

Old Dominion University

## ODU Digital Commons

---

Graduate Program in International Studies  
Theses & Dissertations

Graduate Program in International Studies

---

Spring 5-2008

### Crossing Borders: Mexican Immigration into the United States

Ewelina L. Dzieciolowski  
*Old Dominion University*

Follow this and additional works at: [https://digitalcommons.odu.edu/gpis\\_etds](https://digitalcommons.odu.edu/gpis_etds)



Part of the [Economics Commons](#), [International Relations Commons](#), [Latin American History Commons](#), [Latin American Studies Commons](#), [Migration Studies Commons](#), and the [United States History Commons](#)

---

#### Recommended Citation

Dzieciolowski, Ewelina L.. "Crossing Borders: Mexican Immigration into the United States" (2008). Master of Arts (MA), Thesis, Political Science & Geography, Old Dominion University, DOI: 10.25777/4q0v-qh59 [https://digitalcommons.odu.edu/gpis\\_etds/175](https://digitalcommons.odu.edu/gpis_etds/175)

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate Program in International Studies at ODU Digital Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Graduate Program in International Studies Theses & Dissertations by an authorized administrator of ODU Digital Commons. For more information, please contact [digitalcommons@odu.edu](mailto:digitalcommons@odu.edu).

CROSSING BORDERS: MEXICAN IMMIGRATION INTO THE UNITED STATES

by

Ewelina L. Dzieciolowski  
B.A. May 2006, University of Iowa

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of Old Dominion University  
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for the Degree of

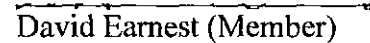
MASTER OF ARTS

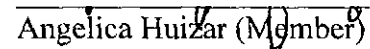
INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

OLD DOMINION UNIVERSITY  
May 2008

Approved by:

 Francis Adams (Director)

 David Earnest (Member)

 Angelica Huizar (Member)

## ABSTRACT

### CROSSING BORDERS: MEXICAN IMMIGRATION INTO THE UNITED STATES

Ewelina L. Dzieciolowski  
Old Dominion University, 2008  
Director: Dr. Francis Adams

Immigration has been one of the major political and economic topics debated by governments in the world. In the United States, migration legislation is debated in the Senate, and impacts every industry throughout the country. Therefore, with further research in this field more answers for why migration occurs can be found. Although various disciplines focus on this phenomenon, each offers reasons specific to the discipline which is searching for an explanation. This thesis acknowledges that economic factors, social aspects, push and pull influences are some of the reasons for immigration, but it also proposes that there are other forces behind this movement of people which have not been explored previously. This research examines the migration from Mexico to the United States and the influence of the Mexican government through its policies. In order to present this viewpoint, the research includes the history of Mexican immigration throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and the changes from one decade to another. Additional information included are the explanations of the Mexican economy, the push and pull factors, and the dangers of crossing the U.S.-Mexican border illegally. All of these researched areas are crucial in explaining why immigration between Mexico and the United States has been occurring, even with U.S. government policies trying to decrease the flow.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The completion of this project would not have been possible without the support from my family and friends. First, my parents, Alicja and Krzysztof, who have served as a constant source of inspiration. Thank you for sparking my interest in the importance of international migration, and your willingness to do whatever you could to make my life as a graduate student both productive and comfortable. I am very lucky for having such a loving, understanding, and supportive family. Also, I would like to thank all of my friends who have been very encouraging throughout this journey. Your patience and understanding deserve more than a simple thank you. I cannot wait until all of you are able to read the finished product.

In addition, I am deeply grateful to my committee chairs. I wish to express my appreciation and gratitude to Dr. Francis Adams, for his patience and willingness to assist me despite his busy schedule. I would also like to thank the other members of my thesis committee, Dr. David Earnest and Dr. Angelica Huizar, for their support. They have all volunteered their valuable time, and I appreciate the constructive feedback.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. INTRODUCTION .....	1
II. LITERATURE REVIEW .....	6
III. HISTORICAL BACKDROP .....	17
IV. REASONS FOR MEXICAN MIGRATION .....	37
V. ROLE OF THE MEXICAN GOVERNMENT .....	73
VI. CONCLUSION.....	98
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	101
VITA.....	108

## LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Apprehension Statistics Between FY 1994 and FY 2000.....	71
2. Percentages of Mexico's Remittances .....	90
3. Survey Comparison of the Quality of the Infrastructure .....	95

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Mexican Immigrants as a Share of All American Immigrants .....	18
2. Family Remittances by Type of Transaction .....	92

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

Each day there are a number of individuals crossing borders from one country to another. Today's globalized world allows individuals to travel, move frequently and live in countries where they may not have legal rights. In this decade migration is extremely visible since "there is now almost no state or part of the world that is not importing or exporting labour".<sup>1</sup> Although migration has been taking place over a number of centuries, recent developments associate it with state governance, such as national security, which led to the increased focus on this topic. As migration networks continue to expand, organizations and politicians will continue to voice the problems which emerge from migration. Since it is an increasingly occurring phenomenon, the players and aspects need to be considered.

Although migration is occurring across the globe, it is difficult to explain all of the factors involved when discussing immigration as a worldwide phenomenon. Therefore, it is necessary to examine this research area with a case study, and this thesis will focus on immigration from Mexico to the United States. The research will include a literature review of migration, a detailed history of the movement of people between these two countries, as well as the reasons behind this occurrence. In addition, this thesis focuses on the increased facilitation of migration by the Mexican government and will explore the initiatives taken.

---

This paper follows the format requirements for *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses and Dissertations 6<sup>th</sup> edition* by Kate L. Turabian.

<sup>1</sup> David Held et al., *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics, and Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 297.



The importance of immigration between Mexico and the United States can be seen from its long history, and the number of individuals which have participated in this movement. Over the last century social networks on both sides of the border have established and normalized the movement of the Mexican population to the United States. Both countries have felt the cost and benefits of migration over the years; nonetheless, the U.S. public has demanded an increase of border enforcement by its government. For the U.S. government it is necessary to understand the reasons behind the continuous flow of the Mexican population in order to take appropriate steps in the future. Therefore, this thesis will focus on the reasons behind immigration from Mexico, and will look at the significance of the Mexican government when studying this phenomenon.

### **Data and Methodology**

This thesis will build upon the available theoretical and empirical information about immigration. The literature review focuses on explanations of worldwide migration, and concentrate on the specific movement between Mexico and the United States. This thesis will review the current theories, but also indicate that there is a lack of international and regional literature which emphasizes the sending state's role in immigration.

For the most part, sources include journal articles and books in a number of disciplines, as well as research studies which focus on immigration between the two North American countries. Much of the core information has been found in the Mexico-United States Binational Migration Study, a cooperation between the Mexican and U.S.

governments formed to increase the knowledge about migration between these two nations. Other works sought, include known scholars in the field of migration, such as: Wayne A. Cornelius, Douglas S. Massey and Timothy A. Wise. The varieties of sources indicate that in order to understand the migration topic, and Mexican emigration, it is necessary to research various disciplines.

It should be noted that the field of migration research has had limitations, which this thesis describes. Although there is an abundance of information on the general flow of people, specific focus on migration from Mexico is not as plentiful. Current research tends to focus on legal, rather than illegal migration, in consideration to this country. Other limitations in migration research include a lack of focus on the role of states and governments. All of these factors should be considered by future researchers who choose to broaden this area of study.

### **Chapter Outline**

This thesis has been divided into six chapters. The second chapter is a review of the current literature about the reasons behind migration. The theories which are explained best summarize available research. The literature review focuses on: the neo-classical theory, new economics of migration theory, dual markets theory, the social network theory, and the cumulative causation theory. In addition, a critique of the theories is presented, and a new argument focusing on the role of the sending country is explained.

The third chapter of this thesis establishes the case study of Mexican emigration to the United States throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Historical events, significant outcomes

and changes of migration patterns are illustrated. This chapter demonstrates how migration patterns from Mexico differed before the 1960's, and in the decades that followed. The changes in the migration had an effect on U.S. laws, which then had consequences on the migrants living abroad, and individuals considering the move in the future.

Subsequently, the fourth chapter examines factors of sending and receiving states that can encourage migration. These influences are clarified through facts and examples of the migration between Mexico and the United States. Additionally, risks of illegal immigration are analyzed, they have led to the establishment of U.S. policies on immigration enforcement on the border between the two nations.

Chapter five makes the case that the Mexican government facilitates migration. Research illustrates that government initiatives have led to higher rates of migration out of Mexico. Moreover, the costs and benefits of migration for the sending state are examined. This analysis stresses the number of gains by the Mexican government, which has continued to increase migration into the United States.

The final chapter summarizes the case study. It also examines the future challenges which both nations may face as migration continues in the coming decades. In addition, the contribution to this area of study is summarized.

In conclusion, this thesis does not only examine the current research on migration, but also analyzes the case study of Mexican emigration to the United States. Also, there is a focus on the sending state government and the benefits derived from this phenomenon. This research project integrates information from past theoretical studies,

as well as existing new research, about the experiences of migration in sending and receiving nations.

## CHAPTER II

### LITERATURE REVIEW

Over the last century an abundance of theories on migration have been developed which can explain why some individuals choose to move from their home country, while others decide to stay. Although there are a number of theories, each has evolved in isolation from the others. All of the existing theories have a distinct background, whether economics or humanities based, which point to the different levels of analysis. Therefore, the area of migration can be explained through a number of disciplines, which will be represented in this chapter.

For the most part, there is not one binding factor of the many theories which analyze the causes of migration. As migration has become a larger phenomenon, occurring around the globe, there is not one theory which considers all possible aspects in the migration process. Meanwhile, there are a number of theories which consider a certain group of factors in order to explain migration. Some have better explanations for reasons behind immigration from Mexico to the United States than others. Therefore, in order to explain the migration process the following theories are most significant for this thesis: the neo-classical theory, the new economics of migration theory, dual labor market theory, the social network theory and the cumulative causation theory. An understanding of these theories is pertinent in order to comprehend the context of migration between these two North American countries.

Unfortunately, while these theories are significantly groundbreaking, each of them has omitted some factors. In addition, the existing literature has not considered the

sending government as a facilitator of migration. Therefore, this thesis attempts to put forth a new argument that the sending country government has a crucial effect on the increase of migration between countries, and benefits from this process. These new findings are considered in the theory analysis, and throughout the thesis.

### **Neo-classical Migration Theory**

The most well-known theory of migration came from the economic field of research. This theory explains that migration is a mechanism which redistributes labor around the world. The oldest migration theory is the neo-classical thesis, and can be divided into a macroeconomic and microeconomic approach. The macroeconomic frame of reference states that international migration occurs because there are differences between the supply and demand of labor in various geographic locations. Therefore, there is a movement of people because individuals relocate from low-wage to high-wage locations. These geographic locales differ because low-wage countries have larger labor groups than high-wage countries, which tend to have labor scarcity.<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile, investments and earnings will flow from capital-rich countries to capital poor-countries. The neo-classical theory puts forward that once wage differentials are eliminated, then equilibrium between the two countries will be reached. This theory is structured around the idea that individuals are representatives of capital and investment.<sup>3</sup> The macroeconomic viewpoint states that individuals make their migration choices based on the amount of capital which can be collected.

---

<sup>2</sup> David Massey et al., "Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal," in *The Migration Reader: Exploring Politics and Policies*, ed. Anthony M. Messina and Gallya Lahav, 36 (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2006).

<sup>3</sup> David P. Lindstrom and Nathanael Lauster, "Economic Opportunity and the Competing Risks of Internal and U.S. Migration in Zacatecas, Mexico," *International Migration Review* 35 (November 2001): 1234.

On the other hand, the microeconomic approach explains the theory based on individual decisions. Each human being is a rational actor who makes their decision based on a cost-benefit analysis and the expectation of higher net return upon migration.<sup>4</sup> This portion of the theory explains that individuals do not only choose their goods and services through the maximization of their economic utility, but they also select careers based on current and future wages. Therefore, this theory explains that immigration will continue to occur as long as another country has higher wages, and actors continue to make rational decisions.<sup>5</sup> The microeconomic portion of the neo-classical migration theory proposes that as long as individuals want to invest in the initial cost of migration, in return for future earnings which may be higher, then the movement of people will continue in the future.

This theory expands past economic perspectives, to include the possible effects of government regulations. Recent research had added to the basic theory that the probability of deportation or apprehension is considered by illegal immigrants, since it is a possible cost. Even if there are high chances of deportation, but there is an increased possibility of higher net present value, then the potential migrant will choose to migrate across the border.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, economic theorists have begun broadening their explanations beyond probable monetary values.

Although the theory had been expanded, there are facets which were not initially considered. The neo-classical theory does not explain social and political roles in

---

<sup>4</sup> Massey et al., "Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal," 37.

<sup>5</sup> Wayne A. Cornelius and Marc R. Rosenblum, "Immigration and Politics," *The Center for Comparative Immigration Studies*, Working Paper 105, October 2004: 100.

<sup>6</sup> Benjamin Davis, Guy Stecklov and Paul Winters, "Domestic and International Migration from Rural Mexico: Disaggregation the Effects of Network Structure and Composition," *Popular Studies* 56 (November 2002): 292.

migration between countries; rather, it views economic perspectives as the sole reason for the movement of people. It also does not clarify how individuals gain knowledge about the migration process, or non-economic reasons for movement. Although the neo-classical theory lacks these certain perspectives, other theories which have been developed since this one can give a better explanation.

### **New Economics of Migration Theory**

The new economics of labor migration theory, established by Oded Stark, challenge the neo-classical theory. It proposes that migration decisions are not made by individuals, but rather by families and households.<sup>7</sup> This theory does not center on the idea that wage differences are the only reasons for migration. Researchers of the neo-classical theory argue that without legal barriers migration should cease when wages would reach equilibrium, but experts of the new economics of migration theory point out that the movement of people continues today, borders tend to be porous.<sup>8</sup> This theory puts forward that households invest in migration in order to diversify and maximize their incomes, while improving their standards of living as a whole.<sup>9</sup> With higher incomes, households are also able to increase their status in comparison to reference groups in their home communities.<sup>10</sup> This theory states that households make migration decisions, not individuals, in order to increase their standard of living.

---

<sup>7</sup> Charles B. Keely, "Demography and International Migration," in *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines*, ed. Caroline B. Brettell and James F. Hollifield, 51 (New York, NY: Routledge, 2000).

<sup>8</sup> Douglas S. Massey, Jorge Durand and Nolan J. Malone, "Principles of Operation: Theories of International Migration," in *The New Immigration: An Interdisciplinary Reader*, ed. Marcelo M. Suárez-Orozco, Carola Suárez-Orozco and Desirée Baolian Qin, 23 (New York, NY: Brunner-Routledge, 2005).

<sup>9</sup> Cornelius, Rosenblum, "Immigration and Politics," 101.

<sup>10</sup> Douglas S. Massey, "Why Does Immigration Occur? A Theoretical Synthesis," in *The Handbook of International Migration: The American Experience*, ed. Charles Hirschmann, Philip Kasinitz and Josh DeWind, 37 (New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation, 1999).



The new economics of migration theory explains that migrants are from areas where capital markets are absent or poorly developed. Therefore, migration allows them to overcome failures in capital, credit, and insurance markets which exist in their communities.<sup>11</sup> Migration will continue not just because of higher wages, but also because they want an improved economic status for their families.

The new economics of migration theory has added other economic factors, not just wage differences, which could explain migration. It has viewed the migration as a collective decision, which impacts the family unit, not just one individual. Although a broader economic view is important, aspects of other disciplines should also be considered. Even though the new economics of migration theory had added a new aspect, it still did not consider social or political reasons for migration.

### **Dual Labor Market Theory**

Another examination of migration reasons is Michael Piore's dual market labor theory. His viewpoint focuses on the economy of the receiving country and its needs.<sup>12</sup> This theory divides the market into the capital-intensive and labor-intensive segments. The capital-intensive market is comprised of skilled workers who have job security, higher income and better employment conditions. Meanwhile, the latter market consists of unskilled workers who have low wages and unstable positions, these job characteristics tend not to be attractive to native citizens. Therefore, the countries which receive immigrants need low-wage workers, which are supplied from labor-intensive countries.

---

<sup>11</sup> Linstrom and Lauster, "Economic Opportunity and the Competing Risks of Internal and U.S. Migration in Zacatecas, Mexico," 1235.

<sup>12</sup> Keely, "Demography and International Migration," 52.

Pull factors are the characteristics which attract migrants to other countries. Piore had theorized that pull factors, such as the need for low-wage workers has increased immigration worldwide.<sup>13</sup> Over the last century the United States has had one of the most stable democracies and flourishing economies in the world, which has drawn numerous individuals who seek stability, safety, and freedom.<sup>14</sup> Once receiving countries have recruited large amounts of migrants into a certain job sector, then these positions are then labeled 'immigrant jobs', and natives avoid them, which reinforces the structural demand for immigrants.<sup>15</sup> These adaptations by employers lead certain industries to not only rely, but to survive on, immigrant help. Individuals born in receiving countries view employment as a social status, but employers are in need of individuals who seek jobs in order to earn money, rather than gain status or prestige. Migrants supply these necessary characteristics since they are seeking money for specific goals, such as building a house or buying land. The economic dualism of today creates a demand for workers, which immigrants fill, in jobs with instability and a small chance of advancement.<sup>16</sup> Therefore, this theory proposes that immigration is reinforced with each new immigrant hired in a receiving country.

An academic expert on immigration, Wayne Cornelius, offers a complimentary theory to the dual labor market theory. He points out that certain jobs are cyclical and seasonal which natives, who are seeking security and stability, do not want to be employed in. Therefore, immigrants are pushed into these occupations, because there are no other workers to fill these positions. Over time, it is apparent that the economy

---

<sup>13</sup> Massey, "Why Does Immigration Occur? A Theoretical Synthesis," 37.

<sup>14</sup> Michael C. LeMay, *Illegal Immigration: A Reference Handbook* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO Inc, 2002): 3.

<sup>15</sup> Massey, "Why Does Immigration Occur? A Theoretical Synthesis," 46.

<sup>16</sup> Massey, Durand, and Malone, "Principles of Operation: Theories of International Migration," 27-28.

becomes structurally dependent on migrant labor in the low-paid medial work sector.<sup>17</sup> Further research has found that unstable, low-paying jobs will continue to be filled by migrants, since natives do not seek these positions.

Although both of these theories consider a different explanation of migration than previously discussed, each only focuses on the effects of the receiving state. This viewpoint is increasingly important, many times overlooked, and should be considered further in migration research. But, as previously mentioned, equally important are social and political elements, as well as the sending country. Although the dual labor market theory is revolutionary by bringing in factors of the receiving states, similar to other research it has left out other considerable factors.

### **Social Network Theory**

The social network theory infers that interpersonal ties connect past and future migrants between the origin and destination locations. These ties are established through kinship, friendship and shared communities at various stages of migrant's lives.<sup>18</sup> Then, once these bonds exist and when individuals choose to migrate, their costs of movement are reduced.<sup>19</sup> These communication channels provide information for the potential migrant on how to arrive to the receiving country, how to find work, or further reduce their cost of movement. Meanwhile, these migrant networks also increase the probability of migration incidents because their strength lowers risks and costs. An individual who has a family member or neighbor who had migrated, has a higher potential of future

---

<sup>17</sup> Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs. "Migration between Mexico and the United States: Binational Study," 1998, <http://www.utexas.edu/lbj/uscir/binpap-v.html> (accessed October 3, 2007): 177.

<sup>18</sup> Anthony M. Messina and Gallya Lahav, *The Migration Reader: Exploring Politics and Policies* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2006): 31-32.

<sup>19</sup> Massey et al., "Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal," 44.

migration.<sup>20</sup> Members of households and communities with past migration history have higher probabilities of movement than individuals who have not been exposed to these patterns.<sup>21</sup> Also, certain types of migrants rely on social networks more than others. When risks of migration become higher, such that the distance has increased or barriers have been erected, social networks become vital. This explains why networks are more significant in undocumented migration.<sup>22</sup> Nonetheless, migrants derive benefits from social networks no matter how they are crossing the border.

As mentioned, each new migrant reduces the cost of the migration process for the following migrant. This has led to the hypothesis that social networks can be a catalyst for future migration.<sup>23</sup> Studies of this theory have found that networks have continued to increase in importance as migration has increased.<sup>24</sup> The historical and cultural ties between various geographic areas are significant when explaining spatial concentration of migrants. Migration of Mexicans from the Sonora area to Arizona has exemplified this theory. Today, Sonora contributes 24.5% of migrants to Arizona, and this Mexican state is the largest contributor of undocumented Sonoran migrants in any U.S. state.<sup>25</sup> Such statistics indicate that historical ties can be large contributors to particular migration patterns.

This theory is the only one in migration research which focuses on the social aspects that effect the movement of people. The social network theory elaborates on

---

<sup>20</sup> Corinne Deléchat, "International Migration Dynamics: The Role of Experience and Social Networks," *Labour* 15 (September 2001): 458-459.

<sup>21</sup> Massey et al., "Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal," 56.

<sup>22</sup> Deléchat, "International Migration Dynamics: The Role of Experience and Social Networks," 459.

<sup>23</sup> Davis, Stecklov and Winters, "Domestic and International Migration from Rural Mexico: Disaggregation the Effects of Network Structure and Composition," 292.

<sup>24</sup> Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Migration between Mexico and the United States: Binational Study," 208.

<sup>25</sup> John P. Harner, "Continuity Amidst Change: Undocumented Mexican Migration to Arizona," *The Professional Geographer* 47 (November 1995): 401.

factors which other theories have left out. Nonetheless, the social structure cannot be the only motivation behind immigration, there are other factors which contribute to this phenomenon.

