

GEOPOLITICAL CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF MEXICAN MIGRATION INTO THE UNITED STATES

*Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
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MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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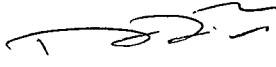
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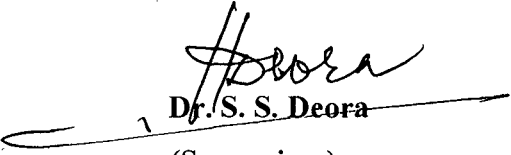
I declare that the dissertation entitled "*Geopolitical Causes and Consequences of Mexican Migration into the United States*" submitted by me for the degree of **Master of Philosophy** of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this university or any other university.

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ACRONYMS

CUOM	:-	Confederacion de Uniones Obreras Mexicanas
EAWP	:-	Economically Active Wage Population
EU	:-	European Union
GCIM	:-	Global Commission on International Migration
IAN	:-	Immigration and Nationality Act
ILO	:-	International Labour Organisation
IME	:-	Institute of Mexicans Abroad
IRCA	:-	Immigration Restriction and Control Act
IMF	:-	International Monetary Fund
IOM	:-	International Organisation for Migration,
INS	:-	Immigration and Naturalization Service
GDP	:-	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	:-	Gross National Product
LNPS	:-	Latino National Political Survey

MMP	:-	Mexican Migration Project
NCWC	:-	National Catholic Welfare Conference
NLIS	:-	National Latino Immigrant Survey
NRC	:-	National Research Council
NBER	:-	National Bureau of Economic Research
NAFTA	:-	North American Free Trade Agreement
PAN	:-	National Action Party
PHC	:-	Pew Hispanic Center
PCME	:-	Program for Mexican Communities Abroad
PPP	:-	Purchasing Power Parity
SAW	:-	Special Agriculture Workers
UN	:-	United Nations
UNHCR	:-	United Nations High Commission for Refugee
USBC	:-	Bureau of the Census, United States
U.S.D.A	:-	United States Drug and Agriculture Administration
USCH	:-	Congress House, United States
USCS	:-	Congress Senate, United States
WB	:-	World Bank

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The history of the United States is inseparably linked to immigration. The United States came into being through mass movements of populations. The movements came in waves from all over the world and, depending upon the historical moment, however, the geographic origins of this immigration have changed over time. Today, Latin American and Caribbean countries with the greatest geographic proximity to the U.S. constitute the main source of migratory currents. This latest change in migration trends has had a strong effect on the ethnic make-up in the U.S. whereas in 1970 over two-thirds of immigrants were of European or Canadian origin, now virtually half (52%) are from Latin America and the Caribbean. Mexico has continued to be the main sender of migrants to the United States.

Initial U.S. immigration took two basic forms. There were the voluntary migrants, ranging from the Europeans in the 17th century to Asians today. There were the involuntary migrants-primarily Africans, who were forced to come to the continent against their will.

Mexico represents the largest source of immigration to the United States. Of the 32.5 million foreign born covered in the March 2002, 9.8 million or 30 percent were from Mexico; the next largest source, the Philippines, accounted for only one-seventh as many at 1.4 million. The rest of Latin America accounted for 7.3 million or 23 percent. Asian immigrants, at 8.5 million, made up 26 percent of the total foreign-born population. There were 5.4 million foreign born from Europe and Canada, accounting for 17 percent of all immigrants. Africa and the remaining countries, at 1.4 million, made up four percent of all foreign born.

1.2 GEOPOLITICS OF MIGRATION

Migration of people from one place to another can take different forms. Varied dimensions are attached to it. Political dimension of migration results into movements of people as refugees/displaced persons and asylum-seekers. Migration and trafficking are closely interlinked and migration in new millennium has become highly politicized and is a burning issue in both national and international politics. The 'migration crisis' trumpeted by the North should be analyzed in the light of what Stephen Castles has viewed as: "So-called migration crisis arises because of the vast imbalance between North and South with regard to economic conditions, social well being and human rights". The countries of North over the years have developed a weird perspective about migration, which is part of global politics of migration. Northern perspective is based on concerns of European, Americans and Australians who believe that their countries are being besieged by asylum-seekers and 'illegal' immigrants. At the same time there is another perspective, which says that the much feared mass influxes from South and East to North and West never happened. From East, people returned to their ancestral homelands after break up of Eastern Europe; other migrants usually came only if they could link up with existing social networks of previous migrants who helped them find work and housing.

International migrations and geopolitics interface at several levels. If the coming cartographies of power, space and international relations 'map flows, not fixities' (O Tuathail and Dalby, 1994) international migrants are the most emblematic and corporeal signifiers of these flows. If the generation of a multitude of 'unstable, heteromorphous ensembles' of flows, involving 'perpetual transition, moving information, people, capital, and products' (Luke, 1994) is a major effect of globalization, then the movement of people in its various forms is a key aspect of the repositions of power, society and space along the global local continuum. One can thus speak of the geopolitics of international migration.

The perception and treatment of immigrants in Western societies reflect two contradictory impulses within the modern political economy. On the one

hand, the functioning of capitalist economies requires the mobility of labour; political actors and economic interests within nation-states (especially in core states) routinely stimulate the movement of both skilled and unskilled workers across borders. This takes place directly through recruitment programmes, labour permit systems, and the creation of open labour markets (as in the EU), and less directly through the purposeful under-funding of immigration enforcement agencies. Flows of labour (as well as of capital and commodities) are also instigated by colonialism, neo-colonialism, and in recent decades, the institutionalization of neo-liberal economic policies (Skeldon, 1997). On the other hand, the nation-state system rests upon the states' ability to police boundaries, to maintain sovereignty over national territory, and to define and restrict membership in the national society through citizenship and other legal categories (Taylor, 1994). The process of solidifying political-territorial boundaries is profoundly radicalized, resting as it does on the formulation of exclusionary and essentialist notions of national identity and belonging (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1992). Contrary to the impression created by the literature on transnationalism, the state's technical capacity to control borders and flows of people through them has greatly expanded. In fact, the control of borders and the restriction of social membership have been treated with ever greater urgency with the establishment of social welfare rights (Klein-Beekman, 1996).

The tension between the drive to secure a mobile labour force and the drive to fix nation-state boundaries is an inherent characteristic of core, developed states (Miles, 1993; Samers, 1999; Sassen, 1999). Globalization, in expanding flows of capital, commodities, and workers, has perhaps set these contradictions in greater relief, but it has not altered the nature of the contradiction itself (Andreas, 2001). Throughout the history of the modern nation-state system, this tension has given rise periodically to panics about 'floods' of immigrants and the 'threats' they pose to national cohesion and to citizenship. While these panics often erupt during times of economic downturn, they just as often appear when national economies are visibly thriving on the labour of newcomers. These panics, as I suggested earlier, tend to revolve around notions of assimilation and assimilability.

A second international-level argument about policy making concerns the complex relationship between population movements and national security. On one hand, many migration flows are the result of international conflict. Civil disputes in Central America and the Caribbean generated large refugee flows to the United States during the 1980s and 1990s, and conflicts in the former Yugoslavia and North Africa were major causes of migration to Western Europe in the 1990s. This pattern reflects structural changes in the nature of warfare in the post-Cold War period (Castles & Miller 2003). On the other hand, migration flows can also be a source of international conflict and insecurity. In such cases as the African Great Lakes region and the Balkans, whole regions have been destabilized by mass migration flows into weak states that are poorly equipped to handle them (Hollifield, 2000).

1.3 GEOPOLITICS OF MEXICO-U.S.A MIGRATION

US-Mexico border is visualized in terms of larger geopolitical and geoeconomics drives concerning, respectively, security and trade (Gottmann, 1973). This geopolitical and geoeconomic practice in the borderlands is the product of nonlocal executive and congressional articulations.

Geopolitical practices are motivated by fears of demographic driven migration through the US-Mexico backdoor and by the purported medical risks contagion possibilities, so called cultural enclavism and fiscal burden posed by such migration. The Congress continuously passed laws which legislated an increased in border patrol agents along the US-Mexico border. While Geoeconomics concerns are concerned with economic impact of migration to the US at both local and national level where lawmakers vocally that undocumented migration from Mexico threatened the viability of federal and state welfare programme such as employment opportunities for Americans citizen, Geoeconomics concerns need to turn the border into a binational laissez-faire free trade territoriality (Sparke.1998) with limited restrictions on the flow of capital and goods. The various policies taken by US government, regarding Mexican

Immigrants, are according to the interest of the pressure group of the US. For instance, in the time of Second World War, The United States government asked growers to rapidly produce more fruits, vegetables, and cotton to support the war effort at home and abroad. With American men and women employed in the higher wage industrial sectors or serving in the Armed Services, southwestern growers argued that they required more immigrant labour from Mexico to fulfill the nation's production needs. To help growers' secure steady labour from Mexico, officials of the United States government approached the Mexican government about the possibility of formally facilitating short-term Mexican migration into the United States. After considerable debate about the pros and cons of reopening the pathways of Mexican labor migration to the United States, in August 1942 the Mexican government agreed to allow the U.S. government to contract Mexican laborers to work on southwestern farms and railroads on short term contracts for the duration of the war. The government-to-government, or bilateral, agreement was called the Bracero Program.

While many Mexican officials saw the Bracero Program as an important policy for reducing poverty in Mexico and maintaining strong foreign relations with the United States, others resented the exodus of Mexican laborers to the United States. In the United States, organized labor opposed the Bracero Program because they believed that Braceros lowered wages of the native labour force.

On the other hand Mexico government encourages immigration to the US. This migration acts as a safety valve to the huge unemployed population. Because of Mexico's young population, the number of Mexicans entering the workforce is growing rapidly between 1990 and 2000, an average of one million new workers entered the Mexican workforce annually, with the economically active population growing from 31.4 million to 41.6 million. Based on conservative assumptions, the Center for Immigration Studies estimates that the number of young Mexicans entering the workforce will raise to 1.3 million by 2010. If more than 80% of Mexican males and 25% of Mexican females enter the workforce in their late teens or early twenties, this figure could easily exceed 1.5 million, a 50% increase from levels experienced during the past decade. Mexico's economy has

been unable to absorb new job entrants for more than three decades, as reflected in legal migration rates to the U.S. A widely accepted estimate is that more than half of the estimated 12 million illegal entrants currently residing in the U.S. are Mexican by birth. In 2004 alone, more than 1.3 million people were caught trying to enter the U.S. illegally from Mexico.

1.4 STUDY AREA

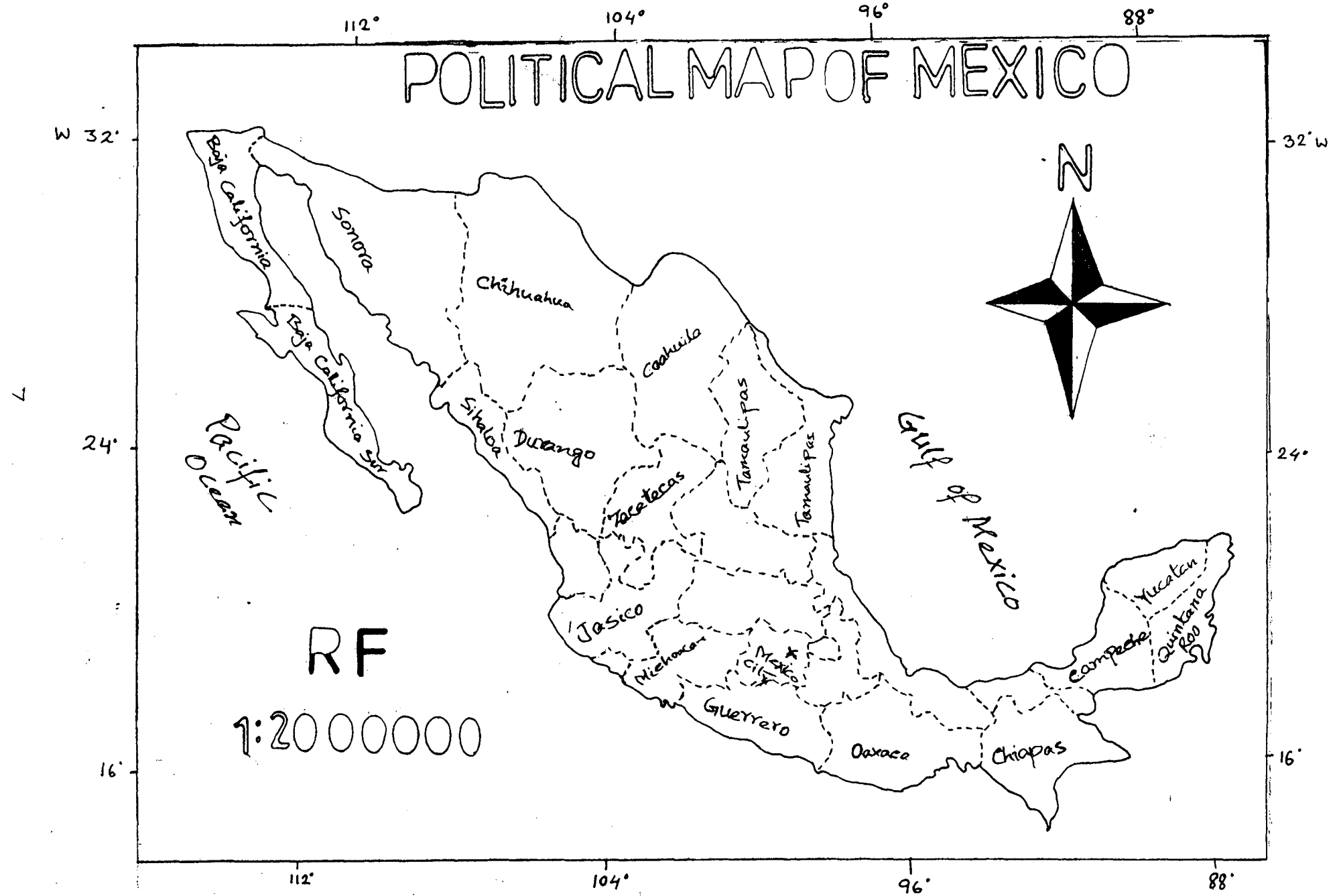
1.4.1 Mexico

Mexico is a federal constitutional republic in North America. It is bordered on the north by the United States, on the south and west by the Pacific Ocean; on the southeast by Guatemala, Belize, and the Caribbean Sea; and on the east by the Gulf of Mexico. Covering almost 2 million square kilometers (over 760,000 sq mi), Mexico is the fifth-largest country in the Americas by total area and the 14th largest in the world. With an estimated population of 111 million, it is the 11th populous country. Mexico is a federation comprising thirty-one states and a Federal District, the capital city.

Mexico is located at about 23° N and 102° W in the southern portion of North America. Almost all of Mexico lies in the North America Plate, with small parts of the Baja California Peninsula on the Pacific and Cocos Plate. Geographically, some geographers include the territory east of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec (around 12% of the total) within Central America, Geopolitically; however, Mexico is entirely considered part of North America, along with Canada and the United States. Mexico and the United States share roughly 2,000 miles of border.

The Tropic of Cancer effectively divides the country into temperate and tropical zones. Land north of the twenty-fourth parallel, experience cooler temperatures during the winter months. South of the twenty-fourth parallel, temperatures are fairly constant year round and vary solely as a function of elevation. This gives Mexico one of the world's most diverse weather systems.

POLITICAL MAP OF MEXICO



RF

1:2000000

According to the latest official estimate, which reported a population of 111 million, Mexico is the most populous Spanish-speaking country in the world. Mexican annual population growth has drastically decreased from a peak of 3.5% in 1965 to 0.99% in 2005. Life expectancy in 2006 was estimated to be at 75.4 years (72.6 male and 78.3 female). The states with the highest life expectancy are Baja California (75.9 years) and Nuevo Leon (75.6 years). The Federal District has a life expectancy of the same level as Baja California.

Mexican population is increasingly urban, with close to 75% living in cities. The five largest urban areas in Mexico (Greater Mexico City, Greater Guadalajara, Greater Monterrey, Greater Puebla and Greater Toluca) are home to 30% of the country's population. Migration patterns within the country show positive migration to north-western and south-eastern states, and a negative rate of migration for the Federal District. While the annual population growth is still positive, the national net migration rate is negative, attributable to the emigration phenomenon of people from rural communities to the United States. Mexico is the country which sends most number of emigrants. (See Table: 1.1).

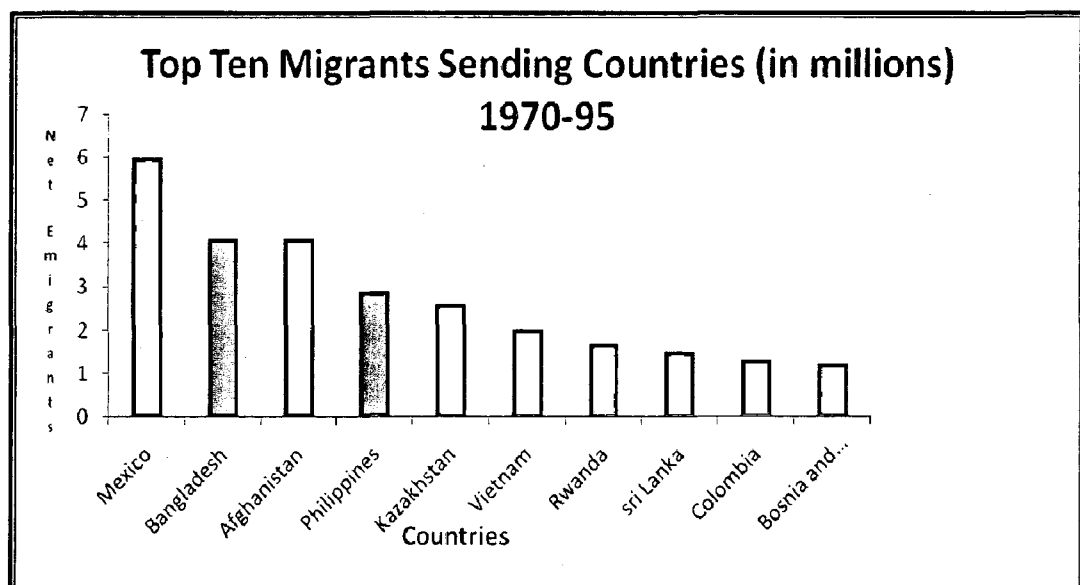
Mexico represents the largest source of immigration to the United States. About 9% of the population born in Mexico is now living in the United States. 28.3 million Americans listed their ancestry as Mexican as of 2006.

Table: 1.1 Top Ten Migrant Sending Countries

Names of the Country	Net Emigrants (in millions) 1970-95
Mexico	6.0
Bangladesh	4.1
Afghanistan	4.1
Philippines	2.9
Kazakhstan	2.6
Vietnam	2.0
Rwanda	1.7
Sri Lanka	1.5
Colombia	1.3
Bosnia and Herzegovina	1.2

Source: International Organisation for Migration, World Migration, (2003).

Figure: 1.1



Source: International Organisation for Migration, World Migration, (2003).

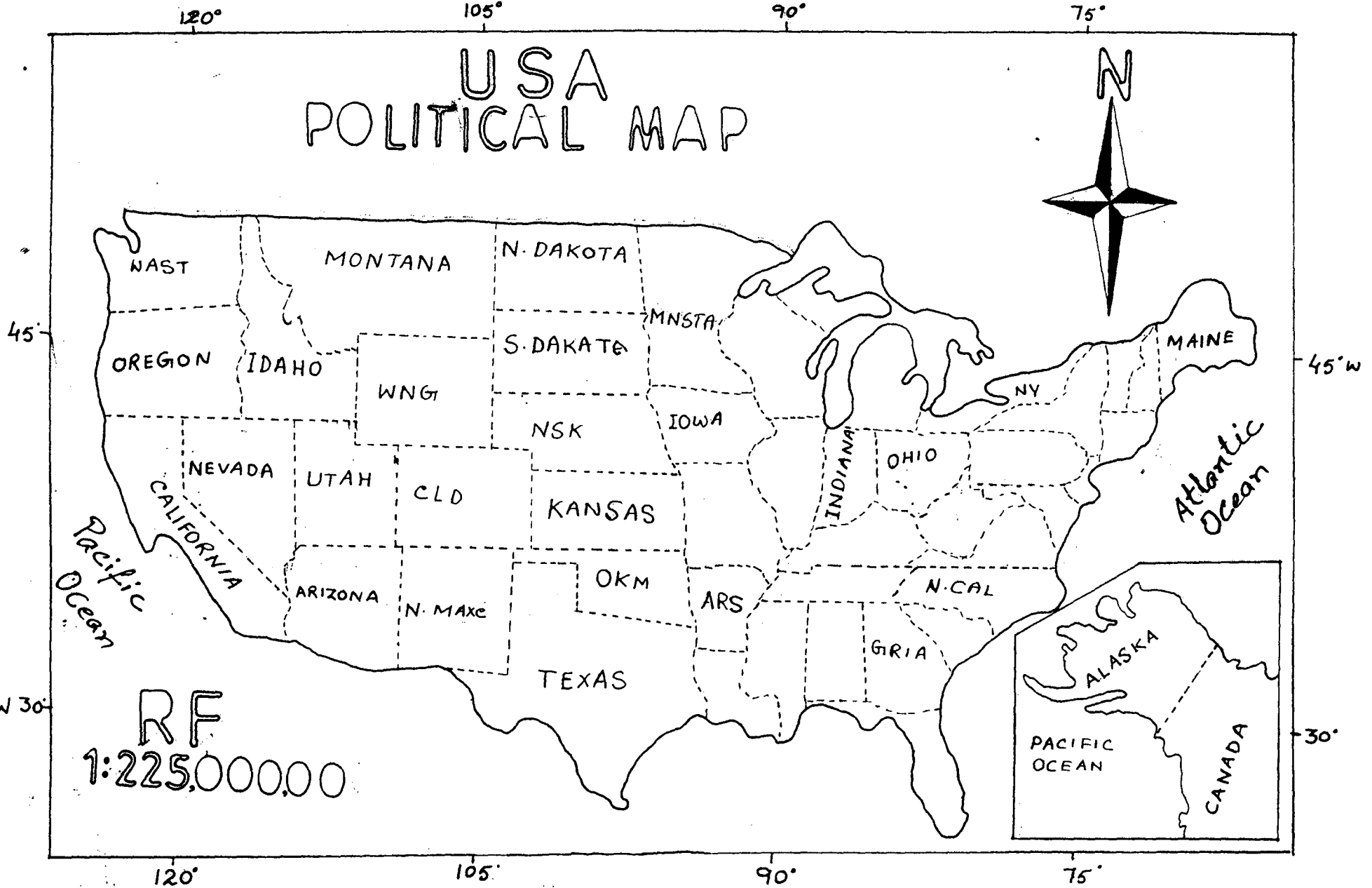
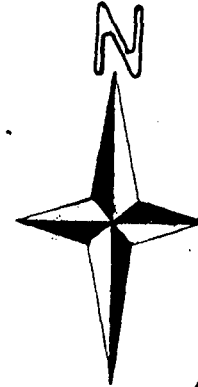
1.4.2 United States America

The **United States of America** (commonly referred to as the **United States**, the **U.S.**, the **USA**, or **America**) is a federal constitutional republic comprising fifty states and a federal district. The country is situated mostly in central North America, where its forty-eight contiguous states and Washington, D.C., the capital district, lie between the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans, bordered by Canada to the north and Mexico to the south. The state of Alaska is in the northwest of the continent, with Canada to the east and Russia to the west across the Bering Strait. The state of Hawaii is an archipelago in the mid-Pacific. The country also possesses several territories in the Caribbean and Pacific.

At 3.79 million square miles (9.83 million km²) and with about 309 million people, the United States is the third or fourth largest country by total area, and the third largest both by land area and population. It is one of the world's most ethnically diverse and multicultural nations, the product of large-scale immigration from many countries. The U.S. economy is the largest national economy in the world, with an estimated 2008 gross domestic product (GDP) of US \$14.4 trillion (a quarter of nominal global GDP and a fifth of global GDP at purchasing power parity).

The United States is a federal union of fifty states. The original thirteen states were the successors of the thirteen colonies that rebelled against British rule. Early in the country's history, three new states were organized on territory separated from the claims of the existing states: Kentucky from Virginia; Tennessee from North Carolina; and Maine from Massachusetts. Most of the other states have been carved from territories obtained through war or purchase by the U.S. government. One set of exceptions comprises Vermont, Texas, and Hawaii: each was an independent republic before joining the union. During the American Civil War, West Virginia broke away from Virginia. The most recent state-Hawaii, achieved statehood on August 21st 1959. The states do not have the right to secede from the union.

USA POLITICAL MAP



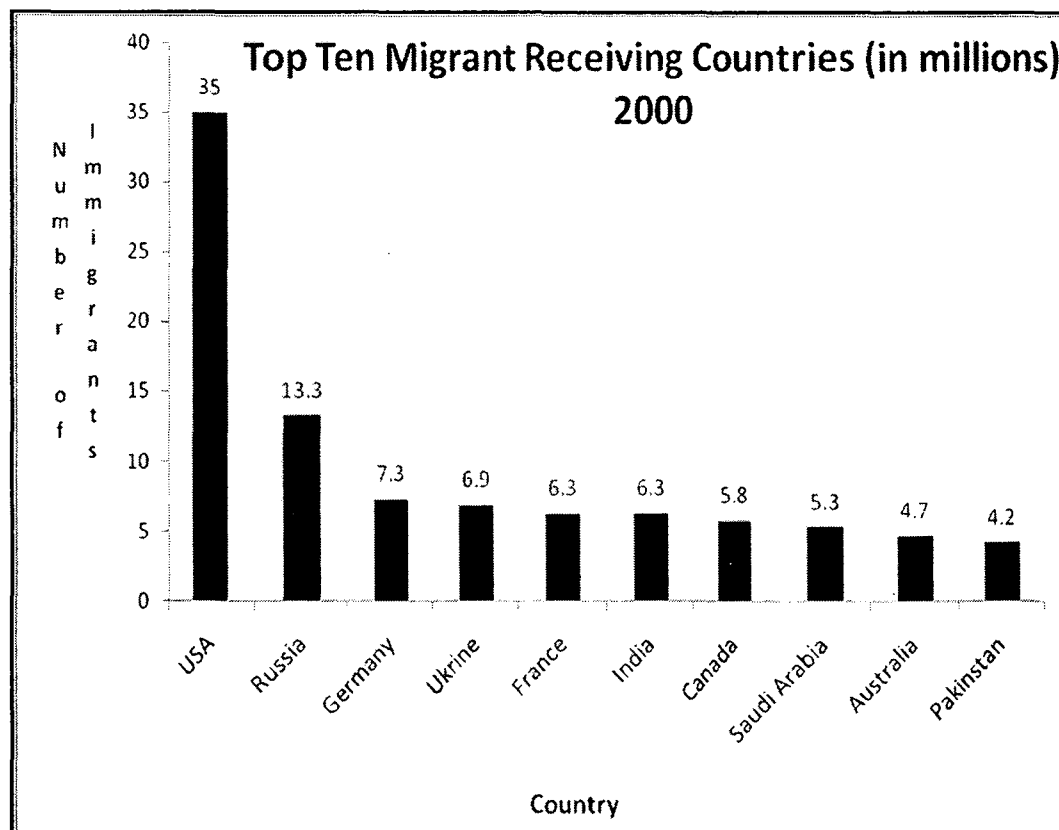
The United States has a very diverse population; thirty-one ancestry groups have more than a million members. White Americans are the largest racial group; German Americans, Irish Americans, and English Americans constitute three of the country's four largest ancestry groups. African Americans are the nation's largest racial minority and third largest ancestry group. Asian Americans are the country's second largest racial minority; the two largest Asian American ethnic groups are Chinese American and Filipino American. In 2008, the U.S. population included an estimated 4.9 million people with some American Indian or Alaskan native ancestry (3.1 million exclusively of such ancestry) and 1.1 million with some native Hawaiian or Pacific island ancestry (0.6 million exclusively).

Table: 1.2 Top Ten Migrant Receiving Countries

Country	Migrant Stock (in millions)
	2000
USA	35.0
Russia	13.3
Germany	7.3
Ukraine	6.9
France	6.3
India	6.3
Canada	5.8
Saudi Arabia	5.3
Australia	4.7
Pakistan	4.2

Source: International Organisation for Migration, World Migration, (2003).

