

Impacts of Migration in Mexico¹

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Introduction

Migration impacts can be defined as the effects produced by the movement of people between two places, the sending or expulsion and the receiving places. For purposes of specificity it is convenient to restrict the analysis to the effects closer to migration itself, even if in reality there are many other side effects to the migration process. For our study, we are defining migration as an essentially economic phenomenon, given the nature of Mexican migration during the whole 20th Century as the movement of labor, a movement having little to do with religious or political motives to migrate as in other parts of the world.

The literature usually treats these population movements as a positive adjustment where labor supports and complements a better use and distribution of capital in the receiving region. In modern times, labor migration invariably occurs towards regions experiencing successful economic performance. The sending region will also benefit from remittances and experiences associated with working in a more advanced environment, plus the alleviation of unemployment at the point of origin. Nevertheless, migration between countries usually faces higher constraints not found in movements between regions within a country, due to the rigidities of different legal and political frameworks. The contrast between countries such as

the United States and Mexico brings additional frictions to international migration between them.

The Nature of Migration

The first point to keep in mind are the contradictory characteristics of the economic rationale to migration in contrast to the legal apparatus aimed to refrain migration. The economic reasoning, for the most part, supports migration both from the demand of labor as much as from the supply side. The legislation within the recipient country, in this case the U.S., limits the movement of foreigners. There are also, of course, many other social, cultural and demographic tensions and implications to consider given the mobilization of people under consideration, which involves the relation between two societies strongly different in their backgrounds.

Our aim in this chapter is to determine the effects in Mexico, in general and also specifically, resulting from being influenced by these labor movements. To this end we have to review the many concerns expressed by analysts of migration effects, both the positive and the negative impacts, but keeping at the center the economic preeminence of the phenomenon with labor as an important factor of production, and then the legal, cultural and demographic issues that may help us reach a better understanding.

A Temporal Dimension

To address the effects or impacts of migration on each country, it is necessary to consider several dimensions. One crucial dimension is time, given the very old labor supply and demand interaction embedded in the operations of each country, an interaction subjected to substantial variations along time.

Migration flows have varied in size, intensity and characteristics over the various periods of this century. The effects have to be estimated in reference to the specific period and context which corresponds to each country. However, these effects have to be seen not only as concrete measures or estimates in a certain point of time, but also pertaining to the dynamics of a very long labor interaction process.

International Economic Reorganization

It is well known that the economic pressures for restructuring have been experienced in over recent decades by every economy, including the Mexican and the United States economies. The U.S., as a wide and complex economy, has experienced a variety of sectoral and regional strategies. One of these strategies

has involved the hiring of low skilled labor at very low wages in order to remain competitive in certain agriculture activities (particularly evident in California) and in some services (Escobar, A., F. Bean and S. Weintraub, June 1996).

For Mexico, on the other hand, the result of trade liberalization, adjustment and privatization during the last decade or so has been a huge increase in the levels of unemployment and the search for all kinds of complementary incomes to finance basic family survival (Cortés, F. and R. Rubalcava, 1995). Open trade has also meant the successful recovery of certain agriculture activities, in particular those for export, and it has also channelled substantial new investment into sub-contracting (*maquiladoras*) and a few other industrial and services activities. These trends will shortly show up in higher local demand for labor in Mexico, even if in some cases (as in the first direct effect of *maquiladoras*) this is at the expense of employment in other locations in the U.S. itself.

The North American scene has shown initiatives beyond the usual individual country moves. Most noticeable has been the U.S. initiative to incorporate Canada and then Mexico into NAFTA. This can be understood as a common strategy to better compete against Europe and Asia. It is most evident in the immediate strengthening experienced in the economic ties of the three NAFTA countries, most clearly shown in trade and investment statistics. And it is in the context of economic changes and the recent evolution of migration, the “demand-pull supply-push” interaction, where recent effects can be located.

Migration Flows: Temporary vs Permanent Migrations

The characteristics of migration flows add important considerations to estimates of impacts. Among the total so-called “migrants,” there are two major groups, those becoming permanent residents of the U.S. and many others that come and go, some of them continuously along their productive lives. The latter group may experience the journey only once or a limited number of times, while some others may do it regularly. These patterns of migration impose obvious differences in the estimates of impacts or effects, be these economic effects, labor, or demand for public services. Though there are some preliminary estimates to distinguish the two types of migrants, in practice it is extremely difficult to estimate separately the effects due to each.

According to the survey EMIF (Encuesta de Migración a la Frontera Norte de Mexico), the annual flow of labor migrants travelling to the U.S. in 1993 and 1994 was around 800,000 individuals (Corona, R. and R. Tuirán, 1996). This is to say that any estimate of impacts would need to take into account the different behavior of this group of labor migrants, different in many respects to those residing permanently in the U.S.

Another strand to differentiate impacts is the legal status of the migrating flows. This is important in itself and also in respect to the workers' own perception of their labor competitiveness. In this respect, it is well known for instance that IRCA transformed almost automatically an important proportion of migrant flow as legal or documented migration, which then may have a different kind of effect accordingly. In practice, however, it is difficult to distinguish the effects or impacts of one group to the other due to information limitations, even when we may anticipate large differences in many respects.

The Levels of Analysis

Impacts have to be referred to the level where they are materialized. Spatially, there are three levels: national, regional and local. While at the national level impacts may be small in many respects, at the regional and local levels the impacts of migration may be extremely important. This can be as valid for certain regions in the sending country as for some of the states and counties that concentrate the flows in the recipient side.

It is well documented that there is a very large concentration of Mexican labor migration to the U.S. in the southwest, as well as to certain areas or poles mainly restricted to the states of Illinois, Oregon and Washington. Some other well dispersed places exist, but they account for minor proportions.

Another distinction has to do with the sector where migrant labor is employed. Mexican labor in the U.S. is mostly concentrated in agriculture, in particular in the production and packaging of fruits and vegetables, and some others are in the clothing industry, construction and certain services for buildings, gardens, tourism and what have been called the "ethnic industries." Even if the evidence indicates that the most recent Mexican migrants are predominantly in unskilled and low paid jobs in these kinds of activities, it is necessary to account as well for other groups of Mexican migrants in the past that followed more conventional employment trajectories given better conditions in the demand side, both conditions of the labor market and of economic prosperity in general, that were more favorable to that end.

On the Mexican side there is also a heavy concentration of not so many localities (*municipios*) with large migration intensity. These are mostly located in five states: Jalisco, Michoacán, Zacatecas, Durango and Oaxaca. These are the places where Mexican impacts of migration to the U.S. are likely to be apparent, at least in comparison with other non-migrating areas. Other characteristics relevant to estimating effects in these *municipios* is that more than one half of them (57% to be precise) are rural places (less than 20,000 inhabitants), and very few of them (only 1.7% to be precise) have more than 50,000 inhabitants.

The predominantly rural origin of the Mexican migrants explains their employment in the least skilled jobs in the United States. That is a very different case for Mexicans that migrate *within* Mexico, who tend to be more urban in origin and have better skills.

All the considerations above imply that we have to estimate carefully the impacts for each country according to the level and sector of activity, as well as other factors mentioned previously.

The Stylized Facts

First, we are dealing with two neighboring countries sharing a very long border and where the presence of Mexicans was well established before the west ward expansion of U.S. settlers in the previous century. This explains the important groups of Mexican origin in the southwest of the U.S. well before the migration moves of this century, a situation that has undoubtedly facilitated the assimilation between the two types of populations.

Early in this century, closeness between the two countries also facilitated migration flows. During the decade between 1910 and 1920 an estimated 890,000 Mexicans moved to the U.S. due both to expulsion and attraction forces. The expulsion factor was mainly the Mexican Revolution that took preeminence in Northern Mexico; but at the same time, Mexican labor was welcome to help in the extension of the railroads and in agriculture in the U.S., given the shortage in U.S. labor due to this country's participation in World War I (Hall, Linda, 1990). Even taking into account that few of those remained in the U.S.,² the next decade of the 1920s registered the approval of legal residence for 459,287 Mexicans, a total 3.2% of the Mexican population at the time.

As a counterflow, the economic difficulties of the 1930s generated the repatriation to Mexico of 345,000 Mexicans (47% of all those legalized since 1900). This move created substantial problems in the absorption of labor in certain regions of Mexico, something that quite likely accelerated the Cárdenas agrarian reform of the 1930s as illustrated in some ethnographic studies.

Next, the U.S. entry into World War II demanded again the support of Mexican labor of low cost (Fisher, 1953), giving raise to a total 4.6 million legal contracts to Mexicans in the U.S., the so called *Programa Bracero*. In spite of the relatively high number of contracts (equivalent to 209,000 a year), those opting to reside permanently in the U.S. were only a 12% of the total number of contracts granted. These are the very same years when Mexico enjoyed very successful rates of growth, the period of the "Mexican miracle," which translated into better living standards for many in Mexico due to improvements in education, health and other social benefits despite high rates of population growth.

In latter years, particularly during the 1970s and 1980s, the number of Mexican residents in the U.S. was increasing, at the same time that temporary migrants, both legal and undocumented, were also increasing. These years represent both the end of the “Mexican miracle” and the change in the direction of migration laws in the U.S. to restrict earlier acceptance of migrants.

The most recent period in the 1980s has developed more critically certain contradictions for the two countries, because the Mexican debt crisis of 1982 acted together with the approval of IRCA in 1986 to push into the legalization and, quite probably the settlement also, of a considerable number of Mexicans (2.24 million between 1986 and 1992), on top of the flow of recurrent temporary migrants between the two countries.

