

Graphic by Rita Templeton

BY
David Runsten
and
Michael Kearney

PUBLISHED BY
*The California Institute
for Rural Studies*

FUNDED BY GRANTS FROM
The Ford Foundation,
The Aspen Institute, and
The Rosenberg Foundation

A Survey of Oaxacan Village Networks in California Agriculture

*David Runsten
and
Michael Kearney*

*This publication was made possible by grants from The Ford Foundation,
The Aspen Institute, and The Rosenberg Foundation.
The authors are grateful for the encouragement and
support provided by the staffs of both foundations.*

Editing and Layout by Lynn Kusnierz

SEPTEMBER 1994

THE CALIFORNIA INSTITUTE FOR RURAL STUDIES
PO Box 2143 • Davis, CA 95617
Phone: 916/756-6555 • Fax: 916/756-7429

Index

Tables and Figures	iii
Acknowledgements	v
Executive Summary	vi
Chapter One: Methodological Considerations	1
The survey	2
Places names in Oaxaca	3
Place names in California	3
Chapter Two: Oaxacan Sending Villages	4
Chapter Three: California Destinations	17
Other states	20
Chapter Four: Theses on Mixtec Migration to the United States	32
Yes, Mixtecs migrate to the United States in large numbers	32
<i>Barrier one: Distance</i>	32
<i>Barrier two: Indians do not migrate to the United States</i>	33
<i>Barrier three: Low-income demands</i>	33
Internal Mexican migration: Who is Mixtec?	33
Mixtec migration patterns vary	34
Mixtecs migrate to few places within a region, but many regions migrate	35
IRCA's impact was different for the Mixtecs	35
U.S. settlement can occur without year-round work	37
Bibliography	39
Appendix	A-1

Tables and Figures

Table One	Oaxacan sending villages reported in California, from farm worker surveys, 1989–93	8
Table Two	Villages of origin not found in California, from farm worker surveys 1990–92, San Quintín area, Baja California Norte	13
Table Three	Oaxacan migrants counted in California, 1991	14
Table Four	Mixtec districts and their importance in California	16
Table Five	California locations of Oaxacans	21
Table Six	Destinations in states other than California	23
Table Seven	California ethnography	24
Table Eight	Extended Mixtec family household from Tindú, in Madera, 1990	38
Figure One	Regions and districts in Oaxaca	6
Figure Two	Municipios in the Mixteca region	7

Acknowledgements

WE WOULD LIKE TO THANK OUR CO-INVESTIGATORS IN THE OVERALL PROJECT on Oaxacan migration to California: Stefano Varese, Carole Nagengast, and Carol Zabin. Zabin in particular helped to write the supplemental proposal that funded most of the survey research presented in this report, directed the earlier survey of farm workers upon which we draw, and assisted in the initial fieldwork in San Diego County in 1991.

We would also like to thank the Mixtec organizations that participated in the fieldwork: the Asociación Cívica Benito Juárez (ACBJ) in Fresno and Arvin (originated by Mixtecs from San Juan Mixtepec and Tepejillo), and the Comité Cívico Popular Mixteco (CCPM) in San Diego and San Jose (founded by Mixtecs from San Miguel Tlacotepec). Rufino Domínguez of the Organización del Pueblo Explotado y Oprimido (OPEO) was kind enough to provide us with additional population estimates, and Araceli Sierra and Manuel Cárdenas of Mixteca Campesina Activa in Madera graciously provided access to their files. Without the assistance of these organizations the results of this survey would have been greatly reduced. Kearney and Zabin conceived of the survey as a participatory research project with these organizations, and while Zabin's departure from the project made this more difficult, we tried to include Mixtecs in all fieldwork, and directed most of the grant resources to them.

This report owes an enormous debt to the field interviewers: Juan Lita, Filemón López, Juan Martínez, Gregorio Santiago, Anna García, Gaspar Rivera, Teresa Figueroa, Peter Guardino, Macrina Cárdenas, Rafael Alarcón, Federico Besserer, and Steven and Evan Edinger. Many of them wrote reports on their research that have been incorporated into the results we present below. We owe a particular debt to Anna García, who provided field notes from the many surveys of Oaxacans she has conducted, worked on the data base, reviewed the manuscript, and answered late-night phone calls from Runsten. We hope she gets to go to Oaxaca soon and put to good use all those village networks listed at the end of this report.

We gratefully acknowledge the support of the Aspen Institute's Rural Economic Policy Program, which was directed by Susan Sechler, and of the Ford Foundation's Rural Poverty and Resources Program, which was directed by Norman Collins at the time this work was initiated. Thanks also go to the Rosenberg Foundation for providing support for the dissemination phase of this project. We also thank the staff of the California Institute for Rural Studies for administering the grant and producing the reports, especially Don Villarejo for providing helpful comments, Ed Plummer for setting up the data base, and the students at U.C. Riverside for entering the survey data into it.

Finally, no research based on survey fieldwork would be possible without the kind assistance of the migrants, and we thank the close to 1,000 Oaxacan informants who gave their time to provide information to us. We have presented as much of that information here as possible in the hope that it may be useful to the migrant community and constitute a small repayment.

Of course the errors are the authors' and none of these people should be implicated.

Executive Summary

WE ORIGINALLY SET OUT TO SURVEY MIXTEC FARM WORKERS because they kept appearing in news reports as suffering the worst living conditions and employment abuses of any farm workers in California agriculture. The resulting study, *Mixtec Migrants in California Agriculture: A New Cycle of Poverty* (Zabin, et al., CIRS, 1993), reported on a survey of 131 Mixtec farm workers conducted in 1990–91. But in the process of conducting that survey, we realized there were many more Mixtec migrants in California agriculture than had been thought, and that we needed a better overview of the situation.

The Ford Foundation, via the Rural Economic Policy Program at the Aspen Institute, awarded a supplemental grant to canvass rural areas of California for Mixtecs. We spent virtually every dollar on surveyors who, during August and September 1991, visited areas of known concentrations of Mixtecs. Because of our limited budget, we excluded large cities from our purview and focused on a specific set of agricultural areas. For this reason, the data presented should be seen as a pilot effort to chart Mixtec migrant networks rather than as a complete census. From south to north, the areas surveyed were:

- Northwestern San Diego County
- Santa Maria (Santa Barbara County)
- Bakersfield, Arvin, and Lamont (Kern County)
- Selected towns in western Tulare County
- Selected towns from Kerman and Biola eastward in Fresno County
- Madera and environs
- Parts of Santa Cruz and Santa Clara counties

In addition to the 567 surveys conducted in the places noted, this report also draws on:

- the above-mentioned 131 surveys of Mixtec farm workers, which were completed mostly in the Fresno–Madera and San Diego regions (Zabin, et al. 1993);
- approximately 50 brief interviews conducted mainly in San Diego County in 1989;
- 30 surveys of Mixtec tomato workers, which were included in a study for the Commission on Agricultural Workers, conducted in Fresno, San Diego, and San Quintín (Baja) in 1991–92 (Runsten, et al. 1992);
- several life histories of Mixtec leaders; and
- several independent lists of village migrants (1991).

How many Mixtecs work in California agriculture?

The main objective of this survey was to make a direct count of as many self-identifying Mixtecs in California as possible within the financial and human constraints of the project. How many indigenous Oaxacan workers are there in California agriculture? We counted 6,687 indigenous Oaxacans in 47 California towns (4,081 men, 1,151 women, and 1,455 children 12 years old or younger). Projecting these counts onto the towns not surveyed gives a total of 10,565. A fair estimate of total population, correcting for survey coverage of 10–50 percent in each location, would triple that figure to 31,695. We conclude that a reasonable estimate of the number of mostly Mixtec indigenous Oaxacans (excluding the Zapotecs in Los Angeles) in California in 1991 would fall between 20,000 and 40,000—and the numbers have surely grown in the past three years.

A reasonable estimate of the peak-season population of Mixtecs in California now might approach 50,000. If 75 percent of this population works in agriculture, then Mixtecs make up 5 percent of the California agricultural labor force. Of course not everyone migrates to the United States every year, so the total population of Mixtecs migrating is larger. This first-ever count of indigenous Oaxacans in California, while far from a complete census, nevertheless yields an absolute bottom count which is now available for use with other information to estimate actual numbers.

Where do they come from?

A second objective of the survey was to identify the geographic patterning of the sending communities in Oaxaca. A working assumption of research on Mixtec migration is that it is provoked in large measure by ecological deterioration and economic stagnation in the Mixteca region. This report yields a long list of villages in Oaxaca that can be used to research migration from the region and its relation to a variety of economic and environmental factors. Much of the published work on Mexican migration has focused on a narrow set of villages in western Mexico; the research presented here is an exercise in widening our knowledge of Mexico-to-United States migration.

According to our study, indigenous Oaxacans working in California hail from 203 villages—with another 6 villages reported, but which we were unable to confirm—representing 81 municipios (out of 570 municipios in Oaxaca) from 22 Oaxacan districts (out of 30 districts). It would be fair to say that virtually all of these villages have representatives working in California agriculture.

Juxtlahuaca, Silacayoapam, and Huajuapam were the major sending districts to the areas we studied. Taken together, these three districts accounted for 5,200 of the 6,687 people found, or 78 percent. While Silacayoapam and Huajuapam were home to the largest numbers of municipios migrating to the United States, in terms of *proportions* of municipios migrating, Juxtlahuaca ranked first, followed by Silacayoapam, Putla, Zaachila, and Huajuapam.

Where do they migrate to?

A third objective of the survey was to gain information about the spatial distribution of Mixtecs in California. This information is relevant both to questions about the incorporation of Mixtecs into agricultural labor markets, and to the changing economic and ethnic composition of rural California communities, which is accompanied by a presumed increase in rural poverty and “ghettoization” (Palerm 1991).

Oaxacans have been migrating to California since the 1960s, with a significant increase in the mid-1970s, and an even greater increase in the 1980s. In 1990–91, we interviewed a number of migrants who were among the first people from their villages to arrive, and the appearance of new villages in rural California shows no sign of abating. There is a deepening of U.S.-bound migration in many villages, but there is also a broadening, which suggests a large potential future migration to the United States.

Nevertheless, the Oaxacan migrants tend to be clustered in particular communities in California: We found that the nine California towns with migrants from 20 or more villages accounted for 52 percent of all village–town correspondences. Our surveyors counted at least some Oaxacans in 47 California towns and the village networks referred us to another 53 towns, for a total of 100 California locations in 24 counties—some only seasonally. Though this may seem like a large number, Oaxacans trek a very limited path considering that there are approximately 2,000 places with population in California.

The impact of IRCA

The Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) had a different impact on Mixtecs than on mestizos from traditional sending regions. The evidence we have indicates that about one-half of U.S. migrants from Oaxaca were legalized by IRCA. However, this is a relatively small proportion of the village populations. Unlike west-central Mexican mestizo communities, where IRCA served to legalize a backlog of U.S.-settled families, with the Mixtecs it mainly legalized the circular male migrants. This then caused a sudden change in the evolution of migration from Oaxaca, as it conferred legal status on a group of essentially seasonal farm workers, coming from village networks that had not yet evolved stable, year-round patterns of employment in the United States. Legal status has facilitated back-and-forth migration and led to settlement, but it has not changed the Mixtecs' pattern of employment, which is more a function of a network's time in the United States than it is legal status.

Because the Oaxacan networks are not as developed as mestizo village networks and do not control access to jobs in many places, the Oaxacan settlers are a poorer population than the mestizo groups. As a result, Mixtecs hold the least desirable, lowest paying jobs in agriculture, are subject to more labor law violations (such as non-payment of wages), and migrate more than the better established mestizo migrants. Mixtecs have been used by farm labor contractors and other farm employers to undermine existing agricultural labor markets; accelerating migration makes stabilizing such labor markets more problematic without increased labor protections.

* * *

Although there has been some recognition of the large and growing Mixtec presence in California—especially in rural areas—until this survey there has been no data base that could be referred to in response to questions such as, How many are there? Where are they located? and, What regions of Oaxaca are they from? This survey was designed to speak to these and related questions, and in so doing, compile a preliminary data base of Mixtec demography and migration patterns. The demographics are particularly relevant to the changing ethnic and economic composition of California towns. Furthermore, the results are of potential use to the various Mixtec self-help organizations that have formed in California to deal with the problems faced by Oaxacan migrants. In addition to providing them with information about the distribution and composition of their constituencies, it is hoped that the data will be useful to them in planning and coordinating their activities and for fundraising purposes.

Chapter One

Methodological Considerations

THE MAIN METHODOLOGICAL CHALLENGE OF THIS SURVEY was to devise a strategy for locating a widely distributed, highly mobile, largely invisible population that had never been enumerated and certainly had not been included in the U.S. Census of Population (Gabbard, Kissam, and Martin 1993). Ed Kissam reports that the effort to find Mixtec farm workers in the 1990 Census of Population yielded only one person in California. Weighted up to a population estimate, this means the census could identify fewer than 100 Mixtec farm workers in the state. In general, Gabbard, Kissam, and Martin conclude that the Census of Population missed or misidentified 75 percent of California's farm workers, so it is not surprising that they missed the Mixtecs almost entirely.

Given the absence of any reliable census data, we first drew up a list of towns known to be receiving areas for Mixtec migrants, based mainly on our surveying of Mixtec farm workers in 1989 and 1990, and on earlier ethnographic research by Kearney. Because of our budgetary limitations, we excluded large urban areas from our study and concentrated our efforts in the following regions:

- Northwestern San Diego County
- Santa Maria (Santa Barbara County)
- Bakersfield, Arvin, and Lamont (Kern County)
- Selected towns in western Tulare County
- Selected towns from Kerman and Biola eastward in Fresno County
- Madera and environs
- Parts of Santa Cruz and Santa Clara counties

The data thus have a rural bias to them and should be taken more as a survey of Oaxacan villages with representatives working in California agriculture than as an exhaustive list. For example, we surveyed in rural northern San Diego County, but not inside the city limits of San Diego, and even in northern San Diego County we worked more in the outdoor camps (*cantones*) than in the apartments of Vista or Oceanside. We spent more resources visiting the on-farm camps of Fresno County than we did in the city of Fresno.

In the process of interviewing Mixtecs in these areas, they referred us to fellow villagers in other towns in California and in other states. These locations are listed in the various tables in this report with the notation "not visited". They also referred us to fellow villagers in towns we did survey in, and if none turned up, these towns are listed with the notation "not found". As will be obvious as one peruses the data, there are a number of areas—such as Oxnard, Santa Ana, and Santa Rosa—that have significant concentrations of Mixtecs and would have been surveyed if we had had the resources.

During July and August 1991, our investigators conducted a total of 567 surveys in the places noted above. Other resources used for this analysis include a 1990 survey of Mixtec farm workers in the Fresno–Madera and San Diego regions (Zabin, et al. 1993); 50 brief interviews with Mixtec informants, conducted mainly in San Diego County in 1989; 30 surveys of Mixtec tomato workers conducted in Fresno, San Diego, and San Quintín, Baja California (Runsten, et al. 1992); several life histories of Mixtec leaders; and several independent village lists of migrants (1991).

The survey

Our basic approach was to go to places where we knew Mixtecs were likely to be found, and then follow their referrals to other locations where members of their village network were living and working. This is equivalent to the snowball sampling technique that has been used to survey immigrant populations that cannot be enumerated. However, we were attempting to find and count as many Mixtecs as possible. One of the problems with our approach is that we sometimes failed to identify *any* migrants from some Oaxacan villages in certain California towns where they were present. This can be seen clearly from the tables, which show many referrals to towns where we surveyed but where our investigators did not find anyone from that village, and from the ethnographic information that indicate large numbers of villagers in places where we found none.

Another factor contributing to undercounting in our survey was the reluctance of some groups to participate. There were a few places where informants refused to give the name of their village, while at other locations contacts maintained no one else was living in a given place despite evidence to the contrary. This latter problem was evident, for example, in Farmersville, where our interviewers estimated that there were at least twice as many people living in the houses they visited as the residents would admit; at one house interviewers found space set up for sixty people but recorded only two. This was no doubt due to the realization that it is illegal to house such large numbers in places not designated as farm labor camps, as well as the fear of being reported. We encountered a similar problem in an earlier survey of Parlier.

It was also difficult at times to justify the survey to the informants. Since many respondents were not authorized to work in the United States, they may have been reluctant to report on one another. Some had also fled persecution in Mexico and were not enthusiastic about disclosing their whereabouts. Not recording names of the people enumerated sometimes helped overcome their reluctance.

The survey proceeded until we had exhausted our resources. At that point we received varying estimates of coverage from the surveyors in the different towns where we had worked. Most of these estimates ranged from 25–50 percent coverage, though some towns may have had even lower levels of coverage, while a few, such as Arvin, were very well covered. Therefore, the figures reported do not reflect the actual numbers of Oaxacan immigrants in each area, but rather are indicators of relative importance. One should use the numbers to gain an idea of whether there are many families in a given area, or which villages are represented in which California towns, but not as absolute population estimates.¹

We set out with the specific intention of counting *Mixtecs and Triquis from Oaxaca*. Along the way it became apparent that we were finding more Zapotecs than we had thought we would find in agriculture, and that it was difficult for the fieldworkers to sort them out. Some surveys included them, others excluded them. In this report, we include everyone from Oaxaca who was counted—be they Mixtec, Chinantec, Triqui, or Zapotec—and in the village tables we identify where possible the ethnicity of the village. This report is by no means an adequate accounting of Zapotec migration to California, since most Zapotecs are found in urban areas such as Los Angeles, which we did not visit.² We excluded from the survey groups from Puebla and Guerrero who may well be Mixtec, but we note at the end of the village tables in the appendix what little information was recorded about them.

Information was collected on the numbers of men, women, and children. Children are defined here as 12 years old and under. In many studies, 15 years of age is taken as the dividing line between “child” and “adult”, but virtually all of the young Oaxacan men ages 13 to 15 work so it would have presented insurmountable difficulties to try to sort them out from the large groups of single males.

¹ We make some general population estimates in Chapter Three.

² For example, Kearney recently attended a dance festival in Los Angeles where an estimated 5,000 Zapotecs, most of whom reside in the Los Angeles area, gathered in a park.

The survey protocol consisted of the following:

Date of visit:

1. Name of town or site
2. Detailed instructions on how to get to site
3. Description of housing situation
4. Whether or not there were any indigenous groups besides Mixtecs at the site
5. Name of person interviewed (if appropriate, merely to distinguish people)
6. District and municipio
7. Village of origin
8. Number of men, women, and children 12 years old and under
9. Number settled in town
10. Other places in the United States where villagers live

Place names in Oaxaca

We are relatively confident of the place names presented in this report. We used various maps of Oaxaca prepared by Bufete de Profesionistas del Sur, S.A. de C.V.; Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía, e Informática publications and maps; Florencio Castellanos Luna, *Division Territorial del Estado de Oaxaca*, Gobierno del Estado de Oaxaca, 1968, for finding villages indexed by the ex-districts; and a variety of publications about Oaxaca (e.g. Millán Echeagaray [1983] for the Triquis) to locate the villages reported by our informants. Migrants are often mistaken about the name of the district from which they come, and this had to be corrected in many cases. There may have been some tendency to report larger nearby towns as place of origin rather than the actual village, but the impressive number of small villages reported here tends to discount this as a problem. In any case, the municipios are probably correct. We were unable to locate a few villages, and these are listed without municipio or district names.

Place names in California

Because this was a survey of rural places and farm workers, many of the locations where we interviewed workers were actually farms or camps in the countryside (e.g. *cantones* in San Diego). Therefore, the names listed are merely the closest towns to those places. The name "Madera", for example, includes a large part of Madera County, and "Kerman" refers mostly to farms located near that town.

When asked for referrals to other places where we could find villagers, respondents sometimes interpreted this to mean sites where people were living year-round, but in other cases included places that were only temporary work sites. Since both are interesting, we have included all the information collected. Of course, not everyone would answer this question, so the lack of referrals to other places in the village tables in the appendix could mean that there are no other places, or could represent a non-response. The question about settlement (see #9, above) proved difficult for the informants to comprehend. It did not produce the desired responses, so the results are not reported here. As with many surveys of Mexican immigrants in the United States, people's concept of settlement included the idea of a definitive relocation, one that most were unwilling to accept or admit. Settlement can be defined in a variety of ways, but asking the immigrants themselves did not prove to be a useful exercise.

Chapter Two

Oaxacan Sending Villages³

WE HAVE IDENTIFIED A TOTAL OF 203 VILLAGES of origin for indigenous Oaxacans working in California, with another 6 villages reported by contacts, but that we were unable to confirm. These totals include some Zapotec, Chinantec, and Triqui villages, but more than 85 percent are Mixtec. It would be fair to say that migrants from virtually all of these villages do at least some work in California agriculture. Table 1 (page 8) lists all 203 of the villages of origin found in California along with their municipios and districts; there are 81 municipios from 22 districts represented among these villages. Oaxaca is divided into 570 municipios in 30 districts, so we found 14 percent of the municipios and 73 percent of the districts represented in rural California. What this suggests is Oaxacans are migrating to California from many different parts of Oaxaca, but this migration is concentrated in certain sub-regions.

Table 2 (page 13) lists 25 villages found in the San Quintín area of Baja California in surveys of farm workers conducted there from 1990 to 1992 that were not found in California (i.e. Tables 1 and 2 are mutually exclusive). Most of the results come from a 1992 survey directed by Carol Zabin in cooperation with the Instituto Nacional Indigenista in Baja. A total of 55 Oaxacan villages were identified in the surveys of San Quintín, meaning 45 percent of these villages were not found in California. There are some new districts in this group, such as Miahuatlán, and more Triqui villages. Zabin reports that the Baja growers have made a conscious effort to recruit from new regions in Oaxaca, recognizing that as a village begins to migrate to the United States, it will be less likely to send large numbers of migrants to Baja California. Growers in northwestern Mexico also try to minimize the hazard of providing free transportation to San Quintín, only to have workers immediately move on to California. Villages without extensive networks in California are less likely to take advantage of such opportunities.

Table 3 (page 14) presents our counts of Oaxacans in California, organized by Oaxacan district and municipio of origin. The major sending districts to the areas we studied were Juxtlahuaca, Silacayoapam, and Huajuapam (see Figure 1, page 6). Taken together, these three districts accounted for 5,200 of the 6,687 people enumerated, or 78 percent. Again, while migrants are coming from 22 districts, the current population is heavily concentrated in a few source areas. This is similar to what has been found with west-central Mexico.

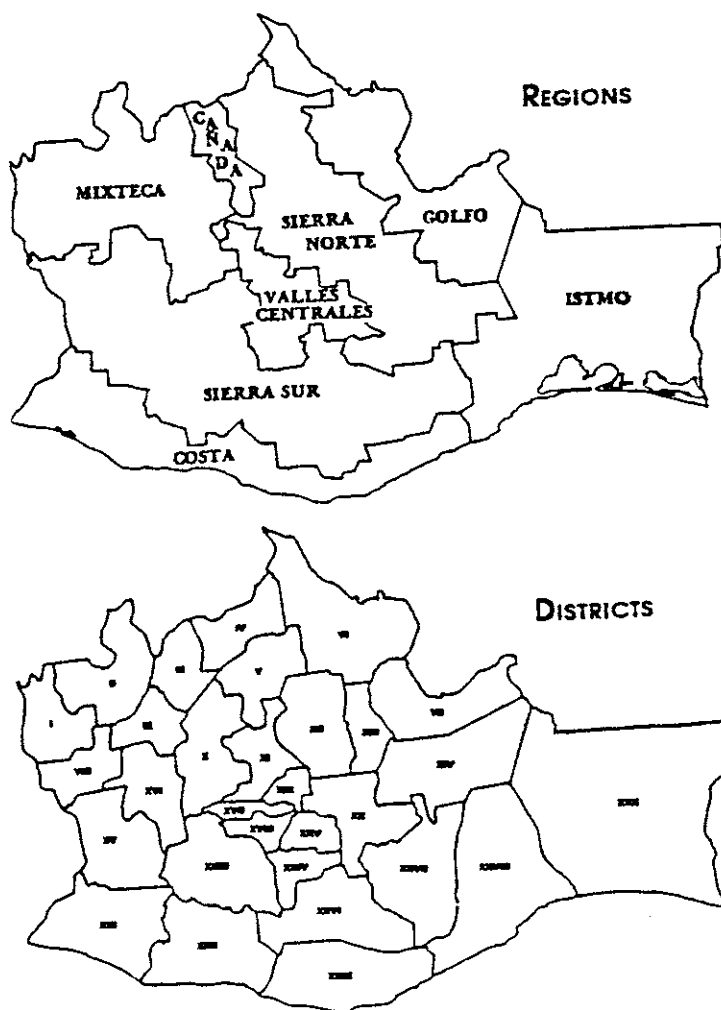
The 21 municipios that each accounted for more than 50 migrants were Huajuapam de León (73), San Jorge Nuchita (77), Santo Domingo Tonalá (139), and Tezoatlán de Segura y Luna (715) in the district of Huajuapam; San Juan Mixtepec (671), San Miguel Tlacotepec (320), San Sebastián Tecomaxtlahuaca (435), Santiago Juxtlahuaca (1,067), and Santos Reyes Tepejillo (63) in the district of Juxtlahuaca; Constancia del Rosario (89), Putla Villa de Guerrero (128), and Santa María Zacatepec (66) in the district of Putla; Ixpantepec Nieves (164), San Agustín Atenango (54), Santiago del Río (336), Santiago del Yucuyachi (92), and Silacayoapam (711) in the district of Silacayoapam; Santa María Chilapa de Díaz (160) in the district of Teposcolula; Chalcatongo de

³ We use the terms "town" and "village" interchangeably to refer to Mexican *localidades*. Some of the towns of origin are quite large and are not really villages, but the use of the word "village" serves to distinguish the Mexican sending areas from the Californian towns.

Hidalgo (92) and San Miguel el Grande (51) in the district of Tlaxiaco; and San Pablo Huixtepec (370) in the district of Zimatlán. These 21 municipios—26 percent of the municipios found represented in California—accounted for 88 percent of the Oaxacan migrants counted in our survey (see Figure 2, page 7).

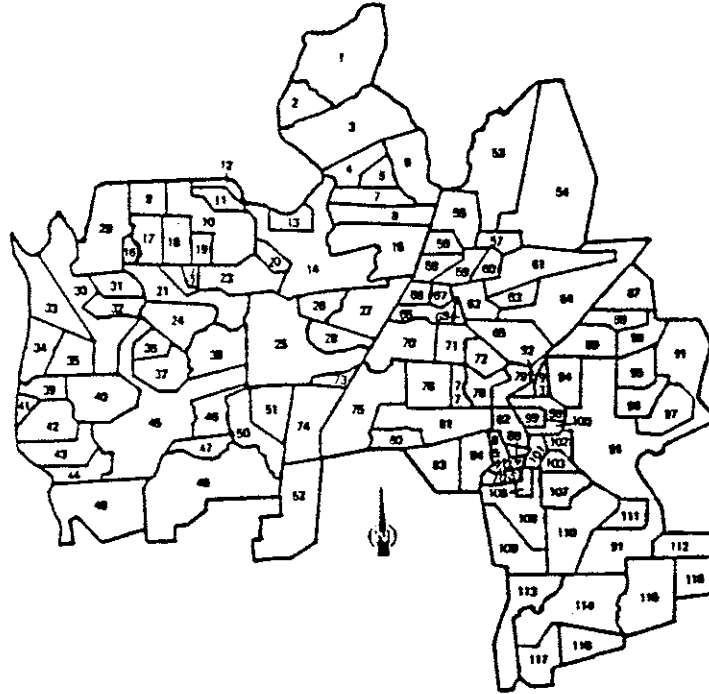
There are many overlaps of the various indigenous groups in the Oaxacan districts, but certain districts contain the majority of Mixtecs in Mexico. We have selected the 13 predominantly Mixtec districts for Table 4 (page 16) which presents the proportion of all municipios from each district that our survey located in California. In terms of absolute numbers of municipios represented in the California migration, Silacayoapam and Huajuapam dominate, with 15 and 10 municipios respectively; in terms of *proportions* of municipios migrating to the United States, Juxtlahuaca (100 percent), Silacayoapam (79 percent), Putla (70 percent), Zaachila (67 percent), and Huajuapam (36 percent) are the most involved. These rankings remain unchanged by the addition of the few new municipios found in Baja California. The new municipios are not from the leading districts, but are from others such as Coixtlahuaca, Tlaxiaco, Nochixtlán, and Sola de Vega.