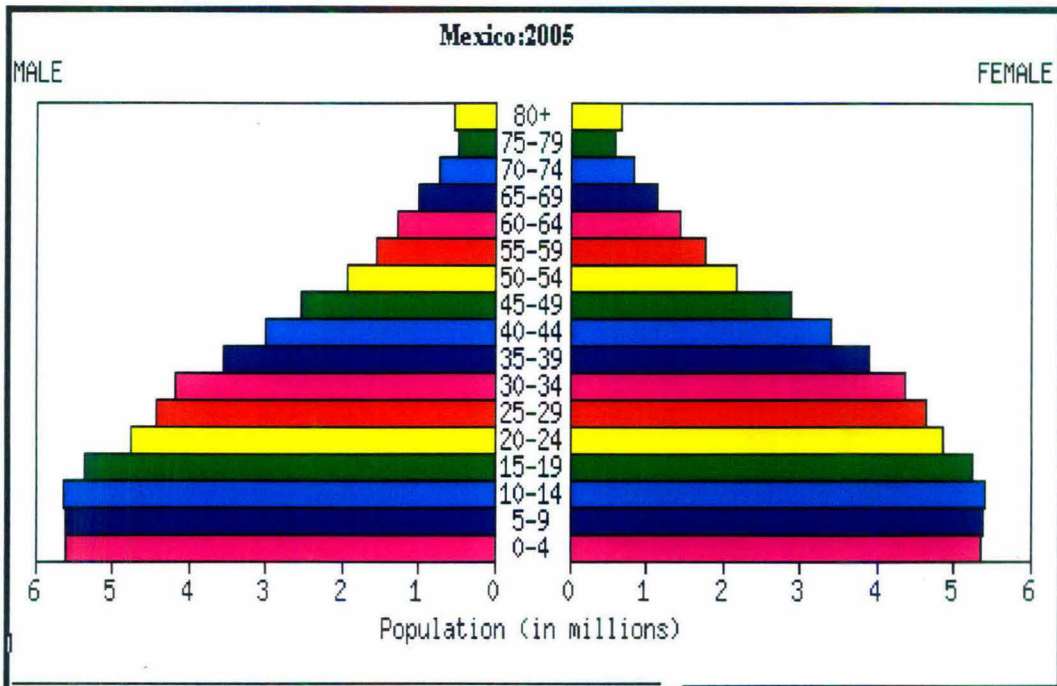
Figure: 1.2



Source: International Organisation for Migration, World Migration, (2003).

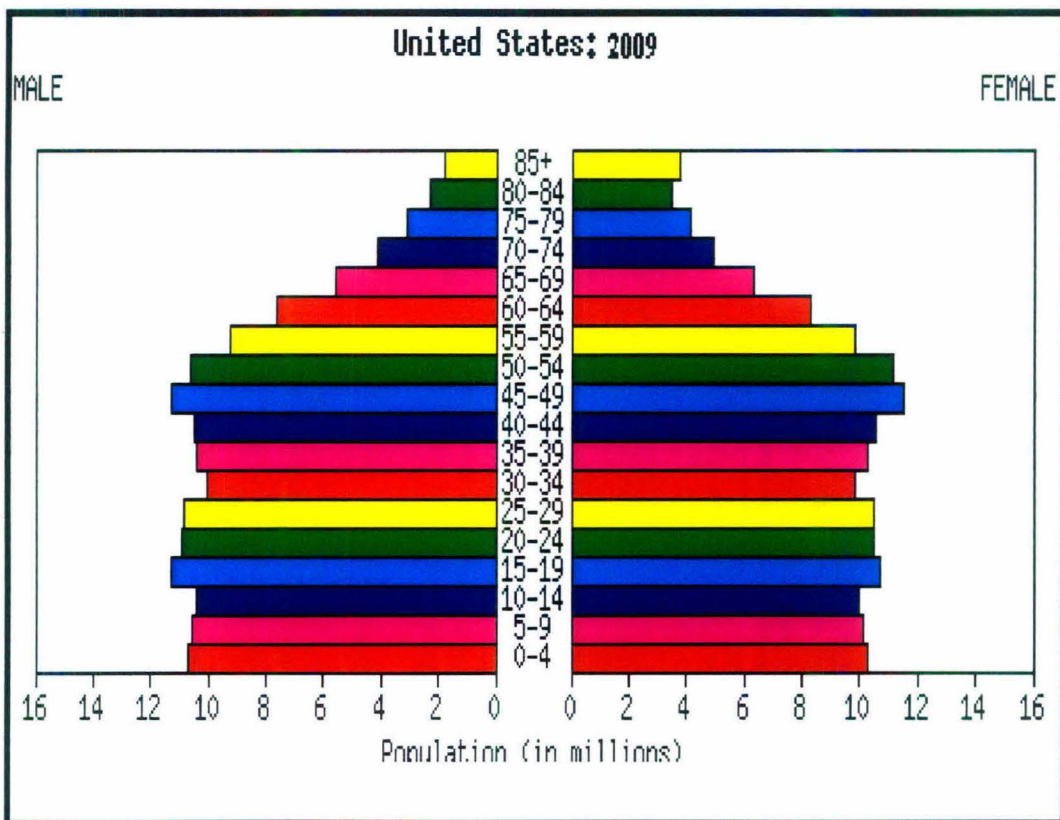
The population growth of Hispanic and Latino Americans (the terms are officially interchangeable) is a major demographic trend. The 46.9 million Americans of Hispanic descent are identified as sharing a distinct "ethnicity" by the Census Bureau; 64% of Hispanic Americans are of Mexican descent. Between 2000 and 2008, the country's Hispanic population increased 32% while the non-Hispanic population rose just 4.3%. Much of this growth is from immigration; as of 2007, 12.6% of the U.S. population was foreign-born, with 54% of that figure born in Latin America. Fertility is also a factor; the average Hispanic woman gives birth to three children in her lifetime. The comparable fertility rate is 2.2 for non-Hispanic black women and 1.8 for non-Hispanic white women (below the replacement rate of 2.1). Minorities (as defined by the Census Bureau, all those beside non-Hispanic, non-multiracial whites) constitute 34% of the population; they are projected to be the majority by 2042.

Figure: 1.3 Age-Sex pyramid of Mexico



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, International Data Base.

Figure: 1.4 Age-Sex Pyramid of the United States



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, International Data Base.

1.5 HISTORY OF MIGRATION

American immigration history can be viewed in four epochs: the colonial period, the mid-nineteenth century, the turn of the twentieth, and post-1965. Each epoch brought distinct national groups - and races and ethnicities - to the United States. During the 17th century, approximately 175,000 Englishmen migrated to Colonial America. Over half of all European immigrants to Colonial America during the 17th and 18th centuries arrived as indentured servants. The mid-nineteenth century saw mainly an influx from northern Europe; the early twentieth-century mainly from Southern and Eastern Europe; post-1965 mostly from Latin America and Asia.

Until the 1930s, the gender imbalance among legal immigrants was quite sharp, with most legal immigrants being male. As of the 1990s, however, women accounted for just over half of all legal immigrants, indicating a shift away from the male dominated migration of the past.

1.6 HISTORY OF MEXICAN MIGRATION

Mexican immigration into U.S.A has a long history. Today's immigration is the continuation of this historical immigration. In the 1820-1924 periods Latin American immigrants came to the United States particularly from Mexico and Cuba. With the Spanish-American War, the U.S. made Puerto Rico (changing its name for a time to Porto Rico) a colony, and Cuba a virtual colony with the passage of the Platt Amendment. Puerto Ricans became citizens, and as such there was no legal obstacle to their free migration to the United States, and some few immigrated to the United States in the period under discussion, and many more beginning in the 1940s. Here we will look at the experience of the numerically most important groups, the Mexican immigrants.

Not all Mexicans, of course, are immigrants. The secession of Texas in 1836, its incorporation into the United States in 1846, the U.S-Mexico War of

1847, and the Gadsden Purchase of 1854, together took about half of Mexico's territory and brought tens of thousands of Californians, New Mexican Hispanic, and tejanos into the United States, as well as unnumbered Indians (Haverluk, 1997). This expansion of the United States created a minority population with strong historic, geographic, familiar, and cultural links to Mexico that are evident today.

That's why Chicano activists of the 1970s said, "We didn't cross the line, the line cross us." The first Mexican Americans were a conquered people, often soon deprived of their land, stripped of their rights, and exploited as a labor force. Nationality, race and immigration became complicated in the Southwest where Western white supremacy, with its anti-Chinese and anti-Mexican attitudes, met Southern white supremacy with its anti-African American ideology and practices such as lynching. In Texas white immigrants from the South at first rejected the tejanos, but then later turned to them as a reliable workforce. During the years between 1854 and 1880, hundreds of thousands of Mexicans migrant laborers moved in and out of the United States in the Southwest.

Then the Mexican Revolution of 1910-1920, a decade of violent upheaval that disrupted the economy, leading about a million Mexicans to seek refuge in the United States. With a million Americans conscripted for military service, those Mexican immigrants readily found jobs in agriculture, mining, and even manufacturing. In the next decade of the 1920s, as a result of violence and economic disruption in Mexico, particularly the Cristero Rebellion, about 600,000 Mexicans immigrated legally into the United States and perhaps another one million illegally. Thus between 1880 and 1929 about 2.8 million Mexicans found work in the fields of California, the mines of Arizona, in the steel mills of Chicago, and the railroads of Pennsylvania.

Mexicans were attracted to the United States by economic opportunity, meaning jobs at higher wages. At the turn of the last century, Mexican agricultural laborers on the haciendas made about 12 cents a day, while in Texas they could make 50 a day clearing land, a dollar or two a day as a railroad worker, and a sure two dollars a day as a miner.

The period between the restrictive immigration laws of 1924 and the end of World War II represented a long pause of twenty years, an entire generation, during which relatively few new immigrants came to the United States. After the immigration law of 1924, there was the Great Depression lasting from 1929 to 1939, during which immigrants were less interested in coming to the United States.

Bracero Program: During World War II, the Mexican and United States government agreed to establish “a program unprecedented in the history of both nations; the large-scale, sustained recruitment and contracting of temporary migrant workers under the aegis of an international agreement.” The “*bracero*” program, as it came to be known, was eventually extended, with various modifications, from 1943 through 1964. Altogether some 4.2 million Mexican migrant workers, virtually all men, entered the United States under the program, the majority working in agriculture, though some also worked for the railroad industry. Between 1943 and 1946, about 49,000 workers came each year; between 1947 and 1954, about 116,000, and between 1955 and 1964, about 333,000 annually. The year of highest immigration was 1956 when 445,197 workers were issued contracts according to U.S. authorities.

When the *bracero* program ended in 1964, the Mexican and U.S. government developed the *maquiladora* or in-bond plant program, establishing an industrial export zone on the U.S.-Mexican border. The *maquiladora* program was intended to provide jobs for the Mexican workers who would no longer be employed in the United States.

The Immigration Law of 1965 represented an important shift in immigration policy, one that dramatically altered the patterns of migration into the United States, with an enormous increase in Latin American and Asian immigration. The central emphasis of the new law was on the unification of families, allowing citizens to bring in family members. The result of the law was a huge increase in the number of immigrants, and a shift in their countries of origin from Europe to Latin America and Asia.

In the early 1980s Congress and American society debated immigration reform and in 1986 Congress adopted the Immigration Reform and Control Act or IRCA. IRCA did not change the fundamental immigration law of the country

(that of 1965) but instead focused on regularizing the status of undocumented immigrants and penalizing employers who hired undocumented workers. IRCA had four principal provisions: 1) amnesty for many undocumented immigrants; 2) requirements that employers verify the status of all new hires; 3) penalties for employers who hired illegal aliens; and, 4) special provisions for the importation of agricultural workers.

In an attempt to compete more effectively with Japan and the European Common Market, in 1994 the United States entered into a treaty with Canada and Mexico called North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). While the NAFTA treaty facilitated the movement of capital and commerce across the international borders, and permitted some increase migration for managers and professionals, it did not provide for the free movement of workers. In particular it did not make it any easier for Mexicans to migrate to the United States in search of work.

1.7 TYPES OF MIGRATION

Migration means crossing the boundary of a political or administrative unit for a certain minimum period (Boyle, et al 1998). Internal migration refers to a move from one area to another area within a country. International migration means crossing the international boundary which separate one country from another one. Many scholars argue that internal and international migration is part of the same process, and should be analyzed together. Rigid distinction can be misleading. International migration may be over short distances and between culturally similar people, for example, Bengali people between Bangladesh and West Bengal and Spanish People from Mexico to Northern part of Mexico-USA border, while internal migration can span great distances and bring together very different people from Western province of China to cities in the East. Sometime the frontiers migrate, rather than the people, making internal migration into international one, for instances, the break-up of former Soviet Union turned millions of former internal migrants into foreigners in the successor states and US annexed Mexico's northern territory in 1848.

The great majority of border crossing, however, do not imply migration; most travelers are tourists or business visitors who have no intention to stay for long periods. Migration means taking up residence for a certain period- say 6 months or a year. Most countries have a number of categories in their migration policies and statistics. For instance, Australia distinguishes between permanent immigrants, long-term temporary immigrants who stay at least 12 months usually for work, business or education, and short-term temporary visitors. Yet Australia is seen as a classic country of immigration because of its tradition of nation-building through immigration. Other countries prefer to see immigration as essentially temporary. When the Germany started to recruit so-called 'guest-workers' in the 1960s, some were allowed in for few months only as 'seasonal workers' while others received one-year permits. It became difficult to limit residence so tightly. People who had been resident for certain time obtained 2-years, then 4-years and continued to increased and finally settled there.

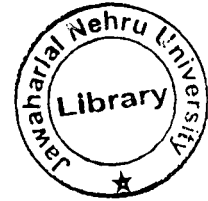
International migration arises in a world divided up into nation-states, in which remaining in the country of birth still seen as a norm and moving to another country as a deviation. That's why migration tends to attract the attention of politicians, strategic thinkers and policy makers. For many developed countries migration should be controlled. International migrants are divided into various categories to improve the control of the receiving states. These categories are follows:

- **Temporary labour migrants**, also known as guest-workers or overseas contract workers: men and women who migrate for a limited period (from few months to several years) in order to take up employment and send money to home (remittances).
- **Highly skilled and business migrants**: people with qualifications as managers, executives professionals, technicians or similar, who move within the internal labour market of multinational corporations and international organisation, or seek employment through international labour markets for scare skill. Many countries welcome such migrants and have special 'skilled and business migration' programme to encourage them to come.

- **Irregular migrants** (also known as undocumented or illegal migrants) : people who enter a country, usually in search of employment, without necessary document and permits. Many labour flows consist predominantly of undocumented migrants. In some cases immigration countries tactically permit such migration since it allows mobilization of labour in response to employer demands without social costs or measures for demands for protection of migrants.
- **Refugee**: according to the 1951 United Nations Convention relating to the Status of Refugee, a refugee is a person residing outside of his or her country of nationality, who is unable or unwilling to return because of a 'well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, religions, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinions'. Signatories to the Convention undertake to protect refugee by allowing them to enter and granting temporary or permanent residence status. Refugee organisation, especially the United Nations High commission for Refugee (UNHCR), seek to distinguish clearly between refugee and migrants, but they do share many common characteristics with regard to social needs and cultural impact in their place of settlement.
- **Asylum-seekers**: people who move across boundaries in search of protection, but who may not fulfill the criteria laid down by the 1951 convention. In many contemporary conflict situations in less developed countries it is difficult to distinguish between flight because of personal persecution and departure caused by the destruction of economic and social infrastructure needed for survival. Both political and economic motivations for migration are linked to the generalized and persistent violence that has resulted from rapid processes of decolonization and globalization under conditions determined by the developed countries.
- **Forced migration**: In boarder sense, this includes people who are forced to move by environmental catastrophes or development projects (such as new factories, roads or dams), with refugee and asylum seekers.
- **Family Reunification Migrants**: This type of migration happened when people migrate to join their relatives who have already entered an

immigrant's country under one of the above categories. Many countries, including the USA, Canada, Australia, and most European Union (EU) member states recognized in principle the right to family reunion for legal immigrants. Others countries, especially those with contract labour systems, deny the right to family reunion. In such cases, family members may enter illegally.

- **Return Migrants:** People who return to their countries of origins after a period in another country. Return migrants are often looked on favourably as they may bring with them capital, skills and experience useful for economic development. Many countries have especial scheme to make use of this 'development potential'. However, some governments view returnees with suspicion since they may act as agents of cultural or political change.



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1.8 REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

So far analyzing the above mentioned topic the following literatures are reviewed, theme wise as follows:-

The Mexican migration into U.S.A is one of the debated topics in the academic arena, whether it is sociological, political, demographic, or political geographical study. In the early time of the post second world war era, scholars begun to explore this immigration issue. This immigration is a continuous process from past and U.S Government has been introducing immigration policies to check this immigration. Douglas S. Massey, Jorge Durand, and Nolan J. Malone in their book "*Beyond Smoke and Mirror: Mexican immigration in an Era of Economic Integration*" gave a comprehensive view of major issues raised by contemporary Mexican immigration. They focused on U.S immigration policies and their impact on the volume and trends of immigrants flow into U.S., especially, the unintended implication of post -1986 U.S Immigration system. They addressed issue of managing the increasing flow of immigration from Mexico in an era of increasing economic interdependence caused by the North

American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Analysis of the transnational migration flow between Mexico and the United States is addressed from several perspectives. Their interpretations combine both sociological and economic theories to present a cumulative causation model that traces its roots to the beginning of the twentieth century and the era of indentured Mexican labor traveling to the North (1900-1929). They place more emphasis on the U.S side policies not the inefficiencies of the Mexican Government program to contain the migration flow.

In the book “World in Motion: Understanding International Migration at the end of the 20th Century” Douglas Massey, Jaoquin Arango, Graeme Hugo , Ali Kouaouci, Adel Pellegrino and J. Edward Taylor discussed the sociological and economical process responsible for the transnational migration. They tried to place light on the underlying processes responsible for intiating and sustaining the migration process and then tried to measure the efficiencies of immigration policies adopted by various Government, but they failed to do a comprehensive study geopolitical causes and consequences of Mexican immigration into U.S.A. Douglas Massey in his article “Patterns and Processes of international Migration in 21th century” attempt to lay the foundations for a comprehensive understanding of international migration, first by describing the modern history of international population movements, then by delineating the size and structure of the world’s leading migratory systems today, and finally by developing a synthetic multi-level theory to account for the initiation and perpetuation of migratory flows in the contemporary world.

Gustavo Cano in his paper “The Mexican Government and Organised Mexican Immigrants in the United States: A Historical Analysis of Political Transnationalism, 1848-2005” describes the historical links between the government and the Mexican population abroad have influenced the development of current organisations of Mexican immigrants in the US as well as the recent creation and development of the Mexican government’s institutions to manage this relationship. He identifies a change in Mexico’s traditional approach to migration issues in the bilateral agenda, as well as a shift in the relationship

between the Mexican immigrant communities and the government. The process of institutionalisation of this new relation began with the Program for Mexican Communities Abroad (PCME or *Comunidades*) in 1990, and was strongly consolidated in 2003 with the creation of the Institute of Mexicans Abroad (IME). He argues that the IME is the first transnational institution dealing with these issues and we explore some of the challenges it faces in order to achieve its objectives and exert a positive influence for Mexican migrants in the US.

Gordon H. Hanson in his article “Illegal Migration from Mexico to the United States” discussed about methods for estimating stocks and flows of illegal migrant. He also considered the supply of and demand for illegal migrants. He argued that relative size of Mexico’s working population, greater volatility in the relative wage, and changes in the U.S immigration policies play important role in illegal labour flows.

“Mexico's International Migration as a Manifestation of Its Development Pattern” by Francisco Alba, in his article argues that structural changes in the economic and technological innovation play an important role. The transformation in the social structure of the country, associated with the substitutive industrialization phase, is reflected in the accelerated urbanization process, the significant advances in raising the educational level of the population, and in the substantial shift of the occupational structure against the agricultural sector.

J. Crain Jenkins in his articles “Push/Pull in Recent Mexican Migration to U.S.A” argues that the "push" of conditions in Mexico accounts better for the migration than the "pulls" of economic opportunity in the U.S. The out-migration is traced to institutional changes deriving from economic development in Mexico, especially to governmental policies fostering private agricultural development and discouraging peasant agriculture.

Barry R Chiswick in his article “Mexican Immigrant: The Economic Dimension” argues that the high rate of population growth in Mexico and the

- very wide gap in income and consumption per capita have encouraged an increasing migration of Mexican nationals to the United States.

“Undocumented Migration from Mexico: Some Geographical Questions” by Richard C Jones discussed the geographical diffusion of migrants in U.S.A. Previously most of the migrants were concentrated in the southwestern states, especially in California and Texas, but now they are diffused in other states also. Then he analyses the causes of this changes in the distribution of the immigrants.

1.9 DEFINITION, RATIONALE, AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY

Migration, like fertility and mortality, holds a place prominence in a geography analysis of population change in any area. Migration is one of the fundamentals to the understanding of continuously changing space-content and space-relationship of an area.

After analyzing the above literature it seems very imperative to study this issue Mexican migration into U.S.A. There is a lot of debate about the causes and consequences of this migration. There is a lot of confusion in the study of trends and patterns of this migration.

Remittance send by these immigrants to the home country, play a very important role in the economy of Mexico as it constitute third largest source of foreign revenue , behind oil and tourism. But remittance sending communities are concentrated in a few areas of Mexico, just as receiving communities are concentrated in the United States. This seems to affirm the existences of migrant networks. Some analysts have suggested that more intense migratory activities lead communities to become economically dependent on remittances.

Mexican political class encourages this migration to U.S.A as this help to reduce the population pressure on the existing resources of their country. This

migration into U.S.A is working as a safety valve for the growing young population of Mexico.

1.10 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

- To find out the pattern and trends of Mexican Migration into U.S.A.
- To find out the causes of this Migration.
- To find out the consequences of this Migration.
- To find out is there any Transnational Political relationship between Mexican Government and Immigrant community in U.S.A.

1.11 HYPOTHESES

- Wage difference between US and Mexico play an important role in Mexican migration.
- There is strong network present among the immigrant communities.
- Mexican migration poses a threat to the U.S national security.
- There is a transnational political relationship between Mexican Government and Immigrant community in U.S.A.

1.12 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In his regard for answering the research questions, a descriptive and analytical study of the economic, social and political causes and consequences of the Mexican migration have been taken up. For this purpose the available exiting literature have been analyzed.

Secondary data sources have been used to understand the patterns and trends of this migration. Various government as well as reports of International Labour Organisation(ILO), International Organisation for Migration, data from

United States Census of Population and Housing, Mexican Migration Project, have been analyzed and interpreted to understand the volume and direction of the flow of immigration. After analysing the data it is presented through graphs and tables, choropleth maps for easy representation of the overall scenario.

Special emphasis has been given to understand the interest of Mexican Government in this immigration issue. Various government programs like, Programa Paisano, Grupo Beta, have been analysed to understand the underlying motives of Mexican Government in this issue of immigration.

1.13 THEORIES OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

Massey *et al.* (1993, 1998) and Schoorl, (1995) distinguish theoretical approaches of international migration into two categories: theoretical approaches explaining the initiation of migration and theoretical approaches explaining the continuation of migration. In this theoretical overview a similar distinction is also made. The neo-classical economic theory, the dual labour market theory, the new economics of labour migration, and the world systems theory try to explain the initiation of migration. An example of an indicator that causes an international migration flow between two countries is wage difference between these two countries. It is a mistake to assume that the initiation of international migration flows (e.g. wage difference) only acts in a short space of time. Wage differences between countries may persist for decades. This initiation of migration may instigate international labour flows that persist as long as these wage differences continue. International migration itself may even exacerbate the initiation. Income inequality, for instance, may be the initiation of migration from a country. Subsequently, if remittances or return migration cause increased inequality in the sending society, emigration leads to more emigration. Network theory and institutional theory attempt to explain the course of international migration flows over time. These theories try to clarify, for instance, why international migration flows may increase if the initial incentive to migrate has

diminished. However, international migration flows on a large scale and in a disproportionate direction cannot persist, at least not on a long term, solely on the basis of mechanisms identified in the theoretical explanations for the course of international migration flows over time.

1.13.1 Theories Explaining the Initiation of International Migration

The oldest theory of migration is neo-classical economic theory. According to this theory, wage differences between regions are the main reason for labour migration. Such wage differences are due to geographic differences in labour demand and labour supply, although other factors might play an important role as well, e.g. labour productivity, or the degree of organisation of workers. Applying neo-classical economics to international migration it can be said that countries with a shortage of labour relative to capital have a high equilibrium wage, whereas countries with a relatively high labour supply have a low equilibrium wage. Due to these wage differences labour flows take place from low-wage to high-wage countries (Borjas, 1989; Massey *et al.*, 1993, 1998; Bauer and Zimmermann, 1995). The dual labour market theory argues that international migration is mainly caused by pull factors in the developed migrant-receiving countries. According to this theory, segments in the labour markets in these countries may be distinguished as being primary or secondary in nature. The primary segment is characterised by capital-intensive production methods and predominantly high-skilled labour, while the secondary segment is characterised by labour intensive methods of production and predominantly low-skilled labour. The dual labour market theory assumes that international labour migration stems from labour demands in the labour-intensive segment of modern industrial societies (receiving countries) (Piore, 1979; Massey *et al.*, 1993).

Stark and Bloom, (1985) argue that the decision to become a labour migrant cannot only be explained at the level of individual workers; wider social entities have to be taken into account as well. Their approach is called the new economics of labour migration. One of the social entities to which they refer is the household. Households tend to be risk avoiding when the household income

is involved. One way of reducing the risk of insufficient household income is labour migration of a family member. Family members abroad may send remittances. According to the new economics of labour migration, these remittances have a positive impact on the economy in poor sending countries as households with a family member abroad lose production and investment restrictions (Taylor, 1999). The relative deprivation theory argues that awareness of other members (or households) in the sending society about income differences is an important factor with regard to migration. Therefore, the incentive to emigrate will be higher in societies which experience much economic inequality (Stark and Taylor, 1989). The world systems theory considers international migration from a global perspective. This approach emphasises that the interaction between societies is an important determinant of social change within societies (Chase-Dunn and Hall, 1994). An example of interaction between societies is international trade. Trade between countries with a weaker economy and countries with a more advanced economy causes economic stagnation, resulting in lagging living conditions in the former (Wallerstein, 1983; Amankwaa, 1995). This is an incentive for migration.

1.13.2 Theories Explaining the Course of International Migration Flow over Time

As a result of large inflows of international migrants, migrant networks may be formed, involving interpersonal linkages between (migrant) populations in origin and destination areas. Migrant networks may help potential migrants of the same ethnic origin, for instance, by contributing to financing the journey, helping to find a job or appropriate accommodation, or by giving information about education possibilities or access to social security.

As international migration occurs on a large scale it can become institutionalized. According to institutional theory, a large inflow of international migrants induces profit and non-profit organisations, which can be legal or illegal, to provide, for instance, (clandestine) transport, labour contracts,

(counterfeit) documents, dwellings or legal advice for migrants (Massey *et al.*, 1993).

- **Neo-Classical Economic Theory:** According to neo-classical economic theory, real wage differences between countries give rise to two flows will exist whereby a new international equilibrium is created in which real wages are of the same level in all countries. The first is a flow of low-skilled labour from low wage countries to high-wage countries. The second is a capital flow from high-wage countries to low-wage countries. This capital flow comprises mainly labour-intensive industrial capital and will be accompanied by high-skilled labour migration. This mechanism leading to equilibrium is well presented by Oberg (1997). Both net labour migration and net capital flows will be equal to zero when a new equilibrium is achieved. Thus in this view, net international labour migration is a temporal phenomenon.
- **The Dual Labour Market Theory:** The dual labour market approach divides the labour market into a primary and a secondary segment (Piore, 1979). The primary segment is characterised by a capital-intensive method of production; the secondary segment is characterised by a labour-intensive method of production. Skilled workers in the primary segment, who are (on the job) trained to work with advanced capital goods, have more social status, a higher income and better employment conditions than unskilled workers in the secondary segment. Jobs at the bottom of the labour market are almost always found in the secondary segment.

