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**Guanajuatense and Other Mexican Immigrants
in the United States: New Communities in
Non-Metropolitan and Agricultural Regions**

*by Víctor García, Ph.D.
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and
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Working Paper No. 47
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Abstract:

This working paper addresses the unprecedented growth of the foreign and U.S.-born Mexican-descent population in non-metropolitan and agricultural areas in the United States. It is organized into four sections. This first part of the paper is a general discussion of immigration from Guanajuato, Mexico, to these areas of the country. The concentration of Mexicans in non-metropolitan and agricultural areas is examined in the second section. The third part describes examples of this concentration in two communities in southeastern Pennsylvania. In the fourth and last section, it is suggested that peasants from Guanajuato and other compatriots not only immigrate to these areas, many migrate in order to continue practicing subsistence agriculture in their homeland. Migration allows them to pursue this important traditional economic activity.

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Guanajuatense and Other Mexican Immigrants in the United States: New Communities in Non-Metropolitan and Agricultural Regions

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Guanajuatense and Other Mexican Immigrants in the United States: New Communities in Non-Metropolitan and Agricultural Regions

Over the last two decades, as vegetable, fruit, and horticultural industries restructure their operations and intensify their production, there has been an influx of Mexican farmworkers to non-metropolitan and agricultural regions of the United States (García, Gouveia, Rivera, and Rochín, forthcoming; Griffith and Kassam, 1995; Palerm, 1991).¹ With each passing year, many of these laborers are settling with their families in Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Florida, and other states that had not experienced heavy Mexican immigration in the past. In these states, the number of Mexican people is increasing in towns and cities found in agricultural regions; in some cases, the number is doubling in a couple of years. They are becoming the majority of the residents in neighborhoods, and in the process, introducing another culture, way-of-life, and language into the larger community.

This paper addresses the growth of the Mexican-descent population, foreign and U.S.-born, in non-metropolitan and agricultural areas.² It will begin with a general discussion of immigration from Mexico to the United States, particularly from the state of Guanajuato. In the second part, regional concentration of Mexican-origin workers and their families in the United States will be briefly examined. Two relatively new Mexican settlements in southeastern Pennsylvania, one in Kennett Square and another in nearby Toughkenamon where the authors of this paper (García and González, 1995) have conducted research, will be presented as examples of emerging and rapidly growing Mexican enclaves in the third section. Lastly, some explanations for the emergence and growth of these and other enclaves in non-metropolitan and agricultural regions will be discussed. Argument that *campesino* [peasants] from Guanajuato and other parts of Mexico not only immigrate to these areas, but many migrate in order to continue practicing subsistence farming back home.³

Mexican Immigrants in the U.S.

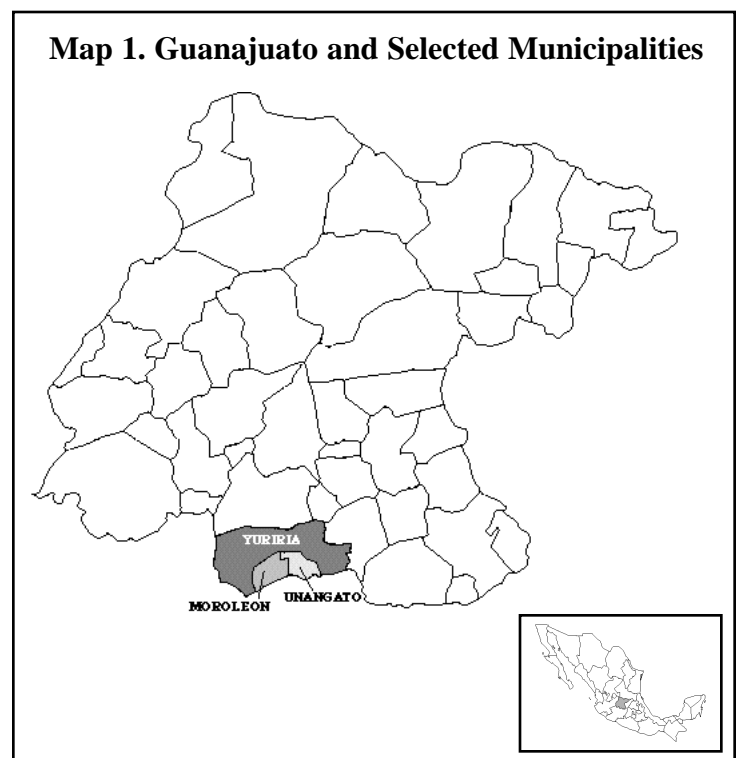
According to U.S. census figures, there are nearly 30 million Latinos, or Latin American residents, in the United States (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1997).⁴ About 16.9 million of them were born here, while 13.1 million were born abroad (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1997). That is, nearly 56% were native-born while 44% were foreign-born. Given the serious shortcomings of the Census Bureau to adequately enumerate Latinos, the overall Latino population may be significantly higher. Nonethe-

less, census figures reveal that Latinos are the fastest growing ethnic group in the U.S., six times faster than the general U.S. population. Additionally, it is predicted that in the next century they will surpass the African American population and become the largest minority group in the country (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1998). In many Southwestern communities, this prediction has already come true. Latinos, if not the largest minority, are now the new majority in states such as California and Texas (Palerm, 1991; U.S. Bureau of Census, 1998).