### **Cumulative Causation Theory**

Another critical research area had developed the cumulative causation theory. This theory was developed by Gunnar Myrdal, but had been further expanded and built upon by Douglas Massey and his colleagues.<sup>26</sup> It explains that migration has become self-perpetuating with each new migrant. As each individual decides to cross over state boundaries, he or she creates a surrounding social structure which then sustains subsequent migration.<sup>27</sup> The main mechanism for this theory is the accumulation of knowledge on migration which family and friends share with possible migrants. Although similar to the social network theory, this explanation focuses on rural communities where these characteristics are stronger and more defined. These elements are not as visible in urban settings. The theory explains that as remittances are brought in, there are changes in the income distribution of a particular community. This leads to an increased sense of relative deprivation, and creates a new motivation to migrate for others in such an environment. As individuals continue to travel abroad and provide information for younger generations, then the migration process will continue.<sup>28</sup> This theory focused on rural communities of the sending country, where much of migration begins.

---

<sup>26</sup> Elizabeth Fussell and Douglas S. Massey, "The Limits to Cumulative Causation: International Migration from Mexico Urban Areas," *Demographic* 41 (February 2004): 152.

<sup>27</sup> Cornelius and Rosenblum, "Immigration and Politics," 102.

<sup>28</sup> Fussell and Massey, "The Limits to Cumulative Causation: International Migration from Mexico Urban Areas," 152-153.

Similar to the social network theory, this hypothesis looks at migration as a process which develops and grows over time. This is a critical aspect of the theory since migration has increased dramatically over the past couple of decades. But, similar to the social network theory, the cumulative causation theory does not demonstrate any political or economic explanations. Since the cumulative causation theory does not incorporate non-social aspects it lacks certain viewpoints in its explanation.

### **Critique**

Although all of these theories explain specific reasons behind migration, each has left out at least one critical factor which is significant to this phenomenon. Most of these theories isolate a critical reason behind migration and focus on it, instead of concentrating on the larger picture. As the literature review has shown, some theories focus on the migration receiving countries, while others center their attention on social or economic factors. This thesis suggests that there are other initiatives which could explain migration between two countries. Push factors are the reasons why individuals may want to leave their country of origin and live in another location. They are problems that migrants see in their current environment, and feel that nothing but moving elsewhere can change that. Some specific push factors may include: increased population, high levels of unemployment, and an unstable political or economic system. Although theories in the literature review might have considered push factors, they did not integrate them or focus on the migrant sending countries in their core interpretation. The problem of most contemporary theories of migration is that they have not considered the sending state to

be a significant factor in shaping international migration, and how the country might be benefiting from the movement of people from its own country

It is important to note that although there has been some focus on the sending state, there has been little mention of its government or politics in the migration discussion. Therefore, this thesis will focus on the role of the sending state in migration from Mexico to the United States. This is not a substitute for other theories, but adds an additional dimension which has been understudied. Steps which are taken, or not taken, by the Mexican government also affect the immigrant community. Governments of sending states can actively plan to derive benefits from migration. Countries which have increasingly large migrant communities tend to have similar statistics of lower-scale economies which lack stability for its citizens. Therefore, as the country population decreases and remittances are sent back, the sending country is able to benefit from these changes. For the future, it is crucial to study not only the receiving state of migration, but also the sending state since both are impacted in the migration process.

### CHAPTER III

#### HISTORICAL BACKDROP

Throughout its history the United States has been known as a melting pot, which describes the various nationalities co-residing within its borders. Current statistics indicate that most of the migrants residing in the United States are from Latin America, most commonly from Mexico. Although Mexican citizens began establishing communities in the U.S. in the first part of this century, the amount of immigrants have continued to increase each year. In order to present the case study of Mexican migration, it is necessary to provide a history of this movement. The migration history can be divided into three time periods: the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Bracero Program, and the last four decades to the present.

The border between the United States and Mexico was established in 1848 and it is the longest border in the world, of 2,000 miles, between an industrialized and a developing country. When the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) had been signed, it was intended to lower the amount of legal and illegal immigrants from Mexico, instead the 2000 U.S. census indicated that there has been a rise of both types of migrants, rather than a decrease. Today Mexicans have formed the largest documented and undocumented groups of migrants within the U.S. border. A 2002 survey estimated 32.5 million immigrants in the United States, of which 9.8 million are from Mexico, and of those 5.3 million are undocumented.<sup>29</sup> Over the decades, and especially since NAFTA went into effect, legal and illegal Mexican immigration has increased.

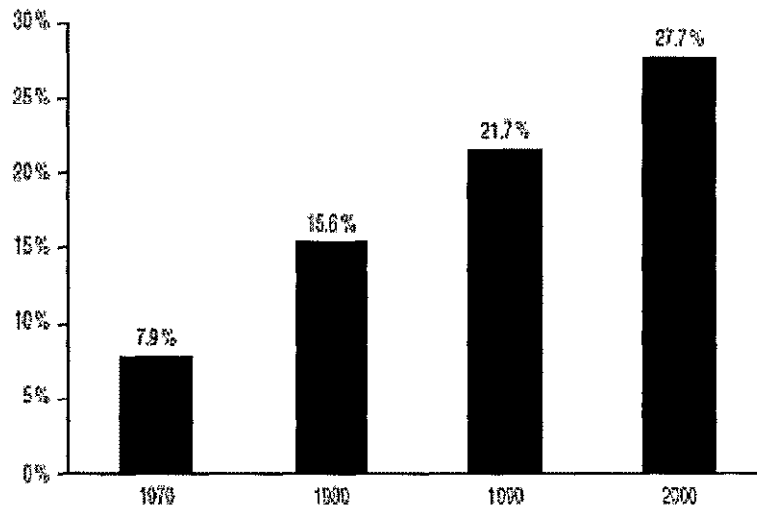
---

<sup>29</sup> Jeffrey Passel, "Mexican immigration to the US: The Latest Estimates," <http://www.migrationinformation.org/feature/display.cfm?ID=208>.



Figure 1

## Mexican Immigrants as a Share of All American Immigrants



Source: "Numbers and Geographic Distribution," *Center for Immigration Studies*, <http://www.cis.org/articles/2001/mexico/numbers.html> (accessed March 9, 2008).

Figure 1 illustrates how the percentage of Mexican immigrants has increased throughout the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. During the 1970's there was less than 10%, and it had increased to almost 30% by the year 2000. Other studies have found that in 2002 at least 45% of illegal immigrants in the U.S. were from Mexico.<sup>30</sup> Such statistics indicate how immigrants are becoming a large percentage of the population in the United States.

In 1952 the U.S. Immigration and Nationality Act created two types of immigrants, documented and undocumented. Documented, also known as legal immigrants, enter the country with proper documentation such as a visa. Today, there are about 70 different types of visas in the United States which allow immigrants to work or study legally. Meanwhile, under the United States law, individuals can become illegal

<sup>30</sup> Gordon H. Hanson, "Challenges for US Immigration Policy," in *The United States and the World Economy*, ed. C. Fred Bergsten, 349 (Washington, D.C.: Institute for International Economics, 2005).

immigrants in four ways. First, individuals can cross the U.S. border illegally, therefore without legal paperwork or authorization. The Immigration and Naturalization Service refers to these people as EWI's, which is short for 'entry without inspection'. Migrants can also enter the U.S. legally with a valid visa, but overstay the terms of their documents. A third way to gain undocumented status is to enter the country with fraudulent documentation. Lastly, an individual can be a U.S. permanent resident, but commit a crime; this leads to deportation, but if they have not left the U.S., then their status becomes illegal. Other names of undocumented workers can be: undocumented immigrant, undocumented alien, undocumented migrant, unauthorized immigrant, unauthorized migrant, illegal immigrant and illegal migrant. There are a number of names for immigrants, and various ways that individuals can become migrants in the U.S., whether legal or illegal.

Today the amount of immigrants is estimated, rather than being a set number. Migrants might not be included in a census because they may be outside of their home country only temporarily and therefore not included in the survey. Specifically, researchers are only able to provide estimates of the number of illegal immigrants since an individual without documentation will not want to identify themselves due to fear of deportation. For the most part, estimates of illegal migrants are counted through apprehension statistics, but these can also be misleading and not accurate. The majority of immigrants are apprehended on the southern U.S. border, but studies show that as the Border Patrol's budget doubles, so do the number of apprehensions. It should be remembered that all estimates of the number of migrants either overstate or understate the actual flow of people.

Current Mexican immigrants tend to reside in certain locations, which are usually big cities. About half of the Mexican population lives in California, while the rest settles in: New York, Texas, Illinois and Florida.<sup>31</sup> Mexican illegal immigrants tend to be younger, less proficient in English and have less experience in U.S. jobs, in comparison to their legal counterparts. In *Shadowed Lives: Undocumented Immigrants in American Society*, Leo Chavez described views of Mexican immigrants about the migration experience. Immigrants from Mexico view the United States as “the land of opportunity, where the streets are paved with gold, and where hard work and sacrifices can earn them upward mobility, at least for their children if not for themselves”.<sup>32</sup> He further describes that:

“they believe the United States offers them the opportunity to progresar (make progress) and mejorar económicamente (better themselves economically). The hope to superarse (surpass their current situation or circumstances), for both themselves and their families. They believe the United States offers a chance to subir (rise)”.<sup>33</sup>

### Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century Migration

During the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries boundary controls between the United States and Mexico were close to nonexistent. For the most part, the U.S. government focused on immigration from Europe, on the Canadian border, and at the official points of entry, such as Ellis Island. Meanwhile, the Mexican border was monitored for illegal

---

<sup>31</sup> George J. Borjas, *Friends or Strangers: The Impact of Immigrants on the U.S. Economy* (New York, NY: Basic Books Inc, 1990), 66.

<sup>32</sup> Leo R. Chavez, *Shadowed Lives: Undocumented Immigrants in American Society* (Orlando, FL: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Publishers, 1992), 29.

<sup>33</sup> Chavez, *Shadowed Lives: Undocumented Immigrants in American Society*, 29.

immigration from non-Mexican origins, such as Chinese citizens. Before 1907, data on Mexican immigrants was noted only when they arrived at sea, which was lower than 700 individuals per year before 1900.<sup>34</sup> History books note that many Mexicans had fled into the United States during the 1880's because of "oppressive land policies" of the Mexican dictator, Porfirio Diaz.<sup>35</sup> Therefore, there were few Mexican migrants at the turn of the century, and most fled the oppressive Mexican politics.

Immigration laws were not implemented by the U.S. government until the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The first legislation put into effect was in 1917, a literacy test and an \$8 per-head tax for all immigrants, which denied 5,745 Mexicans during the first year.<sup>36</sup> Soon after, a visa fee of \$10 per person was collected at the border.<sup>37</sup> The monies collected were used by the U.S. government to offset the cost of processing immigrants. Meanwhile, the visa had added a financial burden for individuals crossing into the United States, which slightly decreased the number of immigrants. Nonetheless, most migrants from Mexico continued to pass over the border successfully.

The following legislation set a restriction on the number of legal migrants from each country. Mexico was excluded since western and southern legislators argued that these workers were needed for U.S. agricultural labor. Instead, the Bureau of Immigration created boundary inspectors on the U.S.-Mexican border. They had automobiles and boats, but they were not able to decrease the number of smuggled contraband or immigrants entering the country.

---

<sup>34</sup> Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Migration between Mexico and the United States: Binational Study," 179.

<sup>35</sup> Paul Spickard, *Almost All Aliens: Immigration, Race, and Colonialism in American History and Identity* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2007), 213.

<sup>36</sup> Joseph Nevins, *Operation Gatekeeper: The Rise of the "Illegal Alien" and the Making of the U.S.-Mexico Boundary*, (New York, NY: Routledge, 2002), 27.

<sup>37</sup> David M. Heer, *Immigration in America's Future: Social Science Findings and the Policy Debate* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press Inc, 1996), 47.

Meanwhile, American railroads began linking Mexican towns with their U.S. company cities. For example, Guadalajara was linked with Nogales, Arizona by a railroad which helped workers arrive in the northern cities to help the U.S. economy.<sup>38</sup> Within a couple of years, U.S. companies controlled 80% of the railroads, 81% of the mining industry capital, and 61% of investments in the oil field of Mexico.<sup>39</sup> With technological innovations, railroads continued to expand and create new jobs on both sides of the border. As the American rail infrastructure expanded it continued to facilitate the movement of people from Mexico to the United States.

The first large increase of migration from Mexico occurred at the beginning of World War I. At this time, Congress allowed 70,000 Mexican laborers to be recruited for agricultural and railroad positions in the United States.<sup>40</sup> Thereafter, American recruiters crossed the border to find manual laborers who were referred to as ‘wetbacks’ (los mojados).<sup>41</sup> From here on, U.S. companies began to increase the amount of Mexican immigrants which they employed.

By 1924 Congress established the official U.S. Border Patrol to prevent illegal entry into the United States, but the border control was not strong and many immigrants continued to cross into the country undetected. Immigrants would go to the cotton fields of the Imperial Valley of California, the nuts and vegetable fields of San Joaquin and Salinas Valley, or as far as Yakima Valley and Columbia Basin.<sup>42</sup> A visa control system

---

<sup>38</sup> Justin Akers Chacón and Mike Davis, *No One is Illegal: Fighting Violence and State Repression on the U.S.-Mexico Border* (Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books, 2006), 105.

<sup>39</sup> Chacón and Davis, *No One is Illegal: Fighting Violence and State Repression on the U.S.-Mexico Border*, 104.

<sup>40</sup> Aristide R. Zolberg, “Matters of State: Theorizing Immigration Policy,” In *The Handbook of International Migration: The American Experience*, eds. Charles Hirschmann, Philip Kasinitz and Josh DeWind, 77 (New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation, 1999).

<sup>41</sup> Zolberg, “Matters of State: Theorizing Immigration Policy,” 77.

<sup>42</sup> Spickard, *Almost All Aliens: Immigration, Race, and Colonialism in American History and Identity*, 214.

was put in place in 1925 which noted the number of Mexican citizens crossing the border.<sup>43</sup> Then during an anti-immigrant demonstration in 1924, when about 90,000 Mexicans crossed the border illegally, quotas were demanded.<sup>44</sup> With such an influx of migrants, it was U.S. citizens who demanded that legislation be put in place by the U.S. government to decrease the number of Mexican citizens.

As the Depression began, many migrants headed back to Mexico. An estimated 400,000 Mexicans returned south because of high unemployment rates in the United States.<sup>45</sup> The Depression thus ended the Mexican immigration boom which had begun with the start of the First World War. As the number of jobs in the U.S. decreased, there was a “popular and political sentiment against Mexican nationals”.<sup>46</sup> At this time, President Hoover even stated that Mexicans took jobs from Americans, which was the reason why the country was in a depression. Therefore, a lack of jobs and an anti-immigrant sentiment encouraged Mexican citizens to leave the country.

When American soldiers began fighting in World War II, a shortage of workers was noted by employers. With a lack of European migrants, the government sought help from Mexico. The southern neighbor provided an indefinite supply of employees. At first, the State Department limited the number of immigrants to 20,000, but future presidents approved higher numbers.<sup>47</sup> Mexican workers volunteered to cross the border since there were such high wage ratios between the two countries. Their new

---

<sup>43</sup> Walter Fogel, “Twentieth-Century Mexican Migration to the United States,” in *The Gateway: U.S. Immigration Issues and Policies*, ed Barry R. Chiswick, 194 (Washington D.C.: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1982).

<sup>44</sup> Zolberg, “Matters of State: Theorizing Immigration Policy,” 77.

<sup>45</sup> David M. Reimers, “Recent Immigration Policy: An Analysis,” in *The Gateway: U.S. Immigration Issues and Policies*, ed Barry R. Chiswick, 15 (Washington D.C.: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1982).

<sup>46</sup> Lisa Magaña, *Straddling the Border: Immigration Policy and the INS* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2003), 16.

<sup>47</sup> Reimers, “Recent Immigration Policy: An Analysis,” 43.

employment positions also guaranteed basic freedoms, such as justice and respect which were not assured in Mexico. American employers preferred Mexican workers, in comparison to European or Asian migrants, because of their willingness to work longer hours and in worse conditions. In addition, the close border allowed for easier deportation of Mexican workers during strikes and union agitations. With a war, employment was sought out in urban areas, at airplane factories, shipyards, steel mills, or automobile factories. Therefore, throughout the 1940's, Mexican workers embraced positions which were freed up when American employees went off to fight the war in Europe.

Although Mexican immigration was not controlled during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, it did occur and have an impact on the U.S. economy. For the most part, Mexicans were able to freely cross the border and were employed in agriculture or manufacturing positions. High employment of Mexican workers occurred during the World Wars, but was discouraged when the American economy was crashing. A pattern had begun which would continue in the future; it encouraged migration into the United States when workers were needed, but discouraged when unemployment was high.

### **The Bracero Program**

As the shortage of workers in agriculture continued during the Second World War, the U.S. government responded with the Bracero Agreement, formed in collaboration with the Mexican government. The program had begun in 1942 and allowed temporary migration of Mexican agricultural workers into the United States. Throughout the program, the number of Mexican laborers was determined on a season-

by-seasons basis, in consideration to current U.S. agricultural needs. The program was initiated by the Immigration and Naturalization Services, the Department of State, the Department of Labor, and the Department of Agriculture. The word 'bracero' was derived from 'brazo', the Spanish word for arm and the program name literally meant 'arm-man', which was sometimes translated into 'farmhand'.<sup>48</sup> The Bracero Program was created in response to the demand for workers in the American economy.

Under this program Mexicans were able to experience the wages and working conditions in the United States, which were far superior to those of Mexico. The Mexican workers were in favor of this program since they were able to earn \$500 a year, enough to send money back to families who stayed behind. Daily wages on farms varied from \$5.90 in California, to \$4.67 in Arkansas, which was drastically different from \$0.89 in the Northern Pacific states of Mexico, or \$0.42 in southwestern Mexican states.<sup>49</sup> This formed wage ratios between 7 and 14 to 1 for the participating workers.<sup>50</sup> Nonetheless, bracero wages were usually one-quarter to one-half below the American native farm workers.<sup>51</sup> Individuals who participated in the program gained an economic advantage to those who did not emigrate out of Mexico.

Migrant workers under this program were employed in 21 states. The states which had the highest amounts of bracero's were: California, Arizona, Indiana, Delaware, Michigan, Arkansas, Montana and Washington State. No workers under the program were employed in Texas, due to discrimination. Negative remarks were most

---

<sup>48</sup> Spickard, *Almost All Aliens: Immigration, Race, and Colonialism in American History and Identity*, 302.

<sup>49</sup> Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Migration between Mexico and the United States: Binational Study," 213.

<sup>50</sup> Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Migration between Mexico and the United States: Binational Study," 213.

<sup>51</sup> Spickard, *Almost All Aliens: Immigration, Race, and Colonialism in American History and Identity*, 303.



visible in Texas, where Mexicans were referred to as “half-breeds” and were subject to Jim Crow laws.<sup>52</sup> With such large numbers of braceros and a high demand, the Bracero Program was reinstated from 1951 to 1964. In the end, the program was ended by the U.S. government when American wages were being lowered in the agricultural industry. With such a success, the Bracero Program was extended, until it began to hurt the American economy.

Although under the rules and regulations of the Bracero Program, employees were guaranteed minimum wage and protection in the workplace, the enforcement of these was minimal. Mexican workers were living in “tents or board shacks without running water, heat, or electricity”.<sup>53</sup> Even though workers were guaranteed a job, their food and health expenses were not regulated and were deducted from their payroll, or individuals did not receive their wages. Violations to the contract, such as leaving or stopping work, led to deportation under the contract regulations. The Bracero Program has been compared to slave labor, with Mexican workers being abused by U.S. employers. Since employers were in charge of pay decisions, working conditions and food did not live up to the regulations which were established by the U.S. and Mexican governments.

The Bracero Program allowed for lower expenses in the agricultural industry. Experts on this program point out that the United States government wanted to “subsidize Southwestern and Californian agriculture with cheap labor”.<sup>54</sup> Even the head of the Immigration and Naturalization Services in Los Angeles had stated that if at that point in history a sizeable amount of Mexican workers would have been removed during harvest

---

<sup>52</sup> Zolberg, “Matters of State: Theorizing Immigration Policy,” 77.

<sup>53</sup> Spickard, *Almost All Aliens: Immigration, Race, and Colonialism in American History and Identity*, 303.

<sup>54</sup> Helene Hayes, *U.S. Immigration Policy and the Undocumented: Ambivalent Laws, Furtive Lives* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2001), 28.

season, it “would have brought disaster to the agricultural enterprises employing them”.<sup>55</sup> Looking back, it is visible that the help Mexican braceros provided was a significant benefit for U.S. agriculture.

Laws which restricted illegal immigration were not enacted until the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The first U.S. law which restricted migration was the Texas Proviso, which “prohibited aiding, harboring, and concealing illegal immigrants”.<sup>56</sup> But at this time, agricultural interests were considered, and a clause was added which allowed “usual and normal practices” which would not be considered illegal.<sup>57</sup> Therefore, employers at this time did not consider employing an undocumented immigrant to be a violation of the Texas Proviso. A paradox was then created by the U.S. government, employers were not allowed to hire illegal immigrants, but did so as the practices were overlooked by officials.

Although laws against employing illegal immigrants were in place, there were surprisingly larger numbers of undocumented migrants than documented ones. Between 1947 and 1949 around 74,600 braceros entered the United States, meanwhile there was 142,200 illegal immigrants crossing the border with them.<sup>58</sup> A 1951 study found that 60% of tomato pickers were illegal.<sup>59</sup> These were the first figures which drew distinctions between legal and illegal migration from Mexico.

