

Section II.
*Indigenous Farmworkers: Origins,
Routes to California, and Settlement Patterns*

Executive Summary

- The IFS was able to estimate the rural California population of 342 Mexican Hometown Networks at about 53,000 adults. Recognizing that this is incomplete, the National Agricultural Workers Survey (NAWS) data were used to make a point estimate of the total adult population of about 120,000. This estimate is for Mexican indigenous residents of rural California. Including children raises the point estimate to 165,000.
- A large majority of California's indigenous farmworkers come from a very concentrated area in Western and Southern Oaxaca and in Eastern Guerrero. A large majority speak one of three languages—Mixteco, Zapoteco or Triqui.
- The Spaniards continued a hierarchical social structure inherited from the Aztecs. During the colonial period, the environment was deeply scarred and the native population decimated.
- The years following the establishment of the Mexican Republic have provided little relief for the oppressed indigenous population. Land reform and disputes over natural resources have driven them into servitude and in some cases forced them to flee to less productive areas. Meanwhile, assimilationist social policies attempted but failed to eliminate their languages and culture.
- The indigenous of Oaxaca and Guerrero (especially in remote areas) had considerable economic self-sufficiency until the middle of the 20th Century. But as the modern market economy deepened its penetration, the people saw themselves forced to replace home production and local trade with imported goods. This reliance soon led to migration out of the area in search of cash. Migration also became necessary as a growing population has faced a food scarcity resulting from eroded terrain and lack of consistent government incentives for staple products.
- The indigenous by the 1940s went to Veracruz and then later to Morelos, Sonora, Sinaloa and Baja California on seasonal treks to pay their bills. Later on, many of the internal migrants settled in their temporary work locations, especially in Baja California.
- About half of the indigenous in California work in the Central Coast area, about a third in the Central Valley, while the San Diego area and the North Coast split the rest.
- Temporary migration within the United States is still practiced by indigenous farmworkers. About two-thirds of the 67 hometown networks in the Survey of Key Informants had migrants who made annual treks away from home to seek work in other areas. About a third of the destinations are in Oregon, a third in Washington and a third of the work destinations are elsewhere in California.

II-1 IFS estimate of the indigenous farmworker population in California:

In the IFS' Count of Hometown Networks, we gathered data from respondents from 342 Mexican villages and estimated that 53,602 Mexican indigenous adults from these places live in rural California. Since we could not find all the sending hometown networks, we recognize that this is an incomplete count. As a result, we turned to the NAWS to estimate a range for the total number of indigenous Mexican farmworkers in California.

We start with the total number of Mexicans in California agriculture, which has been independently estimated at 700,000 using two distinct techniques.¹ Then, we take the proportion of southern Mexicans in the NAWS over time to check the rising share of indigenous.² Table II-1 shows these estimates for the 1991-1995 period and the 2004-2008 period. The data are presented with a 10% range around the point estimate to emphasize the conservative nature of our estimates. Our point estimate for the early 1990s is just over 30,000 and for the late 2000s about 118,000.

Table II-1.			
Estimates of the California Mexican Indigenous Farmworker Labor Force			
	Mean 5-year estimate	-10%	+10%
1991-1995	31,800	28,600	35,000
2004-2008	117,850	106,000	130,000
Source: NAWS, ICS, Larson, Mines			

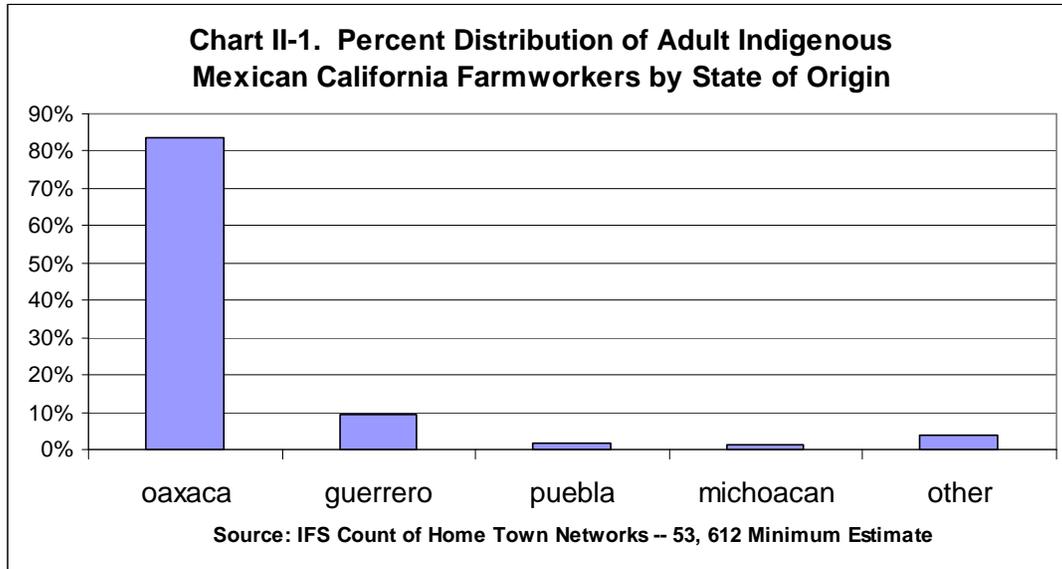
Our estimate of 53,602 adults in rural California from the 342 localities for which we had some estimate of the numbers of migrants in California is therefore about 45 percent of our estimate of the total number of Mexican indigenous farmworkers in California in the relevant period. Since the Count of Hometown Networks done by the Indigenous Farmworker study also identified an additional 156 villages with migrants in rural California but for which we were unable to make population estimates, and since the earlier CIRS study in 1994 identified an additional 101 localities (not located in 2007) from Oaxaca alone that had California farmworkers, these estimates of over 100,000 indigenous immigrant farmworkers in California are quite plausible.