Figure 1
REGIONS AND DISTRICTS IN OAXACA



- | | | | |
|-------|--------------|---------|--------------|
| I. | Silacayopam | XVI. | Tlaxiaco |
| II. | Huajuapam | XVII. | Zaachila |
| III. | Coixtlahuaca | XVIII. | Zimatlán |
| IV. | Teotitlán | XIX. | Centro |
| V. | Cuicatlán | XX. | Tlacolula |
| VI. | Tuxtepec | XXI. | Jamiltepec |
| VII. | Choapan | XXII. | Juquila |
| VIII. | Juxtlahuaca | XXIII. | Sola de Vega |
| IX. | Teposcolula | XXIV. | Ejutiá |
| X. | Nochixtlán | XXV. | Ocotlán |
| XI. | Etla | XXVI. | Miahuatlán |
| XII. | Ixtlán | XXVII. | Yautepec |
| XIII. | Villa Alta | XXVIII. | Tehuantepec |
| XIV. | Mixe | XXIX. | Pochutla |
| XV. | Putla | XXX. | Juchitán |

Figure 2
MUNICIPIOS IN THE MIXTECA REGION



District of Huajuapam

1. Santiago Chazumba
2. Cosolotepec
3. San Pedro y San Pablo Tequixtepec
4. Santiago Miltepec
5. San Juan Bautista Suchitepec
6. Santa Catarina Zapotitlán
7. Asunción Cuyotepeji
8. Santa María Camotlán
9. Fresnillo de Trujano
10. San Miguel Amatitlán
11. Santiago Ayuquillita
12. San José Ayuquila
13. Zapotitlán Palmas
14. Huajuapam de León
15. Santiago Huajolotitlán
16. Santa Cruz Tacache de Mina
17. Mariscala de Juárez
18. San Martín Zacatepec
19. San Simón Zahuatlán
20. San Jerónimo Silacayoapilla
21. Santo Domingo Tonala
22. Santos Reyes Yucaná
23. San Marcos Arteaga
24. San Jorge Nuchita
25. Tezoatlán de Segura y Luna
26. Santiago Cacaloxtepec
27. San Andrés Dinicuili
28. Santo Domingo Yodahino

District of Silacayoapam

29. San Juan Cieneguilla
30. Santiago Tamazola

31. San Nicolás Hidalgo
32. Guadalupe de Ramírez
33. San Juan Iguatepec
34. Zapotitlán Lagunas
35. San Miguel Ahuehuetlán
36. San Lorenzo Victoria
37. Santiago Yucuyachi
38. San Agustín Atenango
39. San Andrés Tepetlapa
40. Calihualá
41. San Mateo Nejapan
42. San Juan Bautista Tlatchilco
43. Santa Cruz de Bravo
44. San Francisco Tlapancingo
45. Silacayoapam
46. Nieves Ixpantepec
47. Santiago del Río

District of Juxtlahuaca

48. San Martín Peras
49. San Sebastián Tecomaxtlahuaca
50. San Miguel Tlacotepec
51. Santos Reyes Tepejillo
52. San Juan Mixtepec

District of Coixtlahuaca

53. Concepción Buenavista
54. Tepelmeme de Morelos
55. Santiago Iguatán Plumas
56. San Francisco Teopan
57. Tlacotepec Plumas
58. Magdalena Jicotlán
59. San Mateo Tlapitepec

60. Santiago Tepetlapa
61. San Miguel Tequixtepec
62. San Miguel Tulancingo
63. San Cristóbal Suchitlahuaca
64. San Juan Bautista Coixtlahuaca
65. Santa María Nativitas

District of Teposcolula

66. San Pedro Nopala
67. La Trinidad Vista Hermosa
68. Teotongo
69. San Antonio Acutla
70. Tamazulapan del Progreso
71. Santiago Tejupan
72. Santo Domingo Tonatepec
73. San Sebastián Nicananduta
74. San Antonio Monte Verde
75. Santa María Chilapa de Díaz
76. San Andrés Lagunas
77. San Pedro Yucunama
78. San Juan Teposcolula
79. San Bartolo Soyatpec
80. Santiago Yolomécatl
81. San Pedro y San Pablo Teposcolula
82. San Pedro Topitepec
83. Santa María Nduayaco
84. San Vicente Nuño
85. Santiago Nejapilla
86. Santo Domingo Tlatayapan

District of Nochixtlán

87. San Miguel Huautla
88. Santiago Apolá
89. San Miguel Chicahua
90. Santa María Apasco
91. Asunción Nochixtlán
92. Santo Domingo Yanhuitlán
93. Santa María Chachoapan
94. San Juan Yucuita
95. Magdalena Zahuatlán
96. San Pedro Cántaros
97. Santiago Huauclilla
98. San Andrés Sinaxta
99. Santiago Tillo
100. San Juan Sayuitepec
101. San Francisco Chindua
102. San Mateo Etlatongo
103. San Miguel Tecomatán
104. Yodocono de Porfirio Díaz
105. San Pedro Tidaá
106. San Francisco Nuxaño
107. San Francisco Jatpetongo
108. Santiago Tlaxiangua
109. San Juan Diluxi
110. Magdalena Jatpetec
111. Zaragoza
112. San Andrés Nuxaño
113. San Mateo Sindihui
114. Yutanduchi de Guerrero
115. San Juan Tamazola
116. Santo Domingo Nuxaá
117. San Pedro Teozacoalco
118. San Miguel Peidras

Table 1
OAXACAN SENDING VILLAGES REPORTED IN CALIFORNIA
FROM FARM WORKER SURVEYS, 1989-1993

DISTRICT	MUNICIPIO	VILLAGE
Centro	Oaxaca de Juárez	Oaxaca de Juárez
Cuicatlán	San Pedro Jocotipac	San Pedro Jocotipac
Ejutla	Ejutla de Crespo	Ejutla de Crespo
	Ejutla de Crespo	La Noria
Etla	Reyes Etla	San Lázaro Etla
	Santiago Tlazoyaltepec	Buenavista
	Santiago Tlazoyaltepec	Santiago Tlazoyaltepec
	Santiago Tlazoyaltepec	Tierra Caliente
Huajuapam	Huajuapam de León	Huajuapam de León
	San Jorge Nuchita	Guadalupe de Morelos
	San Jorge Nuchita	San Jorge Nuchita
	San Jorge Nuchita	San Miguel Allende
	San Marcos Arteaga	San Francisco Yosocuta
	San Marcos Arteaga	San Marcos Arteaga
	San Miguel Amatitlán	San Lorenzo Vista Hermosa
	San Miguel Amatitlán	San Miguel Amatitlán
	San Pedro y San Pablo Tequixtepec	Tequixtepec
	Santiago Ayuquillilla	Santa Catarina Estancia
	Santiago Chazumba	Santiago Chazumba
	Santo Domingo Tonalá	San Juan Reyes
	Santo Domingo Tonalá	San Sebastián del Monte
	Santo Domingo Tonalá	Santiago Pastahuaca
	Santo Domingo Tonalá	Santo Domingo Tonalá
	Santo Domingo Tonalá	Yetla de Juárez
	Tezoatlán de Segura y Luna	Guadalupe de Cisneros
	Tezoatlán de Segura y Luna	San Andrés Yutatío
	Tezoatlán de Segura y Luna	San Juan Diquiyú
	Tezoatlán de Segura y Luna	San Marcos de Garzón
	Tezoatlán de Segura y Luna	San Martín del Río
	Tezoatlán de Segura y Luna	Santa María Tindú
	Tezoatlán de Segura y Luna	San Vicente del Palmar
	Tezoatlán de Segura y Luna	Tezoatlán de Segura y Luna
	Tezoatlán de Segura y Luna	Yucuquimi de Ocampo
	Zapotitlán Palmas	Zapotitlán Palmas
	unknown	Santo Domingo Yoxoxio
Ixtlán	San Pablo Macuiltianguis	Macuiltianguis
	Teococuilco de Marcos Pérez	Teococuilco
Juchitán	San Francisco del Mar	San Francisco del Mar
Juquila	San Pedro Tututepec	La Luz
	Santa Catarina Juquila	Santa Catarina Juquila
Juxtlahuaca	Coicoyán de las Flores	Coicoyán de las Flores
	Coicoyán de las Flores	Santiago Tilapa
	San Juan Mixtepec	Arenal
	San Juan Mixtepec	La Batea
	San Juan Mixtepec	Llano Colorado
	San Juan Mixtepec	Mesones
	San Juan Mixtepec	Nicananduta

DISTRICT	MUNICIPIO	VILLAGE
Juxtlahuaca (cont.)	San Juan Mixtepec	Pueblo Viejo
	San Juan Mixtepec	Rancho Diego
	San Juan Mixtepec	Río Azucena
	San Juan Mixtepec	Río Timbre
	San Juan Mixtepec	San Isidro Yucumani
	San Juan Mixtepec	San Juan Cahuayaxi
	San Juan Mixtepec	San Juan Mixtepec
	San Juan Mixtepec	San Lucas
	San Juan Mixtepec	San Pedro Yososcúa
	San Juan Mixtepec	Santa Cruz
	San Juan Mixtepec	Santa María Tepoxlantongo
	San Juan Mixtepec	Santiago Tiño
	San Juan Mixtepec	Santo Domingo Tepostlatengo
	San Juan Mixtepec	Los Tejocotes
	San Juan Mixtepec	Tiñuma
	San Juan Mixtepec	Yerba Buena
	San Juan Mixtepec	Yosoba
	San Martín Peras	San Martín Peras
	San Miguel Tlacotepec	San Martín Sabinillo
	San Miguel Tlacotepec	San Miguel Tlacotepec
	San Miguel Tlacotepec	Santiago Nuxaño
	San Miguel Tlacotepec	Xinitloco
	San Sebastián Tecomaxtlahuaca	Buenavista
	San Sebastián Tecomaxtlahuaca	Cañada Lobo
	San Sebastián Tecomaxtlahuaca	Guadalupe Nundaco
	San Sebastián Tecomaxtlahuaca	Peña Prieta
	San Sebastián Tecomaxtlahuaca	San Martín Duraznos
	San Sebastián Tecomaxtlahuaca	San Mateo Tunuchi
	San Sebastián Tecomaxtlahuaca	San Sebastián Tecomaxtlahuaca
	San Sebastián Tecomaxtlahuaca	Santa Cruz Portezuelo
	San Sebastián Tecomaxtlahuaca	Santa Cruz Rancho Viejo
	San Sebastián Tecomaxtlahuaca	Santa Cruz Yosondica
	San Sebastián Tecomaxtlahuaca	Yucundío
	Santiago Juxtlahuaca	Agua Fria
	Santiago Juxtlahuaca	Concepción Carrizal
	Santiago Juxtlahuaca	Coyuchi
	Santiago Juxtlahuaca	Cruz Chiquita
	Santiago Juxtlahuaca	Nicán de la Soledad
	Santiago Juxtlahuaca	Rancho Nuevo
	Santiago Juxtlahuaca	Rancho Viejo
	Santiago Juxtlahuaca	Río Metates
	Santiago Juxtlahuaca	San Antonio del Progreso
	Santiago Juxtlahuaca	San Juan Copala
	Santiago Juxtlahuaca	San Juan Piñas
	Santiago Juxtlahuaca	San Miguel Cuevas
	Santiago Juxtlahuaca	San Pedro Chayuco
	Santiago Juxtlahuaca	Santa Catarina Nattepec
	Santiago Juxtlahuaca	Santa María Asunción
	Santiago Juxtlahuaca	Santa María Yucunicoco
	Santiago Juxtlahuaca	Santa Rosa Coxtlahuaca
	Santiago Juxtlahuaca	Santiago Juxtlahuaca

DISTRICT	MUNICIPIO	VILLAGE
Juxtlahuaca (cont.)	Santiago Juxtlahuaca	Santiago Naranjas
	Santiago Juxtlahuaca	Santo Domingo del Progreso
	Santiago Juxtlahuaca	Soledad Yucunisiasi
	Santiago Juxtlahuaca	Tierra Blanca
	Santiago Juxtlahuaca	Unión de Cárdenas
	Santiago Juxtlahuaca	Yosoyusi (Yozoyuxi)
	Santiago Juxtlahuaca	Yuchío
	Santiago Juxtlahuaca	Zochiquilazola
	Santos Reyes Tepejillo	Santos Reyes Tepejillo
	unknown	Tocuya
Nochixtlán	Asunción Nochixtlán	Asunción Nochixtlán
	Magdalena Jaltepec	El Venado
	Magdalena Jaltepec	Magdalena Jaltepec
	San Juan Tamazola	San Juan Monte Flor
Ocotlán	Asunción Ocotlán	Asunción Ocotlán
	Ocotlán de Morelos	Ocotlán de Morelos
	San Antonino Castillo Velasco	San Antonino Castillo Velasco
	San José del Progreso	San José del Progreso
	San Martín Tilcajete	San Martín Tilcajete
	San Pedro Mártir	San Pedro Mártir
	Santiago Apóstol	Santiago Apóstol
Pochutla	San Pedro Pochutla	San Pedro Pochutla
Putla de Guerrero	Constancia del Rosario	Constancia del Rosario
	Constancia del Rosario	Río Venado
	Constancia del Rosario	San José Yocosanú
	Constancia del Rosario	Santa Ana
	La Reforma	La Reforma
	Mesones Hidalgo	Mesones Hidalgo
	Mesones Hidalgo	Las Mesas
	Mesones Hidalgo	San José de las Flores
	Mesones Hidalgo	Santa María la Lima
	Putla Villa de Guerrero	El Carrizal
	Putla Villa de Guerrero	Gregorio Alvarez
	Putla Villa de Guerrero	La Joya
	Putla Villa de Guerrero	Putla Villa de Guerrero
	Putla Villa de Guerrero	San Marcos Coyulito
	Putla Villa de Guerrero	San Miguel Reyes
	Santa Cruz Itundujía	Santa Cruz Itundujía
	Santa Lucía Monteverde	Santa Lucía Monteverde
	Santa María Zacatepec	Aguiles Serdán
	Santa María Zacatepec	Cabeza del Río
	Santa María Zacatepec	Coyulito
	Santa María Zacatepec	Guadalupe Nuevo Centro
	Santa María Zacatepec	Santa María Zacatepec
Silacayoapam	Calihualá	San José Sabinillo
	Guadalupe Ramírez	Guadalupe Ramírez
	Ixpantepec Nieves	Ixpantepec Nieves
	Ixpantepec Nieves	Santa María Asunción
	San Agustín Atenango	San Agustín Atenango
	San Agustín Atenango	San Francisco Paxtlahuata
	San Agustín Atenango	San Mateo Libres

DISTRICT	MUNICIPIO	VILLAGE
Silacayoapam (cont.)	San Francisco Tlapancingo	San Francisco Tlapancingo
	San Juan Bautista Tlachichilco	SJB Tlachichilco
	San Juan Cieneguilla	San Juan Cieneguilla
	San Lorenzo Victoria	Guadalupe del Palmar
	San Lorenzo Victoria	San Jerónimo Nuchita
	San Lorenzo Victoria	San Lorenzo Victoria
	San Miguel Ahuehuetitlán	San Miguel Ahuehuetitlán
	San Nicolás Hidalgo	San Pedro Salinas
	Santa Cruz de Bravo	Santa Cruz de Bravo
	Santiago del Río	San Francisco Higos
	Santiago del Río	Santiago del Río
	Santiago Yucuyachi	Santa Rosa de Juárez
	Santiago Yucuyachi	Santiago Yucuyachi
	Santiago Tamazola	San Bartolo Salinas
	Santiago Tamazola	Santiago Tamazola
	Silacayoapam	Guadalupe Cabacúa
	Silacayoapam	San Andrés Montaña
	Silacayoapam	San Jerónimo Progreso
	Silacayoapam	San Martín del Estado
	Silacayoapam	San Miguel Aguacates
	Silacayoapam	San Sebastián Alfaro
	Silacayoapam	Santiago Asunción
	Silacayoapam	Santiago Patlanalá
	Silacayoapam	Silacayoapam
Sola de Vega	San Jacinto Tlacotepec	San Jacinto Tlacotepec
	Santiago Amoltepec	Santiago Amoltepec
	Santo Domingo Teojomulco	Santo Domingo Teojomulco
	Villa Sola de Vega	Villa Sola de Vega
Tehuantepec	Santo Domingo Tehuantepec	Santo Domingo Tehuantepec
Teposcolula	Santa María Chilapa de Díaz	Santa María Chilapa de Díaz
	Villa de Tamazulapam del Progreso	Villa de Tamazulapam del Progreso
Tlacolula	Tlacolula de Matamoras	Tlacolula de Matamoras
Tlaxiaco	Chalcatongo de Hidalgo	Chalcatongo de Hidalgo
	Chalcatongo de Hidalgo	Chapultepec
	Chalcatongo de Hidalgo	Iturbide
	Chalcatongo de Hidalgo	Zaragoza
	San Juan Numí	San Antonio Nduasico
	San Juan Numí	Santo Domingo Yosoñama
	Heroica Ciudad de Tlaxiaco	Heroica Ciudad de Tlaxiaco
	San Miguel el Grande	Guadalupe Victoria
	San Miguel el Grande	San Miguel el Grande
	San Miguel el Grande	Zaragoza
	Santa Catarina Ticuá	Santa Catarina Ticuá
	Santa María Yosoyúa	Buenavista
	Santa María Yosoyúa	Santa María Yosoyúa
	Santa María Yucuhiti	Santa María Yucuhiti
	Santiago Yosondúa	Buenavista
	Santo Domingo Ixcatlán	Santo Domingo Ixcatlán
Tuxtepec	SJ Bautista Valle Nacional	Cerro Armadillo Chico
	SJ Bautista Valle Nacional	Cerro Pitas

DISTRICT	MUNICIPIO	VILLAGE
Zaachila	San Antonio Huitepec	San Antonio Huitepec
	San Miguel Peras	San Miguel Peras
	Santa Inés del Monte	Santa Inés del Monte
	Villa de Zaachila	Villa de Zaachila
Zimatlán	Ayoquezco de Aldama	Ayoquezco de Aldama
	San Pablo Huixtepec	San Pablo Huixtepec
	Santa Gertrudis	Santa Gertrudis
	Zimatlán de Alvarez	Zimatlán de Alvarez
unknown	unknown	Rosario Nuevo
	unknown	Río Grande
	unknown	San Isidro Tezoatla
	unknown	Asunción Atoyacillo
	unknown	Santa Rosas de Lima
	unknown	Santa María Linda

Table 2
VILLAGES OF ORIGIN NOT FOUND IN CALIFORNIA
 FROM FARM WORKER SURVEYS, 1990-1992
 SAN QUINTÍN AREA, BAJA CALIFORNIA NORTE

DISTRICT	MUNICIPIO	VILLAGE
Coixtlahuaca	Santa María Nativitas	Santa María Nativitas
Ejutla	Ejutla de Crespo	Barranca Larga
Juxtlahuaca (Tlricui) (Tlricui) (Tlricui) (Tlricui)	San Martín Peras	San Miguel Peras
	Santiago Juxtlahuaca	Cerro del Pájaro
	Santiago Juxtlahuaca	Sábana
	Santiago Juxtlahuaca	Guadalupe Tilapa
	Santiago Juxtlahuaca	Santa Cruz Tilapa
Miahuatlán	Miahuatlán de Porfirio Díaz	Miahuatlán de Porfirio Díaz
	San Juan Mixtepec	San Juan Mixtepec
Nochistlán	San Mateo Sindihui	San Mateo Sindihui
Putla	Putla Villa de Guerrero	Llanos de San Vicente
Sola de Vega	Zapotitlán del Río	San Sebastián Yutanino
Tlaxiaco	San Juan Nūmí	San Juan Nūmí
	Heroica Ciudad de Tlaxiaco	San Miguel Progreso
	Santa Cruz Tayata	Santa Cruz Tayata
Tuxtepec	Acatlán de Pérez Figueroa	Tetetla
Villa Alta	San Pablo Yaganiza	San Pablo Yaganiza
Zimatlán	San Antonino el Alto	San José Monteverde
	San Miguel Mixtepec	San Miguel Mixtepec
NOT LOCATED:		
Zaachila		Mixtepec
		San Juan Huixtepec
		Santiago Azamatitlán
unknown		Pasimaro
		Santiago Atila
		Tollman

Table 3
OAXACAN MIGRANTS COUNTED IN CALIFORNIA, 1991

DISTRICT	MUNICIPIO	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL	W/ESTIMATES*
Centro		1	0	0	1	
	Oaxaca de Juárez	1	0	0	1	
Cuicatlán		1	0	0	1	
	San Pedro Jocotipac	1	0	0	1	
Ejutla		22	5	6	33	
	Ejutla de Crespo	22	5	6	33	105
Ella		22	0	0	22	
	Santiago Tlazoyaltepec	22	0	0	22	
Huajuapam		654	152	270	1,076	
	Huajuapam de León	54	10	9	73	
	San Jorge Nuchita	77	0	0	77	
	San Marcos Arteaga	9	1	0	10	
	San Miguel Amatitlán	30	1	0	31	
	Santiago Ayuquillilla	15	5	0	20	
	Santo Domingo Tonalá	99	22	18	139	
	Tezoatlán de Segura y Luna	359	113	243	715	
	Zapotitlán Palmas	10	0	0	10	
	unknown	1	0	0	1	
Ixtlán		13	10	18	41	
	San Pablo Macuiltianguis	12	10	18	40	
	Teococuilco de Marcos Pérez	1	0	0	1	
Juchitán		3	0	0	3	
	San Francisco del Mar	3	0	0	3	
Juquila		8	1	5	14	
	San Pedro Tututepec	5	0	3	8	
	Santa Catarina Juquila	3	1	2	6	
Juxtlahuaca		1,612	427	541	2,580	
	Coicoyán de las Flores	6	0	0	6	
	San Juan Mixtepec	375	135	161	671	3,600 (U.S.)
	San Martín Peras	5	0	0	5	
	San Miguel Tlacotepec	246	40	34	320	
	San Sebastián Tecomaxtlahuaca	299	66	70	435	485
	Santiago Juxtlahuaca	617	177	273	1,067	3,643
	Santos Reyes Tepejillo	57	10	6	63	
	unknown	9	0	0	9	
Nochixtlán		10	3	5	18	
	Asunción Nochixtlan	1	0	0	1	
	Magdalena Jaltepec	8	3	5	16	
	San Juan Tamazola	1	0	0	1	
Ocotlán		119	2	1	122	
	Asunción Ocotlán	27	0	0	27	
	Ocotlán de Morelos	31	0	0	31	
	San Antonino Castillo Velasco	22	0	0	22	
	San Jose del Progreso	8	2	1	11	
	San Martín Tilcajete	12	0	0	12	
	San Pedro Mártir	7	0	0	7	
	Santiago Apóstol	12	0	0	12	

* Figures are the sum of our counts plus the estimates of informants, and are not available for every municipio.

DISTRICT	MUNICIPIO	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL	W/ESTIMATES
Pochutla		1	0	0	1	
	San Pedro Pochutla	1	0	0	1	
Putla de Guerrero		260	54	16	330	
	Constancia del Rosario	59	30	0	89	
	Mesones Hidalgo	34	2	0	36	
	Putla Villa de Guerrero	107	12	9	128	
	Santa Cruz Itundujía	4	1	0	5	
	Santa Lucía Monteverde	6	0	0	6	
	Santa María Zacatepec	50	9	7	66	
Silacayoapam		838	330	376	1,544	
	Calihualá	20	2	2	24	
	Guadalupe Ramírez	6	1	2	9	
	Ixpantepec Nieves	117	30	17	164	
	San Agustín Atenango	37	8	9	54	
	San Juan Bautista Tlachichilco	7	0	0	7	
	San Juan Cieneguilla	14	6	4	24	224
	San Lorenzo Victoria	20	6	5	31	71
	San Miguel Ahuehuetitlán	5	0	0	5	
	San Nicolás Hidalgo	10	4	2	16	
	Santa Cruz de Bravo	16	12	10	38	85
	Santiago del Río	203	48	85	336	511
	Santiago del Yucuyachi	27	30	35	92	
	Santiago Tamazola	16	10	7	33	
	Silacayoapam	340	173	198	711	1,160
Sola de Vega		44	3	2	49	
	San Jacinto Tlacotepec	3	0	0	3	
	Santiago Amoltepec	16	0	0	16	
	Santo Domingo Teojomulco	14	3	2	19	
	Villa Sola de Vega	11	0	0	11	
Tehuantepec		1	0	0	1	
	Santo Domingo Tehuantepec	1	0	0	1	
Teposcolula		98	22	50	170	
	Santa María Chilapa de Díaz	90	20	50	160	
	Villa de Tamazulapam del Progreso	8	2	0	10	
Tlacolula		2	1	3	6	
	Tlacolula de Matamoras	2	1	3	6	
Tlaxiaco		154	25	24	203	
	Chalcatongo de Hidalgo	63	13	16	92	
	San Juan Numí	11	1	0	12	45
	San Miguel el Grande	36	8	7	51	137
	Santa Catarina Ticuá	8	0	0	8	
	Santa María Yosoyúa	11	2	0	13	
	Santa María Yucuhiti	2	0	0	2	
	Santiago Yosondúa	1	0	0	1	
	Santo Domingo Ixcatlán	1	1	1	3	
	Heróica Ciudad de Tlaxiaco	21	0	0	21	
Tuxtepec		5	2	2	9	
	SJ Bautista Valle Nacional	5	2	2	9	
Zaachila		40	2	0	42	
	San Antonio Huixtepec	34	0	0	34	

DISTRICT	MUNICIPIO	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL	W/ESTIMATES
Zaachila (cont.)	San Miguel Peras	4	2	0	6	
	Villa de Zaachila	2	0	0	2	
Zimatlán		184	110	117	411	
	Ayoquezco de Aldama	5	0	0	5	
	San Pablo Huixtepec	149	108	113	370	520
	Santa Gertrudis	9	1	2	12	
	Zimatlán de Alvarez	21	1	2	23	
unknown		2	1	3	6	
TOTALS		4,081	1,151	1,455	6,687	

Table 4
MIXTEC DISTRICTS¹ AND THEIR IMPORTANCE IN CALIFORNIA

ZONE	DISTRICT	NUMBER OF MUNICIPIOS	NUMBER OF MUNICIPIOS FOUND IN CA ²	PERCENT OF MUNICIPIOS FOUND IN CA ²
Mixteca Alta	Juxtlahuaca	7	7	100
	Teposcolula	21	2	10
	Putla	10	7	70
	Tlaxiaco	35	8 (9)	23 (26)
Mixteca Baja	Silacayoapam	19	15	79
	Huajuapam	28	10	36
	Coixtlahuaca	13	0 (1)	0 (8)
	Cuicatlán	20	1	5
	Nochistlán	32	3 (4)	9 (13)
	Zaachila	6	4	67
Mixteca de la Costa	Jamiltepec	24	0	0
	Juquila	12	2	17
	Sola de Vega	16	4 (5)	25 (31)

¹ Some districts, such as Zaachila, are only partly Mixtec.

² The numbers in parentheses are the sum of the municipios in Tables 1 and 2.

Chapter Three

California Destinations

Interviewer: *¿Cuántos paisanos están en California?*

Mixteco: *¡Ay, un chinco!*⁴

THE OAXACAN MIGRANTS TEND TO BE CLUSTERED IN PARTICULAR COMMUNITIES IN CALIFORNIA. Table 5 (page 21) presents the survey data organized by town in California. We counted at least some Oaxacans in 47 towns and the village networks referred us to another 53 towns, for a total of 100 California locations in 24 counties. Therefore, the 203 Oaxacan villages enumerated are migrating to 100 places in California—many of those only seasonally—plus a considerable number of places outside of California. Since we did not obtain referral information from every village, one might add another dozen locations, but there is remarkable repetitiveness to the reports. This may seem like a large number of towns, but given that there are approximately 2,000 places with population in California, it is a very limited path the Oaxacan migrants trek—to about 5 percent of the inhabited places in 41 percent of the 58 counties.