Illegal and informal recruitment was parallel to the government-led Bracero Program, and by employing illegal immigrants American employers were able to reduce

---

<sup>55</sup> Hayes, *U.S. Immigration Policy and the Undocumented: Ambivalent Laws, Furtive Lives*, 28.

<sup>56</sup> Zolberg, “Matters of State: Theorizing Immigration Policy,” 77.

<sup>57</sup> Nevis, *Operation Gatekeeper: The Rise of the “Illegal Alien” and the Making of the U.S.-Mexico Boundary*, 35.

<sup>58</sup> Chacón and Davis, *No One is Illegal: Fighting Violence and State Repression on the U.S.-Mexico Border*, 146.

<sup>59</sup> Chacón and Davis, *No One is Illegal: Fighting Violence and State Repression on the U.S.-Mexico Border*, 146.

their costs. Farming, mining and construction companies sought out illegal Mexican workers in “backbreaking, but unskilled, kinds of work”.<sup>60</sup> Farm owners hired illegal immigrants since it was cheaper and required less paperwork, therefore such practices continually increased the number of undocumented workers in the United States. By hiring these workers, farm owners did not have to pay the \$25 bond for each bracero, the \$15 fee enforced by the government, have a minimum employment period, or establish a set wage.<sup>61</sup> Typically, illegal immigrants received wages of 20 to 30 cents an hour, housing which did not have plumbing or electricity, and had to wash their clothing in irrigation ditches.<sup>62</sup> But no matter how low the wages were, they amounted to double or triple of those offered in Mexico, which allowed illegal workers to improve their economic status.

Illegal migrants had similar backgrounds to the individuals selected to participate in the Bracero Program, and were willing to accept the poor conditions which were offered. Therefore, they did not only enter the farming industry, but were also sought out by low-paying manufacturing companies in U.S. cities. The visibly poor conditions were an improvement from Mexico, otherwise such large numbers of workers would not have migrated. Over the years, the number of illegal migrant seeking work outside the agricultural industry has continued to increase.

The most common way for migrants to find work was first to cross the border illegally. Once a position was found, they would be paroled and legalized on the spot. The INS supported such actions since it saved American employers large amounts of

---

<sup>60</sup> Fogel, “Twentieth-Century Mexican Migration to the United States,” 194.

<sup>61</sup> Chacón and Davis, *No One is Illegal: Fighting Violence and State Repression on the U.S.-Mexico Border*, 146.

<sup>62</sup> Leonard Dinnerstein and David Reimers, *Ethnic Americas: A History of Immigration* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1990), 134.

money in recruitment costs. Similar to today, undocumented workers were powerless in protecting their rights or improving their working conditions. With an illegal status, unions and growers were not responsible for providing these basic necessities which were required for participants of the Bracero Program.

As the number of Mexican workers continued to increase, the U.S. government decided to stop these actions with deportation. By the late 1950's, 95% of all Bracero workers were employed on 50,000 farms which were established in five states, but immigrant statistics indicate that 98% of U.S. farms employed illegal immigrants.<sup>63</sup> The high numbers of illegal workers led to Operation Wetback, which rounded up all Mexican workers out of the United States in the mid-1950's. Individuals were then deported without formal proceedings, and some of the people forced out were U.S. citizens. These 1954 deportations and apprehensions summed up 1.3 million Mexicans, and by 1959 3.8 million individuals were deported out of the United States.<sup>64</sup> The government had hoped that this process would encourage American employers to seek braceros rather than illegal immigrants. Overall, the first couple of years were successful, with fewer apprehensions at the U.S.-Mexican border. Nonetheless, employment of illegal migrants continued to increase in the succeeding years.

Although the Bracero Program was established to stimulate the American agricultural sector for a couple of years, it had continued for much longer than expected. This program not only helped U.S. farmers achieve their agricultural quotas when agricultural employees were needed, but it also benefited Mexican citizens with higher wages. Unforeseen were the occurrences of illegal migration which developed parallel to

---

<sup>63</sup> Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Migration between Mexico and the United States: Binational Study," 181.

<sup>64</sup> Magaña, *Straddling the Border: Immigration Policy and the INS*, 18.

the Bracero Program in the agriculture and manufacturing sectors. In the end, Mexican workers were forced to leave the country, which included many documented Mexicans and U.S. citizens.

### **Late 20<sup>th</sup> Century Migration**

Although the Bracero Program ended, informal recruitment continued to occur, even with the cooperation of U.S. authorities. Illegal immigrants would be gathered in groups, and literally pushed into Mexico, then readmitted by U.S. authorities as temporary workers. Although Congress had made harboring and importing illegal aliens a felony, this legislation did not decrease the number of migrants crossing the border. Therefore, such proceedings did not make the U.S. role “unintentional, naïve, or innocent”.<sup>65</sup> The Bracero Program was expected to decrease undocumented immigration and provide a formal migrant work program, in the end it created the opposite effect.

Many observers believe that the Bracero Program encouraged Mexican immigration to the United States. Bracero’s “got a taste of American wages”, and once they were unable to continue working under this program, they continued to cross over the border illegally.<sup>66</sup> Mexicans who had lived in the United States during the Bracero Program did not have alternative employment in their country, and therefore chose to migrate illegally across the border in succeeding years. In addition, even though the program ended, the demand for cheap labor continued to grow during the 1960’s. This demand for workers marked the beginning of the most recent wave of immigration from Mexico. At this time, American farmers did not care if their employees were legal or not,

---

<sup>65</sup> Chacón and Davis, *No One is Illegal: Fighting Violence and State Repression on the U.S.-Mexico Border*, 146.

<sup>66</sup> Reimers, “Recent Immigration Policy: An Analysis,” 45.

therefore 75% of agricultural workers in Texas and California were made up of past braceros or illegal immigrants.<sup>67</sup> Informal social networks linked farms across the country to various cities, villages and towns across Mexico to continually supply American farmers with new employees.

During the late 1950's immigrants were drawn to U.S. cities, where more jobs were becoming available. Large numbers of unskilled labor began to pool around Los Angeles, which is about 100 miles from the Mexican border. Immigrants began searching for jobs in garment factories, restaurants, laundries, hotels and hospitals. Residential housing was set up for farmers around Gardena and San Fernando, allowing immigrants to live within close proximity to farm jobs and construction sites. During this time period, present Mexican neighborhoods and social networks were being established and continued to grow.

The first laws which tried to limit the number of migrants from Mexico were passed by the U.S. government soon after the end of the Bracero Program. The first restriction was on the number of immigrants allowed from Latin American countries, which was passed in 1965. The Immigration Act limited the number of visas to 120,000 from the Western Hemisphere. Although these restrictions were set, hundreds of thousands of Mexicans continued cross the border as they had done in the past. Workers who persisted to cross illegally were either workers of the ended Bracero Program, or had relatives who had participated in the program. Many of these individuals came from rural small towns and were fleeing poverty. The subsequent legislation was passed in 1975, when the government limited immigrants from each nation in the Western

---

<sup>67</sup> Chacón and Davis, *No One is Illegal: Fighting Violence and State Repression on the U.S.-Mexico Border*, 146.

Hemisphere to 20,000 people. Both of these restrictions had impacted Mexico the hardest, since this country had the highest amount of immigrants coming into the United States.

Illegal immigration was not central to the U.S. government until the legislation which set restriction passed. By this time, undocumented workers were becoming more integrated into the American economy, and the number of illegal's continued to increase. Statistics indicated that most of the apprehended Mexican immigrants were EWI's, and these statistics reflected the need of cheap labor on farms in order to lower the costs of produce. Meanwhile, the United States economy had high unemployment rates, which increased the "fear of hispanization".<sup>68</sup> Employers who took advantage of the Bracero Program, now hired illegal immigrants. Also, companies who hired illegal immigrants during the Bracero era, continued to do so in succeeding decades.<sup>69</sup> Scholars believe that the patterns of immigration from Mexico were established during the Bracero Program, and continued to expand throughout the next three decades.

Therefore, proposals of restriction of entry and the proposition to enforce sanctions on employers who hired illegal aliens were brought up by Congress and other government officials. For the two decades after the end of the Bracero Program, enforcement by the INS was limited, even as apprehensions increased. The problem resided in the INS budget, since it was smaller than many city police departments. Also, penalties on smugglers were minimal, and only 50% of the criminals were prosecuted.<sup>70</sup>

---

<sup>68</sup> Aristide R. Zolberg, "Patterns of International Migration Policy: A Diachronic Comparison," in *The Migration Reader: Exploring Politics and Policies*, eds. Anthony M. Messina and Gallya Lahav, 121 (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2006).

<sup>69</sup> LeMay, *Illegal Immigration: A Reference Handbook*, 4-5.

<sup>70</sup> Peter, Andreas, "The Transformation of Migrant Smuggling across the U.S.-Mexican Border," in *Global Human Smuggling: Comparative Perspectives*, eds. David Kyle and Rey Koslowski, 111 (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).

Although there was a lot of discussion by lawmakers, legislation was not developed to decrease the number of migrants settling in the United States.

Until 1986 the United States did not have a law which forbade American companies from hiring illegal immigrants. Therefore, the U.S. government chose to enforce sanctions on employers who hired these undocumented migrants. The Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986, commonly known as IRCA, required employers to check documentation of prospective employees, and fines would be applied to companies who knowingly hired illegal workers. This law also legalized illegal farm workers in order to provide a legal agricultural workforce, and increased resources which could be used to detect and apprehend future migrants crossing the border. Once enacted, it was found that employer sanctions were difficult to enforce because there had been an increase in the use of fraudulent documents, and the U.S. government continued to have limited resources. Through this act, the government had also hoped to reduce access of employment to illegal immigrants by making it a crime for them to be hired. The bill had also granted a permanent legal status or amnesty, to 2.8 million unauthorized workers who had been in the United States continuously since the first of January of 1982.<sup>71</sup> IRCA had been the first law in the United States which focused on the employer, rather than the immigrant, in order to reduce undocumented migration.

There were many loose ends which the U.S. government had to cover in new laws which were passed in the following two decades. First, American farmers were opposed to the initial employer sanctions since they would not have a cheap labor supply, but Congress assured them that further guest worker programs would be developed. From

---

<sup>71</sup> Daniel T. Griswold, "Willing Workers: Fixing the Problem of Illegal Mexican Migration to the United States," *Cato Institute For Trade Policy*, Paper #19, 2002.



then on, a restrictive sentiment developed among Americans, and by the late 1980's and early 1990's the United States banned undocumented immigrants from all public services. Such legislation prohibited undocumented workers from receiving benefits from the following services: Aid for Families with Dependent Children, Supplement Security Income, Food Stamps, Medicaid, housing assistance, legal services, unemployment insurance, and financial aid for students. Meanwhile, the increased funds of the Border Patrol raised the number of detained, prosecuted and deported illegal aliens. The number of apprehensions had also peaked in 1986 at 1.7 million Mexicans.<sup>72</sup> Statistics also indicate that during the 1980's, Mexican-origin unauthorized population in the U.S. grew by 115,000 individuals per year.<sup>73</sup> Through these laws, the United States officials hoped to decrease the amount of illegal immigrants by increasing the costs, and lowering the benefits within its borders. This underscores the fact that legal efforts to reduce illegal immigration focused on immigrants themselves, rather than their U.S. employers.

Unfortunately, all the new changes were not as effective as the U.S. government had hoped. During the 1990's the number of illegal migrants continued to rise, from 3.8 million in 1990, to 8.9 million in 2000, with about 45% individuals crossing the border from Mexico.<sup>74</sup> Mexican immigrants also began to move around the country to Detroit, Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul, a change from previous decades where many settled in the southwest. As time passed immigrants began increasing in number and moving to new locations.

---

<sup>72</sup> Borjas, *Friends or Strangers: The Impact of Immigrants on the U.S. Economy*, 59.

<sup>73</sup> Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Migration between Mexico and the United States: Binational Study," 38.

<sup>74</sup> Hanson, "Challenges for US Immigration Policy," 349.

Meanwhile, changes were also made on the U.S.-Mexican border. The Hold the Land initiative was established in 1993 in El Paso, Texas which concentrated parts of the border with an increased amount of agents and physical blockades. Because of its success, similar initiatives were implemented. New locations of these enforcements included: Occupation Gatekeeper in San Diego, Operation Safeguard in Tucson and Operation Rio Grande Valley in southern Texas. On September 29<sup>th</sup> of 2006, the U.S. Senate voted, 80 to 19, and approved 700 miles of additional fence in the high-traffic, non-mountainous sections of the border, mainly in Arizona.<sup>75</sup> Although these new implementations have decreased the number of apprehensions at what used to be most-frequented checkpoints, now migrants are searching to cross the U.S.-Mexican border in more remote terrain.

Therefore, the current immigration situation presents a problem for both, the United States and Mexico. Legal migrants in the United States are setting up social networks which then increase the amount of illegal immigration, which represents the black market labor, smuggling, fraudulent documentation, wage distortions, and abuses. Meanwhile, millions of Mexican citizens do not have full protection of their rights are vulnerable to abuse from U.S. employers and border smugglers. Although, as immigration continued to increase, the U.S. government tried to decrease it with laws against employers. Such legislation and border initiatives were found to be successful at first but unfortunately, long-term effects were minimal.

In order to further understand the process of migration from Mexico to the United States, it is important to recognize what factors influence these immigrants to cross the

---

<sup>75</sup> Rob T. Guerette, *Migration Death: Border Safety and Situational Crime Prevention on the U.S.-Mexico Divide* (New York, NY: LFB Scholarly Publishing LLC, 2007), 13.

border. Although the past history of the movement of these migrants is significant and establishes a pattern of movement, reasons which force such populations to move are equally important and are explored in the following chapter.

## CHAPTER IV

### REASONS FOR MEXICAN MIGRATION

As the literature review of this thesis had explained, there are numerous theories which attempt to predict why migration occurs. As it had been documented, migration from Mexico to the United States has been occurring for a number of decades and has not been decreasing. Since immigration is visible, there are factors which influence the patterns of movement between these two countries. In order to understand why migration from Mexico has been increasing, it is necessary to understand the problems of the Mexican economy, and then focus on push and pull factors which increase migration occurrences. Also, potential risks of border crossing are discussed in this chapter since illegal movement across the U.S.-Mexican border is significant to a number of these migrants.

#### **Mexican Economy**

Looking back through Mexico's history, it is apparent that the economy has had its ups and downs, especially in the most recent decades. In the past forty years, the economy has not been predictable or stable. The economic turbulence which has been experienced by Mexican citizens has impacted millions of people, and therefore has had consequences which impact migration into the United States.

The Mexican economy has had many drawbacks. An oil boom, which occurred during the late 1970's, was followed by an oil crisis in 1982 and 1983. Also, during the last quarter century the country has had four peso devaluations in: 1976, 1982, 1986 and

1994. As inflation had outpaced earning growth between 1982 and 1983, earnings of Mexican workers fell by about 23%.<sup>76</sup> Each of the peso devaluations had worsened the already poor economic situation which had been hurt by the unstable oil market. Numerous peso reductions continued to plague the country, and decrease the Mexican worker wage and savings.

Between the 1940's and 1970's the Mexican government attempted to raise the agricultural productivity and investments in the country, known as the Green Revolution. Relatively quick the economy expanded by 6% per year, but small and subsistence farmers were not able to compete with the large capitalist farm owners who grew with government help.<sup>77</sup> Small farmers were producing corn and beans for domestic consumption, and were losing ground to the minority of the farmers who were producing coffee, tomatoes and strawberries for the U.S. market. With numerous farmers unable to sustain this type of agriculture, many moved to larger cities or to the United States in search of employment. The state-sponsored national development was not working effectively, and by 1970 about 70% of the income from capital good productions was gained by foreign companies, namely American. Unfortunately, the Mexican state only benefited from 20% of the income, and 10% of it went to private Mexican companies.<sup>78</sup> Although the government tried to help the agriculture sector, improvements were felt by American and Mexican private companies, rather than by poor farm workers.

---

<sup>76</sup> Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Migration between Mexico and the United States: Binational Study," 197.

<sup>77</sup> Chacón and Davis, *No One is Illegal: Fighting Violence and State Repression on the U.S.-Mexico Border*, 109.

<sup>78</sup> Chacón and Davis, *No One is Illegal: Fighting Violence and State Repression on the U.S.-Market Border*, 111.

In order to increase its assistance, the Mexican government opened up its borders to the international economy by joining the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in 1986. Soon enough, there was a stock market crash which led to capital flight, and another peso devaluation. Once again, real wages declined substantially and there was increased pressure on the labor market. Therefore, in 1988 Mexico decided to abandon its import substitution industrialization (ISI) and focus on active government intervention in the economy. Economic policies moved toward reliance on the market mechanisms and macroeconomic policies which allowed for the building of an export manufacturing sector. The short-term results were as hoped for, an increase in foreign investments in Mexico. At first, the Mexican infrastructure gained by increasing the returns to scale, but soon enough the industrial activity shifted from central Mexico towards the U.S.-Mexican border. Once again, government initiatives backfired and decreased the possible benefits for the Mexican population.

In order to reduce trade barriers with neighboring nations, Mexico signed NAFTA, which went into effect on January 1<sup>st</sup> of 1994. This agreement reduced trade barriers and promoted investments in the region which encompassed Mexico, the United States and Canada. As NAFTA went into effect there was another peso devaluation in Mexico, bringing a subsequent round of economic depression to the country. This led to a Mexican trade deficit of \$20 million, which was equal to 5% of the country's GDP.<sup>79</sup> The effects of these two events pushed social costs onto the poor workers of Mexico. Restructuring and privatization programs had begun during the early 1990's in hope of increasing economic efficiency and job growth, but such measures had actually displaced

---

<sup>79</sup> Philip L. Martin and J. Edward Taylor, "Managing Migration: The Role of Economic Policies," in *Global Migration Global Refugees: Problems and Situations*, eds. Aristide R. Zolberg and Peter M. Benda, 109 (New York, NY: Berghahn Books, 2001).

employees for a period of time. At this time Mexican families began to heavily rely on their relatives for money from the United States in order to protect themselves from the unstable economy.

Furthermore, as NAFTA went into effect, U.S. exports of subsidized crops such as corn and avocados, depressed agricultural prices in Mexico. Mexican and U.S. officials hoped that NAFTA would accelerate economic growth through privatization, land reform and free trade; instead, it increased immigration into the United States. Before NAFTA, in 1965, the Mexican government launched the Border Industrialization Program which created foreign in-bond assembly plants known as maquiladoras. These were created in enterprise zones along the border with the U.S., but their significance was not important until after the signing of NAFTA. The manufacturing plants boomed during the 1990's, but the Mexican state was not benefiting from them. These companies were exempt from import duties and restrictions on foreign ownership in Mexico, as long as the goods were exported elsewhere. Although manufacturing jobs were created, the Mexican government was not able to benefit due to specialized regulation which favored U.S. companies.

As it can be seen, the Mexican economy has had a turbulent past. Although changes by the government were attempted, many of them came at the wrong time, or had reverse effects. The economic issues which surfaced time and again began further enforcing the migration patterns established in past decades. This chapter will explain the push and pull factors that impact the existing migration patterns.

### **Migration Push Factors**

The majority of Mexicans view the United States highly, a place where they want to live and are able to prosper. From an economic standpoint, these two countries vary drastically. The sharp contrasts are some of the reasons why Mexicans choose to migrate to the United States in order to achieve a higher standard of living. Typically, individuals who migrate are not employed, nor do they have high standards of living. Some families are able to obtain visas, but the process is long and expensive. Many are not granted the proper documentation, and choose to migrate illegally into the nation of opportunity.

Push factors are aspects of immigration which explain why individuals leave their country of origin. There are usually a variety of aspects which are considered before a migrant settles outside his or her homeland. Since the late 1980's push factors have become even more significant when examining migration from Mexico to the United States, because of the decline in the Mexican economy. Factors which are part of the push forces in Mexican immigration to the United States include: lack of jobs, low income, low wages, and decreased help from the government.

#### **Push Factors: Lack of Jobs**

Many of the less developed nations, such as Mexico, have decreased access to capital, which is one of the main reasons why citizens of those countries leave their nations and seek a better life elsewhere. Economic disparities in a country are the strongest push factors which encourage individuals or families to emigrate. Mexico has had problems with steep interest rates, an overvalued peso, an unequal recovery and an



exaggerated inequality within its population. Such economic problems lead to a lack of income for the citizens of this nation.

Proponents of NAFTA promised an increase of jobs and income for Mexican citizens, but these promises were never fulfilled. Since NAFTA's implementation, there has been a small net gain in the available employment. Although NAFTA had increased foreign investment and created jobs in maquiladoras, it displaced labor in previously protected sectors, such as agriculture. The free trade agreement's liberalization of trade and privatization has increased unemployment and led to an increase in financial problems for Mexico.

Once the agreement had been signed, the jobs which were lost in the agricultural sector were not replaced in the manufacturing division, as had been anticipated. When implementing NAFTA, there was no protection for unions, wages or displaced workers in Mexico.<sup>80</sup> Also, small-scale agricultural production and domestic construction were not as profitable as manufactured goods, which were exported worldwide. To help its country, the Mexican government privatized government-owned industries in hopes of a profitable economy; instead, there were higher numbers of layoffs at a time of peso devaluations and economic crises. Formal sector jobs continued to be created, but they were only near the U.S.-Mexico border in the maquiladoras. So Mexicans had only a few choices: dead-end maquiladora jobs, some vacancies in Mexican cities, or emigration to the United States where jobs were plentiful. By 2005, an estimate shows that of the current 12 million workers in Mexico, about 40% of them do not have stable

---

<sup>80</sup> Chacón and Davis, *No One is Illegal: Fighting Violence and State Repression on the U.S.-Mexico Border*, 113.

employment.<sup>81</sup> Although NAFTA predicted to decrease unemployment, in actuality it had the opposite effect.

