A RAND NOTE

An Annotated Bibliography of Sources on Mexican Immigration

R. Burciaga Valdez, Kevin F. McCarthy, Connie Malcolm Moreno

March 1987
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PREFACE

This Note provides a detailed listing of the literature consulted in the course of a comprehensive assessment of Mexican immigration into California. The results of that study have been published in RAND Report R-3365-CR, *Current and Future Effects of Mexican Immigration in California*. The study was sponsored by the California Roundtable, a voluntary association of major California businesses concerned with public issues affecting the state of California.

The Note should be useful to scholars and policymakers with a special interest in Mexican immigration and its social and economic effects on U.S. society, as well as to persons with a broad interest in immigration issues.
SUMMARY

Concern about Mexican immigration into the United States and California has increased sharply in recent years. In response to these concerns the California Roundtable commissioned RAND to conduct a study of Mexican immigration, its magnitude, and its potential effects on California's economy and society.

As part of that research effort we undertook a review of the literature on Mexican immigrants, their economic and social effects on the state, the assimilation of their offspring into California society, and possible future levels of immigration.

This Note lists the information we consulted as part of that research effort. It also highlights the principal issues raised in that literature and the major questions that remain to be answered.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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I. INTRODUCTION

Public interest in Mexican immigration to the United States has increased sharply in recent years. The primary focus of that interest has centered on the nature of the immigration, the characteristics and effects of the immigrants, and the integration of their offspring into American society. This increasing public interest has manifested itself in the United States Congress where proposals for revising U.S. immigration laws have surfaced and have been hotly debated in each of the last three sessions.

Not surprisingly, given the increasing public debate on immigration issues in general and Mexican immigration in particular, the number of articles dealing with Mexican immigration has proliferated in both the popular and the scholarly literature. Unfortunately, despite its increasing volume, this literature fails to provide a clear picture of the immigrants, the nature of the immigration process, and the effects of the immigrants either on the United States as a whole or on specific localities.

This Note provides a detailed listing of sources on Mexican immigration, its characteristics, and its effects. It was compiled as part of a comprehensive assessment of Mexican immigration and its current and potential future effects on California. This assessment, the final results of which have been published in RAND Report R-3365-CR, Current and Future Effects of Mexican Immigration in California, was commissioned by the California Roundtable, a voluntary association of major California businesses concerned with public issues facing California.

The Note treats major aspects of Mexican immigration. Section II provides references dealing with the general nature of the immigration process, the history of Mexican immigration and U.S. immigration laws, and general profiles of the Mexican-heritage population in the United States. Section III deals with specific studies of the immigrants, their numbers, and their characteristics. Section IV lists studies of the labor force characteristics and effects of the immigrants. Section
V presents sources that describe the effects of Mexican immigrants on the public sector: the public services that they use and the costs of providing those services. Section VI lists sources that describe the social and economic integration of Mexican immigrants and their U.S.-born offspring. The final section identifies the statistical sources available for analyzing issues treated in the prior sections at the national, state, and local levels.

We have attempted to provide a comprehensive list of the most important articles, books, monographs, and statistical sources on Mexican immigrants and the Mexican-heritage population in the United States, but we do not assume that our list is complete. Several problems confront any attempt to compile a comprehensive listing. First, the literature is proliferating so rapidly that any bibliography is soon out of date. Correspondingly, we have placed more emphasis on recent than on older studies, although we have included those older studies that have proven to be classics in the field. Second, locating all of the materials that address each issue proved very difficult because of the diverse literatures dealing with Mexican immigrants and the Mexican-American population. The popular press, for example, produces numerous articles on a daily basis dealing with some aspect of these issues. Thus, this bibliography focuses more on the scholarly rather than the popular literature. Finally, Mexicans and especially Mexican-Americans are intricately involved with the diverse aspects of American society, so it is probably impossible to identify all of the materials that relate to these populations. Consequently, we have focused our attention on those literatures that deal directly with the general issues covered by our section headings.

