

Mexican Farm Labor Networks and Population Increase in the Pacific Northwest

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ABSTRACT

As in many areas of the United States, there has been a rapid increase in the Hispanic population of Washington, Oregon, and Idaho. The largest contributors to this growth are in-migration from Mexico and California. In general, the areas with the highest population shares of Hispanic origin are in irrigated rural counties. However, the greatest part of the total Hispanic population increase has been in cities, largely consisting of people of Mexican origin. The urban areas experiencing the most rapid growth are near areas of significant, labor-intensive agriculture. Farm labor networks in urban fringe areas tap primarily into rural Mexican communities and the Southwest, bringing mostly people with low levels of human capital. A significant sorting of socioeconomic status is found in metropolitan areas far removed from areas of labor-intensive agriculture, where proportionately smaller Hispanic populations tend to have superior English skills, greater academic achievement, and lower levels of poverty. These metropolitan areas, including Spokane, the Puget Sound, and Eugene, have seen only limited transfers of rural-based poverty. The Mexican-origin population expansion in urban areas, because of its sheer size, is evidence that there are many people moving directly from Mexico to Pacific Northwest cities, circumventing rural residence and farm employment entirely.

Introduction

MUCH OF THE geographic and demographic research on the recent Hispanic population changes in the West has focused on the Southwest (e.g., Clark 1998; Taylor, Martin, and Fix 1997), or includes some analysis of the Pacific Northwest but does not focus on it *per se* (e.g., Haverluk 1998; Bean and Tienda 1988; Durand, Massey, and Charvet 2000). There has been less scholarly work focusing on the Pacific

Northwest that utilizes 1990 Census or other, more recent demographic information, other than Slatta (1995), who briefly examines Oregon, and U.S.D.A. extension briefs for Washington (WSU 1991). In earlier work, Slatta (1979), Slatta and Atkinson (1984), and Kirschner Cook (1986), using 1970 and 1980 U.S. Census data, found that the Hispanic population of the Pacific Northwest: 1) tended to be similarly disadvantaged economically compared with other regions; 2) was youthful; 3) had high rates of labor force participation compared with the non-Hispanic white population; and 4) had greater rural-urban poverty differentials than the white population. Harvey (1998) observed that Oregon Hispanics are distributed in communities that historically have relied on seasonal agricultural labor, and that permanent settlements and migration flows from Mexico have been established in rural, small-town orchard areas and in agricultural-based suburban areas around Portland, Oregon. In 1980, the Hispanic population of the Pacific Northwest was disproportionately of Mexican and Central American origin, compared with the rest of the United States (Kirschner Cook 1986). In addition, the U.S.-born Hispanics coming to the Northwest from the Southwest tended to have lower-status occupations and have lower levels of education than non-migrants and those moving to the South and Northeast (Saenz 1991).

The Hispanic population of the Pacific Northwest is mostly urban (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1993). However, the links between rural farm labor and urbanization, as this paper will show, are strong. The geography of labor-intensive agriculture of the past and present has shaped the map of urban Hispanic population increase.

While there have been some Spanish-speaking people in the Pacific Northwest since early Spanish exploration (Cook 1973), and others came as muleteers and later as railroad and agricultural workers through the early 1900s (Arreola 1985; Gamboa 1992), the first large wave of Mexican origin workers were World War II Bracero laborers (Gamboa 1990).

The 1942-1964 Bracero Agreements had a long-lasting effect on communities where the laborers worked in the Yakima Valley, the Snake River Plain, the Willamette Valley, and other areas. Though many returned permanently to Mexico, some Mexican braceros con-

tinued to migrate to the region for work, and eventually some of them settled down in early Mexican-American communities such as Yakima, Washington; Independence, Oregon; and Nyssa, Oregon (Camboa and Baun 1995). Many others continued to come occasionally for seasonal work, and offered to others from their home communities in Mexico information and resources about how to come, where to find work, and places to stay (MCLN 2001).

This paper addresses two broad objectives. First, it documents areas of significant Hispanic population concentration and growth in Washington, Oregon, and Idaho. Second, it attempts to explain why Hispanic populations have grown more rapidly in some regions of the Pacific Northwest than others.

Population Concentrations

By 2000, there were several areas of significant Hispanic population concentration in Washington, Oregon, and Idaho (Figure 1). One region of significant concentration as measured by percent of total population is in the Snake River Plain area of southern Idaho. There are many crops in the region that require significant hand labor, including sugar beets, orchards, and various vegetable crops. This functional region includes the Emmet Valley of Idaho and contiguous Malheur County of eastern Oregon, which is culturally and economically tied more to southern Idaho than to the rest of Oregon or Washington. It is a region of low rainfall that relies heavily on irrigation for any form of intensive agriculture.

Another region of high-percentage concentration of Hispanics is in the irrigated areas of central Washington, including: 1) the Yakima Valley; 2) the Columbia Basin Irrigation Project; and 3) the Okanogan Valley. The Yakima Valley was the first area to attract large numbers of Mexican-origin laborers prior to World War II, and the wartime Bracero Programs brought in numerous laborers who worked mostly in irrigated farmlands. The area under irrigation in the Columbia Basin Irrigation Project continued to increase after the war, reaching nearly 600,000 acres by the 1970s. The most notable crops that have required labor, going back to Bracero years, are orchards, hops, and some stoop-labor vegetables and root crops. Wine-grape vineyards and asparagus farms are of more recent sig-