Some Impacts at the National Level in the Two Countries

The brief consideration above to the changing circumstances of labor migration during the 20th Century puts under perspective not only the magnitude of the flows in different periods, but also underlines the changing conditions over time affecting the interaction of supply-demand for labor, which in turn imposes different effects for each country in the different periods of attention. There have been periods in the past when migration was even more important than in recent years.² For instance, from the Mexican perspective, the loss of 3.2% of total population during the 1920s has probably been the most important demographic loss, not only in relative numbers, but also in the sense that the migrants were mostly relatively skilled middle class workers accounting for a very important share of the country’s extremely scarce human capital (Verduzco, 1992). It is most unfortunate that we do not have more detailed studies of this kind.

Some speculation can still prove helpful. The loss through migration in the 1920s, is most significant if one considers that during the 1910s the Mexican Revolution resulted in the loss of 16% of the Mexican population, most of them part of the work force (Ordorica and J. Lezama, 1993). By the same token it is likely that the arrival effect of these Mexican migrants was not as important for the U.S. if considered on a national scale, but it certainly was considerable at the regional and local levels, especially in the southwest. And also the economic effects of the Mexican migration flows will vary according to their countercyclical contribution to the U.S. economy, say during the immediate post war 1920s and the very hard 1930s. We know that estimates of this kind are scarce and hard to get but they can certainly be postulated at high probability rates.

The impact on the U.S. of Mexican migration is undoubtedly present today in all spheres—cultural, economic, demographic and political. The contributions of

many well settled and assimilated Mexican-American communities and individuals are in evidence and well appreciated.

For Mexico, the *Programa Bracero* was most important between 1942 and 1964. It was particularly relevant for most of the rural communities on the center-west coast and northern Mexico as it has been extensively documented on studies of *pueblos campesinos* by both Mexican and U.S. scholars (Foster, 1948 and 1967; Beals, 1946 and 1962; Belshaw, 1967; Acheson, 1964). However, the extent and impact of migration flows during those years was very different from what seem to be the characteristics of present migration. On the one hand, Mexican labor at that time took essentially seasonal agricultural jobs, and few of those workers became permanent residents of the U.S. On the other hand, the Mexican economy was growing fast and did not show the kind of structural problems to create productive employment that we face today. In sum, a plausible hypothesis is to assume that migration in those years was due mostly to demand forces (the *Programa Bracero*), even if remittances and other positive externalities were also important to support the Mexican modernization in agriculture well in place during those same years.

The Challenge to Focus on Impacts

To properly estimate current effects or impacts of Mexican migrants, we need to take into account the very complex sum of economic, social and cultural interrelations that has amassed in both countries over the long experience of migration. The challenge is most important because our interpretations will have to remain consistent for future data comparisons.

Specific Criteria on the Impacts in Mexico

First, it is most important to consider both the number of persons who participate in the phenomenon of migration and the manner in which they participate in it.

Earlier we saw that the volume of migratory flows has varied considerably throughout the century, and therefore, for that reason alone, the impacts should also be different in the regions of origin during different periods.

Furthermore, the types of migration, whether temporary, recurrent or permanent, make the impacts stemming from each type equally different. It is not the same when most heads of families in some community have gone to work for one or two seasons in their lives to the U.S. as when a significant portion of the economically active population migrates in a recurrent manner; or when, after a few years, entire families in one locality move permanently to the United States. These are therefore diverse circumstances that influence the types of impacts that may be seen in the places of origin, and for that same reason it is important to be able to determine

them clearly, since both the implications and interpretations of those facts could vary enormously.

Other factors necessary to examine include the regions and localities of origin of migrations and whether those places have gradually changed over time, since the impacts would be different depending on the concentration or dispersion of migration, as well as on the years of exposure to the phenomenon. The literature shows varied effects along both dimensions.

It would not be the same if we found that migration came from all points in the country, that is, following a pattern of geographical dispersion, as if it were concentrated in specific areas. In the first case the regional impacts would probably be more difficult to discover than in the second. If various patterns coexisted, this would also pose different analytical challenges.

For the time being, we know that migration from Mexico to the United States has been taking place for many years. We also know that although the flows of origin have continued to be concentrated in some states of the country, there are now some new types, and that urban places of origin have increased, as have female and family migration.

We also have information showing that both the volume and the type of migratory flows have varied throughout the century. The years of the *bracero* agreement were the period when it was clearer that migratory flows had a merely seasonal nature and were limited almost entirely to the rural sphere in both Mexico and the United States.

In other pages we mentioned some of the overall impacts resulting from migrations in both countries. Below we will present different types of information that will enable us to situate more clearly both the circumstances that have a bearing on the impacts of migration, and the advances in knowledge that exist as a result of different research projects that have been carried out. We will begin by stating some of the general characteristics of migratory flows based on the differences observed in the municipalities of origin. This overview will give occasion to talk later about the variation in the impacts of migration in the different contexts of the country.

Municipalities of Origin of Migration

Of the 2,428 municipalities in the country, 62% show some degree of “migratory activity” to the United States, although 18% have extremely low levels³ (see Table 1).

But looking at the above distribution by regions we find that in the southeastern states (Chiapas, Tabasco, Campeche, Yucatán and Quintana Roo), 66.5% of municipalities do NOT participate in that flow of migrant working population to

Table 1
Migratory Activity in the Mexican Municipalities by Regions
(Porcientos)

| % EAP | Border | North | West | Center | Southeast | Country |
|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|-------------|
| 0 | 10.2 | 5.5 | 2.5 | 39.7 | 66.5 | 38.0 |
| 0.1-1 | 11.3 | 8.2 | 1.9 | 33.8 | 13.8 | 18.3 |
| 1.1-6.9 | 49.4 | 39.0 | 19.0 | 18.0 | 14.2 | 22.0 |
| 7-24.9 | 26.7 | 28.5 | 59.4 | 7.2 | 4.5 | 16.9 |
| 25.0 y más | 2.2 | 18.7 | 17.0 | 1.1 | 0.8 | 4.5 |
| | (abs. 273) | (abs. 182) | (abs. 313) | (abs. 815) | (abs. 817) | (abs. 2404) |

*Migratory activity=Percent of migrants per Economically Active Population in the municipality.

Source: National Survey of Demographic Dynamics (ENADID 1987–1992).

the United States. It should be recalled, however, that development levels in those states are very varied, from very poor to very rich.

Furthermore, in the central states (Oaxaca, Veracruz, Guerrero, Puebla, Tlaxcala, Hidalgo, Querétaro, State of Mexico and Morelos), 33.8% of the municipalities do NOT participate. By contrast, in the border states only 10.2% do NOT participate, and in the western and northern states practically all the municipalities have some participation.

In the country as a whole, the states with the least participation are Tabasco, Chiapas, Veracruz, Yucatán⁴ and Quintana Roo. But in addition, in the state of Oaxaca, 65% of the municipalities do NOT have any migratory activity, and therefore we have a contrasting situation there: in the last few years it has become a state of migration to the United States, but nevertheless the majority of its municipalities are not connected with that movement.⁵ Moreover, the municipalities in that state involved in migration are dispersed throughout the different areas of Oaxaca's territory and it is only possible to speak of a relative concentration in the Mixtec region and slightly less in the Central Valleys, where the capital is also situated.

Let us now see how the municipalities are distributed according to greater and lesser intensity of "migratory activity."

In the first place, of all the country's municipalities, only 4.5% have "high" or *intense* migratory activity, a circumstance that probably situates the phenomenon of the country's "recurrent" migration in those places, since the reference of the indicator used for the Economically Active Population (EAP) of a municipality tells us, in those cases, of a situation that implies a structuring of the migratory

process that can only take place over many years.

Similarly, of the municipalities with “high” migratory activity, 80% are municipalities with a population of less than 20,000 inhabitants, which means they are very rural municipalities, and only one of them (Jerez, Zacatecas) has more than 50,000 inhabitants.

By contrast, we find that of all the municipalities in the country, 43% have “low” migratory activity and 17% medium. In these cases, 56% are municipalities with less than 20,000 inhabitants and only 17% have more than 50,000 inhabitants, which means that we can characterize the phenomenon of migratory activity as being closer to rural than urban conditions.⁶

Of the municipalities with “high” or *intense* migratory activity (109 municipalities), a majority of 88% are found in 9 of the states with the most migration: Jalisco, Michoacán, Guanajuato, Zacatecas, Durango, Chihuahua, San Luis Potosí, Guerrero and Oaxaca; but 48% are found in only three states: Jalisco, Michoacán and Zacatecas. This gives us a clear idea of the places where this type of municipalities are concentrated.

In summary, we find that the phenomenon of *intensity* of migration does not occur throughout the length of the republic, but is limited to only 4.5% of the country’s municipalities, and of these, half (48%) are found in only three states: Jalisco, Michoacán and Zacatecas. We therefore need to be very careful with interpretations of the phenomenon of migration, especially when these are made on the basis of community studies, as the above information shows us, on the one hand, a dispersion of the phenomenon in general terms in the country, particularly from the central states towards the northern and border states, but, on the other, we can see a very strong concentration of the municipalities with the highest *intensity* of migration in few states, mainly in the west.

Variations in the Impacts

In conclusion, from the point of view of the impacts of migration on the places of origin, the above information shows us that since there is great variability in the phenomenon of migration in the country, the analysis of the impacts should take that consideration into account. We will talk about this further on.

Summarizing what has been analyzed so far, we find in the first place that a significant increase in the phenomenon of migration to the United States does seem to have occurred in the country, since there is migratory activity in 62% of municipalities. It is concentrated in a few states and areas of those states, mainly in the west and north (except the border states), as was pointed out earlier.