A final word about the organization of this document. Many of the sources we list cover more than one aspect of Mexican immigration and the Mexican-heritage population in the United States; they are repeated in each section to which they pertain.
II. GENERAL STUDIES

Who are the Mexican immigrants? Why do they come to the United States? Have our immigration laws encouraged or discouraged their immigration? What is the history of the Mexican-heritage population in the Southwest? Have the nature and magnitude of the immigration changed? What is the dynamic behind Mexican immigration? These are the sorts of questions covered by the materials included in this section.

Given the long history of Mexican immigration into the Southwest, it is not surprising that a considerable literature deals with the history of Mexican immigration and the Mexican-heritage population of the United States. Of particular note are the following studies: Estrada et al. (1981) that distinguishes among the very different patterns of Spanish settlement in the various Southwestern states, Camarillo (1984) that describes the pattern of Mexican settlement in California, and two works by McWilliams (1949 and 1964) that detail Mexican immigration in relation to the social and economic maturation of California.

Specific accounts of the Bracero program and the effects of U.S. immigration law on Mexican immigration can be found in Craig (1971), Galarza (1964), and Keely (1971). Samora (1971) presents a series of case studies that provide specific details on the nature of the historical immigration process.

Among the numerous studies that provide a broad perspective on the history and social integration of the Mexican-origin population of the Southwest, the works of Browning and Cullen (1983) and Jaffe, Cullen, and Boswell (1980) are particularly instructive. Of special note is the work of Grebler, Moore, and Guzman (1970), who conducted studies at the University of California, Los Angeles, during the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Among the more recent studies, the works of Cornelius and his associates at the University of California, San Diego (Cornelius, Chavez, and Castro, 1982; Cornelius et al., 1982), provide excellent summaries of the literature on Mexican immigration and its effects on
the United States. Many of the works cited in these publications focus on Mexican immigrants in Southern California and their social and economic effects on the communities in which they reside. Massey (1985) offers valuable insights into the settlement process of Mexican immigrants as do Cornelius (1977a) and Bustamante (1977).

The works of Bustamante (1984), Browning and Cullen (1983), Dagdag (1975), Jenkins (1977), Massey (1985), Mines (1981), and Reichert and Massey (1979) also provide valuable insights into the nature of the immigrant settlement process. These works point to the shift from a predominantly male seasonal migration to a year-round flow of labor to the Southwest in response to labor demands in the United States and the relative absence of economic opportunity in Mexico.

The economic push/pull factors driving Mexican immigration are highlighted in the works of Bustamante and Martinez (1980), Cornelius (1981b), Conroy, Salas, and Gonzalez (1980), Evans and James (1979), Jenkins (1977), and Reynolds (1981). Reynolds (1979) offers projections for the demand for Mexican workers in the United States and in Mexico as background to a discussion of the linked nature of the two economies.

Immigration from Mexico continues to raise concerns about its negative effects on U.S.-born workers and the stability of our social structure. Policy proposals on Mexican immigration to the United States range from calls for an open-door policy to a very restricted entry policy. The views of Cornelius (1977b-e) and Piore (1974) can be contrasted with those of Martin (1985), Briggs (1975), and Marshall (1982) for a range of the policy proposals.

HISTORIES OF MEXICAN IMMIGRATION/MEXICAN-AMERICANS


**COMPREHENSIVE STUDIES OF MEXICAN IMMIGRANTS AND/OR MEXICAN-AMERICANS**


SUMMARIES OF EXISTING LITERATURE/FINDINGS


**GENERAL DISCUSSIONS OF IMMIGRATION POLICY**


THEORETICAL PIECES ON MEXICAN IMMIGRATION AND
THE NATURE OF THE SETTLEMENT PROCESS

Arizpe, L., "The Rural Exodus in Mexico and Mexican Migration to the
United States," *International Migration Review*, Vol. 15, No. 4, 1984,
pp. 626-647.

Browning, H. L., and R. M. Cullen, *The Complex Formation of the U.S.
Mexican-Origin Population*, Texas Population Research Center Papers
Series, Paper 5.020, University of Texas at Austin, 1983.