The last column of Table 5 is the sum of Oaxacan villages we actually found represented in a California location plus the number of villages that reported villagers in that town. Because of our limited resources and the uneven level of effort in the different locations, the figures in Table 5 may be better indicators of the relative importance of the different California towns than the actual numbers of people. For example, Madera accounts for 37 percent of the Oaxacans counted in the survey, but this is partly due to the high level of effort in Madera. Fresno lists 39 percent of the villages that Madera has, but only 13 percent of the population, due in part to our lesser effort in Fresno (and probably also to the smaller Mixtec population in that city).

In any case, the nine California towns with migrants from twenty or more Oaxacan villages accounted for 52 percent of all Oaxacan village–California town correspondences, and the 22 towns with more than ten villages accounted for 72 percent. Of those 22, we only surveyed 17, and those 17 accounted for 78 percent of the people counted in the survey. This is a remarkable degree of population concentration in California destinations, considering that these migrants are coming from over 200 villages.

How many indigenous Oaxacan workers are there in California agriculture? This was the question we posed when we conceived the survey. Although we have not yet gathered enough information to give a definitive answer, it is worthwhile to consider the possible magnitude of the population. We counted 6,687 Oaxacans in 47 California towns, but these towns represent only 47 percent of the locations we now know about. On the other hand, we surveyed many of the towns with the greatest concentrations of migrants; we know we went to 17 of the 22 towns with ten or more villages claiming to migrate to them.

Based on the survey data, we estimated the number of Oaxacan migrants in California agriculture using the following procedure: First, we broke the towns into two groups, and assumed that the five towns with the highest number of villages identified, but that we did not survey, would each yield the same average population as the 17 we did survey. Then we assumed that the other 48 towns that we

⁴ Anna García asked repeatedly for a clarification of the quantity implied by the term “chinco”. After much research, we are now able to state that a chinco is any amount greater than can be counted on one’s hands, i.e. more than ten.

did not visit would each yield the same average population as the 30 remaining towns that we did visit. On this basis, the 53 towns that we did not survey would yield another 3,878 Oaxacans, for a total of 10,565.

Our surveyors' estimates of the coverage in the towns we visited typically ranged from 10–50 percent, so the most conservative estimate would double our total to 21,130. A fairer estimate would probably triple it to 31,695. We believe a reasonable estimate of the number of mostly Mixtec indigenous Oaxacans (excluding the Zapotecs in Los Angeles) in California in 1991 would fall between 20,000 and 40,000.

Our estimate of the total number of Mixtec migrants at peak season is a snapshot of the population in any one year. However, not everyone who migrates to the United States does so every year. Therefore, the population of Mixtecs migrating to the United States is larger than these numbers imply. Our guess is that it could be double these estimates, but we have no concrete information on which to base a number.

In the last column of Table 3 (page 14), we included the totals for various municipios, adding the estimates of informants rather than relying on our counts alone. As stated above, our figures typically range from 10–50 percent of such estimates. Edinger and Edinger (1990) figure that there should be 3,600 people from the municipio of San Juan Mixtepec migrating to the United States, but we only counted 671—or about one-fifth of this population. Of course their number includes those not in the migrant stream every year.

The number of Oaxacan migrants has surely grown in the past three years. Anna García reports that the number of Mixtecs in Parlier doubled in the year after we did the survey. Many women and children have come to the United States to join husbands and fathers who were legalized as Special Agricultural Workers (SAWs) under IRCA. A reasonable estimate of the peak-season Mixtec population in California now might approach 50,000. If 75 percent of these Mixtecs are working in agriculture (22 percent are children), then Mixtecs would account for about 5 percent of the estimated California farm labor force.

The Mixtecs are not the main group working in California agriculture. This role is still filled by mestizos from west-central Mexico, who have been the principal labor source for California agriculture for decades. But the Mixtecs are clustered in certain areas and jobs, and this has had a significant effect on certain labor markets as the Mixtecs' numbers have grown. What are those labor markets? If we look at just the 22 towns that were mentioned by ten or more villages, they fall into clear regional groups.

In San Diego County, there are eight such towns: Carlsbad, Del Mar, Escondido, Fallbrook, Oceanside, San Diego, San Luis Rey, and Vista. Because of its importance as an entry point into the United States, San Diego agriculture continues to employ a major concentration of Oaxacan workers. Claudia Smith, director of the California Rural Legal Assistance (CRLA) office in San Diego, described her reaction to this farm labor market:

In all my journeys throughout the states and throughout the rural areas of this state, I've never seen wages or working conditions as depressed as what I've seen here in northern San Diego County. The dimension of the abuses here, which range from employers refusing to pay wages to the lack of water in the fields, is several times worse than in any other part of the state.⁵

Another important concentration of Mixtecs is in Los Angeles and Santa Ana. Since we did not survey in this area, we have only anecdotal information that Mixtecs are working in landscaping and factories, or selling *paletas* from street carts. There is also a large population of Zapotecs in West Los Angeles.

⁵ Zabin 1992, p. 24. For more discussion of Mexican immigrants in San Diego, many of whom are Mixtecs, see Eisenstadt and Thorup 1994, Chavez 1992.

There is another concentration of Mixtecs in Arvin and Bakersfield in the southern San Joaquin Valley working in vegetable operations and hoeing field crops. There are smaller numbers scattered through the citrus belt in the eastside foothills of the San Joaquin Valley.

Further north is the main migration destination of the Mixtecs: Madera and Fresno counties. Madera was mentioned by informants from 122 villages; it is the center of the Mixtec universe in California. Of a total of 203 villages included in this report, 60 percent migrate to Madera. Madera is also, naturally, a center for settlement: We found women from 48 villages and children from 36 villages, meaning that of the 87 villages actually surveyed, 41 percent reported children in Madera. It is no accident that special programs to cope with Mixtec children were first set up in the Madera schools. The important destinations in Fresno County include Caruthers, Fresno, Kerman, and Selma. Most of the people work in agriculture harvesting tomatoes, hoeing field crops, thinning and picking stone fruit, pruning trees and vines, and working in all aspects of grape production.

Over toward the coast there are four distinct destinations. North of Los Angeles are Oxnard and Santa Maria, where the Mixtecs have become an important part of the strawberry and vegetable labor force. On the central coast Mixtecs are concentrated in San Jose and Santa Cruz. San Jose is much like Los Angeles, with workers in factories and services. In Santa Cruz the work is more agricultural, with many Oaxacans working in mushrooms, strawberries, and vegetables. They will probably assume a greater importance in the principal central coast agricultural towns of Watsonville and Salinas in the future, but this has not yet occurred. Finally, north of San Francisco there is an important settlement in Santa Rosa, and seasonal migration to the wine grape harvest in this area is growing.

It is interesting to note that the Mixtecs have become an important component of the labor force in the most labor-intensive crops: strawberries, fresh tomatoes, grapes, stone fruit, and citrus. With the addition of lettuce, these crops were the principal users of the Bracero Program in California in its latter years (Runsten and LeVeen 1981), and they continue to be the main arena of conflict over farm labor conditions and wages. Many of these crops have large seasonal labor requirements that lead to significant annual turnover in the labor force, thus providing an opportunity for new entrants who are willing to accept short-term jobs. For example, the Mixtecs have become the principal labor force for the fresh tomato harvest in the southern San Joaquin Valley, in part because of its relatively short seasons (at the beginning and end of the summer). In contrast, migrants from Michoacán still dominate the long tomato harvest in Stockton (Runsten, et al. 1992). Similarly, Mixtecs have become the main group working in the raisin grape harvest in the Fresno-Madera region, which requires over 50,000 workers for only a few weeks at the end of August.⁶ The same is true of the berry harvests in Oregon⁷ and the olive harvests in Orland, Corning, and Visalia; it is less true of the citrus harvest and strawberries in Santa Maria. In those instances, as in San Diego tomatoes and strawberries, there were conscious efforts by employers to use Mixtec migrants to undermine existing labor market structures or to bid down real wages.⁸

These, then, are the principal destinations of Mixtecs in California. In Table 7 (page 24) we describe in more detail the findings in the different California towns, and in the appendix we present detailed findings for each Oaxacan town or village.

Of special note is the complete absence of any mention of Imperial County or the Coachella Valley in the survey. The large labor force used in this desert region is made up mainly of "commuters" who cross the border each day from Mexicali. In the past Mixtecs have been taken from Riverside to the California and Arizona desert in appreciable numbers by labor contractors to pick citrus crops on a temporary basis. There is also a substantial Mixtec settlement in Mexicali. The Imperial Valley's absence of mention here is an interesting aspect of Mixtec demography and deserves further study.

⁶ See Alvarado, et al. 1992; Zabin, et al. 1993.

⁷ See Zabin and Oseki 1990; Zabin, et al. 1993.

⁸ This process was first discussed by Rick Mines regarding Ventura citrus (see Mines and Anzaldúa 1982; also Lloyd, et al. 1988). For a more detailed discussion see Zabin, et al. 1993.

Other States

In addition to information about California locations, informants also gave us the names of other states where villagers were living and working. These are listed in Table 6 (page 23) with the number of villages reporting people in each state. Including California, a total of 23 states were mentioned, and Canada was reported by four villages.

Oregon is far and away the most important destination outside of California, with 78 villages reporting villagers there. The vast majority of the towns reported in Oregon are located in the Willamette Valley, as the migration to Oregon has been centered around work in strawberries, caneberries, and pickling cucumbers in that region. In some of the early fieldwork, we discovered that both growers and contractors from Oregon had gone to Mexico and recruited Mixtec and Triqui workers directly. For some villages, this migration preceded employment in California, but since work in Oregon is more seasonal, migrants naturally moved south to work in California. Other villages began migrating to Oregon via Madera since there is considerable complementarity between the seasonal tasks in the two locations. A typical pattern is to migrate to Oregon in the spring after thinning fruit, work the berry and cucumber harvests, then return to Madera in August for the raisin grape harvest.⁹ This pattern of migration is particularly typical of families who are working together, as both of these harvests are desperate for large numbers of peak-season workers and so accommodate families. Migrants also come to work in nurseries and to plant pine trees for forestry operations, or to pick fruit in Hood River and Medford. Mixtecs have also appeared in Umatilla County for the vegetable harvest, though particular towns were not mentioned in this survey.

We reviewed the Migrant Education data for Oregon at an early stage of this project, and found that the towns of origin in Mexico were so poorly recorded as to be essentially unusable. However, the data showed that from 1985 to 1990 some 26 towns in Oregon enrolled students transferring from Oaxaca. Of this group of 26 towns, 24 were located in the Willamette Valley, with the most students by far in Hillsboro and Canby, followed distantly by Woodburn and Hubbard. The other two towns reported outside of the Willamette Valley were Medford, in southern Oregon, and Stanfield, out east in Umatilla County.

Reported by 44 villages, Washington was the next most important destination for Mixtecs. Most migrants work in apples, asparagus, and cherries in the west, and potatoes and grapes in the east. However, the surprisingly large number of villages suggest that we know relatively little about all of the work being done by Oaxacans in Washington.

Florida was the third most cited destination, with 26 villages migrating there to work in tomatoes, vegetables, and citrus. While Burns (1993) reports that the Mayan migrants from Guatemala are centered in Indiantown, West Palm Beach, Homestead, Boynton Beach, Imokalee, and Okeechobee, the Mixtecs reported settling in Naples (in the southwest), Miami, Arcadia (north of Fort Myers), and Apopka (by Orlando). Workers who pick tomatoes migrate back-and-forth between California and Florida in significant numbers; migrants from San Juan Mixtepec are one example.

A full 20 villages reported migrants in New York, most going to New York City, a place that appears to have room for everyone; among the tasks cited were selling flowers on the street and working in restaurants. Eight villages went to Idaho, mostly for sugar beets and potatoes. Some other jobs include picking fruit in North Carolina and Georgia, restaurants in Reno and Las Vegas, and mushrooms in Pennsylvania. The rest of the states received few mentions, with ten noted only once.

Many of these destinations are seasonal work sites, but as has been found repeatedly with migration studies, habitual seasonal migration eventually leads to settlement. This is clearly the case in Oregon, where there is significant settlement by Mixtecs in the Willamette Valley.

⁹ For some evidence, see Zabin and Oseki 1990; Bade 1993; Zabin, et al. 1993.

Table 5
CALIFORNIA LOCATIONS OF OAXACANS

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL	OAXACAN VILLAGES
Alameda	Union City	Not visited				4
Contra Costa	Concord	Not visited				1
Fresno	Biola	40	12	10	62	6
	Burrel	Not visited				1
	Caruthers	34	20	25	79	12
	Clovis	Not visited				1
	Del Rey	5	1	0	6	2
	Easton	8	0	0	8	8
	Fowler	65	0	0	65	4
	Fresno	195	55	58	308	48
	Kerman	159	28	26	213	25
	Orange Cove	1	0	0	1	3
	Parlier	23	3	7	33	8
	Raisin City	Not visited				1
	Reedley	Not visited				1
	Sanger	15	6	4	25	5
	Selma	26	3	4	33	16
Kern	Arvin	107	57	76	240	13
	Bakersfield	95	30	33	158	11
	Delano	Not visited				1
	Lamont	12	6	12	30	4
	McFarland	28	5	9	42	4
Los Angeles	Arcadia	Not visited				1
	Burbank	Not visited				1
	Inglewood	Not visited				1
	La Puente	Not visited				1
	Los Angeles	Not visited				20
	Pasadena	Not visited				1
	Pomona	Not visited				2
	San Fernando	Not visited				2
	San Gabriel	Not visited				1
	Santa Monica	Not visited				2
Madera	Chowchilla	Not visited				1
	Madera	1443	385	616	2444	122
Merced	Livingston	101	25	37	163	4
	Los Banos	Not visited				1
	Merced	Not visited				3
Monterey	King City	1	1	0	2	2
	Salinas	Not visited				4
	Seaside	100	100	100	300	1
Napa	St. Helena	Not visited				1
Orange	Anaheim	Not visited				2
	Garden Grove	Not visited				1
	Orange	Not visited				1
	San Clemente	Not visited				1
	Santa Ana	Not visited	11			
Riverside	Indio	1	1	0	2	1
	Rancho California	Not visited				2

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL	OAXACAN VILLAGES
Riverside (cont.)	Riverside	15	7	6	28	2
	Temecula	14	2	0	16	3
Sacramento	Sacramento	Not visited				1
San Bernardino	Colton	Not visited				2
	Highland	Not visited				1
	Ontario	Not visited				1
	Redlands	Not visited				1
	Rialto	Not visited				1
	San Bernardino	11	8	7	26	6
San Diego	Bonsall	Not visited				5
	Carlsbad	268	9	10	287	39
	Chula Vista	Not visited				1
	Del Mar	Not visited				13
	El Cajon	Not visited				1
	Escondido	120	50	50	220	15
	Fallbrook	47	9	3	59	11
	Leucadia	Not visited				1
	National City	Not visited				1
	Oceanside	120	58	48	226	27
	Rainbow	Not visited				1
	Ramona	1	0	0	1	3
	San Diego	Not visited				12
	San Marcos	22	0	1	23	9
	Valley Center	Not visited				1
	Vista	86	32	22	140	40
San Francisco	San Francisco	Not visited				5
San Joaquin	Stockton	Not visited				8
San Luis Obispo	Oceano	Not visited				1
	San Luis Obispo	Not visited				1
San Mateo	Half Moon Bay	Not visited				1
	Pescadero	16	0	0	16	2
Santa Barbara	Guadalupe	Not visited	2			
	Santa Maria	189	90	86	365	41
Santa Clara	Gilroy	19	6	8	33	9
	Milpitas	10	0	0	10	7
	Morgan Hill	98	4	6	108	3
	Mt. View	20	2	0	22	3
	San Jose	64	18	15	97	18
	Sunnyvale	18	5	4	27	3
Santa Cruz	Davenport	23	3	2	28	3
	Santa Cruz	86	28	33	147	10
	Watsonville	15	0	0	15	8
Sonoma	Santa Rosa	Not visited				11
Tulare	Cutler	14	1	2	17	3
	Dinuba	4	0	0	4	2
	Exeter	16	13	22	51	4
	Farmersville	67	63	106	236	7
	Lindsay	Not visited				4
	Porterville	Not visited				1
	Visalia	Not visited				6
Ventura	Oxnard	3	1	2	6	11
TOTALS		4081	1151	1455	6687	784

Table 6
DESTINATIONS IN STATES OTHER THAN CALIFORNIA

STATE	NUMBER OF VILLAGES REPORTED	TOWNS MENTIONED AS DESTINATIONS
Alaska	1	
Arizona	1	
Florida	26	Arcadia, Miami, Naples
Georgia	2	Franklin
Idaho	8	Lewiston, Wilder
Illinois	4	Chicago
Michigan	1	
Missouri	1	St. Louis
Montana	1	
Nebraska	1	
Nevada	3	Las Vegas, Reno
New Jersey	2	
New York	20	
North Carolina	5	
Oregon	78	Boring, Buxton, Canby, Cornelius, Dayton, Forest Grove, Gaston, Gervais, Grants Pass, Gresham, Hillsboro, Hood River, Medford, Molalla, Monitor, Mosier, Mt. Angel, Mt. Vernon, North Plains, Portland, St. Paul, Salem, Sandy, Silverton, Woodburn
Pennsylvania	4	Philadelphia, Reading
South Carolina	1	
Texas	1	Houston
Utah	1	
Virginia	2	
Washington	44	Chelan, Othello, Pasco, Tacoma, Wenatchee, Yakima, Zillah
Wyoming	1	
CANADA	4	

Table 7
CALIFORNIA ETHNOGRAPHY

ALAMEDA COUNTY	
Union City	Not visited. Four villages reported people there, including Santiago Juxtlahuaca, working in restaurants and services.
CONTRA COSTA COUNTY	
Concord	Not visited. San Sebastián Tecomaxtlahuaca reported people there.
FRESNO COUNTY	
Biola	Found 40 men, 12 women, and 10 children; total: 62. Found 4 villages, all with women and 3 with children. Principal village was Yucuquimi de Ocampo, Huajuapam. Two other villages mentioned migrants there.
Burrel	Not visited. Interviewed some men from San Antonio Huitepec, Zaachila, on a farm there in 1990.
Caruthers	Found 34 men, 20 women, and 25 children; total: 79. Found 9 villages, only 3 with women, 2 with children. Main village was San Miguel Cuevas with 17 families. Three other villages mentioned migrants there.
Clovis	Not visited. San Agustín Atenango reported families there.
Del Rey	Found 5 men and 1 woman for a total of 6. Found people from Huajuapam who had been there 3 years. Santiago Naranjas also mentioned people there.
Easton	Found 4 men from Huajuapam and Xonacatlán, Guerrero.
Five Points	Often mentioned as a work destination, but no one reported living there.
Fowler	Found 65 men from San Miguel Cuevas on two farms; villagers have been going there since 1980. Three other villages mentioned migrants there.
Fresno	Found 195 men, 55 women, 58 children; total: 308. Found 19 villages, including 12 with women and 11 with children. 29 other villages mentioned, for a total of 48. (The Mixtec population in Fresno may be quite large, as we did not dedicate the time to Fresno that we did to Madera because the city is so much bigger and spread out.) Principal settled villages included San Miguel Cuevas, Santiago Asunción, Santiago Patlanalá, San Miguel Tlacotepec, and Santiago Pastahuaca.
Huron	An important place of work for Mixtecs, picking tomatoes, hoeing field crops, and harvesting melons. However, these workers did not live there, but were hauled out daily from Madera and Fresno. We went looking for Mixtecs there early in 1991 but mainly found mestizo lettuce workers. No village mentioned anyone living there.
Kerman	Found 159 men, 28 women, 26 children; total: 213. Found 17 villages, including 10 with women and 6 with children. Eight other villages mentioned. Most important village for families was Santa Catarina Naltepec.
Orange Cove	Found 1 man from Santiago Tamazola. Also found many Zapotecs from San Pedro Mártir, but they were not counted. One other village mentioned migrants there, picking oranges.
Parlier	Found 23 men, 3 women, 7 children; total: 33. Found 7 villages, 3 with women, 1 with children. One other village mentioned people there.

Parlier (cont.)	One family with 7 children is from Santa María Asunción, Juxtlahuaca, and had been there since 1976. Most from Santiago Naranjas.
Raisin City	Not visited. Santiago Naranjas mentioned villagers there.
Reedley	Not visited. Zapotecs from San Pedro Mártir said the majority of villagers in United States are here.
Sanger	Found 15 men, 6 women, 4 children; total: 25. Found 4 villages, 2 with women and children. One other village mentioned migrants there. Families mostly from Huajuapam. Informant from San Francisco Yosocuta had been there 10 years, informant from Guadalupe de Cisneros there 18 years. People from other towns reported working in Sanger seasonally in packing houses, fruit dehydrator.
San Joaquin	Visited many camps and found no Oaxacans. Like Huron, more a place to work.
Selma	Found 26 men, 3 women, 4 children; total: 33. Found 7 villages, only 2 with women and 1 with children. Nine other villages mentioned migrants there. Children were from Ejutla; also women from Santiago Naranjas. Santa Cruz Portezuelo also reported 4 families and 15-20 villagers, but we did not find them.
GLENN COUNTY	
Orland	Not visited. Mixtecs pick olives here and in Corning, but no village reported paisanos living there. In fact, workers have complained about having to sleep in fields in the rain.
KERN COUNTY	
Arvin	Found 107 men, 57 women, 76 children; total: 240. ACBJ estimated to us in May 1990 that there were 60 settled families in Arvin and 300 at peak season. In August 1991, Gregorio Santiago from San Juan Mixtepec actually found 189 people from the village of San Juan Mixtepec in Arvin, and 240 Mixtecs total from 9 villages (including 7 villages with women and children), all from the municipio of San Juan Mixtepec. Three additional villages from San Juan Mixtepec and one from Huajuapam reported villagers living there, but we did not find them. There are other Mixtecs from Bakersfield and McFarland who work in Arvin, but the estimate of 300 living there at peak seems reasonable for 1991.
Bakersfield	Found 95 men, 30 women, 33 children; total: 158. Found people from 6 villages, all with women and children, and all from Silacayoapam. Five other villages (some from Juxtlahuaca and Huajuapam) reported people there.
Delano	Not visited. San Jorge Nuchita reported villagers there.
Lamont	Found 12 men, 6 women, 12 children; total: 30. Found 4 villages, 2 with women and children: San Juan Mixtepec and Santa María Tepoxtlantongo.
McFarland	Found 28 men, 5 women, 9 children; total: 42. Found 3 villages, 2 with women and children: San Juan Mixtepec and Llano Colorado (from same municipio). Ten men from Zapotitlán Palmas, Huajuapam. One other village in San Juan Mixtepec mentioned migrants there.

LOS ANGELES COUNTY	
Arcadia	Not visited. San Pablo Macuiltianguis reported people there.
Burbank	Not visited. San Miguel Cuevas reported people there.
Inglewood	Not visited. San Pablo Macuiltianguis reported people there.
La Puente	Not visited. San Lorenzo Vista Hermosa reported villagers there selling paletas (see Santa Ana).
Los Angeles	Not visited. 20 villages reported people there. Numerous reports of Mixtecs working in factories, also construction, print shop, aircraft maintenance, gardening, electronics. Many settled. Some married U.S.-born.
Pasadena	Not visited. San Pablo Macuiltianguis reported people there.
Pomona	Not visited. Santa Rosa Coxtlahuaca and Santiago Naranjas reported people there.
San Fernando	Not visited. Magdalena Jaltepec and San Lorenzo Victoria reported people there.
San Gabriel	Not visited. San Pablo Macuiltianguis reported people there.
Santa Monica	Not visited. San Pablo Macuiltianguis and Santa Catarina Naltepec reported people there.
MADERA COUNTY	
Chowchilla	Not visited. Nicán reported villagers there. Some people from Madera go there to work in tomatoes and in a nursery.
Madera	<p>Found 1,443 men, 385 women, 616 children; total: 2,444. Found 87 villages in survey, including 48 with women, 36 with children. Bonnie Bade identified an additional 6 villages which appear in the first list of Oaxacan locales. An additional 29 villages reported people in Madera, for a total of 122 villages. Madera is the center of the Mixtec universe in California: Of a total of 203 villages included in this report, 60 percent migrate to Madera.</p> <p>According to the survey, the villages with the greatest populations in Madera are, in descending order: Santa Catarina Naltepec (454), Santa María Tindú (428), San Mateo Tunuchi (135), San Francisco Higos (117), Santiago Juxtlahuaca (94), and San Marcos Garzón (80). These 6 towns accounted for 54 percent of the Oaxacans found by the survey in Madera. Most of the people work in agriculture, harvesting tomatoes, hoeing field crops, thinning and picking stone fruit, pruning trees and vines, and working in all aspects of grape production.</p>
MERCED COUNTY	
Livingston	Found 101 men, 25 women, 37 children (estimates); total: 163. One family from San Miguel Cuevas, but the majority there are from San Mateo Tunuchi and Chalcatongo de Hidalgo. San Sebastián Tecomaxtlahuaca also reported villagers there.
Los Banos	Not visited. Santiago del Río (Silacayoapam) reported people there.
Merced	Not visited. Three villages reported people there.
MONTEREY COUNTY	
King City	Found 1 man and 1 woman from Zaragoza (San Miguel el Grande). People from Guadalupe Victoria reported there since 1976.

Salinas	Not visited. Four villages reported people there. In addition, we interviewed a man from Santiago Naranjas who worked 4 months a year in Salinas vegetables with 1 other from his village, 5 from Santa María Tindú, 8 from San Juan Mixtepec, and 5 from Santiago Juxtlahuaca. Of these villages, only Juxtlahuaca was among the 4 that reported villagers living there.
Seaside	Found approximately 100 families, for a total of 300, from San Pablo Huixtepec, a Zapotec village in Zimatlán. Informant who owns a restaurant in Seaside estimated 450 from village there, but another informant estimated 150.
NAPA COUNTY	
St. Helena	Not visited. San Agustín Atenango reported people there.
ORANGE COUNTY	
Anaheim	Not visited. Huajuapam and San Miguel Tlacotepec reported people there.
Garden Grove	Not visited. Asunción Nochixtlán reported people there.
Orange	Not visited. Huajuapam reported people there.
San Clemente	Not visited. San Juan Piñas reported people there.
Santa Ana	Not visited. Eleven villages reported people there. Informant from San Lorenzo Vista Hermosa (Huajuapam) says that most of his villagers in the United States live there. A family from village owns a paleta factory and many villagers work selling paletas from carts. Informant from San Sebastián Tecomaxtlahuaca said villagers work in factory that makes blinds. Informant from San Juan Cieneguilla said the majority of migrants from village were in Santa Ana working in factories and gardening; estimated 200 villagers.
RIVERSIDE COUNTY	
Rancho California	Not visited. Tepejillo and Ixpantepec Nieves reported people there.
Riverside	Four families from San Jerónimo Progreso there, working in citrus harvest, construction, and a citrus packing house. Huajuapam migrants there.
Temecula	Not visited. San Miguel Tlacotepec and Tepejillo reported people there.
SACRAMENTO COUNTY	
Sacramento	Not visited. Santiago Naranjas reported villagers there.
SAN BENITO COUNTY	
Hollister	Mentioned often as a place of work, we found some Mixtecos working there for a farm labor contractor in 1990, but no village reported it in the survey.
SAN BERNARDINO COUNTY	
Colton	Not visited. Huajuapam and Santa María Chilapa de Díaz (Teposcolula) reported villagers there.
Highland	Not visited. Huajuapam reported migrants there.
Ontario	Not visited. San Pablo Macuiltianguis reported villagers there.
Redlands	Not visited. Huajuapam reported migrants there.
Rialto	Not visited. Huajuapam reported migrants there.