Piore (1979) gives three possible explanations for the demand for foreign workers in modern industrial societies: general labour shortages, the need to fill the bottom positions in the job hierarchy, and labour shortages in the secondary segment of a dual labour market. The last explanation is also covered by the first two explanations. General labour shortages lead to vacancies at the bottom positions in the job hierarchy. In addition to general labour shortages, there may be specific shortages at

the bottom of the job hierarchy arising from motivational problems and demographic and social changes in modern industrial societies (Massey *et al.*, 1993). Motivational problems come about because jobs at the bottom of the hierarchy are often associated with low social status and because the opportunities for upward mobility are generally low. Demographic and social changes in modern societies (i.e. the decline in birth rates and educational expansion) may lead to a relatively small inflow of teenagers who are willing to take jobs at the bottom of the hierarchy in order to earn some money and to gain some work experience. Emancipation of women and the rise in divorce rates too, may be of importance here. In modern societies the aim of working women changed from supplementing family income (which can be earned as part-timer at the bottom of the job hierarchy) into earning primary income. As a result of labour shortages at the bottom of the job hierarchy, employers are compelled to recruit foreign workers. International migrants that eliminate labour shortages in certain branches can contribute to economic growth in receiving countries (Gieseck *et al.*, 1995). Furthermore, international migration can have an impact on economic development in receiving countries because of changing saving and consumer habits or changing forms of investment (Frey and Mammey, 1996; MaCurdy *et al.*, 1998).

- **The new economics of labour migration:** According to the theory of the new economics of labour migration, labour migration has to be studied within wider social entities: i.e. households. Within the entity of the household, the (un)certainly of the household income is the main determinant of labour migration. Migration of a household member is a way to spread the risk of insufficient household income. Subsequently, the household member abroad may send remittances, which may increase (the certainty of) the household income. Moreover, the theory of the new economics of labour migration states that remittances have a positive effect on macro-economic development in sending countries. This perspective on the impact of remittances upon sending economies is called the 'developmentalist' perspective (Taylor, 1999). International

labour migration, then, is, according to the new economics of labour migration, a transient phenomenon.

Migration in the context of the relative position of a household in the sending society may be seen as a second aspect of the new economics of labour migration (Massey *et al.*, 1993). Here, the sending society is the wider social entity in which international migration is studied.

- **The World Systems Theory:** World system theory argues that international migration follows directly from the globalization of the market economy (Portes and Walton, 1981).

The world systems theory is based on the contention that capitalism is a historical social system. Wallerstein (1983, p.18) defines historical capitalism as the system in which the endless accumulation of capital has been the economic objective or 'law' that has governed or prevailed in fundamental economic activity. The drive behind capital accumulation forced capitalist countries to search for new natural resources, new low-cost labour and new outlets. It was within this context that capitalist countries also started to colonize overseas areas. In order to stimulate the economic exchange between colonies and the mother country, transport connections were created. Colonization has also led to cultural exchanges between the overseas colonies and the mother country. However, these two types of exchanges were not equal. With respect to economic exchange a large net flow of capital from the colonies into the mother countries resulted. After decolonisation political dependencies disappeared but the economic dependencies of the former colonies, which are regarded as the peripheral countries in the world system, remained and were often even strengthened. These peripheral countries produce predominantly primary commodities and their export base is often dependent on only a few products. In this way peripheral countries suffer from the instability of world producer prices. Since the world producer prices are determined by the core countries, peripheral countries deal with unfavourable terms of trade which result in slow economic expansion and growing economic dependence on core countries (Amankwaa, 1995).

As capitalist countries expand towards developing countries, this market penetration causes large number of people to be displaced from secure livelihoods as peasant farmers, family artisans, and employees of state-owned industries, creating a mobilized population prone to migrate, both internally and internationally (Massey, 1988).

- **Network theory:** Migrant networks help potential migrants, for instance, by contributing to financing the journey, helping to find a job or appropriate accommodation, or by giving information about education possibilities or access to social security. If we put network theory in the context of the microeconomic level of individual choice, we may say that networks lower the costs of migration and increase the probability of employment at the destination and decrease the probability of deportation. In other words, the presence of this form of social capital enlarges the expected net return to migration. Network theory tries to explain why international migration is an ongoing phenomenon. International migrants change the ethnic composition in receiving countries. As a result of large inflows of international migrants, migrant networks may be formed. These networks enhance the probability of employment and a decent income. Together with lower costs of migration, the increased probability of employment and a decent income enlarge the expected net return to migration. This enlarged expected net return to migration increases the volume of international migration, thereby increasing the migrant population.

CHAPTER 2

TRENDS AND PATTERNS OF MEXICAN MIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Migration is a dynamic process which evolves because the social and economic situation of migrants changes over the time. For example, the *braceros* closer to the border could afford to move back and forth daily across the border without an increasing expense burden. However, as migrants began to move toward the Pacific North, for example, it was no longer feasible to travel as often to see their family. Thus, they began the process of commuting seasonally to their country of origin. According to Mines and Massey, (1985) "the cost and benefits of migration become cleared and others are induced to move the cost drops, slowly at first and then dramatically, as friend and relatives acquire contacts and knowledge in the receiving society.

In the initial periods Mexican migrated to United State because they are unable to obtain the economic stability in Mexico to obtain the necessary or desire things for their families. Migradollar obtain by this process gave them necessary purchasing power to pay for utilities, furniture, and investment in family business. These benefits motivates others to migrate and families to accept their absence. More the benefits more will be the process of this migration. These benefits then lead Mines and Massey (1985) to find a correlation between the increased numbers of trips made in direct relation to the changing goals of migrants. Therefore the migration process changes as the goals of the migrants change. Initially they move to obtain money that will provide immediate relief to their economic situation at home. They then begin to enjoy the improved living standards and benefits that the *migradollars* provide to the families in their place of origin. These remittances not only help the family but the community as well

when the family members utilize the money at local businesses thus helping boost the Mexican economy.

Traditionally migrants have tended to originate from Mexican rural areas. Migratory activity levels in Mexico are at 62%. Of these, the primary states of origin are Jalisco, Michoacán, Zacatecas, Durango, and Oaxaca. Mexican southwestern states of Chiapas, Tabasco, Campeche, Yucatan and Quintana have 66.5% of no participation in migrant flows, central states Oaxaca, Veracruz, Guerrero, Puebla, Tlaxcala, Hidalgo, Queretaro, Mexico, Morelos have 33.8% that do not participate and in the border states there is only a 10.2% that do not participate in the migratory flows.

In the early times the migrants were unskilled and semi unskilled rural people and it was male dominant as most of the Mexican people were recruited in the rail construction and agriculture fields, but this migrant's composition changes over time. In post bracer period the composition of the migrants' changes females and children took participation in the migration due to the family reunification provision provided by the IRCA in 1986. NAFTA has helped to change the migratory pattern, now the urban educated, professional people migrate to USA.

2.1.1 TRENDS OF MEXICAN MIGRATION

Migration trends of Mexican into USA can be divided into four parts. These are, Pre-bracero Period, Bracero period and post Bracero to IRCA, 86, and post IRCA 86.

2.1.1.1 Pre-Bracero Period

In the pre Bracero period the issue of Mexican migration, its impact, and contributing factors had not been an issue of great concern for both Countries until the 1900s.

In the pre-Bracero Migratory patterns into the U.S. in the period that followed Mexican independence until the end of the 19th Century can be separated into 3 categories or trend.

The first trend included those sectors that were displaced from the loss of Mexican territories during wars with the United States in 1836, 1848, and again in 1853. This category included the Indians who, without necessarily being immigrants, were still considered to be aliens within their own former territories. The second trend includes groups of Mexicans who immigrated into Southern territories prior to actual settlement of U.S. statehood issues. The third and most important of these trends within these migratory groups consisted of Mexicans who were attracted by the dramatic need for workers faced in certain productive sectors of the U.S. during the last decade of the 19th Century.

Three significant events occurred to change the Anglo-Mexican relationship, and spurred the first migratory wave into action. The Rebellion of Texas (1836), the war between Mexico and the United States (1848) and a culmination of the Gadsden Purchase of (1853), in combination produced massive losses in Mexican territorial lands. The nearly 80,000 Mexicans who live in those regions experienced tremendous negative effects. In a period of less than 40 years, these populations were successively subjects of the Spanish Crown, Mexican citizens, and by 1850 they were ready to begin anew as Spanish-speaking citizens living in the U.S. A majority of this population was settlers of Spanish-Mexican origins, who emigrated from the interior of Mexico. They settled in territories where the native populations had been displaced and replaced by those who no longer lived and worked upon these lands. Instead, the Mexicans found themselves conquered and colonized, separated from their social and cultural roots, and inserted into a confusing border game that conditioned them on all levels.

Regardless of changes in the political ownership status of the borderlands, the region continued to experience the same migratory inflows during the first years of U.S. occupation of the southern territories. Migratory trends continued almost identically as had occurred in the past and without experiencing significant transformations. The discovery of gold in California, however, provoked a massive influx of gold-seeking miners from Sonora and other regions

in Mexico, who arrived long-before the 1849 Gold Rush which marked the coming of Anglo-Saxon miners. Similarly, thousands of peasants began to abandon the haciendas from the northeast region of Mexico to the South of Texas after 1836, in search of new horizons and better labor opportunities.

Economic incentives to stimulate Mexican migrations toward the borderlands of the U.S. were almost nil before 1870. The scale of trading between these neighboring countries was limited to, basically, bartering for food with mining products to meet the transient need inside the isolated communities. Once the process of annexation of Mexican territories was completed, the markets for consumption spurred growth in the southeast in terms of a rapid expansion of the local population. It is not insignificant point to note that Mexicans who settled in Texas, New Mexico and California had developed trade relationships with Anglo-Saxon settlers long-before the rebellion in Texas. Territorial changes had a notorious impact on trade relations and the regional economy. Important economic activities and diversification in the region expanded based on the military maneuvers by the U.S. army to overcome the Indian resistance.

Based on the construction of the railroad the economy after 1880 in the southern territories began to grow rapidly, a factor that stimulated Mexican immigration to those areas. In 1890, a modern railroad network linked the territories of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona and California with Northern Mexico and revolutionized connections between the East and the West. The variety of industrial development and related activities created huge demand for labor, which concentrated around stations along the railroad lines. This railroad technology caused Mexican laborers to spill out of Mexico in far greater numbers than had ever migrated in one contemporaneous period in history. During the last two decades of the 19th Century 127,000 Mexicans entered the U.S., a figure representing one-third of Mexico's total population in 1848.

The new immigrants dispersed rapidly among the southern population and continued being foreigners in every sense of the word: unable to communicate in English, subjected to rigorous laws that they did not understand and exposed to diverse forms of racism and discrimination. Until the Mexican Revolution began

• in 1910, most of the immigrants were peasants displaced from the land and the poor from the cities. These impoverished sectors were forced to abandon their regions out of hardship to sell their labor in the U.S. Despite the fact wages for Mexicans were below market value in the U.S. it was far better than the situation they faced in Mexico.

The Revolution of 1910 was an up rise by the masses against the highly centralized and often corrupt government that had developed and taken lands away from the poor to give to the state or the rich. The people believed that this was the only way to restore justice for the poor and close the gap between the rich and the poor. Unfortunately, the Mexican Revolution did not bring the expected social reform to the masses. Government was preoccupied with the idea of stability, industrial development which resulted in ignoring the agricultural sector and caused massive emigration from rural to urban areas. labor workers in the time of the railroad rebellion, repress university students who grew dissatisfied with the political events occurring in Mexico, oppressing the poor, controlling other government officials, and in controlling the press as well as increasing government control over economic sectors; communications, commerce, industry, foreign investment (Levy and Szekely 1983).

Mexico was administered using the growth model in which the administrations desperately wanted to achieve economic stability and growth while concentrating on industrialization. According to Levy and Szekely (1983), this resulted in agricultural contribution to total production decreasing from 21% to 11% while industrial contribution increased from 25% to 34% (Levy and Szekely 1983, 127). This caused mass emigration to Mexican urban areas that then resulted in overcrowding of cities, increasing the poor in the cities, and unemployment for those in the rural areas. Rural areas suffered because their agricultural skills or products were no longer requested nor appropriately supported by the government. However, the governments believed that this economic stability and growth would permit them to create a country that would attract foreign investors resulting in a further improved Mexican economy, infrastructure, roads, trade, etc. This shift in priority from agricultural to industrial had a significant effect on those primarily from the western states of the country that were dependent on agriculture.

This period coincides with the onset of W.W.I, which generated a production and export boom followed by a huge labor demand-crunch that was unprecedented in the U.S. when United States declared War against the Germans, and most employed workers joined the armed services. This created a situation of labour shortage in USA. This shortage was abated by hiring labour from Mexico. Migratory restriction forced people to enter illegally, especially in agriculture where the need for labor was greatest. The 1921 census estimated that the number of legal and illegal Mexican workers entering the United States exceeded 500,000 people for the period, when the total population of Mexico was 14,334,000 inhabitants, during the same period.

The Mexican migratory movements during this first period proceeded without interference by administrative and immigration authorities from the U.S. However, this situation changed, drastically, in 1917. Mexicans entering the United States were required to pay 5 cents daily for passage across the Rio Grande River in a boat, and could cross as many times as they wished without additional charge. From the year 1917 forward, Mexicans were required to present 2 birth certificates, 2 marriage certificates, one certificate of good behavior and a certificate of health, as the documents evidence that would be needed before they were allowed to cross the border. The thinking behind these rigid demands was that the documents were evidence that émigrés would work to become economically self-sufficient, and not by their sheer numbers, drain the public treasury. In addition to these evidentiary requirements, Visas required that a \$10 tax be paid, and for entering the US \$8 was collected (Hernandez). As the direct result of these policies the term .illegal alien was coined as a reference to those Mexicans who opted to ignore increasingly drastic migratory rules enforced by the U.S. .

The Depression Period, beginning in 1929 and lingering throughout the 1930.s produced a strong contraction in the world economy and severely affected the U.S. By the middle of 1932 the Gross National Product (GNP) dropped to one-half of the value it reached in 1929. As a result, this situation caused nearly 12 million people to lose their jobs and join the unemployed masses. That figure amounted to almost one third of the U.S. working population. Mexican people

faced the heat as most of them were unskilled labour working in agriculture fields and transportation.

They lacked the skills necessary to retain that job. As the economic situation worsened, Americans vented their anger about their economic situation and blamed Mexican migrants for the jobs available to the American people.

The antagonism towards foreigners increased as they were scorned a competitor for scarce jobs and social welfare scheme. Signs in restaurants and others public places revealed the ugly popular mood; "no Nigger, Dogs or Mexican allowed" (Grayson, 1984). As result of the recession a measure that was implemented to reduce U.S. unemployment resulted in a policy of repatriating Mexican workers, and especially those living in Border States. Studies have estimated that in the period between 1929 and 1935, more than 415,000 Mexicans, along with their U.S. families were deported to Mexico.

2.1.1.2 Bracero Period

But after one decade scenario changed, in the time of Second World War, USA involved in the war, which labour shortage and war time demand for commodities was high. This led to the rapid industrialization. Americans, especially the rural, agricultural field workers, were attracted to the working conditions and wages offered in the growing sector. Thus, leaving a high number of agricultural job vacancies. Efforts by the United States government failed in attempting to recruit sufficient American workers for the agricultural business. In 1941, growers had no choice but to ask the U.S.D.A. to "permit the importation of Mexican agricultural workers" (Driscoll 1999, 52-53). The U.S. government initiated a negotiation with Mexican authorities aimed at getting a labor treaty signed, to supply workers to agrarian producers in California, New Mexico, Texas and other Southwestern regions. The U.S. created the *Bracero* Program of 1942 only as a temporary program in which the U.S. contracted Mexican workers for short-term farm labor. 4.6 million Mexican workers were processed with this accord.

Those that signed on to the *Bracero* Program were given temporary working visas to enter and work in the United States. Once their contracts

expired, they were to return their visas and return to Mexico. Unfortunately, from the beginning Mexican *braceros* were at a disadvantage when they were required to sign English only contracts in order to work. They did not receive a verbal or written translation of the contracts nor were made aware of their rights and benefits.

In this period Mexican economy was passing through a major transition. The capitalistic development pattern resulted in mass rural-urban migration. The bracero program expanded in 50s; when irrigated land in the south west expanded and baby boom created demand for cheap vegetable and fruits. The farm house owners used these cheap bracero labours to produce the vegetable and fruits. Bracero's started increasing in number in 50s. It reached peak in 1956, and then gradually decreased in number (see Table: 2.1). Most of the bracero labours were employed in tomato fields for example, in 1960, nearly 80 percent bracero labour of 45000 peak-harvest worker were involves in tomato fields.

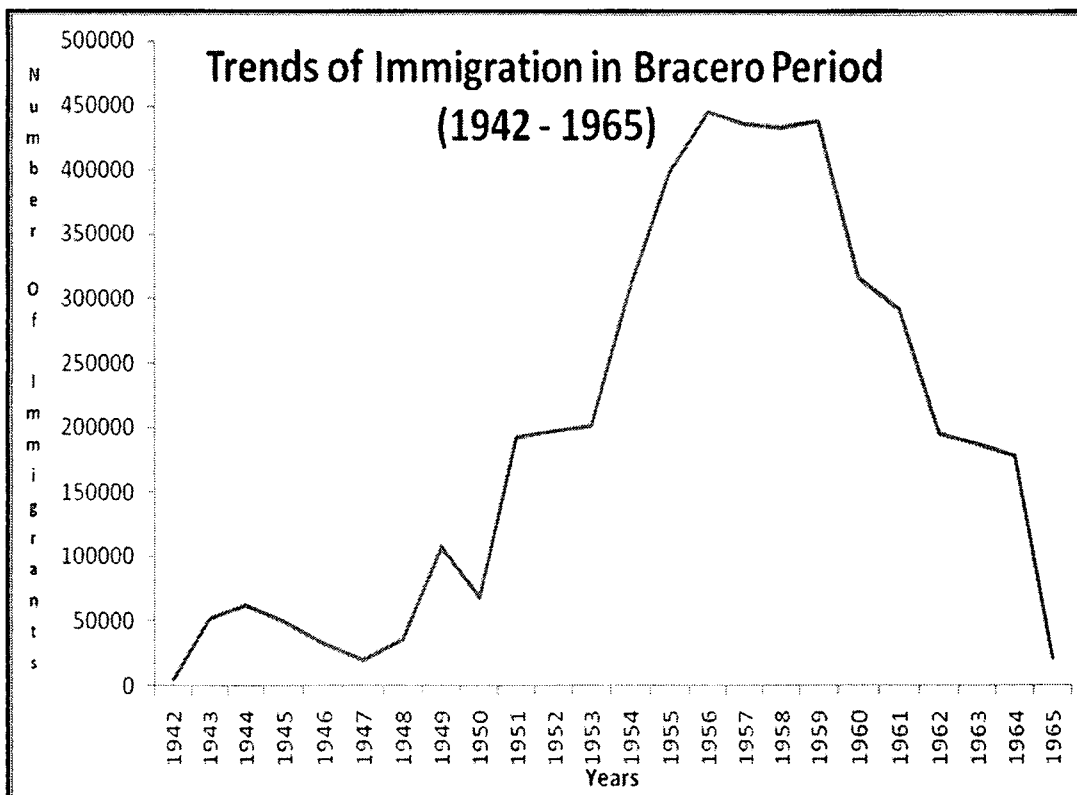
Because many *braceros* were outstaying their authorization visas, the U.S. saw an increase in illegal immigration. There was a rise in complaints and criticism from individuals and groups over the illegal immigrants' impact in agriculture. These individuals and groups claimed that immigrants were displacing native agricultural workers, increasing the violation of labor laws, as well as increasing crime, disease, and illiteracy. Therefore, Operation Wetback was launched in Texas in 1954 in which mass deportations of illegal wetbacks (*mojados*) were conducted daily through the search of U.S. businesses. 4,800 illegal immigrants were captured in the first day of Operation Wetback and subsequently averaged 1,100 per day (Handbook of Texas Online 1997b). Illegal workers were returned to Mexico at the nearest border town via train, buses, trucks, and later on ships such as the "Emancipation" from Port Isabel, Texas.

Table: 2.1 Number of Braceros Admitted Annually, (1942-1965)

YEARS	NUMBER OF BRACEROS
1942	4203
1943	52,098
1944	62,170
1945	49,454
1946	32,043
1947	19,632
1948	35,345
1949	107,000
1950	67,500
1951	192,000
1952	197,100
1953	201,380
1954	309,033
1955	398,650
1956	445,197
1957	436,049
1958	432,857
1959	437,643
1960	315,846
1961	291,420
1962	194,978
1963	186,865
1964	177,736
1965	20,286

Source: INS Statistical Yearbook, (1999).

Figure: 2.1



Source: INS Statistical Yearbook, (1999).

The goal was to send the immigrants as far in to Mexico in order to discourage them from returning to the U.S. In 1954, a total of 1.1 million individuals were returned to Mexico through Operation Wetback. As criticism continued against the *braceros*, the Department of Labor issued a study in 1959 in which it stated that domestic farm workers were at a "disadvantage" due to the *Bracero* Program (Garcia y Griego, 1998). As a result the *Bracero* Program came to an end in 1964.

The *Bracero* Program was intended to be the centerpiece of Mexican immigration policy. In many ways, it was. It reignited the migration of Mexican workers north for short-term employment. However, the program's poor implementation, the tendency to prefer the ease of hiring undocumented workers rather than *Braceros*, and the surplus of Mexican workers migrating north eventually made undocumented labor the *Bracero* Program's constant

companion. Even so, the Bracero Program survived longer than anyone had intended. It was designed as an emergency wartime effort; yet it did not end until 1965, two decades after the final battles of World War II were fought. Many scholars of Mexican immigration argue that today's flow of undocumented immigration can be traced back to the networks that the Bracero Program built between U.S. employers and Mexican laborers

2.1.1.3 Post-Bracero Period

The Immigration Act of 1965 ushered in a new era of Mexican immigration. Under the National Origins Act of 1924 no limits had been placed on annual immigration from the Western Hemisphere. The 1965 Act, however, imposed a numerical limit upon immigrants allowed to enter the United States from the western hemisphere (South America, Central America, Caribbean, Mexico, and Canada). Only 120,000 persons from the western hemisphere were allowed to legally immigrate to the United States per year. An important exception to the new numerical limits, the spouse, unmarried children and parents of United States citizens could immigrate to the United States regardless of the numerical limit.

Prior to 1965, there were no numerical limits to the legal entry of Mexicans, but since then various restrictions have been successively applied. In 1968 Mexico was placed under hemisphere quota of 120,000, which forced Mexico to compete with other Latin American and Caribbean countries for visa; in 1976 it was placed under country quota; in 1978 it was included under a global ceiling of 290,000, which forced Mexico to compete with other countries for visa. In 1980 the global ceiling was reduced to 270,000 (Jassao and Rosenzweig 1990). These restrictions, moreover, came at a time when the demand for visas from Mexico was rising.

Shortly after the Immigration Act was fully implemented in 1968, a series of crises struck the Mexican economy that pressured many Mexican families to

continue migrating north despite the new immigration restrictions. Hundreds of thousands of Mexican immigrants disregarded the new limits placed on legal Mexican immigration and continued the pattern of seeking short-term employment in the U.S. They waded across the Rio Grande into Texas, jumped border fences in California, braved the deserts of Arizona and New Mexico, or falsified immigration papers

Mexico-USA legal migration was low in late 60s and early 70s when the farm wages rose by 40%. Farm owners demanded that foreigners were very essential to fill the seasonal labour jobs and issue an asserting letter. The ex-bracero could use the opportunities to become seasonal workers and get visa printed in green card and were known as green-card commuters. These seasonal immigrants were called green card holder, who lived Mexico and seasonally worked in USA. In this sense, the green card was a permanent pass. Resident immigrants were free to seek jobs anywhere in the United States and could come and go as they pleased, thereby ensure a constant source of support for themselves and their families.

In the late 70s these green card holders sent their sons, relatives and others using false or altered green cards; even some people entered USA without any documents. A smuggling network soon evolved to provide information, and move the rural Mexican into the rural USA and these activities strengthen as local labours demanded another 40% wage increase but Farms owners were agreed to increase it only by 7 %.

Some braceros, however, were unable to adjust their status, particularly those who begun migrating in the final years of program. Leaving late they did not have sufficient time built equity in the United States. Many of them could not obtain legal documentation, but they were not ready to leave the life style brought by U.S wage labour. So for them illegal migration was the only way. Most of the trip to US was seasonal in nature. But the illegal migrants tended to spend somewhat more time in the United State per trip than do their legal counterparts. According to study conducted by Messey in Guadalupe, average

time spent away from home was 9 months for legal and 12 months for illegal migrants. Illegal migrants were less mobile while in United States than legal's, in that they tend to make fewer moves between geographical areas.

In Mexico Peso devaluation in 1982-83 made working in USA more attractive. Apprehension just inside the Mexico-USA border reached all time peak of 1.7 millions in 1986.

Table: 2.2 Mexican Admitted into the United States (1966 – 1985)

YEARS	NUMBER OF BRACEROS
1966	47,217
1967	43,034
1968	44,716
1969	45,748
1970	44,821
1971	10,105
1972	64,040
1973	70,141
1974	71,586
1975	62,205
1976	57,863
1977	44,079
1978	92,367
1979	52,096
1980	56,680
1981	101,268
1982	56,106
1983	59,079
1984	57,577
1985	61,077

Source: INS Statistical Yearbook, (1999).

2.1.4 Post-Immigration Reform and Control Act, 1986 Period

In 1986 USA government enacted Immigration Reform and Control Act, to reduce the illegal immigration from Mexico by imposing sanction on farm owner who knowingly recruited illegal labour and by legalizing some unauthorized labours. IRCA had two legalization or amnesty program, one was to legalize farm worker called Special Agriculture Workers (SAW). Over one million farm workers became US citizen by producing letter where employers certified that worker was working as farm worker in 1985-86 for 90 days and more as unauthorized labour. But IRCA did not work as expected most of the legalized labours settled in the cities or suburban areas. IRCA has not eliminated the basic economic incentive to migrate clandestinely to the US. It has failed to undermine the powerful social mechanisms that facilitate such movement.

Survey conducted by Wayne A. Cornelius found no evidence that the IRCA, 86 had reduced the traditionally heavy flow of workers to the United States from rural communities and small towns in west-central Mexico. Indeed, IRCA seemed to have augmented the flow of workers, at least temporary, through its legalization programs. Moreover, in southern California since 1987, it had been observed the arrival of a great many new migrants from such areas which had not previously sent large number of migrants, like, Mexico City and states of Guerrero, Puebla, and Oaxaca.

Recomposition of the migrants flow had been occurred due to the IRCA, as it had considerably reduced the relative size of undocumented migrants and there was an increase in the representation of women and children in the migratory flow. But this IRCA had accelerated the shift from temporary or 'shuttle' migration to permanent emigration and settlement in the United States.

NAFTA and Immigration:

NAFTA came into effect in 1994 as device to reduce the tariff gap among the signatory countries, USA, Canada and Mexico. USA policy makers thought it would reduce the illegal migration from Mexico to US, but it did act that way. The free trade agreement of the 1994 with U.S. and Canada along with the growth of political pluralism increased pressure on Mexican government to approach U.S.-Mexico migration policy differently (Fernandez de Castro 1998).

However, Mexican Presidents Salinas de Gotardi and Zedillo addressed the migrant issue differently in NAFTA. Mexican President Salinas de Gotardi optimistically viewed NAFTA as a means of retaining Mexicans in Mexico. He hoped that Mexicans would not find it necessary to migrate to the U.S. for employment opportunities and better wages that they desperately sought by crossing the dangerous river or deserts connecting the U.S. and Mexico. He strongly believed that NAFTA would keep Mexicans from migrating legally and illegally and leaving their families and friends in search of a better future. On the other hand, President Zedillo believed NAFTA was an opportunity to address, improve, and expand economic situations for migrant workers. Mexico suffered Peso crisis in 1995 which made immigration to US an attractive option. The reform in the tenure system in Mexico forced agriculture labour to leave the rural areas to search their livelihood in cities and beyond the boundary in the north.

