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THE NEW YORK STATE HISPANIC POPULATION: A DESCRIPTION AND EVALUATION OF THE MEXICAN DESCENT GROUP.

By

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I. INTRODUCTION

The May 11, 1997 edition of the New York Times included a front page article entitled, "As U.S. Economy Races Along, Upstate New York Is Sputtering." The article defined "Upstate" as those counties other than the New York City (NYC) boroughs plus Nassau, Putnam, Rockland, Suffolk, and Westchester counties--i.e. Long Island and the nearest counties north of NYC. The article highlighted the significantly different growth rates of the population of Upstate New York (NY) versus NYC and nearby counties versus the U.S. population as a whole. The average annual population growth rate for the entire U.S. during the past five years was slightly over 1%, whereas for NYC and nearby counties the average was 0.25%, but for Upstate NY, the average was -0.1%, nearly reaching -0.5% in 1995. The article infers that the decline in population was largely the effect of a shrinking economy and the corresponding loss of jobs.

Within this context of a shrinking population in Upstate NY, it is therefore more interesting and relevant to analyze the proportional changes of ethnic groups in this region of the state, particularly Latinos/Hispanics, since they are the fastest growing group. In addition, the historical context of the emergence of the Latino/Hispanic--both rural and urban--presents further avenues of interest and analysis. For example, many rural areas of the state are primarily supported by the agricultural sector which in turn has relied on a migrant labor force for harvesting crops, particularly apples. Before the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1996 (IRCA), the migrant stream primarily was comprised of African-Americans from the South, Haitians, and Puerto Ricans. Many Puerto Ricans settled out and continue working in the processing industries which rely on the fruits and vegetables produced in rural NY. Today, most of the migrant stream is comprised of Mexicans and

Mexican-Americans from the Southwest. The state's largest agricultural segment--the dairy industry--which provides relatively year round employment, is 'switching' from a non-Latino/Hispanic labor force to one that is more-and-more Mexican.

Though Upstate NY includes a number of Metropolitan areas such as Albany, Binghamton, Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse, and Utica, most counties in Upstate NY are considered rural. Therefore with the exception of the above mentioned Metropolitan areas and a few others, Upstate NY is largely made-up of rural communities with relatively large underpopulated areas. More importantly, many rural areas experience a large influx of workers connected to the labor demands of the fruit and vegetable segments and in Long Island it is the greenhouse & nursery segment. Seasonal work in the greenhouse & nursery segment begins in early spring, whereas in the fruit and vegetable segment, the largest demand for labor is in late summer to early fall. The combination of relatively stable and small rural towns and villages consisting of mostly non-Latino/Hispanic residents and the relatively large migratory Latino/Hispanic population has resulted in social tensions in some of these communities. In some of these communities, commercial establishments have been charged with discriminatory enforcement of their security procedures while social service agencies have not had adequately trained staff--particularly with regards to language communication barriers. Moreover, some of these small communities have been declining in population--mostly non-Latino Hispanics--even though the newly settled individuals are Latinos/Hispanics, thereby furthering the 'perception' that the communities are becoming more 'Mexican'.

The rural Latino/Hispanic population of New York and how it has changed over the past twenty-five years offers researchers and policy makers significant challenges. Not only are rural NY communities seeing growing numbers of Latino/Hispanic during the historical migrant period linked to agricultural harvests, but Latinos/Hispanics settlements have increased in some of these communities--towns and villages in Orange and Wayne counties, to name two. These two counties--particularly Wayne County--have been the focus of a number of studies examining: a) the impact of IRCA on farm labor markets; b) the impact of the influx of 'Mexicans' into the county; c) the filing of grievances by Legal Services on behalf on farm workers and/or Latino/Hispanic individuals; d) the dearth of medical

services available to farm workers; e) the impact of monolingual Spanish speaking individuals on the school system; and f) the demographic changes occurring over the past twenty years. The studies--and the corresponding newspaper articles referring the studies--have served to bring attention to some of these rural communities. In some instances the attention has been welcomed and has led to constructive dialogue and cooperation. Unfortunately, in other instances the attention has served to polarize the communities.

