PIONEER AND SETTLER MIGRATION IN THE NEW MEXICAN MIGRANT STATES

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With the release of the 2000 Census came the confirmation that Mexican migration is no longer a regional phenomenon isolated to the Southwestern United States and several neighborhoods in Chicago (Massey, Durand et al. 2002). In fact, during the 1990s, many Mexican migrant communities throughout the United States grew rapidly and became very visible in many cities, no longer hidden in the shadows from mainstream society (Chavez 1998). These migrant communities appeared in cities never before associated with Mexico or Mexican migrants, from New York to Salt Lake City and Atlanta to Minneapolis. Rapid population growth also occurred in more rural destinations as well, transforming the ethnic composition of towns that were traditionally all Anglo or Anglo and African American. Developing an understanding of the social processes behind the rapid growth is important at the local level to the future success or failure of these communities incorporation their new migrant populations. Many questions remain unanswered as to whether these community will replicate the processes in existence for many decades in Los Angeles or Houston, for better or worse. This study investigates the migration processes that led up to and included the rapid growth of communities in the 1990s. Our results indicate that the common notion that Mexican migrants are here purely for labor related reasons and that they have no intention of incorporating into the United States need to be reconsidered. Rather, Mexican migration to new destinations is indicative that they are becoming very American by seeking more affordable and safer communities with better schools for their children and where they can own their homes.

Social scientists have a good understanding of migration between Mexico and the United States. The causes of this migration since the second World War has been explained by a multitude of factors at various levels of analysis, from nation-state trade relationships, as explained in World Systems perspectives, to individual decision making based on neoclassical economics (Massey, Durand et al. 2002). Although there has been much diversity among the characteristics of migrants and the reasons they come, and increasingly so over the past twenty years, the process has typically been characterized as predominately a labor migration in which the migrants have come to the United States to earn a targeted amount of money and employers have taken advantage of a ready supply of low-wage laborers (Cornelius 1989). Massey and his colleagues have studied extensively the pattern of the labor migration from Mexico and noticed predictable patterns in the migration flows out of sending communities as they developed from being predominately labor migrants to more heterogeneous flows driven by life-course changes, such as family reunification and permanent settlement in the United States (Massey 1986; Massey 1990; Massey, Goldring et al. 1994). Castles and Miller (1998), noting how the development of migration is not isolated to just the Mexican case, but holds for labor migrations around the world, generalize the processes into four stages:

1. "Temporary labour migration of young workers, remittance of earnings and continued orientation to the homeland.
2. Prolonging of stay and the development of social networks based on kinship or common area of origin and the need for mutual help in the new environment.
3. Family reunion, growing consciousness of long-term settlement, increasing orientation towards the receiving country, and emergence of ethnic communities with their own institutions.
4. Permanent settlement…" (Castles and Miller 1998, p.28).

So, at least at a theoretical level, and at least in terms of flows to traditional destinations, the processes and stages of development of international migration have

been reasonably we formulated and studied. We know relatively very little, however, about how Mexican migrant communities get started and evolve at *new* destinations[1] beyond the Southwest[2]. Who were the original settler migrants to these regions? Where did they come from and what led them to settle in particular places? Who followed in their "footsteps" and caused rapid growth in the 1990s? And, more generally, what are the similarities and differences between the initial settlement patterns at new destinations and the nature of long-established international migration flows to the Southwest? Although comprehensive answers to all these questions are beyond the scope of this paper, we seek to shed light on the development and growth of migrant populations in new destinations outside the traditional Southwestern states. In doing so, we will compare the development of migration into new destinations with that of international processes.

We first provide an overview of where the growth of new Mexican migrant destinations occurred over the past thirty years and summarize the historical account of Mexican migrants in some of these regions. Second, we review some of the most common structural explanations that are cited as the catalysts of the rapid growth of migrant populations beyond the Southwest in the 1990s, particularly policy and economic changes in the 1970s and 1980s that help provide context for the analysis. We then highlight what we know about the stages of development of the international migration between the United States and Mexico from the vast literature on this subject. Using this

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[1] Although some destinations beyond the Southwest are not new historically, we use this term throughout to refer to destinations beyond what we call the traditional destinations in the Southwest (see next footnote).
[2] We use the term "Southwest" to refer to the traditional gateway states of Mexican migration, Arizona, California, Illinois, New Mexico, and Texas (Durand et al., 2000). We include Colorado with these later in this study in accordance with Saenz (1991).

knowledge as a foundation, we piece together the relatively sparse literature on Mexican migration beyond the Southwest to develop hypotheses regarding the characteristics of the migration process to non-traditional areas. Finally, we use Census data from 1970 through 2000 to test the hypotheses and compare factors affecting international migration to those leading to the rapid growth of new migrant populations.

The primary finding to come from the analyses is that the formation of new migrant destinations and their subsequent growth develops somewhat differently from international flows, as expected. More specifically, the initial migration beyond the Southwest can be characterized as similar to the internal migration of U.S.-born persons. Unlike the usual internal migration of U.S.-born persons, however, Mexican migration to new destinations eventually takes on the characteristic of international labor migration.

History and Geography of New Destinations

Several descriptive reports in recent years have highlighted the increased dispersion of the Mexican migrant population[3] throughout the United States in the 1990s (Johnson 2000; Passel and Zimmerman 2001; Suro and Passel 2003). Although Bean and Tienda (1987) noted budding patterns of increased dispersion of Mexican migrants in data from 1960 and 1970, other scholars did not expect immigrants, and Mexican migrants in particular, to change their tendency to settle in highly concentrated geographic locations given the importance of ethnic communities and network ties to international migrants (Portes and Bach 1985; Portes and Rumbaut 1996; Durand,

[3] The focus of this study is foreign-born, Mexican origin persons living in the United States. For simplicity, we refer to this population as Mexican migrants or just migrants, which include both legal immigrants and undocumented migrants. Although relevant, we do not consider the native-born Mexican origin population in this study.

Massey et al. 2000; Massey, Durand et al. 2002). The Mexican migrant population outside the Southwest grew rapidly in the 1990s, however, and brought to the fore a new era of migrant settlement patterns across the country. Durand, Massey and Charvet (2000) reported that the percentage of Mexican migrants living outside the Southwest doubled from 10% to 21% between 1990 and 1996. This is no small demographic shift considering that there were approximately 4.4 million Mexican migrants in the United States in 1990 and more than 8.6 million in 2000 (Ruggles, Sobek et al. 2003).

The growth outside the Southwest was not uniform across the country, of course, with many states absorbing new migrant growth and a handful receiving most of it (See Table 1, sorted by the net increase in the number of Mexican migrants in the 1990s). In one of the most dramatic cases, North Carolina's migrant population grew from approximately 8,700 in 1990 to more than 160,000 in 2000 (Ruggles, Sobek et al. 2003). The Mexican populations in such other states as Minnesota, Tennessee and Arkansas grew quite rapidly as well, especially considering the relatively sparse Mexican communities in these states in 1990 and historically.

