card is very easy to get, since machines exist that make

a metal card for a quarter or so. In their home communities, they have a stock of cards that are constantly recycled.

In the industrial centers, therefore, the labor market --or more precisely the secondary labor market-- was not illegal. No one was hired because he or she was illegal, for several reasons: first of all, because it was mentioned before, nobody advertised this fact. Secondly the employer probably preferred to be within the law, and thirdly, if the employer decided to lower wages, suspecting his employees were illegal, they would immediately quit that job, and go somewhere else. After all, they were in the U.S. to make money, and wage rates were perfectly known among illegals. This was very clear in the agricultural jobs. If they knew the going wage was even 5 or 10 cents an hour or per box if working on a piece rate basis higher in the next orchard, they would immediately move. This made wages about the same everywhere.

Labor relations were normal. Seniority was very important in the allocation of overtime*, selection of work shifts*, and in enhancing the probability of becoming a foreman.* They were union members in all but two cases[1] and most of them joined the Teamster Union, even though they claimed not to have made a willfull choice. They paid union dues* (5 to 6 dollars) and had some strong opinions about some leaders: ("Hoffa was a blood-sucker"). In many instances the workers used words for which they did not know an exact equivalent in Spanish, specific jobs, or tasks, and words related

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[1] For the ones working in the industry.

* In English in the interviews.

to labor institutions. Some of them got "el unemployment" or "el desemployment" (2 cases one for 1 month the other 15 days) after having worked for more than a year. They always paid "el income tax", (it was with held). "El borde" (board) was sometimes included in their working arrangements. All this vocabulary reflected some concrete[1] knowledge of their jobs, and not much more, a typical secondary labor market relation. They just did what the foreman or the boss told them to do. They could not ask many questions and did not. They intuitively knew what was going on but had no precise idea. Their institutional participation was very limited.

In all cases, they paid income tax, which was retained by the employer and, in this sample, no one received welfare. Two persons collected unemployment benefits, and nobody made any use of public schools or other government programs. The reasons were two fold: first, they had very little information; and, second, they were afraid of being caught. Consequently, they appeared to contribute much more than they used. This fact is documented in many other studies[2], even though there have been claims that there is a considerable tax burden for each illegal work.

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[1] Piore has also sustained, based on Piagets theories of knowledge that concrete, as opposed to abstract knowledge is another basic characteristic of the secondary labor market.

[2] See U.S. Department of Labor. 1975. "Illegal Aliens Study, Statistical Higlights". Memorandum (11/18/75) from William H. Kolberg to Secretary John H. Dunlop on Study by D.S. North to Linton and Co., issued as a press release.
Also D. North and M. Houstoun. The Characteristics and Role of Illegal Aliens in the U.S. Labor Market.

4.11 Urban Migrants.

While trying to locate money orders in order to evaluate the importance of the remittances in Mexico City and the cities of Guadalajara and Aguascalientes, it was found that it was not uncommon for the people living in the cities (the middle class bank employee or government official) to have a friend or a relative working in the U.S. without proper documentation. These people, according to my interviewees ranged from University students[1] to car mechanics, and were working mostly in Chicago and New York.

This very interesting fact was confirmed by the remittances data, and suggested an entirely different type of Mexican migrants, as distinguished from the agricultural workers. Later on, some further brief research was done by the author in a suburb of New York City.

The studies of illegal Mexican migration or INS statistics rarely report illegal aliens coming from Mexico City into New York or any other area.

In New York it was found that the Mexican urban, undocumented migrants seem to behave in a similar fashion to the more sophisticated, "non Mexican"[2] illegals that cluster around New York.

These aliens are less visible. They get their jobs through employment agencies, and work mostly as waiters, cooks or janitors.

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[1] It is also interesting to notice that an informal survey carried out at the National University to find out why some admitted first year students failed to register, suggested that some of them did not register because they were apparently working in the U.S. at that time.

[2] For a comparison on the characteristics of different illegal aliens see D. North and M. Houstoun. The Characteristics and Role of Illegal Aliens in the U.S. Labor Market and Exploratory Study.

They seem to be in great demand and provide a very good business for employment agencies, since they have very high rates of turnover. The employers seem to be very aware of the characteristics of this type of labor. They even have "rules of thumb" regarding the hiring of illegals. For example one employer explained that he tried to avoid hiring Peruvians and Colombians, for if he fired a Peruvian, he or she would sometimes call the INS so they will go raid the shop or restaurant. If he hired just Peruvians, usually they did not betray their countrymen. This fact if supported by further empirical research, may help explain why certain nationalities initially cluster in specific trades or areas.

The great majority of the illegals in N.Y. are not Mexican, according to the employers, although they are not uncommon. The Mexican illegals I met were working at a restaurant in the suburbs of New York. They planned to stay for about a year, and unlike the agricultural workers, did form a sort of chain of migration, with the cousin, then the brother, etc., succesively migrating. After a couple of years back in their country, they usually return to the same place.

These interviews (if not necessarily) in a secondary labor market, certainly a 'limbo' labor market in the New York area were very useful. Lack of funds and time limited the interviews (8 aliens and 2 employers) but helped with others done in Mexico City (4), and yielded indirect evidence which helped to clarify the picture. These interviews were conducted in the New York suburbs;

the respondents were skilled laborers: 3 ex-bureaucrats, one high school teacher, a car salesman, a mechanic, and one waiter. They were all visa-abusers, a "non-Mexican illegal" characteristic, rather skilled, urban middle class, and spoke English (although not very well), etc. To summarize, they were Mexican illegal aliens that had the same characteristics as Western Hemisphere Aliens. They had all migrated to make money, except in one case where the worker had been unemployed. They worked in typical secondary labor market jobs.

They received their respective jobs (in 3 cases) through an employment agency (in 2 cases) directly, or (in 2 cases) were referred to that place by relatives. One worker was working in the same place after having had worked there twice previously.

They were all temporary migrants living on the premises, and making between $140 and 160 per week. The employers depended on this type of workers for these jobs. The employees were basically Latin Americans, and some Yugoslavians.

These New York interviews suggest another element in the overall illegal alien phenomenon which has not been studied and raises several important questions. Mexican illegals have seldom been located in New York, while several other nationalities are known for their abundance in this illegal labor market. This probably means that the relative importance of the Mexicans in the whole alien problem has to be reevaluated. As there are apparently relatively few undetectable Mexican aliens there must be many more

undectables of other nationalities. Another posssibility may be that the more sophisticated illegals are not considered as harmful by the INS -although most certainly they should be, to be consistent- to the labor market and social conditions of the U.S., as are the Mexican aliens.

The labor market structure for the illegal aliens seems to work very smoothly at two different levels. While English -speaking, skilled, visa- abusing Mexicans work in some areas, -amazingly- somebody who cannot speak a word of English, and can hardly read and write in Spanish, can find a job within a week in Highland Park (the Chicago suburbs) making beds and cleaning rooms in the big Hotel chains.

There is a labor market within a market in the U.S. The fact that there are jobs that nobody other than the illegals wants has been explained by dual labor market theorists. But why is it that the "illegal" labor supply is taken for granted? How do the employers know that they are going to have this kind of labor available? After all, if the supply was uncertain, many industries would not survive. Illegals seem to earn, in many cases, more than the minimum wage. They are highly mobile and react to wage differentials within the U.S. (after all, they came here to make money). It must be that some "mechanism", conditioned by history, is working.

CHAPTER V

FURTHER EVIDENCE ON THE EXISTENCE OF TWO MIGRATORY PATTERNS COMING FROM THE SAME RURAL AREAS.

In the previous chapters, a theoretical framework was proposed, based on the results of the field research, and an explanation of the phenomenon was offered. In this chapter the findings of chapter IV will be tested, thorough the analysis of indirect evidence located in anthropological and community studies of Mexican villages, and through the use of census data.

The hypothesis to be tested are basically that:

a) Internal permanent migration and international temporary migration are related to the patterns of organization of production.

b) Internal migration from the rural areas is due basically to a push factor, and originates when the organization of production, which is in most cases institutionally predetermined, produces an overcrowding of production units, and subsistence wages for its members.

c) International migration occurs when the average product on the farm is below the U.S. wage, but above the urban wage.

5.1 Anthropological and community studies

There are a variety of local community studies, though almost none of them are specifically interested in migration.

All of them mention this phenomenon incidentally, When these studies are read together and the material on migration is abstracted, a single picture emerges, that picture is as follows and confirms the hypothesis set forth in the previous chapter: Migration has almost always been studied as a one way process, and census data does not seem to support the hypothesis of an important flow of temporary migrants to the cities. However, an important flow of temporary migration exists, directed mainly to the U.S. This flow coexists with a permanent outflow of migrants to the urban centers. In general, the relative importance of internal permanent migration seems to be much higher. Temporary migration to the U.S., however, seems to be very important, and contributes, through the remittances, to foster the development of many small rural communities.

The reason for both types of migration to coexisting seems to be related to the prevailing patterns of organization of production. The most important factor that seems to determine permanent internal migration is the lack of sufficient land or of other means the rural livelihood. When ample land or other means of rural livelihood exist, then the flow is of a temporary nature to the U.S.

Undocumented Mexican immigrants in the U.S. seem to have migrated mainly, --although increasingly less so--, from the rural areas. The bracero is an occupational category to be found in a great number

of Mexican villages. This fact is amply documented in most of the anthropological and community studies that exist on Mexican villages.[1]

All these studies mention without having specifically looked for it and without analyzing this phenomenon, a special category of workers within the village's economic structure; the bracero or return migrant, who has migrated to the U.S. more than once.

Migration has almost always been studied as a one-way process. There have been few adequate analysis of the economic experiences of return migrants, and in most of these, migrants are assumed to have returned primarily because their economic expectations were not fulfilled. Thus, return migrants are generally thought to have been unsuccessful immigrants.

The most widely used index for measuring non-permanent migration is the sex ratio. When men outnumber women in the urban areas, the explanation usually lies in the fact that men leave their families in the rural areas, and return periodically. Mexican data, however, suggests that temporary migration to Mexican cities from rural areas does not seem to be a recurrent practice.[2]

Census data for 1960 shows that there were 92 men for each 100 women in Mexico City, and 97 men for each 100 women in 1970. For the city of Guadalajara, the number of men per hundred women was 92 in 1960, and 93 for 1970, yet for the city of Monterrey, no difference was detect

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1 Gonzalez (1972); Fromm and Maccoby (1970; Foster (1972); Kamper (1976); Lewis (1966); Iszaevich (1973).

2 Probably the exception is to be found among construction workers, as mentioned by Dimitri Germidis in: El Trabajo y las Relaciones Laborales en la Industria Mexicana de la Construccion. Colegio de Mexico 1974.

ted for 1960 and 1970, showing 98 men per hundred women in both years. These numbers, however, may be reflected the temporary influx of female domestic service into the cities,

The only study that has been made in Mexico taking into account return migration was undertaken by Harley Browning and Waltraut Feindt.[1] They took a sample of 1640 males between the ages of 21 and 60 living in Monterrey, Mexico. Of that total 904 were migrants. Of these two-thirds regarded their move as permanent; 16% had plans for returning home and the rest were undecided. They also found that 18% of those who were natives of Monterrey, and had returned, came from the U.S. More than half had worked in an agricultural occupations and obtained training and skills that were useful to them in Monterrey. Only 4% worked in agricultural activities, most of them as braceros.

The same authors undertook a survey in Cedral --an economically depressed village of 4221 people[2] in the state of Nuevo Leon-- that showed that 30% of the population had returned to the community after a period of absence. Less than half of them had gone to the city of Monterrey while the remainder had left the village as contract workers (braceros) in the U.S. Nearly 11.0% of those that had jobs

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1 Harley L. Browning and Waltraut Feindt. "The Social and Economic Context of Migration to Monterrey, Mexico", in Francine F. Rabinovitz and and Felicity M. Trueblood (eds.). Latin American Urban Research. Vol. I. Sage Publications. California 1971.

2 Harley L. Browning and Waltraut Feindt. "Selectivity of Migrants to a Metropolis in a Developing Country: A Mexican Case Study". Demography 6:4 (1969) pp. 347-357.

across the border did not work in agriculture.

This survey reflects some very interesting results, as can be seen in Table IV.I. Although Browning and Feindt did not specifically analyze the phenomenon, it can be seen from this table that return migrants from the U.S. did so because their contracts expired, they were deported, or they just decided to return. Nobody was left without a job or complained about not earning enough.