The estimate of 117,850 adults in farm work would imply a population of about 165,000 indigenous Mexicans in rural California if we include the children. Since not all indigenous immigrants work in agriculture it is likely that the total population of the

¹ See Larson, 2000, p.16 (<http://www.ncfh.org/enumeration/PDF2%20California.pdf>) ; and Mines. 2006

² In the early 1990s, the average proportion was about 8% while in recent years it has been about 25% (see II-1). See Appendix III (NAWS' estimate of total population) for a full explanation.

indigenous Mexicans (adults and children) in rural California is greater than 165,000. This estimate excludes the populations of the large cities: San Francisco, Oakland, San Jose, Los Angeles, Orange County, and San Diego.³



II-2 Indigenous farmworkers come from Oaxaca and Guerrero:

Our study has demonstrated that California’s indigenous farmworkers are very concentrated both by place of origin in Mexico and by language group. Almost all originate in Eastern Guerrero or in Western and Southern Oaxaca where three native languages predominate—Mixteco, Zapoteco and Triqui. In fact, over 80% of the farmworkers come from Oaxaca, another 9% are from Guerrero, 2% come from Puebla and 1 % are from Michoacán; only about 4% originate in other Mexican states (see Chart II-1, above).⁴ Over half of the immigrants are Mixteco speakers, while 26% speak Zapoteco and 9% speak Triqui.⁵ Chatino and Nahuatl speakers are about 2% each of the population; only about 7% are from towns where other indigenous languages are spoken (see Chart II-2, below).⁶ Moreover, a large majority of indigenous-speaking Mexicans working in California agriculture hail from small towns in the mountainous areas of Oaxaca and Guerrero where local languages predominate and not from Mexico’s large urban areas where many indigenous now also live.⁷ Section V below has a more complete discussion of language.

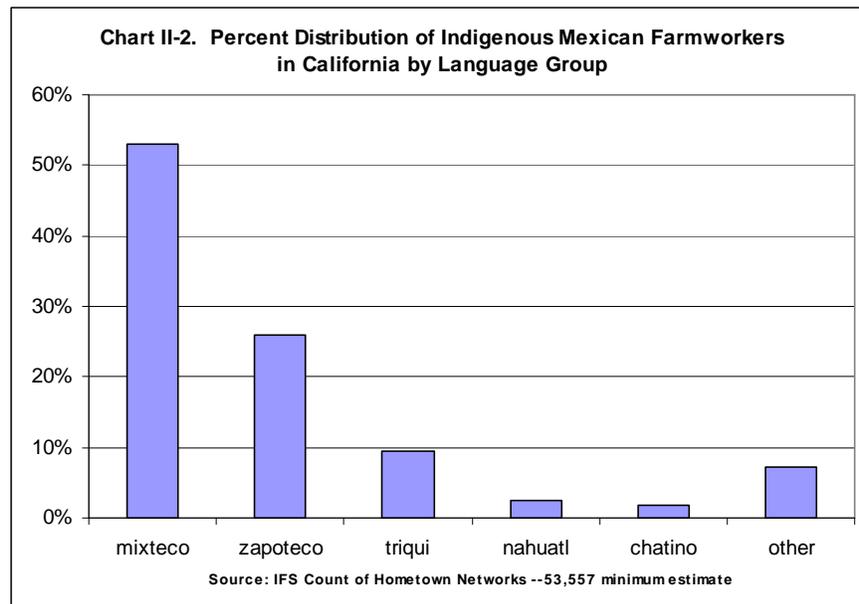
³ For a discussion of the urban population see: Lopez and Runsten, 2004.

⁴ These numbers are based on a hometown ‘count’ of 342 points of origin done by 40 IFS indigenous-speaking interviewers in late 2007. The population estimates are detailed earlier in this chapter.

⁵ See list of other 21 languages in Appendix IV.

⁶ These three language groups represent only about 15% of all the Mexican indigenous languages speakers in Mexico. Still, they are the ones that come to do California farm work.