In the west we also find the majority of the municipalities where migratory

activity is highest of all. These include municipalities which for reasons of categorization fall within the limits of what we have qualified as *intense* migration (more than 25% of their Economically Active Population—EAP—involved in migration), as well as the municipalities in which more than 50% of the EAP have migratory activity to the United States. These municipalities have high migration since over 50% of their Economically Active Population went to work in the United States between 1987 and 1992. They total 23 municipalities and 19 of them (83%) are in Zacatecas, Michoacán and Jalisco. But of these 23 municipalities, only 3 have more than 20,000 inhabitants and the 23 as a whole have an average of 11,155 inhabitants. This gives us an initial idea of the type of municipalities involved.

The information also shows very clearly that the majority of the more urban municipalities, that is, those with more population, especially in the west and north, also have migratory activity, although with low levels. This is a fact which, in addition to coinciding with other information sources such as the Survey on Migration to the Northern Border (EMIF), makes it necessary to pose new research questions, since in fact we still know very little about the meaning of migration to the United States from these contexts, although further on we will try to point out some of the better known features so far. But having put forward these considerations, clearly the more rural municipalities with a population of less than 20,000 inhabitants predominate and for that reason they should be the prime object of our analysis with regard to the impacts.

And if we recall what we have seen in relation to the municipalities where there is *intense* migration, all of them, with the exception of Jerez, Zacatecas, have less than 50,000 inhabitants and most do not exceed 20,000 population. Let us also recall that only in a few cases do those municipalities form part of microregions within the states.

These different characteristics of the municipalities of emigration make it necessary for us to be cautious when speaking not only of the causal factors of migration, but also of the impacts on those places.

Municipalities with a Tradition of Intense Migration

We should also differentiate between municipalities or communities with a “long tradition of migration,” as well as those that have a “migratory tradition,” and those that have been incorporated into the migratory flow recently or relatively recently.

In the first of these, that is, those with a “long tradition of migration,” the factors that had a bearing on the start of the migratory flows occurred many years ago and are unknown to us. Nevertheless, the effects of those successive migrations have gradually accumulated in a different manner over time, in such a way that

Table 2
Michoacán Migratory Activity
Municipalities with Migratory Levels 6 and 7*

| | |
|----------------------|-----------------------|
| Coeneo* | Alvaro Obregón |
| Cotija* | Briseñas |
| Chavinda* | Angamacutiro |
| Churintzio* | Coahuayana |
| Ecuandureo* | Copandaro |
| Huandacareo* | Cojumatlan de Regules |
| Huaniqueo* | Cuitzeo |
| Jiménez* | Erongaricuaró |
| Jiquilpan* | Ixtlan |
| Pajacuaran* | Jacona |
| Panindicuaró* | Juarez |
| Penjamillo* | Lagunillas |
| Purepero* | Marcos Castellanos |
| Puruandiro* | Morelia |
| Tangancícuaro* | Nuevo Parangaricutiro |
| Tinguindín* | Numaran |
| Tlazazalca* | Pátzcuaro |
| Tocumbo* | Periban |
| Venustiano Carranza* | Piedad, La |
| Villamar* | Querendaro |
| Vista Hermosa* | Quiroga |
| Zinaparo* | Los Reyes |
| José Sixto Verduzco* | Sahuayo |
| | Santa Ana Maya |
| | Tanhuato |
| | Taretan |
| | Tarimbaro |
| | Uruapan |
| | Yurecuaro |
| | Zacapu |
| | Zamora |
| | Zinapecuaro |
| | Zitacuaro |

*Asterisk denotes communities with “intense” migratory activity.

what we can observe now is a different situation from those that prevailed in different periods and which gave rise to separate flows, probably also with different purposes according to each period. In these cases, what we are surely observing at present, if the flows have continued to be *intense* and uninterrupted, is their continuity, and we should therefore consider them thus to observe the factors that continue to

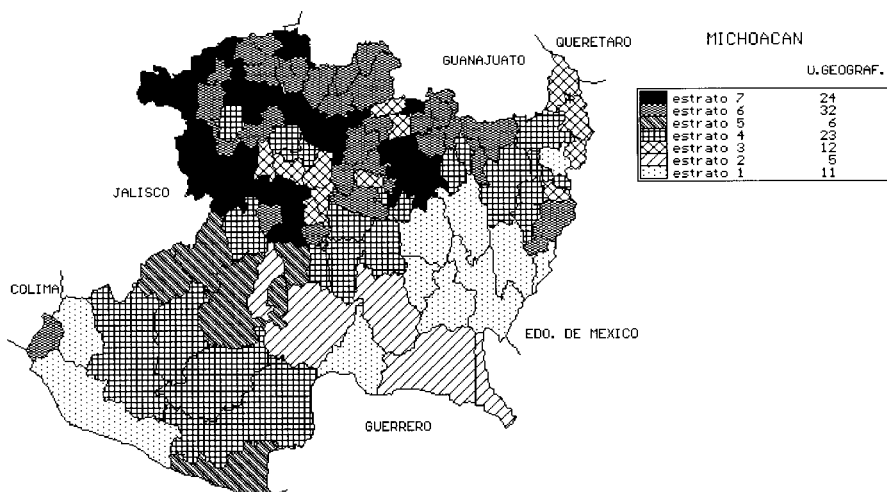


Figure 1. Density of Migratory Activity

further the migrations, as well as if we had to observe and interpret different effects of the migrations, since the recent impacts have changed on the basis of the achievements or of meeting the needs of earlier years, partly as an effect of the migrations themselves. For that very reason these types of places should be differentiated from those with recent flows, since in some the purpose of the migrations will be different from those where the migrations have been taking place for many years.

By the best known studies, cases of this type would be those exemplified by the studies carried out in the town of Jaripo (Fonseca, O. and Lilia Moreno, 1984); in Gómez Farías (López, G., 1986) and the one called Chamitlán (Massey et al., 1991), towns in Michoacán that have had continuity in the migratory process without interruption for a long period of time.

According to what is reported, migration in those places (and its effects) has not allowed appropriate or sufficient conditions to be met in order to end or reduce the dependency on migration to the United States. One author therefore states: "Migration is self-perpetuating because of the new consumption needs created by expectations of life and by the permanence of the variables that condition migration" (López, G., *op. cit.*, p. 109). This is therefore a form of insertion, among others, into the migratory process.

But another variable in this type of migration is the one presented in some of the studies by Robert Kemper (1995 and 1981) for the town of Tzintzuntzan, Michoacán. If we had looked at migration in this town at just two moments in time (in 1960 and 1980), we would think that there had been a continuity of the process.

There, however, migration has been interrupted: during the *bracero* contract it included practically all heads of families but it was suspended almost entirely during the 1960s and 1970s and was then directed en masse to Mexico City and other cities in the country. During the 1980s, migration to the “North” appeared again. Something similar appears to have taken place in the other lakeside towns of Pátzcuaro, as reported by Lise and Pietri (1976) until the 1960s, as well as Castile (1974) and partially by Beals (1946 and 1962) in the Tarascan Meseta of Michoacán for those same years.

By contrast to the first type of cases, here we find first a mass migration by heads of families at the end of the *bracero* contract, together with the extensive establishment of information and support networks. Then these flows ceased and were oriented mainly to Mexico City, and began again later to the United States during the 1980s.

As expressed by the same authors, the impacts of migration have been different partly because conditions in each period have varied, but also because the occupational composition of the migratory flows has been partially transformed in the different periods. The latter is important because although at times the flows might not diminish in volume or proportion, what has been observed are differences in socioeconomic groups that act in accordance with a specific purpose; the impacts may therefore also vary.

In these cases, as distinct from the previous ones for the state of Michoacán, not only was there a rupture in the migratory process to the United States, but also it was replaced by one of internal migration and then the orientation to the “North” was resumed just a little over a decade ago.

In our municipal information, the municipalities of the first type mentioned (Jaripo in the municipality of Villamar, Chamitlán in that of Chavinda and Gómez Farías in that of Tangancícuaro) offer the most *intense* levels of migratory activity in the entire country (above 50% of the EAP),⁷ while the municipalities of the lakeside areas and the meseta appear in the “medium” and “low” levels. These are some examples of the care we have to have both to talk of the causal factors of migration, and if we have to analyze its impacts.

Municipalities with a Tradition of Migration

Apart from the municipalities or states that have had an *intense* participation in migration over time, we also have others in relation to the states that have had some relatively significant degree of migratory participation, although to a lesser extent than the previous ones. This is the case particularly with some of the border and northern states.

The low presence of migrants from these states according to information sources of the past, leads us to think of the hypothesis that the expansion of the agricultural frontier towards the north with the creation and expansion of important irrigation districts constituted an attraction for internal rather than international migrations. Let us recall the importance of the irrigation districts of Mexicali, of Sonora, Chihuahua, Coahuila and Tamaulipas in relatively recent times for the settling of the north of Mexico. It has been a process in which the opening up of lands and the settling came first, followed by agricultural modernization as of the 1950s.

However, perhaps because of the proximity of the border and fluctuations in the changes that were taking place, those states have had international migration for many years and therefore can be considered states with a “tradition of migration,” even though their participation in the overall flow has been low.

We thus have another variable introduced which, unfortunately, we only know superficially. We do not know, for example, whether there is a corresponding agricultural labor force to these irrigation districts on the other side of the border; nor do we know whether the agricultural crises on this side were reflected in an increase in migratory flows from those states. We know in general that the migrants from those places have been relatively few, although we also know that their participation in migrations is long-standing.

In the regionalization used here, it appears that the states of the “north” have a proportion of municipalities with *intense* migratory activity that is very similar to the situation of the western states. This is due mainly to the states of Durango and especially Zacatecas, which contribute with 97% of the municipalities of the north in that category.