Table 1

Mexican Migrant Populations outside the Southwestern U.S. and Net Change by State, 1970 to 2000

State	1970 Population	1980 Population	1990 Population	2000 Population	1970-1980 Population Change	1980-1990 Population Change	1990-2000 Population Change
California[1]	435300	1,286,890	2,553,468	3,678,554	851,590	1,266,578	1,125,086
Texas[1]	217547	511,011	917,931	1,756,110	293,464	406,920	838,179
Illinois[1]	52181	179,702	287,580	594,843	127,521	107,878	307,263
Arizona[1]	36046	72,059	156,988	409,273	36,013	84,929	252,285
Georgia	200	1,721	20,242	185,645	1,521	18,521	165,403
North Carolina	602	1,260	8,700	162,370	658	7,440	153,670
Colorado[1]	4703	17,896	34,401	171,059	13,193	16,505	136,658
Florida	3402	16,748	60,700	185,865	13,346	43,952	125,165
Nevada	2705	9,306	32,381	146,174	6,601	23,075	113,793
New York	4205	11,542	48,440	161,933	7,337	36,898	113,493
Washington	3800	16,933	47,694	138,431	13,133	30,761	90,737
Oregon	1102	8,381	30,738	105,382	7,279	22,357	74,644
New Jersey	1501	3,060	14,072	69,277	1,559	11,012	55,205
Utah	1000	3,921	8,766	61,879	2,921	4,845	53,113
Indiana	6707	9,727	10,622	61,420	3,020	895	50,798
New Mexico[1]	9115	23,240	48,393	96,262	14,125	25,153	47,869
Kansas	4006	6,031	14,591	58,833	2,025	8,560	44,242
Michigan	9009	10,753	13,773	57,204	1,744	3,020	43,431
Wisconsin	4307	6,366	10,232	50,073	2,059	3,866	39,841
Tennessee	202	806	2,199	41,520	604	1,393	39,321
Oklahoma	901	6,067	15,369	53,125	5,166	9,302	37,756
Minnesota	1105	2,202	3,792	39,201	1,097	1,590	35,409
South Carolina	0	840	1,890	31,317	840	1,050	29,427
Virginia	200	1,565	8,244	35,638	1,365	6,679	27,394
Arkansas	100	720	2,930	30,228	620	2,210	27,298
Nebraska	1202	2,543	3,873	28,607	1,341	1,330	24,734
Iowa	1200	3,160	3,992	25,969	1,960	832	21,977
Idaho	2203	7,242	11,292	32,303	5,039	4,050	21,011
Alabama	200	420	1,095	21,404	220	675	20,309
Missouri	3308	3,520	4,530	22,548	212	1,010	18,018
Pennsylvania	2001	2,560	6,571	24,106	559	4,011	17,535
Ohio	2502	3,702	4,141	20,924	1,200	439	16,783
Maryland	300	1,040	4,146	20,865	740	3,106	16,719
Kentucky	200	441	581	14,457	241	140	13,876
Connecticut	300	780	3,108	13,822	480	2,328	10,714
Mississippi	100	580	660	8,470	480	80	7,810
Delaware	502	40	987	7,348	-462	947	6,361
Louisiana	1903	2,040	3,894	9,593	137	1,854	5,699
Massachusetts	900	1,701	3,902	8,644	801	2,201	4,742
Hawaii	0	400	1,114	2,856	400	714	1,742
South Dakota	0	160	142	1,694	160	-18	1,552
Alaska	200	281	1,282	2,718	81	1,001	1,436
Rhode island	0	200	1,235	2,497	200	1,035	1,262
West Virginia	0	200	150	1,323	200	-50	1,173
District of Columbia	200	680	970	2,084	480	290	1,114
Wyoming	1400	1,621	2,217	3,173	221	596	956
Montana	400	380	201	1,039	-20	-179	838
New Hampshire	0	100	752	1,335	100	652	583
North Dakota	200	181	170	393	-19	-11	223
Maine	100	160	195	393	60	35	198
Vermont	0	120	88	166	120	-32	78

Source: IPUMS, 2003

[1] Traditional gateway states, which I label "Southwest".

Despite the rapid growth of migrant populations that seemingly came about without precedent, hence the general label of "new destinations," some of the Mexican migrant state populations were not so new and have grown rather steadily over the past forty years. The migrant population growth in various states is presented in more detail below, but as seen in Table 1, Florida, New York and Washington each had more than 3,400 migrants in 1970, albeit these numbers are quite small compared to those in California or Texas. These three states had large agricultural industries historically and their migrant populations were most likely established during the Bracero Era[4]. In addition to these states, the migrant populations in Kansas, Wisconsin, and Michigan were also somewhat sizeable in 1970, each having their own unique histories of Mexican migration. The migrant population in Kansas can be traced back to the beginning of the century when Mexican peasants escaping the Mexican Revolution were recruited in the beginning of the century to work on the railroads (Nodín Valdés 1996). And although many migrants initially arrived in Wisconsin and Michigan in the 40s, 50s and 60s as *braceros*, many "settled out" into the burgeoning factories that were desperate for laborers in the post-war economic boom (Nodín Valdés 1996; Durand, Massey et al. 2000). So the dramatic increases in Mexican migration beyond the Southwest were not completely without precedent. The state migrant populations were still relatively small, though, and here we focus on the migrant populations beginning in 1970, after which some started to steadily grow, partly in response to economic and policy changes that began in the 1960s.

[4] This is the period between 1942 and 1965 when Mexican agricultural laborers were recruited through a government program created in response to labor shortages during World War II. The laborers were known as *braceros*, loosely translated at "farmhand" (Massey et al., 2002).

Economic Changes. Many scholars have pointed to economic and labor market shifts as facilitating increased Mexican migration into the Midwest and Southern regions of the United States. Restructuring in food processing, agricultural and service industries beginning in the 1960s and continuing through the 1980s encouraged Mexican migration because of high rates of Mexican employment in these industries. These food industries consolidated from many regional operations to a few export-oriented corporate conglomerates that responded to global competition by implementing dramatic cost-cutting measures. They achieved this primarily by transforming production processes and geographically relocating (Broadway 1995; Griffith, Broadway et al. 1995; Gouveia and Saenz 2000). Also during this time, the service sector began to rapidly grow and utilize ready supplies of low-wage international migrants. Sociologist Robert C. Smith (1996) noted how Mexicans gained access to the restaurant industry in New York in large numbers as a result of restaurateurs viewing them as willing to work harder and longer hours at lower wages than Dominicans, Puerto Ricans or African Americans.