⁷ The median size in Oaxaca of towns with 50% or more indigenous speakers is 117. Only 6% have more than 1,000 people. (see <http://www.inegi.org.mx/est/contenidos/espanol/sistemas/conteo2005/localidad/iter/default.asp?c=9448>). Half of the 347 towns from all states enumerated by our study are smaller than 500 people and 90% are smaller than 3,250



II-3 History of the source region of indigenous farmworkers:

Before the Spanish came to the New World, Mixtecos, Triquis and Zapotecos lived, in large measure, isolated from the rest of Mexico. They lived in a strict, socially hierarchical society in which the majority of the population was peasants that paid tribute and had work obligations to a small ruling class. It was in the 15th century, not long before the Spanish came, that the Aztecs conquered these three peoples and subjugated them to their own taxation system. The Aztecs often did not disturb the local power relations but just collected taxes from the elite groups who continued to dominate their ethnic kinfolk.

When the Spanish colonized Oaxaca and Guerrero, conditions changed dramatically for the indigenous people of the area.⁸ The Spanish implemented economic, cultural and demographic policies that devastated not only the native people of Oaxaca and Guerrero, but the environment where they lived. The population of hundreds of thousands of people in the area was ravaged by disease, abusive labor practices, and the insistence of the Spanish authorities that the people be concentrated in population centers where disease and exploitation accelerated the demographic collapse of the population. Moreover, the Catholic clergy made every effort to eradicate the native religious beliefs and to destroy the cultural artifacts of pre-Columbian life.

The native people had been able to sustain a large population in the region by achieving a delicate balance with their natural environment. They took advantage of the summer rains and heat to grow corn, beans and squash on the plains and on erosion-resistant

according to the Mexican census. There are large groups of people who identify themselves as indigenous in large Mexican cities. However, we did not find many of these people working in California agriculture.

⁸ See Zabin, et al, 1994, pp. 39-58, Edinger, 1996, pp. 35-45, see also Terraciano, 2000

terraces in the mountainous areas. The Spanish brought in new economic activities that devastated the traditional economy of the region including the oxen-drawn plow that continues to destroy delicate mountainous top soil and generate extreme erosion in the area. Huge acreages were devoted to silk and dye production and to the grazing of hoofed animals.⁹ The terraces were laid low, the native plant population was altered, and the native people driven from productive to more remote areas.

In the first hundred years after the conquest by the Spaniards, the population may have declined by as much as 90 percent. By 1620, the population began to stabilize and slowly grow. However, it is only in recent decades that the population levels existing before the conquest have been restored.¹⁰

II-4 The Mexican Republic:

After 300 years under colonial rule, at the beginning of the 19th Century, the Mexicans declared their independence from Spain. But the lot of the indigenous people did not improve under the new republic. Policies aimed at opening the Mexican economy to capitalist development and social policies focused on culturally homogenizing the Mexican population wrought havoc on indigenous languages and cultures. Reforms often transferred communal lands to private haciendas where the indigenous either worked as low-wage laborers or fled to less fertile areas. Other policies divided lands between neighboring towns in ways that intentionally maximized conflict and enhanced loyalty to colonial authorities and the Catholic Church at the expense of collective action by indigenous peoples in their defense against a hostile state. At the same time, policies of *desindianización* deliberately attempted to eliminate the language and identity of the indigenous peoples. According to official censuses, in 1808, 60% of Mexico's population was indigenous; by 1921 that proportion had fallen to 29%.¹¹ From the point of view of the Mexican government, the indigenous people represented backwardness and were a problem that needed to be eliminated as Mexico modernized. Even in the government-run indigenous schools, begun in the early 1900s, indigenous languages were discouraged.

The attitude of the government and the non-indigenous Mexican population in general has led to a deep-rooted discrimination against the indigenous in both the private sector and in the distribution of public resources. The indigenous have been viewed as peoples worthy only of pity and subject to derision in the popular media.¹² At the same time that Mexicans view the pre-Columbian past with pride, the mestizo Mexicans have, at least until recently, demeaned the contemporary indigenous population. In fact, it is misleading to view the indigenous as some remnant of a picturesque past, because over the last 500 years they have made important adaptations that have allowed their cultures to endure, although this has meant considerable alterations in their way of life. Despite

⁹ See Zabin, 1994 p. 45. See also Melville, 1994.