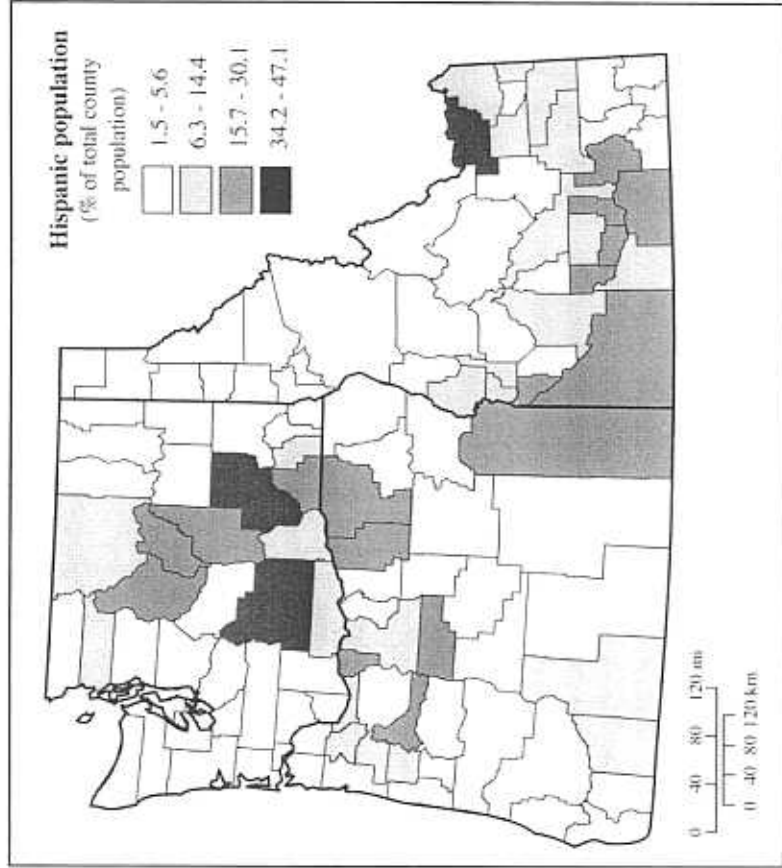


Figure 1. Hispanic share of total population, 2000.

nificance. The irrigated desert counties of Yakima, Franklin, and Adams were at least 30 percent Hispanic by 2000, with around 90 percent being of Mexican origin in most areas.

The Okanogan Valley is located in north central Washington in Okanogan County. This is a region that primarily produces apples, and is similar to but a little cooler in climate than the Chelan and Douglas County apple-growing areas just to the south. The harvest season is later in the Okanogan, so many migrant laborers traditionally finish their harvest circuit there after working in other states and in the lower-elevation production areas of Washington.

Much higher Hispanic concentrations are found at local levels in Washington, particularly in areas where few people lived before the recent planting of orchards and other irrigated crops. In 1997,

Hispanic enrollment exceeded 70 percent of total in 3 schools in both Douglas and Franklin counties, 10 schools in Yakima County, and 2 schools in Grant County (Figure 2). There were dozens of schools in a variety of central Washington counties where Hispanic students formed the majority by 1997. Enrollment data by ethnicity for Idaho schools were not available.

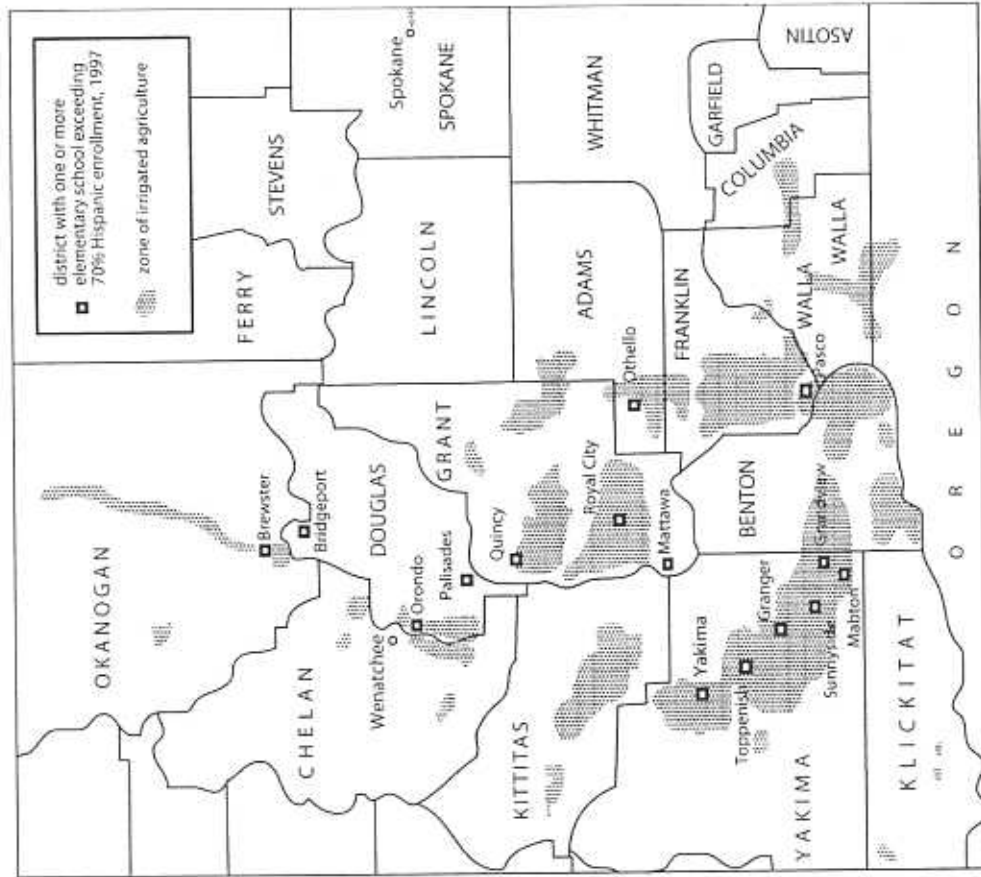


Figure 2. Central Washington irrigation and local Hispanic concentrations.

In Oregon, the northern Willamette Valley, the Hood River orchard region, and other irrigated agricultural regions of semiarid north central and eastern Oregon have the highest concentrations of Hispanic people as a percent of the total population (Figure 3). The rapidly urbanizing northern Willamette Valley has several counties with over 10 percent Hispanic population and forms the largest concentration of Hispanic people in Oregon.