Each year about a million Mexicans turn 15 years old, and there are fewer choices for them than in the past. The options which they can take advantage of include: continuing their education, seeking formal jobs in Mexico, immigrating to the United States, or dropping out of the formal labor force. Although much of the young would prefer to continue their education, or find a formal sector position, the Mexican economy has only been creating 300,000 to 400,000 positions a year. Since 1993 about 6.2 million jobs were created in Mexico, meanwhile the labor force grew more than 10 million, this has left 4 million individuals unemployed.<sup>82</sup> It is apparent that the economy has not kept up with the growing Mexican population. For immigration into the United States to decrease, the Mexican economy needs to increase the number of opportunities available for its citizens.

#### Push Factors: Lack of Income

Although NAFTA and its changes were implemented, the government had not applied an unemployment program and Mexican citizens searched for alternative income in the informal sector. Today about 10 million Mexicans work in the informal sector, not because they choose to do so, but because there is a lack of other opportunities.<sup>83</sup> Individuals seek positions in domestic work, street vending, personal services and repairs.

---

<sup>81</sup> Gary Gereffi and Martha A. Martínez, "Mexico's Economic Transformation Under NAFTA," in *Mexico's Democracy at Work: Political and Economic Dynamics*, eds. Russell Crandall, Guadalupe Paz and Riordan Roett, 141 (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc, 2005).

<sup>82</sup> Timothy A. Wise, Hilda Salazar and Laura Carlsen, "Introduction: Globalization and Popular Resistance in Mexico," in *Confronting Globalization: Economic Integration and Popular Resistance in Mexico*, eds. Timothy A. Wise, Hilda Salazar, and Laura Carlsen, 4 (Bloomfield, CT: Kumarian Press Inc, 2006).

<sup>83</sup> Wise, Salazar and Carlsen, "Introduction: Globalization and Popular Resistance in Mexico," 4.

Unfortunately, these self-employed positions do not provide benefits such as healthcare or pensions. Since the 1990's there has been a rise in the number of jobs, but the wage levels have remained unchanged. A 2002 minimum salary was about \$120 per month, but based on its real value, it had not changed since 1980.<sup>84</sup> By 2004, real wages were lower than when NAFTA went into effect.<sup>85</sup> This has led the minimum wages to lose their buying power by 33%.<sup>86</sup> Even though the average farm work wages have increased to \$5.94 an hour, the purchasing power declined between 1989 and 1998.<sup>87</sup> As the variation in the GDP between Mexico and the United States continues to increase, there are more individuals choosing work in the informal market or migrating north. For example, today Zacatecas is one of the poorest states in Mexico, with a per capital GDP of \$2,791 where only 30% of the residing citizens earn more than double of the minimum wage of \$8.00 per day.<sup>88</sup> The state of Zacatecas is a perfect example how low income is a pushing factor which leads to large flows of immigrants into the United States.

#### Push Factors: Low Wages

After NAFTA was implemented, the United States and Canada also experienced a decline in wages, but Mexico was hit the hardest out of the three participating countries. Manufacturing and agricultural jobs continuously decreased productivity, and the decreased pay hurt Mexican workers. In the manufacturing sector, workers earned 12%

---

<sup>84</sup> Gereffi and Martínez, "Mexico's Economic Transformation Under NAFTA," 142.

<sup>85</sup> Sandra Polaski, "Jobs, Wages, and Household Income," *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, January 2004.

<sup>86</sup> Wise, Salazar and Carlsen, "Introduction: Globalization and Popular Resistance in Mexico," 3.

<sup>87</sup> Chacón and Davis, *No One is Illegal: Fighting Violence and State Repression on the U.S.-Mexico Border*, 151.

<sup>88</sup> Miguel Moctezuma Longoria, "The Migrant Club El Remolino: A Binational Community Experience," in *Confronting Globalization: Economic Integration and Popular Resistance in Mexico*, eds. Timothy A. Wise, Hilda Salazar and Laura Carlsen, 196 (Bloomfield, CT: Kumarian Press Inc, 2003).

less than they did in 1994.<sup>89</sup> Meanwhile, maquiladora jobs have decreased in number because many manufacturers have transferred their production to Asian countries, where wages are cheaper. This lack of stability continued as more companies closed, or left the Mexican market. A year after NAFTA was signed, 40% of clothing industries went out of business, or had moved abroad for cheaper production.<sup>90</sup> That same year, the Mexican government estimated that 1 million formal sector jobs were lost.<sup>91</sup> Also, between 1994 and 2004 about 1.3 million small farmers were pushed into bankruptcy by cheap American grain imports, which were solely driven by NAFTA.<sup>92</sup> One year after NAFTA's implementation, there was a 7% drop in economic activity in Mexico and an increase in unemployment.<sup>93</sup> Because of a lack of opportunities, rural households mix their sources of income from the cultivation of basic crops, diversification of agricultural production, increasing day labor, and increasing off-farm employment, especially in the informal sector or in maquiladora plants. With higher unemployment and a lack of jobs, individuals are trying to find income any way they can.

A lack of jobs and the decrease in wages has led to a lowered standard of living for the average Mexican citizen. The incidence of poverty rates first began between 1984 and 1989, and once NAFTA went into effect income and region inequality continued to increase.<sup>94</sup> Neoliberal economic policies, such as NAFTA, promote privatization of state-run industries where the government chooses investor rights over labor rights,

---

<sup>89</sup> Wise, Salazar and Carlsen, "Introduction: Globalization and Popular Resistance in Mexico," 3.

<sup>90</sup> Chacón and Davis, *No One is Illegal: Fighting Violence and State Repression on the U.S.-Mexico Border*, 120.

<sup>91</sup> Martin and Taylor, "Managing Migration: The Role of Economic Policies," 109.

<sup>92</sup> Chacón and Davis, *No One is Illegal: Fighting Violence and State Repression on the U.S.-Mexico Border*, 126.

<sup>93</sup> Pamela K. Starr, "Challenges for a Postelection Mexico: Issues for U.S. Policy," *Council on Foreign Relations*, June 2006.

<sup>94</sup> Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Migration between Mexico and the United States: Binational Study," 198.

which fail to reduce poverty or create economic growth. Throughout the 1990's about 25% of the Mexican population lived in rural areas, while 23 million of those individuals lived on farms.<sup>95</sup> Before economic declines had plagued Mexico, about two-thirds of the poor Mexicans lived in rural areas.<sup>96</sup> Between 1984 and 1996 Mexican poverty rose from 59% to 80%.<sup>97</sup> During those twelve years, the richest 10% of Mexicans contributed to 42% of the national income, while the poorest 40% of the citizens contributed to 11% of the income.<sup>98</sup> High unemployment, lack of opportunities and an unequal income distribution have led to lowered standard of living for the average Mexican citizen.

Such stark economic differences only continue to increase the inequality gap of the Mexican population, and threaten the stability of the country. In 1996, 24 Mexicans became part of the world's hundred wealthiest families, they accounted for 14% of the Mexican GDP.<sup>99</sup> Meanwhile, the standard of living for the rest of the population reached "the level of catastrophe".<sup>100</sup> A 2002 survey published by the Secretary for Social Development, a government agency in charge of anti-poverty strategy, stated that 51% of Mexican's live in poverty.<sup>101</sup> Rates of poverty differ between states, in rural Mexico about 82% of the population lives in poverty, while 55% of rural residents live in extreme poverty.<sup>102</sup> A poor economic situation creates an environment where Mexicans are

---

<sup>95</sup> Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Migration between Mexico and the United States: Binational Study," 200.

<sup>96</sup> Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Migration between Mexico and the United States: Binational Study," 200.

<sup>97</sup> Wise, Salazar and Carlsen, "Introduction: Globalization and Popular Resistance in Mexico," 3.

<sup>98</sup> Wise, Salazar and Carlsen, "Introduction: Globalization and Popular Resistance in Mexico," 3.

<sup>99</sup> Chacón and Davis, *No One is Illegal: Fighting Violence and State Repression on the U.S.-Mexico Border*, 112.

<sup>100</sup> Chacón and Davis, *No One is Illegal: Fighting Violence and State Repression on the U.S.-Mexico Border*, 112.

<sup>101</sup> Juan Pardinas, "Fighting Poverty in Mexico: Policy Changes," in *Mexico Under Fox*, eds. Luis Rubio and Susan Kaufman Purcell, 65 (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004).

<sup>102</sup> Wise, Salazar and Carlsen, "Introduction: Globalization and Popular Resistance in Mexico," 3.

unable to meet their basic needs. As the rural households are suffering low standards of living, there continues to be a lack of alternative solutions.

Before NAFTA was implemented, the government did not consider the possible effects on Mexico's underdevelopment and poverty, therefore few solutions were put in place to counteract the growing disparities. As each year passes, the Mexican government does not apply any changes, therefore economic and social problems continue to increase. Individuals who lived in rural areas first move to Mexican cities, but then when the growing cities are unable to absorb the increased population, many search for opportunities in the United States.

#### Push Factors: Decreased Help from the Government

As economic crises were becoming more frequent during the 1980's and 1990's, the government decided to restructure rural Mexico farming. Small-scale farms were becoming less profitable than they had been in past decades, so the government chose to eliminate import subsidies and price guarantees while easing trade restrictions. Unfortunately for many farmers, this shrunk the production of many commodities which provided jobs for numerous workers. Upon NAFTA's implementation two key Mexican products, corn and coffee, lost much of their value. Since the mid-1990's imports had been rising and prices of agricultural goods had been falling, which had a negative impact on the farmers. When the Mexican government withdrew from agriculture it had hoped that the farmers would switch from growing corn and beans to fruits, because farms had not been producing enough food at competitive prices. But the Mexican government did

not implement any new policies which would promote recovery and development to the declining sectors.

Although all states were impacted by the economic declines implemented by neoliberal policies, the state of Zacatecas was the most effected. Over the last 25 years farmers in this region have experienced low prices and rising imports, as well as decreased number in commercial outlets. Meanwhile, high interest rates, declining government subsidies, and the high cost of machinery have also plagued the Mexican economy in this area. Studies have found that agriculture had declined from 15% of the GDP in the 1960's, to 7% in 1998.<sup>103</sup> In Mexican states where agriculture was a large part of the economy, the lack of government initiatives has slowly decreased this way of life.

As the Mexican population had increased during the 1980's and 1990's there has been a higher demand for wages, schooling, public services and medical care. Many Mexicans feel that they have limited opportunities in their country because of the lack of social connections or appropriate levels of education to compete for employment vacancies. In comparison, the United States has employment opportunities which do not require either, therefore allowing for more opportunities.

With a decreased infrastructure in Mexico and many underdeveloped communities, citizens do not have basic services. In the central valleys of Mexico, electricity and access to water and sewage is almost nonexistent. An example of such deprivation is the city of Chalco, which surrounds Mexico City. It has a million residents who live in one- or two-story concrete block houses and for the most part everyone has

---

<sup>103</sup> Tim Wise and Eliza Waters, "Community Control in a Global Economy: Lessons from Mexico's Economic Integration Process," *Global Development and Environment Institute*, Working Paper No. 01-03, February 2001.

electricity, but few have indoor plumbing or tap water.<sup>104</sup> Since Chalco lacks an industry, many residents have to migrate out of the city to seek employment. Another example is Oaxaca, which also exemplifies why individuals seek a better life outside of their country's borders. In Oaxaca basic services such as water, sewage and phone services are difficult to come by.<sup>105</sup> Communities such as Chalco or Oaxaca have low indicators in capital income, industrialization and employment. Such locations offer few opportunities for wage labor, and have limited access to clinics, schools or market goods.

In addition, services that are provided tend to be at a higher cost in Mexico than other nations which belong to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). The services supplied at a higher cost include: telecommunications, airfares, highway tolls, and the cost of capital, which can be twice the cost of Mexico's trading partners.<sup>106</sup> Mexico is in need of basic infrastructure such as roads, seaports, airports and railways to be able to gain advantage of the increase trade and investment. Mexican lawsuits are uncertain and lengthy which does not allow the banking sector to channel resources for services to be more available and affordable. Meanwhile, the investment infrastructure in Mexico is limited. Underdeveloped capital markets are a contributing factor which makes borrowing more difficult for the country's citizens. When there is not an efficient banking system, migration is an attractive strategy to increase funds as an alternative to borrowing. Without structural reforms

---

<sup>104</sup> Escobar et. al., "Migration and Development: Mexico and Turkey," *International Migration Review* 40 (August 2006): 715.

<sup>105</sup> Jeffrey H. Cohen, *The Culture of Migration in Southern Mexico* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2004), 9.

<sup>106</sup> Edna Jaime, "Fox's Economic Agenda: An Incomplete Transition," in *Mexico Under Fox*, eds. Luis Rubio and Susan Kaufman Purcell, 50 (Boulder, CO: Lynner Rienner Publishers, 2004).



which may reduce social inequalities in the country, Mexico will not be a strong competitor in the global economy.

As demonstrated, there are various migration push factors which can influence individuals to move out of their country. For the most part, factors such as low wages, lack of employment or decreased income are related to economic opportunities and relatively low living standards in Mexico. Such shortcomings in the Mexican infrastructure encourage the citizens to seek help outside the country, especially through migration.

### **Migration Pull Factors**

One of the most sought out destinations for migrants in the world is the United States, this does not exclude Mexican immigrants. One of the most frequently given reasons for immigration to the United States is that the country has one of the world's largest economies, allowing immigrants to leave the poverty of their past behind them. This immigrant-receiving country allows parents to provide better opportunities for their children, as well as to seek a better life for themselves.

Mexico has such high numbers of immigrants not only because these two countries are in such close proximity to each other, but also because of their high level of integration. Pull factors are aspects which draw an individual to another nation. These possible migrants consider factors such as higher wages, human rights, stable political system and a growing economy to be improvements from their current environment. The United States is no different for Mexican migrants. The northern neighbor has available jobs, higher wages, is in close proximity and has networks which help new immigrants.

### Migration Pull Factors: Available Jobs

From an economic perspective, a major reason why Mexican citizens immigrate to the United States is because they know that jobs are available for them, a necessity which does not exist in their own country. Mexican immigrants cross the border knowing that American companies want to hire them. More often than not, immigrants will only cross into the United States once they know of a specific job opening. Networks which Mexican immigrants have built over time, consisting of friends and family, provide soon-to-be migrants with information about new jobs, housing and better ways of crossing the border. Such established networks share information about job openings even before local U.S. residents might hear of them.

For the most part, U.S. employers recruit family and friends of current employees to fill vacant positions, but corporations may also advertise openings on both sides of the border. Formal methods of recruitment include newspaper advertising and employer intermediaries. These advertisements include Spanish-language newspapers, radio and television stations in local and distant areas where large Hispanic populations reside. Nonetheless, the most common method of recruiting illegal immigrants continues to be word-of-mouth, and the social networks of current employees. Many of the low-wage vacancies in the U.S. are found through friends or relatives. Once the first immigrant is hired at a company, a network of connections begins to form and continues to grow as vacancies appear. Immigrants are aware of these job's limitations, and knowingly choose dead-end positions without a possible future. Mexican migrants choose positions with lower real earnings in the U.S. because wages are much higher than those in Mexico.

Higher numbers of migrants have led to changes in the social structure of certain industries. Today, particular job categories are stigmatized and viewed as inappropriate for native workers, but best suited for migrants. Illegal immigrants choose these industries because their undocumented status does not allow them to rely on social service benefits, so these positions are their only option in increasing their income. Today, illegal workers in the United States make up about 5% of the total workforce, although the rates in California and Texas are much higher. American employers continue to recruit and hire undocumented workers without government approval because this labor is cheap and compliant. In comparison, American-born workers have high turnover rates because of the low wages, harder work, and fewer benefits. In the 1960's about 50% of American men dropped out of high school and were employed at low-wage, unskilled jobs.<sup>107</sup> Today, less than 10% of them drop out to work in these jobs, therefore there are smaller numbers of unskilled American workers in various sectors, as a result illegal immigrants fill this void.<sup>108</sup> As the number of illegal immigrants has increased, more jobs are viewed as immigrant work because of the low wages and the lack of benefits.

Managers see differences in the quality of workers between American citizens and Mexican immigrants. Mexican immigrants "report diligently every day", fill vacancies with their family or friends, and train newcomers on the job duties.<sup>109</sup> Therefore, American employers feel that immigrants are reliable, punctual, flexible and are willing to work overtime on weekends or night shifts. The general consensus is that

---

<sup>107</sup> Tamar Jacoby, "Immigration Nation," *Foreign Affairs* 85 (November/December 2006).

<sup>108</sup> Jacoby, "Immigration Nation".

<sup>109</sup> Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Migration between Mexico and the United States: Binational Study," 186.

immigrants work harder, complain less, and have a better attitude towards their jobs and managers. Some employers feel that immigrants are more loyal and dependable. The human resources director at Hudson Foods, which is based in Noel, Missouri, was quoted saying, “there’s a large number of jobs that very few citizens in the U.S. want to do, but they’re there and they need to be done”.<sup>110</sup> Many employers feel that Mexican workers have an excellent work ethic, and one employer stated,

“The Mexican will not talk, while they’re working, to each other. Now, when they take a break...they’ll talk and laugh at lunchtime, they’ll laugh and tell jokes and everything and (then), back to work...I work with them on the weekends at my farm, and you know you have a hard time getting them to even stop and take a break...(American worker) leaning on the shovel handle going down the highway. You don’t see a Mexican leaning on a shovel handle.”<sup>111</sup>

American employers prefer Mexican immigrants because they are more reliable workers than U.S. citizens.

In the most recent decades, manufacturing plants have changed from being unionized to nonunionized, which has also altered their hiring process. With these changes, there have been more Mexican-immigrant supervisors, which have also increased the workforce population to be predominantly Mexican. These improvements include an increase in recruitment from social networks which lower search costs for companies. Also, by hiring through kinship and friendship networks, homogeneity has been established, allowing these groups to be self-managing. Labor recruitment in San Diego established this hiring pattern a number of years ago.<sup>112</sup> From an employer’s

---

<sup>110</sup> Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs, “Migration between Mexico and the United States: Binational Study,” 186.

<sup>111</sup> Karen D. Johnson-Webb, “Employer Recruitment and Hispanic Labor Migration: North Carolina Urban Areas at the end of the Millennium,” *The Professional Geographer* 54 (August 2002): 413.

<sup>112</sup> Wayne A. Cornelius, “The Structural Embeddedness of Demand for Mexican Immigrant Labor: New Evidence from California,” in *Crossings: Mexican Immigration in Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Marcelo M. Suárez-Orozco, 125 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998).

perspective, this is a perfect hiring process since there are no advertising costs and no employment agency fees. Employees look into their network to recruit, train and supervise newcomers which allows for the low-cost workforce to continue. Also, employers gain more than just a worker, these new employees open up even more networks and train new additions to the company. High-quality workers are guaranteed since family and friends vouch for the new hire and their productivity. By recruiting new employees within the social network, companies gain more than just a reliable worker.

Much of the time employees get along amongst themselves because their co-workers are family and friends. But if a worker is dissatisfied, he or she will not cause problems with their families working beside them. Immigrants then tend to leave their position if it is not a right fit, but only once they have found employment elsewhere. The new vacancies fill up almost immediately since most of the workers already know who will be leaving well before most of the upper management hears about it. Continuously high turnover rates in these jobs tend to reinforce the recruitment of new immigrants rather than U.S. citizens.

By hiring illegal immigrants, companies in the United States are able to employ workers at lower wages, which decreases the costs of goods and services. Countries which receive migrants, such as the United States, benefit from the cheap and easily exploitable labor. The majority of the jobs which employ illegal immigrants consist of manual labor and repetitive tasks, which tends to be shunned by young native-born workers who enter the labor force. Undocumented migration labor allows U.S. companies to have cost flexibility of manufacturing during a time when competition is at its highest in the global market. Farm owners in the United States employ unauthorized

workers who are organized in associations and are geographically concentrated, they realize that to remain competitive they need to hire illegal immigrants. As long as workers, whatever their status may be, are willing to work for a certain wage, or lower, firms will hire whoever will apply for the position. Labor-intensive industries in the U.S. have created personnel practices that sustain migratory flows, therefore tying their sectors to low-cost labor. Many companies see the economic benefits which are associated with hiring immigrant workers, and will continue these practices. Immigrants also accept the high variability in working hours, and lack of job security. Nonetheless, jobs which immigrants pursue are not only fluid and volatile, but also competitive. Illegal immigrants continue working in these positions because the United States government does not enforce the sanctions on employers, which it had established, who hire undocumented workers. As long as employers continue to benefit by hiring illegal immigrants, these practices will continue.

Although the U.S. government wants to decrease the amount of undocumented immigrants, there is a constant pull for those workers in the various industries around the country. Today, Mexican immigrants can find work in Tyson chicken processing plants in Springdale, Arkansas, slaughtering hogs and packing bacon in Denison, Iowa and Tar Heel, North Carolina, or working construction on the Gulf Coast.<sup>113</sup> The National Agricultural Worker Survey found that in 1997-1998 77% of farm workers were Mexican-born, and 52% of those individuals were illegal immigrants.<sup>114</sup> Agricultural work is one of the deadliest occupations in the United States, with strain from labor, accidents, exposure to toxic chemicals, unsafe housing, physical isolation and lack of

---

<sup>113</sup> Spickard, *Almost All Aliens: Immigration, Race, and Colonialism in American History and Identity*, 374.