¹⁰ See Edinger, 1996 p. 40, and Borah. 1951

¹¹ See Navarette Linares, 2008, p. 38

¹² The practice of making fun of the indigenous people is popular on Spanish language radio and TV broadcast in the United States as well.

ferocious efforts of the dominant culture to eliminate them, indigenous people have survived.¹³ In recent years, public attitudes in Mexico may be changing as indigenous people have claimed the right to adapt to the modern world in their own way, harmonizing their traditions with necessary changes.¹⁴

II-5 The need to migrate:

Despite aggressive efforts by Mexican society to eliminate indigenous cultures, the peoples living in the Oaxaca-Guerrero place of origin of today's California farmworkers had by the early twentieth century carved out for themselves a self-sufficient existence. The Triquis, Zapotecos and Mixtecos made, grew or raised almost all the products that they needed to survive. They made their own clothes, footwear, drinks, building materials, and grew their own food.¹⁵ There was regional specialization in various products and commodities that nourished a rich trade within the indigenous areas. Surely, life was desperately poor for the vast majority and, when the rains failed, hunting and gathering was used to tide people over the bad times.¹⁶

However, by the middle of the twentieth century, the regional isolation and the barter economy of the Oaxaca-Guerrero area under discussion was fast disappearing. The expansive cash economy of urban Mexico and of the larger world finally penetrated into the isolated areas inhabited by the indigenous. The time-consuming and difficult ways of producing the needed goods locally were gradually cast aside by a hunger for cheaper and less work-intensive imported items. The old ways had their advantages. People worked in collective agreements to produce many of their necessities. But these advantages were eroded by the persistent penetration of the outside world. Outside consumer products were cheap and many were long lasting. Imported cloth, hats and shoes soon replaced 'manta' cloth, palm sombreros and huaraches. Imports of Coca Cola and Tequila replaced locally made 'tapache' and mezcal. Plastic buckets replaced earthenware pots.

Another factor that has created a 'need to migrate' for corn producers has been the withdrawal of government support for corn production. Over the last 20 years, the Mexican state has eliminated the parastatal firms that provided subsidized seed, fertilizer and credit and that guaranteed minimum prices. In the meantime, the lessening of trade restrictions has increased competition from U.S. corn producers, resulting in lower prices for Mexican corn farmers. It must be remembered that many indigenous Mexican farmers also have relied on cash crops such as coffee that can supply an alternative income source to migration. The repeated collapse of the price of coffee after the elimination of quotas from the International Coffee Agreement in 1989, along with the repeated devaluation of

¹³ At present, about 10 million Mexicans out of 110 million (about 9%) identify themselves as indigenous. See Fernández, García, and Ávila. 2002

¹⁴ See Navarette Linares, 2008 p. 12-13, In recent years, the 'bilingual' schools are teaching in native languages and have largely dropped their 'acculturist' themes.

¹⁵ See Edinger, 1996 p. 94-110

¹⁶ One of the interviewers in this study told us that in his Mixteco village in Guerrero in the 1980s there were times that people ate ground up banana roots, hunted frogs and armadillos in order to survive years of low rainfall.

the Mexican peso, has lessened the importance of this cash crop alternative and induced migration.¹⁷ Furthermore, in more recent years, the introduction of running water and electricity to the areas opened up the possibility for plumbing fixtures and electrical appliances of various kinds that also created a need for cash.

In addition to the need to import consumer, building and farm input products, the eroded terrain has not adequately supplied the food needs for an expanding population. The introduction of chemical fertilizers, pesticides and pumps in order to increase production (especially for export) may have been counterproductive in these environmentally marginal environments. As one Mixteco farmer complained near his farm in Oaxaca: “we no longer have the same yields as before because the fertilizers have ‘spoiled’ the land. We have to leave them fallow several years before they recapture their natural soil richness.”¹⁸ And, the introduction of gasoline-powered water pumps, while increasing yields, has failed to raise incomes for local producers since intermediaries, mostly city people, who sell the pumps and fuel, and market the commercial commodities, capture most of the extra value produced. In the meantime, because land and water are allocated to export crops, less of the staple crops destined for local consumption are produced.¹⁹

The inexorable integration of the Oaxaca-Guerrero area into the larger economy meant that in order to survive, the local people had to seek jobs paying cash to pay for both the imported consumer goods and for the shortfall in food to eat.

II-6 Migration to other parts of Mexico:

There has been considerable ethnographic work and some survey work about the migration out of the Oaxaca-Guerrero indigenous areas to elsewhere in Mexico.²⁰ The basic patterns as to Mexican states of destination revealed by these studies are confirmed by our survey research. Below, we describe the migration out of the Oaxaca/Guerrero areas. The beginning dates of the migration to the different destination points are difficult to pin down since there are few witnesses alive who actually went in the first forays out from the early-migrating communities. We report here the dates reported by our living informants.²¹ Also, as we discuss below, the earlier migrants came largely from the towns near the major roads in Oaxaca while the more remote towns joined the migrant stream later.

¹⁷ See Lewis and Runsten, 2008 “ pp. 275-290.

¹⁸ Interview conducted by Rick Mines in Santa Rosa Caxtlahuaca, June, 2008. See also Edinger, 1996, pp. 185-211

¹⁹ See Edinger, 1996.

²⁰ See Veslasco, 2005; Pombo Paris, 2004; Edinger, 1996; Zabin et al, 1994; Posadas Segura, 2005; Stephen, 2008; Cohen, 2000; Hirabayashi, 1993, Kearney, 1986. For an interesting survey done in the northwest of Oaxaca in the late 1980s see Alcalá, et al, 1994.