In fact both in the north and in the border area there is and there always has been migration but it appears to remain at medium and low levels and it would therefore be important to know the purpose of these flows in the different areas of those regions, as well as in rural and urban localities. That information would be most useful to be able to situate the type of impacts on those regions whose characteristic is having a tradition of migration which remains at low levels.

Municipalities of Recent Incorporation into the Phenomenon

The best known states involved in migration are Oaxaca, Guerrero, Puebla and Morelos, although there is still very little information on this phenomenon in those places.

In Oaxaca, which is the best known state, seven municipalities (1.2%)⁸ have *intense* migration, and in the rest of those that do have migration, “low” migratory

activity predominates. Let us also recall that 65% of the municipalities in this state do NOT participate in this type of migration.

We know from the work of anthropologist Abraham Iszaevich (1988) that in one of these municipalities with intense migration (San Lucas Quiaviní), migratory flows to the United States began to increase in the early 1960s and eventually included 65% of adult males in the community. Moreover, in the seven communities he studied, there were different patterns of migration both to other places in Mexico and to the United States. Unfortunately we know almost nothing about the migratory situation in this state, which is particularly complex, not only because of its size, but also because of its cultural heterogeneity, since more than 10 important ethnic groups inhabit the state.

In other municipalities with recent migration, municipal information shows that migration to the United States is partially extended to all the country's states, although with low levels of intensity and with very limited participation in the majority of nontraditional states. In these cases, there is practically a total lack of information, as it was not even suspected that the phenomenon existed in the majority of those places.

In the three categories indicated above we have major differences that we should consider in order to situate the details of the phenomenon of migration in a manner appropriate to the conditions in which it occurs. This is also the path that will enable us to better understand aspects related to their impact.

The Rural and the Urban

In the cases of most intense and semi-intense migration, rural municipalities predominate over urban ones, although there is migration from practically all the municipalities that have urban populations. Therefore, even from this perspective, it would be observed that urban migration to the United States would probably already have major importance.⁹ The Survey on Migration to the Northern Border (EMIF) reported that 56% of the flow came from urban localities—of more than 15,000 inhabitants—(Corona, 1996). But, unless this movement of people can some day be measured more accurately, it is clear migration of urban origin is more important now than before, and it would therefore be necessary to study in depth the implications of such a change.

Until now the most accurate study of migration to the United States has been carried out almost entirely from the rural point of view because the evidence was easier to analyze. In fact very few studies have analyzed this phenomenon from an urban perspective, as we will see further on. For the time being it is a limitation that does not allow us to understand the logic of labor movements of an urban work force that goes to work abroad; and even less to

think of specific impacts beyond a few general considerations following from the few existing studies.

Migrations and Development: National or Community Viewpoint

Earlier we saw that migratory flows to the United States have varied enormously over the century due to diverse circumstances in each country. For Mexico as a place of origin of migration, variations in the flow should be more or less in keeping with the type of changes that have taken place in different periods. Something similar should occur with the impacts, since as has continually been repeated in the studies, people do not simply leave to work as an end in itself, but with specific projects and goals. Therefore, following this same logic, it would be consistent to think that, depending on the specific contexts of migrants and according to the community and regional circumstances of each period, the migrants established their own goals in each period.

The above considerations point to various criteria that would be important to take into account when talking of the impacts of migration on the places of origin in Mexico.

Similarly, we have presented an overview of the presence of recent migratory flows in the country, as well as on the places where there is a greater presence of the phenomenon. This will enable us to interpret more appropriately the information that exists on the impacts based on the different studies that have been carried out in different periods.

Different Priorities in Research

We should note, in the first place, that unlike many of the studies carried out in the United States, in Mexico the topic of impacts has not been a priority—at least not from the same viewpoint, nor with the same insistence. Secondly, the majority of the studies deal with migrants and migrations from the rural sector, which although consistent with the greater presence of the phenomenon in those places, bypasses the view of the impacts on the diversity of urban localities where migration also exists. Thirdly, most of the studies, particularly the better known ones, have been carried out in two of the states with the most migration in the country (Michoacán and Jalisco) and several of them in communities in the municipalities with the greatest intensity of migration in the entire country. And although it is logical that it should happen, this implies certain limitations, at least from the point of view of the suitability of having a more comprehensive and complete knowledge of the phenomenon, especially when we know that recently it has become dispersed to almost the entire country, although with a low presence.

Among the studies carried out, the community studies of anthropologists or of an anthropological nature stand out. In those types of studies, it has been more common that the purpose of the work did not have the specific intention of studying migration, but rather the community life of *campesino* villages. The encounter with migration to the United States has been a finding that, owing to its magnitude and importance in the communities, has had to be detailed more carefully. That is why those studies are mainly geared to an ethnographic description of the life of communities in accordance with the most conventional methods of anthropology. These are followed in number by other studies of a sociodemographic nature whose information comes mainly from surveys applied to the population, sometimes to a single community or city, or to areas or groups of communities or cities, based on a sample that in some cases has been statistically representative and in others not.

Another characteristic in all cases is that the studies were carried out during different periods, a situation that also makes us be cautious with the interpretations, since we would have to situate the information according to the conditions of the appropriate spatial and seasonal contexts.

In speaking of the impacts, the authors tend to favor those that are a consequence of monetary remittances, that is, of the money sent or taken by migrants themselves to their communities. Some researchers, however, have also focused on the topic of the noneconomic effects of migration, although few have delved more deeply into this point.

The authors' intentions have frequently been to interpret the effects of both monetary remittances and work experience in the overall process of change in the communities studied. We should also be cautious, however, in this regard, since the authors do not always give an account of socioeconomic processes in the communities they have studied.

Jorge Durand (1994) also states an important fact in presenting the best known community studies. These include 25 authors and almost 37 communities, of which 30 are in Michoacán and Jalisco, 3 in Guanajuato, 3 in Oaxaca and only 1 in Zacatecas.

Despite the above-mentioned limitations, we believe that the series of research projects carried out in Mexico by both Mexicans and U.S. researchers can contribute important and useful knowledge on some of the effects or impacts of labor migrations in Mexico.

Monetary Remittances

The topic of remittances is perhaps the one that has received the most attention among the economic effects of migration. This is partly because it can be measured. The justification is greater in this case since wages are considerably higher in the

United States than in Mexico and there tends to be a differential between the peso and the dollar in favor of the latter which leads to a special appraisal in this regard.

Although the importance of monetary remittances has been known since the 1920s (Gamio, 1930; Taylor, Paul, 1932 in Durand, J., 1994), it was not until recently that researchers began to be concerned about the topic and to try to record the amounts in some way. The estimates of remittances reported in the literature generally allude to two levels: estimates of national coverage or estimates at the level of very specific communities in which case studies have been made.

Frequently, based on specific research projects, researchers have attempted to make more global calculations of the remittances sent by all Mexican migrants (Díez-Canedo, 1984); García y Griego, M. and F. de los Ríos (1985); Massey and Parrado (1994); Lozano, (1993). However, whether because of the community orientation of many of those studies, or because of the broad suppositions on which they had to be based, those calculations have been useful only as preliminary approximations during times when more accurate estimates were not available. Subsequently there have been other more complete estimates based on information from surveys with greater coverage, such as the survey carried out by CENIET, and more recently the Survey on Migration to Mexico's Northern Border (Corona, 1996).

In recent years Banco de México (the Central Bank) has designed a complex methodology together with a strategy of very broad coverage in order to be able to measure the inflow of dollars from Mexican migrants working in the United States.

Based on this methodology, and having reviewed the different measuring tests carried out, Fernando Lozano has produced two measurement exercises, trying to make up for the limitations of the different efforts, including the most recent ones, such as those carried out by Massey and Parrado (1994) and Corona (1996). This last work of Lozano's was carried out at the request of the commission that prepared the binational study (Lozano, 1997). His estimates are very close to the latest ones from Banco de México: US\$3.867 billion for 1995 compared to the bank's estimate of US\$3.672 billion.

Viewed from a national standpoint, the importance of remittances may seem moderate if we compare them with earnings from exports of goods, since the remittances sent by migrants barely represented 5% of the total value of exports in 1995. Nevertheless, they were equivalent to 57% of foreign investment that year. It should be recalled, however, that during the last decade remittances had a much greater relative importance when the economic context was also different, and remittances were in fourth place in foreign-currency inflows from abroad.

In view of the above and following the nature of geographic concentration of the phenomenon of migration, it would seem more useful to evaluate it from a

regional point of view. On this scale the importance of remittances is much greater, particularly if we bear in mind that the majority of municipalities of origin are predominantly rural.

Lozano's estimates are perhaps more revealing from another perspective, that which distinguishes between permanent and temporary migrants. The most important implication of his estimates is the large proportion represented by remittances from permanent migrants: 64.7% of total remittances. If the well-known tendency for permanent migrants to reduce their remittances to their area of origin as time goes by is proven, the importance of the remittances is destined to decline even more in the future.

Now, as we have seen when reviewing the municipal figures, although migration is present with different levels of intensity throughout the country, it is mainly concentrated in the states of the west and north, but especially in the former. From the point of view of remittances this would mean, at least in theory, a greater importance of same in those states and, within them, in the areas and communities in which the phenomenon of migration has intensified more, as we saw in earlier pages.

Clearly, in those areas in particular, the economic benefits of migration are most important, since the average income from remittances is equivalent to the average income of households in a context in which only 40% of households reach those levels of income (Papail and Arroyo, 1996). Also, remittances and other forms of assistance from migrants have been channeled over the years into providing support for certain agricultural activities, as well as for countless works such as parks, schools, churches, roads, street paving, introduction of drainage, etc., in a great many communities in those regions.