<sup>114</sup> Boucher et. al., "Impacts of Policy Reform on the Supply of Mexican Labor to U.S. Farms: New Evidence from Mexico," *Review of Agriculture Economics* 29 (Spring 2007): 4.

access to health care. A June 2005 agricultural study found that Mexican men are the highest population employed in this sector.<sup>115</sup> Over the decades the availability of Mexican immigrant labor has shaped the U.S. fruit, vegetable and horticultural production, and the federal government estimates that half of the individuals who pick fruits, nuts and vegetables on U.S. farms are illegal workers.<sup>116</sup> Although the U.S. government may try to decrease the number of immigrants, it needs to realize that many sectors of its economy are dependent on this growing group of workers.

Over the years, there have been fewer jobs in the U.S. farming industry, so many immigrant workers took jobs in urban areas within the manufacturing industry. Demographically, Mexican descendents exceed one-eighth of the total population in urban areas.<sup>117</sup> Others sought employment in the service industry working in hotels, casinos and retail shops. Overall, Mexican workers have played an integral role in southwestern agriculture, construction, meatpacking and service industries in the Midwest, southeast and the East Coast.<sup>118</sup> There has also been an increase of illegal immigrants hired at fast-food chains and dry cleaning shops, among other low-wage positions. Today, a quarter of the undocumented immigrants are in the meat and poultry industry, 24% of them are dishwashers, 27% are drywall and ceiling installers, 12% work in the food preparation industry, and 31% have a service job.<sup>119</sup> Hotel and restaurant

---

<sup>115</sup> Chacón and Davis, *No One is Illegal: Fighting Violence and State Repression on the U.S.-Mexico Border*, 160.

<sup>116</sup> Chacón and Davis, *No One is Illegal: Fighting Violence and State Repression on the U.S.-Mexico Border*, 151.

<sup>117</sup> Thomas Muller, "The Demand for Hispanic Workers in Urban Areas of the United States," in *U.S.-Mexico Relations: Labor Market Interdependence*, eds. Jorge A. Bustamante, Clark W. Reynolds and Raúl A. Hinojosa Ojeda, 353 (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992).

<sup>118</sup> Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Migration between Mexico and the United States: Binational Study," 166.

<sup>119</sup> Chacón and Davis, *No One is Illegal: Fighting Violence and State Repression on the U.S.-Mexico Border*, 157.

owners are dependent on immigrants to help meet their needs. Janitorial and food preparation occupations are ranked fourth in growth in the U.S., and Hispanics represent 10% of the workers.<sup>120</sup> Without these immigrants many of these industries would have difficulties growing over the last couple of decades.

The increased dependence on Mexican workers has also occurred in major cities. Mexican citizens make up 68% of nannies, housekeepers, and house-cleaners in large metropolitan areas.<sup>121</sup> The last three decades have had a high demand for house care, gardening, child care, and elderly care services. Maid services are informal positions, and therefore the government does not regulate the market. Many women who are employed as maids feel that there are large benefits to being employed in the United States, in comparison to Mexico. For a number of these positions documentation is not verified. For example, a study compiled in Laredo, Texas of 195 maids found that only one-third of their employers asked for documentation such as a U.S. citizenship, a Green Card, or Mica Card.<sup>122</sup> Beginning in the 1980's American families in Los Angeles, Chicago, Houston and San Diego were able to find full-time maids and babysitters for the same price of a traditional American babysitter.<sup>123</sup> Female immigrants from Mexico have also found a sector which is dependent on them in the U.S. economy.

Overall, Mexican workers have found various niches in the U.S. labor market not only in agriculture and manufacturing, but also in the service industry. Today, Mexican citizens are visible in the U.S. labor force in various industries. Since many of these

---

<sup>120</sup> Muller, "The Demand for Hispanic Workers in Urban Areas of the United States," 369.

<sup>121</sup> Chacón and Davis, *No One is Illegal: Fighting Violence and State Repression on the U.S.-Mexico Border*, 157.

<sup>122</sup> Michael Pisani and David W. Yoskowitz, "The Maid Trade: Cross-Border Work in South Texas," *Social Science Quarterly* 83 (June 2002): 577.

<sup>123</sup> Harry E. Cross and James A. Sandos, *Across the Border: Rural Development in Mexico and Recent Migration to the United States* (Berkeley, CA: University of California, 1981), 55.



sectors have been dependent on immigrants for many decades, these industries will find it difficult to expand without this group of workers. As individuals continue to perform the low-paid menial work, which many U.S. citizens tend to avoid, the migrant cycle will persevere.

### Migration Pull Factors: Higher Wages

Another pull of migrants across the U.S.-Mexican border is due to wage differences between these two nations. The consistently higher wages in the United States, in comparison to Mexican wages, increase pressure for migration. As the thesis summarized in this chapter, the Mexican peso has been volatile, and the rates of Mexican immigration have continued to increase. Before attempting to cross the border immigrants consider the real wage in Mexico, the real wage in the United States, and the probability of apprehension.

When Mexican immigrants attempt to cross the border in order to earn higher wages, it is economic incentives which are forcing this action. A 2000 report found that the average worker in Mexico earned \$1.80 per hour, while an undocumented laborer in the United States earns 4 to 6 times that amount.<sup>124</sup> A 2007 report shows that the average daily wage was about \$7 in Mexico, which is ten times less than the amount a worker is capable of receiving in the United States.<sup>125</sup> Currently, the average manufacturing wage in Mexico is about \$2.12 per hour, which is about 11% of the wage in the United

---

<sup>124</sup> Wayne A. Cornelius and Idean Salehyan, "Does border enforcement deter unauthorized immigration? The case of Mexican migration to the United States of America," *Regulation & Governance* 1 (June 2007): 141.

<sup>125</sup> "Facts & Stats," Frontline: World. <http://www.pbs.org/frontlineworld/stories/mexico/facts.html> (accessed August 6, 2007).

States.<sup>126</sup> In the last decade, Mexico's manufacturing wages have been the lowest in all industrialized countries, which explain the hardships of many Mexicans. If these wage findings were extrapolated into a year, an immigrant working full time on U.S. minimum wage would earn about three times more than on an average Mexican yearly income. Such findings indicate why Mexican citizens continue to choose migration to the United States in order to increase their income.

As the Mexican economy fluctuates, so do the number of border apprehensions which shows a link between migration and economic opportunities. The United States offers a higher number of economic opportunities for migrants, which is why they choose to move. Mexican workers are willing to be recruited by employers in the United States because they expect their earnings abroad to be higher, and the wages multiplied by the probability of being employed induce migration.<sup>127</sup> Although the American jobs are hard and unsafe, the country's economy depends on Mexicans. In turn, Mexican citizens continue to move across the border because higher wages await them.

#### Migration Pull Factors: Close Proximity

A reasonable answer as to why there are higher numbers of Mexicans in the United States, in comparison to other immigrant groups, is because of the close proximity of the two countries. Since the two countries are bordering neighbors, the cost of moving from one nation to the other is much lower than for migrants on other continents. Also, empirical investigations have found that in the last 20 years most of the Mexican

---

<sup>126</sup> Wise and Waters, "Community Control in a Global Economy: Lessons from Mexico's Economic Integration Process," 5.

<sup>127</sup> Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Migration between Mexico and the United States: Binational Study," 176.

migrants have come from the west-central part of the country.<sup>128</sup> Such findings indicate that there are established migration patterns between particular regions in Mexico and the United States. Researchers have also found that there is a relationship between migration and the proximity of the immigrant's residence. If the distance is shorter, then migration is more likely to be chosen by an individual.

### Migration Pull Factors: Established Networks

When moving abroad, immigrants tend to stick together and interact with others of similar background. Most Mexican immigrants tend to live in clusters in particular areas, but new networks continue to develop where they had not existed before. During the early 1990's new immigrants were finding work in the South, the Midwest, and the Northeast. The established kinship and friendship networks allow migrants to move around the United States and find new employment. Mexican social networks have strong ties which expand over various U.S. industries, occupations and regions. These networks reduce the risk associated with immigration, and provide support at both the origin and destination locations. Although migration to the United States occurs because of economic purposes, these social processes also perpetuate the movement.

Generally speaking, individuals increase their chances of immigration when their families and communities have a history of this process. An individual who has immigrated to the United States in the past, increases their chance of crossing the border once again by 7%.<sup>129</sup> Through a survey, Douglas Massey and Felipe Garcia España

---

<sup>128</sup> Jorge A. Bustamante, "Interdependence, Undocumented Migration, and National Security," in *U.S.-Mexico Relations: Labor Market Interdependence*, eds. Jorge A. Bustamante, Clark W. Reynolds and Raúl A. Hinojosa Ojeda, 27 (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992).

<sup>129</sup> Borjas, *Friends or Strangers: The Impact of Immigrants on the U.S. Economy*, 68.

concluded that individuals in households without prior migration, and who reside in a community without past migration history have “only a 2-percent probability of migrating to the United States”.<sup>130</sup> The study also concluded that an individual’s chance of migration increases to 7% if one member of the household is living in the United States.<sup>131</sup> Then, this probability increases further to 28% if someone in the house has immigrated, and if the community has a history of migration.<sup>132</sup> Such findings conclude that if individuals know others who have migrated, then their possibilities of movement also rise.

When looking at migration, community ties are very important in the Mexican population. This is apparent when 28% of Mexicans who have immigrated to the United States in the 1970’s had a relative in the country, in comparison to 11% of Canadians.<sup>133</sup> Also, migration statistics show that Mexicans have a 31% rate of sponsorship, while Canadians only have a 6% rate.<sup>134</sup> In the Mexican community, the migration process has become “a kind of rite of passage”, as individuals grow older.<sup>135</sup> For example, in Oaxaca migration is “deeply ingrained into the repertoire of people’s behavior, and values associated with migration become part of their community’s values”.<sup>136</sup> Such strong ties to migration explain why some Mexican villages have larger percentage of communities who have recently, or in the past, migrated to the United States.

---

<sup>130</sup> Borjas, *Friends or Strangers: The Impact of Immigrants on the U.S. Economy*, 185.

<sup>131</sup> Borjas, *Friends or Strangers: The Impact of Immigrants on the U.S. Economy*, 186.

<sup>132</sup> Borjas, *Friends or Strangers: The Impact of Immigrants on the U.S. Economy*, 186.

<sup>133</sup> Borjas, *Friends or Strangers: The Impact of Immigrants on the U.S. Economy*, 187.

<sup>134</sup> Borjas, *Friends or Strangers: The Impact of Immigrants on the U.S. Economy*, 187.

<sup>135</sup> Caroline B. Brettell, “Theorizing Migration in Anthropology: The Social Construction of Networks, Identities, Communities, and Globalscapes,” in *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines*, eds. Caroline B. Brettell and James F. Hollifield, 101 (New York: Routledge, 2000).

<sup>136</sup> Cohen, *The Culture of Migration in Southern Mexico*, 5.

In some regions of Mexico increasing number of residents partake in migration, therefore allowing social and economic information to expand over the continuously growing network. For example, if a small village had sent a young man to travel to Los Angeles, then other residents in that village are more likely to migrate because there is a connecting network which has begun to be established. Through such connections, individuals are able to find jobs and residence immediately upon arriving to a new city. Familial and friendship relationships enable the migration process.

Once migrated, most Mexican immigrants live in locations where their family members or members of their former community in Mexico reside. Their residences may include closer relatives such as spouses, children or parents. Established decades ago, Mexican communities in the Southwest are well developed, and when new individuals migrate they have a similar faith, language and cultural ties with others. The social networks which are organized in the United States tend to be similar to the communities which exist in Mexico. Although Mexican immigrants have crossed an international boundary, they continue to live similarly private lives to those in Mexico. In the U.S., there are Spanish-language cable television networks, such as Telemundo and Univision. Also, *La Opinión* is the largest Spanish-language newspaper in Southern California, reaching up to 100,000 daily readers.<sup>137</sup> Young Latinos in business and arts can seek information in magazines such as: *Latina*, *Tú Ciudad*, and *Hispanic Trends*. Within the past decade, there has been an increase of American magazines which are translated into Spanish, and catering towards a much larger population. Over the last couple of years there has been a major push in advertising focusing on Latinos in the U.S. market.

---

<sup>137</sup> Spickard, *Almost All Aliens: Immigration, Race, and Colonialism in American History and Identity*, 375.

Upon immigrating to the United States, families are able to be united through a non-economic migration pull. Friends and relatives which reside in the United States provide financing, advice, shelter, and jobs for the new immigrants. Individuals residing in the U.S. find ways to smuggle an illegal immigrant across the border. The existing infrastructure leads migration to be a self-feeding movement, which can be difficult to stop. In addition, as there are more migrants, the social aspects continue to lower the cost of the migration process. For an immigrant, especially an illegal one, social mobility and employment depend on who they know, not what they know. The information networks and kinship ties tend to increase confidence in potential migrants, and therefore increase chances of migration.

The ever-growing migrant clubs are particular to Mexican immigrants in the United States. Immigrants in the U.S. from Zacateca have been forming migrant clubs for the past two decades. Many of these clubs are organized by citizens of a specific community, and then they tend to branch out into nearby locations or sister communities.<sup>138</sup> These clubs focus on civic and philanthropic activities in the member's community of origin. Their goals include improvements in the hometown economy and many hope to influence local politics. Federations have formed in various U.S. locations and include hundreds of these organizations. Alliances emerge between each organization in America, and the counterpart Mexican community. Hometown associations link communities in the U.S. directly with their Mexican communities and strengthen cross-border ties.

As Mexican immigrants choose to cross the border, or invest money back to their communities they continuously expand the pool of potential immigrants. The social

---

<sup>138</sup> Longoria, "The Migrant Club El Remolino: A Binational Community Experience," 200.

networks have established patterns of migration, so today the movement of the people has become a self-reinforcing process. Most of the models explaining migration do not consider social ties which are important in Mexican immigration. The existing deep kinship and friendships connect households locally and beyond the Mexican border, which establishes cooperative and reciprocal ties. Familiarity with the United States, whether through social networks or previous experience, tends to be a determining factor when individuals decide to cross the border.

### **Potential Risks of Illegally Crossing the Border**

As the United States government increased border control, the potential costs and risk of illegal immigration also rose. During President Clinton's administration the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) began building a high steel wall, which had barbed wire across the top, along the San Diego-Tijuana border. Soon, similar walls were being built across the El Paso-Ciudad Juárez and Brownsville-Matamoros borders. Meanwhile, the U.S. government tripled the amount of Border Patrol between 1994 and 2005.<sup>139</sup> Throughout the 1990's security had increased on the U.S. border.

In order to increase border security, funding also had risen. Between 1993 and 1999, the INS budget increased by \$3.5 billion making it one of the fastest growing federal agencies.<sup>140</sup> Today the INS has the highest number of officers than ever before, and is able to make arrest for the first time in history. The border has new high-tech equipment, such as: infrared night-vision scopes, low-light TV cameras, ground sensors, helicopters, and all-terrain vehicles. The improved technology also includes seismic

---

<sup>139</sup> Spickard, *Almost All Aliens: Immigration, Race, and Colonialism in American History and Identity*, 372.

<sup>140</sup> Andreas, "The Transformation of Migrant Smuggling across the U.S.-Mexican Border," 115.

sensors that can detect footsteps, unmanned aerial vehicles (drones) and computerized databases to identified smugglers among those apprehended. The new changes also include the INDENT system, which stores fingerprints and photographs of the individuals who have been apprehended. In comparison, outlying areas tend to have a few strands of barbed wire strung through 3-foot high stakes. For the most part, as the INS budget increased so had the security of the border.

Once the walls were begun to be built, immigrants crossing the border illegally were forced to travel in more geographically remote areas. The INS Border Patrol expanded operations in order to prevent and deter illegal immigration into the United States, especially on frequently traveled roads. Today, the deserts of California, Arizona, and New Mexico are much more frequented, but the danger is also much higher. Unfortunately, some illegal immigrants who cross the border pay the highest price, their own life. As the INS made alterations, this led to decreased amounts of illegal immigrants in frequented checkpoints, but an increase in the number of migrant deaths in the most remote areas were an unexpected result. Death rates have risen by more than five times, to five hundred deaths in 2004.<sup>141</sup> Of the 4,000 deaths on the border between 1994 and 2005, women consisted of 25% of those.<sup>142</sup> Changes in the location of migrant crossing led to higher numbers of deaths at the border.

The Center for Immigration Research at the University of Houston compiled information on migrant deaths between 1993 and 1997. Researchers found that deaths by environmental factors during this time increase five-fold, and auto-pedestrian deaths

---

<sup>141</sup> Spickard, *Almost All Aliens: Immigration, Race, and Colonialism in American History and Identity*, 372.

<sup>142</sup> Chacón and Davis, *No One is Illegal: Fighting Violence and State Repression on the U.S.-Mexico Border*, 158.



decreased by two-thirds.<sup>143</sup> During the early 1990's, deaths were at their lowest rates, but have increased as U.S. border enforcement grew. In order to reduce their chances of detection, unauthorized immigrants attempt to cross in remote terrains by foot, which includes rivers, deserts and mountains. Much of the time the weather and environmental conditions are brutal, and immigrants may become dehydrated, drown, suffocate, or are hit by a motor vehicle. To further decrease their chances of apprehension, they tend to travel during the night by hiding in trains, tractor-trailers, or cars. In order to decrease their chances of detection migrants have sought more remote terrain, which is more dangerous.

Human rights investigators have found that most deaths can be attributed to exposure to extreme weather conditions such as cold or hot temperatures in the mountains or deserts. When immigrants hike through the Tecate Mountains, in East San Diego County, it can take up to two days. Between October and April, there is a 50% chance for sub-freezing temperatures, which many immigrants are not prepared for. Others who travel through the desert must walk 20 to 30 miles before reaching any major roads, and in this area summer temperatures often reach between 112°F and 125°F. Such long distances are impossible to be prepared for, especially to carry enough water to travel for two days in the desert, so many are dehydrated upon reaching their destination.

A portion of the deaths are attributed to drowning when immigrants cross different bodies of water. The All-American Canal is an aqueduct for agricultural irrigation which is parallel to the U.S.-Mexican border, about 53 miles near Calexico. Parts of this canal can be 21 feet deep, and as wide as a football field. Currents tend to be

---

<sup>143</sup> Guerette, *Migration Death: Border Safety and Situational Crime Prevention on the U.S.-Mexico Divide*, 34.

strong, about 15 to 20 miles per hour. There are smugglers who ferry boats across this body of water in rubber rafts, but the groups of eight or more can capsize and dump everyone out of the boat. Another waterway and a major crossing point is the New River, which is the most polluted body of water in the region. The New River flows from the border to California and is contaminated with waste, typhoid, cholera, and hepatitis. To float with the river, immigrants may have to hold their breath for 30 feet, but a lot of time they drown. Reports illustrate that the number of deaths peak during the summer months, from May to August. Therefore, anywhere and anytime immigrants cross the border they need to be on high alert for dangerous situations.

Many studies have kept track of the number of deaths on the border, and how they have occurred. Between 1999 and 2003 there were 1,753 migrant deaths, of those 35% occurred because of heat-exposure, 21% due to drowning, 11% due to motor vehicle accidents, 3% due to cold-exposure, 2% due to death by train, and 1% due to confined space.<sup>144</sup> About 22% of deaths are unclassified, but of those most are likely to be due to the exposure to heat or cold.<sup>145</sup> More likely than not, the majority of deaths are detected by the Border Patrol, while citizens report about 14% of deaths.<sup>146</sup> As statistics show, traveling across the border is very dangerous for many migrants.

By 1998 the Mexican and United States governments recognized the increase of deaths on the border, and created the Border Safety Initiative which assists migrants in crossing the border. The initiative included: public message campaigns, posted signs of

---

<sup>144</sup> Guerette, *Migration Death: Border Safety and Situational Crime Prevention on the U.S.-Mexico Divide*, 101.

<sup>145</sup> Guerette, *Migration Death: Border Safety and Situational Crime Prevention on the U.S.-Mexico Divide*, 101.

<sup>146</sup> Guerette, *Migration Death: Border Safety and Situational Crime Prevention on the U.S.-Mexico Divide*, 102.

dangerous terrain, search and rescue operations, created a data tracking system, and trained line agents in life saving techniques. Other campaigns have asked Mexican citizens to not cross the border illegally in non-populated areas because of the high death tolls. As the number of deaths continued to rise, INS border patrol agents were taught emergency life saving techniques and water-rescue programs. Initiatives such as BSI hoped to prevent, search, rescue, identify, track and record. In 2003, news media publicized how a couple of migrants suffocated to death in a tractor-trailer in Texas, which led to a response by the Commission of U.S. Customs and Border Protection.<sup>147</sup> Soon after, the Commissioner expanded Operation Border Safeguard around Tucson, where a substantial portion of the deaths occur, by placing light beacons which migrants can activate when they need help.<sup>148</sup> Although once illegal immigrants cross the U.S.-Mexican border, they are not necessarily safe. Ranchers in Arizona and Texas have also hunted immigrants. A southern Texan has admitted to shooting an immigrant and watching him die.<sup>149</sup> Even though initiatives on both sides of the border have increased awareness of dangers, these efforts have not decreased the number of deaths.

Increased border patrol and higher rates of apprehensions have forced immigrants crossing the border to rely on smugglers, also known as coyotes. It has been estimated that 90% of unauthorized immigrants rely on a smuggler in order to cross the border.<sup>150</sup> Individuals who rely less on the established social networks tend to use coyotes more frequently. The increased use of coyotes has explained why there have been higher

---

<sup>147</sup> Guerette, *Migration Death: Border Safety and Situational Crime Prevention on the U.S.-Mexico Divide*, 33.