The majority of the Latinos residing in the United States are Mexicans and their Chicano, or Mexican American, descendants.⁵ They account for 63% of this populace and for the vast majority of the migrants working in agriculture and related industries (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1997; Runyan, 1997). Historically, Mexicans and their descendants have always been the largest Latino population in the United States. This should be of no surprise given that nearly one-third of the United States was once Mexican territory. When the U.S. annexed Mexico's northern territory, it also acquired a population that over time has attracted others from the original homeland.

The vast majority of the Mexican immigrants to the United States are *campesinos* and rural proletariats from Guanajuato and other states of Mexico's Central Plateau

Map 1. Guanajuato and Selected Municipalities



Region (Almanza, B. and Lopez Riofrio, 1997).⁶ Located in central Mexico (see Map 1), Guanajuato covers an area of 30,589 square kilometers, and according to official census figures, is populated by nearly 4 million inhabitants (Instituto Nacional de Estadística Geografía e Informática, 1994). The immigrants are primarily from subsistence-farming areas, such as the ones found in the municipalities of Allende, Moroleon, Salvatierra, and San Francisco del Rincon (Almanza B. and Lopez Riofrio, 1997). Displaced *campesinos* from the state's "modern" agricultural area, the Bajío Region which includes the municipalities of the Valle Santiago and others, are also immigrating and migrating to the U.S. (González, 1992).

Since colonial times, Guanajuato whose motto is *tierra de oportunidades* [land of opportunities] has been a major agricultural and mining center of the country. Petroleum refineries, assembly plants for U.S. automobiles and trucks, the shoe and leather industries, and the booming clothing enterprises are other contributors to the economy of the state. Additionally, remittances from *guanajuatenses* [natives of Guanajuato] in the United States, migrants, and immigrants add millions of U.S. dollars to the economy on an annual basis, allowing thousands of rural families to overcome economic hardships and many small businesses (such as grocery and clothing stores) to thrive (Guerrero Resendiz, 1998). To protect the rights of its citizenry abroad and to promote cultural and economic ties with Guanajuato, the state government of Guanajuato created *la Dirección de Atención a las Comunidades Guanajuatenses en el Extranjero* [The Office for the Attention to Guanajuatense Communities found Abroad].⁷

Since the early 1900's, *campesinos* from Guanajuato and surrounding states, such as Michoacán and Jalisco, have migrated and immigrated to the United States (Cross and Sandos, 1981).⁸ Initially, from 1910 to 1930, only displaced refugees fleeing the political upheaval and violence of the Revolution of 1910 and the Cristero Revolt departed for the United States. Later, after the 1940's, generation after generation has sought employment across the border (Durand, 1995; González, 1995; Rionda, 1994; Sepulveda Garza, 1994). Currently, it is estimated that 1.7 million *guanajuatenses* live in the United States (González, personal communication, 1998). If the U.S. descendants of the early immigrants are included, the number increases to at least 2 million people (González, personal communication, 1998). The size of this population explains why *guanajuatenses* and their Chicano, or Mexican American, descendants are numerous in the Southwest and some areas outside of this region. It is estimated that 800,000 live in Houston and

Dallas, Texas, in *barrios* [Latino neighborhoods] such as *La Magnolia* and Oak Cliff (González, 1995), and that hundreds of thousands are concentrated in the Los Angeles metropolitan area and scattered throughout farming regions of California (González, 1995; 1998; Rionda, 1995a and b). Nearly 240,000 *guanajuatenses* reside in Illinois (González and Hernandez Hernandez, 1998), of which 86,000 live in Chicago (Rionda, 1995a and b).

Lately, as of a decade ago, *guanajuatenses* have been migrating to Canada in growing numbers to work in that nation's agriculture (Quintero, 1998; Arguello Zepeda, 1993). Whether or not this migration practice will continue in the decades that follow is yet to be seen.