Beef processing exemplifies of the transformations that occurred. Beef processing was traditionally involved many outlets concentrated in urban centers close to where beef products were sold directly to consumers. The skilled laborers that dominated the industry exploited the proximity of the operations to urban areas to organize unions that ensured stable, long-lasting, well-paid jobs. When large corporations started to buy the smaller operations, these firms reduced costs by moving production processes from urban cores to rural areas near stockyards. This simultaneously eliminated the high costs of transporting cattle and broke the unions by laying off large numbers of skilled workers. In the process of relocating, they also automated much of the production

operations into assembly line-like processes that were still labor intensive but required unskilled workers rather than higher-paid skilled workers. Thus, international labor migrants became the primary target of corporate recruitment efforts. The poultry and fish industries experienced similar consolidation and transformation and have also targeted international migrants in their recruiting (Guthey 2001).

Policy Changes. Along with economic changes, many scholars also cite national and state level policies implemented in the late 1980s and 1990s as catalysts for the increased dispersion and growth of Mexican migrant populations outside the Southwest. Such analysts primarily point to the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA), which was passed in 1986 and fully implemented by the early 1990s, as one of the most influential factors in changing Mexican migration from a regional to national phenomenon because of its impact on undocumented migration (Durand, Massey et al. 2000; Zúñiga and Hernández-León 2001; Massey, Durand et al. 2002). Undocumented migration from Mexico accounted for an estimated 81 percent of all Mexican-origin migration between 1965 and 1985 (Massey and Singer 1995), so any changes regarding undocumented migration would certainly impact migration from Mexico. IRCA had three main components that attempted to stem the flow of undocumented migration. First, the legislation provided an amnesty and agricultural guest worker program that legalized the residence status for over 2.3 million previously undocumented Mexican migrants. Second, it implemented sanctions on employers of undocumented workers. And third, it was the first in a series of legislations that directed more funding to the border patrol (Massey, Durand et al. 2002).

In addition to IRCA, the Immigration Act of 1990 and the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 provided further funding of the border patrol and limited the availability of social welfare benefits to migrants. Massey and his associates make a compelling argument about the unintended consequences of these policies. They state that the amnesty enabled formerly undocumented migrants to seek out better jobs and quality-of-life opportunities beyond the Southwest without risk of deportation. They also argue that, rather than stemming the flow of undocumented migration as intended, increased border enforcement in a few selected metropolitan areas simply altered the migration flows toward more desolate areas in Arizona and New Mexico. Moreover, they note that the combination of new legal status and greater difficulty in crossing the border disrupted the traditional patterns of circular migration and unintentionally encouraged migrants to permanently settle in the United States and send for family members still in Mexico, which had the net effect of increasing the overall flow.

The extent to which these economic and policy changes served as the *causes* of more dispersed migration or were overridden by stronger social and economic forces already in existence has been the source of some debate (See for example, Bean and Stevens 2003). Most scholars would agree, however, that the answer is more a matter of degree rather than one or the other being entirely correct. An attempt to distinguish relative impact of each is beyond the scope of this study, but the economic and policy changes are important and provide a context for characterizing the migration processes.

Characteristics of Migration

International Migration. As mentioned above, international labor migration is typically understood as progressing through a series of stages, as outlined by Castles and Miller (Castles and Miller 1998). Massey and his associates have developed this theory extensively in their research on migration rural sending communities in Mexico (Massey 1986; Massey 1990; Massey, Goldring et al. 1994; Massey 1999). In general, they explain that each act of migration increases the likelihood that others from that community will subsequently migrate by altering social structures in ways that not only enable, but encourage, further migration. Migration processes are set in motion by the first migrants from a community – typically in search of higher wage opportunities – who overcome the initially high costs of travel, entry into United States, securing housing, and finding jobs. Once the initial migrants have successfully navigated the risks and high costs, others who follow in their path travel at significantly reduced costs through the use of knowledge, money and other resources passed along by their predecessors. When additional community members migrate, a perpetual cycle of cause and effect of more migration becomes self-sustaining. Eventually,

> "as migrants make repeated trips and accumulate more time abroad, as wives and children join the migrant workforce, as more people become involved in the migration process, and as stronger links are formed with specific employers in particular locations, a growing number of migrants and families settle in the host society" (Massey, Goldring et al. 1994, p.1502).

Massey and his associates further explain that as settlement becomes more frequent, one or more of the migrants may rise to positions of responsibility which they then use to

further recruit more labor migrants from their home community. This cycle continues until the costs finally stop declining and few potential migrants remain in the community. Often the process spreads to other communities that have yet to experience emigration.

An important part of their argument is that the selectivity of migrants corresponds to the prevalence of emigration – the percent of the population that has migrated to the United States – in a community. When the costs of migration are high, as previously discussed, only those perceived in the community as best able to overcome high risks make the initial journey. These original migrants "are usually married men of prime labor force age who seek to maintain their economic and gender roles through migration" (Massey, Goldring et al. 1994 p.1495). Alternatively, once the migration process gains momentum and more people migrate at reduced costs, the selectivity of migrants also decreases and the migration flow begins to represent the community at large, including older and younger men, women and children. So the selectivity of the migrants is dependent upon how much migration has occurred in the past, and predictable stages can be characterized by the types of migrants involved in them.. The early stages, when migration is labor related, can be characterized as predominately male heads-of-household. In the intermediate stages, when stays become longer and knowledge about more job opportunities are passed back to the home community, younger sons and nephews join the migration flow. Finally, when permanent settlement in the United States becomes desirable and family reunion is the priority, daughters and spouses join the men who had previously migrated.

This dependency of migrant selectivity and prevalence provides a useful tool for characterizing the stages of international migration processes. One can imagine how the

process might be mirrored in the characteristics of destinations in the United States. Before we can do this, however, we need to consider a substitute for the concept of migration prevalence because it cannot be applied to the destination population since, by definition, 100% of the migrant population has migrated. The substitute must be a proxy for factors that relate to migrant selectivity at destinations. Our assumption here is that migrant selectivity at destination operates analogously to migrant selection at origin. To the degree that this is the case, then the size of the migrant population should be an adequate proxy for selectivity. One can reasonably assume that the costs of migrating to a destination when few other migrants have settled there would be relatively high. And as more migrants settle in a destination, social support networks would develop and more information would flow back to other migrants, either in Mexico or elsewhere in the United States, thus lowering the costs of further migration. So, if we observe the most recent migrants into a particular destination, we should be able to assess how "developed" the migration flow is based on the findings of Massey and associates regarding the demographic characteristics of migrants.

Migration to New Destinations. Migration to new destinations cannot be characterized so simply, however, because we cannot assume that the migration flow is a bi-directional process between Mexico and the new destination. In other words, the initial migrants out of a community in Mexico may not "look" like the earliest migrants into a new destination because selectivity might operate differently. The human capital necessary to successfully navigate an initial trip out of a community in Mexico may be different from the human capital necessary to successfully secure housing and jobs in

new destinations in the United States. In fact, we know this to be true from the sparse literature on Mexican migration outside the Southwest.