Bustamante, J. A., "Changing Patterns of Undocumented Migration from
Mexican States in Recent Years," in Richard C. Jones (ed.), *Patterns
of Undocumented Migration: Mexico and the U.S.*, Totowa, NJ: Rowman

Bustamante, J. A., "Undocumented Immigration from Mexico: Research
149-177.

Bustamante, J. A., and G. Martinez, *Mexican Undocumented Immigration,
Beyond Borders but Within Systems*, Tijuana, Baja California, Mexico:
Centro de Estudios Fronterizos del Norte de Mexico, 1980.

Colegio de Mexico Symposium, Structural Factors in Mexican and

Centro de Estudios Internacionales, *Indocumentados: Mitos y Realidades,
El Colegio de Mexico*, 1979.

Conroy, M. E., M. C. Salas, and F. V. Gonzalez, "Socio-Economic
Incentives for Migration from Mexico to the United States:
Cross-Regional Profiles, 1969-1978," Texas Population Research Center
Papers Series, Paper 2.001, presented at the 1980 Annual Meeting of
the Population Association of America, Denver, CO, April 11, 1980.

Cornelius, W. A., "Mexican Migration to the United States," in Susan
Kaufman Purcell (ed.), *Mexico-United States Relations*, Proceedings of
67-77.

Cornelius, W. A., "Mexican Migration to the United States (with
Comparative Reference to Caribbean-Basin Migration): The State of
Current Knowledge and Recommendations for Future Research," Working
Paper No. 2, Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of

Cornelius, W. A., *Mexican Migration to the United States: The View from
Rural Sending Communities*, Migration and Development Study Group,
Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of


III. PROFILES OF MEXICAN IMMIGRANTS

One of the major questions about the issue of Mexican immigration into the United States is its magnitude. This section lists articles that estimate the volume of Mexican immigration, and that discuss the range of those estimates, the methods used to estimate the size of the population, and the potential biases inherent in the various data sources. It also includes sources that describe the general characteristics of the immigrants and the dynamic behind their migration. This literature provides information useful in addressing several of the questions regarding changes in the characteristics of Mexican immigrants to the United States.

Articles by Siegel, Passel, and Robinson (1980) and Garcia y Griego and Estrada (1981) illustrate that available data (apprehension data from the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) district and Border Patrol units, and data from the U.S. Census and special surveys) do not permit an accurate estimate of the size of the Mexican immigrant population in the United States or California. These publications review and evaluate various estimates of the size of the Mexican immigrant population. Such estimates are subject to considerable error because of the unknown size of the undocumented population.

The methods used to gather information on this population have been inadequate for describing the diversity in this population. Data have been collected from a variety of samples. The estimates reported in Espenshade and Goodis (1985) for Los Angeles, and in Warren and Passel (1983) for the nation as a whole, illustrate the use of census data. Reports on the size of the entire population based on census data probably undercount significant segments of the population, e.g., the undocumented. Immigration and Naturalization data gathered through surveys of apprehended aliens provide two distinct portraits of the Mexican immigrant. For examples of these portraits see the works of North and Houstoun (1976) and Bustamante (1977), who show that INS Border Patrol data include repeat apprehendees and aliens who remain close to the border but that INS district data include an increasing
proportion of females and more permanent migrants. Unapprehended migrants in specific localities or using community services have also been surveyed. See the work of Van Arsdol et al. (1979) and the Orange County Task Force (1978) for examples of such studies. Other studies have gathered information from Mexican migrants who have returned to Mexico, for example Reichert and Massey (1979) and Cornelius (1977). The Mexican Ministry of Labor also conducted surveys of returned migrants and a nationwide sample of households with family members reported in the United States (Zazueta and Corona, 1979). A review of the potential sources of bias in population size estimates is contained in McCarthy and Valdez (1986).

Profiles based on different data sources often portray different segments of the immigrant population. The large Mexican immigration to California during the Bracero program is described by Fisher (1953), Samora (1971), and Camarillo (1984) as consisting primarily of young single males who worked seasonally in agriculture, and who regularly returned to Mexico. More recent studies (see, for example, Cornelius, 1978; Villalpando, 1977; Van Arsdol et al., 1979; and Cross and Sandos, 1979) describe a population that consists increasingly of families who stay in the United States for longer periods and are much more inclined to work in urban jobs.