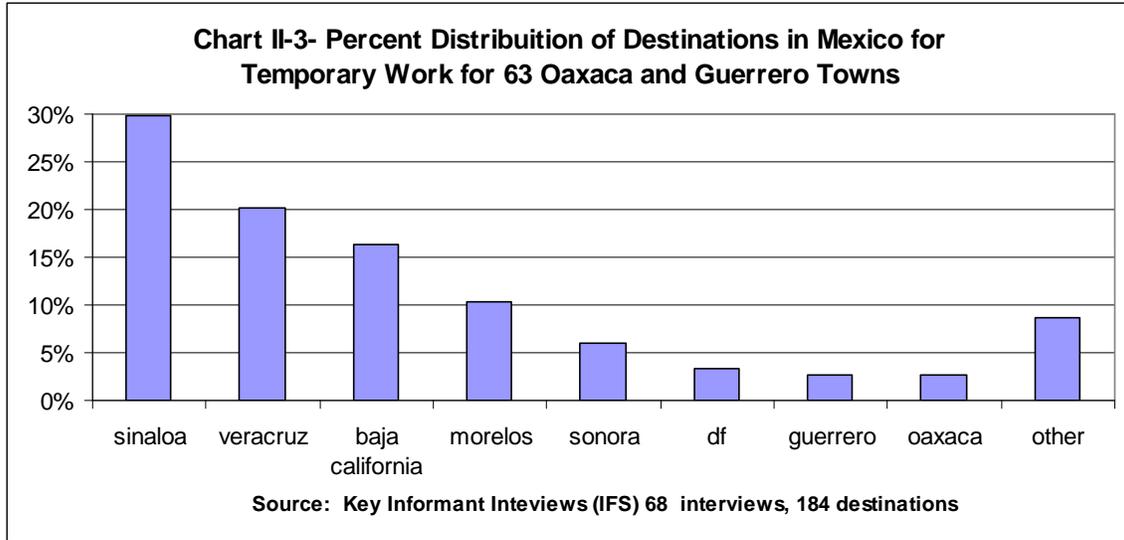
²¹ The source of these data are the Survey of Key Informants done among 67 sending communities in the summer of 2008. Data were collected on work and settlement destinations in Mexico and the United States for the home community networks of the informants. For this analysis just the 63 Oaxacan and Guerrero towns were used.

With time variation among the communities, the migrants, starting in the 1940s (or earlier), began working in sugar cane and pineapples in Veracruz. For this long trip made by foot or by bus, the workers travelled east for about 250 miles. Soon, the huge uptick in industrial agricultural production elsewhere in Mexico, the improvement of roads out of Oaxaca and the labor recruitment campaigns carried out by distant employers in the indigenous areas, led to large flows of temporary labor migration. In the 1960s, the indigenous migrants began going north (by bus for about 500 miles) to Morelos to work in vegetable row crops.²² And, shortly thereafter, they went far north (over 1,500 miles) to Sonora where they worked in cotton and grapes. In addition, also by the 1960s, they began to migrate to the northwestern state of Sinaloa to work in tomatoes, peppers and other vegetables. In the 1950s, the Northwest vegetable industry had been opened up by enhanced state-sponsored irrigation projects. And, finally, by the 1970s, the indigenous migrants travelling back and forth from their homes began to cross the Sea of Cortez to Baja California, mostly to work in asparagus, tomatoes and wine grapes. Later, in the 1980s, strawberries were introduced to Baja California by U.S. entrepreneurs and became an important source of work for the indigenous migrants. These migrations were mostly seasonal and involved harsh working and living conditions. Many of the indigenous farmworkers were transported by bus to and from Sinaloa or Baja free of charge.²³ According to informants, natives of the communities recruited their co-villagers for work in Northwestern Mexico.

Our survey collection effort among community leaders in California (the Survey of Key Informants-SKI) has allowed us to quantify the reports of these migration patterns chronicled in earlier studies. Our informants were able to provide us the start-up dates (mentioned above) and the frequency of visits to the Mexican destination points for temporary work migration. As seen in Chart II-3, the most important temporary Mexican work destination for those living in California today was Sinaloa. Thousands of indigenous workers made (and continue to make) the trek north to the vegetable fields near Culiacán. Almost 30% of work destinations in the Indigenous Farmworker Study's Survey of Key Informants were in Sinaloa. Second in importance was Veracruz with 20%, Baja California came third with 17%, Morelos fourth with 10%, and Sonora was fifth with 6 percent.