The few studies on such Mexican migration are primarily of two types. The first, based mostly on data from the late 1970s and early 1980s, are comparative studies of secondary migration – migration of immigrants after their settlement in an initial destination – among different immigrant ethnic groups. They assess on an individual level which migrants are most likely to secondarily migrate within the United States (Reichert and Massey 1979; Bartel 1989; Saenz 1991; Kritz and Nogle 1994; Neuman and Tienda 1994). These studies provide insights into the characteristics of the most likely migrants, but they are limited by their cross-sectional designs and only capture the migration process at one point in time (Massey, Goldring et al. 1994). For example, Neuman and Tienda (1994) found that Mexican migrants who move across state boundaries tend to be young men, with females and older males less likely to migrate. One needs to be careful in generalizing this finding to migration into new destinations because we do not know anything about the developmental stage of the migration flow in which the migrants were moving. In an earlier study, Reichert and Massey (1979) found that undocumented migrants were far less likely to secondarily migrate than their legal counterparts. We can conjecture that this is characteristic of earlier stages of migration into new destinations since undocumented migrants are more reliant on established ethnic communities, but we cannot be sure based on the lack of information about the process as a whole.

Rubén Hernández-León and Víctor Zúñiga's (2000; 2001; 2003) work in the migrant community in Dalton, Georgia provides information about the development of

migration flows into new destinations. Combining both qualitative and quantitative methods to investigate, among other things, who the original migrants to the town were and how the migration process subsequently developed, they found that the growth of the Mexican community in Dalton evolved over several decades and generally followed a series of stages of migrant selectivity, findings consistent with the international processes discussed above. The stages, however, were characterized by different types of migrants than those typically involved in the various stages of international migration flows. For example, married couples were among the first migrants to settle in the town while the migrant community was still quite small. They also found that the husbands and wives arrived in Dalton at the same time, and predominately from within the United States, although the men generally had more total experience in the United States. So, in general, the men had initially come to the United States on their own, as is typical in international migration flows, and were eventually joined by their spouses at their initial destination. At some point after family reunification, they then moved together to Dalton. Interviews with the migrants revealed that, although many had come to work in relatively low paying jobs in the local poultry plant, they had moved to Dalton to trade impoverished urban neighborhoods in California and Texas for safer small town environments and better schools for their children. Furthermore, they found that the subsequent rapid growth in the 1990s was driven by migrants arriving directly from Mexico.

These results suggest the stages of internal migration of foreign-born persons into new destinations may be different from those of international labor migration. In the initial stages, the first migrants were couples looking for lower costs of living and better

environments for their families. In other words, migration was driven by the kinds of factors emphasized in "new economic" theories, namely family and household related factors and risk minimization. In fact, the initial migration into Dalton seemed similar to the internal migration of U.S.-born persons in general. We know that the reasons for internal migration within the United States across county boundaries are predominately family or housing-related, similar to those of the initial migrants into Dalton (White and Lindstrom 2004). Unlike typical internal migration, however, the later stages of Mexican migration into Dalton became characterized by migration directly from Mexico, as opposed to from within the United States. Although the Dalton sample was not broad enough to understand if the later stages are mainly labor migration, the results suggest this as a distinct possibility.

Hypotheses.

The following are hypotheses based on the above discussed theory and research that we will test in order to assess whether internal migration to new destinations generally develops differently from international labor migration.

- First, as in both Dalton and international migration flows, we hypothesize that migration into new destinations develops in stages, which are marked by different types of migrants at each stage.
- Second, we hypothesize is that the types of migrants in the initial stages will be relatively older men and women who moved there from within the United States, and that later stages will be marked by more male

dominated migration directly from Mexico, which is more typical of international labor migration.

Although we expect migration into new destinations to develop in stages, we expect the stages will differ from the development of the international Mexican migration. More specifically, migration into new destinations will start out more like internal U.S. migration, marked by more even sex ratios and experience in the United States, and transform into international labor migration. This is in contrast to the development of international migration flows, which start out as labor migration and eventually become more like internal U.S. migration.

Data and Method

The data used for this project come from the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS) for the 1970, 1980, 1990 and 2000 decennial Censuses (Ruggles, Sobek et al. 2003). The data for 1970 are a one percent sample and 1980 through 2000 are five percent samples of the population, all of which are weighted to the total population for calculations. The Census does not ask immigration status so we include individuals identified as naturalized citizens or non-citizens to approximate the foreign-born Mexican population. We exclude the migrants living in six states (the Southwestern states of Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas) and Illinois, and we include those in the District of Columbia.

The attributes of Mexican migrants moving into a region are expected to change across different stages in the development of the migration flow. The size of the Mexican migrant population serves as a proxy for the stages of development. We calculate the

size of the Mexican migrant population and various attributes of the migrants by aggregating the individual-level data into state-level variables following White (1988) and the research mentioned above (Bartel 1989; Kritz and Nogle 1994; Neuman and Tienda 1994). Studying migrants across specific communities would be most appropriate since social relations and support networks operate on this level, but this level of detail is not available in the micro-data. We considered an analysis of metropolitan areas, but this would exclude migrants living in smaller towns and rural areas, an important component of growth in Mexican migration outside the Southwest. Thus, we aggregate the data to the state-level (and potentially miss community-level dynamics) in order to include most of the population. This should be noted in interpreting the results. Also, the Census has been known to severely undercount the Mexican migrant population as many are undocumented and avoid any source of potential detection by the government, Census enumerators included (Gouveia and Saenz 2000). We assume this occurs relatively even across all population sizes so any bias will be consistent at all stages of development.

The stages of migration are captured by the size of the state migrant population at multiple points in time. We construct state-decades to encompass this concept[5]. The study only considers state-decades in which the Mexican migrant population was greater than 1,100 in any given decade to avoid large variability in the migrant attributes due to small sample sizes. This means we excluded an additional four states from the analysis, Maine, Montana, North Dakota and Vermont, in addition to the exclusions mentioned above. This results in 118 state-decades. For example, the Mexican migrant population in Oregon was 1,102 in 1970, 8,381 in 1980, 30,738 in 1990 and 105,382 in 2000. Thus,

[5] This is a similar method as Massey, Goldring and Durand (1994) in their analysis of the prevalence of migration in communities in Mexico, although their unit of analysis was community-years.

four of the 118 data points represent Oregon at different points in time with different population sizes. Because the relationship between the migrant population and the attributes of migrants moving into the state at that time may not be linear, we categorize the state-decades into discrete groups by size of migrant population. The break-points between groups are somewhat arbitrary as we tried to balance the potential bias of particular decades – for example, the largest groups are predominately from the 2000 Census because there were no large migrant populations outside the Southwest in 1970 – with a need for a sufficient number of groups to observe meaningful trends.