Many parts of the Pacific Northwest that have very low concentrations of Hispanic people are in rural-resource counties of low

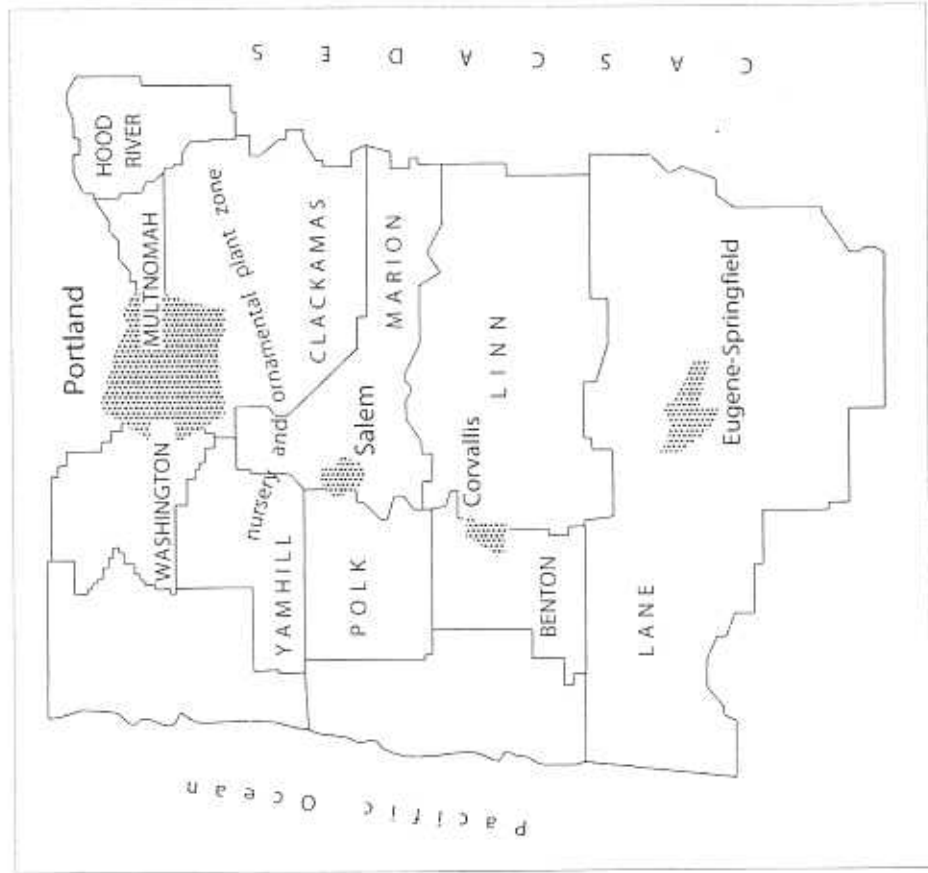


Figure 3. Labor-intensive agriculture and cities in western Oregon.

population density and minimal agricultural activity, including northern Idaho, coastal Oregon and Washington, and other mountainous regions. Other zones of low Hispanic density are the rural dryland grain and ranching areas that are scattered throughout much of the interior region, where Hispanic people generally constitute less than 3 percent of the population. For example, the 2000 Census identified just 238 Hispanic people in grain-producing Garfield and Lincoln counties in eastern Washington, in spite of having a total population of 12,581 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2000).

On a county-by-county basis, the highest numbers of Hispanics in 2000 were found almost exclusively west of the Cascades in Oregon and Washington. The only counties that exceeded 20,000 Hispanics outside of this area are Yakima County, Washington, and Canyon County of Idaho's agriculturally rich Emmet Valley west of Boise. The five-county Puget Sound metropolitan region had the most Hispanic residents in 2000 (181,454), while the three counties of the Portland, Oregon, metropolitan area had 116,086 Hispanic residents (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2000).

Pacific Northwest Hispanic Demography

The most distinct difference between the Hispanic population of the Pacific Northwest and the United States as a whole is in occupational specialization. Over 21 percent of the Pacific Northwest Hispanic labor force worked in agriculture, forestry, and fisheries in 1990 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1993). This rate is still over four times that of U.S. Hispanics. It seems likely that this large part of the workforce working in agriculture and other primary industries is impeding acculturation (see Valle 1994).

Nearly 70 percent of Pacific Northwest Hispanic residents were born in the United States, and of those born outside of their 1990 state of residence, the largest number were born in the West and South (Table 1). West-originating migrants are mostly from California, while Texas traditionally has dominated as a source area from the South. Table 1 strongly suggests that the South is declining in relative importance as a source area compared with the West. While the number of residents born in the West but not in their 1990 Pacific Northwest state of residence was a little more than double the number that were born in the South, nearly four times as many

people had migrated from the West relative to the South from 1985 to 1990.

Table 1. Birthplace and Previous Residence of Hispanic Population, 1990

	Oregon % of Total Hispanic Residents	Washington % of Total Hispanic Residents	Idaho % of Total Hispanic Residents	Pacific Northwest % Rural % of Total
Native to the United States	67.5	70.4	72.7	26
Born in Different State				69.9
Northeast	1.1	1.6	0.5	14.3
Midwest	1.9	2.2	1.8	21.5
South	8.1	9.9	11.9	26.4
West	23.9	19.9	19.3	25.5
Foreign Born	32.5	29.6	27.3	34.8
Not a Citizen (%)*	79.7	74.9	73.6	n/a
Residence in 1985				30.1
Northeast	0.3	0.7	0.1	13.4
Midwest	0.6	0.9	0.8	16.5
South	2.4	4.4	3.7	26.7
West; not current state	15.1	13	12.1	25.4
Outside of U.S.	11.4	9.4	9.2	34.4

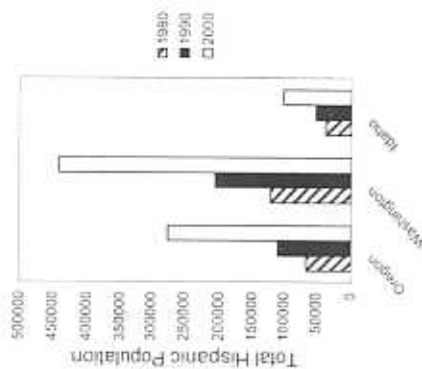
* Percent of all foreign born, not of total number of Hispanics.
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1993.

The internal diversity of the Mexican-origin population is high. The majority come from the traditional Bracero Program states of west central Mexico, in order of numerical significance Michoacán, Jalisco, Guanajuato, Nayarit, and Zacatecas. Since the 1980s, Oaxaca has become a major sending state, along with a number of other southeast Mexican states (Migrant Education 1997).