Similarly, the indirect effects of remittances should also be mentioned. These can be calculated, although in a partial and limited manner, on the basis of economic simulation exercises. Edward Taylor (1996) calculates that the greatest multiplying effect of remittances takes place in rural households whose consumption and spending patterns favor goods produced domestically with labor-intensive technologies; by contrast, when remittances reach urban households, the multiplying effects are less for Mexico because consumption patterns in those places include a larger number of imported goods. Taylor calculates that each dollar sent to Mexico by migrants could translate into an increase of between US\$0.30 (30 U.S. cents) and US\$0.40 (40 U.S. cents) in the income of farmers with small landholdings.

Nevertheless, as the United States economy becomes more integrated, the multiplying effects of remittances are likely to become smaller, since production in Mexico will respond more to demand in the overall North American market and less to demand only in Mexico.

Remittances and the Households

Strictly speaking, the most direct impact of remittances in dollars occurs in the households where they are received, depending on the amounts sent and the circumstances of each one. Secondly, the community can benefit more or less, depending on the number of households with migrants and of members working abroad, and there will also be greater benefit when the community can retain a substantial part of the multiplying effects of the demands stemming from the first outlay. Similarly, the impact will depend on whether the migratory pattern in the community is occasional or recurrent, that is, whether households have members migrating with a regular annual or biannual frequency, or whether migration takes place only occasionally, once or twice throughout people's entire life. Migration that becomes permanent is also destined to reduce its contributions.

These different types of behavior in fact occur in the myriad communities involved in the migratory process.

There follow some examples. Paul Taylor (in Durand, 1994) reported that during the 1920s there was a mass migration from Arandas, Jalisco, which included the young men of all social classes except landholders and wealthy merchants, but without excluding their sons. In 1923 the income from the 200 "northerners" from the town was \$75,000 pesos, or the equivalent of US\$375 per person (Martínez, T., 1985), a figure which in those days was not negligible.

Robert V. Kemper for Tzintzuntzan (1981 and 1995) and Castile (1974) for Cherán, both towns in Michoacán, affirm that almost all the young men in the community enrolled at some point in the Bracero Program, although afterwards they did not continue to go but changed their destination from the United States to Mexico City, although as was mentioned before, during the 1980s the emigration to the "north" began again. Currently, Kemper states (1995) that 200 families from Tzintzuntzan are living in Mexico City and around 150 in the United States, aside from the fact that 362 persons are living temporarily outside the community in Mexico City, Morelia and the United States.

In four communities of Michoacán and Jalisco, D. Massey et al. (1987) point out that of all migrants, between 15% and 25% had left to work in the United States 4 or more times. These would be the "recurrent" migrants.

Jorge Durand (1994) affirms that on average in the 11 communities in his study (in Michoacán, Jalisco and Guanajuato), 54% of the migrants had only made one journey in their entire life. Something similar is stated by Gustavo López (1986) for the town of Tangancícuaro in Michoacán, when he says that approximately 60% of the adult population had migratory experience, that is, that they had gone at least once.

In Los Altos (the highlands) of Jalisco, Juan Luis Orozco (1992:401-2) mentions three different profiles of migration in his communities. In Corralillos, 36%

of the sons had gone to work in the United States, while in the village of Los Dolores 21.4% had left and in El Refugio only 4.2%.

For Zamora, also in Michoacán, it is reported that 14% of the city's working population had migratory experience but only 19% of them were "recurrent" migrants who had gone four or more times (Verduzco, 1992).

These data give us an idea of the variation in migratory profiles, even in states and regions of high migration, and also during different periods.

Therefore, if our interest lies in the remittances, although we can talk of overall quantities and average monthly or annual amounts, in fact they reach the communities of origin in very individualized ways for each one, depending on the migratory profiles at the time which sometimes or in some cases include many people but can then drop or even increase more. Similarly, in some periods people only go to the United States and in others that pattern coexists with internal migration also.

It therefore follows that we find very variable quantities in the different studies. For example, Orozco (*op. cit.*) made a calculation based on data from his three communities, and found that the income from remittances reached US\$86,464, which represents 13.9% of the total income of the communities or the equivalent of US\$371 a year per family. But he explains that this varies a great deal from community to community. Corralillos is where the most is received; there the annual income is US\$548 per family, equivalent to 28.4% of the income, whereas in El Refugio it is only US\$60 per family, equivalent to only 4.3% of the income. Obviously the differences between these quantities have much to do with each town's different migration patterns.

Massey and Parrado (1994) found similar behavior in their study of 22 communities in the states of Michoacán, Jalisco, Guanajuato and Nayarit, since the remittances calculated as a percentage of aggregate income obtained in Mexico varied from insignificant quantities to considerable amounts.

Similarly, in Gómez Farías, Michoacán, López, G. (*op. cit.*), calculated that remittances varied between US\$80 and US\$300 a month per family and that they could be equivalent to 19% of the income.

In the village of Tepusco (municipality of Villa Hidalgo, Jalisco), almost 100% of external family income comes from remittances, and these surpass the amount of public spending of the municipality (Arroyo, De León and Valenzuela, 1991, p. 159). Moreover, in Colotlán, Jalisco, the same authors point out that remittances are the economic base of that microregion, since they also amount to much more than municipal spending. But by contrast, in the area of Ocotlán, also in Jalisco, which is an industrialized region, there is less migration and those who do migrate to the United States have the lowest levels of education, and hence the amount received there from remittances is relatively insignificant.

Owing to the above, and with good reason, they themselves affirm (1991: p. 244) that the average estimates of remittances have limitations in their interpretation because the majority of families in their study actually received small quantities, a few received larger amounts, and more than a third did not obtain anything. This study has the additional value of being representative of the “area of rejection” of Jalisco and included 69 communities.¹⁰ Furthermore, J. Papail and J. Arroyo (1996) mention that between 27% and 32% of the migrants from the four medium-sized cities of Jalisco were unable to send money during their last migratory experience.¹¹

In this regard, in the communities studied by Orozco (*op. cit.*), 13% of the migrants did not manage to return with savings from their last trip, while among the migrants from the city of Zamora (Verduzco, *op. cit.*), 27% were also unable to send money or bring it back with them, and of these, two-thirds never returned to the United States.

Actually this is a point that has not been commented on much, since it is more common to talk of the successes than the failures, but these data indicate a quarter and even a third of returning migrants who were unable to send or bring back money. It implies a difficult situation for many as a result of very resolute efforts.

In practice, the possibilities that individuals have of saving have to do with diverse factors. In addition to merely circumstantial aspects, it also depends on the situation of savings prior to the departure of each individual, since some travel with what they have saved in different ways in Mexico, while others have to go into debt and borrow and then have to pay back (in Mexico or in the United States), usually with high interests. Fonseca and Moreno (*op. cit.*) illustrate this point very well based on the accounts of various informants, although this is a recurrent theme in almost all the studies and very well known by researchers of the topic. Similarly, we know of the high costs of subsistence incurred by workers, particularly those who work isolated in the fields, as well as undocumented migrants who have to depend on intermediaries to obtain food, clothing and other types of goods in order not to place themselves at risk (Fonseca, O. and L. Moreno, *op. cit.*). Moreover, migrants have to face the costs of the journey itself, and especially payments to a “coyote” to cross the border, as well as bribes to Mexican officials upon their return to the country. This is also something well known from experiences of field work (see W. Cornelius, 1978; López, G., 1986; Massey, D. et al., 1987).

Ina Dinerman (1983) reported on the basis of the experiences of informants from Ihuatzio and Huecorio in Michoacán, that between US\$250 and US\$300 was spent on “coyotes” alone. At that time the money had to come from the activities of the community itself.

On occasions, the monetary success of the trip to the United States will depend partly on the economic situation in relation to the demand for workers in the period

of the journey, since, for example, J. Papail and J. Arroyo (*op. cit.*) found in their sample from medium-sized cities of Jalisco that 15% of returning migrants were unemployed immediately before coming back to Mexico. They also mention having found higher rates of unemployment among undocumented migrants than among documented ones. It is likely that these two findings, as it is a recent study, reflect to a certain extent the new situation that prevails in the United States labor market.

But the fact is, as can be seen from the above examples, that the income that finally reaches families is not always high; on the contrary, many expenditures of all types have to be made on the journeys there and back and during the stay, and it is common for workers to have to face variable periods without work (Mines, R. and S. Gabbard, 1993), and there are diverse losses connected with remittances. In fact this is a point on which more research is needed, since the cost of migration appears to be very high.

In another sense we know, for example, that in recent times wages have dropped for migrants and we are aware that in addition there is greater labor competition among Mexicans themselves; if this situation were to persist, faced with high subsistence costs, to what extent would future migrations be inhibited or change, and with them, the inflow of remittances? We believe it is possible to put forward the hypothesis of a relative saturation of the labor market, which together with the accompanying drop in wages could lead to a variable withdrawal of the supply.

Another important aspect that has not been dealt with in depth in research projects is a characteristics of remittances which, although known as a fact, has not been thought about sufficiently. Arroyo, De León and Valenzuela (*op. cit.*) point out that the remittances are: *unstable* and *cyclical* and therefore *insecure*.

These features have as much to do with the potential final benefits of remittances as with the series of family strategies that households should plan and execute.

It is true that these characteristics regarding the instability and insecurity of remittances occur, although we do not know exactly under what circumstances or to what extent.

In general terms the different studies show on the one hand, that there are workers who, probably because of past experiences, as well as because of their contacts through the networks and the more stable type of work they will carry out, manage to engage quickly and without obstacles in some form of employment. In such cases, the money they manage to save after deducting their expenses could be channeled in a more stable manner to their families. On the other hand, there are also the data of workers who did not manage to bring back or send any savings to their families, as well as information showing that the expenses incurred

by migrants in order to cross over to the other side and then maintain themselves, especially if they are undocumented, are high and perhaps higher than for those who are residents or those who already have papers. Furthermore, we also know that there are activities, particularly agricultural ones, that do not make it possible to have work continuously throughout the year. In fact this is a point on which further research should be carried out in order to grasp the nuances of the costs in this type of labor experience which is determined by the types of work demanded, and by the clandestine forms of arrival and labor integration which are so specific.