The North American Free Trade Agreement was to make Mexico rich and create enough employment incentives to keep its people at home. It has been anything but. More than ten years after the signing of the treaty, economic growth has been anemic in Mexico averaging less than 3.5 percent per year or less than 2 percent on a per capita basis since 2000; unemployment is higher than what it was when the treaty was signed; and half of the labor force must eke out a living in invented jobs in the informal economy, a figure ten percent higher than in the pre-NAFTA years. Meanwhile, jobs in the runaway *maquiladora* industry that left the United States to profit from free trade and cheap labor commonly pay close to the Mexican minimum wage of U.S. \$7.00 per day, an amount so small in the now “open” Mexican market as to force people into informal jobs or across the border. Large transnational corporations profit from the abundant labor, slack regulation, and open borders (open, that is, for industrial goods and capital, not people). All kinds of trinkets are produced south of the border with few government controls and with wages one-seventh or less those on the north side.

Before NAFTA came into existence, many scholars anticipated simultaneously job creation and displacement in Mexico. Scholar predicted that displacement of workers from previously protected Mexican sectors such as agriculture might lead to additional Mexico-US migration.

Hinojoa-Ojeda and Rabinson, (1991), for example, estimated that NAFTA would displace about 1.4 million rural Mexican largely because NAFTA related changes in Mexican farm policies and freer trade in agricultural products would lead some farmers to quit agriculture. The authors projected those 800,000 displaced farmers would stay in Mexico, while 600,000 would migrate to the U.S over five to six years.

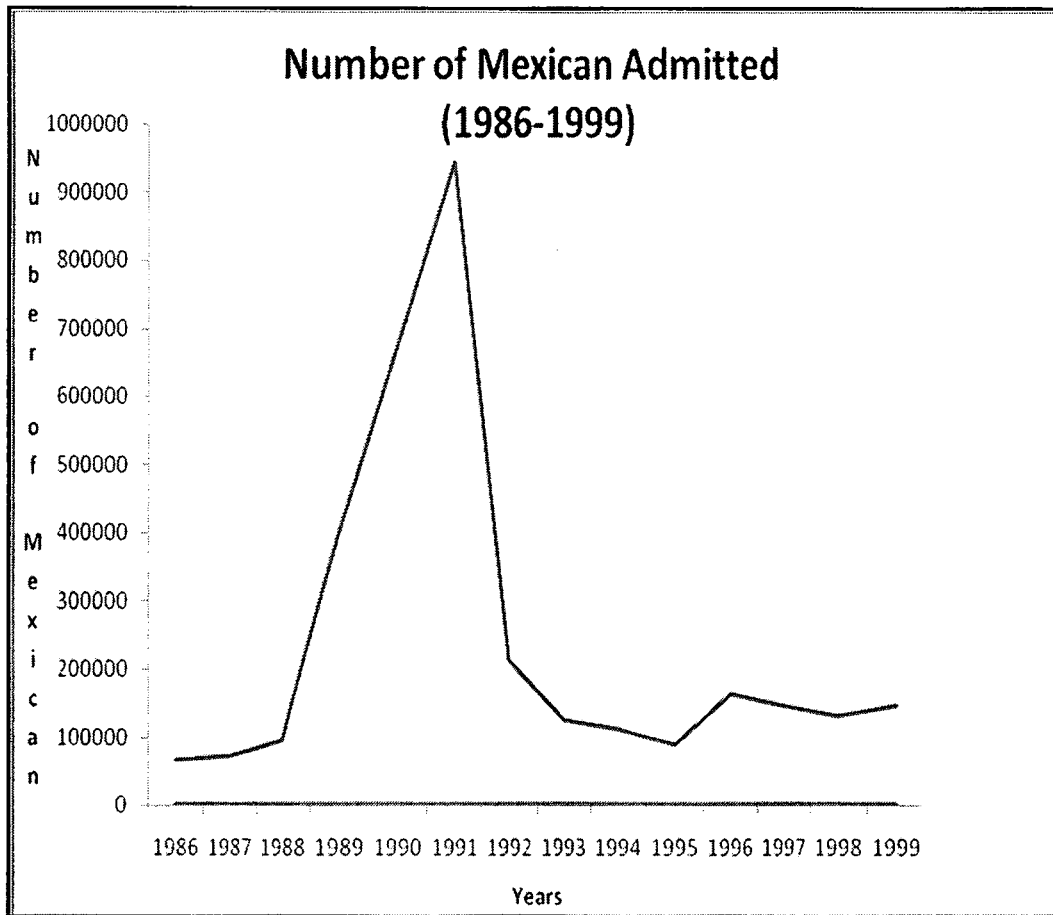
In 2001, U.S. Company Tyson Foods Inc. was indicted of recruiting illegal workers from Mexico to work in their poultry processing plants in order to cut costs and maximize profits. Workers would be recruited just inside the U.S. border by smugglers who were paid \$100 to \$200 USD per worker in addition to the fee they received from the migrants (Migration News 2000). U.S. companies such as Tyson and other sectors are encouraging illegal migration. The more the companies or sectors encourage it, the more motivated the *coyotes* or smugglers will be in recruiting Mexicans for work. In the end, it is the migrants who lose. They lose the little money they have when paying the *coyotes* (who smuggles illegal immigrants over the border from *Mexico* to the United States) and take risks with their own lives every time they illegally cross the border. It seems that the change in political parties in Mexico to PAN (National Action Party) with its new President Vicente Fox will be positive for legal and illegal migrant issues. It is because of Tyson type incidents and the number of migrant deaths that motivates President Fox to keep an attitude of openness in regards to the United States. He is determined to be an advocate for migrants and continue to end once and for all the "no policy" policy that President Zedillo attempted to do as well. Prior to the September 2001 attacks on the U.S., Mexico and the United States had been in "openness of borders" talks with issues of immigrants and job opportunities, training, safety, human rights, and guest worker program opportunities. The economic situation in Mexico has been improving overall but especially in the past couple of years. According to the International Monetary Fund (IMF), in 2000 Mexico paid a 1995 IMF bailout debt that was not scheduled to be completely repaid for another couple of years. This was a significant event in that it ended "a difficult chapter in the country's history".

Table: 2.3 Numbers of Mexican Immigrants Admitted to the United States, (1986-1999)

Years	Number of Mexican Admitted
1986	66,533
1987	72,351
1988	95,039
1989	405,172
1990	679,068
1991	946,167
1992	213,802
1993	126,561
1994	111,398
1995	89,932
1996	163,572
1997	146,865
1998	131,575
1999	147,573

Source: INS Statistical Yearbook, (1999)

Figure: 2.2



Source: INS Statistical Yearbook, (1999).

The unfortunate terrorists attack on the U.S. in 2001 has not only affected the U.S. but its Mexican close neighbor. The attacks may affect public opinions view when Mexico and U.S. reinitiate talks. President Fox has hopes that Mexico and the U.S. can negotiate a bilateral agreement on two main issues concerning Mexican immigrants: temporary labor program that would permit Mexicans to work legally in the United States and "regularization of status" for illegal Mexicans currently in the U.S. (Martin and Teitelbaum 2001, 117). However, American citizens may not favor the entrance of workers because of the high unemployment rate, recession, and fear of individuals entering the country to harm.

2.1.2 PATTERNS OF MEXICAN MIGRATION

People usually migrate to the place where they will find someone from his or her native country. Immigrants started concentrating in certain parts of the destination country. Mexican migration is highly concentrated in the south west part of the United States. Nearly 83 percent of total Mexican in US lives in the ten states. But the regional concentration of the Mexican immigrants has been change throughout time. In the early twenty century nearly 63 percent of the Mexican lived in Texas, whereas only 7.8 percent lived in California. But share of the California increased slowly. The Bracero Programme in 1945 expanded the settlement geography. The Mexican was recruited in cotton fields of Texas to the hops and orchards farms of the Yakima River Valley in Washington.

In the time of Bracero, California overtook Texas. This change in the concentration of Mexican is related with the change in the demand of labour and Immigration policies. In California Chinese were excluded by the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, which was followed by a Gentlemen's Agreement in 1907 to curb Japanese Immigration to the United States. In the last decades of the nineteenth century railroad construction was in full swings which demand for cheap Mexican labour. The south west plains needed large number of labour. California offered lucrative option for the migrants due to its superior wage, working condition and social milieu. For instance average Los Angles wage was double of those in San Antonio for the occupational category of labourer. The legal environment was better. Practice of discriminatory treatment of borders enforcement force was less. Political power of the Chicano group was stronger. California became 'the promise land' for Mexican immigrants (Jones, 1982).

It's the cultural and communication barrier that restricted Mexican immigrants into the rural areas of the Texas and Arizona. They felt freer in the rural agricultural areas than cities. But they slowly penetrate to the northern cities as kinship and cultural ties were built up.

The northward penetration of the Mexican continued as their network expanded in the United States. Concentration of Mexican started increasing in Illinios states in the sixties of the twenty century (from only 1.6 % in 1900 to 6.6

% in 1960). The better jobs in booming manufacturing sectors, lesser competition, and ethnic diversity of Chicago city made it a mecca for undocumented immigrants.

Table: 2.4 Percentages of Mexican Immigrants in Various States of the U.S

States	1900	1910	1920	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
Arizona	17.2	10.7	12.5	7.6	5.4	4.1	4.0	3.0	3.3	4.4
California	7.8	19.9	17.9	40.4	40.3	44.6	55.1	58.7	57.4	42.1
Colorado	0.0	1.3	3.1	1.9	1.0	0.9	0.4	0.8	0.8	2.0
Florida	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.4	0.5	1.4	2.2
Georgia	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.5	2.2
Illinois	1.6	0.2	1.4	3.0	2.5	6.6	8.2	8.6	7.3	7.3
Kansas	0.0	12.2	2.9	2.2	1.5	0.7	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.7
New Jersey	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.3	0.1	0.31	0.8
New Mexico	10.9	5.3	4.2	2.8	1.7	1.4	1.0	1.0	1.1	1.1
New York	0.0	0.7	0.6	1.50	0.7	1.7	0.5	0.5	1.1	1.7
North Carolina	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.2	2.0
Texas	62.5	46.2	50.6	35.3	39.1	33.2	23.4	21.2	20.0	19.9

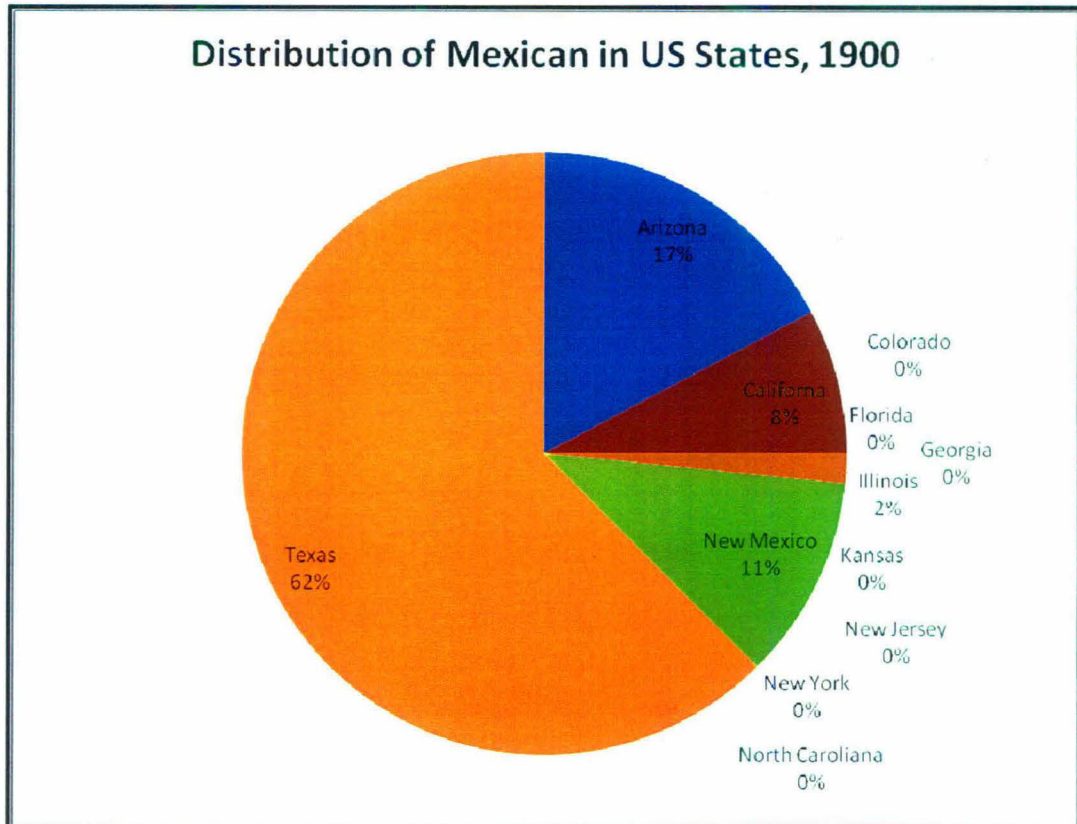
Source: Borja, George J. and Lawrence F. Katz (2005).

Table: 2.5 Mexican Immigrants as percentage of States' Workforce in the US

State	1900	1910	1920	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
Arizona	19.3	17.1	23.6	7.8	4.3	2.3	2.2	2.9	4.8	10.2
California	0.7	2.3	2.9	2.2	2.0	1.8	2.4	6.2	9.8	14.8
Colorado	0.0	0.5	2.0	0.9	0.4	0.4	0.2	0.6	1.1	4.8
Florida	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.5	1.6
Georgia	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4	2.8
Illinois	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.4	0.6	1.8	3.1	6.5
Kansas	0.0	2.7	1.2	0.7	0.5	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.7	2.9
New Jersey	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	1.0
New Mexico	10.6	6	8.6	3.2	1.8	1.2	1.0	2.1	4.0	7.3
New York	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.3	1.1
North Carolina	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	2.6
Texas	3.4	4.3	7.7	3.1	3.0	2.4	1.9	3.7	6.0	10.9

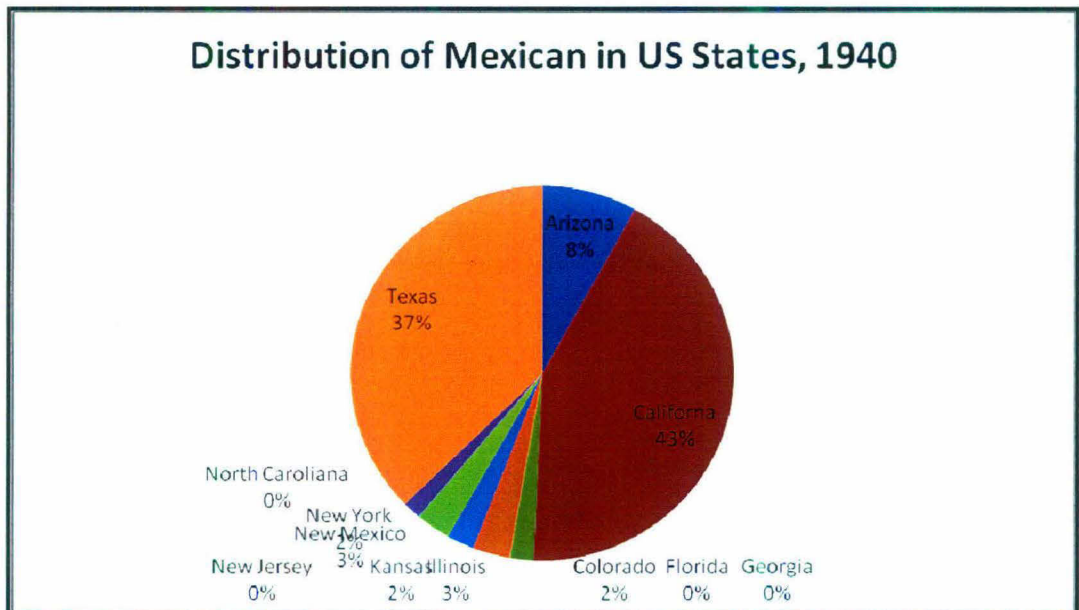
Source: Borja, George J. and Lawrence F. Katz (2005)

Figure: 2.3



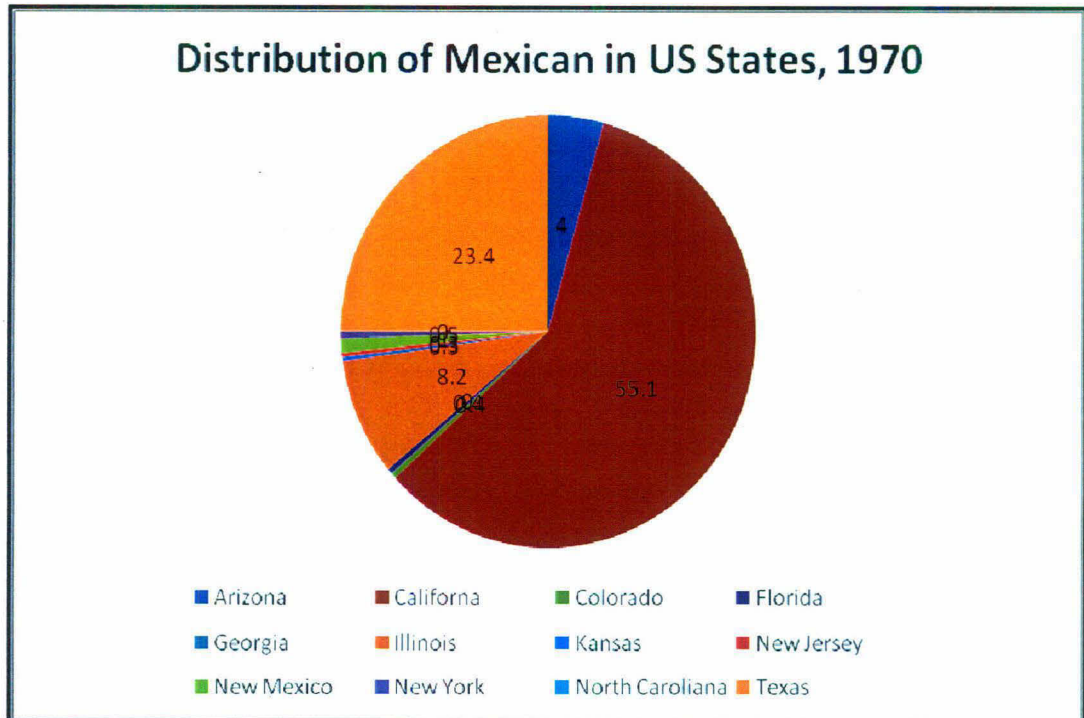
Source: Borja, George J. and Lawrence F. Katz (2005).

Figure: 2.4



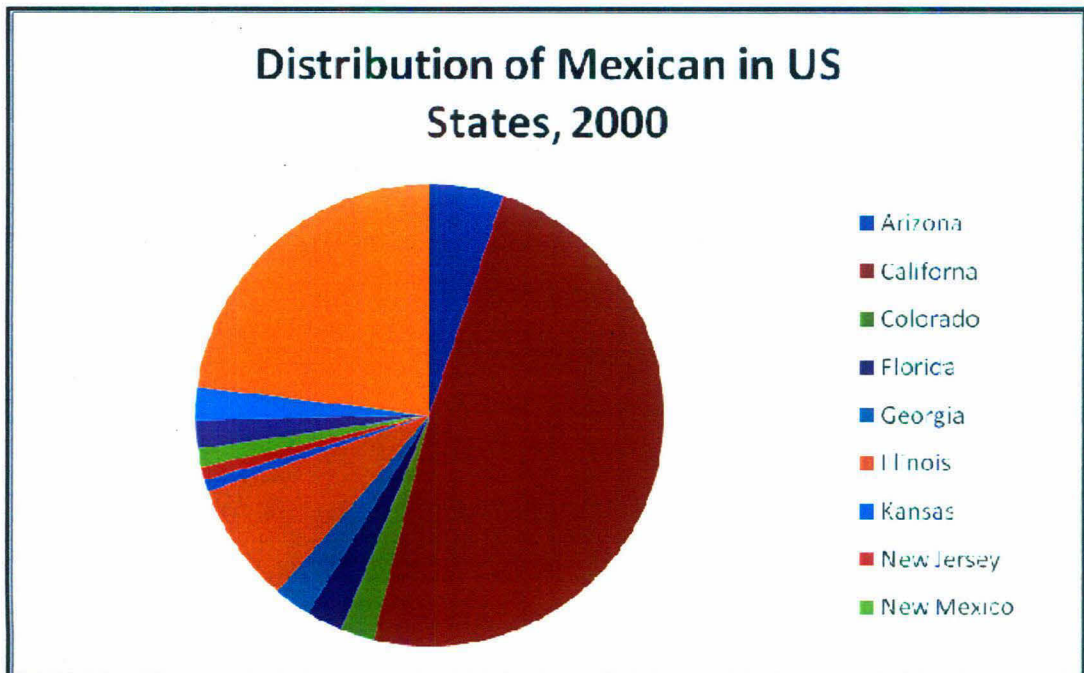
Source: Borja, George J. and Lawrence F. Katz (2005).

Figure: 2.5



Source: Borja, George J. and Lawrence F. Katz (2005).

Figure: 2.6



Source: Borja, George J. and Lawrence F. Katz (2005).

During the 1990s the number of Mexican immigrants living in the United States rose by nearly five million people. At the time of the census, Mexican immigrants represented 4.1 percent of the working-age population, nearly double their proportion in 1990. The surge in arrivals from Mexico was accompanied by a remarkable shift in their residence patterns. In previous decades, nearly 80 percent of Mexican immigrants settled in either California or Texas. Over the 1990s, however, this fraction fell rapidly. Less than one-half of the most recent Mexican immigrants were living in California or Texas in 2000. Many cities that had very few Mexican immigrants in 1990, including Atlanta, Raleigh-Durham, Portland, and Seattle, gained significant Mexican populations.

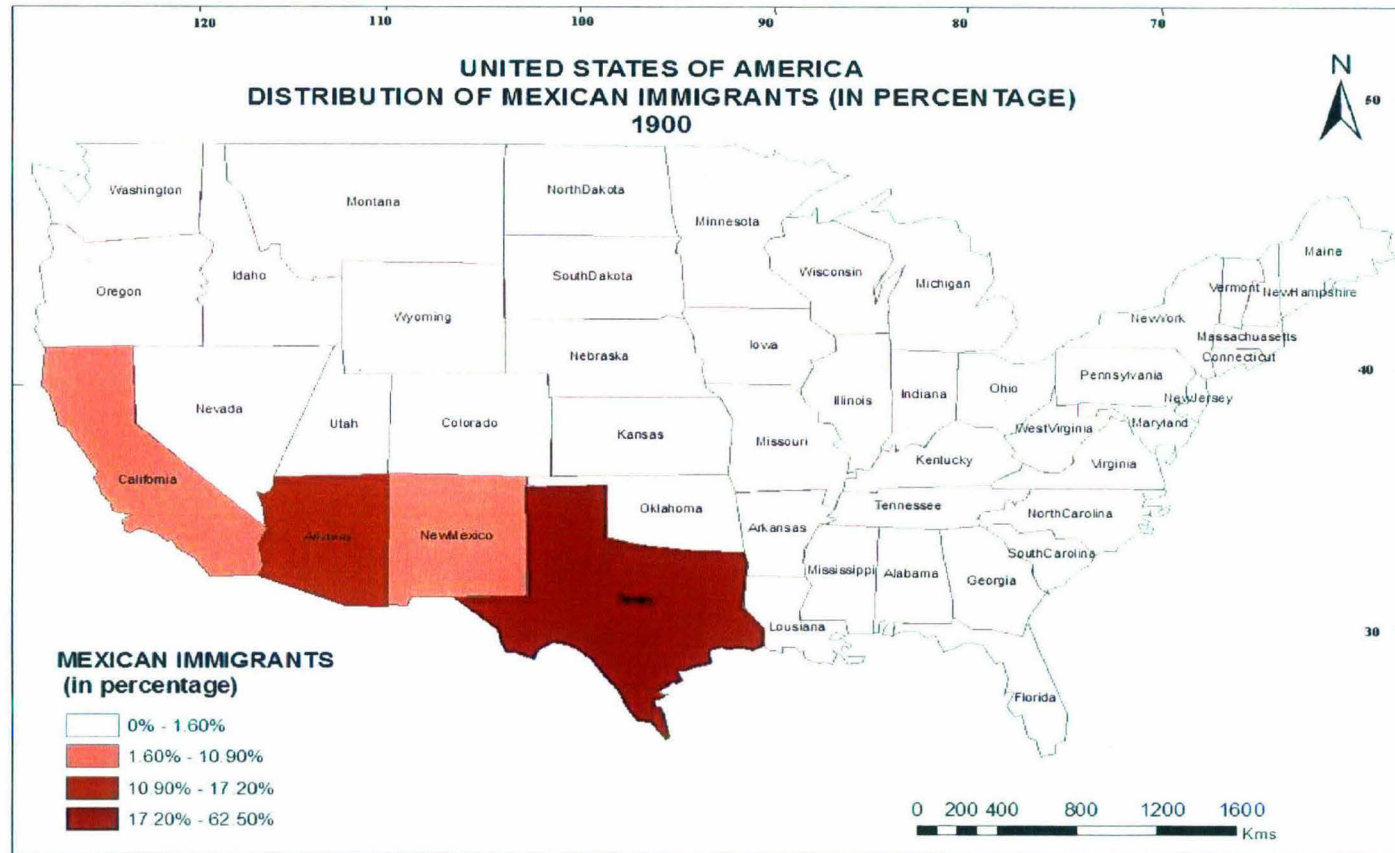
Post-1990 Mexican immigrants have about the same education and English-speaking ability as those who arrived in earlier decades. They differ mainly in their destinations: those who arrived in the 1990s were less likely to move to Los Angeles (the traditional destination of about one-third of all Mexican immigrants) and more likely to move to cities in the Southeast, Northwest, and Mountain states. The geographic shift was associated with some change in industry concentration, with fewer of the recent arrivals working in agriculture and more in construction (for men) and retail trade (for women).

The share of new immigrants from Mexico going to these non-traditional settlement areas greatly increased. Mexican immigrants moved to the southeastern part of the country, including Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee, for jobs in poultry processing, light manufacturing, and construction. In the upper Midwest, including Iowa, Nebraska, Minnesota, and Wisconsin, Mexican immigrants took jobs in pork, beef, and turkey processing. Two additional southern states, Delaware and Maryland, and the western states of Colorado and Utah, also experienced rapid growth in their Mexican-born populations between 1990 and 2000 (Card and Lewis, 2007).