Mexican Settlement and Concentration in the United States

Historically, immigrants from Guanajuato and elsewhere in the Mexican Republic have not only settled in the U.S. Southwest, as is often believed. In fact, as Chicano historians such as Gamboa (1990), García (1996), and Nodín Valdés (1991) have found in their research, this has never been the case. At the turn of the century, Mexican railroad workers settled with their families in towns situated along major routes that spanned the country, creating the first Mexican and Chicano communities in the Northwest and Midwest. Other compatriots, after being recruited to work in agriculture and manufacturing, gradually transplanted their roots to agricultural towns and major industrial cities in the heartland, such as Chicago and Detroit. As early as the 1920's, Mexicans were also induced to work in these same industries in Northeastern states, such as Pennsylvania (Taylor, 1973). *Campesinos*, together with their families, immigrated, but did not establish strong immigration networks into the U.S. Northeast (Taylor, 1973). Others would do so in the 1980's.

Today, Mexicans reside in nearly every state, where they and their U.S.-born children are creating new "Mexican" communities that overtime will become Chicano in character as their children become adults and have families of their own. In particular, the majority of the Mexican immigrants and other people of Mexican descent reside mainly in the Southwest. The second largest concentration, anywhere from 8.6% to 10.6%, is in the Midwest; the third is in the West, with 2.9% to 9.7%; the fourth is in the South, with 2.9% to 7.9% (Saenz and Martínez, forthcoming). And the region with the least concentration is the Northeast, with anywhere from 0.4% to 1.5% (Saenz and Martínez, forthcoming).⁹

A growing number of Mexican newcomers have settled in U.S. non-metropolitan areas and work in agricultural industries. The non-metropolitan Latino population grew from 1.8 million to 2.4 million between 1980 and 1990, an increase of 30% (Rochín and Marroquin, 1997). The immigrants among their ranks grew from 37.9% to 39.1% (Rochín and Marroquin, 1997).¹⁰ An estimated one million Mexicans live in metropolitan areas, where housing is available, but they work in traditional non-metropolitan industries, such as agriculture and food-processing plants (Rochín and Marroquin, 1997). Mexicans and Chicanos live within the metropolitan areas of Fresno and Sacramento, Calif., but harvest tomatoes, cucumbers, and many other crops grown in surrounding farmland. The same residence and employment pattern can be found in other parts of the country. Mexican immigrants and migrants live in Omaha, Neb., and Newark, Del., and work in surrounding meat processing-plants (Gouveia, forthcoming; Horowitz and Miller, forthcoming).

Additionally, the increasing Mexican population in non-metropolitan areas and metropolitan centers in major agricultural regions is reflected by the growing number of farmworkers. It is estimated that the farmworker population in the United States, the majority of whom are of Mexican descent, increased from 1.8 to 2.5 million from 1960 to 1996 (Greenhouse, 1998). Given the Bureau of the Census' shortcomings in enumerating migratory farmworkers, especially transnational migrants [migrants whose permanent base is in a country other than the United States], the growth of the farmworker populace may be higher than indicated in the census figures (García and González, 1995; Palerm, 1995). The mobility, housing and residence practices, and limited knowledge of the English language of the migrants make them difficult to locate and enumerate (García and González, 1995; Palerm, 1995).

The increase in the farmworker population has caught many so-called experts by surprise. A couple of decades ago, during the height of research at land-grant universities on mechanizing harvests, agricultural economists predicted the decline and possible elimination of laborers in the harvest process of many vegetables and fruits (Palerm, 1991). Instead, as Palerm (1991), García and González (1995), and Griffith and Kissam (1995) have found in their research, the opposite has occurred in California, Pennsylvania, Florida, and other states. Today, there are more farmworkers in these states than ever before.