ESTIMATES OF NUMBERS/DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS


Bean, F. D., H. L. Browning, and W. P. Frisbie, What the 1980 United States Census Tells Us About the Characteristics of Illegal and Legal Mexican Immigrants, Population Research Center, University of Texas at Austin, 1984.


STUDIES OF MEXICAN IMMIGRANTS/MEXICAN-AMERICANS IN SPECIFIC LOCALES


IV. LABOR MARKET CHARACTERISTICS AND EFFECTS

Although there is general agreement that Mexican immigrants work in the unskilled and semiskilled sectors of the U.S. economy, there is little agreement about the working conditions of these immigrants or immigrants' effects on native-born workers. On the one hand, some analysts maintain that the immigrants are largely complementary to native workers because they fill the jobs that native workers refuse to take and thus have little effect on the employment levels and working conditions of the native-born. Others assert that the immigrants are substitutes for native workers and thus diminish the employment opportunities for the native-born either directly by reducing employment prospects or indirectly by reducing wage levels.

Two major trends in the employment patterns of the immigrants have been described in the literature. First, numerous studies have documented the shift out of agricultural employment toward urban sector service and manufacturing jobs (see North and Houstoun, 1976; Runsten and LeVeen, 1981; Reynolds, 1979; and Jenkins, 1977). Second, there appears to have been a shift toward small businesses rather than large employers (see Cornelius, Fernandez-Kelly, and Mines, 1984).

Evidence on the adverse labor market effects of Mexican immigrants is also mixed despite the fact that numerous studies have been conducted on this topic (see, for example, Grossman, 1984; Huddle, 1982; Huddle, Corwin, and MacDonald, 1985; Mines, 1985; Flores, 1983; and Fogel, 1975). Different conclusions tend to be drawn depending upon whether the studies focus on individual employers or whether aggregate labor market statistics are used. Studies relying on small samples of individual employers tend to conclude that the labor market effects are adverse, while those relying on aggregate labor market statistics show no adverse effects. An additional factor complicating this issue is the measure of displacement that is used. Although most Mexican immigrants appear to be working at wages above the minimum wage (McCarthy and Valdez, 1986), the less stable work profiles of the immigrants combined with the possibility that they are less likely to receive fringe
benefits raise questions as to the appropriateness of direct wage comparisons. Wage levels aside, some analysts argue that the jobs Mexican immigrants fill offer little security, no long-term career opportunities, low-status, and are often dirty and dangerous. These jobs, it is argued, are avoided by young Americans entering the labor force with much higher employment expectations.

Debates about the different working conditions and wage levels of immigrants and native workers raise questions about the nature of the labor markets in which they operate. Numerous authors cite the possibility of a segmented labor market for natives and immigrants that diminishes direct competition between these groups. The use of immigrants in the secondary labor markets is discussed in Mines and Martin (1984), Morales (1983), and Romero (1979). Studies comparing wage levels (such as those by Smith and Newman, 1977; Maram, 1980; and Tienda and Neidert, 1981) find that education and ethnic barriers to entry, and not immigration per se, account for the lion's share of the wage differentials between immigrants and the native-born.

Some studies shed light on differentials in wage and employment conditions within the immigrant population (see Chiswick, 1984; Portes and Bach, 1980; Tienda, 1983a,b; Borjas, 1982; Chiswick, 1977a; U.S. Department of Labor, 1979; and McCarthy and Valdez, 1986). These studies point out that the wage levels of permanent immigrants tend to be higher than those of temporary immigrants. Not surprisingly, legal immigrants also tend to have higher wages than undocumented immigrants, and permanent and legal immigrants are more likely to have worked for the same employers for longer periods of time than temporary and undocumented immigrants.