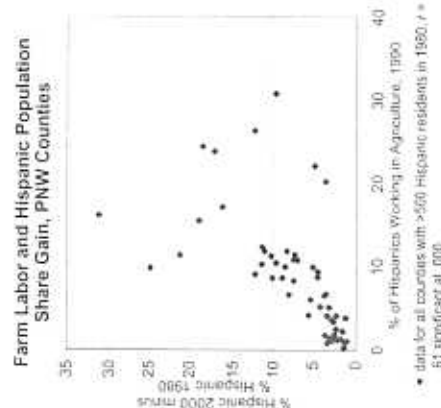
Population Increase from 1980 to 2000

Washington, Oregon, and Idaho all showed large gains in Hispanic population from 1980 to 2000 (Figure 4a). Some of the increase in growth rates of the early 1990s is outflow from the recessionary economic conditions in California, but even more of it is probably due to increases in immigration from Mexico. For example, in the case of Multnomah County, Oregon, which is part of the Portland metropolitan area, there were 404 births to Hispanic mothers in 1990,

a. State Hispanic population growth



b. Population share gain, by county



Figures 4a and b. Hispanic population increase by state, 1980–2000.

of which 162 were to Mexico-born mothers and 60 to California-born mothers. For 1996, there were 876 total births, with 91 to California-born mothers and 541 to Mexico-born mothers. Thus, while the number of births to California-born mothers increased by just over 50 percent from 1990 to 1996, the number of births to Mexico-born mothers increased by 234 percent (MCHD 1990, 1996). While births can not be used as a stand-alone measure of total population change, the disproportionate increase in births to Mexico-born mothers is strong evidence that Mexico is increasing in significance as a source area, even as many born in Mexico are step-migrating to the Pacific Northwest through California.

Not only do western Oregon and Washington have the largest numbers of Hispanics in the Pacific Northwest, they have also added more to the regional total in the past couple of decades. One measure of the impact of demographic change on the “faces” and culture of a region is the percentage gain that a given racial or ethnic group makes on the total population over a given period of time. To examine this type of change, county percent Hispanic data for 1980 is subtracted from that of 2000 (Figure 4b).

A Conceptual Model of Farm Labor-driven Population Change

To make some sense of the geographic patterns of Hispanic population change in the Pacific Northwest, and to test several propositions, a conceptual model is utilized in this paper (Figure 5). This model focuses on the role of farm labor networks in shaping the geography of Hispanic population increase in the Pacific Northwest. The basic premise of the model is that labor intensification in agriculture is made possible by low-cost Hispanic (mostly Mexican origin) labor, and if regions where this intensification occurs are near large urban labor markets, dramatic in-migration rates are observed. Although this model is focused on immigrant labor from Mexico, it also has some application to Hispanic in-migrants who come from Texas, California, and other parts of the Southwest. While most

people using the networks that this model refers to are of low socioeconomic status, the generalizations it seeks to make should also be somewhat applicable to other Hispanic people who use community-based labor-network assistance to come to the Pacific Northwest. Hispanic people who come to the Pacific Northwest because of job transfers, refugee resettlement, and intermarriage with non co-ethnic residents are not as likely to have their experience described accurately by the model. The phases of this model correspond with Haverluk’s first two stages of Hispanization based on

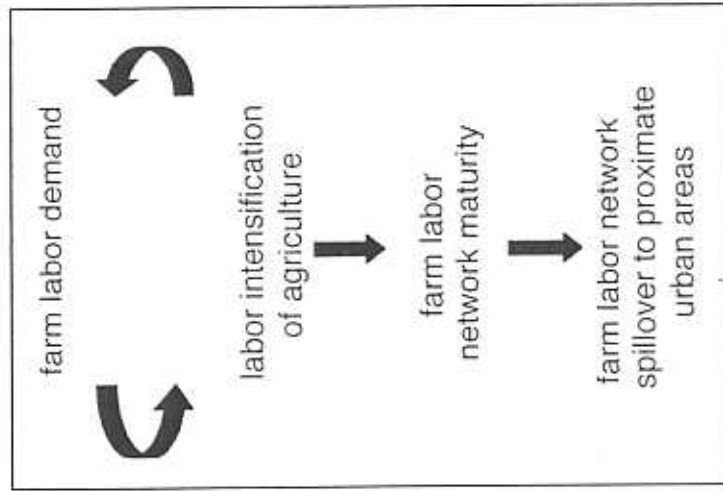


Figure 5. Conceptual model of farm worker network-driven population change.

Hispanic percentages and the level of Hispanic imprint: 1) entry; and 2) occupational diversification (Haverluk 1994).

Labor Intensification of Agriculture

Large-scale immigration of Mexican labor began during the Bracero era, with the abundant, low-cost labor and expanding markets giving growers incentives to plant more crops that required significant labor inputs. Thus, while the agricultural economy in general has moved toward mechanization in the past century, some farmers in favorable growing areas have also switched to crops that require more rather than less labor. In addition, entirely new growing areas, many under irrigation, were opened during and after the Bracero years in the semiarid and arid interior regions of the Pacific Northwest (Schwantes 1994).

Not only have irrigated acreages increased, but also production techniques have become more labor-intensive for some crops. Most tree fruit crops, for example, are now planted in much-higher densities than was the case a few decades ago, and some, such as apples, are trained onto overhead trellis systems. Such production techniques require additional labor per acre. To summarize the first part of the model: abundant, low-cost farm labor results in the demand for even more labor. This process is referred to as labor intensification, as spelled out by the first proposition of the model:

- 1) areas of labor intensive agriculture will see increasing jobs in agriculture rather than the declines observed in small grain production and mechanized field-crop farming.

The second proposition is related to the first, that:

- 2) areas that have labor-intensive agriculture will attract immigrants more than agricultural areas that are less labor-intensive.