Remittances: Dependence or Development?

Another common concern with the subject of remittances has to do with their use. Therefore, in general the authors have made efforts to find out not only how much reaches families, but also how it is used and what effects it promotes.

In general, but especially at the state and local levels, the generally shared premise is that migrants' contributions to their regions of origin help to improve living conditions in said regions, even when the literature also tells of some counterproductive effects in the form of conspicuous consumption, inflation and effects of displays of consumption (see W. Cornelius, 1990, p. 98-9).

First of all, it has been found by researchers that the remittances are used mainly for consumption, both for subsistence and for the acquisition of diverse goods. Secondly, they are used to enlarge and embellish houses, as well as to improve them with electricity, water and drainage services. Different debts incurred are also paid for and the "northern" money is used to contribute to community fiestas or to give parties themselves, as well as to support communities' urban infrastructure works.

In general terms, it tends to be evident that communities with more migration look different, as described, for example, by Luis Rionda for Copándaro, Michoacán (1986), or by Gustavo López for Gómez Farías (*op. cit.*). It is common for there to be better houses in those places, as well as good urban services, or at least better than in other neighboring communities.

However, at times a certain frustration can be perceived in the researcher at not finding more productive investments in the communities (W. Cornelius, 1976 and 1990), as it would be wished that by taking advantage of migration, the people of the villages could make progress. There is also the hypothesis that migration could be an endless chain and only useful for consumption (Russell, 1992).

The High Cost of the Migratory Experience

As was mentioned earlier, it is more or less clear that there are some costs that do not allow better tapping of migrants' efforts. This is a point that for the time being darkens the outlook for migration. For example, in the surveys carried out by Papail and Arroyo it was seen that in the four medium-sized cities of Jalisco, the average income from migration was equivalent, in 1993, to the average income in those cities. In reading that information we would say that the comparison most commonly made with the wage gap between the two countries, which is normally estimated at 1 to 10, is actually unreal because the net amount that would be earned with the effort of migration would not exceed what is finally obtained here. Nevertheless, if we consider that in those same cities only 40% of the economically active population earns on average that income, this would give us a more approximate dimension of the real importance of remittances for those places, especially for those who emigrate from there (op. cit., p. 119). But from another point of view, that fact shows that the real possibilities for savings or productive investment are rather limited.

At any rate, having made these considerations, a review of the literature shows us contrasting situations. But first it is necessary to make an observation. With the exception of the research carried out by Papail and Arroyo (1996), Massey, D. et al. (1987), González de la Rocha and A. Escobar (1990), Verduzco (1992) and Durand (1994), all the projects that have some locality as a unit of analysis center on the rural sector and are oriented, when they do so, to a study of agricultural activities. Actually this is logical since, as we have seen, these migrations come mainly from the rural sector. Nevertheless, a limitation tends to persist in the works of researchers, and this is that owing to the complexities of the analysis, the community is viewed as a sort of special world (which it is for the researcher), where what counts is the community and its immediate surroundings and migration to the United States. At times the studies fail to observe that Mexican rural communities have been following the tenor of the changes in the country. These changes have signified, among other things, a sharp drop in the agricultural work force which has gone hand in hand with a drop in the economic importance of agricultural activity in comparison with the rest of economic activities. In an important sense for migrations it has implied that, since the late 1960s, the country's "rural" population, particularly *campesinos*, can no longer survive without the support of their own people working in Mexican cities or in the United States (Arizpe, 1980; Verduzco 1985; Arias 1992). In fact, if we analyze the extensive literature on regional development and urbanization in the country, we find that temporary and definitive migration to Mexican cities has predominated over migrations of diverse types to the United States, but the fact is that rural inhabitants have not lived from agriculture alone for several decades.

The above digression makes sense inasmuch as it has been common for some researchers to want to see productive investments in rural settings which no longer have the capacity for investments of that type.

But having stated these considerations, we can mention two types of communities in general that appear in the literature. In some there seem to be no productive changes, or if there are, they are perceived as being of minor local or regional importance and migration appears rather as a process that establishes a dependence on remittances and the exterior. This could be the case with places such as Huecorio (Dinerman, 1982), Jaripo (Fonseca and Moreno, 1984), Gómez Farías (López, 1986), Chamitlán (Massey et al., 1987) Las Animas (Goldring, 1990), Corralillos (Orozco, 1992), Tepusco and Colotlán (Arroyo, De León and Valenzuela, 1991).

On the other hand there are communities where remittances appear to have supported processes of change, or where because processes of productive change have taken place, remittances were viable as investments. Such a case is reported by Acheson (1974) in Cuanajo, Michoacán, where the *braceros*' remittances helped to start furniture workshops. In Ihuatzio, also in Michoacán, Dinerman (*op. cit.*) describes how with the support of remittances, crafts have provided a new alternative for some of the inhabitants, an activity that did not exist a few years earlier. In Chilchota, Michoacán, something similar occurred with the different crafts that emerged there (Ramírez, Luis, 1988).

In Copándaro, Michoacán, Rionda (1986) recounts how remittances have supported agricultural mechanization, as well as the development of lentil cultivation, of which Michoacán has now become the country's main producer. Furthermore, activities of breeding and fattening cattle and hogs have been developed. Nevertheless, although there have been a number of changes in the town and some groups that used to migrate no longer do so, there has now been an easement of migration by other sectors of the population.

In Jalisco, moreover, Orozco (*op. cit.*) reports that in the town of Los Dolores the productive changes and the improvement of living standards have been very noticeable as compared with the other two communities he studied. In Los Dolores remittances contributed to the changes and where in the past there was a pattern of intense migration, now there is very little.

Arroyo, De León and Valenzuela (*op. cit.*) point out in their study of Jalisco's rural "area of rejection" that of the different areas they studied, that of Tepatitlán is where there is the most productive investment from remittances. This goes particularly to agriculture and other types of business.

In another study, but of the urban sector, Papail and Arroyo (*op. cit.*) also report that the region of Tepatitlán, Jalisco, is where in comparative terms there has been the greatest productive investment from migration. There the remittances have been used to support poultry farming; but it should be noted that it is estimated

that that city and its area of influence produce around 30% of the country's eggs and chicken.

In the city of Zamora, Michoacán, which is a subregional city in the north-west part of the state, Verduzco (1992) studied the changes in the region's rural and urban sectors, as well as the characteristics of the diverse migratory flows, including international ones. The study suggests that owing to the intense agricultural development and the promotion of urban activities, migrations to the United States had probably diminished over time. It was also suggested that the reduced migrant sector of the present time was different from that of other periods.

Likewise, Papail and Arroyo suggest something similar for the medium-sized cities of Jalisco studied by them.

But apart from these instances that refer to diverse achievements of certain importance for communities and sometimes for regions, there are other accomplishments, perhaps more limited, but no less important.¹²

In the studies of Arandas (Taylor, Paul, 1932), Jaripo, Gómez Farías, Chavinda (Alarcón, R. 1984), Huecorio (Belshaw, 1967), Alvaro Obregón (Trigueros, 1994), Cherán (Beals, 1946) and a few others, it appears very clearly that during different periods, but especially in the 1940s, when it was evident that there were *ejido* lands together with a modernizing impetus but without capital or machinery, migrations, through the *bracero* contract, helped to support those processes in various ways. In this regard let us recall, as is stated repeatedly in the literature, that migration takes place with very specific objectives, and this was indeed the case during those years, since there were lands and conditions to cultivate them, but official bank credits did not yet exist, as was to happen later.

From another perspective with comparative purposes, recent works by E. Taylor (1996) and Yúnez (1997), based on building the social accountability matrixes of various communities, offer preliminary conclusions, but no less convincing, that emphasize the need to distinguish the effects, taking into account the differences between localities. For example, the micro-multisectoral study in rural localities with different characteristics, commissioned from Antonio Yúnez (1997), establishes the differentiated nature of the impacts of foreign-currency inflows, whether from remittances or from exports, depending on the importance of the foreign currency in the specific locality vis-a-vis other resources.¹³ The extreme cases in his study illustrate the point: Napizaro (Mich.) is the locality that is most dependent, in relative terms, on remittances and therefore the one that maximizes the multiplying effects of a change in the inflow of foreign exchange (whether because of devaluation or increased hiring),¹⁴ while Concordia (Coahuila) has a more balanced economy that depends to a lesser extent on remittances and that gathers more limited multiplying effects of a change in foreign currency (see tables 4a and 4b in Yúnez 1997). The implementation of this methodology presupposes a

good dose of technical sophistication together with high costs in gathering the information from each community, but it is undoubtedly a promising alternative in the search for more precise conclusions.

In general terms, these diverse effects and changes at the community level are also in harmony with findings reported in similar situations, together with migration, in other parts of the world (Taylor et al., 1995). The interpretation of many of these cases coincides with that of other authors who, for other national contexts view remittances as a vehicle for furthering the development of areas of migratory expulsion, as long as the channeling of the remittances goes hand in hand with other conditions. Unless there is better research on causality, as pointed out in those studies, a generally accepted condition is being able to concentrate other private and public resources, notably for infrastructure, in those same areas, otherwise the effects of the remittances will be used on basic consumption with fleeting distribution or multipliers (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino and Taylor, 1993; Díaz-Briquets, 1991).