In their study of a small agrarian community consisting of 417 people, Fromm and Maccoby, illustrate the importance of the braceros or return migrants in the occupational structure of a Mexican Village:

> "...This group includes 31 men (15% of the men). Working mainly in California or Arizona, these men used to do heavy farm labor at wages lower the American workers (70 cents to a dollar an hour)... but fabulously high for the village, where at the time of the study a jornalero or day laborer seldom received more than a dollar a day. Even a small landholder would make and save more money working for three months in the United States than farming his own land for a year. Shortage of land combined with the relatively high wages paid in the United States attracted 20% of the men at one time or another. Of these, 15%, considered occupational braceros, used to migrate on a regular basis. Another 17% of the men have left the village for paid work in other parts of Mexico at one time or another, while 63% or the men have worked only in the village or nearby".[1]
> (See Table IV.2)

Luis Gonzalez[2] reports temporary migration from San José de Garcia, a town in the state of Michoacan, as having variable economic impacts. The agricultural production of the town did not decrease

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[1] E. Fromm and M. Maccoby. Social Character in Mexican Village.

[2] Luis Gonzalez. Pueblo en Vilo.

TABLE V.1

REASONS FOR RETURN MIGRATION TO CEDRAL

Reasons	Return Migration from Monterrey	Return Migration from other places (U.S.)
Termination of contract, lack of documents	20	47
Job opening in Cedral	6	10
Family reasons	33	10
Did not like it, could not adapt	8	10
Could not get a job earned very little	8	0
All other reasons	25	23
T o t a l	100	100
	(49)	(49)

Source: H.L. Browning and W. Feindt. "Migracion de Retorno, su Significado en una Metropoli Industrial y una Localidad Agricola en Mexico". Paper presented at the Conferencia Regional Latinoamericana de Poblacion. Mexico, D. F. August 17-22, 1970. p. 7.

TABLE V.2

TABLE OF OCCUPATIONS

Occupation	Number of Men (N = 209)	Number of Women (N = 208)	Total Number (N = 417)
Agriculture	172	17	189
Skilled Labor	9	0	9
Unskilled	16	0	16
Non-Agriculture	0	0	0
Sugar Refinery	8	2	10
Bracero (migrant labor)	31	0	31
Trade, selling, speculation	10	16	26
Stores or bars	10	11	21
Teachers	2	3	5
Students	9	8	17
Housework	3	159	162
Domestic servant	0	24	24
Seamstress	0	10	10
Nurse, midwife	0	3	3
Does not work	3	8	11
	273*	261*	534*

* Individuals may be classified in more than one category.

Source: E. Fromm and M. Maccoby. Social Character in a Mexican Village. Prentice Hall. 1970. p.50.

with migration, a fact that implies underemployment or surplus labor. The migrants earned "quite a bit" and although a portion of their wages was spent at bars, most of them brought enough money back to buy cattle, land, a house or a store or small shop. Some saved just enough to support themselves until the next trip. Very few workers decided to stay. This study mentions that the people who remained in the U.S. -usually in Los Angeles- and had their families with them did not live as well as the ones that send money back and invested it in their own town. It is also stated that "almost all sent considerable amounts of money to their families, either for saving or subsistence."[1]

Two other studies[2], one of a community in the State of Oaxaca, and another one in the State of Michoacan also report heavy migration to the U.S., which at some point involved at least 50% of the men, in addition to people migrating to Mexico City. Braceriismo brought about a perceptible increase in the economic welfare of many in these towns: yet, there were some persons who could not even earn enough to cover their expenses. The over-all balance, however, in the opinion of these authors, was positive. It appears from these studies that the termination of the bracero program did reduce the number of migrants to the U.S., but this was not an explicitly stated conclusion. Migration to the U.S., has continued although it has been less publicized, even in Mexico, probably because

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[1] Luis Gonzalez. Pueblo en Vilo. p. 225.

[2] Abraham Iszaevich. Modernizacion en una Comunidad del Valle de Oaxaca. p. 147-149.

it's new character demands more discretion.

It is apparent from all these studies that there are two possible alternatives for migrants. Temporary migration, basically to the U.S., or permanent migration to a city inside Mexico. Temporary migrants travel alone, are mostly males in the 20-30 year old group. Some migrate annually during the harvest season. Some others do so for longer periods of time and work in industrial or urban jobs. In all cases they stop migrating when they have saved enough to get established in some sort of business back in their communities.

Obvious questions arise at this point that will be dealt with later on. Is it necessary to migrate to establish a small business? What inhibits entry into local capital markets? Why is temporary migration oriented mostly to the U.S.? Why is it not a permanent move in view of the wage differentials and the fact that labor demand for this type of labor always seem to be stronger in the U.S,? If this is the case, and as a recent migration theories would presume, why doesn't everybody go to to the U.S,?

Census data shows that two patterns of migration evidently co-exist within the same villages. In all the regions where heavy temporary migration to the U.S. has been found, heavy permanent migration to other cities inside Mexico has also been reported.

It seems that regional differences in land tenure institutions are a fundamental factor in the propensity to migrate temporarily or permanently. There are some areas where there is no possibility to purchase land in <u>any</u> quantity because of institutional

--the ejido--[1] or other reasons. It has been shown that a great deal of the ejido plots merely provide for subsistence. Migration decisions from these areas are necessarily permanent. Landless peasants with no discernible future in their villages are forced to gather up their families and start a new life in the cities. People in the lower economic strata, do not seem to migrate to the U.S.

The reasons for permanent migration are also mentioned in the Iszaevich study. The most important factor in the decision is the lack of land. When a family grows, there is a surplus of family members who have nothing much to do. In ejidos, it is the older son who inherits the plot; in small private plots it is the youngest. Those who are in between have to go elsewhere. Education is regarded very highly for its usefulness in finding good jobs in Mexico City. Iszaevich mentions that, even when more and better land was offered to the peasants in the somewhat under populated zones of southern Mexico, they did not accept it because of a lack of schools in the area. They regarded investment in human capital as more productive and necessary in the longer run.

In areas where land can be purchased, or other means of rural livehood exist (people above the lower economic strata) the decision to migrate will often be of a temporary character and mostly to the U.S., as illegal laborers. It seems that they can earn in two or three months what they can earn in an entire year of labor in their

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[1] The ejido plot is not private property. It is handed to a community of peasants by the government. It cannot be sold, leased or mortgaged. It is owned by the Nation through a Community of Ejidatarios. An institution not distant in many cases from "petty landholding".

home community:

These findings seems to be supported by the Lewis study:

> "Most of the braceros from Tepoztlan.. come predominantly from the upper segments of the lower economic group.. but also from the middle group.. few come from the poorest families and fewer from the wealthiest families".[1]

Temporary migrants go to the U.S. as many times as necessary in order to change their status from landless family members to small businessmen, industrial entrepreneurs or small propietors. They are target oriented migrants. Above certain levels of capital accumulation, skill, wages or respectability there seems to be little attraction to work abroad. If this were not the case a village of "professional temporary migratns" would eventually disappear as the economic and social structure of the village disintegrated.

Access to credit from private banking institutions seems to be a measure of success for migrants. Once they have access to credit and a productive activity, there is no need for further migration.

5.2 Statistical Results.

In this section the hypothesis set forth in previous sections will be empirically tested. The central concern of the quantitative analysis is to evaluate the effects of the land tenure systems as a causal force in the incidence of international, as well as internal migration.

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[1] O. Lewis. Tepoztlan. p. 98.

5.3 Internal Migration.

Demographic research appears to have found migration mainly following economic opportunity. However, in many cases what has been observed is the second stage of a migratory phenomenon. Migration of unskilled labor from the rural areas to the urban labor markets seems to be a painful process, in which migrants move from a near subsistence situation to one in which the levels are not very different, at least initially, than the ones found at their place of origin. The lower strata of the urban labor market do not offer clear cut opportunities for improved standards of living than the rural areas. They are in many cases the only opportunity available and thus the factor most affecting the migratory flow. Afterwards, since the migrants are rational, the best destinations regarding income, education, and other urban amenities will be chosen.

The model described below is estimated for the Republic of Mexico for changes from 1960 to 1970:

$$\frac{Mij}{Pi} = f \ (IPOPi, ILANDi, Yj - i, CREDi, Edi, Edj, Dist, Ui, Uj)$$

Mij/Pi[1].- The migration variables are a ten year out and in migration rates. This variable measures the number of persons residing in any given state in 1970 who moved there from another state since 1960, or the frequency of migration from state i to state j in the period 1960-1969. Holding all else constant, Mij is assumed to be proportional to Pi, the population of state i (1960), a measure of potential migrants.[1]

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[1] See Beals, Levy, and Moses (1967); Gallaway, Gilbert and Smith (1967).

IPOPi.- The potential population with subsistence income[1]. This is the ratio of population living in plots of less than 5 hectares and ejidos (families), to the total rural population. It was suggested in the last chapter that when there are more people living near the subsistence level, more internal immigration will occur. This variable measures the potential size of the subsistence level population.[2] Unfortunately, no detailed data is available giving agricultural output.

ILANDi.- The population pressure on available land. The ratio of people living in ejidos and plots of less than five hectares to their total available land. It is a proxy for the proportion of the smallholding population actually near subsistence levels. It is assumed that with greater pressure on available land, internal out-migration will increase. It is necessary to mention, however, that if ejido and small property plots are overcrowded everywhere, as some studies claim[3], the effect of this variable may be zero.

Yj-i.- The interstate income differential. There is complete unanimity in all migration studies on the effect of income on destination[4]. It is assumed here, that the income differential

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[1] All data for this section was taken from the population Censuses, 1960 and 1970 unless otherwise stated.

[2] Variables including landless jornaleros were tried, but yielded essentially identical results.

[3] S. Eckstein. "Migration and Occupational Mobility". Migration and Development Study Group. M.I.T. July 1976.

[4] See for instance Greenwood (1969), Greenwood and Ladman (1977), Vanderkamp (1971), Sahota (1968), Levy and Wadychi (1974), Beals, Levy and Moses (1967), Gallaway, Gilbert and Smith (1967), Greenwood (1978).

between two regions (1960)[1] (measured as the median income) will yield a significant and positive effect. Even if migration must take place because of conditions at the point of origin, the second step is selecting the best destination. If migration is primarily related to earnings differentials (demand pull) this variable will be the first to be considered by prospective migrants.

CREDi.- Credit availability. Availability of credit at the point of origin is hypothesized to have a negative correlation with rural migration. The greater available credit, the greater the possibility for increasing agricultural labor productivity and earning subsistence in the rural areas.[2]

Edi, Edj.- Educational levels. Educated people are more likely to migrate. As mentioned in the first two sections of this chapter, education was also highly valued by prospective migrants to the urban centers. Since education is a public service, it should attract migrants. There may also be problems of simultaneity, a region attracting migrants may have above average levels of education, while an ample supply of educated people could make regions less attractive for prospective educated migrants. Here, it will be expected that education in i will increase the likelihood of migration, while education in j will attract migrants.[3]

Dist.- Interstate distance. This distance was set as

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[1] Mex., Dir. Gral. de Estadistica. "Ingresos por Trabajo de la Poblacion Economicamente Activa". VIII Censo de Poblacion 1960.

[2] Credit data taken from: Guia de Mercados de Mexico. la. Ed. 1960.

[3] Bowles (1970) and Levy and Wadycki (1974) found that education influenced the responsiveness to economic factors. Here the number of teachers per capita was used as a proxy for the variable education, for iliteracy indexes are not very precise.

the distance between the capital cities of the States. Distance has always been found to have a negative relation to migration, due to costs and social and cultural factors.[1] The same relationship is expected here.[2] To assure that the internal, as well as the international migration to be explained came from the rural areas, only the states in which the majority, (at least 55% in 1970) of the population living in the rural areas were considered for the analysis. The population living in cities of less than ten thousand people was considered as rural.

Including only those states in which rural and agricultural sectors could be largely equated permitted a more rigorous test for the influence of the system of land tenure on migration behaviour.[3]

The same states were used for internal and international migration (22). This was done to make the two analysis comparable, and to insure that both the internal and the international migratory flows to be explained came from the rural areas.[4]

The model or basic hypothesis to be tested here is that the migration flow is a function of a number of variables related to

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[1] Larry Sjaastad. "The Costs and Returns of Human Migration". Journal of Political Economy. 1962.

[2] We should also note that two measures of urban poverty were tried, but are not discussed since they were neither significant, nor had any real effect on the equations reported. This two measures were the unemployment rates in the place of origin and destination.