To measure labor intensity for any geographic area, this paper proposes a simple index, hereinafter referred to as labor intensity in agriculture (LIA), which utilizes readily available county labor census data. LIA is calculated for counties by dividing the number of hired employees by the total employment in the agricultural industry. Total employment is the sum of self-employment and hired employment. Different kinds of agriculture have distinctly differ-

ent LIA indexes. For example, grain-growing regions, which hire few employees relative to owners, have low LIA indexes, typically ranging between 40 and 60, and can be referred to as labor-extensive. On the other hand, orchard regions, where many of the processes of production and harvest must be done by hand, tend to have many employees relative to owners. Looking at north central Washington, for instance, non-irrigated grain-producing Lincoln County had an LIA of 56 in 1990, while nearby irrigated Chelan County, with many orchards, scored an 83. By using the LIA measure, agriculture in Washington State is the most labor-intensive, and that of Idaho the least. All three states experienced increases in their LIA indexes from 1980 to 1990.

The growth in Hispanic farm and farm-related employment from 1980 to 1990 has been dominated by Oregon (Table 2). Growth rates in Oregon of Hispanic farm workers and related agricultural industry employment were about double those of Washington and Idaho.

Table 2. Changes in Hispanic Agricultural and Total Labor Force (% increase 1980-90).

	Total labor force	Farm workers*
Oregon	89.5	175.2
Washington	84.0	90.9
Idaho	53.0	88.3
Total	80.5	109.7

*and related occupations

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1983, 1993.

To test the proposition that high-labor-intensity counties have seen increases in their farm employees, county data from Washington, Oregon, and Idaho are plotted in Figure 6a. A statistically significant positive association between 1990 LIA indexes and 1980-1990 increases in farm employees is noted for the 1990 but not the 1980 LIA indexes (not graphed), suggesting that other forces in addition to agricultural labor intensity early in a period of growth may influence changes that were observed in the number of farm laborers hired. In particular, the timing of new labor-intensive cropping

is likely to be the most significant related factor, given that a county with a significant increase in new labor-intensive crops will see a larger LIA increase than an equally labor-intensive county whose crops were already in production prior to the period of analysis. The top three counties of hired farm labor percentage increase were all in the Willamette Valley, a case to be examined later. On the other extreme, the four labor-extensive dryland wheat-growing counties of north central Oregon lost farm employees for the decade of the 1980s, and had average LIA indexes of 50 in 1990. Given the strong association between labor intensity and hired farm-labor change, and the participation of many Hispanics in farm labor, a strong positive association between farm employee growth and Hispanic population growth is observed (Figure 6b). Not surprisingly, labor intensive agriculture is associated with Hispanic population growth (Figure 6c).

The second proposition, that labor-intensive agriculture attracts immigrants more than labor-extensive agriculture, appears to hold true for the Pacific Northwest (Figure 6d). All of the counties with over 50 percent of Hispanics being foreign born were dominated by orchards and generally without large metropolitan labor markets. These counties consisted of Hood River in Oregon; and Chelan (which includes the city of Wenatchee), Douglas, and Okanogan in north central Washington (Figure 2). These counties all saw large increases in orchard acreage in the 1970s and 80s (Jackson and Kimmerling 1993; Highsmith and Kimmerling 1979). Since labor-intensive agriculture appears to attract immigrants, it follows that high LIA indexes are positively associated with overall Hispanic population increase (Figure 6c). Further evidence that labor-intensive agriculture attracts immigrants is that foreign-born Hispanic residents are more likely to live in rural areas of the Pacific Northwest than U.S.-born residents (Table 1). Nearly 35 percent of the Hispanic foreign-born lived in Census-classified rural areas in 1990, as compared with 26 percent of the native born.

In addition to agriculture attracting foreign-born Hispanics, it also draws Hispanic people from the South (particularly Texas) and California (Migrant Education 1997). To the degree that rural residence is an indicator of low socioeconomic status for Hispanics, it

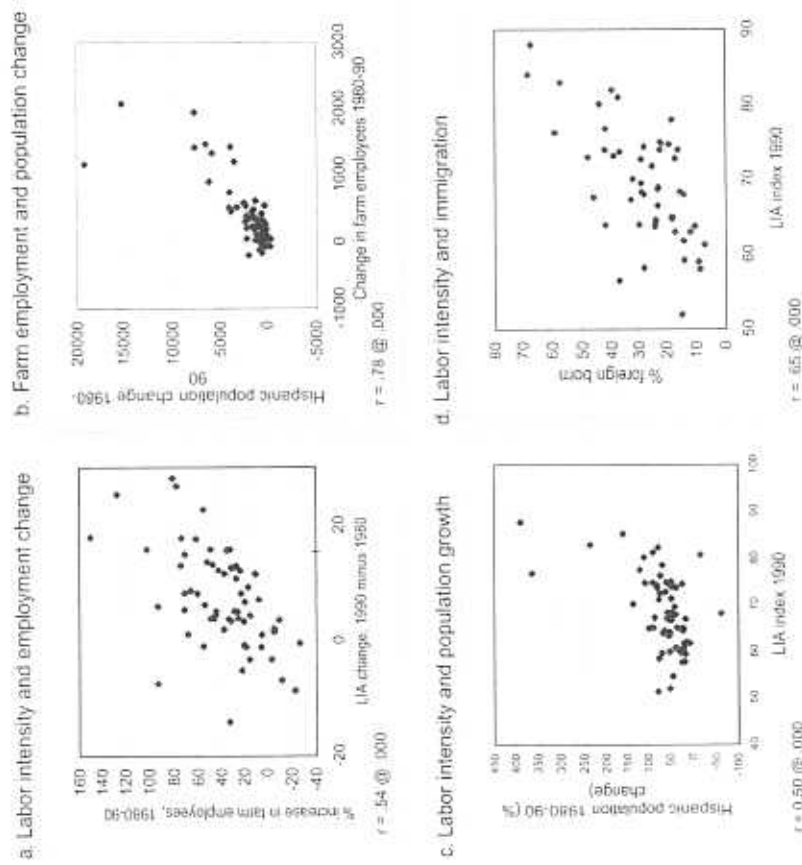


Figure 6. Labor intensity, population change, immigration, and poverty.

suggests that Texan and Californian in-migrants are of similar status to the regional native-born Hispanics overall (Table 1), but of lower status than in-migrants from the Northeast and Midwest, who are much less likely to be rural residents. This seems to partially support the findings of Saenz (1991), who concluded that Hispanics migrating out of the Southwest (including Texas) to the Pacific Northwest are of lower socioeconomic status than those migrating elsewhere.