The result of these proposals contains clear implications of trade-off for the public policy of both countries: it may be convenient for the United States for a greater intensity of remittances to be concentrated in few areas in Mexico in order to ensure the multiplying effects that would reduce dependence on said remittances in the future; for Mexico it involves concentrating in the same regions of origin, and mainly in those with the greatest development potential, to the detriment of other regions that are also poor, a greater proportion of the effort for investment in infrastructure.¹⁵

Migrations and Some Economic Improvements

Along with the data and interpretations on the use of remittances, researchers concur unanimously in reporting that migratory workers use part of their savings from working in the United States to improve their homes, whether by decorating them, extending them or introducing basic services such as electricity, water and drainage. Similarly, it is common to find that localities with migrants benefit from their contributions by receiving monetary support that helps them to improve diverse services, whether urban infrastructure, health, religious, educational or entertainment services. In towns with migrants it is common to find acknowledgments from the residents to their fellow townsmen for having helped them build a school or health clinic, or to introduce drinking water or build or improve the church, etc.

It also has been common for researchers to report a certain channeling of savings into productive activities, especially agricultural ones, mainly in aspects

related to the acquisition of agricultural machinery or implements, as well as other types of improvements or small technical innovations, etc.

Below we will try to analyze to what extent the situation as regards some of these services or technological innovations characterize the municipalities with the greatest migratory *intensity*, at least in the states that in relative terms have the greatest presence of the phenomenon of migration.

These states are the following: Chihuahua, Durango, San Luis Potosí, Zacatecas, Guanajuato, Jalisco, Michoacán, Guerrero and Oaxaca.

We proceeded to differentiate the municipalities according to the category of “migratory activity,” into “low,” “medium,” “high,” and “nonexistent” in the way this is presented initially in the first pages of this chapter. In accordance with these categories we applied the analysis of variance to ascertain whether the null hypothesis that there would be no differences between the four groups could or could not be rejected.

Overall for the series of municipalities in the 9 states, the following variables were statistically significant:

- 1) Percentage of housing with electric power;
- 2) Percentage of housing with piped water;
- 3) Percentage of housing with 2 to 5 rooms;
- 4) Percentage of livestock production units that use some kind of technology;
- 5) Percentage of rural production units that use some kind of technology.

Furthermore, a number of differences appeared at the level of the diverse states.

In Chihuahua, for instance, the percentage of housing with drainage and the percentage of housing with 2 to 4 bedrooms (size) were significant.

In Guanajuato, however, only the use of technology in agricultural units was significant.

In Guerrero, the variables concerned with housing (drainage, water and number of rooms and bedrooms), and the use of livestock technology were significant.

In Jalisco, water in housing units and the variables referring to the use of tractors and livestock technology appeared as significant.

In Michoacán the variables concerning housing (water, drainage, electricity and size), as well as those relative to the use of tractors and livestock technology were significant.

In Oaxaca, the same variables as those for Michoacán were significant.

In San Luis Potosí, only those concerning the size of housing units were significant.

Finally, in Zacatecas, the water in housing units, the use of tractors and the use of agricultural and livestock technology were significant.

We thus have an initial statistical confirmation of the possible impact of migration on the states with the highest level of migratory activity in the country. And furthermore, as we have seen, there are important variations between the different states, a situation that suggests that the purpose of migrations can also vary a great deal from one state to another, as was pointed out in the first few pages.

These are important clues that would be useful to take up in future research in order to avoid generalizations on the variable conditions of municipalities of origin, as well as of the impacts.

Another way, although limited, of observing the possible impact is to compare the situation of municipalities in each state in accordance with a certain series of characteristics, trying to differentiate between municipalities with *intense* migration and those with low migratory activity. Although this is a more descriptive form, it may nevertheless be illustrative and therefore, by way of example we will present only the case of the state of Michoacán, since it is the only one that fulfills various conditions that make it possible to make this observation by means of this technique.¹⁶

For housing conditions, a few “strata” have been made with series of municipalities that present some similar characteristics within each stratum, but that show differences between the “strata.” It is therefore a group of municipalities within each state according to their similarities and differences with regard to a set of variables that have to do with housing conditions.¹⁷ These “strata” were ranked from lowest to highest in order to be able to observe which municipalities make up each “stratum.”

In the lowest “stratum” are the municipalities with the worst housing conditions, and in the highest stratum those that have the best.

In Michoacán, for example, of the 27 municipalities with *intense* migratory activity, 23 (85%) are in the top 2 strata of a total of 7 strata, despite the fact that, as will be recalled from earlier pages, the municipalities with *intense* migration are rural. Of all the municipalities with the best housing conditions in the state (56 municipalities), 41% are municipalities with *intense* migratory activity. (See map attached at the end and observe how almost all the municipalities in strata 6 and 7 are in the northwestern section of the state. That is the section of the state with the most migratory activity.)

In summary, the above information confirms, through the use of statistical techniques, some possible impacts of remittances in specific conditions that have to do with housing and agricultural productive activities. And, as was mentioned earlier, these findings are in general harmony with what has repeatedly been reported in community studies over time.

Migrations and the Selectivity of Migrants

The topic of the selectivity of migration has had special importance in studies on migration in general, because it allows us to situate the migrant population in comparison with the nonmigrant population.

Until a few years ago the shared common knowledge was that those who migrated to the United States were largely *campesinos* with low economic and educational levels, but higher than their nonmigrant fellow countrymen. This is a fact that was corroborated by different researchers over the years and also confirmed by the first major national survey on migration organized by CENIET in the late 1970s (Zazueta, César, 1982).

We must accept, however, that this is a topic in which more research is also needed, since what is known is rather general and not very detailed, and the information available is really limited. It would be of particular interest to know more about conditions of selectivity in more recent periods.

Massey et al. (1987) observed in four communities of Michoacán and Jalisco that migrants to the United States did indeed have more schooling than nonmigrants, but they saw that they had less than migrants to other parts of Mexico. Likewise they saw that more rural workers went “North” and that those who were engaged in nonrural activities tended more to go to Mexican cities.

The works of Arroyo, De León and Valenzuela point out that the selectivity of migrants varies in different areas. In Ocotlán, for instance, which is an industrial area, those who have less schooling cannot take part in those jobs and opt for working in the United States. On the other hand in Colotlán the well-known pattern of more schooling than nonmigrants is followed.

In Zamora (Verduzco, 1992), migrants are a negatively selected group compared to those who do not migrate, although they have more schooling than the rural migrants from the same region. Moreover, the “recurrent” migrants have even greater negative selectivity.

Papail and Arroyo (*op. cit.* p. 63) found in their sample of the four medium-sized cities of Jalisco that both current migrants and male ex-migrants had a slightly lower level of schooling than nonmigrants in all age groups.

In the data from the survey on migration in Zacatecas (1991), we see that the positive selectivity of migrants in terms of both schooling and occupation predominates. Let us recall that in that state migration from rural municipalities predominates and that *intense* migration is also important.

Finally, the Survey on Migration to the Northern Border (EMIF) points out that the population between 15 and 44 years of age has a lower level of schooling than the population of those same ages resident in Mexico (Corona, 1996).

Although more research is needed on such an important and delicate topic, there is room for the hypothesis that probably a significant portion of current migratory flows is composed of persons with a low level of schooling and even negatively selective in comparison with nonmigrants. It is also possible that the findings in the United States with regard to this point are consistent with what is observed from the Mexican side. If this tendency were true, it would be telling us of a very specific labor demand at present.

The Demographic Impact of Outmigration

It is estimated that between 3.5 million and 4.0 million Mexicans became United States residents between 1980 and 1995. The majority of that population (85%) is aged between 15 and 64 and only about 4% is older than 65.¹⁸ Therefore a majority of that population is of working age and is penetrating the U.S. labor market.

Although overall the loss of this population may not be significant for Mexico (it reaches 4.2%), it accounts for around 10% of the population in the states with the highest levels of emigration. In this regard it should not be forgotten that the majority of this loss includes persons of working age, and therefore from that perspective the exodus of population is bound to have more of an impact on those places, particularly as regards the effects that may be expected in the future. Population projections for the year 2010 in those states indicate a net reduction in the population growth rate of between 0.8% and 1.0% a year. In those states the loss of population due to earlier emigrations, coupled with present ones, could reduce the expected population increase by up to 46% (Gómez de León and Tuirán, 1997).

The Costs of Migration

Despite the uncertainty in the tendencies of selectivity of migrants, it is a fact that migration involves considerable costs for Mexico, although rarely has an attempt been made to measure them. An estimate of the costs of migration may be attempted by addressing the components of investment in human capital and relative quality of migrants.

We consider three types of costs associated with migration from Mexico: labor opportunity costs; costs for selectivity and family and community costs. Thus far these have received very little or no attention at all in the literature on migrations, since, for example, labor opportunity costs have been estimated to be small by assuming an excess of redundant labor in the country of origin. For Mexico this assumption is questionable because of the condition of selectivity of its migrants, which implies considerable costs.

1) Labor Opportunity Costs: Costs of Education, Health and Social Infrastructure.

These are the costs incurred throughout the life of individuals to achieve an economically active person in good conditions of health and education.

The cost for Mexico is the opportunity cost represented by having invested in preparing that person and not retaining the added value of all his activity for the benefit of the country. The net returns of that person for the country are remittances or savings, which hardly exceed 10% of the wages earned in the United States. That wage is equivalent to the added value they contribute to the other economy.