[3] The statistical package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) was used to run the internal migration regressions, because the STP (which was used for the international migration regressions) could only handle 2000 data. The migration from state i to state j, involved 462 observations per variable.

[4] The data used is described in detail in the appendix to this chapter.

the simple model of the last chapter,

The variables that were not significant were dropped, but coefficients of other variables changed, suggesting that collinearities were responsible for their not begin significant.

$$M_{ij}/P_i = .006 + .0186\ IPOP_i^{1} + .00002\ Y_{j-i}^{5} + .2284\ Ed_i^{1} + .5576\ Ed_j^{1}$$

(5.25) (2.00) (2.73) (7.19)

$R^2 = .15$

$f(457,7) = 21.93^{1}$

t statistics in parenthesis.

1 significantly different from zero at 99% confidence level.

5 significantly different from zero at 95% confidence level.

At it is usually the case with a large sample of cross section data R^2 tended to be rather low.

The index $IPOP_i$, along with the income differential Y_{j-i} and the variables of education were highly significant in accounting for changes in internal migration.

I $IPOP_i$, the potential population with incomes at subsistence, (ratio of population living in plots of less than 5 hectares and ejidos to total rural population) had a positive and highly significant relationship with internal migration.

In the model it was hypothesized that the reason for migrating internally was that ejido plots and plots of less than five hectares were generally overcrowded, and thus in the places were this ratio is higher the outflow is also higher. Thus, the hypothesis is not

rejected.

Y_{j-i} was also positively and significantly related to the migratory outflow, and further confirms the rationality of the migrants. The unemployment variables, which were tried, but were not significantly different from zero, are usually important along with the income differential variables in explaining the migratory flow. The fact that in this case this variable was not significant could be related to the reasons mentioned before i.e. unemployment is impossible at the lower tiers of the urban labor market, where a continuous degree of underemployment is the rule, and this variable, the degree of underemployment, could not be accurately measured using census data.

The coefficients of the variables used for education, Ed_i and Ed_j, were both highly significant and positively related to the migratory flows. Here, however, the interpretation is somewhat difficult. On the one hand, being education a public service, it should attract migrants. At the same time, migrants, being more educated are more likely to migrate.

5.4 International Migration.

Here, the ideal model, or the basic hypothesis resulting from the research are:

$$TM/P = a+b_1D + b_2ILAND+5 + b_3IPOP+5 - ILAND_{i70} + b_4CRED + b_5W + b_6Ed$$

Whre: $\frac{TM}{P}$ = Temporary migration per capita

D = Dummy variable for the States of Guanajuato, Zacatecas and Campeche,

ILAND + 5 = The ratio of population on land plots of more than 5 hectares to arable land available on plots bigger than 5 hectares.

IPOP + 5 = Ratio of population on plots of more than 5 hectares to rural population.

CRED = Credit

W = Wage

Ed = Education

$ILAND_{i70}$ = Ratio of population in Ejidos and plots of less than 5 hectares to arable land on these plots. This variable is the same as the one for internal migration, but for 1970.

1.- Temporary Migration.-

As there are no available data on temporary (illegal) migration to the U.S., the data on remittances per capita obtained in this research was used as a proxy variable for the following reasons.

Remittances were assumed to have a functional relationship to migrants for the year being considered: (1975).

$$R = (k)\ (T.M.)$$

The remittances (R) were assumed to be proportional to, temporary migrants (TM) with constant of proportionality (k). Thus if,

$$TM_i = f\ (D, ILAND + 5,\ IPOP + 5,\ ILAND_{i70},\ CRED,\ W,\ Ed)$$

therefore,

$$\frac{R/P}{P} = k\ f\ (D, ILAND+5,\ IPOP+5,\ ILAND_{i70},\ CRED,\ W,\ Ed)$$

To assure that the migratory phenomenon of temporary migration to be explained comes from the rural areas, only the states in which the majority (at least 55%) of the population lived in the rural areas (22 states) were considered for the analysis. Population

living in cities of less than ten thousand people was considered as rural.

Including only those states in which rural and agricultural sectors could be largely equated permitted a more rigorous test of the influence of the system of land tenure on the migration behavior. The population data was taken from the 1970 population census.

2.- Dummy.-

A dummy variable was used for the states of Zacatecas, Guanajuato and Campeche. The first two states have a long tradition of transitory migration to the U.S., and therefore present migration is going to depend heavily on past migration and consequently on the information channels built through the years. For this reasons the Dummy was necessary. The state of Campeche showed also a very high ratio of remittances per capita. In this case however some a typical checks (extremely large sums) showed up for which no explanation was given.

3.- ILAND + 5

Population pressure on available land. Here it is assumed that, as was discovered during the research stage, the people in the highest income brackets do not migrate. Of the people living in plots bigger than 5 hectares there will be some in this situation. It is assumed that as the private plots become more crowded, the need for migration of a temporary sort to supplement form incomes will become increasingly necessary.

This variable is the most important for evaluating the model

set forth in the previous chapter. It will be assumed that temporary migration will have a significant positive relation with this variable. The numerator for this variable was taken from the Censo Agricola Ganadero y Ejidal, and for the denomination from the Population Census 1970.

4.- IPOP + 5

The ratio of population living on plots having more than five hectares to the rural population. It could be expected that when there are more people under this conditions in relation to the total rural population, more international migration should be expected. The sources are the same as above.

5.- Credit

During the research it was found that, apparently internationah migration was very much related to the amount of available credit, basically agricultural and commercial. Remittances used as down-payments opened up new credit lines through commercial banks or through the stores where light machinery or agricultural implements are purchased.

The variables for commercial credit per capita and agricultural credit were tested. These variables were used on a per capita basis. The credit sources are taken from data of the Bank of Mexico for total private and government credit 1975.

6.- W

As a measure of the rural wage the average legal minimum

wage for the rural areas per state was considered. Note again that this wage was used to see the effect of income on the origin and a negative sign could be expected. However, as it was explained in the text, minimum wage compliance in the rural areas is very poor, and not very much explanatory power is expected out of this variable. No other income variable was available.

7.- Ed

Education was assumed to have a positive effect on international migration from the rural areas. A minimum amount of education is needed for information gathering on employment posibilities and all informational requirements on the migratory process. Percentage of iliteracy and the number of elementary school teachers per capita were used as a proxies for education.

8.- $ILAND_{i70}$

Population pressure of people living on ejidos and small private property of less than five hectares on available arable land (of the same characteristics).

The resulting equation was:

$$TM/Pi = .8335^{1} + 3.229\ D^{1} + .0190\ ILAND + 5^{5} - .2952\ ILAND_{i70}{}^{5}$$
$$\qquad\quad (3.71) \quad (9.75) \qquad (2.49) \qquad\qquad (2.25)$$

$R^2 = .86$

$F(18,4) = 39.30^{1}$

[1] significantly different from zero at 99% confidence level

[5] significantly different from zero at a 95% confidence level

The variables which turned out to be more relevant to the phenomenon of international migration, were indeed related to the prevailing types of production prevailing in the region, and as hypothesized in the previous chapter.

ILAND+5 It seems that, as hypothesized, migration to the U.S. starts taking place when the population pressure on available land (plots of more than five hectares) is such that when the number of people is beyond the point where average product is higher than marginal product, the need for migrating to the U.S. increases.

$ILAND_{i70}$ the opposite results were obtained for this variable: in the regions were the 1970 population census shows more overcrowding in ejidos a significant negative relationship with international migration was found. This variable was important mostly to validate the generalization made about ejidos and comparing them with the subsistence plots. When ejidos were more overcrowded less migration to the U.S. occured.

Dt The dummy variable was used to account for historical or past migration as having also explanatory power in the overall phenomenon, and it was significantly different from zero, and positively related to this migratory flow.

Apparently, when seen from the source regions, the variables related to the land tenior institutions and the variables related to past experiences were the ones that had more explanatory power in accounting for international migration.

Summarizing, internal migration (1960-1970) was positively

and significantly correlated with the number of people living at subsistence in relation to the total rural population. When relatively more people were living at subsistence, relatively more internal migration was observed. The variables related to income differentials and education were also positively related to the migratory flows. This relationship apparently confirms the hypothesis that there is first an important push factor, as a result of which the migrants behave rationally, migrating to where the economic incentives are better.

International temporary migration was also, as hypothesized, related to the organization of production: when more population pressure on plots bigger than five hectares was observed, more migration to the U.S., occured. This consistent with the hypothesis that migration to the U.S., occurs when the per capita wage (average product) is less than the U.S., wage, but higher than in the urban centers. When the pressure of the population on these plots is small, they work the land in a capitalist fashion, and there is no need for migration. However, when pressure starts to make it profitable for the family to send members abroad, this flow will increase.

It is also important to mention that, to be certain that the distinction between plots bigger than five hectares and ejidos was correctly made, population pressure in ejidos relative to available land was also tested. If the production and institutional arrangements were not important, the same behavioral relation would

have been expected for both variables. However, the results show that while population pressure on plots of more than five hectares was positively correlated with migration to the U.S., population pressure on ejidos was negatively related to this same type of migration. This probably indicates that below a certain threshold of subsistence (probably when saving becomes impossible), migration to the U.S., becomes less and less likely.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

With regard to the issue of international undocumented migration in general, and, specifically Mexican undocumented migration to the U.S., there is little accurate data, and considerable disagreement on the numbers, importance, and, in general, the whole process of this migratory phenomenon.

Since this flow is clandestine, it is necessary to exercise great caution in the collection and interpretation of the available evidence. The misuse, and/or lack of care in the use of existing evidence has resulted in a faulty understanding of the phenomenon.

The empirical evidence we were able to draw on for this dissertation came from diverse sources:

a) Field research, which consisted of indepth interviews with the Mexican international migrants in their home communities.

b) Anthropological and other community studies of Mexican villages, which although never focused directly on, and/or analyse the problem under study, always incidentally mention the phenomenon and characteristics of international migration.

c) Data on remittances, collected as suggested by a) and b) and with the purpose of evaluating the economic importance, and distribution of the undocumented workers, both in Mexico and the U.S.

d) Census data, which was used in order to verify at an

aggregate level the general hypothesis advanced in this study. Although information on key variables is either not collected or spread among a number of sources which cannot be dovetailed, the available census data added another element that helped to round out the analysis.

The cummulative effect of the different bits of evidence suggest that certain key features of the phenomenon, which we now recapitulate briefly, appear to be firmly established:

1.- Different patterns of migration coexist, --in an apparent paradox-- within the same villages. One is of a permanent character to the urban centers, and one is of a temporary character either to an urban center (and which is not supported with census data) or to the U.S. Migration to the U.S. could be thought to be, in general, more rational than internal migration, for the wage differential is higher, and the labor demand for the relevant segment of the labor market much higher. However, internal migration to the informal sector of the urban market is more common.

2.- The pattern of migration to be followed is highly correlated with the prevailing land tenure institutions and organization of production. When land, or other means of rural livelihood allow families to live above subsistence, the prevailing migratory pattern will be of a temporary character to the U.S. When family plots get overcrowded, and members live at levels close to subsistence, new or additional members will be forced to migrate permanently to the urban centers. Unless this distinction is made,

the picture is one of migration to an urban center with a marked excess supply of labor paradoxically coexisting with another to the U.S., where there is, apparently, an excess demand for this type of workers.

3.- The supply price of international migrants may be higher than the prevailing wage in the informal sector of the urban centers, thus implying a negative wage differential. This pattern of migration will not then be considered by rural workers living above subsistence while migration to the U.S., will be a rational move. The supply price of internal migrants is the subsistence wage, while the prevailing wage in the informal sector of the urban labor market seems to be slightly above subsistence. When families grow, some of its members will have to leave. They can work nearby at a capitalist farm earning the subsistence wage, but eventually they will have to move permanently to an urban center. This will happen when their (new) family grows and the supply price of the head of the new family unit increases in order to reflect the needs of all its members.

4.- The remittances from temporary migrants represent, in some regions, and important source of capital. This capital provides villagers leverage, helps them get credit lines, represents the first stage for further sustained development, and eliminates the need for further migration.

5.- The most important sources fo Mexican international migratory workers are the states of Guanajuato, Zacatecas and the

Mexico City metropolitan area.

6.- The most important destinations are: California, Illinois, Texas, New York and Minnesota.

7.- While most of the sources and destinations mentioned above have a long tradition of this type of migration, there are several sources and destinations, which, up to now, and due to biases in data collection, had not appeared as such: New York, Minnesota and Mexico City.