Mexican Enclaves

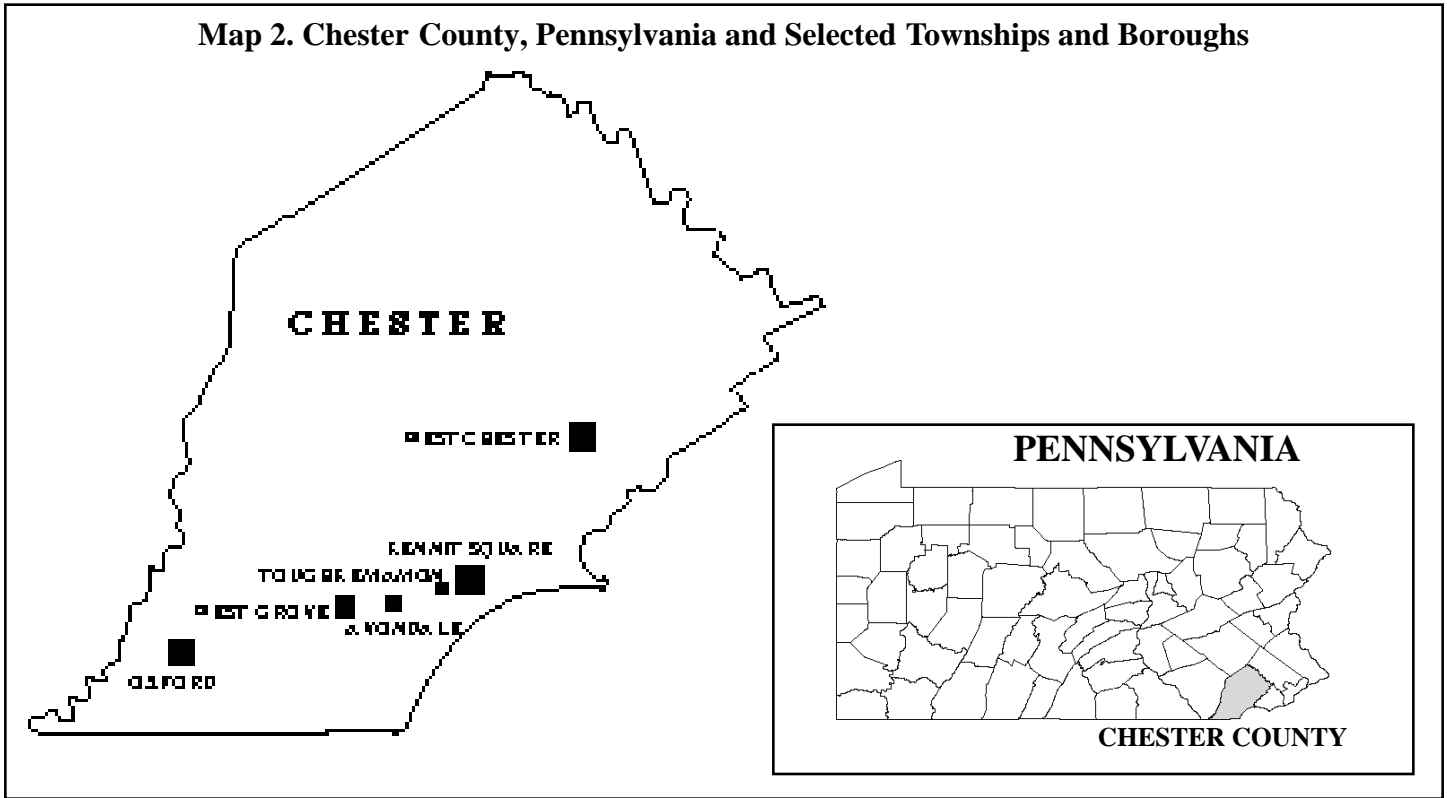
In and out of non-metropolitan areas across the nation, Mexican immigrants are settling in communities near labor-intensive agriculture and food-processing plants. They are creating enclaves – a growing concentration of foreign- and U.S.-born Mexican residents – that did not have a settled Mexican population in the past. This population is changing the demographic characteristics of local neighborhoods, from predominantly aging and Anglo to young and Mexican. At the same time, Mexican populace is altering the local culture, by introducing the Spanish language, setting up another way of life, and establishing traditional Mexican practices, such as *tandas* [rotating credit associations] and *compadrazgo* [fictive kin] ties.

In Pennsylvania, the authors (García and González, 1995) Mexican enclaves are emerging and their populations are growing in many counties, such as Burks and Chester, that until two decades ago did not attract Mexican immigrants and migrants in large numbers. In the 1990 census, 232,000 Latinos were enumerated in Pennsylvania. If the thousands of transnational Mexican migrants who live in relatively hidden labor camps were included in the census, this number would be higher. In the census, Puerto Ricans made up the majority of the Latinos at 65%, while the Mexicans were the second largest constituency group at 10.2%. The majority of the Puerto Ricans live in cities on the eastern side of the state (Falcon, 1993), while the Mexicans are concentrated in townships and boroughs outside of these metropolitan areas in vegetable, fruit, and mushroom-producing regions (García, 1997).

Enclaves in Southern Chester County, Pennsylvania

The largest concentration of Mexican immigrants and migrants in Pennsylvania are found in Southern Chester County (see Map 2), a semi-rural and major mushroom-producing region in the country. Southern Chester County is comprised of four boroughs and 19 townships in 18 municipalities.¹¹ The communities are small, with under 10,000 inhabitants, and situated along the old Baltimore Pike, Route One. Interspersed around them are mushroom houses, migrant labor camps, and horse ranches. In the communities, Mexican workers and their families, mainly from Guanajuato, are creating enclaves. Two examples are found in Kennett Square and Toughkemon (see Map 2).

Map 2. Chester County, Pennsylvania and Selected Townships and Boroughs



Kennett Square and Toughkenamon

Exactly when the Mexican immigrants began to settle down in Southern Chester County is not known. However, there is a general agreement among the old-timers that as early as the 1960's Mexican migrants were already working in the local mushroom industry. These early sojourners were solo men who left their families behind in Mexico. In the 1970's, there is evidence that some of these early migrants, mainly those with permanent resident status, started to settle with their wives and children. First, they resided in housing provided by their mushroom employers, and later, in the boroughs and the townships especially in Kennett Square and Toughkenamon. As they moved into the communities, they began to show up in the censuses.