There are relative costs or returns. By return we understand the quotient between what is obtained as a wage or added value and what is invested or spent in exchange for that product. For Mexico the return is small if we consider the quotient between the amount saved from the wage paid to migrants and the costs of education, health, etc. incurred by Mexico. The return on migrants is only in relation to the net amount in remittances or savings, as approximately 90% of what they receive in the United States is consumed in that country. In this regard, it is incorrect to associate the total U.S. wage with Mexican earnings. The literature points out that the net amount of remittances is, on average, equivalent to the amount provided by the average earnings in urban localities of origin in Jalisco (Papail and Arroyo, 1996). The approximation of costs incurred by Mexico is very high. This would include, for the education of Mexican workers resident in the United States alone, between US\$40 and 50 billion.¹⁹

From the viewpoint of the country of destination, the return on what is paid to Mexican labor is very high, since there has been no need to incur costs of education, health and social infrastructure. While that denominator is small and sometimes close to zero for the host nation, we are talking about very high returns.

2) Comparative Costs for Migrants' Selectivity

Two stages or periods must be recognized in appreciating selectivity. The first is better known, when the population that migrates is compared with the population that remains, using numerical indicators (usually years of schooling). In this comparison the result tends to be positive selectivity in rural migration but negative in more recent migration of urban origin. The second stage in perceiving selectivity is by controlling the comparison for groups with the same schooling. In this case the hypothesis that still dominates is positive selectivity, reflecting enterprising qualities and the ability to face risks on the part of migrants. It is common for the young people with the most initiative to leave, with the result that communities lose their current and potential leaders, and their capacity for interaction with the exterior is also weakened.

3) Family and Community Costs

Migration is accompanied by significant changes in forms of family organization, such as a necessary additional effort by families to facilitate the migration of one or several of their members. Similarly, in the communities with the greatest migration, major changes occur in those communities' social and political organization (Zendejas, 1995), which frequently make themselves felt in diverse negative situations for their inhabitants. It is also common for migration to be accompanied by serious problems of family disintegration, as well as by the appearance of different psychological and social problems that were previously nonexistent in the communities of origin.

Although such social costs are difficult to estimate accurately, observers have realized their great importance in the communities of origin and it would be necessary to carry out systematic studies so as to be able also to plan the establishment of measures of support that could lessen their negative effects.

Migrations and the Social Organization of Communities

Along with the existence of intense migratory flows to the United States, some researchers, mainly anthropologists, have described types of behavior and specific situations that have influenced the life of localities.

Reichert, J. (1982) called it the "migration syndrome" and then Alarcón, R. (1988), broadening the view of the phenomenon, called it "northernization." In short, it is a question of the process that occurs particularly in communities with intense migrations and where, owing to the effect of the large volume of people involved in migration, important changes take place not only on a family but also on a community scale. It implies changes in the family, in labor and economic organization, in perceptions and culture, and in community and political participation.

Dinerman (1983) carefully describes how within families, the roles and economic functions of the different members have to be reassigned in accordance with migration and cultivation cycles, faced with the real possibilities and the expectations of migration. Besides, the relations of reciprocity that were previously frequent, especially in indigenous communities, are upset by the need to use wage-earning workers owing to the absence of male community members.

Recently, important changes have taken place with the increased presence of women migrants, as pointed out by Donato (1996).

At the family level, the departure of the husband and father also leads to friction and problems in the family that are not always easy to put right (Orozco, *op. cit.*).

Furthermore, Bohem, B. (1985) also mentions how because of migration, reciprocal commitments are established between the migrant and the extended family,

as well as between families when there are activities that should be covered in the absence of the migrants. Over the years these small influences end up by changing important aspects of communities' social organization.

Alarcón, R. (*op. cit.*) also mentions how because of the fact that the young people with the most initiative leave, the current and potential leaders in communities are lost. This leads to a weakening of communities in their relations with the exterior, especially with government agencies in negotiations for services. Community participation is also weakened.

López (1986) and Alarcón (1988) mention how because some communities are closely linked to international migration processes, there are perceptions and expectations of another kind that have little to do with local living conditions in the communities.

In summary, this type of migrations, because of specific characteristics as regards the prolonged absence of one or various members of families, especially when in addition there are many families in a community in this situation, produce problems and frictions of different kinds which, although little known to us, constitute a significant cost for families that find themselves in those circumstances.

It is a question, on the one hand, of emotional costs that weaken the different members of migrants' families, and on the other, of social and economic costs because of the need to cover adequately the functions that the migrant leaves vacant both in his own family and in the community.

Finally, this study has shown the limited knowledge we still have as regards some of the important impacts of migration: in the United States there are few studies on the benefits that Mexican labor migration contributes to the country, particularly in the sphere of economic production, whereas in Mexico, little is known about the multiplying effects of migration in terms of development. As regards costs, little is known in Mexico, especially in the sphere of social problems in the communities of origin. Furthermore, there is still the need for an overall view of the two countries in order to understand the logic of the social costs that migration implies for the United States, together with another on the cost for Mexico of preparing a labor force whose returns are in the United States.

Notes

1. We are grateful for the collaboration of Antonio Yúnez, Fernando Lozano, Christian D. Muñoz, Luz Consuelo Saldaña, Virginia Levín and Fernando Cortés in different activities that made the preparation of this paper possible.

2. Hall and Coerver (1990) notice that according to the U.S. Department of Labor in Washington between 1910 to 1920, only about 200,000 Mexicans intended to stay in the U.S. as legal migrants; the rest were considered as "temporary visitors" due both to the internal war in Mexico and to labor demands in the U.S.

3. The demographic loss to Mexico due to migration in recent years, from 1981-95, of 4.2% of total population, is now a little larger than what was in the 1920s.

4. "Migratory activity" is estimated from the data on the number of persons who returned to the households of those interviewed between 1987 and 1992 in the National Survey on Population Dynamics (ENADID), the sample size being 800,000 cases. Based on that information, Rodolfo Corona estimated the proportion of those persons in comparison with the municipal EAP (Economically Active Population), and it has been on the basis of that basic calculation that we have created three categories of "migratory activity": "low" (from 0.1% to 6.9% of the EAP); "medium" (from 7.0% to 24.9% of the EAP) and "high" (from 25% to 100% of the EAP). We believe that levels between 0.1 and 1.0 may be considered extremely low.

5. In the 1960s it was said that the second city with the most Yucatecans was Los Angeles, California. However, it would seem that those flows have diminished over the last few decades, probably as a result of the major economic dynamism experienced in the Yucatán Peninsula because of petroleum in Campeche, livestock-raising, especially in Quintana Roo, and tourism in Cancún and the Maya areas. The positive migratory net balances of the last few years indicate that that region has gone from being one of expulsion to become an area of attraction of population.

6. It should be recalled that Oaxacans participate in various important migratory circuits within the country, among the most prominent being agricultural seasonal day laborers. There are also significant contingents of Oaxacans in the Federal District, Tijuana, the San Quintín Valley, Baja California, Sinaloa, and in the oil-producing areas of Veracruz and Campeche.

7. Note that in different information sources, localities of more than 15,000 inhabitants are commonly established as being of "urban" category, and therefore perhaps, in order to avoid confusion in the scales of what is urban, it would be preferable to talk of the number of inhabitants of those places, since ultimately what we want is to have an approximate indicator of levels of socioeconomic differentiation in those places.

8. In four of these municipalities, studies have been carried out on one of their localities: in the community called La Yerbabuena in the municipality of Tlazazalca (Reichert, 1979); in Gómez Farfías, in that of Tangancícuaro (López, Gustavo, 1986 and Goldring, 1990); in Chamilán, the chief town of the municipality (Massey, D. et al., 1991); in "Jaripo" in the municipality of Villamar (Fonseca, O. and Lilia Moreno, 1984).

9. It should be recalled that the state of Oaxaca has 570 municipalities.

10. In fact this is an approximation, since although there is migration from those places, we do not know how many migrants come from the urban localities that may exist in the municipality.

11. This was a very extensive study which was representative of a "rural area of high rejection" of Jalisco. It comprised 26 municipalities, 69 localities, 576 families and 3,739 persons.

12. This study was based on statistically representative samples for the four medium-sized cities of Jalisco.

13. The perceptions of different authors tend to be contrasting. For some, the benefits stemming from the establishment of new small businesses are considerable. See, for example, the summary review of studies that record the capitalization of remittances into own businesses, in Taylor et al., 1996, p.402. Others do not consider them significant. An account

of the ambivalences may be seen in Cornelius 1990, p. 96-7. As obvious as it may seem, the opinion will depend largely on the moment or phase in the development of the community in which the observation is made.

14. These differences coincide with what has been reported by other authors on similar topics. Durand and Massey, for example, find major differences between communities as regards the percentages reached by productive expenditure as the purpose of migradollars (reported in Taylor et al., 1996, p. 402).

15. Although, as can clearly be seen in the work of Lozano (1997), two-thirds of remittances have come from Mexicans resident in the U.S., which leads one to suppose, given the trends observed, that these will gradually diminish in the future. This drop at the community level is also reported by Zendejas (1995) for the town of Erícuaró, Michoacán.

16. The dilemma is well expressed by Martin: "The neglect strategy makes emigration areas even more dependent on an external labor market (Mexico's central highlands); but the subsidize-the-remittances strategy increases regional inequalities within emigration nations." (ibid., p. 658.) Certain isolated evidence shows the federal government's indifference towards states with migration. For Zacatecas, for example, it is estimated that federal outlays are equivalent to less than one-third of the inflows from remittances (see Tamayo and Lozano, 1990, p. 20)

17. In addition to the fact that Michoacán is a state with a considerable proportion of municipalities with *intense* "migratory activity," the use of the technique of analysis of variance already confirmed also that in that state, various of the variables referring to housing were significant.

18. These variables were: Proportion of housing units with drainage; with piped water; with electricity; with one room; number of occupants per room; and proportion of housing units that use firewood or coal for cooking.

19. Data from the Current Population Survey, 1995.

20. But we must be cautious with these numbers since there is a great complexity in the estimation of these numbers. The amount provided in the text is a preliminary estimation of these type of costs.

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