<sup>148</sup> Guerette, *Migration Death: Border Safety and Situational Crime Prevention on the U.S.-Mexico Divide*, 33.

<sup>149</sup> Chacón and Davis, *No One is Illegal: Fighting Violence and State Repression on the U.S.-Mexico Border*, 208.

<sup>150</sup> Chacón and Davis, *No One is Illegal: Fighting Violence and State Repression on the U.S.-Mexico Border*, 212.

success rates of unauthorized entry into the United States, even though there has been an increase in border security.

Coyote operations include a number of individuals. The coyote is the boss of the operation who enlists others to carry out the smuggling. The vendepollo, translated as chicken seller, works in Mexican towns and villages to solicit services offered by his coyote. A brincador, who is the fence jumper, is the guide who takes the migrants across the border. At last, the driver takes the illegal immigrants who have been smuggled to a safe house inside the U.S. border, from which they are transported elsewhere.<sup>151</sup> There are numerous businesses which arrange for various services, including options how to repay the cost of smuggling, and providing coyote-arranged jobs, once the migrants have crossed the border.

The fees paid for coyote services have increased over the years. During the 1990's, prices have doubled and reached a fare of about \$1,000 per person today.<sup>152</sup> Before Operation Gatekeeper in the San Diego-Tijuana area, the average fee was about \$143 per person, but this had risen by 1995 to \$490 per person, and then to \$700 by the next year.<sup>153</sup> In the same area, but in 2001, coyotes were charging between \$1,200 to \$1,500 per person.<sup>154</sup> Coyotes can charge considerably more for their services if there are additional risks or longer trips when taking migrants across. Generally, the smuggling fee depends on the location, the quality of service, and the set of services provided. The services usually include fraudulent identification documents and transportation to pick-up

---

<sup>151</sup> Guerette, *Migration Death: Border Safety and Situational Crime Prevention on the U.S.-Mexico Divide*, 16.

<sup>152</sup> Guerette, *Migration Death: Border Safety and Situational Crime Prevention on the U.S.-Mexico Divide*, 16.

<sup>153</sup> Wayne A. Cornelius, "Death at the Border: Efficacy and Unintended Consequences of US Immigration Control Policy," *Population and Development Review* 27 (December 2001): 668.

<sup>154</sup> Cornelius, "Death at the Border: Efficacy and Unintended Consequences of US Immigration Control Policy," 668.

points where relatives can retrieve individuals. With such high demands for these services, many coyotes use sub-contractors to help them with various aspects of the trip across. Some coyotes use commercial trucks to move migrants, which allow them to blend in with the boom of cross-border trucking which has been brought on through the liberalization of trade and transportation. As the prices have increased, the ways coyotes assist immigrants have also changed.

Around the border of Tijuana, coyotes have stations in the hotel rooms which overlook the canal. This allows them to observe where the Border Patrol is stationed, and then direct migrants in the correct direction. The Border Patrol has noticed that some migrants are deliberately directed and sacrificed in order to occupy officers, so other migrant will go unnoticed. The sacrificed migrant is then given preferential treatment the following time they are crossing the border. Over the years, coyotes have learned how to smuggle individuals with higher success.

Unfortunately, some migrants are victimized by predatory or negligent smugglers who rob or kill them. There are various levels of exploitation in the smuggling industry, from forcing to pay exorbitant fees, to being robbed, abandoned, beaten, or raped. The Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigration Responsibility Act of 1996 had increased penalties against migrant smugglers by doubling fines and setting minimum sentences. But as long as there is a demand for smuggling services, then this process will continue. Reports estimate that a good guide can earn around \$60,000 a year by helping illegal immigrants.<sup>155</sup> The Secretariat of the Interior's National Migration Institute began a campaign which asked citizens to report coyotes to a toll-free number. As the number of coyotes increases, so have the risks which are paid by the illegal immigrants.

---

<sup>155</sup> Andreas, "The Transformation of Migrant Smuggling across the U.S.-Mexican Border," 117.

Although apprehension statistics are difficult to interpret and conclude, deterrence at the U.S. border has shifted rather than reduced illegal immigration. Stricter border enforcement has increased migrants to take up permanent residence in the United States, rather than travel frequently between the two countries. Also, apprehension statistics have not indicated a decrease in the number of crossings.<sup>156</sup> A record of apprehensions was set in 2000 with 1,653,679 people.<sup>157</sup> Even though steps have been taken to decrease illegal immigration, it is still on the rise.

Table 1  
Apprehension Statistics Between FY 1994 and FY 2000

Border Patrol sector	FY 94	FY 95	FY 96	FY 97	FY 98	FY 99	FY 00	Percent change FY94-FY 00
California								
San Diego	450,152	524,231	483,815	283,889	246,092	182,248	151,681	-66
El Centro	27,654	37,317	66,873	146,210	226,580	225,290	238,126	761
Total	477,806	561,548	550,688	430,099	472,672	407,538	389,807	-18
Arizona								
Yuma	21,211	20,894	26,310	30,177	76,195	93,386	108,747	413
Tucson	139,473	227,529	305,348	272,397	387,406	470,449	616,346	342
Total	160,684	248,423	331,658	302,574	463,601	563,835	725,093	351
Texas								
El Paso	79,688	110,971	145,929	124,376	125,035	110,846	115,696	45
Marfa	13,494	11,552	13,214	12,692	14,509	14,953	13,689	1
Del Rio	50,036	76,490	121,137	113,280	131,058	156,656	157,178	214
Laredo	73,142	93,305	131,841	141,893	103,433	114,004	108,973	49
McAllen	124,251	169,101	210,553	243,793	204,257	169,115	133,243	7
Total	340,611	461,419	622,674	636,034	578,292	565,574	528,779	55
Southwest border								
Total	979,101	1,271,390	1,507,020	1,368,707	1,516,680	1,537,000	1,643,679	68

Source: Cornelius, "Death at the Border: Efficacy and Unintended Consequences of US Immigration Control Policy," 665.

Above Table 1 illustrates the statistics of apprehensions between fiscal years 1994 and 2000. This table shows the differences in apprehension amounts based on locations, and how much it has changed over the six year period. Statistics collected at various border

<sup>156</sup> Chacón and Davis, *No One is Illegal: Fighting Violence and State Repression on the U.S.-Mexico Border*, 210.

<sup>157</sup> Chacón and Davis, *No One is Illegal: Fighting Violence and State Repression on the U.S.-Mexico Border*, 210.

patrol locations have shown how apprehensions have increased over the six years, and continue to do so.

Although the route across the U.S.-Mexico border is dangerous, many illegal immigrants continue to enter the U.S. this way. These individuals have to worry about the environmental dangers, the cost of smugglers, and possible apprehension. Nonetheless, many choose this path even if the danger continues to increase.

In conclusion, there are various aspects which lead to immigration across borders. Possible migrants tend to look at factors in their home countries, as well as the opportunities in other locations. Economic and social factors are equally important when individuals make the choice of moving across the border. Also, before moving illegal immigrants have to consider the dangers of crossing the border and their chances of apprehension or deportation. All of these factors need to be considered when examining migration from Mexico to the United States. In the following chapter, the actions of the Mexican government will be examined to further understand why citizens from this North American country choose to migrate north.

## CHAPTER V

### ROLE OF THE MEXICAN GOVERNMENT

Although there are economic and social push and pull factors, other reasons exists which can influence individuals to emigrate out of their country. The actions which a government takes, or does not take, can facilitate the migration process. The Mexican government has developed initiatives which encourage individuals to search for ways to fulfill their basic needs in the United States. Meanwhile, there are costs and benefits of the population migration for the Mexican government which is significant in this argument.

#### **Government Initiatives**

The Mexican government has taken upon itself to partake in certain initiatives which influence the Mexican citizens, and enable emigration into the United States. Although this Latin American government has never stated explicitly how migration has benefited its citizens, these aspects are visible, not only to experts but also to the Mexican population. Within the last decade, the Mexican government has taken upon itself to distribute pamphlets which describe illegal immigration, has reached out politically to potential migrants and individuals abroad, increased the role of consulates in both countries, and have changed laws which facilitate migration. These political initiatives have influenced hundreds of thousands individuals to leave their birth country and seek a better future in the United States.



### Government Initiatives: Pamphlets

The Mexican Foreign Ministry published a guide for illegal immigrants crossing into the United States in 2005. Since then, over a million copies have been distributed around Mexico. This was a free handout to Mexican citizens, and was also included as an insert in two Mexican publications. Furthermore, Mexican consulates have handed out this booklet along the U.S.-Mexican border, and it is available on the Instituto de los Mexicanos en el Exterior (Institute for Mexicans Abroad) website.

The Guide for the Mexican Migrant is a 32-page booklet which informs potential illegal immigrants of the dangers in crossing the border. Information included: legal rights when crossing, safety information, and advice on how to be low-key around authorities in the United States. The booklet begins by stating that its purpose is to provide Mexican citizens with practical advice if they ever make the decision to migrate in order to search for employment opportunities outside of Mexico. It does state that there are legal ways of entering the United States, but also points out that if any citizen would be needing assistance in the new country, then there are 45 Mexican consulates. Towards the end of the booklet are locations and contact number of all the Mexican Consulates in the United States.<sup>158</sup> The booklet also warns individuals about the risks of dehydration, being taken advantage of by coyotes and how to prevent dangerous situations. It also explains what to do, and not do, when arrested or to not be arrested. This booklet, which was created by the Mexican government, has provided individuals who are considering immigrating illegally with a range of information about the process of crossing the border.

---

<sup>158</sup> "Guide for the Mexican Migrant," *American Renaissance*.  
[http://www.amren.com/mtnews/archives/2005/01/guide\\_for\\_the\\_m.php](http://www.amren.com/mtnews/archives/2005/01/guide_for_the_m.php) (accessed September 11, 2007).

On the back of the booklet is a disclaimer stating the Mexican government's stance on illegal immigration:

"This Consular Protection Guide does not promote crossing by Mexicans without the legal documentation required by the government of the United States. Its purpose is to make known the risks, and to inform the migrants about their rights, whether they are legal residents or not."<sup>159</sup>

It may seem that the Mexican government is trying to help its people by protecting their rights. This is customary of any government to ensure that their citizens receive humane treatment abroad. However, it could be argued that the pamphlet encourages the illegal entry into the United States. The U.S. government and some NGO's have claimed that this document promoted illegal immigration, and some legislators demanded the cessation in the distribution of this document. Instead, the Mexican Foreign Ministry feels that it is their responsibility to warn Mexican citizens of the dangers when crossing the border because of the high death rates in illegal immigration. By giving this information to potential migrants, the Mexican government was tacitly condoning the violation of illegally crossing the border.

By issuing these pamphlets the Mexican government also acknowledges that human rights of their citizens are protected. This can be seen when the pamphlets inform its readers of the dangerous locations of the U.S.-Mexican border. The government does want to ensure that all individuals who are crossing the border need to be treated humanely. Nonetheless, there are other ways which the government would be able to support the rights of its citizens. Instead of a pamphlet which illustrates how Mexican citizens can cross the border, the government could increase funding for border

---

<sup>159</sup> "Guide for the Mexican Migrant."

initiatives. Through the promotion of the pamphlets, the Mexican government illustrates that it is trying to do more than demand humanitarian treatment; instead it is providing information to potential migrants from its country.

### Government Initiatives: Reaching Out

The Mexican government understands that increasing rates of its citizens have left the country. Therefore, government officials have been trying to reach out to the individuals that have been affected by migration, whether they have migrated themselves, or their families have moved abroad. Since the early 1990's the Mexican government has tried maintaining links with its emigrant population through the development of offices or organizations, strengthening ties with Hometown Associations, and educated individuals on how to reduce costs when remitting funds back to Mexico.

Throughout the 1990's, organizations and programs were developed to strengthen ties with individuals affected by migration. The National Council for Mexican Communities Abroad (NCMCA) was formed to maintain cultural links between Mexico and migrants in the U.S. in order to foster investment in Mexican home communities. This program also hoped to promote and protect Mexican rights in the United States. Research funded by this program educated Mexicans about how many citizens have migrated to the U.S., and how much they have contributed to development in their home communities. In addition, initiatives have been taken to promote Mexican patriotic events, Mexican history and the Spanish language.<sup>160</sup> The Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores (SRE) has created the Program for Mexican Communities Abroad (PCME)

---

<sup>160</sup> David Fitzgerlad, "State and Emigration: A Century of Emigration Policy in Mexico," *The Center for Comparative Immigration Studies*, Working Paper 123, September 2005.

which hopes to culturally nationalize Mexicans in the United States. The government hopes to engage anyone with Mexican ancestry to remain loyal to Mexico.

The NCMCA helped establish the Office of Emigrant Affairs, which helps individuals who are migrating abroad. With help of this initiative, soon after taking office, President Vicente Fox pushed for changes which would benefit legal and illegal Mexicans in the United States. His priority was to create a cabinet-level office in his presidency which would solely focus on migration issues. Therefore, under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Institute for Mexicans Abroad (IME) was established. It includes 152-member council of Mexican leaders that advise the government in power on current migrant affairs. Along the same lines, the Presidential Office for Mexican Abroad was organized, which hopes to further expand contact between the Mexican government and its citizens who live in the United States.<sup>161</sup> This office has also been known to provide survival kits for Mexicans who are seeking entry in the U.S. illegally. With help from the Fox administration, legislation has also allowed Mexicans who live in the U.S. to hold bank accounts in Mexico, but the money kept in these accounts can be in dollars, not just pesos. It is apparent that the Mexican government has started organizations and departments in its government which continue to provide help to those affected by migration.

Meanwhile, the state and municipal officials have also been entering agreements with leaders of Hometown Association in the United States. Through increased participation by the government remittances, which the clubs are providing, have led to higher investments in the communities. The Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores (SRE)

---

<sup>161</sup> Xóchitl Bada, Jonathan Fox and Andrew Selee, "Invisible No More: Mexican Migrant Civic Participation in the United States," *Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars*, 2006.

has encouraged all states to create their own migration affairs offices and participate in the National Coordination of State Offices in Attention to Migration (CONOFAM) in order to connect better with migrant organizations. This benefits Mexican states since immigrants can provide further funding that the state or municipality might not assist with. Another program from the SRE is the Program for Mexican Communities Abroad which hopes to increase the number of existing Hometown Associations in the United States. It assists migrants in organizing themselves in these associations which then help states of origin. As the government continues to work with Hometown Associations, and allows them to have a louder voice, then the state should continue to expect higher benefits.

The Mexican government has also been educating their citizens about options and costs when remitting money back to Mexico. Once Mexicans are abroad there are a number of ways to send money to their families, but many are expensive, or not reliable. Therefore, government offices have been working with money transfer firms in order to speed up the process of decreasing costs. For this to occur, the government has been promoting banking for migrants and their families by supporting savings and credit institutions through the Banco del Ahorro Nacional y Servicios Financieros (BANSEFI).<sup>162</sup> A program, L@ Red de la Gente has been started, which is a cooperative network of delivery points which includes credit unions, savings and loans or other small

---

<sup>162</sup> Hernández-Coss, Raúl, "Lessons from the U.S.-Mexico Remittance Corridor on Shifting from Informal to Formal Transfer System," Washington D.C.: International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 2005, [http://www1.worldbank.org/finance/html/amlcft/docs/REM\\_CS/US-Mex\\_CS?Eng.pdf](http://www1.worldbank.org/finance/html/amlcft/docs/REM_CS/US-Mex_CS?Eng.pdf) (accessed March 6, 2008):18.

financial institutions.<sup>163</sup> The government has taken steps to reduce costs, and therefore to promote further remittances from individuals who are residing outside of the country.

### Government Initiatives: Consulates

Over the last two decades there have been increases in resources provided by the Mexican consulates for immigrants. During the late 1980's government policies increased the number of consulates so they would be available for the larger number of Mexicans residing in the United States. Today Mexico has 47 consulates, the highest number in the U.S. of any country. As they have increased in significance, the Mexican consulates have been promoting the Matrícula Consular identification cards, and encourage patriotism in the citizens who are living in the United States.

With a push from consulates and the Mexican government, there was an acceptance by the United States for Mexican citizens to use the Matrícula Consular de Alta Seguridad (MCAS). This has been the most important development for Mexicans abroad because this high security consular registration document gives proof of Mexican citizenship. Individuals who do not have legal standing in the United States are able to have proof of identity, which allows them to receive services they otherwise would not be able to. Mexican authorities control the issuance of the cards, certify the identity of the card holder, and ensure that multiple cards have not been issued under the same name. Although the MCAS have been issued by Mexican consulates since 1871, their newest version has been increasingly promoted and has higher security than in the past.<sup>164</sup> In

---

<sup>163</sup> Hernández-Coss, "Lessons from the U.S.-Mexico Remittance Corridor on Shifting from Informal to Formal Transfer Systems," 18.

<sup>164</sup> Hernández-Coss, "Lessons from the U.S.-Mexico Remittance Corridor on Shifting from Informal to Formal Transfer Systems," 12.

recent years, consulates have been trying to promote the MCAS because of such high numbers of illegal immigrants from Mexico residing in the United States.

After some time, state and local authorities as well as banks, employers, and police departments in the United States have recognized and accepted these identification cards as quasi-official documents for identification purposes. With these identification cards, illegal immigrants are able to open bank accounts, withdraw funds, and lower their cost of sending remittances. In the first half of 2003, 1.2 million of these cards were issued by the Mexican Consulates.<sup>165</sup> In the Mexican Consulate of Chicago, about 450 MCAS are distributed daily, and in 2003 there were 150,000 new MCAS owners.<sup>166</sup> By 2005, they were recognized by 32 states, more than 1,000 police agencies, 409 cities, 125 counties and 280 bank institutions.<sup>167</sup> Some of the banks which are accepting these identification cards include: Wells Fargo, Bank of America, US Bank, Citibank, HSBC, Washington Mutual, Union Bank of California, Harris Bank, and Banco Popular.<sup>168</sup> It is apparent that by working with U.S. companies and continually promoting MCAS, the Mexican government was able to increase popularity of this identification card.

Prior to September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001 few Mexicans obtained MCAS, but since this significant day in history, the government has pushed for the promotion of these cards. The Mexican government has hoped that with these cards, illegal Mexican immigrants would be able to benefit from services which are assured to all U.S. citizens. Only illegal Mexican immigrants would need these cards in order to validate their driver licenses,

---

<sup>165</sup> Andrés Rozental, "Fox's Foreign Policy Agenda: Global and Regional Priorities," in *Mexico Under Fox*, eds. Luis Rubio and Susan Kaufman Purcell, 102 (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004).

<sup>166</sup> Hernández-Coss, "Lessons from the U.S.-Mexico Remittance Corridor on Shifting from Informal to Formal Transfer Systems," 97.

<sup>167</sup> Hernández-Coss, "Lessons from the U.S.-Mexico Remittance Corridor on Shifting from Informal to Formal Transfer Systems," 11.

<sup>168</sup> Hernández-Coss, "Lessons from the U.S.-Mexico Remittance Corridor on Shifting from Informal to Formal Transfer Systems," 11.

checking accounts, or mortgage loans. Individuals who are in the United State legally have sufficient documentation to obtain all of these services. A success story of the MCAS has been in a Chicago high school which has a 70% Hispanic population, with 300 undocumented families. Cardinal Bank began accepting MCAS in this school, and after three years the bank opened 600 new accounts. Of these accounts, 90% were for unbanked students and families.<sup>169</sup> Consulates want to continue such success stories for Mexican immigrants, which also benefit their country with increased remittances.

### Government Initiatives: Changing Laws

By the mid 1990's Mexican migrants in the United States demanded the right to vote in Mexican elections from abroad. Although the groundwork for this law was laid out by 1996, it continued to be under negotiation. In December 1996, the Mexican Congress passed a dual nationality law, which allowed Mexicans abroad to be part of the greater Mexican nation.<sup>170</sup> Individuals who had given up their Mexican citizenship in order to obtain American citizenship were granted to receive restitution. With this change, many individuals were able to have the right to vote, be elected, have the right to work, and buy or sell goods. This reform was celebrated by the emigration population, who now was able to obtain their rights as Mexican citizens.

Under the Mexican Constitution and the 1974 General Law of Population, citizens are required to present themselves to Mexican migration authorities before departing the country. Individuals must show proof of entry requirements, such as a visa, for the

---

<sup>169</sup> Hernández-Coss, "Lessons from the U.S.-Mexico Remittance Corridor on Shifting from Informal to Formal Transfer Systems," 98.

<sup>170</sup> Jorge Durand, "Migration Policy and the Asymmetry of Power: The Mexican Case, 1900-2000," in *Citizenship and Those Who Leave: The Politics of Emigration and Expatriation*, eds. Nancy L. Green and François Weil, 235 (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2007).



destination country. Today, individuals crossing the U.S.-Mexican border illegally do not meet these requirements.<sup>171</sup> This is a convenient way for the Mexican government to legitimize the federal government's efforts to restrict illegal immigration. Therefore there are no penalties for violating this article in the General Law of Population, which allows for further migration.

Another law which was changed in Mexico was the military service obligation. Until 2002 there was a requirement for all men to complete their military service obligations before they were able to receive their passports.<sup>172</sup> It was the Fox administration which changed this requirement, which allows young men to leave their country of origin.

By changing some of the laws which were in effect in Mexico, the government has been able to maintain the loyalty of its citizens. The changes which had been made impact not only the individuals who live in the country, but also those residing outside of its borders. Therefore, the government has been making these changes so the migrant communities which reside in the United States can continue to increase remittances in Mexico, therefore benefiting the infrastructure and development.