San Bernardino	Not visited. Six villages reported migrants there. Construction, light industry, and citrus work noted.
SAN DIEGO COUNTY	
Bonsall	Not visited. Five villages reported migrants there.
Carlsbad	Found 268 men, 9 women, 10 children; total: 287. Found 26 villages, only 2 with women and children. Thirteen other villages mentioned. The women and children were mostly from Santiago Yucuyachi; one family from San Pedro del Rincón. Main concentrations of men from San Jorge Nuchita, San Vicente del Palmar, San Miguel Tlacotepec, and Ocotlán de Morelos.
Chula Vista	Not visited. San Miguel el Grande reported villagers there.
Del Mar	Not visited. Thirteen villages reported people there.
El Cajon	Not visited. Santiago Naranjas reported some people in gardening there since 1978.
Encinitas	Found 27 men from two villages, Santiago Tlazoyaltepec (and neighboring ranchos) and Santa Gertrudis. Five other villages reported migrants there, including a man from Juchitán we interviewed in 1989, who said few migrate from that area.
Escondido	Found 120 men, 50 women, and 50 children, for a total of 220, all from two villages: Santa María Chilapa de Díaz (Teposcolula) with 150 and all of the children, and Santa Ana (Putla). Thirteen other villages reported migrants there. Work mentioned included gardening and avocados.
Fallbrook	Found 47 men, 9 women, 3 children; total: 59. Found 6 villages, 2 with women and children. Five other villages reported migrants. Main group of men from Santiago Nuxaño, women from Santa Cruz de Bravo.
Leucadia	Not visited. Tezoatlán reported people there.
National City	Not visited. San Juan Cieneguilla reported villagers working in nursery.
Oceanside	Found 120 men, 58 women, 48 children; total: 226. Found 11 villages, 5 with women, 4 with children. Sixteen other villages reported migrants there. Major groups found were from San Martín Sabinillo, Ixpantepec Nieves, Santiago Yucuyachi, and San Martín del Estado (107 people).
Rainbow	Not visited. San Miguel Tlacotepec reported villagers there.
Ramona	Found one man from San Miguel Cuevas. San Jacinto (Sola de Vega) reported the majority of villagers there; San Jose Sabinillo reported migrants.
San Diego	Not visited. Twelve villages reported people there. Domestic work and factories were mentioned.
San Luis Rey	Found 234 men and 5 women; total: 239. Found 21 villages, only 2 with women, and none with children. 22 other villages reported migrants. San Luis Rey is one of the main entry points to the United States for Mixtecs, and includes some of the principal agricultural employers of San Diego, such as the Singh ranch. Most of the people surveyed were living outdoors. Large numbers of people from San Martín Sabinillo, San Miguel Tlacotepec, and Tepejillo were found. An informant from Santa Rosa Coxtlahuaca reported 100 villagers there, but we did not locate them. The 8 men we found from San Mateo Libres reported "many fami-

San Luis Rey (cont.)	lies," as did an informant from Santa Cruz Portezuelo, but they were not located. An informant from Santiago del Río told us that the majority of his villagers were in San Luis Rey, but we found none of them. The principal work is in tomatoes, strawberries, and flowers, but some work in gardening.
San Marcos	Found 22 men and 1 child; total: 23. Found only people from San Miguel Tlacotepec, but 8 other villages reported migrants there. Santa María Tindú reported 5–6 families.
Valley Center	Not visited. San Miguel el Grande reported villagers there.
Vista	Found 86 men, 32 women, 22 children; total: 140. Found 13 villages, 7 with women, 6 with children. 27 other villages reported migrants there. Most people found were from San Miguel Tlacotepec, Ixpantepec Nieves, and San Pedro Salinas. However, there were people reported from all over Oaxaca. For example, informants from Santa Rosa Coxtlahuaca reported that the majority of villagers were in Vista, and that many settled families lived there—some since 1972—but we did not find them. Many of the villages work in agriculture, especially tomatoes, strawberries, and flowers, but also in gardening, construction, and domestic work.
SAN FRANCISCO COUNTY	
San Francisco	Not visited. Five villages reported people there. Informants from Tlaxiaco said villagers worked in restaurants.
SAN JOAQUIN COUNTY	
Stockton	Not visited. Eight villages, mostly from Juxtlahuaca, reported people there. Most report working in tomatoes and asparagus. Some of these villages commute from Madera. Oaxacan tomato pickers were brought in purposely during the last strike in fresh tomatoes in the Stockton area, which is dominated by Michoacanos.
SAN LUIS OBISPO COUNTY	
Oceano	Not visited. Only Santiago Yucuyachi reported villagers there.
San Luis Obispo	Not visited. Only Silacayoapam reported villagers there.
SAN MATEO COUNTY	
Half Moon Bay	Not visited. Santo Domingo Teojomulco (Zapotec) reported villagers there. Large nurseries in area.
Pescadero	Found 16 men from Santiago Amoltepec. Santo Domingo Teojomulco also reported villagers there.
SANTA BARBARA COUNTY	
Guadalupe	Not visited. Only Santiago Yucuyachi, which is a major village migrating to the neighboring town of Santa María (see below), and Santa Gertrudis reported villagers there.
Santa María	Found 189 men, 90 women, 86 children; total: 365. Found 25 villages, 16 with women, 14 with children. 16 other villages reported migrants there. Many people found from San Pablo Macuiltianguis (Ixtlán), the municipio of San Juan Mixtepec—especially Santa Cruz (104 people)—Santiago Yucuyachi (which reported the majority of villagers in Califor-

Santa Maria (cont.)	nia are in Santa Maria), and San Martín del Estado. Found some Chinantecs here. Most everyone reported working in strawberries, but also other vegetable crops in Santa Maria and Guadalupe; grape work.
SANTA CLARA COUNTY	
Gilroy	Found 19 men, 6 women, 8 children; total: 33. Found 2 villages, 1 with women and children. Seven other villages reported migrants there, some reporting settled relatives. Work in agriculture, garlic, bell peppers. Most of those found were from San Francisco Higos (25 people); they estimated 100 there.
Milpitas	Found 10 men from 3 villages; 4 other villages reported people there.
Morgan Hill	Found 98 men, 4 women, 6 children; total: 108. Found 3 villages, 1 with women and children; no others reported migrants there. Most (100) were from San Francisco Higos (Silacayoapam).
Mt. View	Found 20 men and 2 women; total: 22. Found 3 villages, 1 with women, all from Putla; no other villages reported migrants there.
San Jose	Found 64 men, 18 women, 15 children; total: 97. Found 5 villages, 3 with women, 2 with children. Thirteen other villages reported migrants there. Most people found were from San Francisco Higos (Silacayoapam) which accounted for 51 people. Various villages reported working in gardening, landscaping, construction, and restaurants.
Sunnyvale	Found 18 men, 5 women, 4 children; total: 27. Found 2 villages, Putla Villa de Guerrero and Santa María Zacatepec, working in landscaping. One other village reported migrants there.
SANTA CRUZ COUNTY	
Davenport	Found 23 men, 3 women, 2 children; total: 28. Found 3 villages; only Santo Domingo Tejomulco with women and children. No other villages reported migrants there. Mostly Zapotecs, plus Huajuapam.
Santa Cruz	Found 86 men, 28 women, 33 children; total: 147. Found 8 villages, 4 with women and children. Two other villages reported migrants there. Most people were from Juxtlahuaca, including Santa Cruz, San Mateo Tunuchi, and San Sebastian Tecomaxtlahuaca. Latter two villages reported working in mushrooms, some for as long as 10 years. Also large group of Zapotecs from San Pablo Huixtepec. Restaurant, factory work.
Watsonville	Found 15 men from San Pablo Huixtepec. Seven other villages reported people there. Probably increasing penetration of strawberry harvest.
SONOMA COUNTY	
Santa Rosa	Not visited. Rafael Morales of San Pedro y San Pablo Tequixtepec, Huajuapam, has been a mayordomo in grapes there since 1970. He reported that Oaxacans began to come to work for him in the 1970s, first from Putla, then from Tequixtepec about 1975, followed by migrants from Santiago Chazumba and Huajuapam de León. Eight other villages reported villagers there, including 3 from Putla. Constanca del Rosario reported villagers going to work for Morales.

TEHAMA COUNTY	
Coming	Not visited. A number of villages said migrants went to this town to pick olives, but no village reported people living there.
TULARE COUNTY	
Cutler	Found 14 men, 1 woman, 2 children; total: 17. Found 3 villages, no others mentioned. Also found some blacks from Pinotepa Nacional, but did not count them.
Dinuba	Found 4 men from San Antonio Huitepec, working in oranges. One other village mentioned migrants there.
Exeter	Found 16 men, 13 women, 22 children; total: 51. Found 4 villages, 3 with women, 2 with children. No others mentioned migrants there. Most were from San Jerónimo Progreso and San Miguel Aguacates. Three two-generational households from San Jerónimo; one informant from San Jerónimo there 15 years. Work in olives, citrus.
Farmersville	Found 67 men, 63 women, 106 children; total: 236. Found 6 villages, 5 with women and children. One other village reported people there. Many from San Miguel Aguacates (Silacayoapam), with 206 counted. Probably twice as many living there. Reportedly half are buying houses; some have been there as long as 15 years. Work in citrus.
Lindsay	Not visited. Four villages reported people there.
Porterville	Not visited. San Juan Mixtepec reported people there.
Visalia	Not visited. Six villages reported people there.
VENTURA COUNTY	
Oxnard	Found 3 men, 1 woman, 2 children; total: 6. Found 1 village. Ten others reported villagers there. We did not visit Oxnard in the survey but interviewed two men from Santiago Naranjas in the San Joaquin Valley who lived in Oxnard and had cut celery there since 1980. Most villages reported people were working in strawberries, like San Francisco Higos, which reported 100 people there.

Chapter Four

Theses on Mixtec Migration to the United States

Yes, Mixtecs migrate to the United States in large numbers

The data presented here demonstrate that Mixtecs migrate to the United States in substantial numbers, and that this migration is important and accelerating. When Dagodag (1975) reported finding 151 Michoacán villages of origin in southern California INS data it was considered significant; we report confirming 203 Oaxacan villages in rural California. The assertion that Oaxacans do not migrate arises repeatedly in the migration literature. It appears to be based on Ken Roberts' report that the Centro de Investigaciones Agrarias (CDIA) study conducted in the early 1970s found no circular migration to the United States from the "Mixteca Baja". Although he recognized the large outmigration from the Mixtec region, he wrote:

There was no circular migration to the United States, which is not surprising given the geographic and cultural distance separating the two societies and the lack of resources to finance the journey, the border crossing, and the necessary job search (Roberts 1982:313).

If one goes back to the CDIA study (Barbosa-Ramírez 1976), it is immediately apparent that the study was conducted in a very small area of the Mixteca, which is considered part of the Mixteca de la Costa and is referred to in the study as the "Mixteca Baja de la Costa" (Barbosa-Ramírez 1976:195); this region consisted of 17 of the 24 municipios in the ex-district of Jamiltepec. In 1991 we found a group of blacks from Pinotepa Nacional in Cutler, California, but they were not counted or included in the current report because they were not Mixtec. We did not find any Mixtecs from these municipios in California, nor have we found any in Baja California. The CDIA study thus focused on a part of the Mixteca which has been slow to migrate, quite possibly because the researchers were looking for just such an area.

Unfortunately, Roberts' conclusion from this very particular, small-scale study has been generalized. As Jones summarized the impression:

The Mixteca Baja (Oaxaca) sends no migrants [to the United States] because of distance, ethnic mix (large numbers of Indians), and low income demands . . . (Jones 1984a:7)

First, the "Mixteca Baja" is usually used to refer to an area of Oaxaca away from the coast, namely the districts of Silacayoapam, Huajuapam, Coixtlahuaca, Cuicatlán, and Nochixtlán. Second, as our research demonstrates, at the time these articles were written, large numbers of Mixtecs were migrating to the United States from the Mixteca Baja, and this migration had been accelerating for over ten years.¹⁰ All three of the supposed reasons advanced by Roberts and Jones as to why Mixtecs do not migrate are incorrect.

Barrier one: Distance

The Mixteca's distance from the border, combined with the poverty of the region, was in fact cited by some informants as the reason why migration to the United States did not continue in large numbers after the end of the Bracero Program. However, this obstacle was largely overcome by the free trans-

¹⁰ For example, the Mexican government reported in the same year that Jones' book appeared that remittances from the United States to the Mixteca in 1983 represented 56 percent of total remittances to that region. See Mario García Sordo, "Cada año, 70% de la población de la Mixteca oaxaqueña emigra" *unomásuno*, 21 febrero 1984.

port of Mixtec workers by growers in northwest Mexico to the fields of Sinaloa, Sonora, and Baja California. A number of informants who had arrived early in the 1970s told us that once in a place such as Ensenada, they came into contact with people who went to the United States, and realized that it was possible to cross the border. In 1991 Zabin interviewed a family in San Quintín that had recently sent a son to Madera. By crossing without the assistance of coyotes, the trip to Madera had cost him only \$100. Farm labor contractors from Oregon and California also recruit in Baja.

Of course once network migration is established, distance is not a serious obstacle. This can be seen not only in the constant back-and-forth migration of the Mixtecs, but also in the streams of migration from El Salvador to Los Angeles, Guatemala to Florida via Arizona, and Asia to the United States.

Barrier two: Indians do not migrate to the United States

One would think that the long history of migration within Mexico by certain indigenous groups, such as the Mixtecs, would have been sufficient to cause researchers to realize that the Mixtecs would eventually migrate to the United States. Limiting their investigations to western Mexico as the “principal sending region” has apparently led researchers to ignore this migration. Besides the Mixtecs, Zapotecs, Chinantecs, and Triquis interviewed in California in the course of this research, we have also found Otomís from Hidalgo, Tarascans from Michoacán, Nahuas from Puebla, and a variety of Mayan groups from Guatemala working in California agriculture.

Barrier three: Low-income demands

The continual migration of indigenous peoples to neighboring regions of Mexico has demonstrated both the need for cash income and the insufficiency of the natural resources in the sending areas to sustain the local population. One of the more remarkable findings in our surveys of Mixtecs in California was their relative indifference toward their villages in Oaxaca. Many said they would go to Baja or Sinaloa before they would go back to Oaxaca. While this varies by village, and some are still highly circular in their migration, it is in clear contrast to the stated desires of migrants from places such as Michoacán.

Internal Mexican migration: Who is Mixtec?

Because Mixtecs have been migrating to various regions of Mexico for decades, increasing numbers of them are not born in the Mixteca but in other states. For example, consider the household from Madera shown in Table 8 (see page 38). Note that in this household, there are 7 from Oaxaca, 1 from Guerrero, 2 from Sinaloa, 1 from Baja Sur, 1 from Sonora, and 5 from the United States, yet all are Mixtecs associated with the Oaxacan town of Santa María Tindú. In our surveys, we have included children born in other Mexican states and in the United States as villagers. In this sense, we consider the Mixtec a “tribe” whose relations and ethnicity transcend borders, a truly transnational community.¹¹

This points up the problem of asking people only where they are born (e.g. the method used to gather INS data) and then making assumptions about migration patterns from that information. For example, Federico Besserer has observed that there are many young people who consider themselves to be “from” San Juan Mixtepec who have never been to San Juan Mixtepec.¹² Many of the people listed as from Mexico City and environs, Sinaloa, Sonora, Baja California (Norte and Sur), Morelos, and Veracruz could easily be part of the Oaxacan indigenous diaspora, along with Mixtecs and other indigenous groups from Puebla and Guerrero. Cornelius (1992) presents data from two surveys in southern California in 1987–88 that show that migrants born in these nine states accounted for 37.5 percent of the workers interviewed in firms, and 51 percent of recently arrived workers interviewed

¹¹ See Kearney and Nagengast (1989) for an extended discussion on Mixtecs and transnational communities.

¹² Federico Besserer, personal communication.

on street corners. Now most of these workers may not be indigenous, but the data are not reported in a way that allows us to say. We are presented with a very truncated view of who these migrants are, and a very limited concept of community. This may account in part for the continued failure to appreciate the scope of indigenous migration.

Internal Mexican migration is more important to the Oaxacan communities than U.S.-bound migration. In contrast, researchers constantly report that internal migration is unimportant to west-central mestizo communities (e.g. Cornelius and Martin 1993) or can be disregarded in the research (e.g. Massey, Goldring and Durand 1992). For example, in San Juan Mixtepec, 65 percent of households included U.S. migrants, but 79 percent of households had members who migrated to northwest Mexican agriculture (Edinger and Edinger 1990). Other villages report most migrants work in Mexico City. The long bias toward west-central Mexico in migration studies creates models of village migration (Massey, Goldring and Durand 1992) that do not include the type of stage migration we observe with Mixtecs. It also leads to the surprise that Cornelius (1992) expresses in finding stage migration to Mexico City or Baja among the Mixtecs, and the temptation to report it as a new phenomenon.

Mixtec migration patterns vary

Previous papers about Mixtec migration to the United States (Stuart and Kearney 1981; Kearney 1986) were based on ethnographic and survey material from a few Mixtec villages. While largely correct in their outline of the progress of Mixtec migration from the local level to Mexico City to northwest Mexico to the United States, we find a number of variations that deserve mention.

First, Kearney tended to discount the importance of the Bracero Program because few braceros were from the villages he studied. Nevertheless, in this survey we found many villages that reported large numbers of braceros all the way from World War II to the end of the program in the early 1960s. As noted in the earlier reports from this project (Zabin 1992; Zabin, et al. 1993), most villages stopped migrating to the United States from Oaxaca at the end of the Bracero Program, in part due to the distance, but also because of language barriers and because the intermediaries who had facilitated migration had returned to Oaxaca. There are examples of villages that continued to migrate illegally in the 1960s, although in small numbers. Participation in the Bracero Program created a clear consciousness of the possibility of farm work in the United States, especially California, as California was the largest user of braceros in the program's later years. In fact, many of the first people to enter the United States in the 1960s and 1970s from the various Oaxacan villages were former braceros.

Second, as Kearney pointed out, though the recruitment and transport of Mixtecs to northwest Mexican agriculture was (and remains) a crucial step in setting in motion large-scale migration to the United States, there were a number of villages that did not report villagers in the northwest, especially villages where migration was channelled toward Mexico City or Morelos.¹³ If migration to the northwest is the most important type of "stage" migration, it is not the only route. Similarly, while San Jerónimo and other villages have established settlements in Baja California or on the border, many villages have not.

Finally, villages from Oaxaca have been entering into permanent migration to California since the 1960s, with a significant increase in the mid-1970s, and an even greater increase in the 1980s. In 1990-91, we interviewed a number of migrants who were among the first people from their villages to arrive, and the appearance of new villages shows no sign of abating. There is a deepening of U.S.-bound migration in many villages, but there is also a broadening, which suggests a large potential future migration to the United States.

¹³ Some studies of migration to Mexico City include those by Butterworth and Hirabayashi.

Mixtecs migrate to few places within a region, but many regions migrate

Looked at from the village side, no village listed more than 33 destinations in the United States (Santiago Naranjas). Some other major sending towns include Santa Catarina Naltepec, which listed 26; and San Miguel Cuevas, Santa María Tindú, and San Juan Mixtepec, each listing 24. These are villages where we interviewed many informants and interviewed at great length at least a dozen people in different regions of California, Oregon, and Baja California. This list of destinations inevitably includes places Oaxacans work only seasonally.¹⁴ The other 200 villages migrated to fewer places.

Jones (1984b) concluded that though migrants from a particular village migrated to specific regions in the United States, they tended to disperse within the destination zones. He cited "Cornelius's study of La Unión, where the sample of 285 emigrants were found to be living in no fewer than 110 different localities in the United States—57 of these in California alone" (Ibid.:52). On the other hand, Massey, Goldring and Durand (1992) argue that a village typically expands the number of its destinations over time until the network gains foremen or other employers in particular places whose status as labor market intermediaries then tends to funnel future migration toward those locations. This was also the argument of the case studies in Massey, et al. (1987), but actual numbers of destinations are not reported anywhere. It is therefore difficult to judge whether the Mixtec villages exhibit larger or smaller numbers of destinations than the mestizo sending villages, in part because we do not know where they are in their migration life cycles relative to the mestizo villages from west-central Mexico.¹⁵ We suspect that they are early in the cycle, since they evidence few such foremen or employers. In that case, the number of destinations does not seem very large, especially since most migrants are in a few places, as is typical with network migration.

What is striking about the Mixtec migration is the Mixtecs' willingness to cover vast distances for seasonal work. Not only have they migrated from southern Mexico to the United States, but people commonly migrate between California and Florida for jobs that may last only a few months. A route that includes San Diego, Oregon, Madera, and Washington—in that order—before returning to Oaxaca is relatively common. In this sense, the "daughter communities" of many of the villages in the United States have functioned more as small way stations on a far-flung seasonal route than as established settlements, but this wide-ranging migration may eventually lead to more spread-out daughter communities. The limited scope of the daughter communities is probably due to the relatively recent onset of such migration and may change in the future, particularly given the stabilizing effects of IRCA.

IRCA's impact was different for the Mixtecs

We commissioned a study of the impact of IRCA on the village of San Juan Mixtepec and environs, and discovered IRCA had a different impact on Mixtecs than on mestizos from traditional sending regions. Edinger and Edinger (1990) conducted a survey of a random sample of 232 households in May and June of 1989, accounting for 1,133 villagers.¹⁶ Among the findings:

¹⁴ For example, Rufino Domínguez said he believes that of the 24 destinations reported by villagers from San Miguel Cuevas, only in a handful are villagers actually settled year-round.

¹⁵ Since the model of migration proposed for the mestizo villages may not be appropriate for the Oaxacan villages, the process of comparison may be more difficult.

¹⁶ Due to the timing of the survey, the INS had not finished adjudicating all SAW applications. The numbers reported therefore do not reflect any denials for fraud in the last round. However, Edinger and Edinger found relatively little evidence of fraud in the village; on the contrary, they found many qualified farm workers did not apply, and note that fraudulent applications came mostly from urban Mexicans.

- 96 percent of households contained someone who migrated
 - Migrants were 39 percent of the population¹⁷
- 65 percent of households contained someone who migrated to the United States, mostly men 18–40 years old
 - U.S. migrants were 18 percent of the population
- 79 percent of households contained someone who migrated to work in agriculture in northwest Mexico (Sinaloa, Sonora, Baja California), mainly women, children, and older men
 - Northwest Mexican migrants were 30 percent of the population
- Mexico City-bound migrants were 2 percent of the population
- 8.6 percent of the village inhabitants received legal status in the United States under IRCA, and 99 percent of those legalized qualified under the SAW program
- 47.3 percent of U.S. migrants received legal status
- 29 percent of all households contained someone who was legalized by IRCA; the figure was 45 percent for the households that had someone migrating to the United States.

By examining the household compositions, Edinger and Edinger concluded that approximately 25 percent of San Juan Mixtepec could eventually become permanent U.S. residents through IRCA and the subsequent family reunification provisions.

Even though San Juan Mixtepec is completely dominated by migration, the impact of IRCA is different than in west-central Mexican villages, such as those analyzed by Cornelius (1990). This is due to: (1) the large number of villagers who do not migrate to the United States but instead migrate to other regions of Mexico, chiefly the northwest, and therefore could not qualify for U.S. legalization¹⁸; (2) the lack of legal status among villagers prior to IRCA; (3) the seasonal, circular nature of much of the migration due to the overwhelming concentration of migrants in agriculture; and (4) the inability of many migrants who qualified for amnesty to pursue their applications.¹⁹

As a result, the evidence we have indicates that about one-half of the U.S. migrants from Oaxaca were legalized by IRCA (Zabin 1992; Edinger and Edinger 1990).²⁰ However, due to the factors noted above, this is a relatively small proportion of the village populations. Unlike west-central Mexican mestizo communities, where IRCA served to legalize a backlog of U.S.-settled families in addition to the circular migrants, and where significant numbers of U.S. migrants had already obtained legal status before IRCA, with the Mixtecs it mainly legalized the circular male migrants in a population with few previously legalized members. This then caused a sudden change in the evolution of migration from Oaxaca, as it conferred legal status on a group of essentially seasonal farm workers, coming from village networks that had not yet evolved stable, year-round patterns of employment in the United States. Legal status thus facilitated back-and-forth migration, but it did not change the pattern of employment, which is more a function of a network's time in the United States than it is legal status.

¹⁷ Each of this list of statements is true by itself. However, because some people migrate to more than one place, and because any household might contain migrants with different destinations, the statements are not mutually exclusive categories and do not add up to 100 percent.

¹⁸ We do not have exactly comparable numbers. Cornelius (1990) reports that U.S. migrants were about half of the population over 15 years of age in the three villages he studied (Gómez Farías, 56.7 percent; Las Animas, 47.4 percent; Tlacuiltapa, 47.7 percent). By contrast, Edinger and Edinger report that U.S. migrants comprised 18 percent of all residents of San Juan Mixtepec, one of the most heavily migratory Oaxacan villages; since some of those under 15 were U.S. migrants, it is difficult to estimate the proportion over 15, but it is probably not more than one third.

¹⁹ Unlike the widespread fraud perpetrated by urban and educated people from Mexico in the SAW program, the Edingers found that many Mixtecs who qualified for SAW status did not file applications for a variety of cultural, financial, and logistical reasons.

²⁰ Our earlier report (Zabin, et al. 1993) noted that 36 percent of Mixtec farm workers interviewed for that study were undocumented. However, that survey was conducted in a small number of places in the U.S. and with a relatively small sample of those who could speak Spanish, so it might well have been biased toward those more able to legalize.

Though IRCA has not affected the process of undocumented migration, which has continued unabated, legalization has led to significant family reunification (Zabin 1992). Because Mixtecs are a larger proportion of more recent migrants, they now constitute a larger proportion of the undocumented population than before IRCA. Bringing up families from Mexico has also created many situations where some family members are legal and others are not. To the extent that IRCA did wall off some of the better, permanent jobs from the undocumented, it may constitute one more barrier to moving out of agriculture for a population that already faces language and education problems, as well as discrimination.

The seeming incongruity between employment patterns and settlement patterns that we now observe in the Mixtec population is important, and it is to this that we turn.

U.S. settlement can occur without year-round work

Though one can argue about how to define settlement, most researchers have concluded that settlement occurs when stable employment leads to nuclear family reunification or marriage (e.g. Alarcón 1994). However, Mixtecs are demonstrating that they do not have to have permanent jobs to settle; legal status by itself seems to have led to much settlement. There is little evidence that Mixtec SAWs are leaving agriculture, though we did find more evidence of Mixtecs living in urban areas and working in factories and services than we expected. However, there is increasing evidence of family reunification and settlement. Women comprised 17 percent (or 22 percent of adults) and children 22 percent of the survey sample, even though by focusing on agricultural areas our survey was biased against families.

Because the Oaxacan networks are not as developed as mestizo village networks and do not control access to jobs in many places, the Oaxacan settlers are a poorer population than the mestizo groups. As was amply discussed in Zabin, et al. (1993), compared to the average farm worker, Mixtecs work in more low-paying short-term jobs, migrate more, make more side payments to labor market intermediaries, and are more often the victims of non-payment of wages and other labor law violations. To bring families to the United States at the same time as being inserted into this sort of labor market is virtually to guarantee the transference of rural poverty from Mexico to the United States. These families certainly will utilize the government transfer payments available to them, as they will be among the poorest groups in the United States. This process points up the extreme poverty and lack of alternatives available in Oaxaca.