Table 2 shows the distribution of state-decades by population category and year. The first observation, as mentioned above, is the potential bias of events in the 1990s on larger populations enumerated in the 2000 Census. Because most of the state-decades in the three largest population categories are from the 2000 data, conclusions based on these categories should take into account unique events in the 1990s along with changes associated with increased population size (See, for example, Massey, Durand and Malone (2002) regarding increased feminization of Mexican migration in the 1990s). The relative impact of each cannot be known, but this potential bias should be kept in mind when generalizing results to future populations. The first two categories are relatively evenly distributed across the four decades so we focus on trends across these categories.

Table 2
Number of State-Decades by Year and Migrant Population

Migrant Pop Size	1970	1980	1990	2000	Total
1,100<-5,000	17	14	16	8	55
5,000<-20,000	2	11	11	6	30
20,000<-45,000			3	13	16
45,000<-100,000			3	7	10
>100,000				7	7
Total	19	25	33	41	118

Source: IPUMS, 2003

Migrant Population Growth Trajectories: Along with the distribution of states across decades, it is also useful to understand how fast some states grew relative to others, and in particular, how many states remained in the same population categories from decade to decade. If a state remained in the same category across several decades, that state will be represented by multiple state-decades in the same population category and, therefore, have more influence on the results for that category than other states that progressively grew into the larger population categories. One may argue that the attributes of migrants in one decade are not independent of the attributes of migrants in the following decade so a state in the same population category for multiple decades has undue influence on the results for the category in question. On the contrary, however, we want to understand if the types of migrants change in states where the population grows very slowly and remains in the same population category. If the migrants do change significantly in states that grow very slowly, then this will be reflected in the trends across population categories, and we will have to reject the hypothesis that change in migrants predominately occurs with change in the migrant population size.

It is necessary to understand how many states grew slowly enough to stay in the same population category. For example, about half the states that had migrant

populations between 1,100 and 5,000 in 1970 remained in this population category in 1980 (9 of 17), and seven of the remaining nine had similar population sizes in 1990. Only one state, Wyoming, remained in the 1,100 to 5,000 population category in all four decades, so this state will be represented by four state-decades in the 1,100 to 5,000 category. This information in provided in Table 3. One can see that there are six states that are represented by two state-decades in the smallest population category and another six represented by three state-decades in this category. Alternatively, once the migrant population in a state reached 5,000 people, relatively few remained at that same level in the next decade. Also of note, no state migrant populations included in the analysis had a net decline from one decade to the next.

Table 3
Number of States Represented by Multiple State-Decades within Population Category

	Number of State-Decades			
Migrant Pop Size	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**
1,100<-5,000	21	6	6	1
5,000<-20,000	16	4	2	0
20,000<-45,000	16	0	0	0
45,000<-100,000	10	0	0	0
>100,000	7	0	0	0

Source: IPUMS, 2003

These dynamics can be more easily understood by graphically depicting the migrant population growth trajectories of each state. There is wide variety among the states regarding when the migrant population reached 1,100 and subsequent rates of growth, but several patterns emerged after analyzing the trajectories. Washington and New York, as depicted in Figure 1, are typical of sustained growth across the four decades, as explained above. The population category for each state-decade is illustrated

by the boxes in each graph and generally aligned with the y-axis on the left. The migrant populations of these states started out in the 1,100 to 5,000 category in 1970, but they steadily increased each decade thereafter. The migrant populations in other states such as Utah and New Jersey did not reach 1,100 in size until 1980, but they also experienced sustained growth in the following decades. States such as these are represented by only one state-decade in each respective population-size category because they did not remain within the same category across the decades.

A second notable pattern of migrant population growth is one in which the population remained in the 1,100 to 5,000 category in 1970, 1980 and 1990, and then only recently grew in the 1990s. Minnesota and Maryland are typical of this pattern and are depicted in Figure 2. As discussed above, this pattern of growth results in multiple state-decades representing these states in the 1,100 to 5,000 population category. Finally, a third pattern emerges in states in which the Mexican migrant populations are relatively new in the 1990s and only grew into the 1,100 to 5,000 after 1990. The District of Columbia and South Dakota are typical of this pattern, illustrated in Figure 3. These states, of course, are represented by only one state-decade in the lowest population category.