The growing intensity of Mexican immigration to the United States over the last few decades has made the presence of Mexicans more visible virtually

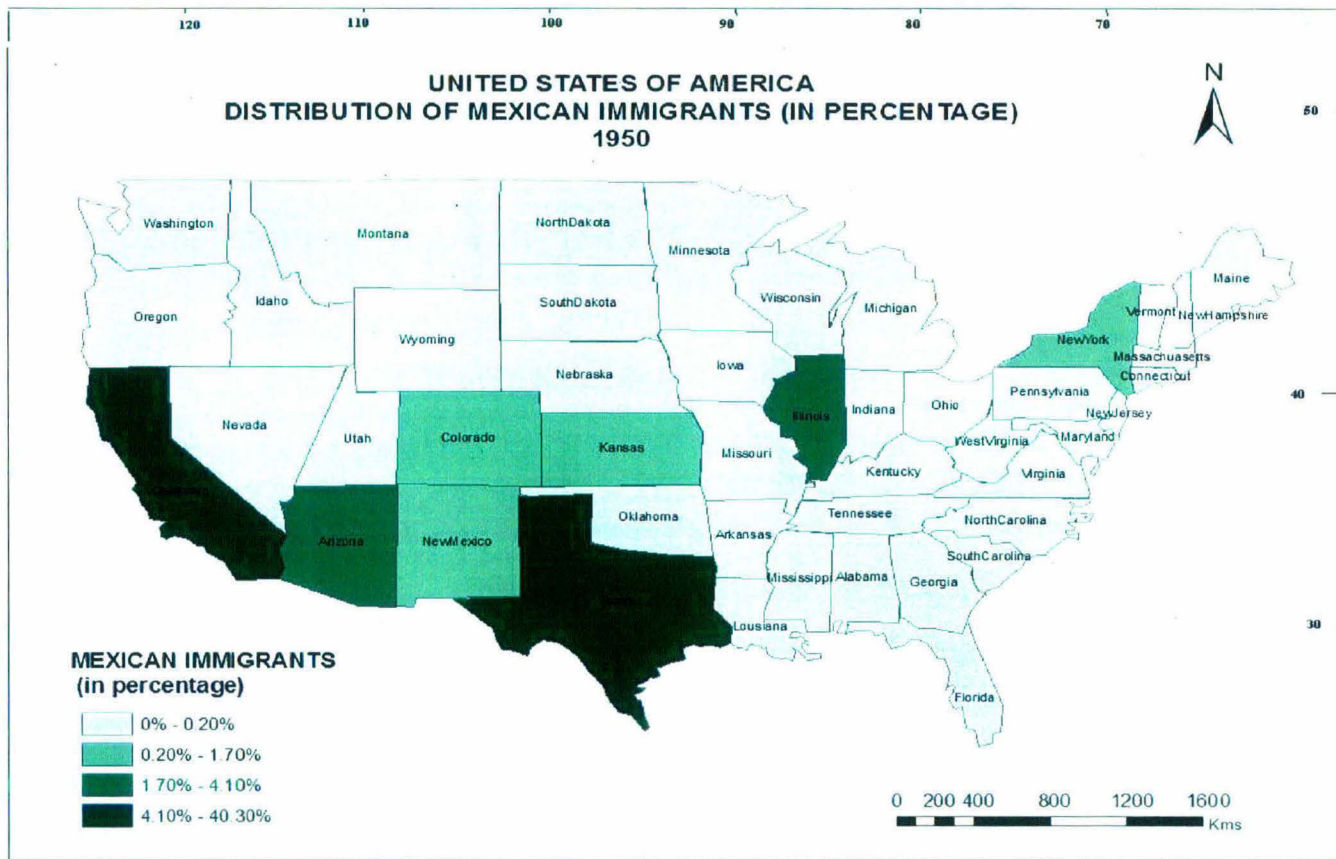
throughout the U.S. Although California and Texas (40% and 19%, respectively) continue to have the greatest number of Mexicans, migratory flows reveal a gradual variation over time. In 1990 Mexicans were among the five largest groups of immigrants in 23 U.S. states; by 2005 they occupied this position in 43 states.

Figure: 2.7



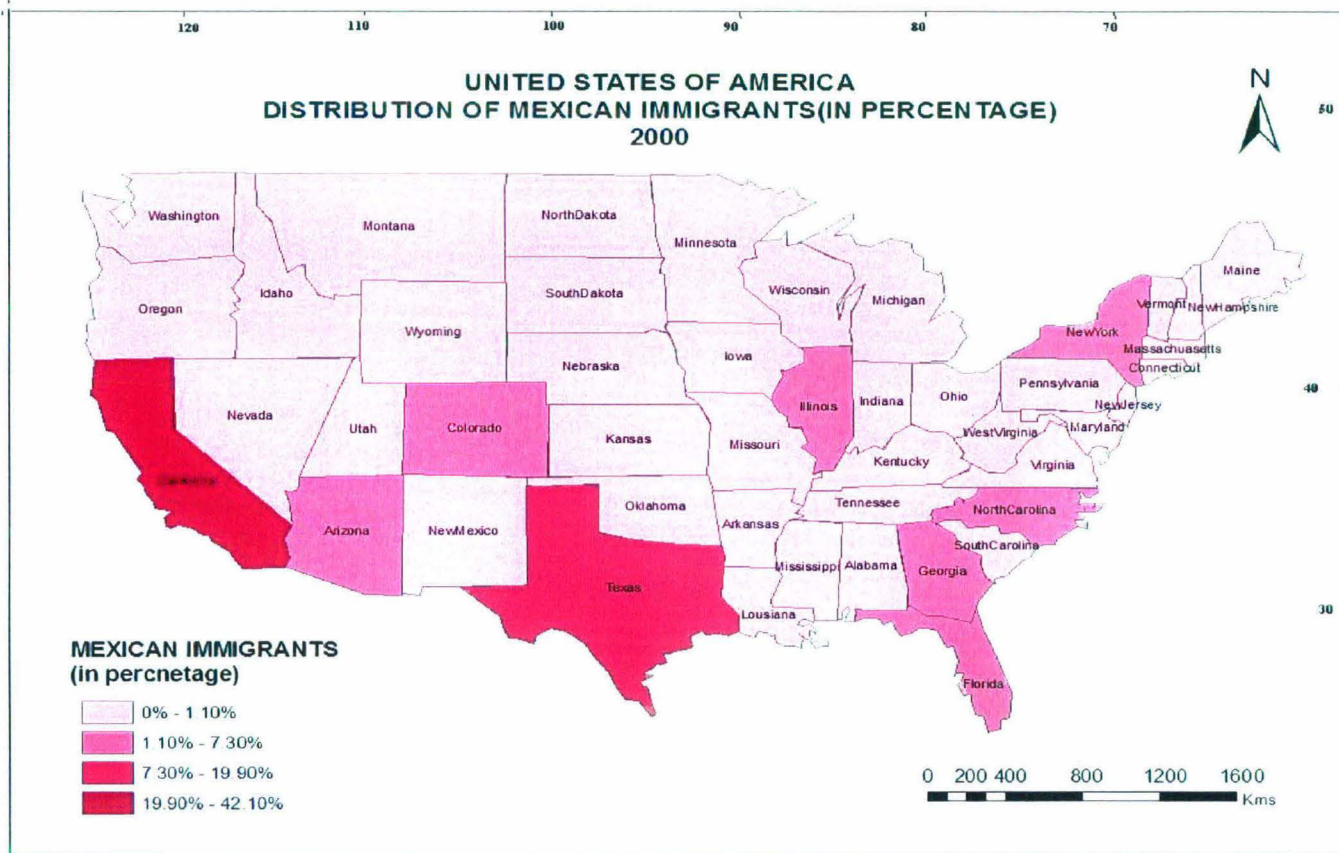
Source: Borja, George J. and Lawrence F. Katz (2005).

Figure: 2.8



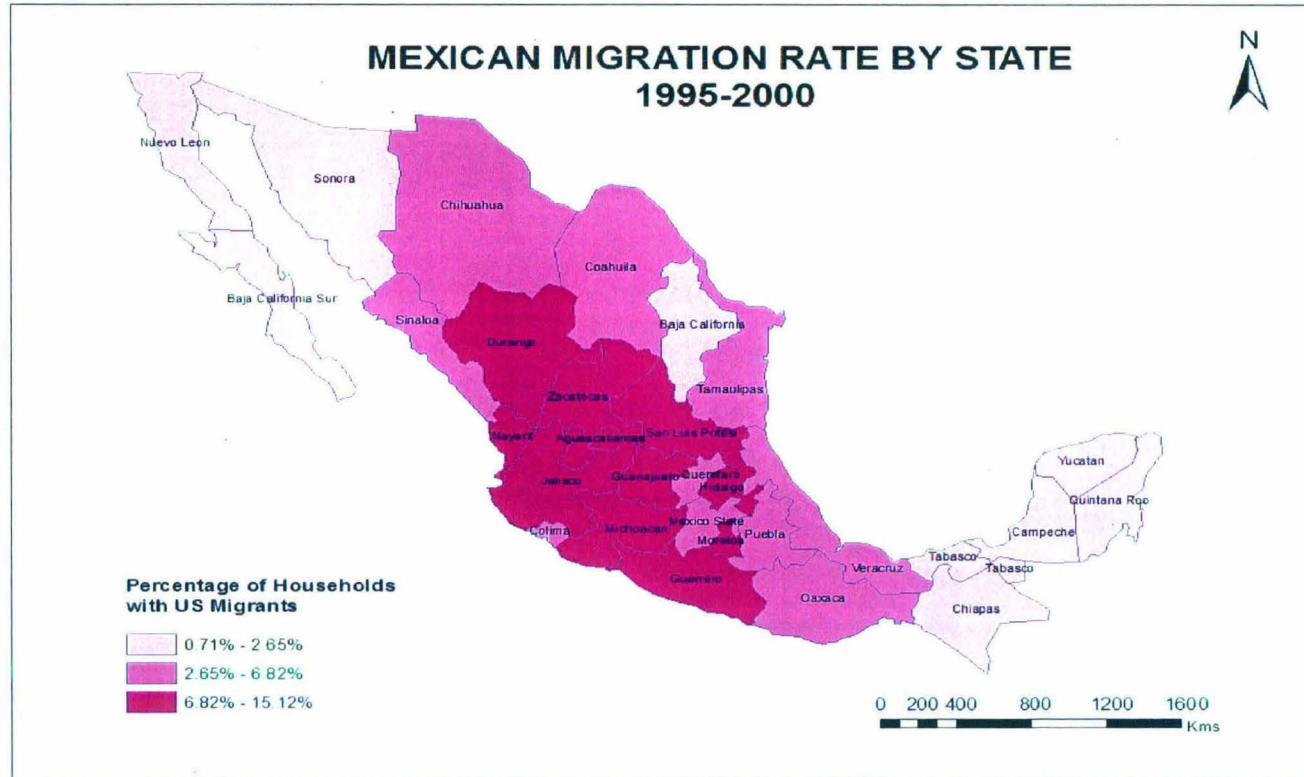
Source: Borja, George J. and Lawrence F. Katz (2005).

Figure: 2.9



Source: Borja, George J. and Lawrence F. Katz (2005).

Figure: 2.10



Source: Mexico Census Population Data, (2000).

CHAPTER 3

CAUSES OF MEXICAN MIGRATION INTO THE UNITED STATES

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Some people are nomadic and do not settle down in one place for any length of time. But most people prefer to remain in one place and build a stable community there. Sometimes people are uprooted from their homes by violence, or by economic, social and political pressures. This forced displacement can push people from rural areas into cities or refugee camps, from one region to another region, or across borders into other countries. In this chapter we would discuss the causes of the international migration.

The Irish potato famine of mid-1800s led about one million Irish people to seek survival elsewhere; hundreds of thousands came to the United States. The first wave of Asian immigrants to the United States was largely people fleeing China to escape the violence that accompanied the Taiping Rebellion (1850-1864). Many Jews went to U.S to escape the anti-Semitic pogroms of Tsarist Russia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Millions of People continue to migrate because their communities are devastated by poverty and violence. For others, it may be possible to survive in their communities, but by migrating they can get jobs that pay more, allowing them to seek a better future for their families. Many migrants hope to return home as soon as economic and political conditions in their homeland improve.

Many people consider the United States to be land of freedom and opportunities, and believe that people from around the world are eager to go there. Most of the cases, a combination of three factors influences where they choose to go. They are one, economic opportunities in the destination countries,

two the presence of family and friends there who can help them to get jobs there and a place to live, three the distance, difficulty, and the expense of the trip.

Migration can be considered as geographical expression of an economic process as there is a close relation between the growth of industrial capitalism, especially in countries with highly centralized pattern of industrialization, and large-scale rural-urban migration.

The United States has a large economy with a range of job opportunities, and many material goods are cheaper, relative to income level, than in other countries. Some migrants are drawn to the United States because it promises certain freedoms, like freedom of speech and of religion.

Mexico was a primarily agricultural economy in the beginning of the twenty century and it grew to the thirteenth largest economy in the world, rightly behind India and ahead of Russia. Its economic growth was as high as 6 % a year. But poorer Mexican was often excluded from the benefits of the growth (Guskin and Wilson, 2007).

The migration from Mexico to the United States forms the part of a worldwide flow in which labour resources are drawn to the highly developed countries from the underdeveloped countries of the world. This fact allows one to see the problem as a product of the interaction between migration and the development process. Development is associated with the incorporation of technical progress into the sphere of production; it follows that the technological and socioeconomic modes accompanying that incorporation shape or mold the development framework.

Researchers have pointed out various push factors of migration in the countries of origin such as high population growth thereby producing large increase in labour force that cannot be absorbed productively particularly in the developed countries and therefore resulting in the higher migration to nearby comparatively developed countries. Various government policies like, subsidies, fixed price of any product or export policy alter the employment opportunities of the common people.

The question that arises first in the minds of researchers while attempting to provide a theoretical explanation of Mexican migration to USA is that which theory can be best used to explain this phenomenon. The answer of this question is not very simple. Mexican migration cannot be satisfactorily explained using any just one theory of migration.

Massey *et al.* (1993, 1998) and School, (1995) distinguish theoretical approaches of international migration into two categories: theoretical approaches explaining the initiation of migration and theoretical approaches explaining the continuation of migration. In this theoretical overview a similar distinction is also made. The neo-classical economic theory, the dual labour market theory, the new economics of labour migration, and the world systems theory try to explain the initiation of migration. An example of an indicator that causes an international migration flow between two countries is wage difference between these two countries. It is a mistake to assume that the initiation of international migration flows (e.g. wage difference) only acts in a short space of time. Wage differences between countries may persist for decades. The world systems theory considers international migration from a global perspective. This approach emphasises that the interaction between societies is an important determinant of social change within societies (Chase-Dunn and Hall, 1994). An example of interaction between societies is international trade. Trade between countries with a weaker economy and countries with a more advanced economy causes economic stagnation, resulting in lagging living conditions in the former (Wallerstein, 1983; Amankwaa, 1995). This is an incentive for migration.

Network theory and institutional theory attempt to explain the course of international migration flows over time. These theories try to clarify, for instance, why international migration flows may increase if the initial incentive to migrate has diminished. However, international migration flows on a large scale and in a disproportionate direction cannot persist, at least not on a long term, solely on the basis of mechanisms identified in the theoretical explanations for the course of international migration flows over time.

3.1.1 Economic Causes of Migration

The economics of migration focus on the expectation of a higher income abroad as a chief cause of decisions to emigrate. People displace from traditional livelihood to assure their economic wellbeing by selling their labour in emerging markets. Because wage is higher in urban areas than the rural areas and in developed countries than developing countries, people migrate from rural to urban and developed to developing countries of the world (Messey, 99). Macroeconomic health of a country plays an important role in shaping its immigration policy. Periods of economic distress is associate with restrictive, economic booms is related to the expansionist policy. There are also other variables that exert an important influence on decisions to migrate, including non-economic reasons, such as war, ethnic discrimination and political persecution at home. The choice of country of destination is also often influenced by the existence of a network of family and friends who have migrated previously to a specific country. More systematically, the magnitude and direction of international migration flows are often influenced by the following factors, some of which are of a long-term nature, while others are more cyclical:

3.1.1.1 Per-Capita Income or Real Wage Differentials

Per-capita income or real wage between sending and receiving countries for a given skill level: net immigration flows (immigration minus emigration) are positively correlated to the ratio between the real per capita income (and real wage) in the destination country and that of the recipient country. Taking into account uncertainty and a long-term horizon in reaching the decision to emigrate, what is more relevant is the expected wage in the place of destination compared with that of the source country. Moreover, in a dynamic perspective, the current value of expected relative wage streams would be the relevant variable.

In neoclassical terms, the incentives for the migration between Mexico and US are large. There is a large difference of average wage between two countries. This gives incentive to the potential migrants to migrate even as illegal

migrants. According to the study of Conroy (1980), the average wage rate differs by a factor of five between two countries, and even after adjusting for the cost of transportation, entry, and foreign living; most workers can expect to earn three times what they earn in Mexico. The absence of direct data of undocumented migrants make the analysis difficult. Most of the data is from the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). The first systematic study of the Mexico-US migration was carried by Frisbie (1975). He regressed yearly changes in the rate of illegal migrants on the annual change in the six factors: farm wages, agricultural productivity, and agricultural production price in Mexico and US farm wage, US agricultural productivity and the rate of the US capital investment in Mexico. The two most important predictors were farm wages and agriculture productivity in Mexico.

Jenkins (1977) expanded Frisbie's analysis by increasing the range of years, adding several new variables as predictors, and estimating their effect on bracero as well as illegal migration. Bracero were Mexican agricultural workers contracted a bi-national labour program administered by the United States government from 1942 to 1964. Jenkins carried out a lagged regression of first differences for the period 1948 through 1972 and reported standardized correlations. As suggested by the neoclassical theory rate migration rose as the wage difference widened. His estimates shows that the Mexico –US wage difference had a positive effect on the rate of both Bracero and illegal migration was particularly strong in predicting the rate of Mexican immigration. But Jenkins also found that push factor in Mexico was stronger than pull factor of the United States.

Blejer, Johnson, and Prozacanski, (1978) further extended research on Mexico-US migration by considering legal as well as illegal migrants. They found that only two factors had effect on migration that was wage differentials and unemployment ratios. Differences in earnings between the United States and Mexico are one factor that contributes to Mexican migration to the U.S. Hanson (2006) examined differences in hourly wages for men in Mexico and Mexican immigrant men in the United States in 2000. By asking how long a migrant from

Mexico would have to work in the United States in order to recoup border-crossing costs, as approximated by the price of coyote services. He focused on males, since; there are large differences in labor-force participation rates between women in Mexico and Mexican immigrant women in the United States, which complicates comparing female wage outcomes across national borders. By limiting the analysis to current wage differences and a single component of migration costs, this exercise falls well short of a complete cost-benefit accounting of the migration decision. Still, given large back and forth flows of labor across the U.S.-Mexico border, the current U.S.-Mexico wage differential are likely to be the relevant gross return to migration for at least some prospective migrants.

The average hourly earnings by age and schooling categories for males in Mexico (based on the 2000 Mexico Census of Population and Housing) and for immigrant males from Mexico in the United States (based on the 2000 U.S. Census of Population and Housing) (see Table: 3.1). To increase the share of illegal immigrants among Mexican immigrant men, he limits the sample to very recent immigrants (individuals residing in the United States for 0-3 years). To adjust for cost of living differences between the countries, he scale up Mexican hourly wages to achieve purchasing power parity with the United States, using the 2000 PPP adjustment factor for Mexico in the Penn World Tables .Not surprisingly, wages are substantially higher among Mexican immigrants in the United States than among residents of Mexico. For 23-27 year-old males the PPP-adjusted hourly wage differential varies from \$7.01 for those with 0-4 years of schooling to \$5.76 for those with 13-15 years of schooling and to \$7.82 for those with 16 or more years of schooling. Given that migration propensities vary widely across regions of Mexico, one might think that the average hourly wage for the country as a whole may not be the relevant alternative wage for most prospective migrants.

Table: 3.1 Average Hourly Wages (in 2000 US Dollar) of Mexican Male in the US, (2000)

Age	Years of Schooling Completed					
	4	5 to 8	9 to 11	12	13 to 15	16+
<i>18 to 22</i>	7.83	7.60	7.45	8.07	8.76	8.44
<i>23 to 27</i>	8.44	8.19	8.21	9.06	9.53	13.02
<i>28 to 32</i>	8.27	8.56	8.70	9.66	9.56	15.69
<i>33 to 37</i>	9.46	9.25	9.34	10.07	11.36	16.84
<i>38 to 42</i>	9.19	9.39	9.33	11.01	12.11	16.26
<i>43 to 47</i>	9.75	9.35	9.35	10.68	12.80	15.88
<i>48 to 52</i>	9.57	8.93	9.42	9.31	11.65	17.78

Source: United States Census of Population and Housing, (2000).

Table: 3.2 Average Hourly Wages (in, 2000 US Dollar) of Mexican Male in Mexico, (2000)

Age	Years of Schooling Completed					
	4	5 to 8	9 to 11	12	13 to 15	16+
<i>18 to 22</i>	1.36	1.56	1.76	2.06	2.61	3.91
<i>23 to 27</i>	1.43	1.80	2.10	2.79	3.77	5.20
<i>28 to 32</i>	1.56	1.93	2.42	3.22	4.80	6.63
<i>33 to 37</i>	1.65	2.08	2.56	3.45	5.25	7.07
<i>38 to 42</i>	1.64	2.14	2.88	3.74	5.62	7.42
<i>43 to 47</i>	1.69	2.30	3.00	4.40	5.86	8.05
<i>48 to 52</i>	1.66	2.30	3.15	4.21	6.11	8.71

Source: Mexican Migration Project Survey, (2000).

The amount of labour flows from Mexico to the United States depends primarily on the correlation between migration and U.S.-Mexico earnings differences. There is little work on the underlying causes on these wage differences or whether migration is related to variation in these causal factors. The work that perhaps most closely addresses these issues is Robertson (2000), who examines the correlation between U.S. and Mexican wages over time. Using synthetic cohorts constructed from household data in the two countries over 1987-1997, he regresses the quarterly change in Mexican wages for a given age-education-region cell on quarterly changes in U.S. wages for the same age-education cell and on the lagged difference in U.S. and Mexican wages for the cell. A shock that raises U.S. wages by 10% is associated with an increase in wages in Mexican interior cities by 1.8% and wages in Mexican border cities by 2.5%. Positive co-movements in U.S. and Mexican wages are consistent with the two countries' labor markets being at least partially integrated. Migration flows are one factor that may contribute to labor-market integration, as are cross-border trade and investment flows.

3.1.2 Political Causes of Migration

Political situation of both, source of migration and destination of migration, plays an important role in shaping the characteristics, direction and volume of the migratory flow. Immigration policy of the destination country and development policy of the source should be analyzed properly to understand the underlying force of the migration. Immigration is also promoted by the foreign policy and military action of the core capitalist countries to maintain international power relation, protect foreign investment, and guarantee access to raw materials.

Immigration policy of the United States is based on the cost –benefit approach which tries to maximize the profit of the US interest groups in US. The policy of the US government also reflects the business cycle of the country. Historically it had been seen that government allowed immigrants when they needed them and restrict their admission when they were not needed. For instance, during the First World War US welcomed Mexican migrants as there urgent needs for them. And

in order to employ Mexican they found a loophole in the existing Immigration Act, the Immigration Act of 1917 which excluded illiterates from entering the country. Ironically, this meant that many Mexicans should never have been permitted to enter the U.S. as workers. However, the Secretary of Labor William Wilson found a loophole in the law that made it possible to exempt Mexicans from the Exclusion Act of 1917 under certain economic conditions. Because of World War I, the economic conditions in the U.S. made it acceptable to authorize waivers primarily in the agricultural sector in addition to the railroad, mining, and construction sectors. The exceptions were made for a period from 1917 to 1921 as long as employers indicated that immigrants were needed to fulfill vacancies in their sectors. But at the time of Great Depression the mood of American became reversed. As Depression dried up employment opportunities and sharpened the antagonism towards foreigners who were scorned as competitors for the scarce jobs and social welfare schemes. Prejudices, physical intimidation, and ethnic slurs abounded.

3.1.2.1 Immigration Policy

It is the outcome of a political process through which competing interests interact within bureaucratic, legislative, judicial, and public arenas to construct and implement policies that encourage, discourage, or otherwise regulate the flow of immigrants. Shughart, Tollison, and Kimenyi (1986) identify three key interest groups in the political competition to formulate immigration policy: workers, capitalists, and landowners. Workers want high wages and thus struggle politically to limit the supply of labor, pressuring politicians to pass more restrictive laws and strictly enforce them. Capitalists, in contrast, favour expanding the labour supply to reduce wages and keep labor markets flexible. They pressure politicians to pass more expansive legislation and relax enforcement of restrictions. Capitalists are joined by landowners in this effort, as the latter favour immigration as a means of increasing rents.

More fundamental reason why immigration policy matters is that even though migrant-receiving states have imperfect capacity to determine the number of immigrants, policy choices perfectly define the conditions of migration. In

particular, policy decisions classify migrants as legal permanent residents, temporary nonimmigrant, humanitarian migrants, or undocumented immigrants. Policy decisions determine the rights each class of migrant enjoys, as well as how aggressively those rights are enforced. The most important distinction is between legal and undocumented immigrants. The undocumented lack most rights associated with membership in an advanced industrial economy, including unionization and workplace safety rights, unemployment insurance, and programs to subsidize health care and home ownership. As a result, not only do unauthorized immigrants earn significantly less than legal immigrants (and natives) with similar skills, but they are also less likely to own houses, engage in entrepreneurial activity, and obtain preventive health care.

Meyers, (1995) analyzed US policies in both the industrial and postindustrial periods. For years between 1890 and 1989, he coded immigration policies using a 0-6 ordinal scale of restrictiveness and regressed it (using both ordinary least squares and ordered probit methods) on a set of indicators derived from a theory of policy determination he specified, dividing the analysis into two periods: 1890-1939 and 1940-1989.

Meyers argued that the restrictiveness of immigration policies was determined by six basic factors. First was the economy, operationalized by the employment rate, with downturns generating greater pressures for restriction. Second was the volume of immigration, measured by the number of immigrants expressed as a percentage of the receiving country's population, with relatively high levels of this index yielding greater pressures for restriction. Third was social conformity, measured by an index that coded limitations on freedom of expression. He argued that broader shifts toward social conformity were associated with a reaction against immigrants as aliens, and, hence, restrictive immigration policies. For his fourth factor, foreign relations, Meyers created a dummy variable to indicate years corresponding to the failure of anti-communist movements overseas and to peak years of the Cold War conflict. He hypothesized that Cold War tensions would be associated with relatively expansive immigration policies. Fifth, like Foreman-Peck, he argued that industrial unrest,

measured by the frequency of strikes, would yield moves toward restriction. Finally, Meyers entertained the possibility that the party in power might make a difference, with Republican presidents generally being more conservative and, hence, more restrictionist compared with Democratic presidents.

Robert L Bach, (1978) argued that the conditions of exploitation of the Mexican immigrant cannot be erased so easily. Instead, the processes embodied in the state which contribute to the conditions of exploitation spring from the very nature of the state reproducing capitalist social relations in general, rather than serving as a tool of a particular segment of the capitalist class. He argued in support of this claim by examining three aspects of the structural nature of state involvement in the Mexican immigration.

Peripheralization, Border Formation and Rational of Production. Peripheralization involves two processes: penetration and incorporation. Penetration of noncapitalist areas consists of the familiar processes of removing peasants from the land and the 'opening up' of the economy to the world market. Incorporation follows by linking the peripheralized area to areas of core production and is manifest in the complementary exchange of material goods.

The accumulation drive of U.S. capital pushed capitalist relations into the Southwest in the search for new resources and markets. Two primary obstacles to limited production and exchange soon came under attack: competition over land ownership and geographical, technical and social barriers to commerce. The first major process of peripheralization involved removing native inhabitants from the land. These inhabitants, the competitors for the West's resources and land, were the Indians and Mexicans. U.S. capital expansion directly confronted these competitors in terms of Indian military resistance and, indirectly, through settlement administered by Mexican officials.

The U.S. military forcibly and violently expelled the Indian from their Western lands either directly through military conquest or indirectly through the open slaughter of their food supplies. But the Indian was not alone. The U.S. state

also 'freed' vast tracts of land from the Mexicans through military conquest during the Mexican American War and, then, through state finances and influence in the Gadsden Purchase. This appropriation of land from the Indians and Mexicans aided other efforts by private U.S. capital to expand safely into the Southwest.

Capitalist production system penetrated to the rural areas of Mexico. Manufactured production poured into rural areas, some of which was cheaper and more durable than their local counterparts and had a greater prestige. Bottle beer swept away locally brewed beverage such as *pulque*. Junk foods and soft drinks replaced tortilla savories, quelites, and edible plants and quick fried foods. Tule raincoats were replaced by plastic sheets and leather sandals by plastic shoes. These replacements of traditional rural production caused a decrease in the income of the rural people. This resulted in the creation of a floating population whose major source of income was eroded, became very prone to migrate to cities of Mexico and beyond the country's boundary in the cities of US (Arizpe, 1981).

Critical imbalance emerged as the income declined in the time when demand for money was increasing as people had to purchase new services, like electricity, transportation, and mass media aggressively campaigned for the consumption of urban capitalist production (Arizpe 1981). Urban life was propagated as modern, whereas rural life acquired prestige as a more modern way of life. Rural young generation started to see agriculture and rural life as uncivilized and backward.