Table 8
EXTENDED MIXTEC FAMILY HOUSEHOLD FROM TINDÚ
MADERA, 1990

SEX	AGE	TOWN OF BIRTH	STATE OF BIRTH	YEAR ARRIVED IN U.S.
M	41	Santa María Tindú	Oaxaca	1972
F	38	Santa María Tindú	Oaxaca	1985
F	18	Santa María Tindú	Oaxaca	1985
M	20	Culiacán	Sinaloa	1985
F	15	Empalme	Sonora	1988
M	13	Culiacán	Sinaloa	1988
M	8	Santa María Tindú	Oaxaca	1988
M	3	Bakersfield	California	n/a
F	2	Fresno	California	n/a
M	1	Fresno	California	n/a
M	40	Santa María Tindú	Oaxaca	1983
M	38	Santa María Tindú	Oaxaca	1975
F	22	Acapulco	Guerrero	1985
F	17	Santa María Tindú	Oaxaca	1988
M	16	La Paz	Baja California Sur	1985
F	1	Madera	California	n/a
M	1	Fresno	California	n/a

Source: Mixtec Farmworker Survey, 1990

Bibliography

- Alarcón, Rafael. 1994. *Chamirlán in Madera: The Settlement Process*. Davis: California Institute for Rural Studies. (forthcoming)
- Alvarado, Andrew J., Herbert O. Mason, Gary L. Riley, and John W. Hagen. 1992. *The Raisin Industry in California*. Report for the U.S. Commission on Agricultural Workers. Fresno: Fresno State University.
- Bade, Bonnie. 1990. *Migrant Farm Worker Needs Assessment*. A Report for the University of California Agricultural Extension Program. Riverside: Department of Anthropology, University of California.
- . 1993. *Problems Surrounding Health Care Utilization for Mixtec Migrant Farmworker Families in Madera, California*. Davis: California Institute for Rural Studies.
- Barbosa-Ramírez, A. René. 1976. *Empleo, desempleo y subempleo en el sector agropecuario (dos estudios de caso)*. México, D.F.: Secretaría de Agricultura y Ganadería/Centro de Investigaciones Agrarias.
- Besserer Alatorre, Federico. 1988. *NNA CHCA NDAVI: Internacionalización de la fuerza de trabajo y conciencia de clase en la comunidad mixteca migrante de San Juan Mixtepec; análisis de la historia de vida de Moisés Cruz*. Thesis. México, D.F.: Department of Anthropology, Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, Unidad Iztapalapa.
- Burns, Allan F. 1993. *Maya in Exile: Guatemalans in Florida*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Butterworth, Douglas. 1975. "Rural-Urban Migration and Microdemography: A Case Study from Mexico." *Urban Anthropology* 4: 265-83.
- Cárdenas Montaña, Macrina. 1991. *Trabajadores Mixtecos en Madera County California*. Reporte Preliminar (October).
- Chavez, Leo R. 1992. *Shadowed Lives: Undocumented Immigrants in American Society*. Fort Worth: Harcourt, Brace.
- Corbett, Jack, Murad A. Musalem Merhy, Othón Ríos Vázquez, and Hector A. Vázquez Hernández. 1992. *Migración y Etnicidad en Oaxaca*. Nashville: Publications in Anthropology, Vanderbilt University.
- Cornelius, Wayne A. 1982. "Interviewing Undocumented Immigrants: Methodological Reflections Based on Fieldwork in Mexico and the U.S." *International Migration Review* 16:2 (Summer).

- . 1989. "The U.S. Demand for Mexican Labor." In *Mexican Migration to the United States: Origins, Consequences, and Policy Options*. Edited by W. A. Cornelius and Jorge A. Bustamante. La Jolla: Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego, for the Bilateral Commission on the Future of United States-Mexican Relations.
- . 1990. *Labor Migration to the United States: Development Outcomes and Alternatives in Mexican Sending Communities*. Final Report to the Commission for the Study of International Migration and Cooperative Economic Development (March). La Jolla: Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego.
- . 1992. "From Sojourners to Settlers: The Changing Profile of Mexican Immigration to the United States." In *U.S.-Mexico Relations: Labor Market Interdependence*. Edited by Jorge A. Bustamante, Clark W. Reynolds, and Raúl A. Hinojosa Ojeda. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Cornelius, Wayne A., and Philip L. Martin. 1993. *The Uncertain Connection: Free Trade and Mexico-U.S. Migration*. Current Issue Brief No. 5. La Jolla: Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego.
- Edinger, Steven T. 1985. *The Road from Mixtepec: A Southern Mexican Town and the United States Economy*. Berkeley: Department of Anthropology, University of California.
- Edinger, Steven T., and Evan N. Edinger. 1990. "Immigration Reform" Comes to a Small Mexican Town: The New Immigration Law and the Case of San Juan Mixtepec, Oaxaca. Davis: California Institute for Rural Studies.
- Eisenstadt, Todd A., and Cathryn L. Thorup. 1994. *Caring Capacity versus Carrying Capacity: Community Responses to Mexican Immigration in San Diego's North County*. Monograph No. 39. La Jolla: Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego.
- Gabbard, Susan, Edward Kissam, and Philip L. Martin. 1993. *The Impact of Migrant Travel Patterns on the Undercount of Hispanic Farm Workers*. Paper presented to the Research Conference on Undercounted Ethnic Population, Bureau of the Census, May 6.
- Garduño, Everardo, Efraín García, and Patricia Moran. 1989. *Mixtecos en Baja California: El Caso de San Quintín*. Mexicali: Universidad Autónoma de Baja California.
- Hirabayashi, Lane R. 1993. *Cultural Capital: Mountain Zapotec Migrant Associations in Mexico City*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- . 1983. "On the Formation of Migrant Village Associations in Mexico: Mixtec and Mountain Zapotec Cases." *Urban Anthropology* 12: 29-44.
- Jones, Richard C. 1984a. "Introduction." In *Patterns of Undocumented Migration: Mexico and the United States*. Edited by Richard C. Jones. Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman and Allanheld.

- . 1984b. "Macro-Patterns of Undocumented Migration between Mexico and the U.S." In *Patterns of Undocumented Migration: Mexico and the United States*. Edited by Richard C. Jones. Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman and Allanheld.
- Kearney, Michael. 1986. "Integration of the Mixteca and the Western U.S.-Mexican Border Region via Migratory Wage Labor." In *Regional Impacts of U.S.-Mexican Relations*. Monograph Series No. 16. Edited by Ina Rosenthal Urey. La Jolla: Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego.
- Kearney, Michael, and Carole Nagengast. 1989. *Anthropological Perspectives on Transnational Communities in Rural California*. Working Group on Farm Labor and Rural Poverty Working Paper No. 3. Davis: California Institute for Rural Studies.
- Kissam, Edward, Anna García, and David Runsten. 1991. "Northward Out of Mexico: Networks, Migration, and Farm Labor Supply in Parlier, California." In *The Farm Labor Supply Study: 1989-90*, vol. 2. Report to the U.S. Department of Labor. Berkeley: Micro Methods.
- Lloyd, Jack, Philip L. Martin, and John Mamer. 1988. *The Ventura Citrus Labor Market*. Giannini Foundation Information Series, no. 88-1. Berkeley: University of California.
- Massey, Douglas, Rafael Alarcón, Jorge Durand, and Humberto González. 1987. *Return to Aztlan: The Social Process of International Migration from Western Mexico*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Massey, Douglas S., Luin Goldring, and Jorge Durand. 1992. "Continuities in Transnational Migration: An Analysis of 13 Mexican Communities." In *New Perspectives on Mexico-U.S. Migration*. Proceedings of a conference held at the University of Chicago, October 23-24. Chicago: Mexican Studies Program, University of Chicago.
- Millán Echeagaray, Silvia. 1983. *San Juan Copala: Caciquismo y represión. Los Triquis se organizan y luchan*. Ponencia presentada en el Segundo Congreso Nacional Sobre Problemas Agrarios, Chilpancingo, Guerrero, junio de 1982. Cuadernos de Ciencias Sociales No. 10. Acapulco: Universidad Autónoma de Guerrero.
- Mines, Richard, and Ricardo Anzaldúa. 1982. *New Migrants Vs. Old Migrants: Alternative Labor Market Structures in the California Citrus Industry*. Monograph Series, No. 9. La Jolla: Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California.
- Morales, Rafael, and Debi Betz. 1990. "Looking Back on 40 Years in Sonoma County: Memories of a Mixtec Migrant." *Rural California Report* 2:4 (October).
- Palerm, Juan Vicente. 1991. *Farm Labor Needs and Farm Workers in California, 1978 to 1989*. California Agricultural Studies 91-2. Sacramento: State of California Employment Development Department, Labor Market Information Division.

- Roberts, Kenneth D. 1982. "Agrarian Structure and Labor Mobility in Rural Mexico." *Population and Development Review* 8:2 (June).
- Runsten, David, Roberta Cook, Anna García, and Don Villarejo. 1992. *Fresh Market Tomatoes in California and Baja California: Regional Labor Markets and IRCA*. Report for the U.S. Commission on Agricultural Workers. Davis: California Institute for Rural Studies.
- Runsten, David, and E. Phillip LeVeen. 1981. *Mechanization and Mexican Labor in California Agriculture*. La Jolla: Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego.
- Sarmiento, Ignacio. 1989. "Tendencias y características de la migración en la Mixteca de Oaxaca." Oaxaca: UABJO. Mimeo.
- Stuart, James and Michael Kearney. 1981. *Causes and Effects of Agricultural Labor Migration from the Mixteca of Oaxaca to California*. Working Paper No. 28. La Jolla: Program in United States-Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego.
- Zabin, Carol. 1992. *Mixtec Migrant Farmworkers in California Agriculture: A Dialogue Among Mixtec Leaders, Researchers, and Farm Labor Advocates*. Working Group on Farm Labor and Rural Poverty Working Paper No. 9. Davis: California Institute for Rural Studies. (Issued in Spanish as: *Migración Oaxaqueña a los Campos Agrícolas de California: Un Diálogo*. Current Issues Brief No. 2. La Jolla: Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego.)
- . 1994 "The Effects of Economic Restructuring on Women: The Case of Binational Agriculture in California and Baja California." *Economic Development Quarterly* 8:2 (May).
- . n.d. "Mixtecs and Mestizos in California Agriculture: Ethnic Hierarchies and Displacement in the Farm Labor Market." *Comparative Urban and Community Research*. Forthcoming.
- Zabin, Carol, and Sally Hughes. n.d. "Economic Integration and Migration: Stage Migration and Interdependent Labor Markets in Agriculture in Baja California and California." *International Migration Review*. Forthcoming.
- Zabin, Carol, Michael Kearney, Anna García, David Runsten, and Carole Nagengast. 1993. *Mixtec Migrants in California Agriculture: A New Cycle of Poverty*. Davis: California Institute for Rural Studies.
- Zabin, Carol, and Grace Oseki. 1990. "Oregon Farm Labor Picture, Summer 1990." *Rural California Report* 2:4: 4-5.

Appendix

Mexican village list with ethnographic material from census questionnaires and farm worker surveys.

DISTRICT CENTRO

1. MUNICIPIO OF OAXACA DE JUÁREZ

Oaxaca de Juárez

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
San Diego	Oceanside	1	0	0	1

DISTRICT OF CUICATLAN

1. MUNICIPIO OF SAN PEDRO JOCOTIPAC

San Pedro Jocotipac

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
San Diego	Carlsbad	1	0	0	1

DISTRICT OF EJUTLA

1. MUNICIPIO OF EJUTLA DE CRESPO

Ejutla de Crespo

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Selma	7	1	4	12
Madera	Madera	8	0	0	8
Santa Clara	Gilroy	Not found			
Other States	Florida (few); North Carolina; Oregon; Washington				
Mexico	Sinaloa; Baja Norte (San Quintin); Sonora				

Informant estimated in 1991 that there were about 80 lone males from this village in Madera. In Gilroy they were harvesting bell peppers.

Informant (mestizo) interviewed in 1992 in Selma worked with 40 from village in tomatoes in Bakersfield, Huron, and King City. Father migrated to Selma and Idaho in 1980; informant migrated in 1983 to Reedley. There was still much back and forth migration to village, with more women arriving after 1985. Villagers were reportedly working in nurseries in Oregon.

La Noria

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Santa Barbara	Santa Maria	7	4	2	13

DISTRICT OF ETLA

1. MUNICIPIO OF SANTIAGO TLAZOYALTEPEC

Buenavista, Santiago Tlazoyaltepec and Tierra Caliente

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
San Diego	Del Mar	Not visited			
	Encinitas	22	0	0	22
	Escondido	Not found			

Two informants interviewed in Encinitas in 1989 were living outside with a group from the municipio and working as day laborers in construction.

DISTRICT OF HUAJUAPAM

1. MUNICIPIO OF HUAJUAPAM DE LEÓN

Huajuapam de León

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Del Rey	5	1	0	6
	Easton	3	0	0	3
	Parlier	Not found			
	Sanger	6	5	3	14
Los Angeles	Los Angeles	Not visited			
Madera	Madera	37	4	6	47
Orange	Anaheim	Not visited			
	Orange	Not visited			
Riverside	Riverside	Not visited			
San Bernardino	Colton	Not visited			
	Highland	Not visited			
	Redlands	Not visited			
	Rialto	Not visited			
	San Bernardino	Not visited			
San Diego	Carlsbad	1	0	0	1
Santa Cruz	Davenport	2	0	0	2
Other states	Idaho, Illinois (Chicago), New York, Oregon (Mt. Vernon), Washington				

Informant in 1991 said migrants had been in Del Rey three years. Three men working in construction in San Bernardino had come up to Easton to work when things slowed down. In New York villagers work in gardening. Colonia El Mirador specified in some questionnaires.

2. MUNICIPIO OF SAN JORGE NUCHITA

Guadalupe de Morelos

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
San Diego	Carlsbad	7	0	0	7

San Jorge Nuchita (Mixtec)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Caruthers	9	0	0	9
	Fresno	Not found			
Kern	Delano	Not visited			
Los Angeles	Los Angeles	Not visited			
Madera	Madera	20	0	0	20
San Diego	Carlsbad	40	0	0	40
	Escondido	Not found			
	Oceanside	Not found (families reported)			
	San Diego	Not visited (families reported)			
	San Marcos	Not found			
	Vista	Not found			
Santa Barbara	Santa Maria	Not found			
Other States	New Jersey; New York; Oregon				
Mexico	Sinaloa (Culiacán); Baja Norte (Ensenada, Tijuana)				

Informant interviewed in 1991 in Madera had come with his brother to the *tabla* in Madera since 1983, and had worked for the same farmer in Madera the whole time; they were traveling to Oregon before coming to Madera. The two were migrating with relatives from the village, but were unable to legalize status because of family problems.

Informant interviewed in 1991 in Caruthers, a SAW, migrated to Morelos for tomatoes, D.F. for construction, and Culiacán for tomatoes (1977–79) before coming to the U.S. in 1982 to Delano. There were braceros from the village, but after the program villagers stopped coming to U.S. until about 1970. He said they lacked money to travel that far, but when they migrated to Sinaloa and Baja to work, they found coyotes and recruiters who could get them across.

San Miguel Allende

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Caruthers	1	0	0	1

3. MUNICIPIO OF SAN MARCOS ARTEAGA

San Francisco Yosocuta

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Sanger	2	1	0	3

Informant in 1991 said one man had been in Sanger for ten years.

San Marcos Arteaga

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Madera	Madera	7	0	0	7

4. MUNICIPIO OF SAN MIGUEL AMATITLÁN**San Lorenzo Vista Hermosa**

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Madera	Madera	13	1	0	14
Orange	La Puente	Not visited			
	Santa Ana	Not visited			
Other States	New York; Washington				

Migrants had been coming from informant's village since the Bracero Program. When the program ended, they continued to come—though sporadically—and in 1981 the number increased greatly. The man who first came in 1981 kept getting caught by the migra, so he stopped migrating. Most migrants from his village settled in Santa Ana and were selling paletas from carts; in La Puente they also were selling paletas. One family had a paleta factory and contracted with people from the village to sell them. Mostly women, children, and old people remained in the village. There were villagers in New York selling flowers. Villagers were working in agriculture in Washington.

San Miguel Amatitlán

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Madera	Madera	17	0	0	17
Other States	Oregon				

5. MUNICIPIO OF SAN PEDRO Y SAN PABLO TEQUITEPEC**Tequixtepec**

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	
Fresno	Fresno	Not found
Sonoma	Santa Rosa	Not visited

First person from village to settle in California was Rafael Morales, who arrived without papers in 1951. He obtained a green card after three years, and then became a U.S. citizen, at which time he brought up his family. In 1970 he became a foreman on a grape ranch in the Santa Rosa area. He reported that at the time there were only a few from Oaxaca there, but many more began to come in the 1970s, first from the Putla area, then from Huajuapam. His own villagers came in 1975, at which point he formed the Unidad Mixteca as a village association.

6. MUNICIPIO OF SANTIAGO AYUQUILILLA

Santa Catarina Estancia

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Madera	Madera	15	5	0	20
Other States	Nevada (Reno); Oregon				

In Reno villagers work in restaurants.

7. MUNICIPIO OF SANTIAGO CHAZUMBA

8. MUNICIPIO OF SANTO DOMINGO TONALÁ

San Juan Reyes

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Fresno	18	2	0	20
Other States	Oregon				

San Sebastián del Monte (Mixtec)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Fresno	Not found			
	Parlier	2	0	0	2
Kern	Arvin	Not found			
Los Angeles	Los Angeles	Not visited			
Madera	Madera	29	14	10	53
Merced	Merced	Not visited			
Orange	Santa Ana	Not visited			
San Diego	San Luis Rey	Not found			
	Vista	Not found			
Santa Barbara	Santa Maria	10	0	0	10
Other States	Florida (Miami); Oregon; South Carolina; Washington				
Mexico	D.F., Sinaloa, Baja Sur (La Paz)				

Informant in 1990 had first come to the U.S. in 1982, and since had worked in strawberries in Hillsboro (OR), grapes in Madera, and tomatoes and strawberries in San Luis Rey. Informant reported migration from the village to the U.S. began in 1970s.

Santiago Pastlahuaca

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Fresno	7	5	8	20
Other States	Oregon				

Santo Domingo Tonalá

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Caruthers	1	0	0	1
Madera	Madera	9	0	0	9
Other States	Oregon				

Yella de Juárez

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Madera	Madera	23	1	0	24
Other States	Oregon				

9. MUNICIPIO OF TEZOATLÁN DE SEGURA Y LUNA**Guadalupe de Cisneros**

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Sanger	4	0	0	4
Other States	New York				

Informant in 1991 had lived in Sanger for 18 years.

San Andrés Yutatío

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Kerman	5	0	0	5

San Juan Diquiyú

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Madera	Madera	19	8	9	36

San Marcos de Garzón

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Madera	Madera	60	15	5	80
Other States	Oregon				

San Martín del Río (Mixtec)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Madera	Madera	2	0	0	2
San Bernardino	San Bernardino	Not visited			
San Diego	Carlsbad	Not found			
	Vista	Not found			
Santa Cruz	Watsonville	Not found			
Other States	Florida (Naples); Oregon; Washington				
Mexico	Morelos, D.F., Veracruz, Sinaloa, Baja Norte (Tijuana, Camalú)				

Informant interviewed in 1990 first came to the U.S. in 1987; father and four siblings in Camalú, so included Baja in migrant circuit.

Jobs: gardening in Vista; vegetables and strawberries in Carlsbad; citrus in San Bernardino; hoeing field crops in Madera; picking tomatoes in Madera; strawberries in Hillsboro; and raisin grapes in Madera

Santa María Tindú (Mixtec)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Fresno	Not found (1 reported)			
Kern	Bakersfield	Not found (5-6 reported)			
Madera	Madera	122	86	220	428
San Diego	Oceanside	Not found			
	San Luis Rey	Not found			
	San Marcos	Not found (5-6 families reported)			
Santa Barbara	Santa Maria	Not found			
Other States	Florida; Idaho (Walter); North Carolina; Oregon (Canby, Cornelius, Gervais, Hillsboro, Molalla, Monitor, Mt. Angel, North Plains, Portland, Salem, Silverton, Woodburn); Pennsylvania; Washington (Pasco); Canada				
Mexico	Morelos (Cuautla); Sinaloa (many); D.F.(students, professionals); Baja Norte (San Quintín, Ensenada—many); Baja Sur (La Paz, Vizcaino)				

(Note: numbers reported for Madera are from a census performed by the migrants themselves for purposes of collecting money for the village church, and from a separate list of Mormon church members. We actually located 230 villagers in our survey.)

Braceros migrated to Texas, Colorado, and Salinas. One informant estimated 50–60 braceros; 1961–62 said to be the last year. One woman reported knowing people who migrated during World War II. Few went to U.S. after Bracero Program ended; instead they went to Sinaloa. One man came to Madera early on, settled, and became a mayordomo. Many settled in Madera, buying houses and raising families. Numerous informants first came to the U.S. in the early 1970s. One informant said villagers started migrating about 1970, but no women arrived until 1978. Much migration occurred in 1986 as villagers tried to get papers under IRCA.

There is a long history of migration from the village to Veracruz, Chiapas, Morelos, etc., but apparently not to D.F. Migration to Sinaloa and Sonora began in the 1960s, and to Baja in the 1970s. Many families in Baja; Tindú is an example of a village where families are left in Baja. Some families were living in Sinaloa, but one informant said no new migration there.

Informants reported the biggest concentration of villagers is in Madera, with the Willamette Valley in Oregon second; also some families in San Marcos and Bakersfield.

Basic migration pattern: to Oregon in May, then to Madera for tomatoes, the raisin harvest, and olives; villagers prune in winter or return to Mexico—either to village or to Baja. There is a sizeable group that goes to Idaho to top onions. There was also a back-and-forth migration between Madera and Washington for asparagus, 1973–88.

Informant estimated 260 working in raisin grape harvest in 1990. Other jobs: strawberries, mora, nursery, cucumbers, pine trees, and cherries in Oregon; pruning and harvesting grapes in Madera; man painting cars in Madera; hoeing field crops; pruning grapes in Santa María; picking tomatoes in San Joaquin Valley, olives in Madera, and garlic in Gilroy; two men at tree nursery in Chowchilla; and topping onions in Walter, Idaho.

Few migrants from this village spoke Mixtec, all spoke Spanish well; they attributed this to the long process of migration.

Informant interviewed in 1991 in Madera said he returns to the village only because his parents refuse to leave. All eight of his siblings were in Madera. Many informants reported that the village land is not productive and there is no point in investing in it or in building houses in the village—it is considered better to invest in California or Baja.

Villagers appeared to be working almost entirely in agriculture.

San Vicente del Palmar

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Madera	Madera	Not found			
San Diego	Carlsbad	80	0	0	80
	Del Mar	Not found			
	San Luis Rey	Not found			
Other States	Illinois (Chicago); New York				

Tezoatlán de Segura y Luna

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Fresno	Not found			
	Sanger	3	0	1	4
Madera	Madera	Not found			
Orange	Santa Ana	Not visited			
San Diego	Carlsbad	5	0	0	5
	Del Mar	Not found			
	Encinitas	Not found			
	Leucadia	Not visited			
	Oceanside	Not found			
	San Luis Rey	Not found			
	Vista	3	1	3	7
Other States	Illinois (Chicago); New York				

Yucuquimi de Ocampo

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Biola	30	3	5	38
	Kerman	15	0	0	15
Madera	Madera	11	0	0	11
Other States	Oregon				

10. MUNICIPIO DE ZAPOTITLÁN PALMAS

Zapotitlán Palmas

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Kern	McFarland	10	0	0	10

MUNICIPIO UNKNOWN

Santo Domingo Yoxoxio

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
San Diego	San Luis Rey	1	0	0	1

DISTRICT OF IXTLAN

1. MUNICIPIO OF SAN PABLO MACUILTIANGUIS

San Pablo Macuiltianguis

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Los Angeles	Arcadia	Not visited			
	Inglewood	Not visited			
	Los Angeles	Not visited			
	Pasadena	Not visited			
	San Gabriel	Not visited			
	Santa Monica	Not visited			
Orange	Santa Ana	Not visited			
San Bernardino	Ontario	Not visited			
Santa Barbara	Santa Maria	12	10	18	40
Santa Clara	San Jose	Not found			

2. MUNICIPIO OF TEOCOCUILCO DE MARCOS PÉREZ

Teococuilco

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
San Diego	Carlsbad	1	0	0	1

Informant interviewed in Carlsbad in 1991 was a bracero and first came to U.S. in 1953 to pick tomatoes in San Luis Rey; had been working in Carlsbad in tomatoes and vegetables since 1986.

DISTRICT OF JUCHITAN

1. MUNICIPIO OF SAN FRANCISCO DEL MAR

San Francisco del Mar

Informant interviewed in Encinitas in 1989 said there were only three people from his town in the San Diego area. He said people very rarely migrate from his village.

DISTRICT OF JUQUILA

1. MUNICIPIO OF SAN PEDRO TUTUTEPEC

La Luz

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Madera	Madera	5	0	3	8

2. MUNICIPIO OF SANTA CATARINA JUQUILA

Santa Catarina Juquila

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Tulare	Cutler	3	1	2	6
	Dinuba	Not visited			
	Orosi	Not visited			

DISTRICT OF JUXTLAHUACA

1. MUNICIPIO OF COICOYÁN DE LAS FLORES

Coicoyán de las Flores

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
San Diego	San Luis Rey	1	0	0	1

Santiago Tilapa

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Madera	Madera	5	0	0	5

2. MUNICIPIO OF SAN JUAN MIXTEPEC

Arenal

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Madera	Madera	15	0	0	15
Other States	Idaho				

Informant reported in 1991 that villagers were working in sugarbeets in Idaho.

La Batea

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Kern	Arvin	0	1	1	2

DISTRICT OF JUQUILA

1. MUNICIPIO OF SAN PEDRO TUTUTEPEC

La Luz

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Madera	Madera	5	0	3	8

2. MUNICIPIO OF SANTA CATARINA JUQUILA

Santa Catarina Juquila

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Tulare	Cutler	3	1	2	6
	Dinuba	Not visited			
	Orosi	Not visited			

DISTRICT OF JUXTLAHUACA

1. MUNICIPIO OF COICOYÁN DE LAS FLORES

Coicoyán de las Flores

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
San Diego	San Luis Rey	1	0	0	1

Santiago Tilapa

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Madera	Madera	5	0	0	5

2. MUNICIPIO OF SAN JUAN MIXTEPEC

Arenal

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Madera	Madera	15	0	0	15
Other States	Idaho				

Informant reported in 1991 that villagers were working in sugarbeets in Idaho.

La Batea

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Kern	Arvin	0	1	1	2

Llano Colorado (El Llano) (Mixtec)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Kern	Arvin	Not found			
	McFarland	7	2	8	17
Other States	Michigan; New York; Washington				
Mexico	Baja Sur (Cd. Constitución, La Paz); Baja Norte (Ensenada, Mexicali, San Quintín—whole valley); Sinaloa				

Informant interviewed in Baja in 1992 first came to Baja in 1982; had a sister in North Carolina working in agriculture since 1990. Informant went to Arvin in 1991 to harvest raisin grapes with relatives who lived there. Father migrated to Sinaloa, Baja, then the U.S. Thirty families in Colonia 13 de Mayo from San Juan Mixtepec municipio, but his is the only one from Llano. There were braceros from the village.

Nicananduta

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Madera	Madera	2	2	0	4
Other States	Oregon				

Pueblo Viejo

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Kerman	6	1	0	7
Madera	Madera	6	1	0	7
Other States	Florida; Oregon				

Rancho Diego (Mixtec)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	
Madera	Madera	Not found
Santa Barbara	Santa Maria	Not found
Other States	Florida; Oregon; Washington	
Mexico	Sinaloa; Baja Norte (San Quintín, Vicente Guerrero)	

Informant interviewed in 1990 in Oregon was working in Woodburn with 16 men from the village. He had first come to the U.S. in 1982, and had family in San Quintín. Jobs included stone fruit and raisin grapes in Arvin, strawberries in Santa Maria, strawberries in Woodburn, grapes in Madera, and strawberries and tomatoes in San Luis Rey.

Río Azucena

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Madera	Madera	5	2	5	12
Other States	Oregon				

Río Timbre

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Fresno	1	0	0	1
	Kerman	12	1	0	13
Madera	Madera	2	1	0	3
Santa Barbara	Santa Maria	Not found			
Other States	Florida (Arcadia); New York; Oregon				

The majority of villagers said to be in Madera and Arvin (though Arvin may include people from throughout municipio). Villagers were also working in oranges in Florida and cherries in Salem.