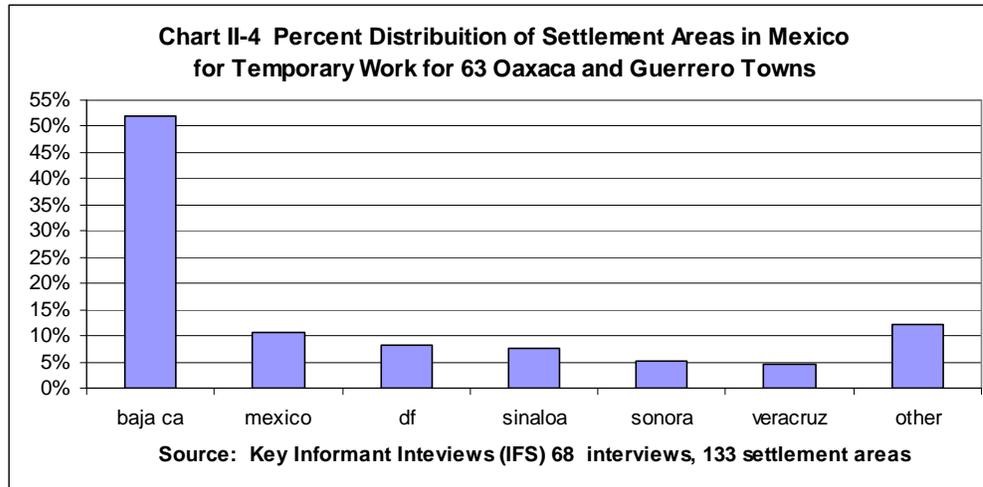
²² We have evidence of one man who went from the Mixteca to Acatlán de Perez, Veracruz in 1930 to cut sugar cane (interview in Santa Rosa Caxtlahuaca, June 2009). Also, Edinger, 1996 quotes an elderly man in 1984 who went to Veracruz to cut sugar cane in the 1920s.

²³ An elderly informant in San Miguel Tlacotepec worked as a recruiter in the 1970s and made announcements over loudspeakers in several towns in his area.



In addition to their work destinations, respondents told us the places where their communities formed settlements in Mexico. The Oaxacan/Guerrerenses created long-term settlements in agricultural work areas like Sinaloa, Sonora and Veracruz and even more of them in the state of Mexico and in Mexico City (about 10% each of the settlement destinations). However, by far the most common place to settle (over half of the settlements) was Baja California (see Chart II-4, below). Apart from the Valley of San Quintín, where large indigenous settlements took root, many also settled in the Tijuana and Ensenada areas. Some of the Tijuana residents commute daily to San Diego to work.²⁴

²⁴ We can confirm these major destination points with another source of information also from the Indigenous Farmworker Study--the Indigenous Community Survey (ICS).²⁴ This survey shows that while in Mexico people spent most of their time in their home state, significant amounts of time were also spent elsewhere. The Indigenous Community Survey shows that most time has been spent in Sinaloa (almost 8% of the adult lives in Mexico). Next comes Baja California with over 6%, and then trailing behind are Sonora, Mexico City, Morelos and the state of Mexico. For the predominantly young current indigenous Mexican farmworker population surveyed by the ICS who are working in California, few spent time in Veracruz or other states of Mexico.

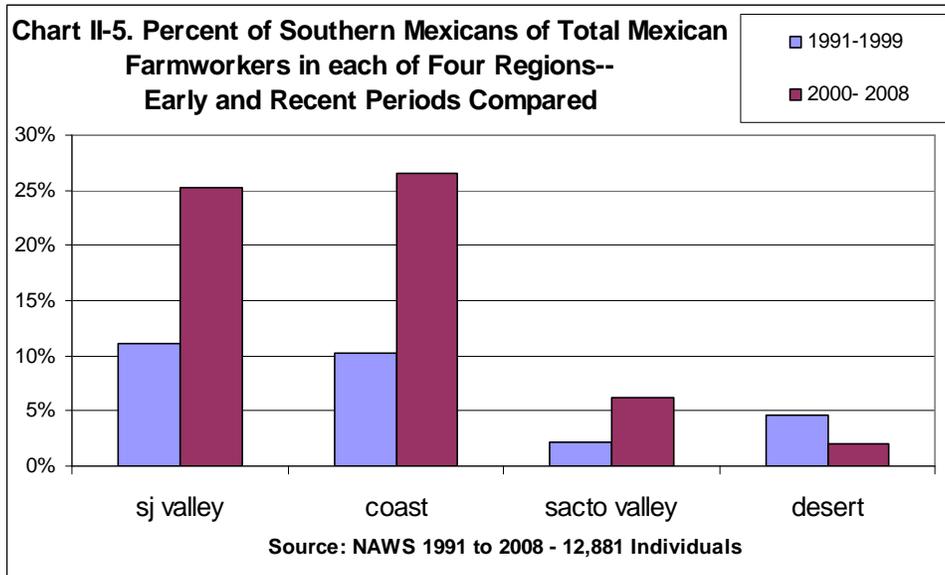


II-7 Concentrations of indigenous farmworkers in different parts of California:

We have two corroborating sources of information from which to estimate the distribution of Mexican indigenous farmworkers in California: the Indigenous Farmworker Study's Count of Hometown Networks and the National Agricultural Workers Survey (NAWS) done by the U.S. Department of Labor.