In summary, the evidence on the labor market effects of Mexican immigrants is mixed and often contradictory, perhaps partly because these effects may well differ among labor markets. In some labor markets, pressures on wages and employment may be more severe than in others. Moreover, some direct displacement of U.S.-born workers occurs, but the evidence, overall, indicates that this displacement is probably minor and concentrated among the least well-educated of the native population--and particularly among the Mexican-American population.
Although information on the employment characteristics of the immigrants is available, little is known about how the labor markets in which they work operate. Recent studies suggest that Mexican immigrants heavily rely on informal referrals rather than public or private employment services (Martin, Mines, and Diaz, 1985). We need to learn more about the following topics: How are wages and working conditions for immigrants determined? How does a high concentration of Mexican immigrant workers affect the process of unionization? How are the perceptions and aspirations of U.S.-born workers affected in labor markets with high concentrations of Mexican workers? To what extent do businesses shift production or delay capital investments by relying on immigrant labor?

STUDIES OF DISPLACEMENT, WAGE LEVELS, AND LOCAL LABOR MARKETS


Landmann, R. S. (ed.), *The Problem of the Undocumented Worker*, Latin American Institute, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, 1981.


Romero, F. E., Chicano Workers: Their Utilization and Development, Monograph No. 8, Chicano Studies Center Publications, University of California, Los Angeles, 1979.


**GENERAL STUDIES OF ECONOMIC CHANGE AND ITS EFFECTS ON MEXICAN IMMIGRATION**


OCCUPATIONAL/INDUSTRIAL/INCOME CHANGE AMONG IMMIGRANTS AND MEXICAN-AMERICANS


**STUDIES OF OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY AMONG IMMIGRANTS/NATIVES**


V. USE AND COST OF PUBLIC SERVICES BY MEXICAN IMMIGRANTS

A central issue commonly raised about Mexican immigrants focuses on the question of whether they are a social welfare burden on society. To what extent do they use public services and do their tax contributions cover the cost of providing these services? As is true of most issues surrounding Mexican immigration, the answers to these questions depend upon which data sources are consulted.

Studies on social and welfare service use by Mexican immigrants are derived largely from two different data sources: surveys of the immigrants and reports provided by service providers. In general, studies based on the former suggest low service use (see Baca and Bryan, 1980; Salcido, 1982; and Weintraub, 1984), while studies based on the latter sources suggest more extensive service use (see Hufford, 1982a,b; County of Los Angeles, 1977; California Social Welfare Board, 1973; Community Research Associates, Inc., 1980).

Most studies of Mexican immigrants' use of public services have concentrated on cash transfer, health, and education programs. Reports suggest that Mexican immigrants infrequently use welfare services—despite their generally low income levels (see Community Research Associates, Inc., 1980; Villalpando, 1977; Van Arsdol et al., 1979; North et al., 1981; Heer, 1981). On the other hand, the evidence on use of medical service suggests that maternity and emergency services are used extensively, as one might expect in a young, poor population. (See Chavez, Cornelius, and Jones, 1985; McCarthy and Valdez, 1986.) Studies by Stewart (1981), Newman and Nichols (1981), and the Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy (1980) suggest that most immigrants pay for a substantial portion of these services out of pocket although such payments often extend over a considerable period. Most immigrants are not covered by a public or private health insurance plan. On the other hand, costly emergency procedures may contribute a disproportionate share of the total public costs that remain unreimbursed. One pattern that does seem clear is that the children of Mexican immigrants use the educational system extensively, at least in
the elementary grades (McCarthy and Valdez, 1986). No doubt the recent
Supreme Court Decision affirming the right of the children of illegal
immigrants to a free public education (Plyler v. Doe, 1982), as well as
the California practice of providing a public education to children
regardless of their nativity and the citizenship of their parents, have
contributed to this pattern.

Evidence of Mexican immigrants' use of other public services (e.g.,
fire, police, library) is lacking because most such services are
provided to residents regardless of their nativity and immigration
status. Indeed, no studies have examined the extent of service use by
immigrants of these services.