San Isidro Yucumani

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Kerman	1	0	0	1

San Juan Cahuayaxi (Mixtec)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Kern	Arvin	Not found			
Madera	Madera	11	1	2	14
Santa Barbara	Santa Maria	Not found			
Santa Clara	San Jose	Not found			
Sonoma	Santa Rosa	Not visited			
Tulare	Exeter	3	0	0	3
Other States	Oregon (Hillsboro); Washington (Yakima)				
Mexico	D.F.; Sinaloa; Baja Norte (Ensenada)				

Informant in 1991 said there were about 80 people from his village in Madera, counting men, women, and children.

San Juan Mixtepec (Mixtec)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Biola	7	3	3	13
	Fresno	Not found			
	Kerman	13	3	4	20
Kern	Arvin	85	50	54	189
	Lamont	3	1	4	8
	McFarland	11	3	1	15
Madera	Madera	10	9	8	27
San Joaquin	Stockton	Not visited			
Santa Barbara	Santa Maria	4	1	2	7
Santa Cruz	Santa Cruz	Not found			
Sonoma	Santa Rosa	Not visited			
Tulare	Porterville	Not visited			
Ventura	Oxnard	Not visited			
Other States	Florida (Miami); Idaho; New York; North Carolina; Oregon (Cornelius, Salem, Woodburn); Pennsylvania; Virginia; Washington; Wyoming.				
Mexico	D.F.; Sinaloa (Culiacán); Baja Norte (Ensenada; San Quintín); Baja Sur (La Paz; Vizcaíno); Sonora				

There were braceros from the village: One informant's uncle came in 1962 and worked in southern California, and a brother in Virginia. San Juan Mixtepec showed people scattered around U.S., in New York, Pennsylvania, Wyoming, and Virginia. Villagers were working in mushrooms in Pennsylvania, harvesting tomatoes in Florida, and working in the campo in Miami; interviewed a group living in trailers in Arvin who considered their home state to be Florida. Some groups in Arvin were recently arrived (1–3 years), other groups had been there 4–6 years. Head of ACBJ in Arvin said in May 1990 that there were 60 settled families in Arvin, and 300 from the village at peak. Family in trailer in Lamont had been in the U.S. since 1980; had four U.S.-born children.

Group interviewed living in Santa Maria with various other groups from different villages had at least 30 people in one house with three bedrooms and a living room, no furniture. A second group living in a townhouse in Santa Maria with two bedrooms, the only furniture was a small coffee table; at least 30 people living there.

Informant interviewed in 1990 in Woodburn was working with 20 from village, 70 from San Juan Copala, and 100 from Santa Rosa Coxtlahuaca; a brother in Florida in packing house.

Jobs: strawberries, mora, pepino in Oregon; strawberries in Santa Maria; tomatoes in Florida; strawberries and tomatoes in San Luis Rey and Vista; tomatoes in San Joaquin Valley; pruning in Arvin and Madera; thinning stone fruit in Madera; olives in Corning and Madera; raisin grapes in Madera and Fresno; and citrus in Bakersfield.

San Lucas

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Kern	Arvin	7	2	3	12
	Lamont	1	0	0	1

San Pedro Yososcúa

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Kern	Arvin	1	1	2	4
Santa Barbara	Santa Maria	Not found			

Santa Cruz (Mixtec)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Fresno	Not found			
Kern	Arvin	1	1	4	6
	McFarland	Not found			
Madera	Madera	Not found			
San Diego	San Diego	Not visited			
Santa Barbara	Santa Maria	56	23	25	104
Santa Clara	San Jose	Not found			
Santa Cruz	Santa Cruz	22	8	12	42
Tulare	Visalia	Not visited			
Other States	Arizona; Florida; Oregon				

Informant said he had a sister in Florida who worked in agriculture.

Found group in a house that was used by many people from the village as they arrived in Santa Maria. Only 13 there at the time of the census. No furniture in the house.

Another house in Santa Maria, with one bedroom, had 14 adults and 11 children.

Santa María Tepoxiántongo

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Kerman	6	0	0	6
Kern	Lamont	7	5	8	20
Madera	Madera	13	0	0	13
Santa Barbara	Santa Maria	7	1	1	9
Other States	Florida; Oregon				

Santiago Tiñó (Mixtec)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Kerman	17	3	0	20
Kern	Arvin	3	1	4	8
Tulare	Farmersville	1	4	6	11
Other States	Florida; North Carolina; Oregon				
Mexico	Sinaloa (Culiacán); Baja Norte (San Quintín, Rosario); Sonora				

Informant interviewed in 1992 in Baja had picked tomatoes in Culiacán in 1968–69, migrated to Baja in 1970 and had been there since. There were many families from the village established in Baja. Reportedly, there were many braceros from village.

Santo Domingo Tepostlatengo

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Kern	Arvin	2	0	0	2

Los Tejocotes

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Kern	Arvin	2	1	2	5
Santa Barbara	Santa Maria	0	2	0	2
Tulare	Farmersville	1	0	0	1

Tiñuma

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Kern	Arvin	1	0	0	1
Santa Barbara	Santa Maria	Not found			
Mexico	Baja Norte (Camalú)				

Yerba Buena

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Kerman	3	1	2	6
Other States	Oregon; Washington				

Yosoba

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Madera	Madera	15	0	0	15
Other States	Idaho				

Villagers were working in sugarbeets in Idaho.

(Refused to give name of village, but from this municipio)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Kern	Arvin	5	0	0	5

3. MUNICIPIO OF SAN MARTÍN PERAS**San Martín Peras**

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
San Diego	Fallbrook	5	0	0	5

4. MUNICIPIO OF SAN MIGUEL TLACOTEPEC

San Martín Sabinillo

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Fresno	Not found			
Madera	Madera	4	4	0	8
San Diego	Bonsall	Not found			
	Carlsbad	Not found			
	Del Mar	Not visited			
	Escondido	Not found			
	Fallbrook	Not found			
	Oceanside	17	16	16	49
	San Luis Rey	42	0	0	42
	San Marcos	Not found			
	Vista	Not found			
Other States	Oregon				

Informant interviewed in 1990 in Madera knew of only one bracero from village. He said that villagers working in Sinaloa decided to come up to the U.S. in 1975. The majority were migrating to San Diego County and working in strawberries and tomatoes, then moving on to Madera for raisin grapes before returning to southern California.

San Miguel Tlacotepec (Mixtec)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Fresno	11	5	6	22
Madera	Madera	Not found			
Orange	Anaheim	Not visited			
Riverside	Temecula	Not visited			
San Diego	Carlsbad	31	0	0	31
	Del Mar	Not visited			
	Escondido	Not found			
	Fallbrook	2	1	2	5
	Oceanside	Not found			
	Rainbow	Not visited			
	San Diego	Not visited			
	San Luis Rey	60	0	0	60
	San Marcos	22	0	1	23
	Vista	29	14	9	52
Santa Barbara	Santa Maria	Not found			
Santa Clara	San Jose	5	0	0	5
Tulare	Cutler	1	0	0	1
Other States	Florida; Oregon (Gaston—2 or 3); Washington				
Mexico	Sinaloa (Villa Juárez); Baja Norte (Vicente Guerrero—the majority, Lazaro Cardenas); Sonora (Cd. Obregon, Hermosillo); D.F.; Veracruz (El Progreso)				

Informant interviewed in San Jose in 1991 worked for an office supply company with his two brothers. Two other people were working as gardeners there.

Informant interviewed in Baja in 1991 said her father traveled to the U.S. as a bracero three times, and her husband went in 1959. She was working with ten from the village in Baja; family went to Sinaloa in 1972, then to Baja in 1978.

Informant interviewed in Fresno in 1992 had migrated to Veracruz for 13 years to cut caña, then traveled to Sinaloa three times with his family, and then on to Baja. From 1979–88 was a circular migrant to U.S., working in Carlsbad, but earned SAW status and had stayed in California since 1989. Had two brothers in Carlsbad working in tomatoes; father in Sinaloa; three sons, a brother-in-law and a daughter in Selma; but rest of his family remained in the village. Father came to U.S. as a bracero five times, to Arizona, Texas, and Modesto along with five others. Some kept migrating after program; his father came to Fresno.

Jobs: pruning grapes in Kerman; suckering grapes in Madera; pruning almonds in Madera; hoeing field crops in Madera; picking apples in Gustine; and picking tomatoes in Kerman

This is the village base for the Comité Cívico Popular Mixteco. They have paid for the potable water in the village, but the informant said the only thing that would help the town is irrigation, and the water source is too far away. Informant interviewed in Carlsbad in 1989 said he first came to San Diego in 1975 and lived outdoors for ten years, then brought up his family.

Santiago Nuxaño

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Madera	Madera	Not found			
San Diego	Carlsbad	4	0	0	4
	Fallbrook	17	0	0	17
	San Luis Rey	Not found			
Santa Barbara	Santa Maria	Not found			

Xinitlaco

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
San Diego	Carlsbad	1	0	0	1

5. MUNICIPIO OF SAN SEBASTIÁN TECOMAXTLAHUACA

Buenavista

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Fresno	Not found			
Madera	Madera	2	0	0	2
San Diego	San Luis Rey	3	0	0	3
Other States	Oregon				

Cañada Lobo

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Madera	Madera	Not found			
San Diego	Oceanside	Not found			
	Vista	Not found			
Santa Clara	Milpitas	7	0	0	7

Guadalupe Nundaco

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Madera	Madera	Not found			
Santa Clara	Milpitas	2	0	0	2

Peña Prieta

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Madera	Madera	Not found			
San Diego	San Luis Rey	Not found			
Santa Cruz	Santa Cruz	3	0	0	3

In Santa Cruz informant lived with mother and cousin. He and his brother were working at a candy factory full time, and his cousin at a fast food restaurant. Two brothers were attending Cabrillo college.

San Martín Duraznos (Mixtec)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Los Angeles	Los Angeles	Not visited			
Madera	Madera	17	6	6	29
San Diego	Carlsbad	Not found (workers reported with Los Diablos)			
	Oceanside	Not found			
	San Luis Rey	Not found			
Santa Clara	Gilroy	Not found (two men reported, perhaps with families)			
Other States	Oregon; Washington				
Mexico	Baja Norte (Camaiú, Lázaro Cárdenas, Tijuana, Vicente Guerrero); Sinaloa (Cullacán); D.F.				

Informant interviewed in Baja in 1991 reported that villagers were migrating to Culiacán and Baja in the late 1960s; he said he believed they entered the U.S. about 1975. Another informant reported that the village migrated to Veracruz for caña in the 1960s, and to Culiacán about 1970. This migration increased when the Canelos starting busing people up north; workers came to Baja in the 1980s. Interviewed two families who were working in Sinaloa in the late-1970s/early-1980s but went to Baja because they believed Sinaloa was not a healthy climate for children and the water was bad. One informant had two brothers living in Gilroy, one a SAW in agriculture, the other a SAW working in a furniture shop.

San Mateo Tunuchi

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Kerman	Not found			
Madera	Madera	88	20	27	135
Merced	Livingston	N.S.*	N.S.	N.S.	110
San Diego	San Luis Rey	Not found			
	Vista	Not found			
Santa Cruz	Santa Cruz	5	4	2	11
	Watsonville	Not found			
Ventura	Oxnard	Not visited			
Other States	Oregon; Utah				

Informant worked in Campbells mushroom plant. Brother-in-law lived with him and worked at Campbells too. Informant had been in Santa Cruz ten years. He used to work in the fields in Madera; his family there permanently.

Majority of the villagers were in Livingston. Near Madera, many had secure jobs at ranch. Rancher is Italian, and he almost exclusively hires people from Tunuchi; 30 living there, only 1 from San Juan Mixtepec.

Also, villagers were harvesting strawberries in Oxnard.

San Sebastián Tecomaxtlahuaca

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Alameda	Union City	Not visited			
Contra Costa	Concord	Not visited			
Fresno	Fresno	Not found			
	Selma	Not found			
Los Angeles	Los Angeles	Not visited			
Madera	Madera	40	7	4	51
Merced	Livingston	Not visited			
Orange	Santa Ana	Not visited			
San Diego	Carlsbad	4	0	0	4
	Del Mar	Not visited			
	Oceanside	Not found			
	San Luis Rey	11	0	0	11
	Vista	5	0	0	5
San Francisco	San Francisco	Not visited			
San Joaquin	Stockton	Not visited			
Santa Barbara	Santa Maria	Not found			
Santa Cruz	Santa Cruz	10	8	6	24
	Watsonville	Not found			
Other States	Florida (Miami); Oregon (Forest Grove, Hillsboro); Washington (Yakima, Zilla)				
Mexico	Sinaloa; D.F. (many); Baja Norte (Culiacán, Lazaro Cardenas, Ensenada); Huatulco (tourism); Veracruz				

* N.S. stands for "not stated".

Informant interviewed in 1990 in Caruthers reported that a sister was working for a book printer and a brother in aircraft maintenance in Los Angeles; another brother was working in a factory that made blinds in Santa Ana.

Another informant from 1990 had been an administrator in human resources in D.F. for many years before migrating to the U.S. His mother, five siblings, wife, and two children all remained in D.F. He reported that both his grandfather and his wife's grandfather came to the U.S. as braceros, but did not continue to migrate after program ended.

Some of the men with permanent jobs settled in Los Angeles were married to Chicanas.

Woman interviewed in 1990 in Madera—with parents and seven siblings in D.F.—said father had worked in construction in Los Angeles and sister lived in Stockton.

Informant in 1991 in Santa Cruz had been living there for seven years, and worked at Campbells mushroom plant. Knew of eight established families from his town living in area. Man interviewed in 1990 in Hillsboro said many were working in Ensenada in tomatoes.

Informant interviewed in 1992 in Madera reported working with 27 others from the village picking tomatoes in Stockton. He knew a villager who had been migrating for 12 years. He returned to the village to work as a baker. Jobs: picking strawberries in Forest Grove, OR; picking caneberries in Cornelius, OR; picking tomatoes in Stockton; and pruning and suckering grapes.

Farm labor contractor interviewed in Fallbrook in 1989 had 15 men from this village working for him in avocados.

Santa Cruz Portezuelo (Mixtec)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Caruthers	Not found			
	Selma	Not found (4 settled families reported)			
Los Angeles	Los Angeles	Not visited			
Madera	Madera	Not found			
San Diego	San Luis Rey	Not found (families reported)			
	Vista	Not found			
Santa Cruz	Santa Cruz	4	0	0	4
Tulare	Visalia	Not visited			
Other States	Oregon (Boring, Hillsboro); Washington (Othello)				
Mexico	D.F.; Baja Norte (Ensenada); Sinaloa				

Informant interviewed in Selma in 1990 reported that there were many braceros from the village. He came to Madera in 1971 and may have been one of the first after the Bracero Program ended. He was working with 15–20 from village in Selma; apparently 15 others at another ranch. Informant in Selma group reported in 1990 that migrants from the village had been working with certain ranchers since 1977.

Informant interviewed in Santa Cruz in 1991 said that after working for five years in the fields, he got a job in a pizza parlor where he now cooks; his wife was still in Oaxaca, but he said he planned to bring her up.

Jobs: tabla in Madera and Selma; strawberries, mora, and pepino in OR; apples in WA; pruning grapes in Selma; harvesting table grapes in Selma; thinning and harvesting stone fruit in Selma; and working in San Luis Rey in nurseries and gardening, in addition to tomatoes and strawberries.

Young people spoke Spanish, only used Mixtec to talk to mothers.

Santa Cruz Rancho Viejo

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Biola	Not found			
	Caruthers	2	0	0	2
	Selma	Not found			
Los Angeles	Los Angeles	Not visited			
Madera	Madera	Not found			
Orange	Santa Ana	Not visited			
San Diego	Oceanside	1	0	0	1
	San Luis Rey	Not found			
	Vista	Not found			
Santa Clara	San Jose	Not found			
Other States	Oregon				
Mexico	Sinaloa; Baja Norte; D.F.				

Informant interviewed in Caruthers in 1990 said father was a bracero who went to Michigan. Many from the village migrated as braceros; grandfathers were among the first. Migration from the village was circular; informants did not know anyone from village actually settled in U.S.

Jobs: pruning grapes in Caruthers, Biola, Madera; picking oranges in Orange Cove, Dinuba, Sanger, and Orosi; raisin grapes in Fresno, Caruthers, and Biola; and hoeing field crops and harvesting garlic in southern San Joaquin Valley.

Man interviewed in Oceanside was working in horse stables.

Santa Cruz Yosondica

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Fresno	Not found			
	Parlier	2	0	0	2
Madera	Madera	Not found			
San Diego	Oceanside	Not found			
	San Luis Rey	15	4	0	19
Santa Cruz	Santa Cruz	5	0	0	5
Other States	Missouri (St. Louis); Washington				

Yucuaandío

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Madera	Madera	1	1	3	5

6. MUNICIPIO OF SANTIAGO JUXTLAHUACA

Agua Fría (Triqui)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Fresno	Not found			
Madera	Madera	Not found			
San Diego	Bonsall	Not found			
	San Luis Rey	2	0	0	2

Concepción Carrizal (Triqui)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Madera	Madera	1	0	0	1

Coyuchi (Triqui)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Madera	Madera	2	0	0	2

Cruz Chiquita (Triqui)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Madera	Madera	5	0	0	5

Nacán de la Soledad (Mixtec)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Fresno	Not found			
Los Angeles	Los Angeles	Not visited			
Madera	Madera	27	2	2	31
	Chowchilla	Not visited			
Merced	Merced	Not visited			
Monterey	Salinas	Not visited			
San Diego	Carlsbad	1	0	0	1
	San Luis Rey	Not found			
	Vista	Not found			
San Joaquin	Stockton	Not visited			
Santa Barbara	Santa Maria	Not found			
Santa Cruz	Watsonville	Not found			
Other States	Oregon (Hillsboro, Portland); Washington				
Mexico	Puebla; D.F. (women in factories); Sinaloa; Baja Norte (Ensenada, Colonia Vicente Guerrero)				

Migration was mostly back-and-forth to the village. Relatively few women from the village were migrating to the U.S.; families of informants mostly remained in the village.

In 1990, interviewed two men in Madera who had both come as braceros in 1960. They reported that no one tried to come from the time the program ended until the early to mid-1970s; they returned in 1975 and 1976. Other informants attributed upsurge in migration in 1975 to de-

valuation of peso.

Jobs: grapes in Madera; strawberries and mora in Oregon; and picking olives in Corning. Several informants were working year-round in grapes in Madera, and had obtained positions for 20 from village.

Informant counted 70 houses in village, and estimated that 200 people from the village were migrating to the U.S. Young people spoke Spanish.

Rancho Nuevo

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Fresno	9	0	0	9

Rancho Viejo

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Kerman	12	0	0	12
Other States	Washington				

Río Metates (Triqui)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Madera	Madera	1	0	0	1

San Antonio del Progreso

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
San Diego	Carlsbad	6	0	0	6
	Vista	Not found			

San Juan Copala (Triqui)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Madera	Madera	5	1	1	7
San Diego	Escondido	Not found			
	San Luis Rey	1	0	0	1
	Vista	Not found			
Other States	New York; Oregon				

Informant from San Juan Mixtepec reported working with 70 from Copala in Woodburn, Oregon, in 1990

San Juan Piñas (Mixtec)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Madera	Madera	7	1	0	8
Orange	San Clemente	Not visited			
San Diego	Del Mar	Not visited			
	Encinitas	Not found			
	Escondido	Not found			
	Oceanside	2	0	0	2
	San Diego	Not visited			
	San Luis Rey	Not found			
Santa Barbara	Santa Maria	9	7	0	16
Other States	Florida; Oregon; Washington				

Interviewed a large number of informants from San Juan Piñas in the cantones of San Diego in 1989. Many spoke only Mixtec. Found approximately 70–80 men from the village in one canton, and 30 in another in Rancho Peñasquitos. Most worked for Los Diablos. The earliest arrived in the U.S. in 1977. Most were working as day laborers in gardening. Most families had remained in the village, one in Ensenada.

San Miguel Cuevas (Mixtec)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Caruthers	17	17	24	58
	Fowler	65	0	0	65
	Fresno	13	11	19	43
	Kerman	4	0	0	4
	Selma	5	0	0	5
Los Angeles	Burbank	Not visited (family there)			
Madera	Madera	2	1	8	11
Merced	Livingston	1	1	3	5
San Diego	Carlsbad	Not found			
	Del Mar	Not visited			
	Escondido	Not found			
	Ramona	1	0	0	1
	Vista	Not found			
Tulare	Lindsay	Not visited			
Ventura	Oxnard	Not visited			
Other States	Oregon (Boring, Gresham, Hillsboro, Hood River, Mosier, North Plains, Sandy); Washington (Othello, Pasco)				
Mexico	Sinaloa (Culiacán); Baja Norte (Camalú, San Quintín); D.F. (Santo Domingo Coyoacán, Tlacoljica);				

Rufino Domínguez reported that a census of villagers in Fresno, Kerman, and Selma in 1991 found 283 people. Braceros came from the village, but apparently a few people migrated to the U.S. even before the braceros.

Significant migration to D.F., with many families there, and some in Sinaloa; there did not appear to be many families in Baja.

One informant recalled an uncle coming to Selma in 1965. Another informant in Fowler reported that the first migrant to settle in California from the village arrived in Madera in 1968, stayed and married the U.S.-born daughter of a farm labor contractor (a good contact for further entry into agricultural work). Another villager married a gringa in Pasco, Washington in 1968, and he spoke English, Spanish, and Mixtec. Another villager established himself in the Los Angeles area long ago, had permanent work, and almost never returned to village. Villagers have lived in Fowler since 1980 and in Caruthers since at least 1986.

San Miguel Cuevas was said to have a population of 600 during part of the year, of which all but 50 were migrating to the United States for work, leaving behind mostly women, children, and the aged. One informant said the people who did not migrate were very poor. Back-and-forth migration to Oaxaca appeared common, with most villagers returning to the south from late November until early April. The village had also developed a pattern of migration to Oregon from the Fresno area, which started in the mid-1970s. Workers were going up to Hillsboro, Boring, and Sandy for the strawberry, caneberry, and cucumber harvests in the late spring and summer. Informant in 1990 in Boring estimated he was working with 150 from village in strawberries; at Campo Azul in Hillsboro there were only 6 from village at that time. Villagers would return to the Fresno area for the raisin harvest in August. Some had tried to pick cherries in Hood River. Of course some workers spend the entire year in the Fresno area, pruning in the winter.

An informant told us that the people of San Miguel Cuevas can understand the Mixtec dialect from (at least) the following communities: Santiago Naranjas, Santa Catarina Naltepec, Santa Rosa Coxtlahuaca, San Pedro Chayuco, Ixpantepec Nieves, San Andrés Montaña, San Juan Piñas, Zochiquilazola, and San Miguel Tlacotepec.

With the exception of San Miguel Tlacotepec, Nieves, and San Andrés, all of these are in the municipio of Santiago Juxtlahuaca. Including San Miguel Cuevas, we found migrants from all ten of these villages in California. It is likely that communication among the villages has abetted migration to California. Informant said they cannot understand the dialect in San Juan Mixtepec.

One group of single males (25 to 60, depending on the month) from San Miguel Cuevas was based in an on-farm camp near Fowler that they had taken over from an earlier group from Santiago Naranjas. The workers from Cuevas had obtained the address of the camp from a person from Santiago Naranjas while working in Oregon in 1979. (This same person had also directed them to the camp in Oregon.) The Santiago Naranjas workers had started living in the Fowler camp in about 1975, progressively taking over from Michoacanos, but found better jobs and living situations and were all gone by 1984. The Cuevas workers began living in the Fowler camp in 1980, and by 1988 they were effectively the only group left.

At another on-farm camp near Fresno, Cuevas workers began with 15 paisanos in 1983, growing to 60 by 1987. They found this camp because relatives from another village had already arrived by 1983. The increase in Mixtecos paralleled the decline in mestizos, as workers from Sinaloa and other parts of Mexico did not like that Mixtec came to be the principal language spoken in the camp.

Another informant told us he came to Del Mar first in 1974, brought by people from Santiago Naranjas, and found three or four other villagers there. One informant in 1990 worked with 24 villagers near Fresno; another was working with 37 villagers in same area.

Jobs: pruning, thinning, suckering, and harvesting all kinds of grapes in Madera and Fowler; thinning and harvesting stone fruit in Fresno area; strawberries, caneberries, and cucumbers in Oregon; thinning apples in Washington (work in Pasco is in apples); olives in Madera; hoeing

field crops; garlic in Fresno County and Gilroy; man in butcher shop in Pasco, had family there, six siblings also there in agriculture; gardening in Los Angeles; and furniture factory in Portland.

San Pedro Chayuco

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Seima	1	0	0	1
San Diego	Del Mar	Not visited			
	Carlsbad	Not found			
	San Luis Rey	Not found			
Other States	Oregon				

Santa Catarina Naltepec (Mixtec)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Fresno	Not found			
	Kerman	17	10	12	39
Kern	Bakersfield	Not found			
Los Angeles	Santa Monica	Not visited			
Madera	Madera	213	87	154	454
Orange	Santa Ana	Not found			
San Diego	Carlsbad	Not found			
	Oceanside	4	0	0	4
	San Luis Rey	10	0	0	10
	Vista	Not found			
San Joaquin	Stockton	Not visited			
Santa Barbara	Santa Maria	Not found			
Tulare	Exeter	1	1	0	2
Other State	Florida; Idaho; Oregon (Cornelius, Hillsboro, Medford, Monitor, Mt. Angel, North Plains, Portland, Salem, St. Paul, Woodburn); Washington (Yakima)				
Mexico	D.F.(few, mostly women); Baja Norte (Ensenada, Mañadero, San Quintín, Camalú); Sinaloa (Guasave, Los Mochis, Culiacán)				

There were many braceros from the village. We interviewed one man who came to Arizona in 1955 with 30 from the village; he also went to San Jose in 1956 and Santa Ana in 1962. After the end of the Bracero Program villagers stopped migrating to the U.S., but eventually went to San Quintín in the 1960s, and then to Baja for summer work. Villagers were afraid to try crossing into the U.S. until about 1975, a year singled out by many informants as a key point, when apparently about ten men came up, went straight to Madera, and from there to Oregon. Many villagers followed soon after, as they were in Baja with relatively easy access. Original settlers in Madera reported to have died there.

There was significant settlement in northwest Mexico. Many informants reported family members living in Baja. A number of informants reported working in Baja or Culiacán in the 1980s before coming to California. There were still many people in the village, and much back-and-forth migration. Informant said one of the reasons for the migration was the conflict with the neighboring village of San Miguel Cuevas.

The greatest concentration of villagers was in Madera, where work centers on grapes and picking fresh market tomatoes. There was a seasonal movement to Oregon, but many women did not go.

Jobs: pruning grapes and trees in Madera, Caruthers, and Biola; picking tomatoes in San Joaquin Valley; hoeing field crops; thinning stone fruit; strawberries, mora, blueberries, cucumbers, and nurseries in the Willamette Valley of Oregon; fruit in Medford; harvesting wine and raisin grapes in Kerman, Madera, and Merced; olives in Corning and McFarland; strawberries in Santa Maria; and sugar beets in Idaho. Informant reported in 1990 that a group of villagers had just left from Madera to Florida.

Santa María Asunción (Mixtec)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Fresno	9	2	3	14
	Kerman	Not found			
	Parlier	2	1	7	11
	Selma	Not found			
Madera	Madera	1	0	0	1
Ventura	Oxnard	Not visited (man said mother there picking strawberries since 1987)			
Other States	Oregon (Portland)				
Mexico	Sinaloa; Baja Norte (Ensenada, Tijuana); D.F.				

There were braceros from the village who came via Navajoa—those who picked the most cotton got the contracts. We spoke with settled family in Parlier where one man arrived in 1976 and was one of first to migrate after the Bracero Program. He estimated there were 30–40 villagers in U.S., mostly lone males. They started arriving in 1979 via tomatoes and strawberries in San Luis Rey. Jobs: grapes and stone fruit in Fresno area.