Migration Network Maturity

The farm laborers that come in increasing numbers to expanding areas of agricultural production continue to learn about potential employers and about where to stay, and many find steady work in

the new land. Many bring their immediate family, and some pass on the information, a place to stay, and even financial assistance that makes migration north possible for an increasingly large number of people, even the very poor who could not have made the trip with their own resources (Massey, Alarcón, Durand, and González 1987). Through this process of migration network-building, entire communities in Mexico may find work in "El Norte" a possibility. A migration network is said to be mature when the age and gender profile of the migration stream and host communities increasingly comes to resemble that of the sending community (Durand and Massey 1992).

The difficulty of testing the effect of network maturity on age structure and gender ratios is that most counties are likely to have a variety of migration networks feeding their Hispanic population growth, and these networks may differ significantly in their levels of maturity. Nonetheless, it seems reasonable that areas of current high immigration will have many more working-age males than females, given observations of California and elsewhere (Massey, Alarcón, Durand, and González 1987; DOL 2000). Working-age males also are more likely to come alone if they are on a short-term trip, if they have no family of their own, or if they are in a first or second migratory experience (Durand and Massey 1992). In the 15-44 age group, which contains most migrant laborers, the number of males divided by the number of females for the Pacific Northwest in 1990 was 1.27, which compares with the U.S. ratio of 1.1 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1993). This suggests that the Pacific Northwest has a higher-than-average proportion of Hispanic migrant labor, also an assertion of the Oregon Migrant Education Director, who stated that Oregon is second only to California in the number of migrant students from Mexico (Tucker 1998). While the Pacific Northwest male/female ratio for ages 15-44 is 1.27, there were six counties that had ratios exceeding 2.0, and all of them were rural labor-intensive agricultural counties.

Rural to Urban Migration

As migration networks mature, many begin to look for and find more stable and attractive work than what the agricultural economy tends to provide (DOL 2000; Trueba 1999). For those working either

permanently in isolated rural communities or as migrant laborers in predominantly rural areas, there are few alternatives to rural employment. However, for those fortunate enough to be working in agricultural activities located near cities with large and diversified labor markets, the possibility of urban employment is significant. What follows from this part of the model is the third proposition, that:

- 3) there will be significant flows of people from rural areas to urban jobs and places as migration networks mature.

Evidence for rural-to-urban migration can be found by tracing the paths of students enrolled in the Migrant Education Program (Migrant Education 1999). For all places in Oregon within 30 miles of Portland that had at least 10 students moving to Portland, there was very strong directionality (Table 3). Nearly eight times as many students moved into Portland from these places as moved out, and there was a strong pattern for all places. The same inward pattern was observed for Salem, though it was not as strong, with 50 percent more in-movers than out-movers (Migrant Education 1999). Though the criteria for Migrant Education program enrollment includes either actual or intended future employment in agriculture, forestry, or fisheries, these rural-to-urban migration patterns suggest that significant numbers of people make the transition from rural to urban employment as well. Nonetheless, focus-group interviews in Portland and suburban Gresham showed that many urban residents are employed in the nearby agricultural hinterland (MCLN 2001). Shortages of rural community housing and the attraction of urban amenities were cited as reasons for residing in the city while working in the countryside.

In the case of sparsely populated rural counties, particularly those of little job growth, Hispanic populations grow more slowly as a share of the total population (Figure 4b). Examples of such counties are Elmore (east of Boise), Owyhee (southwest Idaho), and Klickitat (Washington), all of which have small and dispersed nonmilitary populations that are less than 40 percent urban, have Hispanic populations dominated by working-age males, and have a high proportion of their Hispanic populations working in the agricultural industry (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1993).

Table 3. Net Migration to Portland from Places within 30 Miles.

Number of students moving:				
From:	To Portland	Opposite direction	Net migration	% Net migration
Boring	56	0	56	100
Cornelius	12	0	12	100
Forest Grove	18	8	10	69
Hillsboro	40	2	38	95
Molalla	12	0	12	100
Troutdale	20	7	13	74
Woodburn	41	9	32	82
Total	199	26	173	88

Selection criteria: places that had at least 10 movers to/from Portland.
Note: Gresham was excluded from table because of suburb function.
Source: OMEP, 1997.

Rapid Metropolitan Hispanic Population Increases

Another outcome related to the maturation of networks is that the lure of jobs, information, and other forms of assistance provided by the networks will lead to flows of in-migrants that exceed the ability of the local agricultural economy to employ them, even though there is labor intensification. In addition, as former farm workers are now working in urban jobs, they may provide information and other assistance to those back home about city-based employment. In this manner, many first-time migrants may utilize farm worker networks to gain urban employment, circumventing rural employment altogether. The proposition that follows from this is that:

- 4) urban areas near labor-intensive agricultural regions will see larger increases of Hispanic origin populations than urban areas that are not near labor-intensive agricultural regions.

To examine the role that proximity to labor-intensive agriculture plays in urban Hispanic population concentration and increases, county data for all metropolitan areas in the region that had over 200,000 population in 1990 are shown in Table 4. Metropolitan areas were classified by the degree to which farm labor influences their economies. Two factors were used in this classification: the labor

Table 4. Metro County Hispanic Population Growth and Social Characteristics

Metro Area ¹	Farm Labor Influence ²	Growth 1980-2000 (%)	% Hispanic	Hispanics: % Mexican	% in Poverty	% English Challenged ³	% with no High School Diploma ⁴
Spokane	low	129	2.8	65	19	6	23
Puget Sound	low	246	5.2	55	14	14	21
Eugene	low	157	4.6	62	23	16	24
Boise	moderate	252	4.5	59	13	9	22
Portland	mod.-high	458	8.0	70	24	29	39
Salem	high	400	17.1	88	31	39	59
Yakima	high	215	35.9	93	40	45	71