8.- The remittances data for New York and Mexico City suggest a greater dispersion of occupations, and a different kind of Mexican international migrant. Alongside the "typical" or traditional Mexican bracero (agricultural worker, unskilled, non English speaking) there seems to be another more sophisticated, skilled, English speaking, visa abuser similar to most of the "non-Mexican" undocumented workers.

9.- The remittances data, and data collected during the field research show that the sources, as well as the destination of migrants are widely dispersed. They also show, that chain migration is not a common pattern.

10.- The jobs taken by most Mexican international migrants are still apparently agricultural, although there is a growing percentage working in the urban centers.

11.- The labor market in the U.S. industrial areas has within one of its segments some sort of a "limbo" labor market, opperating fluidly, although in a semi-clandestine way; clandestine

because of the worker, but not because of the job. Most of the jobs are located within the secondary labor market. The incredibly short time span needed to find a job by a non-English speaking alien (what could be thought of as an apparent severe handicap) suggests an excess demand for this type of worker.

12.- Illegal aliens do not seem to affect labor relations a great deal. They are perhaps easier to manage and more productive than their U.S. counterparts. In any other segment of the labor market except in the secondary, they would be severely handicapped when searching a job. The secondary labor market, due to its characteristics, is the perfect place for illegal aliens.

13.- The number of undocumented workers in the U.S. has been severely over estimated. The numbers that have been used with greatest frequency are untenable from a scientific point of view, and have hindered understanding of the phenomenon.

14.- The migratory flow of temporary Mexican migrants to the U.S., and the evident demand existing for their services suggests a mutually benefical relation for both countries.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER III.

TABLE III.3

STATES OF DESTINATION AND ORIGIN OF THE REMITTANCES 1975

State of Destination	State of Origin	Total Amount	Number	Mean	Deviation	% Under 500
Aguascalientes	Arizona	3 045	63	48	37.9	100
	California	136 122	1 239	110	102.2	100
	Colorado	2 184	105	21	11.2	100
	Connecticut	12 726	147	87	50.7	100
	Idaho	2 100	21	100	0.0	100
	Illinois	52 584	483	109	103.9	100
	Kansas	672	63	11	0.9	100
	Minnesota	33 705	336	100	62.9	100
	Ohio	3 780	21	180	0.0	100
	Oregon	1 890	21	90	0.0	100
	Texas	23 142	189	122	180.5	89
	Virginia	210	21	10	0.0	100
	? ? ? ? a)	78 645	588	134	98.5	100
	Total MO b)	272 160	2 708	101	101.7	99
	Total MO +UP c)	350 805	3 297	106	101.9	99
Baja California Norte	? ? ? ?	4 305	63	68	23.2	100
Campeche	Arkansas	252 000	21	12 000	0.0	0
	California	61 635	231	267	552.8	91
	Colorado	1 680	42	40	0.0	100
	Connecticut	2 100	21	100	0.0	100
	Illinois	10 080	168	60	50.0	100
	Minnesota	1 050	21	50	0.0	100
	New York	9 660	84	115	86.2	100
	Texas	669 533	63	10 628	4 058.8	0
	Washington	1 050	21	50	0.0	100
	? ? ? ?	2 730	84	33	14.8	100
	Total MO	1 008 788	672	1 501	3 809.7	84
	Total MO + UP	1 011 518	756	1 338	3 621.3	86

TABLE III.3 continued

State of Destination	State of Origin	Total Amount	Number	Mean	Deviation	% Under 500
Chihuahua	California	72 555	777	93	97.8	100
	Colorado	4 200	126	33	31.4	100
	Connecticut	9 660	147	66	32.5	100
	Illinois	59 010	441	134	153.8	95
	Kansas	12 600	42	300	100.0	100
	Kentucky	26 513	42	631	618.7	50
	Maryland	1 680	21	80	0.0	100
	Michigan	1 680	21	80	0.0	100
	Minnesota	10 794	336	32	28.8	100
	Missouri	4 935	21	235	0.0	100
	Montana	441	21	21	0.0	100
	Nevada	630	42	15	5.0	100
	New Mexico	1 050	21	50	0.0	100
	New York	11 760	84	140	135.8	100
	Oklahoma	630	21	30	0.0	100
	Texas	301 122	336	896	3 301.0	94
	0 0 0 0 d)	2 100	21	100	0.0	100
	? ? ? ?	97 104	1 176	83	68.5	100
	Total MO	521 360	2 520	207	1 243.9	98
	Total MO + UP	618 464	3 697	167	1 029.5	98
Chiapas	Arizona	2 793	63	44	55.6	100
	California	60 554	525	115	212.2	96
	Colorado	6 930	189	37	25.3	100
	Illinois	3 780	42	90	10.0	100
	Iowa	20 727	105	197	297.9	80
	Kansas	420	21	20	0.0	100
	Minnesota	2 163	105	21	11.8	100
	North Carolina	2 100	21	100	0.0	100
	New Mexico	210	21	10	0.0	100
	New York	782 145	294	2 660	8 706.2	86
	Texas	185 955	210	886	2 372.0	90
	Washington	10 584	42	252	227.0	100
	Wisconsin	420 000	21	20 000	0.0	0
	? ? ? ?	6 486	168	39	23.5	100
	Total MO	1 498 360	1 659	903	447.0	93
	Total MO + UP	1 504 828	1 827	824	4 245.0	93

TABLE III.3 continued

State of Destination	State of Origin	Total Amount	Number	Mean	Deviation	% Under 500
Coahuila	California	14 196	126	113	159.5	100
	Colorado	13 545	126	108	32.4	100
	Connecticut	1 050	21	50	0.0	100
	Illinois	10 563	210	50	47.3	100
	Minnesota	945	42	23	2.5	100
	Texas	5 355	105	51	18.0	100
	? ? ? ?	7 014	231	30	26.7	100
	Total MO	45 654	628	73	84.2	100
	Total MO + UP	52 668	860	61	75.7	100
Colima	California	7 980	147	54	21.9	100
	0 0 0 0	21 840	168	130	86.3	100
	? ? ? ?	2 100	21	100	0.0	100
	Total MO	29 820	315	95	75.0	100
	Total MO + UP	31 920	336	95	72.6	100
Distrito Federal	Alabama	8 232	63	131	137.6	100
	Arizona	19 691	252	78	104.5	100
	Arkansas	4 830	42	115	80.0	100
	California	2 632 655	15 812	167	900.5	98
	Colorado	379 091	2 352	161	504.8	96
	Connecticut	195 160	1 701	115	239.4	97
	Delaware	4 200	42	100	0.0	100
	Florida	822 568	693	1 187	3 422.5	82
	Georgia	1 092	21	52	0.0	100
	Idaho	4 200	21	200	0.0	100
	Illinois	2 604 822	7 160	364	4 326.8	96
	Indiana	47 020	126	373	612.4	83
	Iowa	2 138	126	17	7.1	100
	Kansas	42 525	252	169	150.5	100
	Kentucky	8 400	21	400	0.0	100
	Louisiana	59 976	105	571	741.9	60
	Maryland	1 511	42	36	10.0	100
	Massachusetts	2 478	42	59	41.0	100
	Michigan	62 832	252	249	311.1	83
	Minnesota	284 515	3 924	73	68.2	100

TABLE III.3 continued

State of Destination	State of Origin	Total Amount	Number	Mean	Deviation	% Under 500
Distrito Federal	Missouri	539 913	189	2 857	5 002.8	78
	North Carolina	16 800	21	800	0.0	0
	Nevada	4 368	84	52	23.5	100
	New Jersey	32 083	294	109	107.3	100
	New Mexico	4 200	21	200	0.0	100
	New York	1 486 567	4 305	345	1 056.8	88
	Ohio	16 716	168	100	154.7	100
	Oklahoma	55 584	147	378	740.5	86
	Oregon	10 626	126	84	66.1	100
	Pennsylvania	18 893	168	113	116.4	100
	Tennessee	2 604	21	124	0.0	100
	Texas	495 987	3 255	152	338.2	94
	Utah	28 224	21	1 344	0.0	0
	Vermont	1 344	21	64	0.0	100
	Virginia	4 452	63	71	29.2	100
	Washington	26 975	315	86	134.6	93
	Wisconsin	52 238	147	355	760.8	86
	0 0 0 0	460 755	1 638	2 281	1 358.9	95
	Virginia (UP)	483	42	12	5.3	100
	? ? ? ?	1 038 399	10 210	102	157.6	100
	Total MO	10 440 718	44 035	237	1 972.9	95
	Total MO + UP	11 479 600	54 277	212	1 779.1	96
Durango	Arizona	3 696	105	35	52.7	100
	California	457 366	2 857	160	689.5	99
	Colorado	31 311	420	75	48.9	100
	Connecticut	43 764	567	77	61.2	100
	Florida	5 040	21	240	0.0	100
	Idaho	315	21	15	0.0	100
	Illinois	144 858	1 218	119	133.1	98
	Kansas	1 953	63	31	20.7	100
	Michigan	1 470	63	23	12.5	100
	Minnesota	62 223	946	66	45.1	100
	Mississippi	4 200	21	200	0.0	100
	Missouri	1 260	21	60	0.0	100
	New Jersey	2 100	21	100	0.0	100
	New Mexico	11 844	105	113	79.4	100

TABLE III.3 continued

State of Destination	State of Origin	Total Amount	Number	Mean	Deviation	% Under 500
Durango	New York	177 345	147	1 206	2 773.6	86
	Oregon	7 665	42	183	142.5	100
	Pennsylvania	40 152	252	159	86.5	100
	Texas	60 679	567	107	148.2	96
	Virginia	14 280	84	170	143.7	100
	Washington	3 672	42	87	67.4	100
	0 0 0 0	5 649	84	67	35.9	100
	? ? ? ?	144 098	1 911	75	60.2	100
	Total MO	1 080 843	7 666	141	595.3	99
	Total MO + UP	1 224 941	9 577	128	533.9	99
Guanajuato	Alabama	1 050	21	50	0.0	100
	Arizona	74 659	462	162	138.0	95
	Arkansas	8 400	63	133	47.1	100
	California	3 315 398	23 513	141	161.2	99
	Colorado	408 661	3 550	115	123.6	99
	Connecticut	181 335	1 995	91	74.1	100
	Florida	40 005	273	147	116.6	100
	Georgia	5 880	63	93	9.4	100
	Idaho	69 720	357	195	218.8	94
	Illinois	2 208 424	12 765	173	243.4	95
	Indiana	31 185	273	114	104.9	100
	Iowa	2 457	63	39	36.5	100
	Kansas	23 835	252	95	93.8	100
	Kentucky	27 006	63	429	36.5	100
	Louisiana	8 414	63	134	84.8	100
	Massachusetts	252	21	12	0.0	100
	Michigan	9 555	147	65	65.2	100
	Minnesota	692 374	7 205	96	68.2	100
	Missouri	18 249	210	87	112.6	100
	Montana	1 437	42	34	4.2	100
	Nebraska	11 340	42	270	230.0	100
	Nevada	2 625	84	31	28.8	100
	New Jersey	458	42	11	3.5	100
	New Mexico	1 470	42	35	25.0	100
	New York	220 009	1 218	181	193.1	97

TABLE III.3 continued

State of Destination	State of Origin	Total Amount	Number	Mean	Deviation	% Under 500
Guanajuato	Ohio	95 760	126	760	348.9	33
	Oklahoma	1 512	42	36	14.0	100
	Oregon	45 142	294	154	108.2	100
	Pennsylvania	91 268	504	181	216.7	92
	Rhode Island	7 511	42	179	171.2	100
	Texas	521 653	4 536	115	120.2	99
	Utah	420	42	10	0.0	100
	Virginia	11 256	42	268	23.0	100
	Washington	106 092	672	158	186.2	94
	Wisconsin	53 760	231	2 233	148.8	100
	0 0 0 0	207 692	1 533	136	198.7	97
	? ? ? ?	1 958 250	16 553	118	89.7	100
	Total MO	8 506 263	60 890	140	174.6	98
	Total MO + UP	10 464 513	77 458	135	160.6	98
Guerrero	Arizona	11 130	63	177	33.0	100
	California	342 328	2 121	161	215.9	97
	Colorado	59 745	567	105	103.7	96
	Connecticut	42 798	462	93	58.5	100
	Florida	2 100	21	100	0.0	100
	Illinois	548 921	3 780	145	147.3	96
	Kansas	2 100	21	100	0.0	100
	Minnesota	148 848	1 260	118	63.7	100
	New York	22 730	147	155	80.4	100
	Ohio	10 290	42	245	195.0	100
	Oregon	1 680	21	80	0.0	100
	Pennsylvania	2 100	21	100	0.0	100
	Texas	36 582	420	87	72.3	100
	Washington	10 500	42	250	0.0	100
	Wisconsin	29 484	63	468	555.8	67
	? ? ? ?	332 238	2 478	134	89.0	100
	Total MO	1 279 212	9 137	140	159.1	97
	Total MO + UP	1 611 450	11 610	139	147.0	98
Hidalgo	Alabama	5 040	21	240	0.0	100
	Arizona	6 300	21	300	0.0	100