Informant interviewed in 1992 in Fresno lived with wife, three children, and sister; said his was the only settled family in Fresno. Family worked in Culiacán and Baja before coming to U.S. Informant had gone to Baja in 1981 with an aunt; he entered U.S. in 1984 and worked with los diablos in Del Mar. Had worked in San Diego area, Fresno area, Oregon, Washington, Merced, and Stockton. Current jobs: pruning grapes in Fresno; hoeing sugar beets in Huron; suckering grapes in Fresno; picking strawberries and blueberries in Hillsboro; picking tomatoes in Huron and Merced; tabla in Selma, Raisin City, and Fresno; and planting pine trees in Alabama.

Informant had uncles who came as braceros. They migrated illegally after program ended.

Santa Rosa Coxtlahuaca (Mixtec)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Kerman	Not found			
	Selma	4	0	0	4
Los Angeles	Pomona	Not visited (family living there)			
Madera	Madera	8	4	8	20
San Diego	Bonsall	Not found (living outside)			
	Carlsbad	4	0	0	4
	San Luis Rey	Not found			
	Vista	Not found (many settled families reported)			
Other States:	Oregon (Hillsboro; Silverton; Woodburn—settled families)				
Mexico	Sinaloa (Culiacán—many); Baja Norte (Ensenada, Camalú, San Quintín); D.F.				

There were braceros from the village.

Informant interviewed in Woodburn in 1990 reported 25 villagers in his strawberry crew, and an informant from San Juan Mixtepec reported 100 in strawberry crew. A number of families actually lived in Woodburn and migrated from there to California.

Informants interviewed in Vista in 1989 were living in rented apartments in the town. Both would return to the village during the summer and worked only in San Diego area. Villagers were working in strawberries and tomatoes. Apparently the largest concentration of villagers was in Vista.

Informant interviewed in 1989 in Bonsall said 100 from village were working at Singh ranch in San Luis Rey. Another informant interviewed in Vista said that at peak season there were 200 from the village in the San Diego area. One Vista informant arrived in 1972, the rest in 1975 or 1976. Spouses and children were living in Cuautla and D.F. in addition to the village.

Santiago Juxtlahuaca (Mixtec)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Alameda	Union City	Not visited			
Fresno	Fresno	Not found			
	Parlier	3	1	0	4
	Selma	1	0	0	1
Kern	Bakersfield	Not found			
Madera	Madera	72	8	14	94
Monterey	Salinas	Not visited			
San Diego	Carlsbad	Not found			
	Oceanside	Not found			
	San Luis Rey	9	0	0	9
	Vista	Not found			
Santa Barbara	Santa Maria	13	2	1	16
Tulare	Farmersville	4	4	1	9
	Lindsay	Not visited			
	Visalia	Not visited			
Other States	Nebraska; New Jersey; New York; Oregon (Hillsboro); Washington; Canada				
Mexico	Puebla; D.F.; Oaxaca city; Baja Norte (Ensenada); Sinaloa (Culiacán)				

Informants reported braceros from town.

Villagers went to New York in 1983 and were working in restaurants; some had their own. Workers in San Luis Rey identified themselves as coming from Barrio Guadalupe in Santiago Juxtlahuaca. They mentioned Santa Maria, Fresno, Madera, and Oregon as other locations where people from this barrio were located. In Union City villagers were working in restaurants and services, in Salinas they were working in campo, and in Fresno they were working in grapes and stone fruit.

Santiago Naranjas (Mixtec)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Caruthers	Not found			
	Del Rey	Not visited			
	Fowler	Not found			
	Fresno	Not found			
	Kerman	Not found			
	Parlier	8	1	0	9
	Raisin City	Not visited			
	Sanger	Not found			
	Selma	3	2	0	5
Los Angeles	Pomona	Not visited			
Madera	Madera	1	2	4	7
Sacramento	Sacramento	Not visited			
San Diego	Carlsbad	Not found			
	El Cajon	Not visited (man there gardening since 1978)			
	Escondido	Not found			
	Oceanside	0	1	0	1
	San Diego	Not visited			
	San Luis Rey	1	0	0	1
	San Marcos	Not found			
	Vista	0	1	0	1
San Joaquin	Stockton	Not visited			
Santa Cruz	Watsonville	Not found			
Sonoma	Santa Rosa	Not visited			
Tulare	Visalia	Not visited			
Ventura	Oxnard	3	1	2	6
Other States	Oregon (Cornelius; Gresham, Hillsboro, Portland, Salem, Silverton); Washington (Pasco, Yakima)				
Mexico	D.F.(domestics); Baja Norte (Camatú, Ensenada, San Quintín, San Vicente, Tijuana); Baja Sur (La Paz); Sinaloa (Culliacán)				

Informant interviewed in Parlier first came to the U.S. briefly in 1969; migrated again in 1980 to work the berry harvest in OR. Had been in the U.S. more or less permanently since 1983.

Another informant in Parlier interviewed in 1990 migrated to Culiacán in 1966, and then to Navajoa to work for his uncle who owned three taquerías there. His brother traveled to Sinaloa in 1967 with five others from the village, and stayed to work selling tacos in Navajoa for three years. They did not enter the U.S. until 1979 when they migrated with seven other villagers to Hillsboro, including a friend from Sinaloa who had gone the year before. They earned enough money in Sinaloa to pay to enter the U.S. From Oregon, the two brothers went to Selma and Parlier and have been there since.

There were many braceros reported from the village; they worked in tomatoes, lemons and lettuce in California, and citrus and cotton in Arizona. Some got contracts by flying to Huajuapam and taking a bus to D.F. to register. Others got contracts in Sonora while working in cotton there. Informant knew about a group of three men, one had a brother in Navajoa who called to tell them to come up and get a contract. They went at least three times to San Jose and to Dinuba; some from Santa Rosa Coxtlahuaca went along. People migrated after program ended;

one went to Sacramento, another to Salinas to cut lettuce. There was more local migration in the mid-1960s, to Cuatla, Veracruz, and Putla. Mayordomos who were originally from Santiago Naranjas and worked in sugar cane came to the village to recruit. Villagers went to Sinaloa and Sonora in the late 1960s and early 1970s. It wasn't until 1974-75 that people really started coming to Madera. There was a former bracero who migrated to California from Sinaloa in 1975.

Population of the village area was estimated at 3,000-4,000. Informant said 50 percent migrate to the U.S. In Santiago Naranjas just the women, children and old people were said to stay in the village, in addition to those who have irrigated land.

Jobs: pruning, maintaining, and harvesting grapes in Madera and Fresno; pruning, thinning, and harvesting stone fruit in Fresno area; hoeing field crops in the San Joaquin Valley; picking olives in Exeter; strawberries, mora, cucumbers, pine trees, and nurseries (group working year-round in Gresham nursery) in Oregon; picking tomatoes in San Joaquin Valley; fruit dehydrator in Sanger; woman a domestic in Vista; woman in strawberry packing facility in Oceanside; two men cutting celery in Oxnard since 1980. Man harvesting celery and bell peppers and packing vegetables in Salinas for four months; works in a crew of 32 in Salinas: 20 from Oaxaca—but only 1 from village—5 from Santa Maria Tindu, 8 from San Juan Mixtepec, 5 from Juxtlahuaca. In 1982 he got to know a Michoacano who took him along to Salinas and introduced him to a FLC.

Informant in 1990 was working with 20 from village in raisin grapes in Selma. Another informant in the same year was working with 20 from village in strawberries in Hillsboro. Informants said that they like to work in Oregon because they can live for free on farms, do not have to pay for daily transport, and receive food donations from local charities. Others were working in a wood furniture factory in Portland. Families in Gresham and Boring (OR) since 1980. Some were working in agriculture in Pasco.

No new migration to Sinaloa.

Soledad Yucunisi

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Selma	Not found			
Madera	Madera	Not found			
Orange	Santa Ana	Not visited			
San Diego	Escondido	Not found			
	Fallbrook	Not found			
	Oceanside	Not found			
	San Luis Rey	1	0	0	1
	Vista	Not found			

Tierra Blanca (Triqui, Mixtec)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Fresno	Not found			
	Kerman	2	4	4	10
Madera	Madera	3	0	0	3
Other States	Florida; Oregon (Woodburn)				
Mexico	Baja Norte; Sinaloa; Sonora				

Jobs: pruning and harvesting grapes in Madera; strawberries, and mora in Oregon; olives in Orland; strawberries in Santa Maria; thinning and picking peaches in Modesto; and tomatoes, squash, and cucumbers in Florida.

Informant knew of villagers who migrated to the U.S. in 1970. Our earliest informant arrived 1982 after working in Baja.

Unión de Cárdenas

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Madera	Madera	4	0	0	4
San Diego	Vista	Not found			

Yosoyusí (Triqui)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Madera	Madera	17	4	6	27

Yuchío

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Seima	Not found			
Other states	Oregon (Hillsboro, Woodburn);				
Mexico	Sinaloa (Culiacán); Baja Norte (Camalú)				

Villagers had been migrating to Sinaloa for some time.

Informant in 1990 reported he had first come to the U.S. in 1987 from Culiacán to Oregon with his father. No other villagers were with him when interviewed. He had included Culiacán tomatoes in his migrant circuit in 1990.

Jobs: strawberries in Oregon; pruning grapes in Madera; harvesting raisin grapes in Madera.

Zochiquilazola

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Madera	Madera	Not found			
Other states	Washington (Chelan)				
Mexico	Tijuana				

Informant interviewed in San Diego in 1989 said he was from Santo Reyes Zochiquilazola which used to be called Zochiquilazola Vieja. He said there were 10–15 men in San Diego. They were migrating up to Madera or Fresno, and then to Wenatchee and Chelan for apples. He said the majority of villagers were in Madera. His wife and children were in Tijuana.

7. MUNICIPIO OF SANTOS REYES TEPEJILLO

Santos Reyes Tepejillo (Mixtec)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Fresno	Not found			
	Kerman	Not found			
	Selma	Not found			
Madera	Madera	25	9	6	40
Merced	Merced	Not visited			
Monterey	Salinas	Not visited			
Riverside	Rancho California	Not visited			
	Temecula	Not visited			
San Diego	Bonsall	Not found			
	Carlsbad	10	0	0	10
	San Diego	Not visited			
	San Luis Rey	22	1	0	23
	Vista	Not found			
San Joaquin	Stockton	Not visited			
Other States	Florida; Oregon (Dayton, Monitor, Woodburn); Washington (Yakima)				
Mexico	Sinaloa; Baja Norte; Baja Sur (La Paz); D.F.; Puebla				

Informant in Madera in 1990 reported that her 62-year-old husband was the first to come to the U.S. from the village in the 1950s; he migrated illegally to work in Salinas for three months at a time. Another informant in 1990 reported that four or five men from the village married chicanas about 1969–70 and stayed in the U.S. Family in Woodburn/Monitor reported being there since 1982, working in construction, nurseries, and strawberries.

MUNICIPIO UNKNOWN

Lázaro Cárdenas (Triquis—may refer to San Quintín)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Madera	Madera	4	0	0	4

Tocuya (Tacuya?—supposedly near Santiago Naranjas)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
San Diego	San Luis Rey	5	0	0	5

DISTRICT OF NOCHIXTLÁN

1. MUNICIPIO OF ASUNCIÓN NOCHIXTLÁN

Asunción Nochixtlán

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Orange	Garden Grove	Not visited			
	Santa Ana	Not visited			
San Diego	San Luis Rey	1	0	0	1

2. MUNICIPIO OF MAGDALENA JALTEPEC

El Venado

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Fresno	3	3	5	11
	Selma	Not found			
Mexico	Baja Norte (Ensenada); D.F.				

Braceros from the village arrived in 1950, including brother and brothers-in-law of informant.

Man interviewed in 1990 was working in grapes and stone fruit with people from Magdalena Jaltepec in Selma.

Two brothers arrived in Fresno in the mid-1980s, stayed and married women there.

Informant in 1991 in Fresno lived in a good house, and had owned own gardening business for four years; before that he had worked as a gardener. Another informant in Fresno the same year also was a gardener and had had own business for six years.

Magdalena Jaltepec

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Fresno	Not found (families reported)			
	Selma	5	0	0	5
Los Angeles	Los Angeles	Not visited			
	San Fernando	Not visited			
Mexico	D.F.; Baja Norte (Tijuana)				

The first people from village came to the U.S. in the 1950s, some were braceros. One woman came up in the 1960s, then her brother, and settled in Fresno. This family had married children in the area.

Another informant arrived in 1977 and began working in gardening for villager in Fresno.

Villagers were working in stone fruit and grapes in Selma and a packing house in Sanger. Village speaks Spanish; neither parents nor grandparents spoke Mixtec. Nearest Mixtec-speaking villages in Nochixtlán are San Francisco Jaltepetongo, Santiago Tilantongo, and Santo Domingo Nuxaa.

3. MUNICIPIO OF SAN JUAN TAMAZOLA

San Juan Monte Flor (Mixtec)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN
Fresno	Selma Not found
Mexico	Baja Norte (Ensenada); D.F.

Villagers started migrating to the U.S. in 1986; young men had gone to Los Angeles, and others were working in grapes and strawberries. Informant interviewed in a park in Selma in 1990 was looking for them, had just arrived.

DISTRICT OF OCOTLAN

1. MUNICIPIO OF ASUNCIÓN OCOTLÁN

Asunción Ocotlán (Mixtec)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Fresno	4	0	0	4
Madera	Madera	Not found			
San Diego	Carlsbad	15	0	0	15
	Oceanside	8	0	0	8
	San Luis Rey	Not found			
	San Marcos	Not found			
Santa Clara	San Jose	Not found			
Other States	Idaho; Montana; Washington (Yakima, Zilla)				
Mexico	Baja Norte (Camalú, Lazaro Cardenas); Sinaloa				

Informant interviewed in Baja in 1992 had moved his family there in 1991 after working in Baja once before, in 1986. His wife's aunt was one of the first to migrate to Baja in 1981; now ten families in Camalú, with more in Lazaro Cardenas.

There were braceros from the village. Villagers began migrating to Chiapas in 1970, but work declined and so they went to Sinaloa about 1975 in the buses offered by growers.

Informant's father, mother, three brothers, and two sisters were all in Yakima---most working in apples. One brother was a SAW and was working in a factory. Two brothers first migrated to Oceanside in 1981, then to Washington two years later. Informant worked two months in Carlsbad, but was not paid and had not returned to U.S.

Informant interviewed in Encinitas in 1989 said many from village work for los diablos.

2. MUNICIPIO OF OCOTLÁN DE MORELOS

Ocotlán de Morelos

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Fresno	Not found			
Madera	Madera	Not found			
San Diego	Carlsbad	30	0	0	30
Santa Barbara	Santa Maria	1	0	0	1

3. MUNICIPIO OF SAN ANTONINO CASTILLO VELASCO

San Antonino Castillo Velasco

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Fresno	22	0	0	22
Other States	Oregon				

4. MUNICIPIO OF SAN JOSÉ DEL PROGRESO

San José del Progreso

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Fresno	8	2	1	11

5. MUNICIPIO OF SAN MARTÍN TILCAJETE

San Martín Tilcajete

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Madera	Madera	Not found			
San Diego	Vista	Not found			
Santa Cruz	Santa Cruz	12	0	0	12

6. MUNICIPIO OF SAN PEDRO MÁRTIR

San Pedro Mártir (Zapotec)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Orange Cove	Not counted			
	Partier	2	0	0	2
	Reedley	Not visited			
Madera	Madera	5	0	0	5
San Diego	Oceanside	Not found			

In Orange Cove, there were supposedly lots of villagers, but they were not counted in 1991. Majority of their people were in Reedley; some families had settled. Also in Oceanside. In

Madera, there were only about ten lone males who migrated to Oregon and these other towns. People began to come to the U.S. during Bracero Program, but strongest flow began in the 1980s.

7. MUNICIPIO OF SANTIAGO APÓSTOL

Santiago Apóstol

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Madera	Madera	12	0	0	12

DISTRICT OF POCHUTLA

1. MUNICIPIO OF SAN PEDRO POCHUTLA

San Pedro Pochutla

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Santa Barbara	Santa Maria	1	0	0	1

DISTRICT OF PUTLA DE GUERRERO

1. MUNICIPIO OF CONSTANCIA DEL ROSARIO

Constancia del Rosario

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Madera	Madera	8	0	0	8
Sonoma	Santa Rosa	Not visited			

Villagers began migrating during the Bracero Program, some coming as far as Sonoma. Strongest flow began in 1975. Villagers began migrating to a ranch known as Sonoma Vineyards; there was a mayordomo there from Tequixtepec, Huajuapam, that knew the men from Constancia and would give them work.

Río Venado (Triqui)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Madera	Madera	4	0	0	4

San José Yocosanú

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Madera	Madera	7	0	0	7

Santa Ana

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Alameda	Union City	Not visited			
Los Angeles	Los Angeles	Not visited			
San Diego	Escondido	40	30	0	70
San Francisco	San Francisco	Not visited			

2. MUNICIPIO OF MESONES HIDALGO**Mesones Hidalgo (Mixtec)**

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Madera	Madera	10	0	0	10
Other States	Oregon				
Mexico	Baja Norte (Camalú)				

Informant interviewed in Baja in 1992 reported that villagers went to the U.S. as braceros. Her father was a SAW in Oregon, but the rest of the family was in Camalú. Women from the village started migrating to Baja in 1982; many villagers were going to Sinaloa at that time.

Las Mesas

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Alameda	Union City	Not visited			
Santa Clara	Gilroy	Not found			
	Milpitas	Not found			
	Mt. View	7	2	0	9
	San Jose	6	0	0	6

In San Jose, two men who were working in gardening, construction and restaurants had been there more than three years.

San José de las Flores

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
San Diego	San Diego	Not visited			
	Vista	6	0	0	6
Other States	Florida; New York; Oregon; Pennsylvania (Philadelphia); Washington				
Mexico	Sinaloa; Baja Norte; D.F.				

Informant interviewed in Vista in 1991 reported that there were braceros from the village. He recalled people talking about migrating to the U.S. in 1968. He arrived in 1984 to pick strawberries in Hillsboro, OR.

Jobs: tomatoes in Carlsbad; grapes in Madera; asparagus in Stockton; strawberries, blueberries, raspberries, and cucumbers in Hillsboro; pears in Hood River; and olives in Lindsay.

Santa María la Lima

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Fresno	Not found			
Madera	Madera	Not found			
San Bernardino	San Bernardino	Not visited			
San Diego	Carlsbad	5	0	0	5
Sonoma	Santa Rosa	Not visited			

3. MUNICIPIO OF PUTLA VILLA DE GUERRERO**El Carrizal**

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Madera	Madera	1	0	0	1
Other States	New York; Oregon; Canada				

Gregorio Alvarez

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Madera	Madera	16	0	0	16
Sonoma	Santa Rosa	Not visited			
Other States	Oregon				

Villagers reported migrating to Santa Rosa at the end of July to harvest grapes.

La Joya

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Fowler	Not found			
Madera	Madera	14	6	5	25

Putla Villa de Guerrero

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Fresno	Not found			
Los Angeles	Los Angeles	Not visited			
Madera	Madera	52	4	2	58
San Diego	Carlsbad	6	0	0	6
	Oceanside	Not found			
Santa Clara	Gilroy	Not found			
	San Jose	Not found			
	Sunnyvale	9	2	2	13
Other States	New York				

Villagers were working in restaurants in New York, and in factories in Los Angeles. Found a man working in landscaping in Sunnyvale.

San Marcos Coyulito

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
San Diego	Vista	8	0	0	8
Other States	Oregon				
Mexico	Sinaloa; D.F.				

Informant interviewed in 1991 in Vista said he did not believe there were braceros from the village. First migrant to the U.S. he knew of was his brother who went to Oregon for strawberries in 1984. Villagers used to migrate to Sinaloa, but few now. Knew of no villagers living in U.S. Jobs: tomatoes and vegetables in Carlsbad; and tomatoes, squash, and flowers in Vista.

San Miguel Reyes

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
San Diego	Carlsbad	1	0	0	1

4. MUNICIPIO OF SANTA CRUZ ITUNDUJÍA**Santa Cruz Itundujía**

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Kerman	4	1	0	5

5. MUNICIPIO OF SANTA LUCÍA MONTEVERDE**Santa Lucía Monteverde**

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Fresno	6	0	0	6

7. MUNICIPIO OF SANTA MARÍA ZACATEPEC**Aquiles Serdán**

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Madera	Madera	21	3	3	27
Other States	New York				

Cabeza del Río

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Santa Clara	Milpitas	Not found			
	Mt. View	8	0	0	8
	San Jose	Not found			

Coyulito

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
San Diego	Carlsbad	2	0	0	2
Santa Clara	Milpitas	Not found			
	San Jose	5	3	2	10

Informant in 1991 was working as a gardener in San Jose. He had been there three years, and wanted to bring up his family. Many of the Mixtecs in San Jose were working in restaurants, landscape, and construction.

Guadalupe Nuevo Centro

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Santa Clara	Mt. View	5	0	0	5
	San Jose	Not found			
	Sunnyvale	Not found			

Santa María Zacatepec

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Los Angeles	Los Angeles	Not visited			
Madera	Madera	Not counted			
Santa Clara	Milpitas	Not found			
	San Jose	Not found			
	Sunnyvale	9	3	2	14

Informant in 1991 was working in landscaping; his family was living there in Sunnyvale. In Madera in 1991, informant said that some from the village come temporarily to work in green tomato harvest.

DISTRICT OF SILACAYOAPAM**1. MUNICIPIO OF CALIHUALÁ****San José Sabinillo**

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Kerman	18	0	0	18
Madera	Madera	2	2	2	6
Other States	Oregon (Mollala, Monitor)				

Informant interviewed in Madera in 1992 migrated to La Paz for cotton in 1975, then came with his uncle to Ramona to work in gardening in 1976, stayed two years, then came to Madera. His father came to the U.S. as a bracero via Empalme. His uncle was the first to migrate after the program ended. Father migrated from 1970-82 to San Luis Rey for strawberries and tomatoes, to Arizona for citrus, and to Madera for raisin grapes. Mother and sister were in Oregon, and broth-

er in Yakima since 1986 working in apples and asparagus. Most villagers were circular migrants, but informant knew of two families that had been in the U.S. 9–10 years. Villagers were no longer migrating to Sinaloa or Baja.

Jobs: thinning stone fruit and picking tomatoes in Madera; picking apples in Yakima, Wapato, and Quincy, WA; picking tomatoes in Huron; pruning grapes; and strawberries, caneberries, broccoli, cauliflower, and cucumbers in Oregon.

2. MUNICIPIO OF GUADALUPE RAMÍREZ

Guadalupe Ramírez

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Kern	Bakersfield	4	1	2	7
Madera	Madera	1	0	0	1
San Bernardino	San Bernardino	Not visited			
San Diego	Carlsbad	1	0	0	1
Other States	Washington				

Informant in 1991 claimed town is mestizo; people are tall and white and have green eyes.

3. MUNICIPIO OF IXPANTEPEC NIEVES

Ixpantepec Nieves (Mixtec)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Fresno	Not found			
Kern	Bakersfield	31	15	8	54
Madera	Madera	Not found			
Riverside	Rancho California	Not visited			
San Diego	Del Mar	Not visited			
	Fallbrook	8	0	0	8
	Oceanside	20	0	0	20
	San Diego	Not visited			
	San Luis Rey	14	0	0	14
	Vista	13	7	5	25
Santa Barbara	Santa Maria	Not found			

There were at least three mayordomos from the village living in Bakersfield who were working for a local contractor. Most villagers did not speak Mixtec.

Santa María Asunción

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Fresno	14	3	3	20
Madera	Madera	Not found			
San Diego	Del Mar	Not visited			
	Oceanside	Not found			
	San Luis Rey	10	0	0	10
	Vista	Not found			
Santa Barbara	Santa Maria	7	5	1	13
Ventura	Oxnard	Not visited			
Other States	Oregon				

In 1991 found 12 adults and a child living in one room, carpeted in mattresses, in a hotel in Santa Maria, for which they were charged \$1,000 a month.

4. MUNICIPIO OF SAN AGUSTÍN ATENANGO**San Agustín Atenango**

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Biola	2	5	2	9
	Clovis	Not visited			
Madera	Madera	7	0	0	7
Napa	St. Helena	Not visited			
San Diego	Oceanside	Not found			
	Vista	Not found			
Santa Barbara	Santa Maria	4	1	2	7
Other States	Illinois (Chicago); Oregon				
Mexico	Baja Norte (Vicente Guerrero)				

San Mateo Libres (Mixtec)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Fowler	Not found			
	Fresno	Not found			
Madera	Madera	16	2	5	23
San Diego	San Luis Rey	8	0	0	8
Other States	Oregon (Boring, Hillsboro)				
Mexico	Sinaloa; Baja Norte (Colonia Vicente Guerrero); D.F.				

Informant reported many families in San Luis Rey, but we did not locate them. Families also were reported in Baja.

Jobs: raisin grapes in Madera; and strawberries in Hillsboro.

5. MUNICIPIO OF SAN JUAN BAUTISTA TLACHICHILCO

San Juan Bautista Tlachichilco

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Fresno	Not found			
Madera	Madera	Not found			
San Diego	San Luis Rey	7	0	0	7
Other States	Oregon				

6. MUNICIPIO OF SAN JUAN CIENEGUILLA

San Juan Cieneguilla

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Los Angeles	Los Angeles	Not visited			
Madera	Madera	12	4	4	20
Orange	Santa Ana	Not visited			
San Diego	National City	2	2	0	4
Other States	Florida; New York; Texas (Houston)				
Mexico	D.F.; Morelos (Cuautla)				

Informant interviewed in 1991 in Madera said that villagers in Santa Ana were working in factories and gardening; that is where the majority of the people from his village were living—he estimated 200 there. Villagers also migrate to New York to work in restaurants, and to Los Angeles to work in factories.

Informant interviewed in Madera in 1992 lived in D.F. and worked in a factory before coming to Madera in 1984; was living with wife and three U.S.-born children there. Jobs: pruning, thinning, and picking table grapes in Madera, and picking tomatoes in Huron

There were braceros from the village. Informant knew people who came to the U.S. about 1979; a brother and uncle arrived in 1981.

Another informant interviewed in 1992 had come straight to Madera in 1985. He was picking tomatoes in Huron, and pruning and thinning grapes; he returned to the village every year. His father came to Bakersfield from 1980–85 to pick oranges and grapes in Madera. Two brothers and two sisters living in National City were working in a nursery. Grandfather came to the U.S. as a bracero to harvest cotton. Villagers continued to migrate after the program ended.

7. MUNICIPIO OF SAN LORENZO VICTORIA

Guadalupe del Palmar (El Palmar)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Fresno	4	2	2	8

San Jerónimo Nuchita

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN
Madera	Madera Not found
Other States	Alaska; New York; Oregon (Silverton, Woodburn); Washington; Canada
Mexico	Baja Norte (San Quintín); D.F.

Informant said the first person to migrate to the U.S. was an uncle who came as a bracero about 1950 to care for sheep in Arizona; returned for three more contracts, then migrated illegally to California. Informant in 1990 estimated there were 40 villagers living in California or Oregon.

Jobs: gardening and construction in Vista; strawberries, mora, cucumbers, cannery, and pines in Oregon; pruning and harvesting grapes and stone fruit in Madera; and asparagus in Stockton. Informant was working with 15 from the village in Oregon in 1990.

San Lorenzo Victoria

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Caruthers	1	0	0	1
	Parlier	4	0	0	4
Kern	Bakersfield	11	4	3	18
Los Angeles	San Fernando	Not visited			
Madera	Madera	Not found			
San Bernardino	San Bernardino	Not visited			
San Diego	Carlsbad	Not found			
	Oceanside	Not found			
	San Luis Rey	Not found			
	San Marcos	Not found			
San Francisco	San Francisco	Not visited			

8. MUNICIPIO OF SAN MIGUEL AHUEHUETITLÁN

San Miguel Ahuehuetitlán (Mixtec)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Fresno	Not found			
Madera	Madera	5	0	0	5
San Diego	San Luis Rey	Not found			
San Joaquin	Stockton	Not visited			
Other States	Oregon (Cornelius, North Plains, Silverton)				
Mexico	Sinaloa; Baja Norte (Ensenada); D.F.				