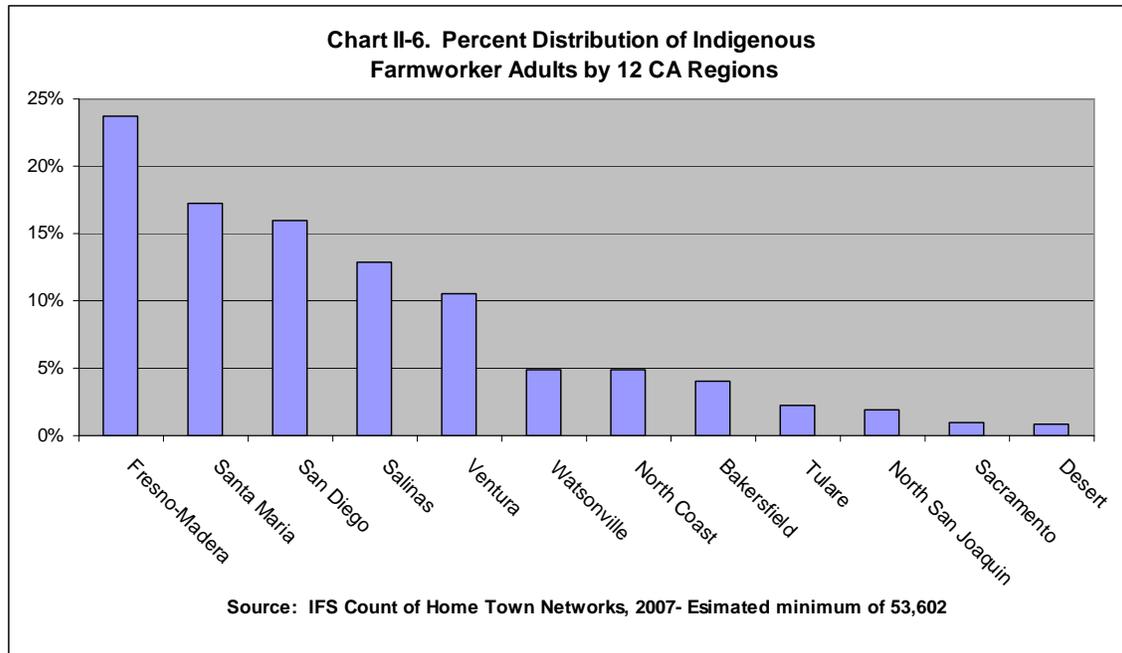
In the NAWS analysis, we use a proxy for the indigenous farmworkers. Namely, we use all those Mexicans from the southern states to represent the indigenous. If we take the proportion of southern Mexican farmworkers among all Mexican farmworkers by region where the survey was done, we come up with an estimate of the proportional concentration of southern (by proxy, indigenous) farmworkers in each California region.²⁵ The NAWS data does not allow us to compare the concentration of southerners across the California regions but only within a single region. In Chart II-5, one can see that the greatest concentration of southerners (as a percent of all Mexican farmworkers) in the decade of the 1990s was in the San Joaquin Valley and the Coastal region (about 10% each). The Desert and Sacramento Valley both had percentages below 5% of southerners. In the current decade of the 2000s, the proportion of southerners in all areas except the Desert has increased. Now, both in the Coastal region and in the San Joaquin Valley, about one quarter of the farmworkers in these regions are from the south of Mexico. Since the Sacramento Valley and the Desert have relatively small total farmworker populations, it is clear that the vast majority of indigenous farmworkers, according to the NAWS, are concentrated in the San Joaquin Valley and along the Coast.

²⁵ Farmworkers from the states of Campeche, Chiapas, Guerrero, Oaxaca, Puebla, Tabasco, Veracruz, Yucatan are our proxy for indigenous. All others are considered the Rest of Mexico.



When we turn to the data from the count done by the Count of Hometown Networks of the Indigenous Farmworker Study, we can enter into more regional detail and we can compare the distribution across regions. In addition, the Indigenous Farmworker Study's hometown count has the advantage of being made up of 'pure' indigenous people since only indigenous towns were eligible for the count. In Chart II-6, we see that the Fresno-Madera area is the most popular spot for indigenous farmworkers (almost one quarter of the population is settled there). Next in importance is the Santa Maria area (17%), followed by the San Diego, Salinas and Ventura areas (between 10% and 16% each). The North Coast and Watsonville come next in importance (5% each) followed by the Bakersfield and Tulare areas. Lastly, we note that the North San Joaquin Valley, the Sacramento Valley and the Desert area have relatively fewer indigenous farmworkers (see Chart II-6). Moreover, if we group the areas into larger units, we discover that the Central Coast area from Oxnard to Watsonville²⁶ has almost half (46%) of the farmworkers, the Central Valley has about a third, San Diego has 16% and the North Coast just 5%. Despite the fact that the Central Valley has most of California's agriculture, it appears that a clear plurality of the indigenous work force labors along the Central Coast.