Figure 1

Sustained Growth of Mexican Migrant Population, 1970 to 2000

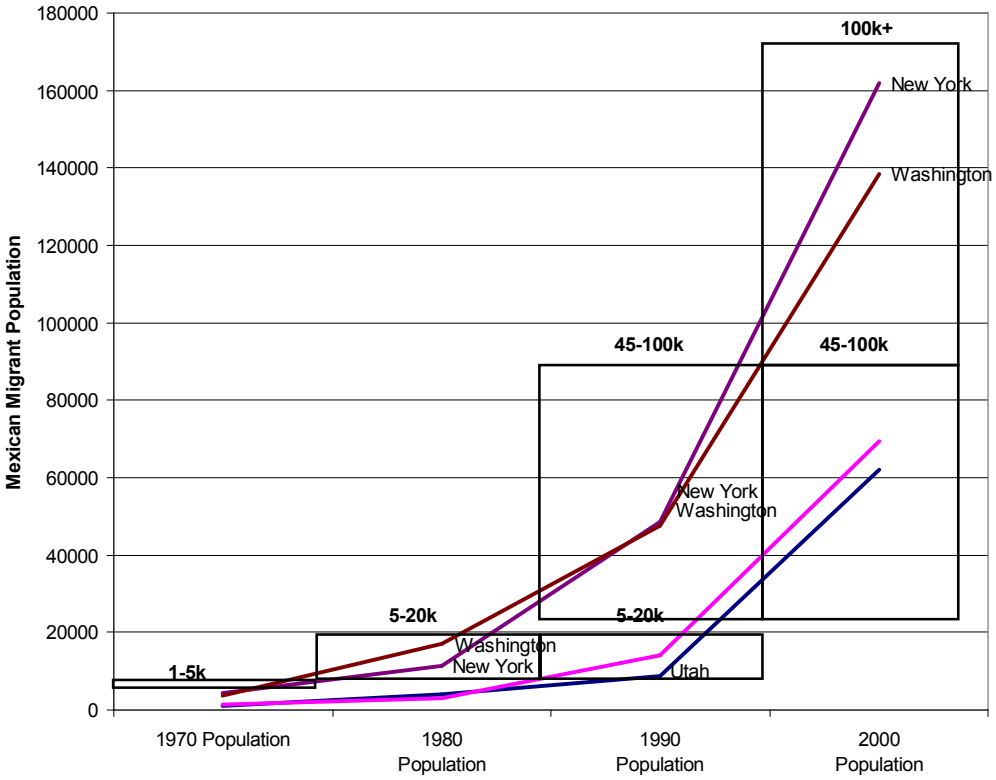


Figure 2

Recent Growth of Mexican Migrant Population, 1970 to 2000

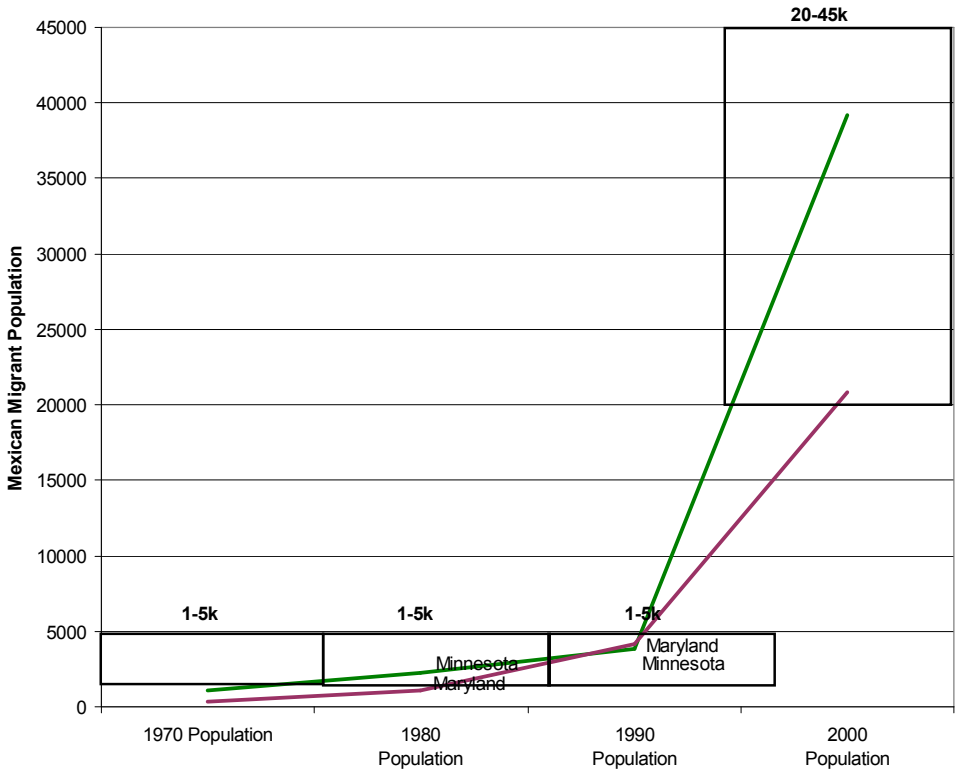
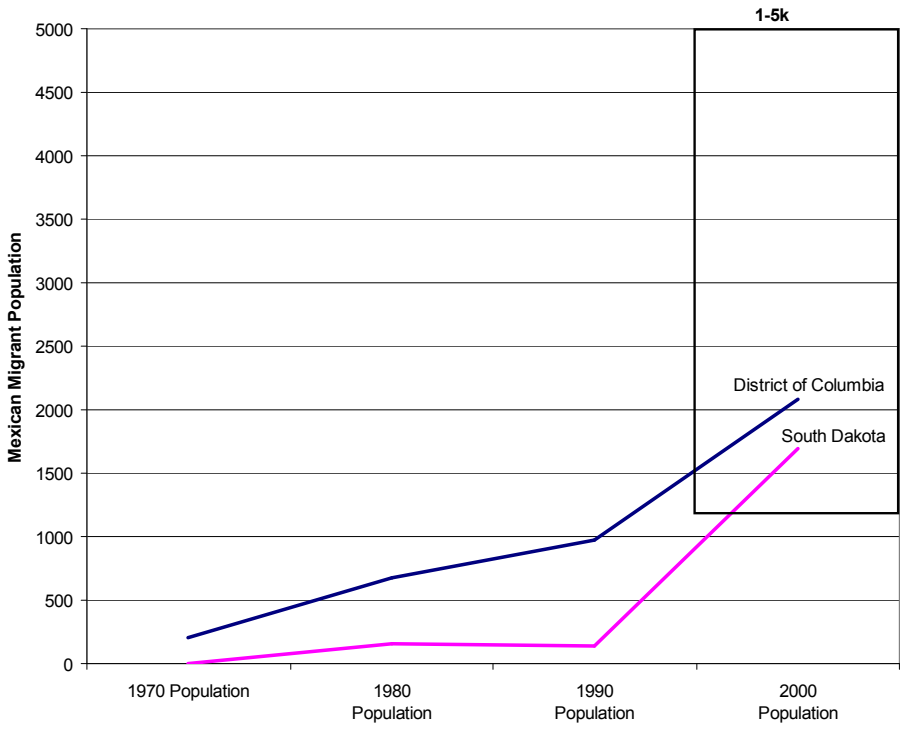


Figure 3

Recent Mexican Migrant Populations, 1970 to 2000



Independent Variable: As hypothesized, different stages in the migration process are expected to be selective of different types of migrants that move into the state during each stage. We operationalize the concept of stages in the migration process as the size of the Mexican migrant population in each state at the time of the Census. In doing so, we assume the size of the migrant population serves as a proxy for other mitigating factors that determine the risks and costs of migration into that community over time. For example, when a migrant community is very small, social support networks are not established and little information about jobs and housing is available to potential migrants who might consider moving into the community. This lack of information and little social support increase the costs and risks of migration to that community and success depends more on the migrants' individual skills and abilities – particularly human and cultural capital, such as U.S.-based job experience or English language proficiency – rather than social support networks or even monetary resources from friends or relatives. As with international migration, we expect that higher costs of migration decreases the pool (makes it more selective) of potential migrants because only those perceived as most likely to successfully obtain jobs and housing will move there. As the migrant population increases and information about the locality becomes widely disseminated and new migrants can rely more on their predecessors, which dramatically decreases the costs and risks, and in turn, increases the pool (makes it less selective) of potential migrants. So if the types of migrants do not change across different sizes of migrant population, we will have to conclude that either population size is not a good

proxy for factors that determine migrant selectivity or that migration into new destination states does not develop in stages similar to international migration.

Dependent Variables: We choose four attributes to measure the selectivity of migrants at different stages in the migration process. It is worth emphasizing here that the concern of this study is the selectivity of the most recent migrants who moved into a state during each stage as opposed to the attributes of *all* migrants in the population. Although, in theory, all the migrants in the population were once subject to the selective forces of the process, only those moving into the state at each stage will reflect that particular stage. Therefore, the migrant attributes are calculated based on only those migrants who recently moved into the state at each stage. So the size of the migrant population is expected to be related to the attributes of the *most recent* migrants who moved into the state.

We draw from the literature on international Mexican migration (Massey 1990; Massey, Goldring et al. 1994) for three of the attributes of recent migrants used to understand this relationship, the proportion of men migrating into the state and the average age of recent male and female migrants. Because we expect traditional international labor migration to differ from the processes into new destination states, we also draw from the case study of Dalton, Georgia and analyze the average amount of time the recent migrants have been in the United States, measured in years, and the proportion of migrants coming directly from Mexico, relative to within the United States.