The question of the net cost of providing public services to
Mexican immigrants is also shrouded in uncertainty. Deriving accurate
estimates of the tax contributions of immigrants is fraught with
uncertainties because accurate data on the annual earnings of the
immigrants are generally lacking as are estimates of the tax payments on
these earnings. Studies that have attempted to estimate both service
costs and tax payments (McCarthy and Valdez, 1986; Muller et al., 1985)
generally conclude that even if the tax revenues collected from the
immigrants cover the cost of the services they use, such revenues do not
flow to the units of government that provide the bulk of the services.
Moreover, it appears that the costs of service provision may increase
but the tax revenues (most of which are derived from federal income and
social security tax payments) are unlikely to increase proportionately
given the progressive character of most state and federal income tax
systems.

STUDIES OF PUBLIC SECTOR EFFECTS

Baca, R., and D. Bryan, Citizenship Aspirations and Residency Rights
Preference: The Mexican Undocumented Worker in the Binational

Berkanovic, E., and L. G. Reeder, "Ethnic, Economic, and Social
Psychological Factors in the Source of Medical Care," Social Problems,
Vol. 21, No. 2, Fall 1973, pp. 246-259.

Bevilaqua, A. J., "Service Response of Social Agencies and the Church
to the Needs of Undocumented Aliens," in A. T. Fragomen, Jr., and L.
F. Tomasi (eds.), In Defense of the Alien, Volume III: Immigration

California Legislative Assembly, Undocumented Persons: Their Impact on Public Assistance Programs, Transcript of Hearing, Committee on Human Resources, Los Angeles, November 9, 1977.


Hufford, H. L., Cost of Services to Undocumented Aliens, Office of the Chief Administrative Officer, County of Los Angeles, CA, April 1982c.


**STUDIES OF COSTS/REVENUES FOR SPECIFIC SERVICES**


Hufford, H. L., "Memorandum to Supervisor Deane Dana, from Harry L. Hufford, Chief Administrative Officer, County of Los Angeles, Subject: Loss of Services to Undocumented Aliens," Office of the Chief Administrative Officer, County of Los Angeles, CA, 1982a.

Hufford, H. L., "Memorandum to Board of Supervisors, from Harry L. Hufford, Chief Administrative Officer, County of Los Angeles, Subject: Loss of Services to Undocumented Aliens," Office of the Chief Administrative Officer, County of Los Angeles, CA, 1982b.

Hufford, H. L., Cost of Services to Undocumented Aliens, Office of the Chief Administrative Officer, County of Los Angeles, CA, April 1982c.


**UTILIZATION STUDIES (EDUCATION/HEALTH/CRIMINAL JUSTICE)**


**STUDIES OF LEGAL ISSUES**


California Legislative Assembly, *Relations Between the Police and Mexican-Americans*, Transcript of Hearing, Administration of Justice, Los Angeles, April 21, 1972.


VI. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL MOBILITY

One of the central questions about Mexican immigrants and their U.S.-born children and grandchildren is the degree to which their adaptation to American society follows or deviates from that of other immigrant groups, both earlier European immigrants and the more recent Asian immigrants. Fears that recent Mexican immigrants and their offspring will form a permanent underclass and create a Spanish-speaking majority in the Southwest analogous to Canada's Quebec situation are frequently voiced in the popular press.

To some extent these concerns result from the recency of large-scale Mexican immigration to the United States, particularly in California where a very large share of the total Latino population is foreign-born. The issues of integration and assimilation, however, go beyond the experience of the immigrant to the economic and social progress of native-born Latinos. The apparent absence of occupational and educational mobility among native-born Mexican-Americans is often cited as a basis for such concerns.

The evidence on Latino occupational mobility suggests limited advancement (see Alba, 1976; Gomez, 1972; and Cornelius, 1981). Most relevant studies, however, fail to control for generational differences, a major consideration in a population whose total numbers are dominated by the foreign-born. Moreover, even those studies that attempt to distinguish between the experience of the native- and foreign-born note that although the native-born progress beyond the occupational levels of their immigrant forebears, they fail to achieve occupational levels comparable to those of other native-born Americans (see Baral, 1977; De los Santos, Montemayor, and Solis, 1983; Henkin and Henkin, 1977; and Estrada et al., 1981). And, more recent studies suggest that the occupational mobility of Mexican-Americans is closely tied to their educational achievement (Romero, 1979; McCarthy and Valdez, 1986). The movement by the native-born from the unskilled jobs of their foreign-born parents to skilled and semi-skilled white and blue collar jobs is predominantly a function of their educational levels. Indeed, work by
Tienda (1980) suggests that much of the occupational and income differential between Latinos and other native-born Americans is a function of these educational differentials.