TABLE III.3 continued

State of Destination	State of Origin	Total Amount	Number	Mean	Deviation	% Under 500
Hidalgo	California	77 595	420	185	173.0	100
	Colorado	1 680	63	27	12.5	100
	Connecticut	2 520	63	40	8.2	100
	Illinois	13 440	189	71	117.1	100
	Minnesota	6 216	84	74	14.0	100
	New York	5 040	42	120	80.0	100
	Texas	10 584	63	168	125.5	100
	Utah	1 680	21	80	0.0	100
	Vermont	441	21	21	0.0	100
	0 0 0 0	11 970	84	143	125.0	100
	? ? ? ?	62 118	420	148	98.8	100
	Total MO	142 506	1 092	131	143.2	100
	Total MO + UP	204 624	1 512	135	132.6	100
Jalisco	Alabama	840	21	40	0.0	100
	Arizona	26 775	84	319	486.4	75
	California	385 686	4 932	78	92.1	99
	Colorado	10 353	545	19	25.4	100
	Connecticut	35 364	441	80	74.0	100
	Idaho	8 400	84	100	0.0	100
	Illinois	149 583	819	183	264.7	90
	Indiana	105	21	5	0.0	100
	Iowa	2 625	21	125	0.0	100
	Kansas	441	63	7	2.2	100
	Michigan	2 520	21	120	0.0	100
	Minnesota	35 805	1 009	36	53.5	100
	Missouri	903	21	43	0.0	100
	New York	32 130	294	109	162.0	100
	Oklahoma	105	21	5	0.0	100
	Pennsylvania	6 038	42	144	93.2	100
	Texas	33 663	715	47	51.8	100
	Washington	2 940	42	70	30.0	100
	0 0 0 0	253 218	1 638	155	164.1	97
	? ? ? ?	142 355	2 393	60	67.9	100
	Total MO	987 493	10 840	91	137.9	98
	Total MO + UP	1 129 848	13 230	85	128.7	98

TABLE III.3 continued

State of Destination	State of Origin	Total Amount	Number	Mean	Deviation	% Under 500
Estado de México	California	170 112	1 302	131	119,5	100
	Colorado	31 647	273	116	132,3	100
	Connecticut	14 133	168	84	67.3	100
	Florida	16 236	63	258	171,7	100
	Illinois	113 572	819	139	135.9	97
	Maryland	3 360	21	160	0.0	100
	Minnesota	30 324	420	72	41,6	100
	Missouri	420	21	20	0,0	100
	New Jersey	2 100	21	100	0,0	100
	New Jork	53 539	147	364	467,4	86
	Oregon	630	21	30	0,0	100
	Pennsylvania	4 071	21	194	0.0	100
	Texas	34 341	357	96	74,8	100
	Virginia	840	21	40	0,0	100
	Washington	4 200	21	200	0.0	100
	0 0 0 0	3 948	63	63	14.3	100
	? ? ? ?	66 864	630	106	79.2	100
	Total MO	483 472	3 760	129	153.4	99
	Total MO + UP	550 336	4 389	125	145.3	99
Michoacán	Arizona	1 260	42	30	10.0	100
	California	931 434	7 961	117	121.0	99
	Colorado	20 622	189	109	67.1	100
	Connecticut	53 907	714	76	66.9	100
	Idaho	17 514	126	139	73.9	100
	Illinois	585 900	2 898	202	317.7	94
	Michigan	2 520	42	60	20.0	100
	Minnesota	41 668	462	90	53.2	100
	New Jersey	840	21	40	0.0	100
	New Mexico	1 722	21	82	0.0	100
	New York	39 165	357	110	121.2	100
	Texas	35 553	567	63	56.7	100
	Virginia	5 250	21	250	0.0	100
	Wisconsin	1 050	21	50	0.0	100
	0 0 0 0	219 807	2 268	97	121.2	99
	? ? ? ?	360 486	3 004	120	96.4	100

TABLE III.3 continued

State of Destination	State of Origin	Total Amount	Number	Mean	Deviation	% Under 500
Michoacán	Total MO	1 958 212	15 703	125	175.0	99
	Total MO + UP	2 318 698	18 714	124	164.9	99
Morelos	Arizona	1 350	21	64	0.0	100
	California	221 807	2 121	105	120.9	98
	Colorado	21 504	252	85	60.7	100
	Connecticut	9 369	147	64	56.4	100
	Florida	5 040	84	60	23.5	100
	Idaho	7 875	63	125	0.0	100
	Illinois	288 521	2 121	136	132.4	98
	Indiana	1 596	42	38	12.0	100
	Massachusetts	5 670	42	135	105.0	100
	Minnesota	37 695	399	95	65.8	100
	Nebraska	210	21	10	0.0	100
	Nevada	769	21	37	0.0	100
	New Jersey	11 025	42	263	237.5	100
	New Mexico	840	21	40	0.0	100
	New York	223 592	525	426	1 469.1	92
	Ohio	21 000	21	1 000	0.0	0
	Pennsylvania	18 123	105	173	67.5	100
	Texas	62 708	273	230	435.7	92
	Washington	4 047	42	96	16.4	100
	0 0 0 0	3 990	42	95	45.0	100
	? ? ? ?	143 409	1 407	102	82.3	100
	Total MO	946 729	6 405	148	455.3	97
	Total MO + UP	1 090 138	7 815	140	414.1	98
Nayarit	Alabama	1 365	42	33	7.5	100
	Arizona	23 121	84	275	104.2	100
	California	390 243	4 074	96	107.3	100
	Colorado	17 304	252	69	42.2	100
	Connecticut	21 147	420	50	34.0	100
	Hawaii	6 762	42	161	151.0	100
	Idaho	336	21	16	0.0	100
	Illinois	5 565	105	53	47.1	100
	Kansas	2 730	21	130	0.0	100

TABLE III.3 continued

State of Destination	State of Origin	Total Amount	Number	Mean	Deviation	% Under 500
Nayarit	Minnesota	24 276	420	58	45.7	100
	Oregon	3 150	42	75	25.0	100
	Texas	6 720	147	46	18.6	100
	Washington	672	21	32	0.0	100
	0 0 0 0	10 605	231	46	57.7	100
	? ? ? ?	107 520	1 639	66	47.5	100
	Total MO	513 996	5 922	87	98.3	100
	Total MO + UP	621 516	7 561	82	90.2	100
Nuevo León	California	62 790	399	157	120.3	100
	Colorado	17 136	231	74	52.6	100
	Connecticut	18 900	126	150	91.5	100
	Illinois	75 537	441	171	363.4	95
	Minnesota	46 452	546	85	49.6	100
	Texas	79 191	756	105	192.2	97
	Washington	210	21	10	0.0	100
	Wisconsin	1 050	21	50	0.0	100
	0 0 0 0	5 670	147	39	28.0	100
	? ? ? ?	27 510	483	57	47.4	100
	Total MO	306 936	2 688	114	192.4	98
	Total MO + UP	334 446	3 170	106	179.3	99
Oaxaca	California	316 255	1 638	193	448.1	95
	Colorado	1 680	63	27	23.6	100
	Connecticut	12 390	147	84	59.7	100
	Florida	3 780	21	180	0.0	100
	Illinois	388 920	147	2 646	6 269.0	86
	Minnesota	48 825	420	116	67.9	100
	Montana	3 150	21	150	0.0	100
	New York	105 567	189	559	1 218.8	89
	Oklahoma	1 680	21	80	0.0	100
	Oregon	1 297	21	62	0.0	100
	Texas	14 469	210	69	55.8	100
	? ? ? ?	117 579	945	124	92.6	100
	Total MO	898 013	2 898	310	1 583.8	96
	Total MO + UP	1 015 592	3 843	264	1 378.5	97

TABLE III.3 continued

State of Destination	State of Origin	Total Amount	Number	Mean	Deviation	% Under 500
Puebla	Arizona	18 963	42	452	226.5	50
	Arkansas	7 875	21	375	0.0	100
	California	121 675	1 618	75	84.3	100
	Colorado	25 788	357	72	37.5	100
	Connecticut	1 260	21	60	0,0	100
	Florida	9 345	63	148	107.4	100
	Illinois	66 758	630	106	145.1	97
	Indiana	6 573	84	78	16.7	100
	Kansas	11 340	63	180	107.1	100
	Massachusetts	1 785	21	85	0.0	100
	Michigan	2 457	42	59	41.5	100
	Minnesota	33 117	294	113	61.4	100
	Missouri	4 725	42	113	12.5	100
	Nevada	1 680	21	80	0.0	100
	New Jersey	78 645	273	288	297.3	85
	New Mexico	21 000	42	500	300.0	50
	New York	137 901	966	143	199.6	96
	Ohio	2 499	42	60	39.5	100
	Oregon	4 200	42	100	0.0	100
	Pennsylvania	9 345	63	148	58.1	100
	Texas	21 441	210	102	169.9	90
	Washington	6 300	42	150	75.0	100
	0 0 0 0	13 020	147	89	27.5	100
	? ? ? ?	89 078	1 050	85	76.5	100
	Total MO	607 512	5 144	118	158.2	97
	Total MO + UP	696 590	6 197	112	148.1	97
Quintana Roo	California	1 155	42	28	17.5	100
	Colorado	2 100	42	50	10.0	100
	Connecticut	1 890	21	90	0.0	100
	Illinois	2 919	42	70	45.5	100
	Texas	630	21	30	0.0	100
	Total MO	8 694	168	52	33.0	100
Querétaro	California	45 305	252	180	150.5	100
	Colorado	13 713	126	109	78.0	100

TABLE III.3 continued

State of Destination	State of Origin	Total Amount	Number	Mean	Deviation	% Under 500
Querétaro	Connecticut	126	21	6	0.0	100
	Illinois	23 835	168	142	181.0	88
	Minnesota	25 956	315	82	78.4	100
	New Jersey	525	21	25	0.0	100
	New York	20 286	63	322	340.9	67
	Texas	35 280	147	240	315.9	86
	Washington	2 100	21	100	0.0	100
	? ? ? ?	13 755	126	109	75.9	100
	Total MO	167 126	1 134	147	191.7	94
	Total MO + UP	180 881	1 260	144	183.8	95
Sinaloa	California	4 200	21	200	0.0	100
	Colorado	1 575	42	38	22.5	100
	Illinois	1 890	21	90	0.0	100
	Minnesota	2 457	63	39	18.5	100
	Texas	2 100	21	100	0.0	100
	Total MO	12 222	168	73	56.1	100
San Luis Potosí	Arizona	4 284	84	51	42.1	100
	Arkansas	1 680	21	80	0.0	100
	California	241 752	1 722	140	151.5	99
	Colorado	125 727	1 282	98	157.0	97
	Connecticut	45 152	525	86	59.2	100
	Florida	1 743	63	28	19.3	100
	Illinois	322 520	3 193	101	106.7	99
	Indiana	1 050	21	50	0.0	100
	Kansas	15 477	126	123	99.4	100
	Massachusetts	2 100	21	100	0.0	100
	Michigan	14 910	84	178	123.8	100
	Minnesota	103 799	1 281	81	64.8	100
	North Carolina	8 400	63	133	174.4	100
	Nevada	2 520	42	60	10.0	100
	New Jersey	4 200	21	200	0.0	100
	New Mexico	2 100	21	100	0.0	100
	New York	34 013	147	231	282.5	86
	Ohio	14 763	42	352	291.5	50