Political and economic elites joined hands and reinforced each other by drawing a close circle of overlapping power and wealth. Subordination of the judiciary system to the political class gave free hand to the elite class to abuse the power. As the rural ruling class was consolidated which centralized agricultural, financial, commercial, and political capital. Against this backdrop, small farmers, daily wage earners had no political leverage in their own native places. These people were very prone to migrate.

The availability of jobs for immigrants has been related historically to the need to supplement the domestic work force during periods of labor shortage. Thus, changes in the immigration flows often coincide with fluctuations in the

business cycle (Thomas, 1973). However, several investigators have noted that, in the long run the pattern of immigration contradicts this coincidence (Castells, 1975; Portes, 1977). While the Mexican flow has been sensitive to the most extreme business cycle fluctuations, there has been a secular trend of increasing immigration and increasing domestic unemployment (Portes, 1977). The secular trend argues against and modifies the labor supply supplement argument and indicates a more basic function of immigrant labor.

Immigration and particularly illegal immigration help to maintain the rate of profit for those agricultural and non-monopoly sectors of capital which are incapable of drawing on the mechanisms open to monopoly capital for maintaining an adequate level of surplus. The fact that undocumented immigrants work 'hard and scared' allows the employer to increase productivity and maintain a low cost of labor. The familiar tales of the long hours, low wages and poor working conditions of Mexican immigrants testify to this function (Robert, 1978).

These economic relations are maintained by the political weakness of the immigrant worker. The fact that immigrants face employers as aliens, without the rights of citizenship, afraid of deportation and essentially removed from the protection of labor unions, enforces the character of their cheap labor. This alien status and, hence, political weakness results from the relationship of the Mexican immigrant to the American state. The state ensures submissiveness by dealing with undocumented immigrants as criminals; a police problem which occasionally heats up and requires massive action.

Immigrants also reduce the social costs of production for the capitalist class as a whole. The characteristic circulation of migrants between Mexico and the U.S. reduces the burden of reproducing the labor force at the point of production. Part of this burden is shifted away from U.S. capital and the U.S. economy in general (Burawoy, 1976).

3.1.2.2 United States Policy towards Mexican Immigration

Between 1885 and 1952, there was no U.S. law that permitted the admission of temporary foreign workers-immigrants had the right to work where they pleased, so that they could not be confined e.g., to a particular employer or to seasonal agriculture. Indeed, the Immigration Act of 1917 went even further, explicitly denying admission to “persons... who have been induced... to migrate to this country by offers or promises of employment,” thus preventing the entry of immigrant workers who were recruited to work for particular employers. The 1917 Immigration Act also imposed a head tax on immigrants and excluded immigrants over 16 who could not read in any language.

The first U.S. government-approved recruitment of Mexican workers occurred in 1917, when the U.S. Department of Labor suspended the contract worker bar, head tax, and the literacy test for Mexican workers coming to work for U.S. farmers for up to one year. Many Mexicans had left the U.S. in the spring of 1917, in part because of rumors that Mexicans would be drafted into the U.S. army, and to replace them, as well as to replace U.S. residents who were drafted, Mexicans were legally admitted.

From 1917 to 1921, approximately 73,000 Mexican workers entered the US under the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1917 (IAN Act) permitting the importation of foreign workers, including agricultural laborers (Craig, 1971). While prior to 1917 Mexicans were admitted to the US to work in the fields of the Pacific Northwest and the Southwest, it was not until World War I that the importation of Mexicans started to attract attention. During World War I, farmers complained they were losing labor to industry and the military. Farmers argued that since the food production was essential to the war effort, they needed a compensation for the lack of workers. Low wages and seasonal employment made jobs undesirable for domestic workers. Consequently, it was difficult if not impossible for U.S. farmers to attract domestic labor. The IAN Act constituted the legal foundation for the importation of workers. Despite claims by farmers that the program was needed only temporarily, the program lasted until 1922, approximately three years after the war ended.

Between 1920 and 1930, various groups petitioned Congress to restrict the movement of Mexicans to the United States. Unwilling to relinquish not only an abundant, but a cheap source of labor, each year farmers discouraged Congress from restricting the program (Scruggs, 1963). Moreover, during 1929-1933, farmers continued to claim that there was a shortage of domestic workers. Although agriculture was one of the few sources of employment, low wages deterred most of the unemployed, who preferred to continue to search for work elsewhere. In the 1930's, the Mexican population was perceived to be a burden to communities. Therefore, the US decided to deport many of the Mexicans. Nevertheless, the importation of Mexican farm labor to the US continued sporadically throughout the interwar years (Craig, 1971). However, the US suffered from severe labor shortages as a result of World War II and in 1942 the US signed an agreement with Mexico, establishing what became known as the Bracero program. The primary purpose of the program was to supplement domestic agricultural labor that had been drafted by the military (see Garcia y Griego, 1981; Kiser and Kiser, 1979; and Scruggs, 1963). The Bracero program should have expired with the end of hostilities in 1945; however, farmers pleaded for an extension. Farmers were successful in their efforts and the program was extended until 1947. Between 1942 and 1947 the program remained virtually unchanged. From 1948 to 1951 the U.S. returned to the IAN Act of 1917 as a legal basis for importing Mexican workers. With the exception of a few revisions, the agreement remained the same from 1948 to 1951.

3.1.2.2.1 Bracero Program

The Bracero Program” usually refers to the agreements between the U.S. and Mexico that permitted 4.6 million Mexican farm workers to enter the United States on a temporary basis to do farm work between 1942 and 1964. Some workers returned year after year; an estimated one to two million Mexicans worked seasonally in the U.S. over these 22 years.

Farmers argued persuasively for the Bracero program. During World War I and World War II, farmers complained of labor shortages and insisted on an additional source of labor. Farmers continued to claim that domestic workers were lazy, unreliable, and unwilling to perform “stoop” labor. Farmers disguised

their desire for cheap labor in concern for their crops, which they claimed would lie fallow without the continuation of the farm labor program. Young, representing the National Cotton Council, insisted that the farmers' view of the situation needed to be considered (USCH, 1960). Tolbert, representing the National Farm Labor Users Conference and the California Farm Labor Association, stated, "[S]hould those people be deprived of the use of this imported farm labor they are certainly going to the far corner of the country to recruit labor in an attempt to keep their farms going and when they do that it automatically will affect the labor supply and operation of farms throughout the United States" (USCH, 1955: 111). Farmers alleged that the number of domestic workers interested in farming was rapidly declining and no reasonable level of compensation would entice domestic workers to perform "stoop" labor. Moreover, supporters maintained that providing domestic workers with benefits similar to those granted to braceros would bankrupt farmers. Furthermore, even if domestic laborers were available, farmers complained they were completely unreliable. Therefore, it was indispensable to supplement domestic labor with Mexican workers. Henderson of the Michigan Farm Association commented, "He is free to leave his employment and break his contract the day after arrival in Michigan if he so chooses" (USCH, 1955: 127). On the other hand, the Mexican worker is "prohibited by the terms of his contract from freely moving about and selecting his own employment." Farmers managed to secure a position enabling them to capture rents at the expense of domestic workers for 22 years.

Local Religion Group: The local churches, supported by growers, supported the Bracero program, because if local churches supported the program, farmers in their congregation would be supportive in return. Likewise, certain local Catholic churches, for example St. Paul's Episcopal Church in El Centro, California, had a large percentage of Mexican parishioners (Barusto, 2001).

Opposition to the Bracero Program: Unions, like religious organizations, employed resources to lobby Congress to terminate the Bracero program. Recruiting foreign labor at a cheap wage rate, farmers were able to capture economic rent at the expense of domestic workers. The termination of the

program would have forced markets to clear at a higher wage rate. Not all growers employed braceros. Where farmers were not using braceros, wages were considerably higher. Therefore, there appeared to be no shortage of domestic agricultural labor, as farmers claimed.

There were many *braceros* who were overstaying their authorization visas. The U.S. saw an increase in illegal immigration. There was a rise in complaints and criticism from individuals and groups over the illegal immigrants' impact in agriculture. These individuals and groups claimed that immigrants were displacing native agricultural workers, increasing the violation of labor laws, as well as increasing crime, disease, and illiteracy. Therefore, Operation Wetback was launched in Texas in 1954 in which mass deportations of illegal wetbacks (*mojados*) were conducted daily through the search of U.S. businesses. 4,800 illegal immigrants were captured in the first day of Operation Wetback and subsequently averaged 1,100 per day (Handbook of Texas Online 1997b). Illegal workers were returned to Mexico at the nearest border town via train, buses, trucks, and later on ships such as the "Emancipation" from Port Isabel, Texas. The goal was to send the immigrants as far in to Mexico in order to discourage them from returning to the U.S. In 1954, a total of 1.1 million individuals were returned to Mexico through Operation Wetback. As criticism continued against the *braceros*, the Department of Labor issued a study in 1959 in which it stated that domestic farm workers were at a "disadvantage" due to the *Bracero* Program (Garcia y Griego 1998, 1218). As a result the *Bracero* Program came to an end in 1964.

3.1.2.2.2 IRCA, 1986

The United States government passed Immigration Reform and Control Act, 1986 (IRCA, 1986) to reduced the flow of illegal migrants. Motivated by congressional fears of demographically driven migration through the U.S.–Mexico “backdoor” (U.S. Select Commission on population, 1978), and by the purported medical risks, contagion possibilities, so called cultural enclavism, and fiscal burdens posed by such migration (U.S. House Committee

on Energy and Commerce, 1986; U.S. Subcommittee on Economic Resources, 1986), IRCA sought to close the border to undocumented migration and eradicate the underground worker economy.

The bill provided a blanket amnesty for unlawful workers who had entered the United States before 1970 and had resided there continuously. Those arrived between 1970 and 1st January 1977, would enjoyed a “nondeportable” status as a “temporary resident aliens” that is they could remain in the US but they were not eligible to enjoyed the welfare, Medicare or any other social services. To discourage to employ Mexican immigrants this Act impose fine to the employers who knowingly hire the illegal Mexican.

The IRCA had two main components. First, it made employers who hired illegal aliens subject to fines or imprisonment. These penalties were meant to discourage the hiring of unauthorized immigrants and reduce migration by dampening the employment expectations of migrants. Second, IRCA provided amnesty to illegal aliens who had lived in the United States continually since 1982 if they applied before 1988. This policy legalized U.S. migration contacts for households throughout rural Mexico. In so doing, it may have encouraged migration by family members of newly legalized migrants, while also sending a signal to rural Mexicans that future amnesty deals might be forthcoming. Therefore, these two components of IRCA potentially have counteracting effects on immigration (Richter, J. Edward Taylor, Antonio Yúnez-Naude, 2005).

United States policies regarding immigration have influence the status of migrants as due to limitation of availability Visa. Restriction in issuing visa in the time of high demand, force people to migrate illegally. Policies intended to deter undocumented migration appear to have failed; indeed, they backfired. According to Massey and Esponsina, (1997), imposition of employer sanctions and the concentration of forces along the border increased the odds of taking the risk of first illegal trip to the United States. Prospective migrants interpreted that in the coming day more stringent law will be enforced. So, it is better for them to

migrate as soon as possible. Mexican who was in United States preferred to hang onto jobs as they feared of not getting into US next easily.

The IRCA initiatives have backfired in another way. When congress implemented employer sanctions at the end of 1986, it also enacted a large scale amnesty program, and subsequently legalized millions of formers undocumented migrants, which appeared to encourage addition illegal migration by relative who remained at home.

3.1.2.3 Political Situations in Mexico

The political situation in sending countries has an impact on the amount of emigration. First of all, political tension can result in outbursts of violence and civil war. Through violence between groups of citizens (e.g. ethnic conflicts), violence between the state and its citizens (e.g. oppression of a certain population group or uprisings against the ruling authorities), or violence between states (wars), the safety of individuals may feel endangered and they may have to seek refuge. This physical danger can come about by persecution, arbitrary violence, but also by starvation. Often, migration is the only possible escape from this situation. In addition, the government of a sending country can influence the extent of emigration explicitly by policy measures. Within international political relations, sending countries can use the migration issue to achieve other goals. In exchange for attempts to limit emigration, for instance, they may be able to extort increasing or continuing aid or better trade conditions from receiving countries (Hamilton, 1997).

Migration of Mexican to the United States cannot be simply understand by analyzing only the demand of cheap labour and higher wage in USA and surplus labour and low wage in Mexico. This migration flow is much more complex than it seems. Both US government and Mexico government and their policies play an important role in this complex process. To understand this process we have to analyze the immigration policies and various economic

policies of US and the historical happenings and policies of the Mexican government.

Mexico had been a country in the control of at least fifty separate presidencies from 1821-1860, with each averaging a year (Skidmore and Smith 1997, 229). Military coups were the norm. The different presidencies, each with his own policies, as well as the independence war had left Mexico in a state of disaster and uncertainty. Internal problems increased when government officials signed the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in February 1848 in which the United States compensated Mexico in exchange for the territory that extended from Texas to California. Thus, ending the Mexican-American War or the War of the North American Invasion as it is known in Mexico.

The signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo began the internal conflicts between the Liberals and the Conservatives and the period known as *La Reforma* along with a civil war in which Benito Juarez executes Maximilian von Hapsburg of Austria and ends monarch rule. When Porfirio Diaz took control of the government in 1876, he found himself with a country whose economy was worse than any other Latin American country had seen. Mining, textile industry, transportation and communication systems were no longer thriving and unemployment problems were increasing leading to social problems (i.e. increased crime). Because the Spaniards had been ordered out of the country, their investments were no longer available to boost the economy. These conditions helped the poverty rate grow and unemployment rose leaving the country with an incredible amount of labor surplus. This labor surplus would later benefit the United States.

In the Diaz Era, Mexico entered an era of progress, recuperation, and economy boost but the condition of the working poor remained at the abyssal as the wealth accumulated in Mexico was not equally distributed. The rich became richer, the poor became poorer, and with no real middle class developed as was the case in other Latin American countries. Diaz concentrated on enforcing the ban on corporate landholdings by the Mexican Indians and their lands were taken away. In addition, all people were required to use their land or risk confiscation. An example of the improving Mexico and its desire to modernize can be seen

through the building and expanding of railroads in the late 1880s. By 1900, Mexico had 12,000 miles of track which would eventually fall under state control in 1907 (Skidmore and Smith 1997, 232). Along with the expansion of railroads and industrialization, Mexico found itself to be the United States primary trading partner. By 1895, Mexico had produced a budget surplus.

But due to the unequal distribution of the fruit of development, the poor became highly upset and they did not have their own land to cultivate because it had been taken over by the state for commercial cultivation or for the rich, upset at the unemployment, and upset at the low wages that existed as inflation increased. These issues along with the centralization of the government were the causes that led to *huelgas* (strikes) and eventually to the Mexican Revolution of 1910 for the people of lower class, the agricultural workers, the Indians, for agrarian reform, for equal distribution of economic progress in Mexico, and for the opportunity to gain power and control of the country.

The people believed that this Revolution was the only way to restore justice for the poor and close the gap between the rich and the poor. Unfortunately, the Mexican Revolution did not bring the expected social reform to the masses. The presidents that followed Victoriano Carranza, Alvaro Obregon, Plutarco Elias Calles were more preoccupied with political stability, economic modernization and reforms based on their own visions and not for the benefit of the masses. This accelerated the exodus of Mexicans to the US. Whole families, *campesinos* and political refugees fled to the US due to the hardships and violence they experienced in Mexico. The pressures for emigration were coupled by an increase in the demand for workers in the US during the First World War. The flow of new migrants, together with the fact that many of these families decided not to return to Mexico after the Revolution, resulted in a significant demographic growth of the Mexican population living in the US. It is estimated that almost 1 million Mexicans entered the country between 1900 and 1930, joining approximately 500,000 who were already there (Gutiérrez, 1999).

In the period from 1940s to 1970s, Mexico was administered using the growth model in which the administrations desperately wanted to depart from Revolution period, achieve economic stability and growth while concentrating on

industrialization. If one accepts that development is associated with the incorporation of technical progress into the sphere of production, it follows that the technological and socioeconomic modes accompanying that incorporation shape or mold the developmental framework. It is a recognized fact that the introduction of technical progress in Mexico has been due to capitalist expansion. The result of this insertion through various phases has been the development of a peripheral, capitalistic economy in which heterogeneous structures coexist (Alba Francisco, 1978). According to Levy and Szekely (1983), this resulted in agricultural contribution to total production decreasing from 21% to 11% while industrial contribution increased from 25% to 34%. This caused mass emigration to Mexican urban areas that then resulted in overcrowding of cities, increasing the poor in the cities, and unemployment for those in the rural areas. Rural areas suffered because their agricultural skills or products were no longer requested nor appropriately supported by the government. However, the governments believed that this economic stability and growth would permit them to create a country that would attract foreign investors resulting in a further improved Mexican economy, infrastructure, roads, trade, etc. This shift in priority from agricultural to industrial had a significant effect on those primarily from the western states of the country that were dependent on agriculture.

It seems that this strategy has reached a critical point with the surfacing of certain negative consequences. Particularly obvious were the problems of scientific and technological dependency, foreign debt and balance-of-payment deficit, concentration of income, regional imbalance, and widespread unemployment and underemployment. These consequences are traceable to the conditions and objectives of the development strategy pursued.

This industrialization process, reflecting stages of development in the more advanced economies, coincides with the freeing of the rural population from the hacienda and the redistribution of farmlands: thus, a large domestic labor pool is created and incorporated into the urban labor market. In addition, this process also takes place at a time of sharply rising population growth, the consequence of which is soon felt in the labor market. The rate of population growth was 2.7 percent a year, on the average, in the 1940s and has been over 3

percent since 1950, going as high as 3.5 percent for several years. This growth of population contributed to overpopulated cities which causing further poverty and unemployment especially as the population reached working age. People found themselves in a situation in which migrating to the north was the only solution.

Oskar Alitimir (1978) compared the product elasticity of the economically active wage population (EAWP) for the 1950-1960 and 1960-1970 periods which revealed that productive technologies employed most recently in Mexico have a tendency toward lesser work-force absorption. For the total EAWP, the coefficient slipped from 0.84 in the 1950s to 0.40 in the sixties (Alba, 1978). This trend of lowering absorption of work force led to the rise of unemployment. The unemployment rate was 1% in 1960 which increased to 3% in 1970. But the real scenario of the under utilization of the labour force was reflected by the underemployment rate. One study estimates that, in 1970, the underemployment level varied between 37 and 45 percent; that is, that there were from 4.9 to 5.8 million underemployed. Underemployment is particularly high in the farm sector: between 62 percent and 68 percent of the work force.

The Alenman's regime in 1948, adopted a new strategy of import-substitution and large-scale irrigation agriculture. Although the federal expenditure in agriculture grew progressively after that, but it was unevenly distributed within the agricultural sector. By 1960 the proportion of federal investment in irrigated agriculture was double that directed towards rain-fed agriculture, and by 1966 it was seven times as high (Arizpe,1981).

The increased irrigation of arable lands benefited only a limited group of capitalist entrepreneurs and displaced smaller producers, and Green Revolution further polarized this development. Hybrid seeds of Green Revolution could produce higher yield only when used together with other high technology inputs like chemical fertilizers, insecticides, and irrigation. As a result majority of the agrarian people fail to utilize the green revolution technology and technology and capital began to concentrate in larger estates (Alba, 1978). By 1960 the uneven development of Mexican agriculture was evident from the following figures; 50.3 percent of land plots had less than five hectares of land, which amounted to 13.6 percent of the total arable lands. These minifundios (The land tenure structure of

Latin America, are mainly subsistence-oriented smallholdings and are generally farmed by indigenous and peasant households), produced 4.2 percent of agricultural production and owned 1.3 percent of agricultural machinery. By contrast, top 0.5 percent of land plots took in 28.3 percent of the arable lands (including 37.6 percent of irrigated lands), produced 32.2 percent of agricultural production and owned 43.7 percent of agricultural machinery (Arizpe, 1981).

The development strategy of Mexico, based on the emulation of the modernization and development patterns followed by the industrialized countries, has resulted not only in growing foreign dependence, but also in the marginalization of a significant portion of the Mexican population. Among the factors which show that the fruits of greater productivity gained through technological progress have become highly concentrated are the extreme polarization of population, and the fact that, with an abundant and elastic labor supply, wages have remained low. The insufficiency of the strategy pursued can be explained by the fact that the success of this model depends on maintaining an adequate balance between real wages and mass consumption (Alba, 1978).

An analysis of a sample of duly documented, legal Mexican immigrants to the United States, found that the flow was composed both of individuals who had lived previously in the United States (60%) and those who had not previously emigrated (40%). Combined, the characteristics of the immigrants give the following socio-demographic profile: more than half were raised in communities with more than 20,000 inhabitants; only 2 percent had never been in school, while about 65 percent had finished at least grade school; and fewer than 20 percent were farmers.

3.1.3 Social Causes of Migration

Only economic incentive cannot help people to migrate to the other country they need social network there to feel at home and help to find jobs in foreign lands. Social capital plays an important role in the migration.

Social capital refers to potential value that inheres in social relationships between people. According to Bourdieu and Wacquant(1992), “social capital is the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition”. Social network in the destination country help to reduce the risks and cost of migration of entering the destination country. This network also helps to find jobs without much wait. Social network plays very important role in case of undocumented migrants. The strong family ties, and the social network they comprise, are clearly important to the economic assimilation of respondents. The survey conducted Pew Hispanic Center, asked each respondent to report the two most important ways they received employment information in the U.S. The method cited most often, 45% of the time, was talking with people you know in the United States (Table No, 3.3). Taking personal initiative and visiting job sites was cited 22% of the time and is the second most common method for finding job information (Table No, 3.1). Other significant sources of job information are acquaintances in Mexico, newspapers and radio or TV news. Visiting employment agencies or unemployment offices to find a job barely receives mention as a source of job information. That, of course, is not surprising for a sample of mostly unauthorized migrants. Instead, the success in finding jobs is built on the support of family and friends in place in the United States.

Migration networks affect migration decisions through different channels that can be classified into essentially three categories. First, migrant networks can provide various information regarding the mode of crossing and living conditions in the destination. Second, migrant networks can be a source of credit, providing potential migrants with the funds needed to cover the cost of migration. Third,

migrant networks can help migrants to find work and assimilate into society at the destination (Genikot and Senesky, 2004).

Perhaps as a result of migration networks, current generations of Mexican immigrants in the United States tend to live near individuals from their home regions in Mexico. For instance, Munshi (2003) finds that immigrants from the state of Jalisco are much more likely to live in Los Angeles or San Diego than immigrants from the state of Guanajuato, who prefer Chicago or Dallas.

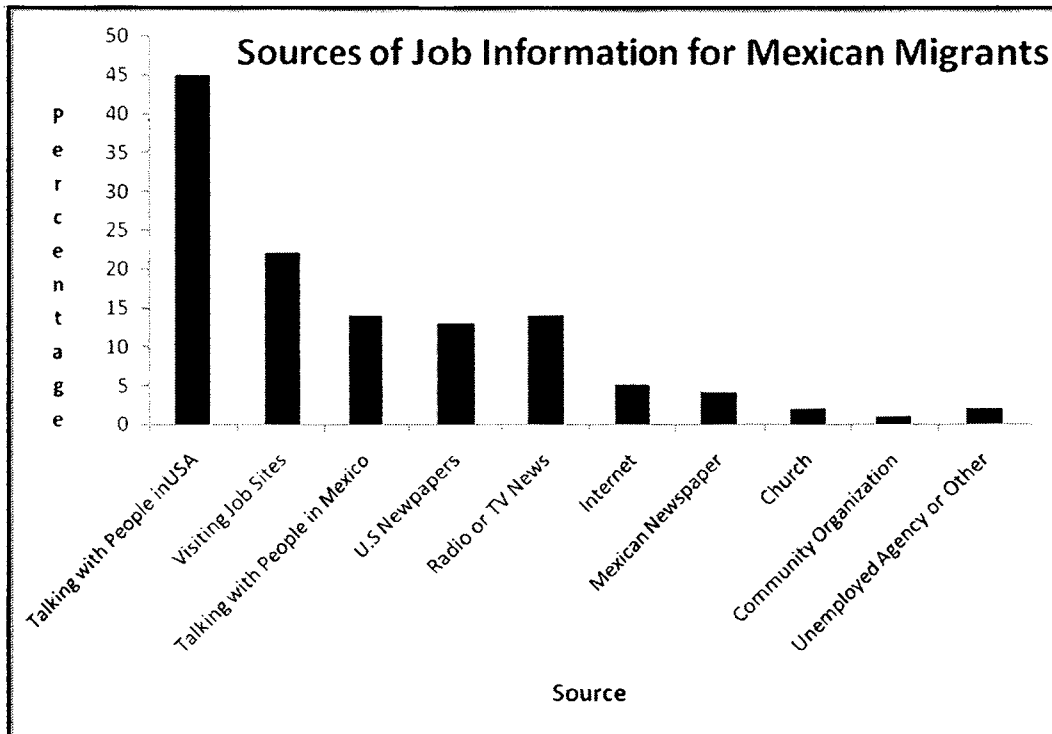
Table: 3.3 Sources of Job Information for Mexican Migrants

Sources	Percent Citing a Source
Talking with People in U.S	45
Visiting Job Sites	22
Talking with People in Mexico	14
U.S Newspapers	13
Radio or TV News	14
Internet	5
Mexican Newspapers	4
Church	2
Community Organization	1
Unemployment Agency or Others	2

Note: Respondents were allowed to cite up to two sources of information. Thus, column will not add to 100

Source: Pew Hispanic Center, Survey of Mexican Migrants, (July 2004-January 2005).

Figure: 3.1



Note: Respondents were allowed to cite up to two sources of information. Thus, column will not add to 100.

Source: Pew Hispanic Center, Survey of Mexican Migrants, (July 2004 - January 2005).

Migrants reinforce networks by creating home-town associations that help members of their communities in Mexico make the transition to living north of the border. Of 218 home-town associations formed by Mexican immigrants enumerated in a 2002 survey of such organizations in southern California, 87% were associated with one of the nine west-central states that dominated migration to the United States under the Bracero Program (Cano, 2004).

Family networks can be viewed as similar to those discussed in the sociology literature as "strong ties" networks and community networks are similar to "weak ties" networks the former being between close friends and kin and the latter involving relationships between acquaintances(Boyd 1989; Grieco 1998;Wilson 1998). Both networks are expected to provide varying degrees of assistance and information to potential migrants. Banerjee(1984) similarly distinguishes between direct and latent information. Direct information is that which has been transmitted through visits or contacts with relatives in an urban

center while latent information is the common knowledge about migration that has come from community gatherings and observations of other migrant households. Along similar lines we distinguish between family and community networks information. Family network information only benefits the immediate family and is directly transmitted to the household from the previous or current migration experiences of extended family member's. Community network information, which benefits the entire community, results from the relayed migratory experiences of members of the community-the folk-wisdom about migration. Community network information is from the same migrants who have provided information to family members that have filtered into the community. The value of this information, relative to information directly received from the family, depends on two factors. First, it depends on whether a privately received message is fully expressed. In some cases, such as the relay of information on a specific job opening in the United States, the information will not be shared with other members of the community if sharing creates competition for family members.

For more general information, while there may be no reason to with hold information, particularly in small, cohesive ejido communities, (Ejido system is a process whereby the government promotes the use of communal land shared by the people of the community) the retelling of messages may not be complete. Second, the source of message is important. If a potential migrant receives a message second- or third-hand without information on the source, or with limited information on the source, then the value placed on the message would be lower According to economist Nelson (1959) and Dunlevy and Gemery (1978) networks act to facilitate the achievement of equilibrium between labour markets by transmitting information about wage opportunities. Social capital theory, in contrast, posits a direct connection between network and costs and benefits of migration, and it emphasizes the non recursive nature of relationship between international migration and network formation. Non migrants are hypothesized to draw on the social capital embedded in the ties of migrants to lower their cost and risks of movement and to rise their benefits and lower their costs and risks. Due to this lowering of the risks some people will start migrating and they will

provide the needed network to the new set of people who want to migrate. In this way over the time, migration tends to become self-perpetuating because each act of migration creates additional social capitals that promotes and sustains more movement. The steady accumulation of social capital through the expansion of networks yields a feedback loop that is particularly powerful in the case of Mexican migration (Messey, 1997),

Messey and Espinosa, (1997) studied the access to the social capital in four ways. First, they include a dummy variable indicating whether either of the respondent's parents had begun migrating to the United States by the person-year in question. Secondly, they include a count of the number of the respondent's siblings who had begun migrating during the year under observation. Third, they include measure of social capital available within the community by estimating the proportion of persons 15 years old or older who had been to the United States during each person-year. The last measure of social capital is listed under the policy rubric; that is, whether or not any member of the respondent's household had been legalized under the term of Immigration and Control Act (IRCA) of 1986.