The first migrants from the village arrived in the U.S. about 1979–80. Informant said everyone returns to the village.

Jobs: strawberries, mora, cucumbers, and cannery in Oregon; asparagus in Stockton; pruning and harvesting grapes in Madera; tomatoes in San Luis Rey; and strawberries in Santa María.

9. MUNICIPIO OF SAN NICOLÁS HIDALGO

San Pedro Salinas

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
San Diego	Vista	10	4	2	16
Santa Barbara	Santa Maria	Not found			
Other States	New York; Oregon; Virginia; Washington				

10. MUNICIPIO OF SANTA CRUZ DE BRAVO

Santa Cruz de Bravo (Mixtec)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Madera	Madera	5	4	9	18
San Diego	Escondido	Not found			
	Fallbrook	11	8	1	20
Santa Clara	San Jose	Not found			
Other States	Florida; Oregon; Washington				
Mexico	Sinaloa (Culiacán); Baja Sur (La Paz)				

Informant interviewed in Madera in 1992 had come to the U.S. in 1985 and worked in strawberries in Oregon after migrating to Sinaloa in 1984. He then became part of the circular migration that travels to Madera for tomatoes. An uncle was a mayordomo general for a farm labor contractor who was working in tomatoes in Huron and Hollister. This contact has allowed the village to place approximately 65 workers in seasonal tomato picking. Another uncle was working in a factory in Madera. The many braceros from this village included the father of these uncles. Villagers began migrating again sometime in the 1970s. There were many in Madera; some buying houses since IRCA, but more were coming only for seasonal tomato work. Villagers were also working in asparagus near Yakima in Washington.

Another informant interviewed in 1992 in Madera had come straight to Madera from the village, never migrating within Mexico. He was picking tomatoes and hoeing cotton, and then returning to village. He had three brothers in Madera, including one with family.

11. MUNICIPIO OF SANTIAGO DEL RÍO

San Francisco Higos

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Kerman	Not found			
Madera	Madera	55	16	46	117
San Diego	Carlsbad	Not found			
	Vista	Not found			
Santa Barbara	Santa Maria	Not found			
Santa Clara	Gilroy	11	6	8	25
	Morgan Hill	90	4	6	100
	San Jose	25	13	13	51
Ventura	Oxnard	Not visited			
Other States	Oregon				

In Morgan Hill the majority of people were migrating to Oxnard early in the year, and then to Gilroy later in the summer. Some came to the U.S. as braceros during the 1950s: Enrique Martinez (55 years old) first migrated as a bracero in 1958, for example. Villagers were working in cucumbers and squash, and chiles in late August.

Informant in Morgan Hill said there were 85 paisanos there. More would arrive in August to pick chiles. Three more families settled in Morgan Hill, and six more in Gilroy (some of these found). 100 people in Oxnard and 100 in Gilroy according to another informant.

Found an informant in Madera whose father owned three houses. Son was a raitero who began working as a coyote transporting people from his home village at age of 14, then transported people from the border to Oregon, etc. But police caught him, put him in jail, and took his van. Lost everything. Son owned houses in Higos, and his father was a contratista.

The majority in Oxnard were working in the strawberry harvest.

Santiago del Río

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Madera	Madera	13	8	11	32
Merced	Los Banos	Not visited			
San Diego	San Luis Rey	Not found			
	Vista	Not found			
Santa Clara	Gilroy	8	0	0	8
Tulare	Farmersville	1	1	1	3
Ventura	Oxnard	Not visited			
Other States	Oregon				

Informant interviewed in San Luis Rey said most of the people from his village were working there. They started coming as braceros, going to Monterrey to make the contracts.

12. MUNICIPIO OF SANTIAGO YUCUYACHI

Santa Rosa de Juárez

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Madera	Madera	2	2	3	7

Santiago Yucuyachi (Mixtec)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Kern	Bakersfield	Not found			
Madera	Madera	Not found (3-4 families reported)			
San Diego	Bonsall	Not found			
	Carlsbad	8	8	8	24
	Fallbrook	Not found			
	Oceanside	10	10	10	30
	San Luis Rey	Not found			
	Vista	Not found			
San Luis Obispo	Oceano	Not visited			
Santa Barbara	Guadalupe	Not visited			
	Santa Maria	7	10	14	31
Sonoma	Santa Rosa	Not visited			
Other States	Florida; Washington (Pasco)				
Mexico	Baja Norte (Camalú, Lazaro Cardenas, Vicente Guerrero)				

Informant in 1991 said that of the 2,500 people of the village, there were only about 500 still living in there. 52 families were in California and Baja.

Informant interviewed in Oceanside in 1991 migrated to caña in Veracruz 1960–63, to Chiapas for cotton in 1964, to Culiacán for tomatoes in 1966, lived in D.F. 1967–72, then migrated to Carlsbad for tomatoes in 1973, where he had worked on and off since. He had two brothers working in Pasco in a potato plant; two children in Santa Maria in strawberries.

There were braceros from the village; they migrated to San Diego, Escondido, Calexico, and the Imperial Valley. People continued to come illegally after the program ended. The majority of villagers in California are in Santa Maria.

Jobs: strawberries in San Luis Rey and in Santa Maria; tomatoes in San Clemente; and cauliflower and tomatoes in Oceanside. Many workers from Yucuyachi reported working in Huron in tomatoes.

13. MUNICIPIO OF SANTIAGO TAMAZOLA

Santiago Tamazola

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Orange Cove	1	0	0	1
Madera	Madera	15	10	7	32
Other States	Washington				

14. MUNICIPIO OF SILACAYOAPAM

Guadalupe Cabacúa

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Fresno	11	4	4	19

San Andrés Montaña

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
San Diego	Vista	Not found			
Santa Clara	Gilroy	Not found			
	Morgan Hill	3	0	0	3

San Jerónimo Progreso (Mixtec)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Caruthers	2	0	0	2
Kern	Bakersfield	11	4	8	23
Riverside	Indio	1	1	0	2
	Riverside	29	9	6	44
San Bernardino	San Bernardino	10	8	7	25
Stanislaus	Denair	Not visited			
Tulare	Exeter	8	7	17	32
	Farmersville	Not found			
	Lindsay	Not visited			
	Visalia	Not visited			

Found two families that had been in Exeter for 15 years. Most of the villagers in Exeter were living in very impoverished conditions, some in trailers.

Informant in Bakersfield had lived there since 1974.

Michael Kearney estimated there are 300 villagers in California at any one time (6/94).

San Martín del Estado

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Fresno	12	0	0	12
Kern	Bakersfield	Not found			
San Diego	Escondido	Not found			
	Oceanside	57	30	20	107
	Vista	Not found			
Santa Barbara	Santa Maria	18	17	8	43
Tulare	Farmersville	2	1	3	6
Ventura	Oxnard	Not visited			

San Miguel Aguacates

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Caruthers	1	1	1	3
	Kerman	Not found			
San Bernardino	San Bernardino	1	0	0	1
Tulare	Exeter	4	5	5	14
	Farmersville	58	53	95	206
	Lindsay	Not visited			
	Visalia	Not visited			
Other States	Oregon				

In 1991 we found an informant who had been in Farmersville 16 years, another resident 15 years, one there 13 years, three families for 11 years, and other families 4 to 6 years. Probably at least twice as many in Farmersville as counted. Half were reported to be buying their houses.

In Exeter we found informants settled there living in nice houses.

Aguacates seemed well settled, mainly working in citrus.

San Sebastián Alfaro (Rancho Alfaro)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Kern	Bakersfield	30	4	8	42
Other States	Oregon				

In 1991 we found eight men living in a house in Bakersfield since 1982. Another man there ten years. There was a villager who was a mayordomo.

Santiago Asunción

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Fresno	19	8	2	29
Madera	Madera	20	1	1	22
San Diego	Del Mar	Not visited			
	San Luis Rey	6	0	0	6
	Vista	2	4	2	8
Ventura	Oxnard	Not visited			
Other States	Oregon (Hillsboro); Washington				

Santiago Patlanalá

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Fresno	16	8	5	29
Other States	Oregon				

Silacayoapam

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Madera	Madera	2	4	0	6
San Diego	Carlsbad	2	0	0	2
San Luis Obispo	San Luis Obispo	Not visited			
Santa Barbara	Santa Maria	7	2	2	11
Santa Clara	San Jose	Not found			
Santa Cruz	Watsonville	Not found			
Sonoma	Santa Rosa	Not visited			
Mexico	Sinaloa; Baja; D.F.				

Informant interviewed in Madera in 1991 said there were braceros from the village after 1945; he migrated in 1955 to Woodland, then later to Texas, the Imperial Valley, and Stockton. He said they were treated badly in Texas and did not return there. Came to Santa Maria about 1974. A group of families from village had been working for a Madera rancher for 12 years.

Informant interviewed in Carlsbad in 1991 first came to the U.S. in 1980 and had been working there in tomatoes and vegetables ever since. He worked previously in Sinaloa (1977-78) and Baja (1978-80); his father migrated to Sinaloa and Baja for work in tomatoes. Had two siblings, wife, and child in Sinaloa; a sibling in Baja.

(Declined to state name of village)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Kern	Bakersfield	8	2	4	14

DISTRICT OF SOLA DE VEGA

1. MUNICIPIO OF SAN JACINTO TLACOTEPEC

San Jacinto

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
San Diego	Carlsbad	Not found			
	Ramona	Not visited			
	Vista	3	0	0	3
San Francisco	San Francisco	Not visited			
Other States	Washington				

Informant interviewed in La Costa in 1989 said most villagers were in Ramona.

2. MUNICIPIO OF SANTIAGO AMOLTEPEC

Santiago Amoltepec (Zapotec)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
San Diego	Oceanside	Not found			
San Mateo	Pescadero	16	0	0	16
Santa Cruz	Santa Cruz	Not found			

3. MUNICIPIO OF SANTO DOMINGO TEOJOMULCO

Santo Domingo Teojomulco (Zapotec)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
San Mateo	Half Moon Bay	Not visited			
	Pescadero	Not found			
Santa Cruz	Davenport	14	3	2	19

4. MUNICIPIO OF VILLA SOLA DE VEGA

Villa Sola de Vega (Zapotec)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Madera	Madera	7	0	0	7
San Diego	Encinitas	Not found			
	Vista	4	0	0	4

DISTRICT OF TEHUANTEPEC

1. MUNICIPIO OF SANTO DOMINGO TEHUANTEPEC

Santo Domingo Tehuantepec (Zapotec)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Santa Barbara	Santa Maria	1	0	0	1

DISTRICT OF TEPOSCOLULA

1. MUNICIPIO OF SANTA MARÍA CHILAPA DE DÍAZ

Santa María Chilapa de Díaz

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
San Bernardino	Colton	Not visited			
San Diego	Escondido	80	20	50	150
Tulare	Cutler	10	0	0	10
Other States	Washington				

2. MUNICIPIO OF VILLA DE TAMAZULAPAM DEL PROGRESO

Villa de Tamazulapam del Progreso

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Madera	Madera	8	2	0	10

DISTRICT OF TLACOLULA

1. MUNICIPIO OF TLACOLULA DE MATAMOROS

Tlacolula de Matamoros (Zapotec)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Santa Barbara	Santa Maria	2	1	3	6

DISTRICT OF TLAXIACO

1. MUNICIPIO OF CHALCATONGO DE HIDALGO

Chalcatongo de Hidalgo (Mixtec)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Kerman	12	2	2	16
Merced	Livingston	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	48
San Diego	San Diego	Not visited			
	San Luis Rey	Not found			
	San Marcos	Not found			
Santa Barbara	Santa Maria	8	0	0	8
Other States	Oregon (Hillsboro)				
Mexico	Sinaloa; Baja Norte (Vicente Guerrero)				

Informant interviewed in Baja in 1990 was working with 20 villagers; said there were braceros from village. Villagers migrated to Morelos, Veracruz, San Luis Potosí (tomatoes), then to Sinaloa and Baja. From Baja, people moved on to Madera and Hillsboro.

Chapultepec

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Kern	Lamont	1	0	0	1

Iturbide

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Fresno	Not found			
	Kerman	12	2	2	16
Ventura	Oxnard	Not visited			

Zaragoza

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Madera	Madera	2	1	0	3

2. MUNICIPIO OF SAN JUAN NUMÍ

San Antonio Nduasico (Mixtec)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	
San Diego	Del Mar	Not visited
	Carlsbad	Not found
Other States	Florida; North Carolina	
Mexico	Baja Norte (Vicente Guerrero—10 families settled)	

Informant interviewed in Baja in 1990 had worked in D.F. 1970–77, then in Culiacán for six months before coming to Baja in 1978. His mother, four siblings, wife, and seven children were all in Baja. There were braceros from the village; his uncle migrated, but only a few others. Villagers started migrating to Morelos about 1960, to Veracruz about 1963 and continued in caña there for ten years. Informant migrated to Culiacán in 1969, then to Baja. He reported that there were few Mixtecos in Baja when he arrived—many more came in mid-1980s.

Santo Domingo Yosonáma (Mixtec)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Bioia	1	1	0	2
	Kerman	Not found			
Madera	Madera	10	0	0	10
San Diego	San Luis Rey	Not found			
Other States	Florida; Oregon; Washington				
Mexico	Baja Norte (Ensenada); D.F.; Sinaloa				

Informant reported that his father and various others were braceros in 1958; they went to San Francisco area and Arizona. Fifteen to twenty people from the village arrived in the U.S. in the 1970s, working first in California, and eventually in Oregon. Migration picked up around 1980. The first to be established in the U.S. were two brothers in Madera who had a house there; they arrived in 1970–72. There was also a man settled in Biola with a permanent job.

Many villagers were living in Ensenada, working in tomatoes, peas, and strawberries. Some informants included Ensenada in their migrant circuit.

Jobs: picking tomatoes in Madera; pruning and harvesting all types of grapes in Madera; pruning, thinning, and harvesting stone fruit in Fresno area; tomatoes and strawberries in San Luis Rey; strawberries, mora, and cucumbers in Oregon; and gardening in Vista.

Informant in 1990 was working with 40–45 from village in Hillsboro in strawberries.

Informant (age 17) said only the old people were left in village.

3. MUNICIPIO OF SAN MIGUEL EL GRANDE

Guadalupe Victoria (Victoria) (Mixtec)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Los Angeles	Los Angeles	Not visited			
Madera	Madera	27	2	3	33
Monterey	King City	Not visited			
San Diego	Escondido	Not found			
	San Diego	Not visited			
Other States	Georgia (Franklin); Oregon; Washington				
Mexico	D.F.; Baja Norte (Tijuana); Sinaloa				

Informants in Madera knew at least two brothers who came to the U.S. as braceros. In 1976, one man went to King City and never returned to the village. Another man started going to Oregon in 1979, to Portland and Cornelius. Two brothers were mayordomos in Madera, and most of their work was in grapes—pruning, training, suckering, and harvesting—though they also hoed field

crops and picked stone fruit; they employed a number of villagers. One man was a carpenter in Escondido. A family in Georgia was working on pine plantation.

A number of informants stated that their goal was to earn money in the U.S. to build a better home in their village and then return there. On the other hand, informants reported that villagers in Los Angeles and San Diego were working in factories.

San Miguel el Grande (Mixtec)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Madera	Madera	6	4	4	14
San Diego	Chula Vista	Not visited			
	Escondido	Not found			
	Fallbrook	Not found			
	San Marcos	Not found			
	Valley Center	Not visited			
Other States	Nevada (Las Vegas); New York; Oregon				
Mexico	Sinaloa; Baja Norte (Colonia Vicente Guerrero, Ensenada, Tijuana (most)); D.F.				

There were braceros from the village. Informant thought the first person to migrate after the program ended came in 1974; there was an upsurge in migration in 1980.

All informants had families in Baja.

Informant in 1990 estimated 100 from village migrating to the U.S.

Informant in 1990 reported 20–30 villagers working in the raisin grape harvest in Madera.

Jobs: working in maquiladoras and construction in Tijuana; gardening and avocados in Escondido; strawberries, mora, cucumbers, pines, and nurseries in Oregon; grapes in Madera; and strawberries in Oxnard.

Zaragoza

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Orange Cove	Not found			
Madera	Madera	2	1	0	3
Monterey	King City	1	1	0	2
San Diego	San Diego	Not visited			
Other States	Georgia; Oregon				
Mexico	Sinaloa; Baja Norte (Tecate, Ensenada, Tijuana); D.F. (families)				

Informant interviewed in 1991 in Madera said one migrant went to the U.S. in 1977, was able to make good money and buy a car and houses and bring his children north; this animated other villagers to cross the border. Many women were working as domestics in San Diego. Madera informant was picking tomatoes and grapes there. Villagers were also transplanting pines in Georgia.

4. MUNICIPIO OF SANTA CATARINA TICUÁ

Santa Catarina Ticuá

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Fresno	8	0	0	8

5. MUNICIPIO OF SANTA MARÍA YOSOYÚA

Buenavista (Mixtec)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Los Angeles	Los Angeles	Not visited			
Madera	Madera	5	0	0	5
Santa Clara	Gilroy	Not found			
	San Jose	3	0	0	3
Other States	Idaho; Oregon (Monitor)				
Mexico	Sinaloa (Culiacán); Baja Norte (Ensenada, Mexicali, Tijuana); D.F. (many there)				

Villagers were working in apples, potatoes, and onions in Idaho; strawberries in Oregon; strawberry nursery in Redding; construction in Tijuana; grapes in Madera; and hoeing in the San Joaquin Valley. Informant in 1990 said villagers first came to California in 1984; one man had a family. There were also nine lone males.

Santa María Yosoyúa (Mixtec)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Los Angeles	Los Angeles	Not visited			
Madera	Madera	0	2	0	2
Santa Clara	Gilroy	Not found			
	San Jose	3	0	0	3
Other States	Oregon				
Mexico	Sinaloa; Baja Norte (Tijuana)				

Informant in 1990 said there were "many" villagers in Madera; knew of only two in Oregon. Villagers were harvesting wine and raisin grapes in Madera.

6. MUNICIPIO OF SANTA MARÍA YUCUHITI

Santa María Yucuhiti

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Madera	Madera	2	0	0	2
Other States	Washington				

7. MUNICIPIO OF SANTIAGO YOSONDÚA

Buenavista

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Los Angeles	Los Angeles	Not visited			
Santa Barbara	Santa Maria	1	0	0	1

8. MUNICIPIO OF SANTO DOMINGO IXCATLÁN

Santo Domingo Ixcatlán

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
San Diego	Vista	1	1	1	3
Other States	Florida; Oregon				

9. MUNICIPIO OF HEROICA CIUDAD DE TLAXIACO

Heroica Ciudad de Tlaxiaco

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Madera	Madera	21	0	0	21
San Francisco	San Francisco	Not visited			
Other States	Florida; Illinois (Chicago); Oregon; Washington				
Mexico	Sinaloa (Culiacán); D.F.; Baja Norte (Camalú)				

Informant in 1991 said villagers were working in restaurants in San Francisco.

Informant interviewed in 1992 in Madera had been in D.F. from 1981-90 as a gardener, went to Camalú to work for one year, then migrated to Salem to pick strawberries, to Madera to work in tabla, and to Huron to pick tomatoes and prune grapes. His uncle arrived in the U.S. in 1980, but others migrated before.

DISTRICT OF TUXTEPEC

1. MUNICIPIO OF SAN JUAN BAUTISTA VALLE NACIONAL

Cerro Armadillo Chico (Chinantec)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Santa Barbara	Santa Maria	1	2	2	5

Cerro Pitás

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Santa Barbara	Santa Maria	4	0	0	4

DISTRICT OF ZAACHILA

1. MUNICIPIO OF SAN ANTONIO HUITEPEC

San Antonio Huitepec (Mixtec)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Biola	Not found			
	Burrel	Not found			
	Caruthers	Not found			
	Fresno	Not found			
Los Angeles	Los Angeles	1	0	0	1
Madera	Madera	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	6
Orange	Santa Ana	Not visited			
San Diego	San Diego	Not visited			
Santa Barbara	Santa Maria	4	0	0	4
Tulare	Dinuba	4	0	0	4
Other States	New York: Oregon (Burrel); Pennsylvania (Reading); Washington (Tacoma)				
Mexico	Sinaloa; Baja Norte (Ensenada; Mañadero); D.F. (majority are here); Nayarit				

Braceros from the village migrated to Arizona, Florida, Washington, and California—maybe ten men, as early as 1956. Some migrated illegally to Madera in 1977. Migration picked up in 1980; the first person to settle in Madera arrived in 1982—IRCA (1986) encouraged more. Few were settled; most were lone males.

Informant had two brothers working in a hotel and cafeteria in New York City; another had a brother who was a janitor—estimated six villagers there. Informant estimated six to eight villagers in Pennsylvania, including at least one who was working in a steel factory.

Villagers also settled in Los Angeles; one informant had an uncle who was an electrician there for many years. One man married a woman in San Diego and had a family.

Villagers were working in factories in D.F., and tomatoes in Nayarit.

Informant reported hoeing in Five Points with mayordomo and crew of 30–35 villagers.

Jobs: strawberries, broccoli, and lettuce in Santa Maria and Guadalupe; hoeing in San Joaquin Valley; pruning grapes in Caruthers; harvesting melons in Huron; thinning peaches in Madera; thinning and harvesting apples in Wenatchee (WA); picking cherries in Chelan (WA); strawberries in Oregon; picking raisin grapes in Madera; sorting on tomato harvesting machine in Fresno County; picking fresh tomatoes in Madera; and picking oranges in Dinuba and Orange Cove.

There were conflicts in the village between those who migrate and the power structure. The migrants were told they should stay in the village to pay off local debts. Villagers were trying to form a migrant association, but it was not clear if the village authorities would support it. The association was to be headed by a man from Madera who had family in Baja, and was to include migrants in both areas. There was a village association in Mexico City.

2. MUNICIPIO OF SAN MIGUEL PERAS

San Miguel Peras (Zapotec)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Caruthers	0	2	0	2
Los Angeles	Los Angeles	Not visited			
Santa Barbara	Santa Maria	4	0	0	4
Mexico	Baja Norte (Mañadero); D.F. (99 percent there)				

Some villagers migrated to the U.S. as braceros. Settled families were reported in Los Angeles. Villagers were working in raisin grapes in Caruthers.

3. MUNICIPIO OF SANTA INÉS DEL MONTE

Santa Inés del Monte

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN
Madera	Madera Not found
Other States	Oregon; Washington
Mexico	Baja Norte (Camalú—5-6 families, San Quintín); Sonora (Caborca—just men); Sinaloa (Villa Juárez)

Informant interviewed in Baja in 1990 had come to Baja in 1988 after six months in Sinaloa. He heard on the radio that there was work in Sinaloa and went with transport provided by the growers. In Sinaloa, some villagers who had been in Baja invited his group along. His brother went to Madera for six months in 1991. Some villagers were working in strawberries in Oregon.

4. MUNICIPIO OF VILLA DE ZAACHILA

Villa de Zaachila

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
San Diego	Vista	2	0	0	2
Other States	Florida				
Mexico	Sinaloa; Baja; D.F.				

Informant interviewed in 1991 in Vista reported that there were braceros from the village. Did not know migration history, but his brother came to the U.S. in 1982. Informant arrived in 1984 after working in La Paz, Cabo San Lucas, and the San Quintín area.

Jobs: tomatoes and vegetables in Vista and Carlsbad; strawberries and flowers in San Luis Rey; and tomatoes in Florida

DISTRICT OF ZIMATLAN

1. MUNICIPIO OF AYOQUEZCO DE ALDAMA

Ayoquezco de Aldama (Zapotec)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Monterey	Salinas	Not visited			
Santa Clara	Morgan Hill	5	0	0	5
Santa Cruz	Watsonville	Not found			

2. MUNICIPIO OF SAN PABLO HUIXTEPEC

San Pablo Huixtepec (Zapotec)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Madera	Madera	1	0	0	1
Monterey	Seaside	100	100	100	300
San Diego	Carlsbad	Not found			
	San Luis Rey	Not found			
	Vista	Not found			
Santa Clara	Milpitas	1	0	0	1
	San Jose	Not found			
Santa Cruz	Davenport	7	0	0	7
	Santa Cruz	25	8	13	46
	Watsonville	15	0	0	15
Other States	Nevada (Las Vegas); Oregon; Washington				

Villagers had lived in Seaside for 15 years. One informant said 400–500 from the village there, another person said 150. Man from village owns El Pastorcito taqueria. Most had left agriculture and were working in other jobs.

Informant said that in Las Vegas villagers were working in restaurants. About 1975, he began to hear talk about El Norte; this was his first time in the U.S.

3. MUNICIPIO OF SANTA GERTRUDIS

Santa Gertrudis

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Fresno	Not found			
Madera	Madera	Not found			
San Diego	Encinitas	5	0	0	5
	Fallbrook	4	0	0	4
	Oceanside	0	1	2	3
San Joaquin	Stockton	Not visited			
Santa Barbara	Guadalupe	Not visited			
	Santa Maria	Not found			
Santa Clara	San Jose	Not found			
Other States	Washington				

Informant interviewed in Fallbrook in 1989 was performing day labor and living outdoors with other men from the village; he first came to the U.S. in 1970. He estimated the current number of villagers in the area at 60-70, 150 at peak season.

4. MUNICIPIO OF ZIMATLÁN DE ALVAREZ

San Pedro del Rincón

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Fresno	Not found			
Madera	Madera	Not found			
San Diego	Carlsbad	1	1	2	4

Informant interviewed in Encinitas in 1989 at day labor pick-up site reported 60 villagers in area.

Zimatlán de Alvarez (Zapotec)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Madera	Madera	20	0	0	20

DISTRICT AND MUNICIPIO UNKNOWN

Río Grande

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Santa Barbara	Santa Maria	1	1	3	5

Rosario Nuevo

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
San Diego	Carlsbad	1	0	0	1

OTHER PLACES

Tlapan, Guerrero (Mixtec)

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Madera	Madera	1	0	0	1
Other States	Oregon (Woodburn)				
Mexico	Sinaloa (Culiacan); Baja Norte (Tijuana); D.F.				

Informant interviewed in Madera in 1992 knew of no families living in California. He migrated to Ensenada for a year, then to Madera to hoe cotton. He also worked in strawberries, caneberries, and cucumbers in Woodburn; picked tomatoes in Chowchilla; and pruned grapes in Madera. He said villagers started coming to the U.S. in 1980. Migrated to Cuautla, Sinaloa, then to Baja, before the U.S.

Xonacatlan, Alcozauca de Guerrero, Guerrero

CALIFORNIA COUNTY	TOWN	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	TOTAL
Fresno	Easton	1	0	0	1

Copanatoyac, Morelos, Guerrero

Nahua informant interviewed in Santa Maria; first time in the U.S.

Pinotepa Nacional

Black Mexican Indians in Cutler; supposedly a large population of them there. Not counted. Also Otomis de Hidalgo there but not counted.

Petlalcingo, Puebla

The village is located just over the border from Huajuapam de León. One informant reported speaking Nahuatl, others just Spanish. Three informants interviewed in Woodburn in 1990; four total from village. They had all worked in commerce in Huajuapam before coming to the U.S. One man first came to the U.S. in 1983 to Oregon, and had come on and off to work in strawberries, mora, rhubarb, cucumbers, cauliflower, hops, pines, cannery, and nursery in Woodburn and Buxton. The other two informants had just arrived for the first time. Informant said a cousin came to Washington in 1982 to work in pears and apples; a friend was already there. Paisanos in D.F., Huajuapam, Veracruz, Puebla, San Francisco, and Washington.

Chiekla, Puebla

A man interviewed in Fresno in 1991 was married to a woman from San Miguel Cuevas whom he met while working in tomatoes in San Quintín; both were SAWs, had two U.S.-born children. They first came to the U.S. together in 1985, after working in Culiacán, then Baja (transport to Baja was provided by the growers). The couple migrated illegally; the husband had met no one from the village in the U.S. They were working in grapes in Fresno; olives in Visalia; hoeing field crops and picking fruit in Fresno; and berries in Sandy, OR. Their parents and seven siblings remained in the village, but they were migrating seasonally to Culiacán and Baja. No braceros from the village.