TABLE III.3 continued

State of Destination	State of Origin	Total Amount	Number	Mean	Deviation	% Under 500
	Oklahoma	4 200	21	200	0.0	100
	Oregon	4 406	42	105	4.9	100
	Pennsylvania	24 927	126	198	121.7	100
San Luis Potosí	Texas	298 318	2 814	106	84.6	99
	Utah	3 255	42	78	62.5	100
	0 0 0 0	20 937	210	100	62.4	100
	? ? ? ?	550 702	4 601	120	92.2	100
	Total MO	1 302 233	12 013	108	118.4	99
	Total MO + UP	1 852 935	16 618	112	111.9	99
Tabasco	California	2 310	84	28	13.5	100
	Colorado	462	21	22	0.0	100
	Connecticut	210	21	10	0.0	100
	Illinois	630	42	15	5.0	100
	Iowa	5 250	21	250	0.0	100
	Minnesota	3 570	42	85	15.0	100
	New York	1 890	42	45	25.0	100
	Tennessee	4 200	63	67	42.5	100
	? ? ? ?	10 080	105	96	94.1	100
	Total MO	18 522	336	55	60.0	100
	Total MO + UP	28 602	441	65	71.8	100
Tamaulipas	Arizona	1 260	21	60	0.0	100
	California	38 493	441	87	77.9	100
	Colorado	7 833	189	41	29.0	100
	Idaho	664	42	16	5.8	100
	Illinois	60 186	735	82	106.6	100
	Louisiana	462	21	22	0.0	100
	Michigan	630	21	30	0.0	100
	Minnesota	10 920	105	104	125.2	100
	Missouri	1 890	21	90	0.0	100
	New York	25 161	147	171	110.5	100
	Texas	207 438	651	319	1 403.8	97
	Utah	252	21	12	0.0	100
Tamaulipas	Vermont	420	21	20	0.0	100

TABLE III.3 continued

State of Destination	State of Origin	Total Amount	Number	Mean	Deviation	% Under 500
	Wisconsin	2 100	21	100	0.0	100
	0 0 0 0	1 680	21	80	0.0	100
	? ? ? ?	36 950	546	68	81.6	100
	Total MO	359 389	2 479	145	731.6	99
	Total MO + UP	396 339	3 023	131	663.8	99
Tlaxcala	Illinois	2 306	21	110	0.0	100
	Minnesota	3 192	21	152	0.0	100
	New Jersey	210	21	10	0.0	100
	New York	210	21	10	0.0	100
	Pennsylvania	25 200	21	1 200	0.0	0
	Texas	504	21	24	0.0	100
	Washington	3 276	21	156	0.0	100
	Wisconsin	3 360	21	160	0.0	100
	Total MO	38 258	168	228	372.7	88
Veracruz	California	107 342	1 260	85	136.7	98
	Colorado	23 243	294	79	54.7	100
	Connecticut	9 555	210	46	21.3	100
	Florida	3 570	21	170	0.0	100
	Idaho	4 200	21	200	0.0	100
	Illinois	94 416	819	115	124.7	100
	Indiana	63 000	21	3 000	0.0	0
	Kansas	8 610	42	205	55.0	100
	Minnesota	45 423	546	83	68.3	100
	Montana	210	21	10	0.0	100
	New Jersey	2 310	84	28	20.8	100
	New York	64 407	399	161	393.5	95
	Oregon	735	21	35	0.0	100
	Pennsylvania	7 350	21	350	0.0	100
Veracruz	Texas	656 565	378	1 737	6 612.1	89
	Utah	4 095	42	98	12.5	100
	0 0 0 0	31 815	231	138	144.6	91
	? ? ? ?	126 483	1 364	93	75.5	100
	Total MO	1 126 846	4 431	254	1 999.9	97
	Total MO + UP	1 253 329	5 797	216	1 750.4	98

TABLE III.3 continued

State of Destination	State of Origin	Total Amount	Number	Mean	Deviation	% Under 500
Yucatán	Arizona	86 353	42	2 056	2 016.0	50
	California	278 099	2 542	109	108.6	100
	Colorado	1 890	63	30	8.2	100
	Connecticut	29 637	336	88	82.3	100
	Florida	9 660	84	115	165.0	100
	Illinois	6 195	63	98	67.1	100
	Kansas	399	21	19	0.0	100
	Maryland	1 050	21	50	0.0	100
	Massachusetts	4 200	42	100	0.0	100
	Minnesota	30 681	336	91	61.0	100
	New Jersey	3 969	63	63	57.3	100
	New Mexico	105	21	5	0.0	100
	New York	9 626	210	46	41.8	100
	Texas	16 800	231	73	36.6	100
	0 0 0 0	4 410	63	70	21.6	100
	? ? ? ?	101 493	1 050	97	82.4	100
	Total MO	483 075	4 136	117	298.7	100
	Total MO + UP	584 568	5 187	113	269.5	100
Zacatecas	Arizona	20 265	294	69	51.6	100
	California	1 092 253	7 813	140	434.9	99
	Colorado	152 334	1 805	84	62.9	100
	Connecticut	147 546	1 512	98	79.1	100
	Florida	4 725	42	113	87.5	100
	Georgia	8 400	21	400	0.0	100
	Idaho	89 401	147	608	309.7	57
	Illinois	303 652	2 666	114	121.1	99
	Indiana	28 812	105	274	224.8	80
	Iowa	5 698	42	136	130.7	100
	Kansas	18 060	42	430	370.0	50
	Minnesota	245 217	2 477	99	68.6	100
	Missouri	1 890	42	45	15.0	100
	Montana	2 772	21	132	0.0	100
	Nebraska	6 300	21	300	0.0	100
	Nevada	5 040	42	120	100.0	100
	New Mexico	1 995	42	48	22.5	100
	New York	64 617	357	181	176.6	94
	Oregon	14 070	189	74	28.7	100

TABLE III.3 continued

State of Destination	State of Origin	Total Amount	Number	Mean	Deviation	% Under 500
Zacatecas	Pennsylvania	10 500	105	100	0.0	100
	Texas	104 269	1 471	71	82.0	99
	Utah	27 615	84	329	446.6	75
	Vermont	2 100	21	100	0.0	100
	Virginia	420	21	20	0.0	100
	Washington	59 745	147	406	815.9	86
	Wisconsin	6 825	63	108	11.8	100
	0 0 0 0	22 260	252	88	58.6	100
	? ? ? ?	597 986	5 563	108	85.7	100
	Total MO	2 446 790	19 844	123	299.7	99
	Total MO + UP	3 044 775	25 415	120	268.0	99
0 0 0 0	California	77 049	630	122	118.5	100
	Illinois	15 960	105	152	60.1	100
	New Jersey	525	21	25	0.0	100
	New York	22 701	21	1 081	0.0	0
	Texas	1 470	42	35	15.0	100
	0 0 0 0	32 550	357	91	41.9	100
	? ? ? ?	24 276	420	58	56.9	100
	Total MO	150 255	1 176	128	159.9	98
	Total MO + UP	174 531	1 595	109	143.7	99
	Grand Total	43 897 472	289 944	151	942.0	98

Source: Author's sample for Bank x.

a) ? ? ? ? Postal money orders, origin unknown
b) Total MO Total Money Orders
c) Total MO + UP Total Money Orders plus U.S. Postal Money Orders
d) 0 0 0 0 Money orders, origin unknown

TABLE III.4

STATES OF ORIGIN AND DESTINATION OF THE REMITTANCES 1975*

State of Origin	State of Destination	Total Amount	Number	Mean	Deviation	% Under 500
Alabama	Distrito Federal	8 232	63	131	137.6	100
	Guanajuato	1 050	21	50	0.0	100
	Hidalgo	5 040	21	240	0.0	100
	Jalisco	840	21	40	0.0	100
	Nayarit	1 365	42	33	7.5	100
	Total MO a)	16 527	168	98	108.7	100
Arizona	Aguascalientes	3 045	63	48	37.9	100
	Chiapas	2 793	63	44	55.6	100
	Distrito Federal	19 691	252	78	104.5	100
	Durango	3 696	105	35	52.7	100
	Guanajuato	74 659	462	162	138.0	95
	Guerrero	11 130	63	177	33.0	100
	Hidalgo	6 300	21	300	0.0	100
	Jalisco	26 775	84	319	486.4	75
	Michoacán	1 260	42	30	10.0	100
	Morelos	1 350	21	64	0.0	100
	Nayarit	23 121	84	275	104.2	100
	Puebla	18 963	42	452	226.5	50
	San Luis Potosí	4 284	84	51	42.1	100
	Tamaulipas	1 260	21	60	0.0	100
	Yucatán	86 353	42	2 056	2 016.0	50
	Zacatecas	20 265	294	69	51.6	100
	Total MO	304 945	1 743	175	463.3	95
Arkansas	Campeche	252 000	21	12 000	0.0	0
	Distrito Federal	4 830	42	115	80.0	100
	Guanajuato	8 400	63	133	47.1	100
	Puebla	7 875	21	375	0.0	100
	San Luis Potosí	1 680	21	80	0.0	100
	Total MO	274 785	168	1 636	3 918.6	88

TABLE III.4 continued

State of Origin	State of Destination	Total Amount	Number	Mean	Deviation	% Under 500
California	Aguascalientes	136 122	1 239	110	102,2	100
	Campeche	61 635	231	267	552,8	91
	Chihuahua	72 555	777	93	97,8	100
	Chiapas	60 554	525	115	212,2	96
	Coahuila	14 196	126	113	159,5	100
	Colima	7 980	147	54	21,9	100
	Distrito Federal	2 632 655	15 812	167	900,5	98
	Durango	457 366	2 857	160	689,5	99
	Guanajuato	3 315 398	23 513	141	161,2	99
	Guerrero	342 328	2 121	161	215,9	97
	Hidalgo	77 595	420	185	173,0	100
	Jalisco	385 686	4 932	78	92,1	99
	Estado de México	170 112	1 302	131	119,5	100
	Michoacán	931 434	7 961	117	121,0	99
	Morelos	221 807	2 121	105	120,9	98
	Nayarit	390 243	4 074	96	107,3	100
	Nuevo León	62 790	399	157	120,3	100
	Oaxaca	316 255	1 638	193	448,1	95
	Puebla	121 675	1 618	75	84,3	100
	Quintana Roo	1 155	42	28	17,5	100
	Querétaro	45 305	252	180	150,5	100
	Sinaloa	4 200	21	200	0,0	100
	San Luis Potosí	241 752	1 722	140	151,5	99
	Tabasco	2 310	84	28	13,5	100
	Tamaulipas	38 493	441	87	77,9	100
	Veracruz	107 342	1 260	85	136,7	98
	Yucatán	278 099	2 542	109	108,6	100
	Zacatecas	1 092 253	7 813	140	434,9	99
	0 0 0 0 b)	77 049	630	122	118,5	100
	Total MO	11 666 342	86 610	135	446,7	99
Colorado	Aguascalientes	2 184	105	21	11,2	100
	Campeche	1 680	42	40	0,0	100
	Chihuahua	4 200	126	33	31,4	100
	Chiapas	6 930	189	37	25,3	100
	Coahuila	13 545	126	108	32,4	100
	Distrito Federal	397 091	2 352	161	504,8	96

TABLE III.4 continued

State of Origin	State of Destination	Total Amount	Number	Mean	Deviation	% Under 500
Colorado	Durango	31 311	420	75	48.9	100
	Guanajuato	408 661	3 550	115	123.6	99
	Guerrero	59 745	567	105	103.7	96
	Hidalgo	1 680	63	27	12.5	100
	Jalisco	10 353	545	19	25.4	100
	Michoacán	20 622	189	109	67.1	100
	Morelos	21 504	252	85	60.7	100
	Nayarit	17 304	252	69	42.0	100
	Nuevo León	17 136	231	74	52.6	100
	Oaxaca	1 680	63	27	23.6	100
	Puebla	25 788	357	72	37.5	100
	Quintana Roo	2 100	42	50	10.0	100
	Querétaro	13 713	126	109	78.0	100
	Sinaloa	1 575	42	38	22.5	100
	San Luis Potosí	125 727	1 282	98	157.0	97
	Tabasco	462	21	22	0.0	100
	Tamaulipas	7 833	189	41	29.0	100
	Veracruz	23 243	294	79	54.7	100
	Yucatán	1 890	63	30	8.2	100
	Zacatecas	152 334	1 805	84	62.9	100
	Total MO	1 383 948	13 568	102	231.8	99
Connecticut	Aguascalientes	12 726	147	87	50.7	100
	Campeche	2 100	21	100	0.0	100
	Chihuahua	9 660	147	66	32.5	100
	Coahuila	1 050	21	50	0.0	100
	Distrito Federal	195 160	1 701	115	239.4	97
	Durango	43 764	567	77	61.2	100
	Guanajuato	181 335	1 995	91	74.1	100
	Guerrero	42 798	462	93	58.5	100
	Hidalgo	2 520	63	40	8.2	100
	Jalisco	35 364	441	80	74.0	100
	Estado de México	14 133	168	84	67.3	100
	Michoacán	53 907	714	76	66.9	100
	Morelos	9 369	147	64	56.4	100
	Nayarit	21 147	420	50	34.0	100
	Nuevo León	18 900	126	150	91.5	100