It is apparent that the Mexican government has taken upon itself to begin initiatives which promote migration from Mexico to the United States. Whether or not individuals took advantage of the distributed pamphlets, the information promoted by government organizations, consulates resources, or the laws which had been altered, each has been promoted by the Mexican government. Such developments have helped to decrease the costs of migration or increased the benefits for individuals residing in the

---

<sup>171</sup> Fitzgerald, "Inside the Sending State: The Politics of Mexican Emigration Control," 280.

<sup>172</sup> Fitzgerald, "State and Emigration: A Century of Emigration Policy in Mexico."

United States. Nonetheless, it has been questioned whether the Mexican government has been taking these actions not just for the benefits of its citizens, but also for its own gains.

### **Costs of Migration**

As Mexican citizens continue to leave their country, there are costs that the sending state accrues. When citizens migrate out of their country of citizenship there are effects on the population which may not have an initial impact, but as the number of emigrants grows the effects rise. Aspects which do not have a positive effect are not spoken about, but have a significant effect. Some of these negative impacts include: scarcity of labor in certain regions, individuals with special skills leaving the country, and the loss of the investment represented through each individual.

#### **Costs of Migration: Scarcity of Labor**

For the most part, Mexico is economically deficient in many of its states. Some regions lack available jobs for their residents, therefore further motivating individuals to migrate out. These communities are further impacted as higher numbers of citizens continue to flee to the United States. Regions in west-central Mexico are the most effected by migration. The states most affected have been: Michoacán, Guanajuato and Jalisco, with the highest levels of emigration.<sup>173</sup> Other states which have high rates of migration include: Zacatecas, Durango, Mexico City, Chihuahua, Tamaulipas, Guerrero, and the States of Mexico.<sup>174</sup> These ten mentioned states have accounted for

---

<sup>173</sup> Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Migration between Mexico and the United States: Binational Study," 116.

<sup>174</sup> Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Migration between Mexico and the United States: Binational Study," 116.

70% of migration abroad.<sup>175</sup> Certain states in Mexico have higher rates of migration, and are more influenced by this process.

As higher rates of Mexicans flee the country, the population rates of the communities decrease. Areas with high migration rates also have a loss of population, even as high as 10%.<sup>176</sup> This was visible when between 1980 and 1990, 21 of the 57 Mexican states had registered negative rate of growth, which is a key measure of migration.<sup>177</sup> Statistically, this would lead to 22,000 inhabitants leaving each state per year during the 10 year span.<sup>178</sup> Such numbers indicate that when individuals leave their home communities, these regions become less populated. In San Juan, in the state of Guelavia, the migration movement led to a smaller community, where 60% of the households were living in the United States.<sup>179</sup> Also, in Mexico's central valley, 40% of households seek work in the United States because there is no employment in nearby communities.<sup>180</sup> When the population census in Mexico shows a decreased number of citizens, then it is apparent that migration to the United States has been continuing.

#### Costs of Migration: Educated Individuals Emigrating

Research has shown that for the most part, Mexican immigrants who are entering the United States have lower levels of education. Nonetheless, there are significant numbers of those leaving who are highly skilled and educated. This occurrence is known as 'brain drain', which explains the emigration of individuals who are trained and

---

<sup>175</sup> Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Migration between Mexico and the United States: Binational Study," 116.

<sup>176</sup> Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Migration between Mexico and the United States: Binational Study," 427.

<sup>177</sup> Longoria, "The Migrant Club El Remolino: A Binational Community Experience," 197.

<sup>178</sup> Longoria, "The Migrant Club El Remolino: A Binational Community Experience," 197.

<sup>179</sup> Cohen, *The Culture of Migration in Southern Mexico*, 6.

<sup>180</sup> Cohen, *The Culture of Migration in Southern Mexico*, 6.

talented, due to lack of opportunities in their nation of origin. The sending country loses the return on its investment in human capital when these groups of immigrants leave. Brain drain of the upper end of the Mexican skill distribution occurs when individuals believe they will have higher economic benefits upon their migration to the United States.

The Mexican government has not been collecting statistics about how many of their educated citizens have left the country. Although Mexican officials do worry when researcher's estimates indicate that 30% of Mexican scientific and engineering graduates, and 10% of the population which holds university degrees lives outside of Mexico.<sup>181</sup> Some of these individuals may be traveling to Europe or South America, but many choose to settle in the United States because of close proximity. These statistics indicate that Mexico is the third-largest country of university-educated migrants.<sup>182</sup> Meanwhile, of the individuals who migrate out of Mexico, about 4% of them have a tertiary education.<sup>183</sup> This research estimates illustrate that although percentages are low, there are still large numbers of educated individuals who leave Mexico.

#### Costs of Migration: Loss of Investment

As Mexican citizens are growing up, the government invests in them throughout their childhood. Unfortunately, when an individual migrates, he or she takes that knowledge with them. These investments can include schooling paid by the public sector and costs of raising children through public services. Once individuals depart from the country, the country of origin does not continue to receive benefits of the education.

---

<sup>181</sup> David Fitzgerald, "Inside the Sending State: The Politics of Mexican Emigration Control," *International Migration Review* 40 (month year): 279.

<sup>182</sup> Fitzgerald, "Inside the Sending State: The Politics of Mexican Emigration Control," 279.

<sup>183</sup> Pablo Fajnzylber and J. Humberto López, "Close to Home: The Development Impact of Remittances in Latin America," *The World Bank*, 2006, 10.

Money and time which had been spent on individuals who migrate might never benefit the sending state. Instead, the receiving state, in this case the U.S., is able to gain from the migration process between the two countries.

For the most part, researchers point to the benefits that a sending state accrues from migration patterns. However, the costs of migration are equally important for a sending state. From this phenomenon, Mexico has had a scarcity of labor, loss of educated citizens, and a loss of investment. For the time being there are benefits which may cover these costs, but these factors should not be overlooked for long. Although not publicized, the costs of migration does affect the sending state.

### **Benefits of Emigration**

Governments, such as Mexico, rely on emigration to relieve economic, social and political problems within their borders. The Mexican government uses “emigration as an escape valve to alleviate local political and economic crises”.<sup>184</sup> Researchers have published a number of reasons how migration benefits the sending state government. Once individuals leave Mexico, problems such as unemployment are reduced, remittances are increased, and there is a reduction of social welfare costs by the government.

#### **Benefits of Emigration: Reduced Unemployment**

Just as any developing nation, Mexico had problems with unemployment in the past. The number of peso devaluations and economic problems which occurred during the 1990's did not disappear immediately, and continues to plague the nation today.

---

<sup>184</sup> Fitzgerald, “ Inside the Sending State: The Politics of Mexican Emigration Control,”: 260.

Research has found that emigration decreases the source country's population, which then leads to a fall in the country's supply of labor in the workforce. In 2000, Mexico had lost 16% of its labor force, but this only equaled out to 0.5% of loss in the GDP.<sup>185</sup> As the number of individuals in the workforce continues to be reduced, the unemployment rates decreased as well. Then, these decreased unemployment rates can also increase production and economic growth since there are not as many individuals competing for the small amount of jobs. This leads to predictions of increased wages and reduced unemployment for country as emigration continues. If there are fewer native workers in the sending country, then wages will increase. A Rand Corporation study found that emigration relieves a region, or country, of unemployment and raises wages of the workers who are left behind. Estimates from 2003 indicate that between 1970 and 2000 the average wage in Mexico increases by 8% because of emigration.<sup>186</sup> Also, as individuals leave the country the population growth rate will not rise as quickly. With many positive consequences, reduction in the unemployment rate is one significant benefit of emigration from Mexico.

### Benefits of Emigration: Remittances

Another benefit for the sending country from migration is the amount of remittances which are sent back to the nation of origin. Although positive effects of remittances have been felt since the 1920's, researchers have been recording and studying this type of assistance only recently. Mexico is the highest recipient of remittances in Latin America, and the second highest in the world. Families which stay in Mexico

---

<sup>185</sup> Hanson, "Challenges for US Immigration Policy," 360.

<sup>186</sup> Hanson, "Challenges for US Immigration Policy," 360.

benefit from the remittances which are sent back from the relatives residing in the United States.

It appears that one in five households in Mexico receives remittances. Higher numbers of migration lead to higher rates of remittances in the west-central region, where one in two households receives money from the United States.<sup>187</sup> Family members are sent abroad in order to pass on the income because Mexico has such an unstable economy. Today, migrant remittances are recognized as the most stable sources of external funding for the Mexican population. This money is also helpful when individuals are not able to obtain bank loans, or other commercial credit.

Remittance recipients tend to be less educated than the general population, therefore these types of benefits are more progressively distributed in the total income. Mexicans who receive remittances are predominantly poor. About 61% of them fall into the first quintile of the income distribution, while 8% of remittance-receivers are in the top quintile.<sup>188</sup> The money is used to: improve housing, pay medical bills, daily living expenses, and finance community improvements. Remittances represent 35.6% of total current income in households, and 46.9% of current cash income in Mexican communities.<sup>189</sup> Remittances also increase the standard of living of the individuals who are left behind in Mexico. Since the sender of the remittances tends to know what will happen to this money, there is a decreased chance of it being used inappropriately. The benefits of remittances are that they go directly to the families, in comparison to aid

---

<sup>187</sup> Gustavo Verduzco, "The Mexican Labour Force and Economic Interaction in North America," in *Migration Between States and Markets*, eds. Han Entzinger, Marco Martiniello and Catherine Wihtol De Wenden, 148 (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2004).

<sup>188</sup> Fajnzylber and López, "Close to Home: The Development Impact of Remittances in Latin America," 6.

<sup>189</sup> Rodolfo García Zamora, "Collective Remittances and the 3x1 Program as a Transnational Social Learning Process," presentation at the "Mexican Migration Social and Civic Participation in the United States", *Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars*, November 2005.

which flows between governments, where the general population might never see this form of funds. The number of households which receive remittances have increased considerably according to the Encuesta Nacional de Ingreso Gasto de los Hogares, from 600,000 households in 1992 to 1.4 million households, or 5.6 million people in 2002.<sup>190</sup> Therefore, one of the most felt benefits of remittances include a higher income for the family members who still reside in Mexico.

The amount of remittances from Mexicans in the United States has been rising exponentially. The remittance money has been significant since it is a source of financial exchange, it is part of the balance-of-payments accounts, and it contributes to local and regional economies. Remittances have risen from \$2.494 billion in 1990 to \$13.396 billion in 2003, to \$16.613 billion in 2004.<sup>191</sup> In 2000, when remittances reached \$6.5 billion, they were the largest source of foreign currency to the country.<sup>192</sup> That year the government had lowered its deficit by 27%.<sup>193</sup> In 2001, Mexicans have sent back \$9.3 billion from the United States.<sup>194</sup> In Mexico, remittances in 2005 were about \$20 billion, which surpassed the tourism industry, and is the second highest profit behind the oil industry.<sup>195</sup> That year the income from remittances was 1.5% of the GDP, and 6.15% of export earnings.<sup>196</sup> The 2005 remittance amount sent to Mexico was 11.3% of total remittances in the world.<sup>197</sup>

---

<sup>190</sup> Zamora, "Collective Remittances and the 3x1 Program as a Transnational Social Learning Process."

<sup>191</sup> Zamora, "Collective Remittances and the 3x1 Program as a Transnational Social Learning Process."

<sup>192</sup> Longoria, "The Migrant Club El Remolino: A Binational Community Experience," 195.

<sup>193</sup> Longoria, "The Migrant Club El Remolino: A Binational Community Experience," 195.

<sup>194</sup> Griswold, "Willing Workers: Fixing the Problem of Illegal Mexican Migration to the United States," 11.

<sup>195</sup> "Facts & Stats," Frontline: World <http://www.pbs.org/frontlineworld/stories/mexico/facts.html> (accessed August 6, 2008).

<sup>196</sup> Zamora, "Collective Remittances and the 3x1 Program as a Transnational Social Learning Process."

<sup>197</sup> Aaron Matteo Terrazas, "Variable Impacts: State-level Analysis of the Slowdown of the Growth in Remittances to Mexico," Migration Policy Institute Fact Sheet 19, September 2007, [http://www.migrationpolicy.org/news/2007\\_09\\_12A.php](http://www.migrationpolicy.org/news/2007_09_12A.php) (accessed March 6, 2008), 1.



Table 2  
Percentages of Mexico's Remittances

	2003	2004
Oil Exports	80%	70%
Maquiladora trade surplus	73%	87%
Tourism	42%	n/a

Source: Zamora, "Collective Remittances and the 3x1 Program as a Transnational Social Learning Process."

Above, in Table 2 are the percentages of the remittances in comparison to other industries in Mexico over the years 2003 and 2004. As it can be seen, remittances account for higher income than the oil industry, tourism, or the maquiladora manufacturing plants. The government benefits from the remittances because in comparison to foreign currency which fluctuates, remittances are fairly stable from year to year. The Mexican government has felt the benefits of remittances, and is able to increase gains dramatically.

The amount of remittances can fluctuate over time, but they tend to increase during natural disasters or economic crises. Although the amount of remittances had decreased between 2003 and 2006, the following states increased their remittances in 2006 and 2007 by 5%: Baja California, Baja California del Sur, Guanajuato, Puebla, and the Yucatán.<sup>198</sup> Meanwhile, the following Mexican states decreased their remittance growth by 5%: Chiapas, Chihuahua, the Distrito Federal, the State of Mexico, and Michoacán.<sup>199</sup> The dependency of states on remittances can be measured as the share of remittances to the respective amount of the GDP. In 2004, the following states had the

---

<sup>198</sup> Terrazas, "Variable Impacts: State-level Analysis of the Slowdown of the Growth in Remittances to Mexico," 1.

<sup>199</sup> Terrazas, "Variable Impacts: State-level Analysis of the Slowdown of the Growth in Remittances to Mexico," 1.

highest dependency on remittances: Michoacán, Guerrero, Zacatecas, Oaxaca, Nayarit, and Hidalgo.<sup>200</sup> In comparison, Baja California del Sur, Campeche, Distrito Federal and Nuevo León have high GDP's, and were the least dependent on remittances.<sup>201</sup> The destinations of the highest remittances vary between state and at different times of the year, but some states are more dependent on them than others, which usually correlates to the amount of migrants leaving the particular state.

There are three ways remittances are sent back to Mexico. One way is through wages and salaries, which tend to be sent to Mexicans who have limited investment opportunities. The second type of remittance is investments, which tend to be brought back by migrants whenever they return or visit their communities. These types of funds have specific objectives, such as buying a house or land. A third way to remit capital is through investments in specific ventures. In addition, there are formal and informal remittances. A formal remittance is the money sent through a regulated financial system. On the other hand, informal remittances are sent through: ethnic stores, travel agencies, moneychangers, courier services and hand delivery services. When remittances are sent, businesses also benefit from them. In general, remittances tend to be sent through: banks, credit unions, post offices, money transfer operators, individuals businesses and chain stores. Today, remittances in Mexico account for 10% of the banking sector deposits and credits, which continue to increase financial development.<sup>202</sup>

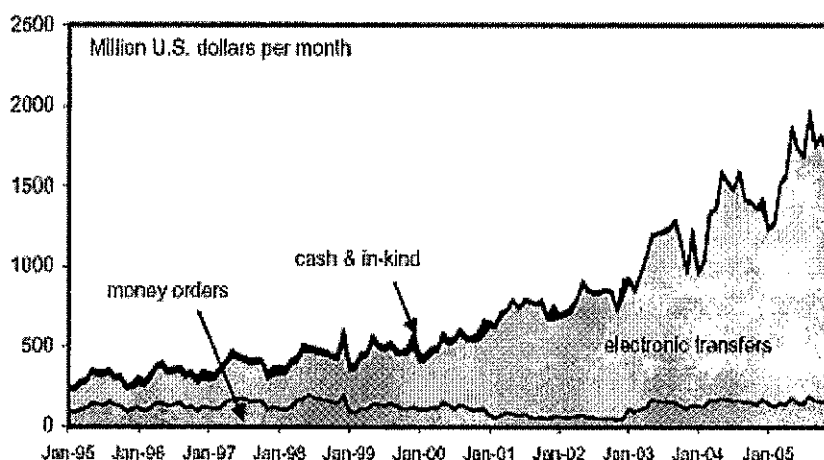
---

<sup>200</sup> Terrazas, "Variable Impacts: State-level Analysis of the Slowdown of the Growth in Remittances to Mexico," 2.

<sup>201</sup> Terrazas, "Variable Impacts: State-level Analysis of the Slowdown of the Growth in Remittances to Mexico," 2

<sup>202</sup> Fajnzylber and López, "Close to Home: The Development Impact of Remittances in Latin America," 39

Figure 2  
Family Remittances by Type of Transaction



Source: S. Philips, G. Mehrez, and V. Moissinac, "Mexico: Selected Issues," *International Monetary Fund*, Country Report No. 06/351, October 2006.

Since there are a number of ways which immigrants remit their money, is important to note how these channels are used. As Figure 2 shows, electronic transfers have increased due to technology innovation. But even as there have been improvements, cash and money orders are still the preferred method of sending remittances.

#### Benefits of Emigration: Reduced Social Welfare Costs

Lastly, the state of Mexico has benefited from migration by reducing its social welfare costs. Social costs in Mexico are mainly covered by remittances which are sent back by migrants in the United States rather than the government. These benefits accrued decrease the costs that the government would have to add to its country's infrastructure. Therefore, the Mexican government prefers to encourage migration because they are able to gain benefits without increasing their budget.

Citizens of Mexico have been establishing Hometown Associations in the United States and helping their communities of origin. These organizations work together to provide aid when harmful economic policies displace individuals from their homes. The associations also provide money when communities rebuild after natural disasters, want to promote health, education or support basic development infrastructure. In 1995 Club El Remolino was organized in California and concentrated on renovating a primary school and buying equipment for a health clinic.<sup>203</sup> It was the first Hometown Association club which tried to invest in not just community projects, but also to stimulate the economy in a poorly developed region.<sup>204</sup> Between 1993 and 1996 the Zacatecano Club in the United States carried out 116 projects which concentrated on portable water systems, repairing and constructing schools, fixing sewer systems, paving roads and support local education programs.<sup>205</sup> Over time, Hometown Associations have changed from holding infrequent and disorganized fundraisers, to increased investments which are more formalized and systematic. By pooling remittances together, Hometown Associations become collective migrants with binational investment in the productive infrastructure.<sup>206</sup> The funds raised by Hometown Associations are sent back to their communities have increased in significance and amount.

There are various examples of recent projects which have been completed by the Hometown Associations. About two-thirds of the projects have been completed in communities which tend to have less than 2,000 individuals, and average \$56,000 in

---

<sup>203</sup> Longoria, "The Migrant Club El Remolino: A Binational Community Experience," 200.

<sup>204</sup> Longoria, "The Migrant Club El Remolino: A Binational Community Experience," 200.

<sup>205</sup> Longoria, "The Migrant Club El Remolino: A Binational Community Experience," 200.

<sup>206</sup> Longoria, "The Migrant Club El Remolino: A Binational Community Experience," 195.

funding.<sup>207</sup> A community received new computers for their high school, and a water-treatment plant. A village in Atacheo de Regalado, in Michoacán, has been working with immigrants residing in Illinois to organize and direct projects. Some of these developments have included: a turkey farm, a goat farm, hydroponic green houses to grow vegetables and flowers for export, a factory manufacturing loudspeakers and a bull-fighting ring. As of now \$150,000 has been invested in Atacheo de Regalado, but two new projects have already been planned which will need an additional \$200,000 of investment.<sup>208</sup> There are a number of ways which the Hometown Associations assist communities in Mexico, even if many of these Mexican citizens do not reside in these locations.

Remittances contribute to the investment of human capital and physical capital. They can be used to invest in education and health of the people in Mexico. The money sent back to communities builds parks, schools, churches, roads, street paving, and drainage facilities, but it has not been provided through government spending. These projects can also improve houses by adding electricity, water or drainage systems. Research found that locations which have higher remittances also have better urban services in comparison to their neighboring communities.

---

<sup>207</sup> Hernández-Coss, "Lessons from the U.S.-Mexico Remittance Corridor on Shifting from Informal to Formal Transfer Systems," 34.

<sup>208</sup> Hernández-Coss, "Lessons from the U.S.-Mexico Remittance Corridor on Shifting from Informal to Formal Transfer Systems," 100.

Table 3  
Survey Comparison of the Quality of the Infrastructure

Comparative Survey on the Quality of Infrastructure, 2005					
Country	Overall Infrastructure Quality 1/	Port Infrastructure Quality	Railroad Infrastructure Quality	Air Transport Infrastructure Quality	Electricity Supply Quality
Brazil	2.8	2.7	1.8	4.5	4.7
China	3.2	3.6	3.6	4.0	3.7
Poland	3.2	3.6	3.7	4.0	4.9
Turkey	3.5	3.1	2.1	4.8	4.2
Mexico	3.5	3.3	2.2	4.9	3.8
Argentina	3.6	3.6	2.7	4.3	4.3
Chile	4.9	4.9	2.7	5.7	5.5
Czech Republic	4.9	3.5	5.3	5.2	6.3
Spain	5.2	4.7	4.4	5.6	5.5
Korea	5.2	5.3	5.4	5.5	5.9
UK	5.3	5.3	4.3	6.2	6.5
Singapore	6.7	6.8	5.8	6.9	6.5
Sample Average	3.9	3.8	3.0	4.5	4.6

1/ "Overall Infrastructure" includes quality indicators from other sectors not shown above (that is information and communication technologies).  
Note: Survey-based subjective evaluation on a scale from - "underdeveloped and inefficient" to 7 - "as developed as the world's best." The higher the score, the better the quality.