Notes:
1. Each metro area is defined by the counties listed afterward in parentheses: Spokane (Spokane), Puget Sound (Snohomish, Thurston, Pierce, King, and Kitsap), Eugene (Lane), Boise (Ada), Portland (Clackamas, Multnomah, and Washington), Salem (Marion), and Yakima (Yakima). Using Ada County only for the Boise metro area may not reflect the overall character of the greater city, as some of its influence runs west into Canyon County. However, much of Canyon County is geographically distinct from Boise, so it was excluded. If Canyon had been included, the poverty, English challenged, and educational levels would have been reflective of the lower social status overall of the Hispanic population there as compared with Ada County. Social data (last five columns) are all from the 1990 Census. Year 2000 Census social data were not available at time of writing. All data for 1990 are from the U.S. Bureau of the Census (decennial editions 1980, 1990, 2000). Threshold to define metropolitan area was 200,000 population.
2. These subjective indicators of farm labor influence are based on the percentage of labor force in agriculture in the respective metro counties and areas within 30 miles, and the degree to which the agriculture is labor-intensive (as measured by the percent of all agricultural employment that is hired). For example, less than 2.5 percent of all employment in the Puget Sound metro area, Spokane, and Lane County (Eugene) is agricultural, and the agricultural labor-intensity indexes for these areas are lower than for the Yakima, Salem, and Portland areas.
3. Percent over 5 years old speaking English "not well."
4. For ages 25 and over, includes equivalency.

intensity of agriculture (LIA) index of the counties in question and of proximate counties, and the percentage of the labor force in agriculture. All of these counties had less than 2.5 percent of their total labor force in agriculture (of all races and ethnicities), with the exception of those counties corresponding to Salem (6%) and Yakima (15%). Lane County (Eugene) and Spokane County had LIA scores at or below the Pacific Northwest median of 64, while all of the other counties had above median scores.

Table 4 shows that there is a strong association between the presence of labor intensive agriculture in 1990 and Hispanic in-migration from 1980 to 2000. Hispanic population concentrations and rates of increase were lowest in Eugene and Spokane, both areas being over a 1-hour drive from concentrations of labor-intensive agriculture. These metropolitan areas are so far away from concentrations of Hispanic farm labor that there was little spillover into them. The Puget Sound metropolitan county growth rates were slower than Portland and Salem as well, being far from labor-intensive agriculture and perhaps due to high living costs.

Yakima may at first seem to be an anomaly to the model being tested in this research, because, although it has a higher farm labor influence than any of the other metro areas, its Hispanic population growth rates lag those of Portland, Salem, and the Puget Sound. A plausible explanation for the lower growth rates is that, although there are strong network links to Mexico (93% of area Hispanics are of Mexican origin), the urban labor market is smaller and already more exploited by Hispanics by 1980 than the other metro areas. Hispanic people constituted 36 percent of the Yakima County population by 2000, a much greater share than observed for the Salem and Portland area counties (Figure 1).

The Case of the Willamette Valley

At the other extreme of growth are the metropolitan areas of Portland and Salem in the Willamette Valley of Oregon (Figure 3), which saw their Hispanic populations more than quintuple from 1980 to 2000. The counties of these metro areas have above-median LIA indexes, and added agricultural jobs in the 1980s, even though these cities encroached upon surrounding farmland (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1993; Nelson 1992). This intensification of agriculture

has been observed in a variety of urban encroachment settings (but see Sinclair 1967). Additional evidence that Mexican-based farm labor networks play a major role in the population growth of these two Willamette Valley metropolitan areas comes from comparing their relatively high percentages of the Hispanic population that are of Mexican origin with that of the slower-growing cities (Table 4). For example, the Hispanic population of Salem and Portland was 88 percent and 70 percent Mexican in 1990, while the relatively slower-growing Boise, Puget Sound, and Eugene metro areas were less than two-thirds Mexican origin. The linkages appear to be strong between farm labor influence and percent Mexican.

While the expansion of agricultural employment plays a significant role in the increases in Hispanic population, farm labor alone cannot explain the rapid overall Hispanic expansion. In Marion County (which includes Salem and Woodburn), for example, while there were 1,424 new agricultural jobs added in the 1980s, the total Hispanic population grew by 7,697. In addition, just 18 percent of the county Hispanic labor force was working in agriculture, forestry, and fisheries in 1990 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1993). The same arguments are valid for the Portland metropolitan counties, where just 11 percent of the Hispanic labor force was working in agriculture, forestry, and fisheries in 1990. Some Hispanic occupational diversification has been noted at the state level in Oregon as well (OED 1998), and is probably happening in Idaho and Washington, given the larger absolute increase in total employment over farm employment observed there (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1993).

The rapid expansion of agricultural and especially nursery-greenhouse employment in the Willamette Valley, while not unique in the Pacific Northwest, is particularly significant for overall population growth, given the proximity of many of the agricultural jobs to the urbanized areas (see Figures 3 and 6). These jobs tend to be less seasonal than agricultural jobs. State employment data considered together with county sales volume suggest that the nursery and greenhouse industry may provide more than 18,000 jobs, with at least half being filled by Hispanics, according to local social-service agency documents (ONGS 1997; HINT 1999). The nursery- and ornamental-plant sector jobs are a step up from typical agricultural

work because of their more year-round schedules. This stabilization of employment for many formerly migrant farm workers allows for family settlement, and may go toward explaining the dramatic increase in Hispanic student enrollment in proximate urban areas. For example, the Gresham area of greater Portland, which is a known feeder community to the nearby labor-intensive agricultural areas, experienced a fourfold increase in its Hispanic student enrollment in the 1990s (ODE various). According to industry reports, Oregon is the most rapidly growing production area of nursery and ornamental plants in the United States (ONGS 1997).

Perhaps the most striking patterns in Table 4 are the strong associations between farm labor influence, percent Mexican origin, and the socioeconomic measures. There is a very strong distinction between the Mexican origin population and other Hispanics. The farm labor networks enable even the poorest Mexicans to come from rural Mexican villages, and thus most come with little education (DOL 2000). Many farm laborers of Mexican origin have little contact with English, and must work to economically survive rather than go to school. In contrast, Hispanic people of other origins tend to be better educated, are more likely to speak English well, and in general acculturate more rapidly. Some of these social differences are likely the result of differing geographies that tend to keep the most disadvantaged from coming from the Latin American countries more distant than Mexico. Such social selection of migrants may stem from: 1) the increased cost of migrating to the U.S. because of the greater distances; and 2) the paucity of migration networks from these countries raising the costs of the trip.