According to their study they found that access to the social capital substantially increased the probability of taking first trip as an undocumented migrant. Restrictive nature of Unites State's Immigration policy towards Mexico forced people to migrate to the north as illegally as supply of legal visas was enough to cover only 9 % of the total demands of the legal visas. So, a person who has family network in US is more likely to migrate illegally than the people without any access to social network. In particular, having migrants parents and a large number of migrant siblings are both highly significant in raising the odds of undocumented migration, and living in a place where a relative large number of community members have been to the United States is especially wonderful in promoting undocumented movement. Thus, the evidence suggests that social capital plays a crucial role in initiating legal and as well as undocumented migration between Mexico and the United States.

CHAPTER 4

CONSEQUENCES OF MEXICAN MIGRATION INTO THE UNITED STATES

4.1 INTRODUCTION

It has been widely recognized that migration affects the area of origins, the area of destination and the migrants themselves. Beaujeu-Garnier, (1966) rightly remark that each migrants, by nature, seeks to recreate something of the original milieu in the midst of the new environment and consequently, enriches the civilization. Migrants leave the origins and settle in the destinations and consequently change the economic, social and political characteristic of the both places. Since migration is the expression of reallocation of human resources with view to achieving better balance between human resource and physical resources, the population-resource relationship of two area involved in the process of migration get modified significantly (Chandna, R.C, 2006). In general labour migrants are relatively young. Therefore, it is most likely that labour migration will have an ageing impact on the sending society and a rejuvenating impact upon the receiving society. Furthermore, in the long run international migrants may have a rejuvenating impact on the demographic composition of receiving societies due to their higher fertility rate. The objective of this chapter is to address the various aspects of the consequences of the Mexican immigration to the United States.

Social or family structures may also be seriously affected by the prolonged or repeated absence of the head of the family or other family members. The migrants also face adaptation problems for example; rural people moving to new urban industrial location suffer from lack of pure air and open spaces. This may cause many type of respiratory diseases.

All countries, even those where a large proportion of the citizens are themselves descendants of immigrants, manifest tensions between new arrivals

and parts of the native population. Such tensions are partly invoked by the perception of unchecked flows of new immigrants as well as overtly anti-immigrant political parties. Opponents of migration fear adverse impacts on the labour market, public finances, and social conditions and on the distribution of income. Proponents of migration, on the other hand, note the positive economic role immigrants can play, for instance in terms of addressing specific labour shortages and the problems linked to ageing populations. The debate has also focused on the role that immigration may play as a mechanism which facilitates economic development in the source countries of immigrants. But the factual basis for these concerns and aspects of international migration are often limited. It is difficult to evaluate the size and nature of the consequences of migration, since they also depend on the volume of immigrants, the different immigration waves, their settlement patterns, as well as the characteristics of migrants, such as sex, age, country of origin and legal status. Moreover, the effects are likely to vary over time as immigrants acquire new skills and experience in the local labour market. And as relative wages change, decisions on human capital investment by the native population are also likely to adjust.

In the countries of destination, migrants are generally regarded negatively or ignored. Migrants have been blamed for or are feared to cause various problems: rise in crime, spread of diseases, taking away jobs from locals or driving down the wages of local workers. The media's tendency to focus on migrants arrested for migration violations or problems they encountered add to the perception of migration as a problem-ridden issue.

There is an additional consideration that may shape immigration policy, even if the net impact of migration is marginal or non-existent. On the one hand, there is the expectation that Governments should grant social services, for example, through ensuring adequate employment and education, offering social and medical insurance and caring for the poor, to all inhabitants. On the other hand, however, there is often also a perception that immigrants are using more of these services than they are paying for. As a result, Governments often have to strike a balance between the national need for immigrants and voters' demands

for more stringent immigration policies. What is missing in these arguments, however, is recognition of the actual or potential contributions to the host economy made by immigrants or temporary workers who bring with them skills that are in short supply in the domestic labour market, for example, computer-software engineers, scientists, doctors, nurses, schoolteachers, agricultural workers and household help. Moreover, despite public concern over immigration policy in developed countries particularly regarding unskilled immigrants, the net overall economic impact of the migration of skilled and unskilled labour, while positive, is relatively minor in comparison with the national incomes of the host economies.

The consequences can be observed in economic, social and demographical, and political terms.

4.1.1 Economic Consequences

The most widely discussed consequences of immigration on the receiving countries are its impact on the level of employment and wages.

The economic consequence of the international migration can be studied by studying the economic impact on the country of origin and the country of destination.

The migration of highly skilled labour, even though beneficial to host countries, raises concerns for origin countries, since the host economies “brain gain” is a “brain drain” for sending economies. An immediate loss is the public investment in migrants’ education and training, as well as the taxes that these skilled persons used to pay. More importantly, such loss of human capital implies that the sending country may have to rely more on semi-skilled and unskilled labour, thereby lowering the prospects of attaining higher levels of growth.

The migration of semi-skilled and (so-called) unskilled labour is also important for home countries. In the first place, migrants’ skills and educational levels tend to be above the national average of the home country. Secondly, many of these migrants had some kind of employment before migrating and, especially

if there are a large number of them, their departure represents a loss of fiscal contributions as well as of prior public investment in their education and health care.

However, the emigration of workers can also have positive consequences for development. First, the realization that skilled migrants are able to obtain well-paid jobs in developed countries may raise incentives for those left behind to pursue higher education. Second, remittances, especially remittances sent by those from poor families in their home countries, can help to reduce poverty. Based on household surveys, there is evidence that the incidence of poverty is lower in “emigrant households” and that households receiving remittances from abroad or other regions in the same country are more likely to send their children to school than are non-recipient households with similar incomes. The higher propensity to consume of recipient households will also have a larger impact on the economy as a whole via the multiplier effect. Return migration can bring back new skills, experience and investments that may accelerate productivity

4.1.1.1 Impact on Mexico

The 10 million Mexican migrants in the United States represent about 5 percent of the world migrant total. The \$20 billion they sent home in 2005 represents more than 10 percent of world remittance transfers (World Bank 2006). Remittances are the portion of overseas earnings that the migrants send home or bring home on their .As these measures underscore, the Mexico-United States migration pattern is surely the largest unilateral flow of people (in one direction) and resources (in the other) in the world. For Mexico, migration to the United States is a significant economic and demographic phenomenon. Around 10 percent of individuals born in Mexico currently reside in the United States. The remittances these migrants send back to Mexico represent only about 2.5 percent of Mexico’s national income (Woodruff, 2006). Remittances are perhaps the most tangible consequence of migration for many households.

Both migration flows from Mexico and remittance flows to Mexico have grown rapidly in the past decade, mirroring international trends. The U.S. Census

Bureau estimates that the Mexican-born population of the United States increased by 4.8 million during the 1990s and has continued to increase by 400,000 to 500,000 annually since. The Bank of Mexico estimates that remittances totaled \$2.5 billion in 1990, \$5.6 billion in 1998, and \$20 billion in 2005, a 1990–2005 annual growth rate of 15 percent.

Table: 4.1 Average Expenditure Level and Total Expenditure (per capita)

Expenditure Category	Households without Migrants	Households with U.S Migrants
Food	4896.051	5795.913
Consumer Durables	1705.767	2005.779
Supermarkets	1146.767	679.869
Health	715.717	1218.447
Education	999.135	808.22
Housing	1037.266	905.257
Investment	1963.767	2777.995
Other	2251.691	4478.926
Total	14716.180	18670.410

Source: Analysis of Mexico National Rural Household Survey data, (2000).

The measurement of the impact of the remittance is not easy one. It is of great concern how these growing remittances might affect the circumstances of the households in the sending countries.

The simplest way to measure the impact of the remittances on households is to compare households with migrants and households without migrants. The propensity to repatriate earnings and the impact of the remittance on the household is depended on the community characteristics, property ownership, and human capital and trip characteristics

There difference in the level of remittances sending pattern. Several patterns are apparent in the data. First, rural households are much more likely to receive remittances than urban households. Just fewer than 5 percent of households in localities with fewer than 5,000 inhabitants report that they receive

remittances, compared to just fewer than 2 percent of households in urban areas with more than 100,000 inhabitants. By education level, the general pattern is that the lower the education level of the household head, the more likely the household is to receive remittances. Among households whose heads have five or fewer years of schooling, 5.3 percent report receiving remittances. Among those with six years of schooling, 3.1 percent say they receive remittances, and among those with 12 or more years of schooling, 1.2 percent report receiving remittances (Woodruff, 2006). The pattern in education is consistent with the fact that schooling attainment is lower in rural areas. At each schooling level, rural households are about twice as likely to receive remittances as are urban households.

Woodruff and Zenteno examine the impact of migration on microenterprises (self-employment). Table 4.2 the impact of migration on self-employment in Mexico. Migration may affect either the supply of capital available to invest in microenterprises or the demand for products produced by microenterprises. Massey and Parrado, (1994) coined the term “migra-dollars” to describe the latter phenomenon. Remittances flowing into a community increase the spending power of its residents. This spending increases demand for goods sold by local stores. Since about a third of microenterprises are involved in retail trade, migra-dollars may have a significant impact on the sales, and hence on the capital investments of microenterprises.

Table: 4.2 Self- Employment Rates in Mexico (in percentage)

Self-Employed Persons	With Migrant in Family	Without Migrant in Family
Urban Males	36.8	27.4
Rural Males	44.9	36.6
Urban Females	38.0	26.
Rural Females	44.0	37.0

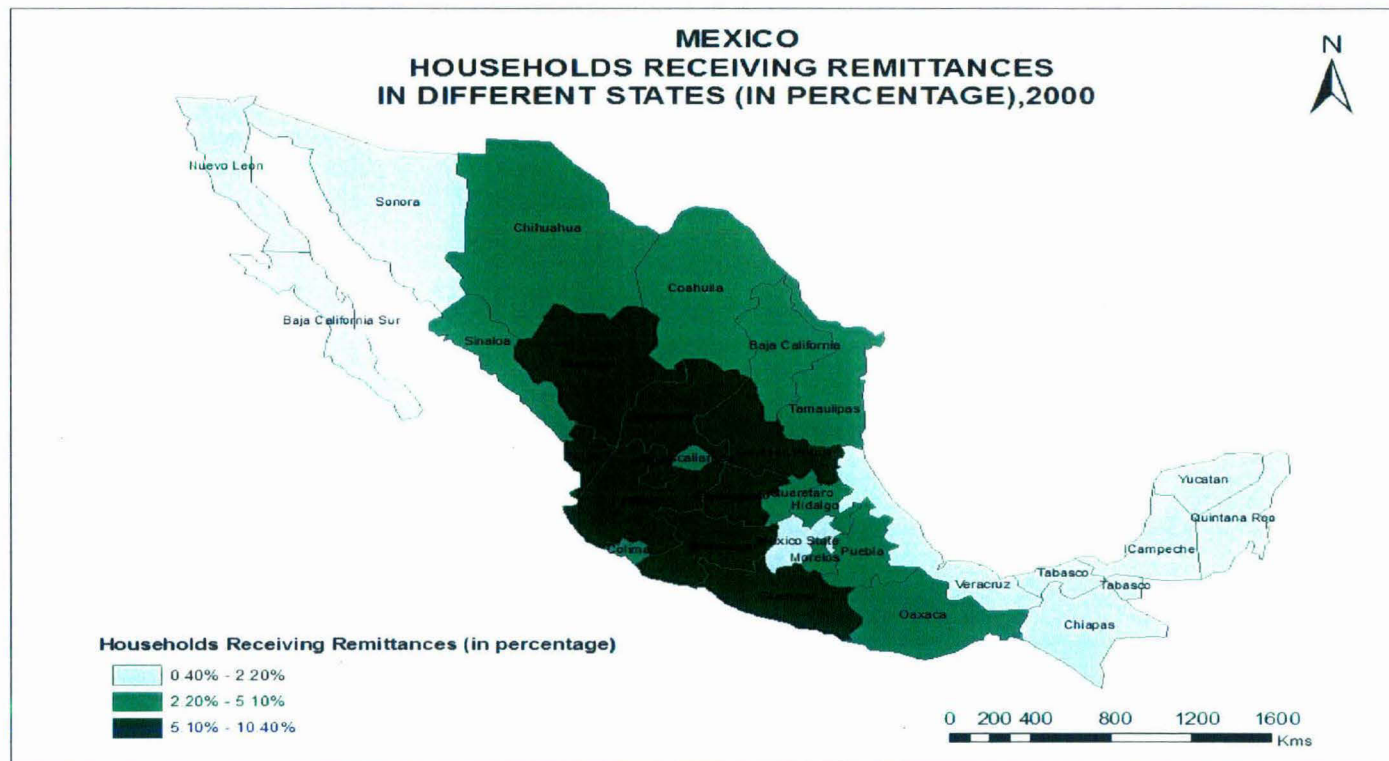
Source: Christopher Woodruff(2005).

Table: 4.3 State-Level Data on Households with Migrants and on Household Receiving Remittances (in percent)

States	Households with international Migrants, 1995 to 2000	Households Receiving Remittances in 2000
Aguascalientes	9.01	4.90
Baja California	2.65	3.00
Baja California Sur	1.56	0.70
Campeche	1.05	0.70
Chiapas	0.94	0.50
Chihuahua	4.80	3.40
Coahuila	3.08	2.50
Colima	6.82	5.10
Distrito Federal	2.05	1.10
Durango	9.28	7.80
Guanajuato	11.40	6.90
Guerrero	7.56	5.80
Hidalgo	8.62	3.80
Jalisco	8.16	5.70
Mexico State	3.24	1.40
Michoacan	13.02	8.50
Morelos	8.74	4.60
Nayarit	8.39	6.80
Nuevo Leon	2.65	1.70
Oaxaca	5.47	3.00
Puebla	4.55	2.50
Queretaro	6.18	2.70
Quintana Roo	0.90	0.60
San Luis Potosi	8.67	6.30
Sinaloa	4.09	3.30
Sonora	1.89	2.20
Tabasco	0.71	0.40
Tamaulipas	3.62	2.70
Tlaxcala	3.20	1.60
Veracruz	3.66	2.00
Yucatan	1.26	1.00
Zacatecas	15.12	10.40

Source: Mexico Census Population Data, (2000).

Figure: 4.1



Source: Mexico Census Population Data, (2000).

The pattern of Remittances amount received by various states is similar to their migrants sending pattern. Three central Western states Jalisco, Michoacán, and Guanajuato send a third of total migrants to US, these three states also receives handsome amount remittances.

Study conducted by J. Edward Taylor and Alejandro Lopez-Feldman indicate that rural households' access to U.S. migrant labor markets significantly increased incomes as well as productivity of land in rural Mexico. Table shows that 2002 average per-capita total income was approximately 51% higher in households that had a U.S. migrant in 1990 than for those that did not (18,423 versus 12,236 pesos). The 2002 income "portfolio mix" also differed between the two household groups. Not surprisingly, households with at least one international migrant in 1990 had significantly greater remittances from abroad in 2002: 5,933 versus 633 pesos. They also received more public transfers (2,180, compared with 986 pesos). Households that did not have U.S. migrants in 1990 had significantly higher 2002 per-capita income from wages (6,427 versus 4,077 pesos). Differences between the two groups in per-capita income from all other activities are not statistically significant.

The land productivity effect increases over time. Other things being equal, an additional hectare of land was associated with an increase in total income of 1,069 pesos (about US\$111) in households that had migrants in 1990 compared with 78 pesos (US\$8) in those that did not have migration. A number of studies have posited that migrants alleviate liquidity and/or risk constraints on household investments in production activities. The findings reported here suggest that it takes several years for these positive effects of migration to play out. They also suggest that migration competes primarily with local wage work, altering the composition of rural incomes away from local wages and in favor of migrant remittances, and the income effects of migration depend critically on other household assets, particularly landholdings. In households that do not have migrants in the United States, the returns to land are lower while farmer education plays a more important role in income generation, primarily via off-farm activities. There is no evidence of positive sample selectivity bias for the

migration-treatment group, however. This implies that if migrant households were suddenly deprived of migration, their expected incomes would be lower than those of otherwise similar households without migrants.

Table: 4.4 Household Status in 1990 (in Peso)

Description	Household Without U.S Migrant	Household With U.S Migrants
Per-Capita Income	12,236.17	18,422.72
Per-Capita Crop Income	2302.15	2445.16
Per-Capita Livestock Income	228.93	905.57
Per-Capita Public Transfers	985.60	2179.95
Per-Capita Remittance, U.S	632.92	5932.95
Per-Capita Remittance, Internal	313.34	224.79
Per-Capita Wage Income	6426.73	4077.12
Per-Capita Non-agricultural Income	1346.49	2657.18

Source: Taylor E.J, and A. Lopez-Feldman (2007).

4.1.1.1 Economic Impact on USA

From the point of view of the United States, immigration raises three main issues. The first issue concerns the impact of immigration on the labour market in the host countries, where the fear of losing jobs or purchasing power because of immigrants is often widespread among the native population, particularly among those at the lower end of the labour market. It is a common concern among the native population of countries hosting migrants that immigration could lead to higher unemployment and lower wages for natives. Critics of immigration argue that an influx of immigrants brings high economic costs by lowering domestic wages and raising expenditures on public services such as health care and education. If those costs are sufficiently high, the economic case for restricting illegal immigration would be strengthened.

The second issue concerns the impact of immigration on economic growth and the third concerns the fiscal consequences of migration, which are becoming more important in the light of the ageing of the population in the developed countries, particularly the countries of Europe, and Japan. Immigration increases the incomes of U.S. residents by allowing the economy to utilize domestic resources more efficiently (Hanson, 2000). But there are different types of immigrants, illegal, legal temporary and legal permanent, which have varying skill levels, income-earning ability, family size, and rights to use public services, changes in their respective inflows have different economic impacts. Immigration also affects U.S. incomes through its impact on tax revenue and public expenditure. Immigrants with lower incomes and larger families tend to be a bigger drain on public spending. Immigrants pay income, payroll, sales, property, and other taxes, with lower-skilled immigrants making smaller contributions. Immigrants use public services like, public schools, fire and police protection, roads and highways, and receiving public assistance, with families that have larger numbers of children absorbing more expenditure. Adding the pretax income gains from immigration to immigrants' net tax contributions, their tax payments less the value of government services they use, allows for a rough estimate of the net impact of immigration on the U.S. economy.

Immigration increases the supply of labor which raises the productivity of resources that are complementary to labor. More workers allow U.S. capital, land, and natural resources to be exploited more efficiently. So, immigration generates extra income for the U.S. economy, even though it pushes down wages for some workers.

Increasing the supply of labour to perishable fruits and vegetables, for instance, means that each acre of land under cultivation generates more output. Similarly, an expansion in the number of manufacturing workers allows the existing industrial base to produce more goods. The gain in productivity yields extra income for U.S. businesses, which is termed the immigration surplus. The annual immigration surplus in the United States appears to be small, equal to about 0.2 percent of GDP in 2004(Borjas, 1999). George Borjas estimates that

over the period 1980 to 2000, immigration contributed to a decrease in average U.S. wages of 3 percent. Since immigration is concentrated among the low-skilled, low-skilled natives are the workers most likely to be hurt. Over the 1980 to 2000 period, wages of native workers without a high school degree fell by 9 percent as a result of immigration. On the other hand, lower wages for low-skilled labour mean lower prices for labor intensive goods and services, especially those whose prices are set in local markets rather than through competition in global markets. Patricia Cortes finds that in the 1980s and 1990s U.S. cities with larger inflows of low-skilled immigrants experienced larger reductions in prices for housekeeping, gardening, child care, dry cleaning, and other labor-intensive, locally traded services. Lower prices for goods and services raise the real incomes of U.S. households, with most of these gains going to those in regions with large immigrant populations.

Another matter of concern for the host country is how immigration on the public finance of the host country. If immigrants pay more in taxes than they receive in government benefits, then immigration generates a net fiscal transfer to native taxpayers. The total impact of immigration on U.S. residents, the sum of the immigration surplus (the pretax income gain) and the net fiscal transfer from immigrants, would be unambiguously positive. This appears to be the case for immigrants with high skill levels, suggesting that employment-based permanent immigrants and highly skilled temporary immigrants have a positive net impact on the U.S. economy (Smith and Edmonston, 1997). They generate a positive immigration surplus (by raising U.S. productivity) and make a positive net tax contribution.

But, if immigrants pay less in taxes than they receive in government benefits, then immigration generates a net fiscal burden on native taxpayers. Paying for this fiscal burden would require tax increases on natives, reductions in government benefits to natives, or increased borrowing from future generations. If immigrants are a net fiscal drain, the total impact of immigration on the United States would be positive only if the immigration surplus exceeded the fiscal

transfer made to immigrants. For low-skilled immigration, whether legal or illegal, this does not appear to be the case.

For Correct calculation of the fiscal consequences of immigration, one needs to know many details about the income, spending, and employment behavior of the entire population of immigrants. As a result, there are few comprehensive national level analyses of the fiscal impact of immigration. The National Research Council (NRC) has conducted detailed fiscal case studies on immigration in New Jersey and California, which have relatively large immigrant populations. In 2000, a few years after the study was conducted, the share of the foreign-born adult population was 34 percent in California and 24 percent in New Jersey, compared with 15 percent in the nation as a whole. The two states have immigrant populations with quite different skill profiles and patterns of welfare usage. In 2000, the share of immigrant households headed by someone with less than a high school education was 34 percent in California and 29 percent in the nation as a whole, but only 23 percent in New Jersey. Similarly, the share of immigrant households receiving cash benefits from welfare programs was 13 percent in California and 10 percent in the nation as a whole, but only 8 percent in New Jersey. These differences in welfare uptake are due in part to immigrants in California being less skilled and in part to California offering more generous benefits.

According to the calculation of NRC (Based on federal, state, and local government expenditures and tax receipts) immigration imposed a short-run fiscal burden on the average U.S. native household of \$200, or 0.2 percent of U.S. GDP in 1996. In that year, the immigration surplus was about 0.1 percent of GDP. A back of the envelope calculation then suggests that in the short run immigration in the mid-1990s reduced the annual income of U.S. residents by about 0.1 percent of GDP. Given the uncertainties involved in making this calculation, one should not put great stock in the fact that the resulting estimate is negative. The prediction error around the estimate, though unknown, is likely to be large, in which case the -0.1 percent estimate would be statistically indistinguishable from zero. Using this sort of analysis, we cannot say with much

conviction whether the aggregate impact of immigration on the U.S. economy is positive or negative but, total impact is small.

4.1.2 Social Consequences

Migration has direct impact on the social status of the migrants. The economic gain through migration resulted many changes in the social characteristics of the communities that sends migrants to the United States. Remittances send by migrants changed the health, education condition and demographic characteristics, like fertility, mortality and child health condition. Large scale immigration of males in search of employment opportunities can have adverse effects upon the family. Separation of husbands from wives during crucial life-cycle phase, when couples are fertile and economically active, lowers the family size. The social effects of migration amongst others consist of change in family composition, family separations and the abandonment of old people, child outcomes in terms of labour, health and education.

4.1.2.1 Mexican Migration and Fertility

The interrelationship between migration and fertility is complex and multifaceted. Births are not only delayed or averted as a consequence of migration, but migration as well is initiated, postponed, or deterred as a consequence of births. The complexity of the interrelationship between migration and fertility stems from the fact that migration is used as a strategy for long-term economic mobility and as a way to satisfy current income needs.

Much of the literature on migration and fertility focuses on the disruptive and transformative influences of migration on fertility, and views migration as triggering adaptive responses that may not be entirely anticipated by the migrants themselves. The experience of moving from high- to low-fertility environments not only impacts fertility behavior in the immediate term through the costs and constraints of urban living, but also in the longer term as couples are challenged to consider their family-size goals and how they think about the financial and

time demands of children. There are evidence of both short-term disruption effects and longer-term adaptation. Women are less likely to experience birth in a given year when their husband was away in the United States for more than three months during the prior year. This result is not surprising and is consistent with earlier findings by Massey and Mullan (1984) and Lindstrom and Giorguli (2002).

The tendency of childbearing in the United States slows considerably compared to childbearing in Mexico. It has been found that fertility among women in the United States is lower and it is also lower among women who return to Mexico from US. However, husband's cumulative migration experience does not appear to have an impact on fertility apart from the immediate effect of separation. Lindstrom and Giorguli (2002) found a similar result and suggested that men and women reacted differently to their experiences in the United States. Men are less receptive than women to low-fertility norms and values in the United States that challenge traditional, patriarchal gender roles and family relations.

Migration affects health and mortality by changing economic resources and investment patterns of individuals and communities, shifting familial and social networks, and providing new information about health and lifestyles. The survival benefits attributable to migration are not immediate, but are the result of a cumulative process that accrues over time. Moreover, benefits accrue to entire communities and are not limited to infants in households with migrants.

The effects of migration on infant mortality unfold over time. In its initial stages, migration is disruptive to communities and families; with time, however, it eases household survival as it becomes part of local institutions and community life. One example of the level of its institutionalization is illustrated by current religious practices in parts of Mexico, where communities hold annual ceremonies to recognize migrants and to reinforce their importance to residents and families (Espinosa 1998).

In many areas, migrant remittances provide a buffer against local and national economic fluctuation (Grindle, 1987). Migration enables households and communities to improve overall well-being by raising standards of living and

enhancing local environments (Durand, Parrado, and Massey, 1996; Taylor and Wyatt, 1996).

The effects of migration on health condition are not so simple. Typically, men travel to the United States alone and stay for extended periods, while other family members remain at home. Studies of migration generally have found that economic benefits do not necessarily translate into adequate support for families at home (Kanaiaupuni, 1998). The migration of household heads means the temporary absence of a primary source of economic and social support for households (especially because most women do not work for wages in Mexico). Therefore, migration worsen health outcomes in the short run because origin families have less money to sustain themselves than they would have if household heads remained home. Even if income is quickly remitted to origin families, migration may not improve familial health. For many households, remittances sent back to origin communities are minimal or largely consumed by debts, thus barely meeting monthly consumption needs.

4.1.2.2 Mexican Migration and Child Health

Child health outcomes are an important direct component of household wellbeing, and a key determinant of future levels of human capital. The Grossman, (1972) health production function relates the health status of a given child to the medical and nutritional inputs the child receives (including prenatal and postnatal care and maternal nutrition), the disease environment, and the time inputs of the parents, parental health knowledge, biological endowments, and random health shocks. Using this framework, remittances are predicted to improve child health outcomes by allowing the purchase of additional medical and nutritional inputs. Migration may potentially have additional effects on child health through changing the time inputs parents are able to provide, and perhaps through changing the health knowledge of parents as they become exposed to U.S. health practices.

Hildebrandt and McKenzie find that migration has a large and significant impact on the well-being of children in Mexico. They use data from the 1997 Mexican demographic survey of households known as ENADID, which includes information on whether anyone from the household has ever migrated and fertility history of mothers. The ENADID enables us to construct several health outcome measures. Mothers are asked questions about their fertility history, and then asked more detailed information about their last two births since January 1, 1994, including the birth weight in kilograms of the baby. The four health outcomes we consider are as follows: infant mortality, defined in the standard way as a live birth dying during the first year of life; child mortality between ages 1 and 4 inclusive; birth weight in kilograms; and low birth weight, defined according to the international standard of whether or not the birth weight was below 2.5 kilograms. Birth weight is an important early indicator of child health. Low birth weight has been linked to a higher likelihood of cognitive and neurological impairment that limits the returns to human capital investment later in life, while higher birth weight has been found to be associated with greater schooling attainment and better labor-market payoffs (Wolpin, 1997; Behrman and Rosenzweig, 2003).