There are limitations to the data that should be considered when interpreting the results, particularly data on how the migrants who recently moved into the state are identified. The Census asks where each person lived five years ago, so this captures all

migrants that moved into the state in the past five years, but it misses information about intermediate moves within the five years. This potentially overstates the proportion of migrants moving into the state "directly" from Mexico when some of these migrants, for example, might have moved to Texas first and then to South Carolina within the five years. This is not expected to be a large portion of the migrants under consideration in light of the scarcity of secondary migration – migration of immigrants within the United States – historically. Furthermore, any interim experience in the United States will be reflected in the average amount of time in the United States.

A limitation of potentially greater consequence is whether five years is too long or too short to differentiate recent migrants at different stages in the migration process. We have no way to test this, of course, but findings of Hernández-León and Zúñiga (2000; 2001; 2003) indicate that five years is not too long a period, although this is likely to depend on the stage in the process. As seen above, some states did not grow significantly for twenty years, seemingly staying at the same stage, and then rapidly grew in the 1990s. So the five years in the 1970s or 1980s are probably of no consequence, but the types of migrants might have changed much more rapidly with faster growth. These limitations regarding who the recent migrants are should be kept in mind when interpreting the results.

Results

The results of the analysis are consistent with the two above stated hypotheses: first, the demographic attributes of recent migrants do change as the population size increases, indicating that Mexican migration to new destinations within the United States

unfolds in predictable patterns, as in the case of international migration. Second, migration to new destinations, however, is different from the developmental stages of international migration in that the demographic attributes of migrants during earlier stages are somewhat distinct. The results indicate that the initial stages of migration into new destinations are more typical of internal migration of U.S.-born individuals, which often occurs in response to life-course changes. However, unlike internal migration, Mexican migration eventually transforms itself into something like international labor migration. The detailed results are shown in Table 4, in which the number of state-decades in each population category and the average size of the state population within the categories are also provided.

Table 4
Recent Migrant Attributes by Population Size, Selected U.S. States, 1970 to 2000

Population Size	State-Decades	Average Migrant Population	Percent Male	Age Male	Age Female	Time in US	% from Mexico
1,100<-5,000	55	2,588	57.2	31.3	33.5	10.3	49.5
5,000<-20,000	30	10,313	62.0	29.9	31.5	7.7	61.6
20,000<-45,000	16	28,624	65.7	29.5	30.8	7.0	63.4
45,000<-100,000	10	56,865	63.5	29.3	30.6	6.5	68.6
>100,000	7	155,114	63.7	29.2	30.6	6.4	71.0

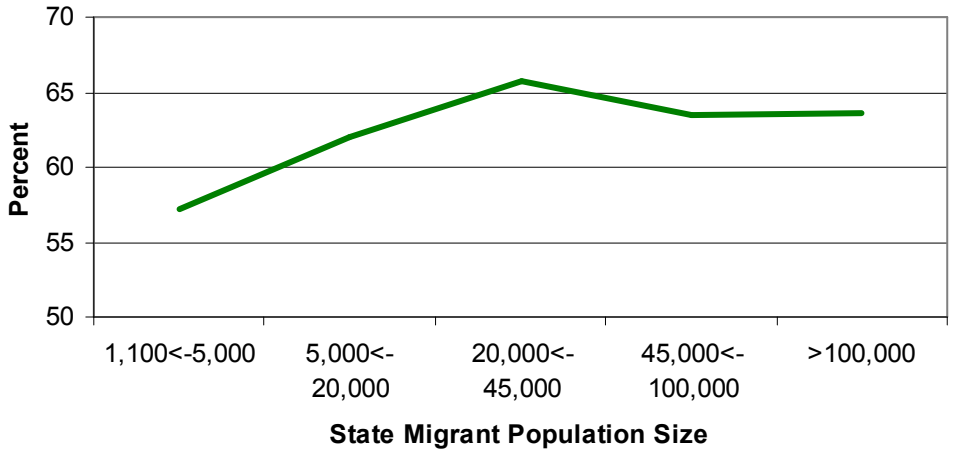
Source: IPUMS, 2003

The first indication that Mexican migration into new destination was not initially driven by labor market forces alone is the pattern in the percentage of recent migrants who were male, which has an upward trend across the smallest population categories and then flattens out across the last two. Along with Table 4, this pattern is also illustrated in Figure 1 below. Lower percentages of men into the smaller populations is not what we would anticipate if we relied solely on the historical patterns of labor migration between Mexico and the United States to inform our expectations. The fact that relatively more females were involved in the migration to new destinations at the beginning of the process is consistent with the findings of Hernández-León and Zúñiga (2000; 2001;

2003) where many couples moved there seeking better schooling for their children and opportunities to purchase homes; in other words, for life-course events and changes. This does not mean that labor market forces were not a factor in the move; in fact the migrants might have found similar jobs in the new destination to those they had in California or Texas, but the notion of the single male migrant moving to a far away place to earn a target wage and remit money back to his home community does not appear to predominate in the beginning stages of migration into the new destination states.

Figure 1

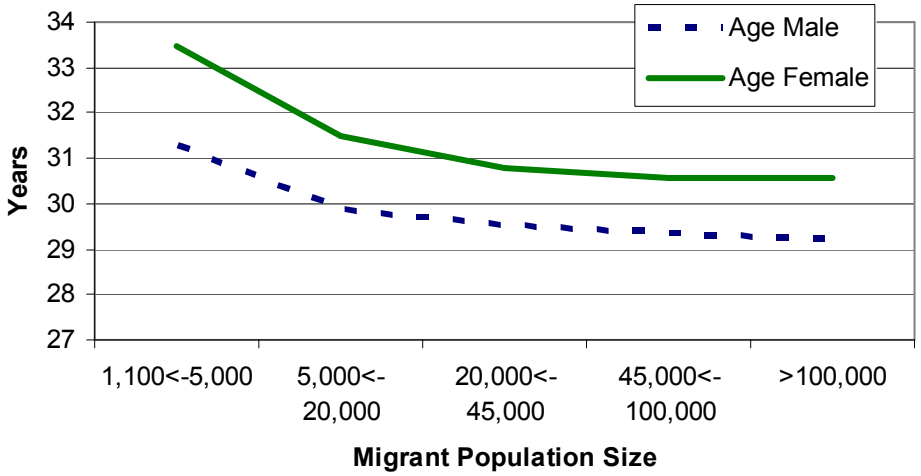
Percent Male of Recent Mexican Migrants, Selected U.S. States, 1970 to 2000



The second indication that migration into new destination states started out due to life-course changes and not solely for labor-related reasons is the pattern of average age across the different population categories. Figure 2 illustrates a trend that migrants into smaller communities tended to be older and this markedly decreases as the state migrant

population increases[6]. So not only does the average age of the migrants change, consistent with our first hypothesis, the change occurs in a direction consistent with our second hypothesis. This trend in average age, in and of itself, does not distinguish the migration into new destination states from that of international labor migration, in which older heads-of-households would typically migrated first and the age would eventually decrease as younger sons and other relatives joined the migration. The age pattern for migration into new destination states, in combination with the other demographic attributes, however, is consistent with initial life-course migration that later becomes labor migration.