In all, 2,454 Mexicans were enumerated in all of Chester County in the last decennial census. Nearly two-thirds of them, 1,728 laborers over the age of 16, were employed in agriculture mainly in the mushroom industry (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1992). These census figures, however, do not include all of the Mexican residents in the county as a whole. In fact, it is safe to assume that the numbers do not even come close to an approximation of this group in Southern Chester County alone. This discrepancy is due, on the one hand, to the traditional undercount of Mexicans in official censuses and, to the presence of residents who arrived after the 1990 census.¹²

Kennett Square

In the 1990 census enumeration, Kennett Square, the largest borough in Southern Chester County, had a population of 5,218 inhabitants concentrated in a physical area of about 1.1 square miles (Chester County, 1992). It sits on the crossroads of old Route One [in an east-west direction] and Route 82 [in a south-north direction]. Located in the heartland of mushroom country, Kennett Square is the self-proclaimed mushroom capital of the world. The "Mexican" population is the fastest growing Latino ethnic group in the borough. In absolute numbers, as shown in Table 1, the non-Hispanic White population in Kennett Square only increased from 3,847 to 3,918 people, but in relative terms, it decreased from 81.6% to 75.08% of the total population. Meanwhile, as indicated in Table 2, the Mexican population rose from 24 to 374 people during the same period, an increase of 1,450%.

Table 1. Ethnic Population Size in 1980 and 1990
Toughkenamon, Pennsylvania

Year	Blacks	Hispanics	Non-Hispanic Whites	Other	Total Pop.
1980	93/08.38%	207/18.63%	811/72.99%	—	1,111/100%
1990	43/03.38%	500/39.28%	726/57.03%	4/.31%	1,273/100%

Sources: U.S. Bureau of Census, *General Population Characteristics – Pennsylvania*, Washington, D.C., 1982; *General Population Characteristics – Pennsylvania*, Washington, D. C., 1992.

Table 2. Hispanic Population Size in 1980 and 1990*Toughkenamon, Pennsylvania*

Year	Mexican Origin	Puerto Rican	Cuban	Other	Total Hispanic Population
1980	88/42.5%	112/54.1%	–	7/03.4%	207/100%
1990	354/70.8%	136/27.2%	3/.6%	7/1.4%	500/100%

Sources: U.S. Bureau of Census, *General Population Characteristics – Pennsylvania, Washington, D.C., 1982*; *General Population Characteristics – Pennsylvania, Washington, D.C., 1992*.

Kennett Square is not a struggling farm or farm-worker town, similar to many found in California and other parts of the country. It is a very affluent community, comprised of a large number of professionals, middle-class residents, and retirees. Kennett, as the locals call it, is a major commerce center in the area, where local people do their banking, pay their utility bills, and shop. It is also the headquarters of the Kennett School District, which services the surrounding municipalities and houses the local high school. Nearby, immediately outside of Kennett, world-renown Longwood Gardens attracts thousands of visitors annually, and turns the community into a tourist destination in the spring, summer, and early fall. Many of the visitors stay and dine at the Longwood Inn and in surrounding bed and breakfast establishments. They can be seen browsing along State Street.

Toughkenamon

Located a little over one mile west of Kennett Square, on old Route One, is the unincorporated community of Toughkenamon. It is among the smallest communities in Southern Chester County in terms of area and population size. According to the last decennial census, it had a population of 1,273 inhabitants living in a physical area that covers a little under one square mile. Like in Kennett

Table 3. Ethnic Population Size in 1980 and 1990*Kennett Square, Pennsylvania*

Year	Blacks	Hispanics	Non-Hispanic	Other	Total Pop.
1980	632/13.4%	234/5.0%	3,847/81.6%	–	4,715/100%
1990	600/11.4%	662/12.6%	3,918/75.08%	38/.92%	5,218/100%

Sources: U.S. Bureau of Census, *General Population Characteristics – Pennsylvania, Washington, D.C., 1982*; *General Population Characteristics – Pennsylvania, Washington, D.C., 1992*.

Table 4. Hispanic Population Size in 1980 and 1990*Kennett Square, Pennsylvania*

Year	Mexican Origin	Puerto Rican	Cuban	Other	Total Hispanic Population
1980	24/10.3%	192/82%	7/3%	11/4.7%	234/100%
1990	374/56.4%	238/36%	–	50/7.6%	662/100%

Sources: U.S. Bureau of Census, *General Population Characteristics – Pennsylvania, Washington, D.C., 1982*; *General Population Characteristics – Pennsylvania, Washington, D.C., 1992*.