More recent studies suggest that much of the occupational, educational, and income differentials between Mexican-Americans and other American ethnic groups is primarily a function of the different starting points of their forebears (McCarthy and Valdez, 1986). In any case, more research is needed to chronicle the differential social and economic progress of different ethnic groups; such analyses should control for both the educational levels of the first wave of immigrants and the number of generations lived in the United States.

The longer Mexican-Americans have lived in the United States and the further their educational and occupational progress, the more they become integrated into the larger society. Studies by Massey (1979a, b and 1981) are particularly instructive as to the pattern of residential integration of Latinos and how it changes with nativity. Typically, Mexican immigrants first settle in immigrant enclaves, but as the immigrants become more established and as the incomes of their U.S.-born children and grandchildren rise, this population moves, as have prior ethnic groups, from ethnic enclaves into increasingly integrated communities.

Similarly, as incomes and English language proficiency increase across succeeding generations, apparent differences between Mexican-Americans and other native-born Americans also diminish. After controlling for country of birth and education level, differences between the Mexican-heritage population and other native-born Americans tend to disappear. The works of Bean, Swicegood, and Lindsay (1980) and Gurak (1980) provide examples of this pattern in terms of fertility differentials among Mexicans, Mexican-Americans, and others. Works by Murguia and Frisbie (1977), Murguia and Cazares (1982), and Schoen and Nelson (1978) demonstrate a similar point in terms of intermarriage. Rapid transition to the use of English is demonstrated by Yankelovich, Skelly & White, Inc. (1981 and 1984) and McCarthy and Valdez (1986). Finally, studies by Brischetto and de la Garza (1985a,b) demonstrate that participation in the political process increases with age and education. Immigrants generally do not participate in the political
process (Grebler, 1966), but political participation increases markedly among the native-born, especially as their income and education rise.

ASSESSMENTS OF INTEGRATION/ASSIMILATION


**STUDIES OF SPECIFIC BEHAVIORS (FERTILITY/POLITICAL PARTICIPATION/INTERMARRIAGE/LANGUAGE USAGE)**


Bean, F. D., G. Swicegood, and T. F. Lindsay, Patterns of Fertility Variation Among Mexican Immigrants to the United States, Texas Population Research Center Papers, Paper 2.016, University of Texas at Austin, 1980.


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**COMPARISONS OF ASSIMILATION OF MEXICANS WITH OTHER GROUPS**


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VII. STATISTICAL SOURCES ON MEXICAN IMMIGRANTS

A central problem confronting the researcher concerned with Mexican immigration and its effects on the United States is the reliability of available data. As McCarthy and Valdez (1986) point out, no single data source is likely to provide an unbiased assessment of the characteristics of the immigrants or their effects on the United States. Nonetheless, numerous sources do exist with which to describe the immigrant population and to attempt to evaluate its effects.

Several U.S. government agencies, for example, publish annual data on Mexican immigration and the characteristics of the Mexican-heritage population. Data on the number of Mexican immigrants (both legal and undocumented) are routinely published by the Immigration and Naturalization Service—although the apprehension data on illegal immigrants suffer some from serious statistical problems. Similarly, the U.S. Census Bureau routinely publishes data on the country's Latino population (which they call Hispanic) based on annual surveys. Moreover, the decennial Census provides detailed data on Mexican-born residents of the United States.

Various state agencies and private sources also publish data on a periodic basis on the Mexican and Latino populations. Finally, a number of university research centers and journals are devoted, in whole or in part, to disseminating information about Mexican immigrants and the Mexican-American population.

CENSUS AND INS SOURCES


STATE AGENCY STATISTICS


California Department of Industrial Relations, "Earnings and Hours of Women Agricultural Workers: California," Division of Labor Statistics and Research, San Francisco, December 1964.


**COMPENDIA OF ORGANIZATIONS, DATA SOURCES**