²⁶ The Central Coast includes all of Ventura, Santa Barbara, Monterey, Santa Cruz and San Benito counties. The Central Valley includes both the San Joaquin and Sacramento Valleys. The North Coast includes Solano, Napa, Sonoma and Mendocino counties.



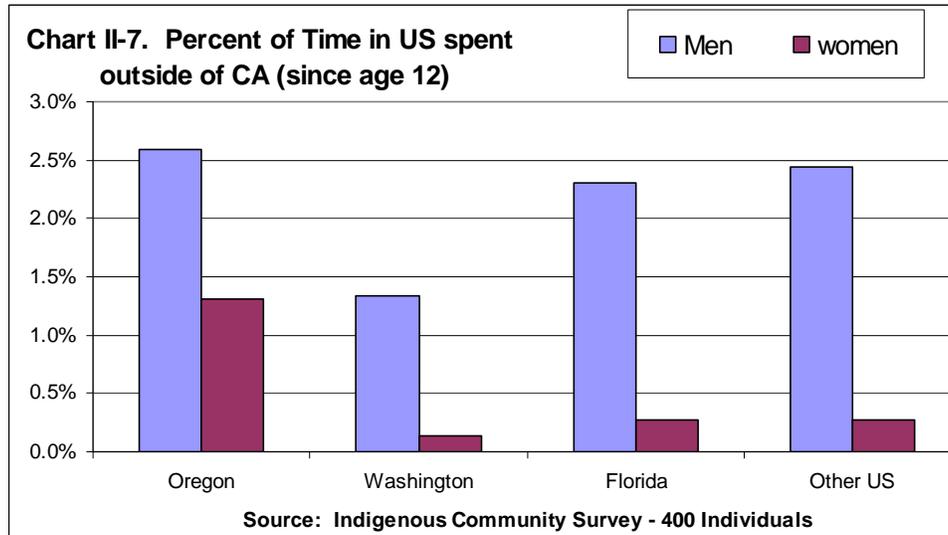
II-8 Temporary migration among indigenous California farmworkers within the United States:

We have two data sources to describe temporary migration by indigenous farmworkers once they come to California, both from the Indigenous Farmworker Study—the Indigenous Community Survey (ICS) and the Survey of Key Informants (SKI).²⁷ Both are only partial glimpses into these complicated movement patterns that vary greatly among hometown networks.²⁸ Once in the United States, the ICS’ interviewees stayed to work mostly in California—only 7% of their time in the United States (since the age of 12) has been spent outside of California.²⁹ The pattern for men migrating temporarily outside of California is much stronger than for women. Overall, these California-based men have spent 9% of their time in the United States working outside of California (not an insignificant amount), while women have spent only 2% of their time in the United States in cross-state migration journeys. In Chart II-7 below, we can see that Oregon, Florida and Washington are the most frequented migration destinations for these California-based interviewees from these nine hometown networks. Although the sample is small, the pattern of quite limited movement outside of the state is a significant finding.

²⁷ The NAWS was not analyzed for detailed intra-U.S. migration patterns for this report.

²⁸ The ICS has the advantage of providing actual percentages of time spent outside of California in different U.S. states. However, it has two distinct disadvantages--it has information only about nine hometown networks and it has little information about movements within California. The SKI has the advantage that it covers more (but still a small minority of) towns and has data about within-California movements of migrants. However, unlike the ICS it does not have detailed information on the amount of time spent in different destination points.

²⁹ This does not mean that other members of their communities have not settled in other states, but only that those interviewed in California have migrated outside of California to other states only for limited but significant time periods.



Our second data source, the Survey of Key Informants, provides data on a somewhat wider sample of communities since representatives of 67 hometown community networks (rather than nine in the Indigenous Community Survey) were surveyed. It also has data on movement within California which is significant for many indigenous networks.³⁰ It should be remembered, that though these 67 networks are representative of the total indigenous farmworker population in many ways, the intra-U.S. migration patterns of these networks can give only a flavor for the highly varied movements of indigenous peoples in California to destinations elsewhere in the United States. Each of the hometown networks has its own unique pattern.

Of the 67 towns, 44 sending hometown networks (about two-thirds) reported having temporary work migration. About a third of the destinations are in Oregon, a third in Washington, and a third elsewhere in California. New York and Florida have only a small draw for these 67 communities.³¹ At least for these 67 communities, there are still significant numbers of migrants leaving California for temporary migration destinations every year. The informants report that about 500 to 600 men go to each of the three main destinations (CA, OR, WA) each year from all of these 44 sending hometown networks combined. The ones that go to Oregon are most likely to take their families—about half do. Those that go to Washington take their families about a third of the time. And those that migrate around California take their families much less--less than a fifth of the time.

³⁰ For example, a large proportion of San Martin Peras immigrants alternate between the Oxnard and Watsonville areas where they engage in strawberry harvesting.

³¹ Notice that this is similar to the ICS data with the exception that Florida is much less prominent in this larger sample of networks.