TABLE III.4 continued

State of Origin	State of Destination	Total Amount	Number	Mean	Deviation	% Under 500
Connecticut	Oaxaca	12 390	147	84	59,7	100
	Puebla	1 260	21	60	0,0	100
	Quintana Roo	1 890	21	90	0,0	100
	Querétaro	126	21	6	0,0	100
	San Luis Potosí	45 152	525	86	59,2	100
	Tabasco	210	21	10	0,0	100
	Veracruz	9 555	210	46	21,3	100
	Yucatán	29 637	336	88	82,3	100
	Zacatecas	147 546	1 512	98	79,1	100
	Total MO	891 699	9 952	90	118,1	100
Delaware	Distrito Federal	4 200	42	100	0,0	100
	Total MO	4 200	42	100	0,0	100
Florida	Distrito Federal	822 568	693	1 187	3 422,5	82
	Durango	5 040	21	240	0,0	100
	Guanajuato	40 005	273	147	116,6	100
	Guerrero	2 100	21	100	0,0	100
	Estado de México	16 236	63	258	171,7	100
	Morelos	5 040	84	60	23,5	100
	Oaxaca	3 780	21	180	0,0	100
	Puebla	9 345	63	148	107,4	100
	San Luis Potosí	1 743	63	28	19,3	100
	Veracruz	3 570	21	170	0,0	100
	Yucatán	4 725	42	113	87,5	100
	Total MO	923 811	1 449	638	2 426,3	91
Georgia	Distrito Federal	1 092	21	52	0,0	100
	Guanajuato	5 880	63	93	9,4	100
	Zacatecas	8 400	21	400	0,0	100
	Total MO	15 372	105	146	128,0	100
Hawaii	Nayarit	6 762	42	161	151,0	100
	Total MO	6 762	42	161	151,0	100
Idaho	Aguascalientes	2 100	21	100	0,0	100
	Distrito Federal	4 200	21	200	0,0	100

TABLE III.4 continued

State of Origin	State of Destination	Total Amount	Number	Mean	Deviation	% Under 500
Idaho	Durango	315	21	15	0.0	100
	Guanajuato	69 720	357	195	218.8	94
	Jalisco	8 400	84	100	0.0	100
	Michoacán	17 514	126	139	73.9	100
	Morelos	7 874	63	125	0.0	100
	Nayarit	336	21	16	0.0	100
	Tamaulipas	664	42	16	5.8	100
	Veracruz	4 200	21	200	0.0	100
	Zacatecas	89 401	147	608	309.7	57
	Total MO	204 724	924	222	256.2	91
Illinois	Aguascalientes	52 584	483	109	103.9	100
	Campeche	10 080	168	60	50.0	100
	Chihuahua	59 010	441	134	153.8	95
	Chiapas	3 780	42	90	10.0	100
	Coahuila	10 563	210	50	47.3	100
	Distrito Federal	2 604 822	7 160	364	4 326.8	96
	Durango	144 858	1 218	119	133.1	98
	Guanajuato	2 208 424	12 765	173	243.4	95
	Guerrero	548 921	3 780	145	147.3	96
	Hidalgo	13 440	189	71	117.1	100
	Jalisco	149 583	819	183	264.7	90
	Estado de México	113 572	819	139	135.9	97
	Michoacán	585 900	2 898	202	317.7	94
	Morelos	288 521	2 121	136	132.4	98
	Nayarit	5 565	105	53	47.1	100
	Nuevo León	75 537	441	171	363.4	95
	Puebla	66 758	630	106	145.1	97
	Quintana Roo	2 919	42	70	45.5	100
	Querétaro	23 835	168	142	181.0	88
	Sinaloa	1 890	21	90	0.0	100
	San Luis Potosí	322 520	3 193	101	106.7	99
	Tabasco	630	42	15	5.0	100
	Tamaulipas	60 186	735	82	106.6	100
	Tlaxcala	2 306	21	110	0.0	100
	Veracruz	94 416	819	115	124.7	100
	Yucatán	6 195	63	98	67.1	100

TABLE III.4 continued

State of Origin	State Destination	Total Amount	Number	Mean	Deviation	% Under 500
Illinois	Zacatecas	303 652	2 666	114	121.1	99
	0 0 0 0	15 960	105	152	60.1	100
	Total MO	8 165 167	42 307	193	1 835.1	96
Indiana	Distrito Federal	47 020	126	373	612.4	83
	Guanajuato	31 185	273	114	104.9	100
	Jalisco	105	21	5	0.0	100
	Morelos	1 596	42	38	12.0	100
	Puebla	6 573	84	78	16.7	100
	San Luis Potosí	1 050	21	50	0.0	100
	Veracruz	63 000	21	3 000	0.0	0
	Zacatecas	28 812	105	274	224.8	80
	Total MO	179 341	693	259	573.4	91
Iowa	Chiapas	20 727	105	197	297.9	80
	Distrito Federal	2 138	126	17	7.1	100
	Guanajuato	2 457	63	39	36.5	100
	Jalisco	2 625	21	125	0.0	100
	Tabasco	5 250	21	250	0.0	100
	Zacatecas	5 698	42	136	130.7	100
	Total MO	38 894	378	103	183.7	95
Kansas	Aguascalientes	672	63	11	0.9	100
	Chihuahua	12 600	42	300	100.0	100
	Chiapas	420	21	20	0.0	100
	Distrito Federal	42 525	252	169	150.5	100
	Durango	1 953	63	31	20.7	100
	Guanajuato	23 836	252	95	93.8	100
	Guerrero	2 100	21	100	0.0	100
	Jalisco	441	63	7	2.2	100
	Nayarit	2 730	21	130	0.0	100
	Puebla	11 340	63	180	107.1	100
	San Luis Potosí	15 477	126	123	99.4	100
	Veracruz	8 610	42	205	55.0	100
	Yucatán	399	21	19	0.0	100
	Zacatecas	18 060	42	430	370.0	50

TABLE III.4 continued

State of Origin	State of Destination	Total Amount	Number	Mean	Deviation	% Under 500
Kansas	Total MO	141 162	1 092	129	152,2	98
Kentucky	Chihuahua	26 513	42	631	618,7	50
	Distrito Federal	8 400	21	400	0,0	100
	Guanajuato	27 006	63	429	36,5	100
	Total MO	61 919	126	491	371,7	83
Louisiana	Distrito Federal	59 976	105	571	741.9	60
	Guanajuato	8 414	63	134	84,8	100
	Tamaulipas	462	21	22	0.0	100
	Total MO	68 852	189	364	602,2	78
Maryland	Chihuahua	1 680	21	80	0,0	100
	Distrito Federal	1 511	42	36	10.0	100
	Estado de México	3 360	21	160	0.0	100
	Yucatán	1 050	21	50	0,0	100
	Total MO	7 601	105	72	47.1	100
Massachusetts	Distrito Federal	2 478	42	59	41.0	100
	Guanajuato	252	21	12	0.0	100
	Morelos	5 670	42	135	105,0	100
	Puebla	1 785	21	85	0,0	100
	San Luis Potosí	2 100	21	100	0.0	100
	Yucatán	4 200	42	100	0.0	100
	Total MO	16 485	189	87	64.7	100
Michigan	Chihuahua	1 680	21	80	0.0	100
	Distrito Federal	62 832	252	249	311,1	83
	Durango	1 470	63	23	12,5	100
	Guanajuato	9 555	147	65	65.2	100
	Jalisco	2 520	21	120	0,0	100
	Michoacán	2 520	42	60	20.0	100
	Puebla	2 457	42	59	41,5	100
	San Luis Potosí	14 910	84	178	123,8	100
	Tamaulipas	630	21	30	0.0	100

TABLE III.4 continued

State of Origin	State of Destination	Total Amount	Number	Mean	Deviation	% Under 500
Michigan	Total MO	98 574	693	142	215.2	94
Minnesota	Aguascalientes	33 705	336	100	62,9	100
	Campeche	1 050	21	50	0.0	100
	Chihuahua	10 794	336	32	28,8	100
	Chiapas	2 163	105	21	11.8	100
	Coahuila	945	42	23	2.5	100
	Distrito Federal	284 515	3 924	73	68.2	100
	Durango	62 223	946	66	45.1	100
	Guanajuato	692 374	7 205	96	68.2	100
	Guerrero	148 848	1 260	118	63.7	100
	Hidalgo	6 216	84	74	14.0	100
	Jalisco	35 805	1 009	36	53.5	100
	Estado de México	30 324	420	72	41.6	100
	Michoacán	41 668	462	90	53.2	100
	Morelos	37 695	399	95	65.8	100
	Nayarit	24 276	420	58	45.7	100
	Nuevo León	46 452	546	85	49.6	100
	Oaxaca	48 825	420	116	67.9	100
	Puebla	33 117	294	113	61.4	100
	Querétaro	25 956	315	82	78.4	100
	Sinaloa	2 457	63	39	18.5	100
	San Luis Potosí	103 799	1 281	81	64.8	100
	Tabasco	3 570	42	85	15.0	100
	Tamaulipas	10 920	105	104	125.2	100
	Tlaxcala	3 192	21	152	0.0	100
	Veracruz	45 423	546	83	68.3	100
	Yucatán	30 681	336	91	61.0	100
	Zacatecas	245 217	2 477	99	68.6	100
	Total MO	2 012 210	23 425	86	67.3	100
Mississippi	Durango	4 200	21	200	0.0	100
	Total MO	4 200	21	200	0.0	100
Missouri	Chihuahua	4 935	21	235	0.0	100
	Distrito Federal	539 913	189	2 857	5 002.8	78

TABLE III.4 continued

State of Origin	State of Destination	Total Amount	Number	Mean	Deviation	% Under 500
Missouri	Durango	1 260	21	60	0,0	100
	Guanajuato	18 249	210	87	112,6	100
	Jalisco	903	21	43	0,0	100
	Estado de México	420	21	20	0,0	100
	Puebla	4 725	42	113	12,5	100
	Tamaulipas	1 890	21	90	0,0	100
	Zacatecas	1 890	42	45	15,0	100
	Total MO	574 185	588	977	3 118,5	93
Montana	Chihuahua	441	21	21	0,0	100
	Guanajuato	1 437	42	34	4,2	100
	Oaxaca	3 150	21	150	0,0	100
	Veracruz	210	21	10	0,0	100
	Zacatecas	2 772	21	132	0,0	100
	Total MO	8 010	126	64	55.7	100
North Carolina	Chiapas	2 100	21	100	0,0	100
	Distrito Federal	16 800	21	800	0,0	0
	San Luis Potosí	8 400	63	133	174,4	100
	Total MO	27 300	105	260	302,2	80
Nebraska	Guanajuato	11 340	42	270	230,0	100
	Morelos	210	21	10	0.0	100
	Zacatecas	6 300	21	300	0,0	100
	Total MO	17 850	84	213	200,7	100
Nevada	Chihuahua	630	42	15	5.0	100
	Distrito Federal	4 368	84	52	23,5	100
	Guanajuato	2 625	84	31	28,8	100
	Morelos	769	21	37	0,0	100
	Puebla	1 680	21	80	0,0	100
	San Luis Potosí	2 520	42	60	10.0	100
	Zacatecas	5 040	42	120	100,0	100
	Total MO	17 632	336	53	50,4	100