Square, the Mexican population is the fastest growing ethnic group in Toughkenamon. As shown in Table 3, the “non-Hispanic White” population decreased from 811 (72.99% of the total) to 726 people (57.03% of the total) from 1980 to 1990; and concurrently, as indicated in Table 4, the Mexican population increased from 88 to 354 inhabitants, an increase of 300%.

Toughkenamon is predominantly a bedroom community for farmworkers and their families. Unlike Kennett Square, it does not have a large well-to-do population. As Mexican immigrants settle down, the community is becoming increasingly working-class in character. Additionally, it does not have a commerce center, only a handful of small businesses scattered along the old Baltimore Pike Road. In fact, residents in Toughkenamon bank and shop in near-by Kennett Square, which is closer than the other boroughs in the area.

Other Enclaves in Southern Chester County

Other communities, such as West Grove, Avondale, and Oxford, which were void of Mexican families until recently, now house them. They are not always visible to the public, but their growing presence is evident. For example, Mexican women can be seen shopping in local grocery stores and Mexican children sit in the classrooms of the schools. Further evidence are the Mexican delicatessens, video and tape shops specializing in Mexican movies and music, and tortilla factories that have opened up for business along the roads leading to and from these Mexican enclaves in the making. In addition, Mexican food products, including imported goods, can be found in local grocery stores.

Mexican newcomers in Kennett Square, Toughkenamon, and other townships have created a sense of community. People of similar backgrounds and from the same region in Mexico reside in proximity to each other. The majority of them are from the state of Guanajuato, from small ranches in the *municipios* [municipalities] of Moroleon, Uriangato, and Yuriria (see Map 1). For example, they are from Las Penas, La Barranca, La Loma, and La Ordena in Moroleon; from Monte de Juarez, La Cienega Prieta, Tierra Blanca, San Vicente, and San Isidro in Yuriria; and from El Derramadero, El Cuervo, La Lobera, El Aguacate, and La Lagunilla in Uriangato. They recognize themselves as fellow countrymen, from a region back home, and also identify themselves as members of new communities in Southern Chester County. Families look after each other, care for each other’s children, share resources, and provide each other with job leads and other types of information (see Table 5).

Table 5. Hispanic Enrollment in Migrant Education Program, Chester County, Pennsylvania – 1992-1997

Year	Mexican		Puerto Rican		Other*		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1991-92	670	75	179	20	47	5	896	100
1992-93	824	81	150	15	43	4	1,017	100
1993-94	1,018	88	117	10	28	2	1,163	100
1994-95	939	94	41	4	6	2	997	100
1995-96	1037	92	70	6	15	2	1,172	100
1996-97	1,218	93	56	4	30	3	1,304	100

Sources: U.S. Bureau of Census, *General Population Characteristics – Pennsylvania, Washington, D. C., 1982*; *General Population Characteristics – Pennsylvania, Washington, D. C., 1992*.

Some Explanations for the Emergence of Enclaves

In earlier works, the authors (García and González, 1995; García, 1997) employed the agricultural restructuring hypothesis, as used by Palerm (1991) and Krissman (1995), to explain the emergence and the growth of Mexican enclaves in Southern Chester County.¹³ Basically, the hypothesis postulates that the restructuring of agricultural enterprises and the intensification of crop production augment the number of farmworkers needed over a given year, many of whom settle down with their families, altering the ethnic and demographic composition of local communities. Additionally, the authors argued that the SAW Program, a government program designed to control the flow of labor into the country, played a role in the emergence and growth of the Mexican enclaves (García and González, 1995; García, 1997). SAW, like the *Bracero* Program, allowed Mexican families to immigrate into and settle in the region.¹⁴

Subsequently, however, the authors have concluded that the agricultural restructuring hypothesis was one-sided, and as such, does not explain why transnational migrants only join their immigrant compatriots on a seasonal basis. Transnational migration, as researchers of the Mexican peasantry (González, 1992; Palerm and Uriquiola, 1993; Palerm, 1997) have discovered, is a binational phenomenon and any explanation of the movement of workers across the border requires that contributing factors in both countries to be explored. They have shown that the two agricultural systems, one in the U.S. and the other in Mexico, are intrinsically linked and highly dependent on each other. For example, the vegetable and fruit industries in California and other states provide the peasantry with an income essential to continue subsistence farming; in turn the peasantry provides these industries with cheap labor that allows them to survive and remain competitive in the global economy (González, 1992; Palerm and Uriquiola, 1993).