For example, the Puget Sound metro-area Hispanic population is composed of just over half of Mexican-origin people, the lowest in the Pacific Northwest. There is a minor role for labor-intensive agriculture in the region (Jackson and Kimmerling 1993), and it is too far from the Yakima Valley or other areas for farm labor networks to play a large role. Accordingly, the socioeconomic status of the Hispanic population is higher in the Puget Sound than in areas influenced by farm labor networks. Some of the population is certainly there because of job transfers and intermarriage with local residents. Another large part of the non-Mexican origin population

is likely to have come from agency resettlement efforts stemming from political violence in Latin America, a role that is also played by other large U.S. cities. There is little published research focusing on Hispanic in-migration to the Puget Sound.

As most Hispanic people are now urban in the Pacific Northwest, the skills that some have developed or possessed when they came also make them eligible for more than entry-level jobs in cities, including those of professional and managerial status. The most acculturated Hispanic populations are in cities that are distant from farm labor networks, particularly in the Puget Sound area, Spokane, and Eugene (Table 4). Part of this acculturation (as measured by English skills) also relates to a fairly low percentage being immigrants and thus having been socialized in the U.S. school system. In Lane (Eugene) and Spokane counties, for example, the part of the Hispanic origin labor force that worked in managerial and professional specialty occupations was 14 percent and 22%, respectively (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1993). These were much higher than those of Salem (9%) and Yakima (8%), again underscoring the more marginal status of the farm worker network-led Hispanic population increases seen in Marion County (Salem) and Yakima County.

Summary and Discussion

This paper has raised several significant points about the Hispanic population in the Pacific Northwest. First, the highest-percentage composition of Hispanics tends to be found in agricultural counties, particularly where irrigated labor-intensive agriculture dominates the landscape. What follows from this is that the counties where the Hispanic population made the largest percentage-share gains on the overall population had all experienced significant labor-intensive irrigated crop increases. There is a strong association between the Hispanic share gain in total population from 1980 to 2000 and the percent of the Hispanic population working in agriculture. This relationship is not as strong, however, for those counties with no or few urban places, suggesting that labor-intensive agriculture itself is limited in its ability to attract in-migrants, particularly families, beyond a certain point. It follows that counties that offer few urban amenities to potential settlers and/or mostly

seasonal labor may continue to see male-dominated adult labor forces and minimal family settlement, a point underscored by Valle (1994), who conducted an ethnographic study of selected Pacific Northwest migrant farm workers.

Secondly, this research suggests that the Pacific Northwest is experiencing in the broadest sense two kinds of in-migration: 1) a farm worker network-based immigration, mostly of people born in rural Mexico, that is spilling into urban areas that are contiguous to regions of labor-intensive agriculture; and 2) more acculturated streams from all over Latin America and the Southwest, particularly California, that are focused mostly toward the Pacific Northwest urban areas. This is a pattern seen for large urban places in the United States (Isbister 1996).

The main point of this paper is that Mexican farm labor networks are feeding urban Hispanic growth. Support for this comes from migration data for Portland and nearby rural communities together with statistics demonstrating that cities proximate to labor-intensive agriculture show the most rapid immigrant Hispanic population growth. However, little is understood about the process by which some migrants are able to move up the vocational and residential ladders, while others are not. For some, the ability to move into urban employment may be more a matter of geographic fortune; they happen to have been able to come because of the assistance of a farm labor network whose daughter community is proximate to a city. For others, their farm labor network has led them to a rural community or migratory route where little exposure to urban opportunities exists, and at best they may be trapped in a pattern of seasonal migration or permanent local rural employment with little opportunity for advancement. Such appears to be the case for many workers in rural, isolated Klickitat, Okanogan, Owyhee, and Elmore counties (see also Valle 1994). What this suggests is that economic and rural-to-urban mobility may be as much determined by the fortune of the migration network host community "draw" as it is by hard work and ingenuity. The role of geographic circumstance in shaping socioeconomic mobility clearly merits further study.

The role of distance in attenuating the ability of farm laborers to seek out urban opportunities should not be underestimated. For

example, Spokane and Eugene, both within a 70-minute drive of labor-intensive agriculture, show few signs of absorbing large numbers of economically disadvantaged farm laborers. Those cities certainly have jobs that would be attractive to many rural laborers, yet the 70 or so miles and the lack of social networks that would help potential migrants access these labor markets are perhaps greater barriers than the thousands of miles that many travel on a regular basis to work in the Pacific Northwest.

And finally, this study suggests that due to the significance of farm labor networks in the Pacific Northwest, a large part of the future immigrant population will continue to be sourced from rural Mexico. This means that many migrants will come with little education or advanced job skills, and yet because of the geography of some farm labor networks, will migrate directly to Pacific Northwest cities. The transfer of poverty from rural Mexico to metropolitan areas will mandate effective, inclusive education strategies if these people are to become integrated into the fabric of life in the Pacific Northwest (Dash 1996).

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The Trouble with Preservation, or, Getting Back to the Wrong Term for Wilderness Protection: A Case Study at Point Reyes National Seashore

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ABSTRACT

How "untrammeled" must a wilderness be at the time it is designated as such? Should the intent behind designating wilderness areas be to protect existing areas that meet the official definition, or to create new ones through management actions? This question is explored by looking at the historical evolution of the Philip Burton Wilderness Area in Point Reyes National Seashore, which gradually has been transformed from a dairy ranching landscape to an apparently pristine wilderness. In the process, the history of human habitation and use of the area has been downplayed or overlooked. This case raises questions about the interplay between considerations of ecological functioning, recreation demands, and simple aesthetics in defining managed wilderness. It also suggests that new terminology for wilderness protection that differentiates between varying degrees of previous human use could help to avoid the erasure of history from preserved natural areas.

Introduction

IN HIS 1995 ESSAY, "The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature," William Cronon described wilderness as the product of civilization rather than the absence of it; traces of human use and history are wiped out in favor of an empty natural landscape. Wilderness is mythologized as being outside of the human sphere, but the creation of these kinds of places "reminds us just how invented, just how constructed, the American wilderness really is...a product of the very history it seeks to deny." This tendency to mythologize wilderness contributes to environmental problems,