TABLE III.4 continued

State of Origin	State of Destination	Total Amount	Number	Mean	Deviation	% Under 500
New Jersey	Distrito Federal	32 083	294	109	107,3	100
	Durango	2 100	21	100	0,0	100
	Guanajuato	458	42	11	3,5	100
	Estado de México	2 100	21	100	0,0	100
	Michoacán	840	21	40	0,0	100
	Morelos	11 025	42	263	237,5	100
	Puebla	78 645	273	288	297,3	85
	Querétaro	525	21	25	0,0	100
	San Luis Potosí	4 200	21	200	0,0	100
	Tlaxcala	210	21	10	0,0	100
	Veracruz	2 310	84	28	20,8	100
	Yucatán	3 969	63	63	57.3	100
	0 0 0 0	525	21	25	0,0	100
	Total MO	138 990	945	147	206.7	95
New Mexico	Chihuahua	1 050	21	50	0,0	100
	Chiapas	210	21	10	0,0	100
	Distrito Federal	4 200	21	200	0,0	100
	Durango	11 844	105	113	79,4	100
	Guanajuato	1 470	42	35	25,0	100
	Michoacán	1 722	21	82	0,0	100
	Morelos	840	21	40	0.0	100
	Puebla	21 000	42	500	300,0	50
	San Luis Potosí	2 100	21	100	0,0	100
	Yucatán	105	21	5	0.0	100
	Zacatecas	1 995	42	48	22,5	100
	Total MO	46 536	378	123	178,3	94
New York	Campeche	9 660	84	115	86,2	100
	Chihuahua	11 760	84	140	135,8	100
	Chiapas	782 145	294	2 660	8 706,2	86
	Distrito Federal	1 486 567	4 305	345	1 056,8	88
	Durango	177 345	147	1 206	2 773,6	86
	Guanajuato	220 009	1 218	181	193,1	97
	Guerrero	22 730	147	155	80,4	100
	Hidalgo	5 040	42	120	80,0	100

TALBLE III.4 continued

State of Origin	State of Destination	Total Amount	Number	Mean	Deviation	% Under 500
New York	Jalisco	32 130	294	109	162,0	100
	Estado de México	53 539	147	364	467.4	86
	Michoacán	39 165	357	110	121,2	100
	Morelos	223 592	525	426	1 469.1	92
	Oaxaca	105 567	189	559	1 218,8	89
	Puebla	137 901	966	143	199,6	96
	Querétaro	20 286	63	322	340,9	67
	San Luis Potosí	34 013	147	231	282,5	86
	Tabasco	1 890	42	45	25,0	100
	Tamaulipas	25 161	147	171	110,5	100
	Tlaxcala	210	21	10	0.0	100
	Veracruz	64 407	399	161	393,5	95
	Yucatán	9 626	210	46	41,8	100
	Zacatecas	64 617	357	181	176,6	94
	0 0 0 0	22 701	21	1 081	0,0	0
	Total MO	3 550 062	10 207	348	1 763,8	92
Ohio	Aguascalientes	3 780	21	180	0.0	100
	Distrito Federal	16 716	168	100	154,7	100
	Guanajuato	95 760	126	760	348.9	33
	Guerrero	10 290	42	245	195.0	100
	Morelos	21 000	21	1 000	0,0	0
	Puebla	2 499	42	60	39.5	100
	San Luis Potosí	14 763	42	352	291,5	50
	Total MO	164 808	462	357	388,6	73
Oklahoma	Chihuahua	630	21	30	0,0	100
	Distrito Federal	55 584	147	378	740.5	86
	Guanajuato	1 512	42	36	14,0	100
	Jalisco	105	21	5	0.0	100
	Oaxaca	1 680	21	80	0,0	100
	San Luis Potosi	4 200	21	200	0,0	100
	Total MO	63 711	273	233	567,1	92
Oregon	Aguascalientes	1 890	21	90	0,0	100

TABLE III.4 continued

State of Origin	State of Destination	Total Amount	Number	Mean	Deviation	% Under 500
Oregon	Distrito Federal	10 626	126	84	66.1	100
	Durango	7 665	42	183	142.5	100
	Guanajuato	45 142	294	154	108.2	100
	Guerrero	1 680	21	80	0.0	100
	Estado de México	630	21	30	0.0	100
	Nayarit	3 150	42	75	25.0	100
	Oaxaca	1 297	21	62	0.0	100
	Puebla	4 200	42	100	0.0	100
	San Luis Potosí	4 406	42	105	4.9	100
	Veracruz	735	21	35	0.0	100
	Zacatecas	14 070	189	74	28.7	100
	Total MO	95 491	882	108	85.9	100
Pennsylvania	Distrito Federal	18 893	168	113	116.4	100
	Durango	40 152	252	159	86.5	100
	Guanajuato	91 268	504	181	216.7	92
	Guerrero	2 100	21	100	0.0	100
	Jalisco	6 038	42	144	93.2	100
	Estado de México	4 071	21	194	0.0	100
	Morelos	18 123	105	173	67.5	100
	Puebla	9 345	63	148	58.1	100
	San Luis Potosí	24 927	126	198	121.7	100
	Tlaxcala	25 200	21	1 200	0.0	0
	Veracruz	7 350	21	350	0.0	100
	Zacatecas	10 500	105	100	0.0	100
	Total MO	257 967	1 449	178	194.9	96
Rhode Island	Guanajuato	7 511	42	179	171.2	100
	Total MO	7 511	42	179	171.2	100
Tennessee	Distrito Federal	2 604	21	124	0.0	100
	Tabasco	4 200	63	67	42.5	100
	Total MO	6 804	84	81	44.4	100
Texas	Aguascalientes	23 142	189	122	180.5	89

TABLE III.4 continued

State of Origin	State of Destination	Total Amount	Number	Mean	Deviation	% Under 500
Texas	Campeche	669 533	63	10 628	4 058.8	0
	Chihuahua	301 122	336	896	3 301.0	94
	Chiapas	185 955	210	886	2 372.0	90
	Coahuila	5 355	105	51	18.0	100
	Distrito Federal	495 987	3 255	152	338.2	94
	Durango	60 679	567	107	148.2	96
	Guanajuato	521 653	4 536	115	120.2	99
	Guerrero	36 582	420	87	72.3	100
	Hidalgo	10 584	63	168	125.5	100
	Jalisco	33 663	715	47	51.8	100
	Estado de México	34 341	357	96	74.8	100
	Michoacán	35 553	567	63	56.7	100
	Morelos	62 708	273	230	435.7	92
	Nayarit	6 720	147	46	18.6	100
	Nuevo León	79 191	756	105	192.2	97
	Oaxaca	14 469	210	69	55.8	100
	Puebla	21 441	210	102	169.9	90
	Quintana Roo	630	21	30	0.0	100
	Querétaro	35 280	147	240	315.9	86
	Sinaloa	2 100	21	100	0.0	100
	San Luis Potosí	298 318	2 814	106	84.6	99
	Tamaulipas	207 438	651	319	1 403.8	97
	Tlaxcala	504	21	24	0.0	100
	Veracruz	656 565	378	1 737	6 612.1	89
	Yucatán	16 800	231	73	36.6	100
	Zacatecas	104 269	1 471	71	82.0	99
	0 0 0 0	1 470	42	35	15.0	100
	Total MO	3 922 051	18 775	209	1 314.8	97
Utah	Distrito Federal	28 224	21	1 344	0.0	0
	Guanajuato	420	42	10	0.0	100
	Hidalgo	1 680	21	80	0.0	100
	San Luis Potosí	3 255	42	78	62.5	100
	Tamaulipas	252	21	12	0.0	100
	Veracruz	4 095	42	98	12.5	100
	Zacatecas	27 615	84	329	446.6	75
	Total MO	65 541	273	240	423.6	85

TABLE III.4 continued

State of Origin	State of Destination	Total Amount	Number	Mean	Deviation	% Under 500
Vermont	Distrito Federal	1 344	21	64	0,0	100
	Hidalgo	441	21	21	0,0	100
	Tamaulipas	420	21	20	0,0	100
	Zacatecas	2 100	21	100	0,0	100
	Total MO	4 305	84	51	33.3	100
Virginia	Aguascalientes	210	21	10	0,0	100
	Distrito Federal	4 452	63	71	29.2	100
	Durango	14 280	84	170	143.7	100
	Guanajuato	11 256	42	268	23.0	100
	Estado de México	840	21	40	0.0	100
	Michoacán	5 250	21	250	0,0	100
	Zacatecas	420	21	20	0.0	100
	Total MO	36 708	273	135	120,9	100
Washington	Campeche	1 050	21	50	0.0	100
	Chiapas	10 584	42	252	227,0	100
	Distrito Federal	26 975	315	86	134.6	93
	Durango	3 672	42	87	67.4	100
	Guanajuato	106 092	672	158	186.2	94
	Guerrero	10 500	42	250	0.0	100
	Jalisco	2 940	42	70	30,0	100
	Estado de México	4 200	21	200	0,0	100
	Morelos	4 047	42	96	16.4	100
	Nayarit	672	21	32	0.0	100
	Nuevo León	210	21	10	0.0	100
	Puebla	6 300	42	150	75.0	100
	Querétaro	2 100	21	100	0.0	100
	Tlaxcala	3 276	21	156	0,0	100
	Zacatecas	59 745	147	406	815.9	86
	Total MO	242 362	1 512	160	307.3	94
Wisconsin	Chiapas	420 000	21	20 000	0.0	0
	Distrito Federal	52 238	147	355	760.8	86
	Guanajuato	53 760	231	233	148,8	100

TABLE III.4 continued

State of Origin	State of Destination	Total Amount	Number	Mean	Deviation	% Under 500
Wisconsin	Guerrero	29 484	63	468	555,8	67
	Michoacán	1 050	21	50	0,0	100
	Nuevo León	1 050	21	50	0,0	100
	Tamaulipas	2 100	21	100	0,0	100
	Tlaxcala	3 360	21	160	0,0	100
	Zacatecas	6 825	63	108	11,8	100
	Total MO	569 867	609	936	3 629,6	90
Virginia (UP)	Distrito Federal	483	42	12	5,3	100
	Total UP	483	42	12	5,3	100
? ? ? ? c)	Aguascalientes	78 645	588	134	98,5	100
	Baja California Norte	4 305	63	68	23,2	100
	Campeche	2 730	84	33	14,8	100
	Chihuahua	97 104	1 176	83	68,5	100
	Chiapas	6 468	168	39	23,5	100
	Coahuila	7 014	231	30	26,7	100
	Colima	2 100	21	100	0,0	100
	Distrito Federal	1 038 399	10 210	102	157,6	100
	Durango	144 098	1 911	75	60,2	100
	Guanajuato	1 958 250	16 553	118	89,7	100
	Guerrero	332 238	2 478	134	89,0	100
	Hidalgo	62 118	420	148	98,8	100
	Jalisco	142 355	2 393	60	67,9	100
	Estado de México	66 864	630	106	79,2	100
	Michoacán	360 486	3 004	120	96,4	100
	Morelos	143 409	1 407	102	82,3	100
	Nayarit	107 520	1 639	66	47,5	100
	Nuevo León	27 510	483	57	47,4	100
	Oaxaca	117 579	945	124	92,6	100
	Puebla	89 078	1 050	85	76,5	100
	Querétaro	13 755	126	109	75,9	100
	San Luis Potosí	550 702	4 601	120	92,2	100
	Tabasco	10 080	105	96	94,1	100
	Tamaulipas	36 950	546	68	81,6	100
	Veracruz	126 483	1 364	93	75,5	100

TABLE III.4 continued

State of Origin	State of Destination	Total Amount	Number	Mean	Deviation	% Under 500
? ? ? ?	Yucatán	101 493	1 050	97	82.4	100
	Zacatecas	597 986	5 563	108	85.7	100
	0 0 0 0	24 276	420	58	56.9	100
	Total UP	6 249 994	59 242	106	102.8	100
0 0 0 0	Chihuahua	2 100	21	100	0.0	100
	Colima	21 840	168	130	86.3	100
	Distrito Federal	460 755	1 638	281	1 358.9	95
	Durango	4 649	84	67	35.9	100
	Guanajuato	207 692	1 533	136	198.7	97
	Guerrero	7 875	84	94	85.8	100
	Hidalgo	11 970	84	143	125.0	100
	Jalisco	253 218	1 638	155	164.1	97
	Estado de México	3 948	63	63	14.3	100
	Michoacán	219 807	2 268	97	121.2	99
	Morelos	3 990	42	95	45.0	100
	Nayarit	10 605	231	46	57.7	100
	Nuevo León	5 670	147	39	28.0	100
	Puebla	13 020	147	89	27.5	100
	San Luis Potosí	20 937	210	100	62.4	100
	Tamaulipas	1 680	21	80	0.0	100
	Veracruz	31 815	231	138	144.6	91
	Yucatán	4 410	63	70	21.6	100
	Zacatecas	22 260	252	88	58.6	100
	0 0 0 0	32 550	357	91	41.9	100
	Total MO	1 341 790	9 279	145	588.9	98
	Grand Total	43 897 472	289 944	151	942.0	98

Source: Author's sample for Bank x.

a) Total MO — Total money orders
b) 0 0 0 0 — Money orders, origin unknown, or destination unknown
c) ? ? ? ? — Postal money orders

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IV.

DATA SOURCES

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