Figure 2
Average Age of Adult Recent Mexican Migrants, Selected U.S. States, 1970 to 2000

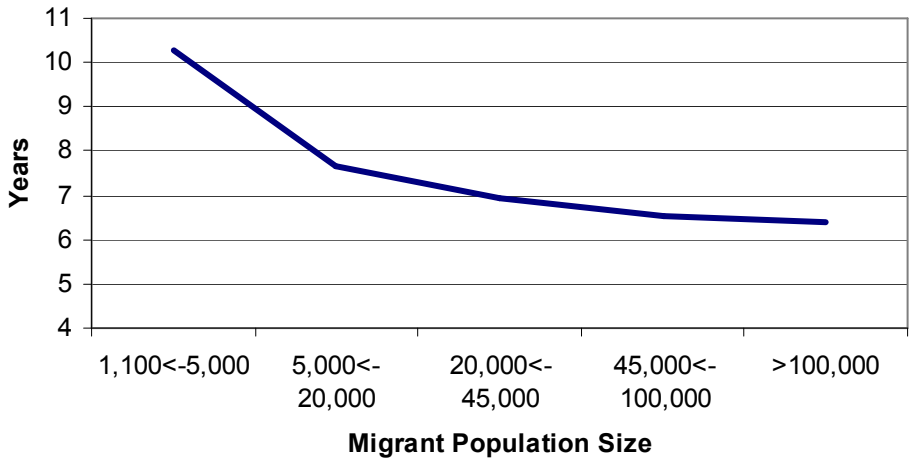


Along with decreasing age and percent male, the average amount of time in the United States is also consistent with the two hypotheses. In regard to the first, there is an obvious decline in the amount of time in the United States as the populations get larger.

[6] The gap in average age between male and female and the higher percent male migrants most likely reflects that labor migration has plays a role, to some degree, in all stages of migration. We argue, however, that it is minimal in the initial stages and becomes greater in later stages.

This attribute is not analogous to migrants involved in international labor migration, of course, but the trend is consistent with our second hypothesis based on expectations from research on secondary migration of migrants in the 1970s and 1980s. As mentioned above, migrants into smaller populations would have to rely more heavily on their own human capital such as language skills and U.S.-based job experience, which, of course, can only be developed with more time in the United States. As the migrant populations increase in size, the migrants have less experience in the United States, decreasing from over 10 years in small populations to under 7 years in the largest populations. This is consistent with the theory that more recent arrivals in the United States are more reliant on established ethnic communities and do not go where there are relative few other migrants, self-selecting out of smaller populations.

Figure 3
Average Time in U.S. of Recent Mexican Migrants, Selected U.S. States, 1970 to 2000

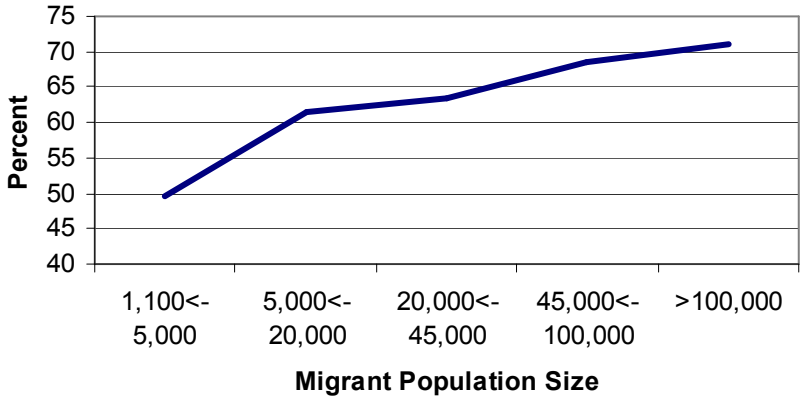


Finally, consistent with time in the United States, there was a steady increase in the percentage of migrants who arrived directly from Mexico, relative to within the United States, into states with larger migrant populations, as depicted in Figure 4. This

again satisfies both our first hypothesis regarding change of migrant attributes, in general, as the size of the migrant population changes, and the second hypothesis that the pattern of change is consistent with increased labor migration as the migrant population increases. Again, the attributes of the initial migrants into states with smaller migrant populations are indicative of migrants who had been in the United States for many years, gained valuable United States job skills and potentially even advanced into management positions, and accumulated enough savings where a move elsewhere in the United States to seek out more affordable housing and better schools was economically feasible. Once the initial migrants established communities that were more supportive of newer migrants with less experience in the United States, and word about jobs and housing eventually spread to friends and relatives in Mexico, more migrants came directly from Mexico and transformed the migration stream into one predominately driven by the availability of jobs rather than quality-of-life decisions.

Figure 4

Percent Directly from Mexico of Recent Mexican Migrants, Selected U.S. States, 1970 to 2000



Conclusion

Migration between Mexico and the United States has a long history and the dynamics of the flows have been extensively studied and well documented. Even through the mid-1990s, many scholars of immigration did not expect immigrant groups, and least of all Mexican migrants, to push beyond the historical boundaries of settlement in the Southwest. The release of the 2000 Census, however, confirmed what a few scholars had suspected earlier: that Mexican migrant populations in new destinations beyond the Southwest had exploded during the 1990s and that the foreign-born Mexican population had become more dispersed across the country than ever before.

Because of the recency of these events, we know little about the processes that lead to this increased dispersion. Several observers of Mexican migration point to policy changes and economic fluctuations in both Mexico and the United States as catalysts that increased the dispersion. Others point to social processes already underway. Probably it was a combination of all these factors that prompted Mexican migrants to settle beyond Los Angeles or Houston. The question remains, however, of how the migration flows developed and whether they resemble well known international migration processes. This paper is an initial investigation to answer these questions.

The results presented give a first indication that Mexican migration into new destinations across the United States started out quite differently from oft-studied international migration processes. International migration has long been characterized as labor migration in which the initial migrants are predominately male heads-of-households who leave their home community as target earners in order to support families in Mexico. Only after many trips and longer durations in the United States do other family members join them to permanently settle in the United States. Migration into new destinations,

however, appears to have occurred, at least initially, for reasons other than simply earning a wage and remitting money back to Mexico with intentions of one day returning. Rather, the more even sex ratios, older ages and more experience in the United States in the initial stages indicate that the migration occurred in response to life-course changes, a response not too different from other American internal migration patterns.

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