Source: Phillips, Mehrez and Moissinac, "Mexico: Selected Issues," 25.

Table 3 shows how Mexico compares to other nations in the world in the quality of infrastructure as of 2005. The lowest score is in the railroad quality, while the highest has been in air transport services. All but the air transport are below average of this sample of countries. Such surveys can illustrate how beneficial remittances have been, not only to certain families but also to the communities as a whole.

Also, remittances are major resources of investment for states. Estimates show that remittances add about 10% of productive investment or savings in Mexican communities.<sup>209</sup> Research evidence indicates that remittance flows have positive impacts on macroeconomic effects, and improve the country's international capital markets. In

<sup>209</sup> Zamora, "Collective Remittances and the 3x1 Program as a Transnational Social Learning Process."

the long-run, remittances can increase a country's growth potential through higher rates of capital accumulation. They are also an important source of foreign exchange. A 1990 report stated that "each migradollar enter Mexico ultimately produced \$2.90 increase in Mexico's Gross Domestic Product, and raised output by a total of \$3.20", which expands the nation's economy.<sup>210</sup> Not only do families and communities feel the benefits of this income, but so does the economy through increased investments.

The increased remittances positively affect the infrastructure in Mexico. The sending state gains because there is a less demand to build new demographical capital, such as schools or hospitals. Currently, many hometowns in Mexico lack infrastructure and opportunities for their citizens.<sup>211</sup> The Hometown Associations, through remittances, are able to develop infrastructure, where the government has not provided for, in these communities. Therefore, through outside funding, the Mexican government has been able to decrease its role in providing basic services and the investment in sustainable development. It has been stated that remittances are "safety nets for poor regions left behind by the agglomeration behavior of international capital, by the preoccupation of the international community with other matters, and by the indifference of their own government".<sup>212</sup> Through additional funding the infrastructure has improved in many Mexican communities.

As can be seen through this research the Mexican government has had influences on the emigration of its people. Not only has it taken steps to build upon initiatives, which will help out individuals who are crossing or have already crossed the border, but it has also benefited from this migration process. Although, there are certain costs to

---

<sup>210</sup> Cohen, *The Culture of Migration in Southern Mexico*, 22.

<sup>211</sup> Cohen, *The Culture of Migration in Southern Mexico*, 4.

<sup>212</sup> Cohen, *The Culture of Migration in Southern Mexico*, 21.

having such a large emigrating population. Mexico has had a loss of labor and investments in many communities. Nonetheless, there are benefits from many individuals leaving the nation, they have added additional funding for the state through remittances. Therefore, it is apparent that the Mexican government has been benefiting from such a large migration group, and adding initiatives in order to increase these gains for the future.



## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUSION

Although immigration is perhaps one of the most debated issues in governments around the world, it also impacts millions of people. Immigration affects the individuals who choose to move, the families which lose their loved ones, and the communities where migrants had resided. As our world has become more integrated and intertwined, individuals can easily cross borders and seek a better life elsewhere. Although states continue to pass more laws which make immigration more difficult, there are millions of citizens who continue to move to new locations.

As this case study points out, there are various issues which are part of the migration phenomenon, and one single reason is not enough to explain it. Also, although many theories have emerged into this area of study, not all of them consider all of the possible reasons for migration. For the most part, theories tend to focus on economic and social factors, as well as on the immigrant receiving country. This thesis considers an additional area of study, the sending state. This factor is also significant in the growth of migration. This case study of immigration from Mexico to the United States explains how push factors by the Mexican government can encourage migration.

Although this thesis adds an additional reason for migration, it does explore past research. A literature review examines the currently existing theories which provide explanations for this phenomenon. Many of these are significant in the discussion of immigration because they establish reasons why individuals choose to move from one country to another. Also, a history of immigration between these two nations is

established in order to understand aspects which have surrounded the debate of migration between the two North American countries. Furthermore, push and pull factors are examined, specific to this geographical area in order to determine some of the reasons for present migration. In addition, because security has increased on the U.S.-Mexican border, and deaths of undocumented migrants have increased, included is a look at the problems of illegal border crossing. Most importantly, the thesis concludes with an analysis which explores the focus of the sending country and how it can encourage migration. It explains current actions that the Mexican government has taken, as well as the benefits that the country receives because such large amounts of migrants are living in the United States.

Today, individuals around the world have become more dependent and interconnected with others who live in other states. With such a unified world, it has become easier for individuals to move and live elsewhere. This allows migration to continue, and the chances of it this movement decreasing is becoming less likely each year. The difference in development between Mexico and the United States is an example of many other distinctions between countries worldwide. Citizens of developing countries want to seek a better life which can be found elsewhere, and will continue to search for chances to improve whenever they are able to. Therefore, with each new year or decade, migration will continue to be part of all of our lives, whether politically or economically.

As future presidents in Mexico and the United States will continue to face immigration issues, they need to remember that this process will prolong. When security was lacking between the two borders, the flow of individuals had a great impact on both

countries economically, each benefiting from the other. Now, as security issues have increased, immigration still continues from Mexico to the United States. From these changes, it can be concluded that fixing one aspect of this phenomenon will not decrease the amount of individuals crossing the border. Therefore, experts need to understand that as migrating individuals have looked past economic benefits, they also have built stronger social networks, and have been encouraged by policies which their government has applied.

This thesis contributes to the areas of study of immigration, by contributing a new point of view which explains why migration is still debated in the political arena. Experts need to begin looking for explanations beyond economic and social reasons. Instead, aspects such as the sending state government policies can also have an impact on the immigration process, and should be researched further. Therefore, this thesis emphasizes that there are many contributing factors which impact immigration, and government can be as strong as the individuals who choose to move.

In conclusion, attention must be focused on other reasons behind the push or pull of immigration between countries. For the future, further analysis must be developed in the study of immigration, since it has such an impact on people living in sending or receiving countries. Immigration cannot be explained with one reason, but through an interdisciplinary view, and collective work, all the factors involved in this phenomenon can be researched.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Andreas, Peter. "The Transformation of Migrant Smuggling across the U.S.-Mexican Border." In *Global Human Smuggling: Comparative Perspectives*, eds David Kyle and Rey Koslowski, 107-125. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001.
- Bada, Xóchitl, Jonathan Fox and Andrew Selee. "Invisible No More: Mexican Migrant Civic Participation in the United States." *Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars*, 2006.
- Borjas, George J. *Friends or Strangers: The Impact of Immigrants on the U.S. Economy*. New York, NY: Basic Books Inc, 1990.
- Boucher, Stephen R., Aaron Smith, J. Edward Taylor and Antonio Yúnez-Naude. "Impacts of Policy Reforms on the Supply of Mexican Labor to U.S. Farms: New Evidence from Mexico." *Review of Agriculture Economics* 29 (Spring 2007): 4-16.
- Brettell, Caroline B. "Theorizing Migration in Anthropology: The Social Construction of Networks, Identities, Communities, and Globalscapes." In *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines*, edited by Caroline B. Brettell and James F. Hollifield, 97-136. New York: Routledge, 2000.
- Bustamante, Jorge A. "Interdependence, Undocumented Migration, and National Security." In *U.S.-Mexico Relations: Labor Market Interdependence*, edited by Jorge A. Bustamante, Clark W. Reynolds and Raúl A. Hinojosa Ojeda, 21-41. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992.
- Chacón, Justin Akers and Mike Davis. *No One is Illegal: Fighting Violence and State Repression on the U.S.-Mexico Border*. Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books, 2006.
- Chavez, Leo R. *Shadowed Lives: Undocumented Immigrants in American Society*. Orlando, FL: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Publishers, 1992.
- Cohen, Jeffrey H. *The Culture of Migration in Southern Mexico*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2004.
- Cornelius, Wayne A. "Death at the Border: Efficacy and Unintended Consequences of US Immigration Control Policy." *Population and Development Review* 27 (December 2001): 661-685.

- Cornelius, Wayne A. "The Structural Embeddedness of Demand for Mexican Immigrant Labor: New Evidence from California." In *Crossings: Mexican Immigration in Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, edited by Marcelo M. Suárez-Orozco, 113-144. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998.
- Cornelius, Wayne A. and Idean Salehyan. "Does border enforcement deter unauthorized immigration? The case of Mexican migration to the United States of America." *Regulation & Governance* 1 (June 2007): 139-153.
- Cornelius, Wayne A. and Marc R. Rosenblum. "Immigration and Politics." *The Center for Comparative Immigration Studies*, Working Paper 105, October 2004.
- Cross, Harry E. and James A. Sandos. *Across the Border: Rural Development in Mexico and Recent Migration to the United States*. Berkeley, CA: University of California, 1981.
- Davis, Benjamin, Guy Stecklov and Paul Winters. "Domestic and International Migration from Rural Mexico: Disaggregation the Effects of Network Structure and Composition." *Population Studies* 56 (November 2002): 291-309.
- Deléchat, Corinne. "International Migration Dynamics: The Role of Experience and Social Networks." *Labour* 15 (September 2001): 457-486.
- Dinnerstein, Leonard and David Reimers. *Ethnic Americas: A History of Immigration*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1999.
- Durand, Jorge. "Migration Policy and the Asymmetry of Power: The Mexican Case, 1900-2000." In *Citizenship and Those Who Leave: The Politics of Emigration and Expatriation*, edited by Nancy L. Green and François Weil, 224-242. Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2007.
- Escobar, Agustin, Kay Hailbronner, Philip Martin and Liliana Meza. "Migration and Development: Mexico and Turkey." *International Migration Review* 40 (August 2006): 707-718.
- "Facts & Stats." Frontline: World. Available from [Online]: <<http://www.pbs.org/frontlineworld/stories/mexico/facts.html>> (accessed 6 August 2007).
- Fajnzylber, Pablo and J. Humberto López. "Close to Home: The Development Impact of Remittances in Latin America." *The World Bank*. <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTLACOFFICEOFCE/Resources/ClosetoHome.pdf> (accessed 6 March 2008).
- Fitzgerald, David. "Inside the Sending State: The Politics of Mexican Emigration Control." *International Migration Review* 40 (June 2006): 259-293.

- Fitzgerald, David. "State and Emigration: A Century of Emigration Policy in Mexico." *The Center for Comparative Immigration Studies*, Working Paper 123, September 2005.
- Fogel, Walter. "Twentieth-Century Mexican Migration to the United States." In *The Gateway: U.S. Immigration Issues and Policies*, edited by Barry R. Chiswick, 219-238. Washington D.C.: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1982.
- Fussell, Elizabeth and Douglas S. Massey. "The Limits to Cumulative Causation: International Migration from Mexico Urban Areas." *Demography* 41 (February 2004): 151-171.
- Gereffi, Gary and Martha A. Martínez. "Mexico's Economic Transformation Under NAFTA." In *Mexico's Democracy at Work: Political and Economic Dynamics*, edited by Russell Crandall, Guadalupe Paz and Riordan Roett, 119-150. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc, 2005.
- Griswold, Daniel T. "Willing Workers: Fixing the Problem of Illegal Mexican Migration to the United States." *Cato Institute Center for Trade Policy Studies Paper #19*, 2002.
- Guerette, Rob T. *Migration Death: Border Safety and Situational Crime Prevention on the U.S.-Mexico Divide*. New York, NY: LFB Scholarly Publishing LLC, 2007.
- "Guide for the Mexican Migrant." *American Renaissance*. [http://www.amren.com/mtnews/archives/2005/01/guide\\_for\\_the\\_m.php](http://www.amren.com/mtnews/archives/2005/01/guide_for_the_m.php) (accessed 11 September 2007).
- Hanson, Gordon H. "Challenges for US Immigration Policy." In *The United States and the World Economy*, edited by C. Fred Bergsten, 343-372. Washington D.C.: Institute for International Economics, 2005.
- Harner, John P. "Continuity Amidst Change: Undocumented Mexican Migration to Arizona." *The Professional Geographer* 47 (November 1995): 399-411.
- Hayes, Helene. *U.S. Immigration Policy and the Undocumented: Ambivalent Laws, Furtive Lives*. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2001.
- Heer, David M. *Immigration in America's Future: Social Science Findings and the Policy Debate*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press Inc, 1996.
- Held, David, Anthony McGrew, David Goldblatt, and Jonathan Perraton. *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics, and Culture*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999.

- Hernández-Coss, Raúl. "Lessons from the U.S.-Mexico Remittances Corridor on Shifting from Informal to Formal Transfer Systems." Washington D.C.: the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 2005.  
[http://www1.worldbank.org/finance/html/amlcft/docs/Rem\\_CS/US-Mex\\_CS\\_Eng.pdf](http://www1.worldbank.org/finance/html/amlcft/docs/Rem_CS/US-Mex_CS_Eng.pdf) (accessed 6 March 2008).
- Jacoby, Tamar. "Immigration Nation." *Foreign Affairs* 85 (November/December 2006).
- Jaime, Edna. "Fox's Economic Agenda: An Incomplete Transition." In *Mexico Under Fox*, edited by Luis Rubio and Susan Kaufman Purcell, 35-64. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004.
- Johnson-Webb, Karen D. "Employer Recruitment and Hispanic Labor Migration: North Carolina Urban Areas at the End of the Millennium." *The Professional Geographer* 54 (August 2002): 406-421.
- Keely, Charles B. "Demography and International Migration." In *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines*, edited by Carline B. Brettell and James F. Hollified, 43-60. New York, NY: Routledge, 2000.
- LeMay, Michael C. *Illegal Immigration: A Reference Handbook*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO Inc, 2007.
- Lindstrom, David P. and Nathanael Lauster. "From Economic Opportunity and the Competing Risks of Internal and U.S. Migration in Zacatecas, Mexico." *International Migration Review* 35 (November 2001): 1232-1256.
- Longoria, Miguel Moctezuma. "The Migrant Club El Remolino: A Binational Community Experience." In *Confronting Globalization: Economic Integration and Popular Resistance in Mexico*, edited by Timothy A. Wise, Hilda Salazar and Laura Carlsen, 195-210. Bloomfield, CT: Kumarian Press Inc, 2003.
- López Córdova, Ernesto. "Globalization, Migration and Development: The Role of Mexican Migrant Remittances." *Inter-American Development Bank, Working Paper* 20, 2004. [http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=668126](http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=668126) (accessed 6 March 2008).
- Magaña, Lisa. *Straddling the Border: Immigration Policy and the INS*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2003.
- Maril, Robert Lee. *Patrolling Chaos: The U.S. Border Patrol in Deep South Texas*. Texas: Texas Tech University Press, 2004.

- Martin, Philip L. and J. Edward Taylor. "Managing Migration: The Role of Economic Policies." In *Global Migrants Global Refugees: Problems and Situations*, edited by Aristide R. Zolberg and Peter M. Benda, 95-120. New York, NY: Berghahn Books, 2001.
- Massey, Douglas S. "Why Does Immigration Occur? A Theoretical Synthesis." In *The Handbook of International Migration: The American Experience*, edited by Charles Hirschmann, Philip Kasinitz and Josh DeWind, 34-52. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation, 1999.
- Massey, Douglas S., Joaquín Arango, Graeme Hugo, Ali Kouaouci, Adela Pellegrino and J. Edward Taylor. "Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal," in *The Migration Reader: Exploring Politics and Policies*, eds Anthony M. Messina and Gallya Lahav, 34-62. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2006.
- Massey, Douglas S., Jorge Durand and Nolan J. Malone. "Principles of Operation: Theories of International Migration." In *The New Immigration: An Interdisciplinary Reader* edited by Marcelo M. Suárez-Orozco, Carola Suárez-Orozco and Desirée Baolian Qin: 21-34. New York, NY: Brunner-Routledge, 2005.
- Messina, Anthony M. and Gallya Lahav. *The Migration Reader: Exploring Politics and Policies*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2006.
- Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs. "Migration between Mexico and the United States: Binational Study." *Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs*.  
<http://www.utexas.edu/lbj/uscir/binpap-v.html> (accessed 3 October 2007).
- Muller, Thomas. "The Demand for Hispanic Workers in Urban Areas of the United States." In *U.S.-Mexico Relations: Labor Market Interdependence*, edited by Jorge A. Bustamante, Clark W. Reynolds and Raúl A. Hinojosa Ojeda, 353-371. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992.
- Nevins, Joseph. *Operation Gatekeeper: The Rise of the "Illegal Alien" and the Making of the U.S.-Mexico Boundary*. New York, NY: Routledge, 2002.
- "Numbers and Geographic Distribution." *Center for Immigration Studies*.  
<http://www.cis.org/articles/2001/mexico/numbers.html> (accessed March 9, 2008).
- Pardinas, Juan. "Fighting Poverty in Mexico: Policy Changes." In *Mexico Under Fox*, edited by Luis Rubio and Susan Kaufman Purcell, 65-86. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004.



- Passel, Jeffrey. "Mexican Immigration to the US: The Latest Estimates." *Migration Information Source*. <http://www.migrationinformation.org/feature/display.n.cfm?ID=208> (accessed 12 January 2008).
- Phillips, S., G. Mehrez, and V. Moissinac. "Mexico: Selected Issues." *International Monetary Fund Country Report* No. 06/351, October 2006.
- Pisani, Michael J. and David W. Yoskowitz. "The Maid Trade: Cross-Border Work in South Texas." *Social Science Quarterly* 83 (June 2002): 568-579.
- Polaski, Sandra. "Jobs, Wages, and Household Income." *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, January 2004.
- Reimers, David M. "Recent Immigration Policy: An Analysis." In *The Gateway: U.S. Immigration Issues and Policies*, edited by Barry R. Chiswick, 1-4. Washington D.C.: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1982.
- Rozental, Andrés. "Fox's Foreign Policy Agenda: Global and Regional Priorities." In *Mexico Under Fox*, edited by Luis Rubio and Susan Kaufman Purcell, 87-114. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004.
- Spickard, Paul. *Almost All Aliens: Immigration, Race, and Colonialism in American History and Identity*. New York, NY: Routledge, 2007.
- Starr, Pamela K. "Challenges for a Postelection Mexico: Issues for U.S. Policy." *Council on Foreign Relations Paper*, June 2006.
- Terrazas, Aaron Matteo. "Variable Impacts: State-level Analysis of the Slowdown of the Growth in Remittances to Mexico." *Migration Policy Institute Fact Sheet* 19, September 2007. [http://www.migrationpolicy.org/news/2007\\_09\\_12A.php](http://www.migrationpolicy.org/news/2007_09_12A.php) (accessed 6 March 2008).
- Verduzco, Gustavo. "The Mexican Labour Force and Economic Interaction in North America." In *Migration Between States and Markets*, edited by Han Entzinger, Marco Martiniello and Catherine Wihtol De Wenden, 133-151. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2004.
- Wise, Raúl Delgado. "Labour and migration policies under Vincente Fox: Subordination to US economic and geopolitical interests." In *Mexico in Transition: Neoliberal Globalism, the State and Civic Society*, edited by Gerardo Otera, 138-153. New York, NY: Zed Books Ltd, 2004.
- Wise, Tim and Eliza Waters. "Community Control in a Global Economy: Lessons from Mexico's Economic Integration Process." *Global Development and Environment Institute, Working Paper* No. 01-03, February 2001.

- Wise, Timothy A., Hilda Salazar and Laura Carlsen. "Introduction: Globalization and Popular Resistance in Mexico." In *Confronting Globalization: Economic Integration and Popular Resistance in Mexico*, edited by Timothy A. Wise, Hilda Salazar and Laura Carlsen, 1-16. Bloomfield, CT: Kumarian Press Inc, 2006.
- World Bank. "Income Generation and Social Protection For the Poor." *World Bank*. <http://go.worldbank.org/4SWFYJFP80> (accessed 7 March 2008).
- Zamora, Rodolfo García. "Collective Remittances and the 3x1 Program as a Transnational Social Learning Process." Presentation at "Mexican Migration Social and Civic Participation in the United States" at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, November 2005.
- Zolberg, Aristide R. "Matters of State: Theorizing Immigration Policy." In *The Handbook of International Migration: The American Experience*, eds Charles Hirschman, Philip Kasinitz and Josh DeWind, 71-93. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation, 1999.
- Zolberg, Aristide R. "Patterns of International Migration Policy: A Diachronic Comparison." In *The Migration Reader: Exploring Politics and Policies*, eds Anthony M. Messina and Gallya Lahav, 110-125. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2006.

## VITA

Ewelina L. Dzieciolowski  
International Studies  
BAL 7045  
Old Dominion University  
Norfolk, VA 23529

## EDUCATION

**Master of Arts**, International Studies, Old Dominion University, Norfolk, VA.  
Specialization: International Political Economy and Development. Master's Thesis:  
Factors Which Lead to Immigration: Focusing on Mexico's Implementation in  
Immigration to the United States. May, 2008.

**Bachelor of Arts**, Psychology, University of Iowa, Iowa City, IA. Minor: Business,  
International Business Certificate. May 2006.

## PRESENTATIONS

Dzieciolowski, E. (May 2007). *Spain: From Franco to Democracy*. Old Dominion  
Graduate Program in International Studies Conference, Norfolk VA.

## RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

NATO/EU Research Intern (Joint Forces Staff College, Norfolk VA). Assisted in  
development of resource materials for the Joint Advanced Warfighting School, and in  
producing faculty and student guides for strategic foundations towards an MS in Joint  
Campaigning Planning. January 2008-Present

Economic Development Research Intern (Joint Forces Staff College, Norfolk VA).  
Researched published material to produce faculty and student guides for a new elective,  
developed research material which relates to U.S. National Security and curriculum  
objectives, and analyzed and summarized research for course material. June 2007-  
November 2007.