Children born in a household with a migrant member are estimated to be 3 percent less likely to die in their first year than children born in similar households without migrant members. The effect is much weaker in magnitude for child mortality, with children in migrant households having a 0.5 percent lower chance to dying when between the ages of 1 and 4. Migration is also estimated to raise birth weight by 364 grams, or 0.64 of a standard deviation, lowering the probability of being born underweight by 5.4 percent. Remittances or repatriated savings will allow migrant mothers to have the ability to buy more food, increasing the nutritional inputs. Children in migrant households are found to be 30 percent more likely to be delivered by a doctor, but 19 percent less likely to be breastfed and 11 percent less likely to have received all of their recommended vaccinations for tuberculosis, diphtheria, polio, and measles.

Hildebrandt and McKenzie construct an index of maternal health knowledge, based on detailed questions asked in the ENADID about knowledge of contraceptive practices. They show that this index is associated with mothers knowing more about the causes of diarrhea. The index directly measures fertility knowledge and is likely to be a reasonable indicator of general child health knowledge among mothers. Moreover, higher levels of this health knowledge measure are associated with lower rates of infant mortality and higher birth weights.

4.1.2.3 Mexican Migration and Education Attainment

Empirical research on remittances and schooling has stressed the potential for remittances to raise schooling levels by increasing the ability of households to pay for schooling. Recent examples include Cox Edwards and Ureta, (2003) who find that remittances lower the likelihood of children leaving school in El Salvador; Yang, (2004) who finds greater child schooling in families whose migrants receive larger positive exchange rate shocks in the Philippines; and Lopez Cordoba, (2004) who finds municipalities in Mexico that receive more remittances have greater literacy levels and higher school attendance among 6 to 14 year olds.

David McKenzie and Hillen Rapoport examined the overall impact of migration on educational attainment in rural Mexico by using historical data. This impact is the sum of three main effects: (I) the effect of remittances on the feasible amount of education investment, which is likely to be positive where liquidity constraints are binding;(II) the effect of having parents absent from the household as a result of migration, which may translate into less parental inputs into education acquisition and maybe into more house and farm work by remaining household members, including children; (III) and the effect of migration prospects on the desired amount of education, which is likely to be negative, as we argued, in the face of lower returns to schooling in the U.S. than in Mexico, especially in a context of illegal immigration.

They find evidence of a significant negative effect migration on schooling attendance and attainments of 12 to 18 year-old boys and of 16 to 18 year-old girls. Results show that living in a migrant household lowers the chances of boys completing junior high school (by 22 percent) and of boys and girls completing high school (by 13 to 15 percent). This is consistent with migration increasing the opportunity cost, and lowering the expected return to education. However, the negative effect of migration on schooling is somewhat mitigated for younger girls with low educated mothers, which is consistent with remittances allowing to relax credit constraints on education investment at the lower end of the wealth and income distribution

4.1.3 Political Consequences

Until recently, International migration was not seen as a central political issue. Rather, migrants were divided up into categories, such as permanent settlers, foreign workers or refugees, and dealt with by varieties of special agencies, such as immigration department, labour offices, and education ministries. It is only in the late 80s, that international migration began to be accorded with high level and systematic attention. International migration has moved from the realm of low politics (problems of domestic governance, especially, labour markets and demographic policies) to realm of high politics (problems affecting relation between states).

Some argue that current immigration poses a threat to U.S. national security. They see immigration as a threat to the language and culture, destroying the sense of nationhood. Others believe immigrants an economic threat, taking jobs from U.S. citizens and imposing prohibitive costs by their use of social services. Still others draw a relationship between immigration and terrorism or increased crime.

Attempts have been made to recast international migration as a national security threat. Migrants, who were welcome as a useful labour force, are now presented in political discourse as criminals, troublemakers, economic and social

defaulters, terrorist, drug traffickers and so forth. They are demonized as being increasingly associated with organized crime. They are accused of taking away the advantage of social services without paying taxes for it and harming the identity of host countries (Ceyhan and Tsoukala, 2002).

The political arguments against Immigration are usually articulated around following four main axes:

4.1.3.1 The Social- Economic Axis

Migration is often associated with unemployment, the rise of informal economy, crisis of welfare state and other urban environmental deterioration. Possible positive economic effects may be particularly marked in regions or localities where immigration becomes concentrated, owing to their direct contribution to local production and consumption. It is believed that large supply of inexperienced immigrants in a country is responsible for depressing wages and working conditions and weakening trade unions.

But Immigration increases the incomes of U.S. residents by allowing the economy to utilize domestic resources more efficiently. But there are different types of immigrants, illegal, legal temporary and legal permanent, which have varying skill levels, income-earning ability, family size, and rights to use public services, changes in their respective inflows have different economic impacts. Immigration also affects U.S. incomes through its impact on tax revenue and public expenditure. Immigrants with lower incomes and larger families tend to be a bigger drain on public spending. Immigrants pay income, payroll, sales, property, and other taxes, with lower-skilled immigrants making smaller contributions. Immigrants use public services like, public schools, fire and police protection, roads and highways, and receiving public assistance, with families that have larger numbers of children absorbing more expenditure. Adding the pretax income gains from immigration to immigrants' net tax contributions, their tax payments less the value of government services they use, allows for a rough estimate of the net impact of immigration on the U.S. economy.

Immigration increases the supply of labor which raises the productivity of resources that are complementary to labor. More workers allow U.S. capital, land, and natural resources to be exploited more efficiently. So, immigration generates extra income for the U.S. economy, even though it pushes down wages for some workers.

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4.1.3.2 The Security Axis

Migration is linked to the loss of a country's sovereignty, fear of crime and the fear of weakening border control. Border continues, even in the age of globalization, to be pivotal term of securitarian discourses. Borders have highly powerful symbolic power. As an institution, they define a legal understanding of sovereign state and as process, they are markers of identities, invested with mythic significance in building nations and political identities (Anderson Malcolm, 1996).

It is believed that illegal immigrants are often involved in organized crime. Although it has never been proved. But it is argued that migrants are involved in drug trafficking. US intelligence services blame the Latin America, especially Mexican mafias, for drug trafficking (Palidda, 2001). Jason Ackleson

illuminates how threats, risks, and security as modes of self-defense and national interests are being discursively deployed to securitize the U.S.–Mexico border as a conduit for terrorist and migrant incursions.

Security is “constructed” in this dynamic and important region that is both barrier and bridge to many transnational flows, including trade, migrants, and narcotics. “Constructed” is not taken to mean only how physical security such as agents, fortifications, surveillance and the like are deployed but also the nature of the social environment in which actors, like United States government elites and federal agencies, formulate solutions and then take security actions against perceived “threats” or “risks. Undocumented migrants, or so-called “illegal aliens,” are constructed as one of these security problems. The process is connected to danger, identity, power, and public order. An empirical look at official state discourse on migration and border control helps build these connections within the general politics of security on the U.S.-Mexico border. To understand the connections between migration, security, and discourse, it is important to understand exactly what migration across the U.S.–Mexico frontier is all about. Unfortunately, migration as a process is a somewhat “under-theorized and little-studied” phenomenon (Massey, 1998).

We can best examine migration from a systemic or structural perspective underpinned by at least three points (Cornelius, 1998; Massey, 1998b). First, migration is partly spurred by an existing asymmetrical economic order which was further consolidated under neoliberal globalization. Second, migration is not solely a phenomenon of the single individual. Instead, it can be best understood in the context of networks: family, friends, transnational human smuggling cartels, and these global economic structures. Flows of individuals and the important funds (remittances) they earn travel in different directions across the U.S.-Mexico border. Such networks in turn spur further migration cycles.

Finally, new U.S. border deterrence or security policies actually help create a one-dimensional migration (immigration) dynamic by making it more risky, costly, and generally difficult for migrants in the U.S. to return home for visits as they have diminished expectations of making it back.

As Barry Buzan, (1991) has said, security is an “essentially contested concept”. Some analysts suggest security increasingly operates in non-military areas such as the environment or economy. Others are interested in the traditional military dimensions of security practices. Still others, drug flows, corruption, transnational crime and other law and order issues.

Waever focuses on what he calls “speech acts” made by state elites to “securitize” issues (like drugs or migration). “By definition,” he writes, “something is a security problem when the elites declare it to be so” (Waever, 1995). The very act of declaring something a security threat is what is the key. And how something becomes a security issue, can be traced through discourses. It’s the elite class who defines the problems or threat.

Constructivism is an approach to social inquiry based on two assumptions: (1) the environment in which agents/states take action is social as well as material; and (2) this setting can provide agents with understandings of their interests, thus helping constitute them (Checkel, 1998; Jepperson, Wendt, & Katzenstein, 1996; Wendt, 1992).

Waever (1995) by arguing security is a socially constructed concept, having meaning only within the social environment or context in which it rests and is defined. Again, this does not imply threats do not really exist in the material world, for example suggesting that terrorists or terrorist threats do not exist except in discourse. We cannot think of them as having some sort of objective reality apart from our socio-political construction.

Ackleson shows how threats, risks, and security are being discursively deployed to securitize the U.S-Mexico border as a conduit for terrorist and migrant incursions by using “speech act” concept. He illustrated this by citing examples of speeches of security persons, politician and border patrol officers. Speeches were:

“There is a serious havoc that can be wreaked by unchecked illegal immigrants” (Mosiers, 1993).

Alan Bersin, who was U.S Attorney General's Special Representative for border issues, said,

“[O]ur duty and responsibility is to manage the border satisfactorily, to manage it away from the epic of lawlessness that has characterized that border for the 150 years that the American Southwest has been a part of the United States, as contrasted with the northern half of Mexico” (Bersin, 1997).

Such kind of discourse created a dichotomy of “chaos” versus “order”, which worked as to help construct migrants as security threat in part to justified and expand border control operation.

After the 9/11, the U.S-Mexico border is seen as a conduit of terrorists movement, regardless of the fact that no evidence exists that terrorist have yet enter the U.S from Mexico nor realistic appraisal of the possibilities or pitfalls of full control there been properly considered (Ackelson,2005). The boundary has been defined in the discourse of elites as a diffused threat, which must be secured. As a result of this scrutiny of conveyances, cargo, and people contributed to a 11.6% reduction in cross border trade between September and December 2001, resulting in the first overall decline in the value of goods shipped across U.S. borders to and from Mexico and Canada by truck, rail, and pipeline since the signing of NAFTA in 1994 (U.S. Department of Transportation, 2002).

Ackelson considered the speeches which had helped to securitize the U.S – Mexico border as conduit of terrorists.

Attorney General John Ashcroft: “The menace of terrorism knows no borders, political or geographic” (2002).

The Congressional Immigration Reform Caucus: “The time is right to call for troops on the border in order to protect our national security interests” (2002).

Representative Tom Tancredo (R-Colorado): “The defense of the nation begins with the defense of its borders” (2001).

Representative J.D. Hayworth (R-Arizona): “In these trying times, border security is synonymous with national security” (2004).

4.1.3.3 The Identity Axis

In political discourses, migration and identity are linked one to another by the perception of the migrants as a culturally others who comes into developed western countries and disturb their cultural identity. It has been argued those culturally distinct settlers groups almost always maintain their languages and some elements of their homeland culture, at least for few generations.

The rise of identity politics throughout the world, especially, in the western societies and increasing anxiety felt over the strength and preservation of national identities. International migration challenges the notion of identity. The first systematic survey of Mexican Americans conducted in 1965-66 and appears in many forms today the 1965-66 study found that Mexican Americans did not report a strong identity as Mexicans (see Table). Instead, while many valued some of the cultural attributes of Mexico, particularly the Spanish language and Mexican manners and customs, few sought to retain their Mexican identity, and even fewer sought to retain their Mexican nationalism (Grebler, Moore and Guzman, 1970).

Table: 4.5 Mexican-American Attitudes towards Mexican Customs

Customs	Los Angles (%)	San Antonio (%)
Spanish Language	51	32
Manners and Customs	33	38
Religion	12	10
Food, Music, Art	10	6
Identity as Mexican	5	3
Patritism, Mexican Nationalism	2	1

Source: Grebler, Moore and Guzman, (1970).

The Latino National Political Survey (LNPS), the only survey to date that includes a nationally representative sample of Mexican Americans found that Mexican Americans and non-Hispanic whites (Anglos) are equally positive toward the United States, but Mexican Americans are much more positive than Anglos toward Mexico (de la Garza *et.al*, 1992). Mexican Americans differ among themselves, however, with the U.S. born being less positive toward Mexico than the immigrants. It is noteworthy, moreover, that even immigrants are more positive about the United States than they are about Mexico. The National Latino Immigrant Survey (NLIS) revealed similar patterns. Eighty-four percent of Mexican immigrants said life is better in the United States than in Mexico, and almost 98 percent said they planned to live permanently in the United States. Nonetheless, 58 percent said their primary national identification was still with Mexico, which decreases the longer they remain in this country (Pachon and De Sipio, 1994).

Political candidate portray Mexican immigrants in negative terms. Obvious implication of the political rhetoric regarding immigration is a distorted view of immigration issues in the public eye. While it is virtually impossible to assess accurately candidates' attitudes toward immigrants, there are important implications for false statements and inflated misrepresentations concerning Latin American immigrants. These characterizations have important social policy implications. It is reasonable to expect that such press characterizations can fan the flames of existing prejudices with ethnic or racial groups that are linked to salient social phenomena. Americans mistakenly believe that most immigrants are undocumented or illegal. Americans also believe that immigrants from Latin America, especially Mexico, took more than they contributed to the US economy (De Sipio and de la Garza, 1998).

For instance, when ethnic or racial categories become intertwined with political initiatives (e g , affirmative action, immigration, etc.), these can become opportunities to discriminate against particular populations without being socially reprimanded and labeled a bigot (Dovidio and Gaertner, 1996; Sears, 1988). In a sense, one can hide one's true attitudes about ethnic or racial groups by

championing political initiatives that appeal to universal abstract principles such as justice, egalitarianism, and equity.

When a racial group is constructed negatively, say, as those who break the law, it is easier to rally against them and avoid being labeled a racist. For example, if a Mexican immigrant has come to this country illegally, by definition, that person is a criminal or “illegal alien”. Such a label psychologically makes it easier to discriminate against members of this ethnic group as one can do so under the guiding principle of being anti-crime, as opposed to anti-Mexican

4.1.3.4 Political Axis

The rise and growth of extreme right wing political parties and organisations are a matter of concern. This is not only can threaten the political stability in the country concerned but also, can threaten the very legitimacy of the constitutional order. It can open up potential deep social cleavage (particularly between settled immigrants and natives). It would also affect the relation with other states, most notably immigrants sending countries.

A further political threat posed by the immigrants derives from the fact that although immigrants generally forge attachment to the receiving countries and society, they rarely detached from themselves entirely from their country of origins whether economically, politically and culturally. Indeed, a number of studies carried out over recent years indicate that immigrants’ minority population remain very sensitive to the development of their country of origins. Immigrants may act as pressure group in the receiving countries to influence the foreign policies of the receiving countries in the favour of their countries of origins.

So, the threat to national security operates at both state and societal level, the equation of illegal migrants with radical terrorism appears to jeopardize state security , while the cultural distinctiveness of most of the immigrants communities threaten to undermine the cultural identity and integrity of the host societies.

Mexican Government has always linked to the Mexican organized community to address its needs and concerns. Through organization such as *mutualistas*, *juntas patrióticas*, hometown Associations, and State Federations, Mexican government has created ties with the organized Mexican migrants population in the United States (Cano and Delano, 2004).

This transnational relationship between the Mexican state and its organised migrants has varied across different periods of time according to political and economic factors in the home state and the characteristics of the migrant community and its organizations. The level of interaction between the state and its organised migrant population is also influenced by foreign policy concerns and the dynamic of the US-Mexico bilateral relation.

During the nineteenth century and early twenty century, the relationship between the Mexican government and the Mexican population in the United States was in the formation and consolidation of community organizations such as the *mutualistas* and *Juntas Patrióticas*, whose activity involved issues related to Mexico as well as collaboration with consulates in defense of property rights and discrimination.

During the second period, 1910-1939, the Mexican consulates continued to be involved in the formation and consolidation of self-help *mutualistas* and other political and labor associations such as the *Comisiones Honoríficas*, the *Brigadas de la Cruz Azul*, the *Confederacion de Sociedades Mexicanas (CSM)* and the *Confederacion de Uniones Obreras Mexicanas (CUOM)*. The transnational relation between the Mexican government and the community is given by collaboration between the consulates and these community-based organizations in defense of labor rights and the formation of unions, discrimination and assimilation issues, as well as repatriation procedures.

In the period of the Bracero Program became the basic parameter to measure the relations of the Mexican government and the organized Mexican immigrants in the United States. Throughout the existence of the Bracero

Program, the level of consular activism decreased. Although the first *Clubes de Oriundos* were formed during this period, their relationship with the consulates or with their local governments was not strong. Transnational relations between the Mexican government and Mexican community based organizations reached a passive status, in comparison to the activity of the two preceding periods.

During 1970-1989, there was a focus shift of the Mexican government towards the Mexican-origin population living and working in the United States: the Echeverría government implemented new programs, specifically directed towards the Chicano and Mexican American community. The level of involvement between the Mexican government and the Mexican migrants remained passive. Community organizations continued to develop, mainly through the *Clubes de Oriundos* and *Federaciones de los Estados*, although their relations with the consulate and Mexican authorities were minimal in terms of political activism. Consular activity was mainly concentrated on the promotion of cultural and education programs and the pursuance of contacts with Chicano and Mexican American leaders. However, the demographic, economic and political changes experienced by the Mexican population in the United States led to a transformation of the Mexican government's policies towards them.

Recently, transnational relations between the Mexican government and the Mexican immigrant population reached new levels of institutionalization. In a first stage, with the creation of the PCME (*Programme de las Comunidades Mexicanas en el Exterior*), the Mexican government gave *de facto* an institutional status to that relation. During the 1990s, the support in the formation, consolidation, and proliferation of Hometown Associations (HTAs) and State Federations became the most sophisticated transnational activity of Mexican consulates in the United States.

Mexican hometown associations are an important component of transnational linkages. Migrants who have established lives in the United States remain tightly connected to their communities of origin through participation in HTAs. Mexican immigrants donating to hometown associations are only a

fraction of the remittance-sending population; nonetheless, their contributions have a significant impact on life in rural Mexico. Investments by HTAs vastly outdo public works spending in small communities, and in many cases, basic infrastructural work carried out by HTAs forms the essential base for further economic development in these towns.

Through the OPME, in 2000, this relation became interactive for the first time in history. Organized immigrants had the opportunity of approaching an official instance, other than the consulate, to express their concerns and give their opinion on several issues on both sides of the border.

So the relations between the Mexican government and Mexican communities in the United States is mainly in term of cultural, social and assimilation, and discrimination of Mexican aboard. This relation is least political in nature. The organisations of the Mexican communities have no role as pressure group to influence the foreign policies of the United States.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The United States of America is the country of the immigrants. People from all over the globe have merged here to make the diverse nature of the United States. But now the immigration issue is the hotly debated in every arena of the discussion from local to the national level to the international level. The vast imbalance between North and South with regard to economic conditions, social well being and human rights is the driving force behind this large scale international migration. The countries of North over the years have developed a ~~strange perspective~~ about migration, which is part of global politics of migration. ~~They believe that their countries are being besieged by asylum-seekers and 'illegal' immigrants. But this stream of migration is the outcome of the gap in the income level or wage level between the developed countries and developing countries. This gap is created in the historical trade relation between these developed and developing countries, which is biased towards developed countries. Various trade agreements between developed countries and developing countries create economic downfall in the developing countries, which resulted into the rise of unemployment and mass migration in search of livelihood.~~

The perception of the immigrants in the developed countries reflects the contradiction. On the one hand, the developed countries needs the supply of cheap labour to maintain their dominance in the world market. On the other hand they fear this flow of immigrants is the threat to their cultural identity and national sovereignty. Mexican migration into the United States is the hotly discussed issue. The geopolitical practice regarding this immigration is motivated by fear of demographic aggression and losing the jobs to the immigrants.

The trends and pattern of the Mexican migration is the reflection of the economic and political situation of the both countries. The number of the Mexican immigrants in the United States has increased regularly, but the trend is

- regulated by the immigration policy of the United States, which are according to the needs of the pressure groups of the United States.

The pattern of the Mexican migration into the United States is the outcome of changing economic opportunities in different states and the growing network of the immigrants' community in the different states of the U.S.

In neoclassical terms, the incentives for the migration between Mexico and US are large. There is a large difference of average wage between two countries. This gives incentive to the potential migrants to migrate even as illegal migrants. The average wage rate differs by a factor of five between two countries, and even after adjusting for the cost of transportation, entry, and foreign living; most workers can expect to earn three times what they earn in Mexico. The economic condition of Mexico, also determine the volume of the flow of the immigrants.

The immigration policy of the United States is based on the cost benefit analysis of approach which tries to maximize the profit of the pressure groups. There are three key interest groups in the political competition to formulate immigration policy: workers, capitalists, and landowners. Workers want high wages and thus struggle politically to limit the supply of labor, pressuring politicians to pass more restrictive laws and strictly en-force them. Capitalists, in contrast, favour expanding the labour supply to reduce wages and keep labor markets flexible. They pressure politicians to pass more expansive legislation and relax enforcement of restrictions. Capitalists are joined by landowners in this effort, as the latter favor immigration as a means of increasing rents.

The immigration policy is the reflection of the business cycle of the country, also. Historically it has seen that government allowed immigrants when they needed them and restrict their admission when they were not needed. For instance, during the First World War US welcomed Mexican migrants as there urgent needs for them. But after the War, when demand for American goods decreased, the Immigration Act of 1917 came into act which excluded illiterates from entering the country and expanded the list of reasons for which individuals

could not enter the country. This meant that many Mexicans should never have been permitted to enter the U.S. as workers.

Immigration and particularly illegal immigration help to maintain the rate of profit for those agricultural and non-monopoly sectors of capital which are incapable of drawing on the mechanisms open to monopoly capital for maintaining an adequate level of surplus. The fact that undocumented immigrants work 'hard and scared' allows the employer to increase productivity and maintain a low cost of labor. The familiar tales of the long hours, low wages and poor working conditions of Mexican immigrants testify to this function.

While the wage gap between Mexico and United States gives incentives to cross the border, the network in the United States, help immigrants to maintain the migration flow over time. Social network in the destination country help to reduce the risks and cost of migration of entering the destination country. This network also helps to find jobs without much wait. Social network plays very important role in case of undocumented migrants. The strong family ties, and the social network they comprise, are clearly important to the economic assimilation of immigrants.

The immigration to the United States has great impact on the economic well being of the Mexican. Remittances are perhaps the most tangible consequence of migration for many households. The \$20 billion remittances, they sent home in 2005 represents more than 10 percent of world remittance transfers. Migration has impact on microenterprises (self-employment). Migration affects either the supply of capital available to invest in microenterprises or the demand for products produced by microenterprises.

On the other side of the border, the native population of the United States sees immigration as a threat that could lead to higher unemployment and lower wages for them. Critics of immigration argue that an influx of immigrants brings high economic costs by lowering domestic wages and raising expenditures on public services such as health care and education. If those costs are sufficiently high, the economic case for restricting illegal immigration would be strengthened. But study finds that Immigration increases the incomes of U.S.

residents by allowing the economy to utilize domestic resources more efficiently. According to the study by NRC about the fiscal consequences of migration, we cannot say with much conviction whether the aggregate impact of immigration on the U.S. economy is positive or negative but, total impact is small.

Migration has direct impact on the social status of the migrants. The economic gain through migration resulted many changes in the social characteristics of the communities that sends migrants to the United States. Remittances send by migrants changed the health, education condition and demographic characteristics, like fertility, mortality and child health condition. The effects of migration on infant mortality unfold over time. In its initial stages, migration is disruptive to communities and families; with time, however, it eases household survival as it becomes part of local institutions and community life.

Remittance affects the health condition of the children in Mexican households. Children born in a household with a migrant member are estimated to be 3 percent less likely to die in their first year than children born in similar households without migrant members. The effect is much weaker in magnitude for child mortality, with children in migrant households having a 0.5 percent lower chance to dying when between the ages of 1 and 4. Migration is also estimated to raise birth weight by 364 grams, or 0.64 of a standard deviation, lowering the probability of being born underweight by 5.4 percent. Remittances or repatriated savings will allow migrant mothers to have the ability to buy more food, increasing the nutritional inputs.

The interrelationship between migration and fertility is complex and multifaceted. Migration to the United States means moving from high-fertility to low-fertility environments, which impacts on fertility behaviour in the immediate term through the costs and constraints of urban living. This environment change, in the longer run forces them to consider their family-size goals.

In the United States, immigrants are commonly seen as a threat to the language and culture, destroying the sense of nationhood. Others believe immigrants an economic threat, taking jobs from U.S. citizens and imposing prohibitive costs by their use of social services. Still others draw a relationship

between immigration and terrorism or increased crime. But in reality immigrants help the U.S economy by efficient use of the resources.

After the 9/11, the U.S-Mexico border is seen as a conduit of terrorists movement, regardless of the fact that no evidence exists that terrorist have yet enter the U.S from Mexico nor realistic appraisal of the possibilities or pitfalls of full control there been properly considered. Ackleson shows how threats, risks, and security are being discursively deployed to securitize the U.S-Mexico border as a conduit for terrorist and migrant incursions by using “speech act” concept. He illustrated this by citing examples of speeches of security persons, politician and border patrol officers.

The rise of identity politics throughout the world, especially, in the western societies and increasing anxiety felt over the strength and preservation of national identities. International migration challenges the notion of identity. Study found that Mexican Americans did not report a strong identity as Mexicans. Instead, while many valued some of the cultural attributes of Mexico, particularly the Spanish language and Mexican manners and customs, few sought to retain their Mexican identity, and even fewer sought to retain their Mexican nationalism.

Although, Mexican Government has always linked to the Mexican organized community, through organization such as *mutualistas*, *juntas patrioticas*, hometown Associations, and State Federations, to address its needs and concerns, but this relation is minimal in terms of political activism. There is no evidence of Mexican government or Mexican association to act as pressure group in the United States.

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Appendix: 1
Number of Mexican Immigrants Admitted to the United States,
(1900–1941)

Years	Number of Mexican
1900	237
1901	347
1902	709
1903	528
1904	1009
1905	2637
1906	1997
1907	1406
1908	6067
1909	16,251
1910	18,691
1911	19,889
1912	23,238
1913	11,926
1914	14,614
1915	12,340
1916	18,425
1917	17,869
1918	18,524
1919	29,867
1920	52,361
1921	30,758

1922	19,551
1923	63,768
1924	89,336
1925	32,964
1926	43,316
1927	67,721
1928	59,016
1929	40,154
1930	12,703
1931	3,33
1932	2171
1933	1936
1934	1801
1935	1560
1936	1716
1937	2347
1938	2502
1939	2640
1940	2313
1941	2824

Source: *INS Statistical Yearbook, 1999*

Appendix: 2
Number of Apprehensions by the U.S. Border Patrol

Years	Number
1924	4614
1925	2961
1926	4047
1927	4495
1928	5529
1929	8538
1930	18,319
1931	8409
1932	7116
1933	15,875
1934	8910
1935	9139
1936	9534
1937	9535
1938	8684
1939	9376
1940	8051
1941	6082
1942	n.a
1943	8189
1944	26689
1945	63602
1946	91,456
1947	182,986
1948	179,385

1949	278,538
1950	485,215
1951	500,000
1952	534,538
1953	865,318
1954	1,075,168
1955	242,608
1956	72,442
1957	44,451
1958	37,242
1959	30,196
1960	29,651
1961	29,817
1962	30,272
1963	39,124
1964	43,844
1965	55,340
1966	89,751
1967	108,327
1968	151,705
1969	201,636
1970	277,377
1971	348,178
1972	430,213
1973	576,823
1974	709,959
1975	680,392

1976	781,474
1977	954,778
1978	1057,977
1979	1076,418
1980	910,316
1981	975,780
1982	970,246
1983	1,251,357
1984	1246,981
1985	1348749
1986	1767400
1987	1190488
1988	1008145
1989	954243
1990	1169939
1991	1197875
1992	1258481
1993	1394554
1994	1094719
1995	1394544
1996	1649989
1997	1536520
1998	1679439
1999	1714035

Note: These figures reflect the total number of apprehensions of all nationalities. However, Mexicans have consistently formed the majority of apprehensions.
Source: INS Statistical Year Book, (1999).