Transnational migration is an economic practice that allows *campesinos* to continue to supplement subsistence farming. Subsistence agriculture is a risky farming endeavor, and it alone does not meet the basic food needs of the producers and their families. Despite these shortcomings, peasants in Guanajuato and other states of the Mexican republic do not easily abandon agriculture for permanent employment elsewhere (González, 1992; 1994; 1995; Cebada Contreras, 1993; 1994; Delgado Wise and Moctezuma Longoria, 1993). However, some peasants, those tired of enduring the uncertainties of production and those unable to obtain land of their own, may leave when other economic opportunities present themselves. Instead of abandoning the land, the majority of them practice other economic activities that supplement their crop production, particularly migration (González, 1992; Palerm and Uriquiola, 1993). An outsider, someone not familiar with the culture, would see the peasantry's reluctance to abandon the land as irrational and a loss of economic opportunity that may be found elsewhere. A closer look reveals that subsistence farming is more than an economic activity. It's a traditional way of life in many areas of Mexico.

Conclusion

Mexican immigration to the United States, especially from Guanajuato, has occurred since the turn of the century. Over the decades, as current settlement concentrations indicate, *guanajuatenses* have settled in the U.S. southwest mainly in metropolitan areas, but a significant number were also homesteaders outside of this region. *Guanajuatenses* settled in non-metropolitan areas in the Northwest and Midwest, but until the 1960's, when the *Bracero* Program was terminated, their numbers were to remain small. The majority were migrants, and as such, only worked in the United States temporarily while living in Mexico permanently.

Starting in the 1980's, earlier in some instances, *guanajuatenses* and other Mexican immigrants began to settle and change the ethnic and demographic characteristics of many towns and cities in and around non-metropolitan areas of the country, as a result of the restructuring and intensification of U.S. food production and processing. These Mexican residents and their children established enclaves, where immigrants and migrants alike, sought and continue to seek solace, housing, and employment. Kennett Square and Toughkenomon are examples of such enclaves. Twenty years ago, Mexicans were not immigrating into Southern Chester County; they were only migrating. Today, many of these migrants are settling down with their families and establishing their own communities.

The Mexican newcomers in Kennett Square, Toughkenomon, and numerous other enclaves across the United States harvest a variety of crops and hold jobs in food-processing plants. Employment in this line of work is sporadic and seasonal, and provides wages at or near the poverty level. Despite these serious obstacles to their livelihood, Mexican immigrants have what it takes to overcome them. They have a strong work ethic, aspire to improve their plight and better the opportunities of their children, and have a strong will to build stable families and communities. If incorporated into their communities as full and legitimate members, these new immigrants will help rebuild communities and local economies. As is happening in Kennett Square and Toughkenomon, they will open small businesses with their savings; pay business, sale, and other taxes contributing to municipal revenues; shop in local stores keeping businesses afloat and open; and rebuild their homes and, revitalizing neighborhoods.

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Endnotes

An earlier version of this article was presented at the National Association for Chicana and Chicano Studies in the Centro Histórico, México, D.F., México, on June 24-27, 1998. It was given at a panel titled "Redes de migrantes Guanajuatenses en los Estados Unidos."

1. Similar processes are occurring in the meat-processing industry across the country. Mexican workers are becoming the majority in the labor force of this industry. This appears to be a trend in the meat and poultry plants in the U.S. Midwest, South, and East. For further information see Gouveia, forthcoming and Horowitz and Miller (forthcoming).
2. The Federal Office of Management and Budget (OMB) designates and defines metropolitan areas (MAS). These include metropolitan statistical areas (MSAs), consolidated metropolitan statistical areas (CMSAs), and primary metropolitan statistical areas (PMSAs), of which MSAs are the most numerous.

The underlying concept of MSA is that of a core area containing a large population nucleus, together with adjacent communities having a high degree of economic and social integration with that core. MSA composed of entire counties, except in New England, where the component entities are cities and towns. By the OMB's current MAS standards, each MSA must include either a city with least

50,000 people, or Census Bureau-defined urbanized area (UA), and total population of least 100,000 (75,000 in New England).

Within an area that meets the requirements to be an MSA and also has a population of one million or more, the OMB recognize individual component areas if they meet specified criteria and local opinion supports their recognition. If recognized, the component areas are designated as PMSAs, and the entire area that contains them becomes a CMSA. If PMSAs are not recognized, the entire area is designated as MSA. Metropolitan Areas, June 30, 1993, U.S. Maps, GE-90, no. 4.

3. By subsistence farming or agriculture, the authors make reference to "agricultura temporal" [rain-fed agriculture], as it is called in Mexico. This type of crop cultivation takes place on marginal lands comprised of poor soils, uneven terrain, and no or little water for irrigation. The parcels are small, under five hectares, and are primarily used to grow subsistence crops, such as corn, beans, and squash. Some of the crops are also sold on the market.
4. The term "Latinos" refers to people whose origins are in Latin America. This population includes U.S. citizens removed from Latin America over many generations, but who acknowledge and trace their rich heritage to Mexico, Central America, the Caribbean, and what is commonly referred to as South America.
5. "Chicanos" refers to people of Mexican descent, U.S.- and foreign-born, who reside in the United States. It is a self-identity term, and as such, members of this population may or may not choose to call themselves Chicanos. Others may prefer to call themselves, *tejanos*, Mexican Americans, *hispanos*, or just "americanos."
6. The Central Plateau Region is a basin within the Cordilleran highlands in central Mexico. It has numerous urban communities and the largest population concentration in the country. Increasing population pressure and the land-tenure system have stimulated a massive migration to Mexican Cities, the United States, and Canada.
7. In May of 1994, the State of Guanajuato established La Dirección de Atención a Comunidades Guanajuatenses en el Extranjero. The objectives of this governmental office was (i) to determine the number and location of the *guanajuatenses* in the United States; (ii) to promote associations of guanajuatenses in the United States; (iii) to work with governmental and non-governmental agencies that deal with immigrants; (iv) to write and distribute a newsletter; (v) to visit the immigrants; and (vi) to look after the general well-being of the immigrants.
8. The "core-sending states" are Durango, Jalisco, Michoacán, Guanajuato, San Luis Potosí, Zacatecas, Tamaulipas, and Nuevo Leon. Peasants from these states have migrated and immigrated to the United States since

the turn of the century. In the 1920's, these states contributed about three-fourths of the migrants to the U.S. Findings from recent research reveal that the majority of the migrants continue to be from these eight states (Cross and Sandos, 1981).

9. Saénz and Martínez use 1990 Public U.S. Microdata Sample (PUMS). The PUMS constitutes 5 % sample of the nation's enumerated population in the census. For further information about the sample, see Saénz and Martínez (forthcoming).
10. These percentages only include those Mexican-origin workers, between the ages of 16-64, employed in agriculture. Thus, it does not include immigrant children.
11. The 18 municipalities are West Nottingham, East Nottingham, Upper Oxford, Lower Oxford, Penn, New London, Elk, Franklin, London Grove, West Marlboro, East Marlboro, New Garden, London Britain, Kennett, Newlin, Pocopson, Pennsbury, and Birmingham.
12. Traditionally, there has been a differential net undercount between Whites and other ethnic groups in decennial censuses. For example, according to the Census Bureau's Post Enumeration Survey (PES), a nation-wide survey designed to measure coverage of the 1990 census, the census enumerates approximately 98% of all people nationwide. However, this survey also revealed that there was a differential net undercount of racial and ethnic minorities. According to the PES, the net census undercount for Latinos in the 1990 census is estimated at 5.2%. The corresponding rates for African Americans is 4.8%, for Asian and Pacific Islanders is 3.1%, and for American Indians is 5.0% (Hogan 1990).

In order to better understand the reasons for the differential net undercount and other types of census errors, the U.S. Bureau of Census, through its Center for Survey Methods Research, commissioned independent ethnographic studies in 1990. In these studies, anthropologists who were studying ethnic minority communities were recruited and contracted to conduct "alternative enumerations" in selected housing tracts, where they were well-known and trusted by the local populace. In all, 25 research sites, including in Puerto Rico, were selected across the country on the basis of the concentration of Latinos, African Americans, Native Americans, and Asian Americans. Ten were Latino sites, of which only three were chosen because of their farmworker residents. All three of the studies found evidence of undercounts in the official counts. Although these studies do not provide valid statistical estimates, they provide valuable insight into the causes of census omissions and other erroneous counts among ethnic and racial minorities.

13. The agricultural restructuring hypothesis is premised on the work of anthropologist Walter Goldschmidt (1978). His hypothesis is that large-scale farming, "industrial agriculture" as he calls it, creates poor social conditions in surrounding communities, such as "relative degrees of social equity, relative amounts of social homogeneity and participation, and relative amounts of social services and of economic opportunity." This type of agriculture, he argued, introduces a larger number of seasonal, underemployed, and underpaid laborers into regional towns; and in turn, they produce unstable, undemocratic, and impoverished communities. Although Goldschmidt's hypothesis was designed to explain social, economic, and political changes in farming communities and their correlation to poverty, when modified (like Palerm and his colleagues did) it can also be used to explain the influx of "new" laborers into a region.
14. The objective of Special Agricultural Workers (SAW) Program, a major legalization program of Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986, was to legalize the undocumented labor force employed in agriculture. It allowed illegal, or undocumented farmworkers, to legalize their status in the country, if they met stipulated criteria. These newly legalized workers were permitted to sponsor the immigration of their immediate family.

The Bracero Program was an "emergency" bilateral labor agreement between Mexico and the United States in which the former was to provide the agricultural industry of the latter with labor. The program was to remain in effect only during World War II, but under the auspices of Public Law 78, it was extended to 1964. The *bracero* workers (laborers recruited through the Bracero Program) were to work no more than six months in any given year. However, many of them would stay beyond their contract period. In the mid-1960's, after its termination, growers, fearful of losing their skilled farm labor force, encouraged and assisted their *ex-bracero* workers and their families to settle down.