The social service needs of these Latino/Hispanic workers and their families have and continue to challenge rural agencies, particularly with regards to increased harassment of Latinos/Hispanics by segments of the rural based population. The fact that the Upstate economy has been shrinking and thereby increasing the 'social stress' level of long time non-Hispanic residents contributes to increased tensions between the unemployed and those willing to work in relatively low-paying and physically difficult jobs--i.e. agriculture sector employment. Also, the anti-immigrant sentiments held by many Americans and the national press coverage of the issue continues to contribute to establishing barriers to integration by Latinos/Hispanics into rural communities. Finally, within the last two years, both the U.S. Border Patrol and the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) Special Apprehensions Force have significantly increased their activities in rural NY--particularly in Western NY--and this apparent change in apprehension policy has increased the 'visibility' of Latino/Hispanic immigrants, be they documented or not.

Within the Latino/Hispanic population, the Mexican descent category has increased proportionally more than other categories. The Mexican descent population attracts more social policy analysts because of the possible implications related to the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and because they represent such large numbers, both in Mexico and in the U.S. Also, the number of 'illegally' legal workers (individuals with fraudulent documents) appears to be relatively high and most, if not all, are from Mexico. The increased production of labor intensive agricultural products such as fresh fruits and vegetables and the growth of the tourism industry underlies the interest of the state's policy makers on the Mexican population as a critical factor in the state's economic recovery.

This Chapter will focus on the rural NY Latino/Hispanic populations changes over the past twenty-five (25) years. It will primarily rely on Census Bureau data, but in order to offer different interpretations of what has occurred in rural NY, data from other sources will also be presented.

Other sources of data include: a.) U.S. Border Patrol apprehensions; farm worker job training program clients; c.) migrant health clinic clients; d.) NYS migrant education program participants; and e.) NYS Department of Labor hired farm worker estimates.

II.) INDICATORS OF POPULATION CHANGES

II.A.) U.S. Bureau of the Census Data

Census Bureau data is the official and most utilized data for evaluating and analyzing changes in populations--national, regional, state, or county. The data is also used by policy makers in their deliberations regarding budgetary and/or fiscal allocations. When assessing ethnic or racial population changes over time or across spatial boundaries, census data is the most quoted and consistent. However, the Census Bureau also recognizes that certain geographic areas as well certain population groups are more difficult to enumerate than others. For example, the Census Bureau for a number of years had an Office of Hispanic Enumeration which supported studies for evaluating how well (accurately) census data counted Hispanics--i.e. the Bureau recognized that Hispanics were not enumerated as accurately as, say, non-Hispanics. Also, the Census Bureau--based on studies supported by the above mentioned Office--recognized that its' estimates were generally undercounting Hispanics. In addition, Hispanics in rural areas have been more difficult to enumerate, partly because of the migratory nature of many Hispanics that work on harvesting agricultural crops. This chapter will provide sources of data that will hopefully lead to increasing the reader's confidence on interpreting and/or estimating the size of the Hispanic groups in rural areas of New York. Injecting some skepticism on the use of Census data as well as shedding light on how other sources of data can be used by policy makers to measure groups of New York's rural population will also be a positive outcome.

Table I presents 1970, 1980, and 1990 Bureau of the Census data for New York. Since 1970, the population of the entire state has declined by 1.35%, but during the 80's, it increased by 2.46%. The change during the 80's is very different than what occurred during the 70's, when the state's population fell by 3.72%.

Perhaps more illustrative were the declines of the non-Hispanic population (computed from the figures presented in Table I). Similarly to what has occurred in other parts of America, the proportion of Hispanics in NY increased because more Hispanics are in the state, but also because relatively more non-Hispanics left the state. The data indicate that the decline of non-Hispanics in the 70's was 5.85%, while during the 80's it was 0.76%. For the entire twenty years, the

non-Hispanic population fell by 6.56%, even though the state's total population fell by only 1.35%. During the 80's, the state's total population increased, but the non-Hispanic population fell. In other words, the increase in the state's population in the 80's was due almost entirely to Hispanics entering or being born in the state.

Why did these changes take place? First, as the New York Times article states, the economy of the Northeast, and of NYS in particular, has slumped. First, in the 70's the agriculture, manufacturing, and financial services sectors declined. Though the financial services sector rebounded in the 80's, aerospace and other manufacturing industries continued to decline. Second, a number of military installations in rural parts of the state have been closed or down-sized and food processing companies reliant on the agricultural sector's production, relocated to other parts of the country. The dairy industry, which generates the largest share to the state's agricultural revenues, has significantly declined because of lower product demand. Since the Upstate rural economy relied heavily on small manufacturing, food processing, and the dairy industry, relatively little economic growth has taken place. One noticeable exception has been the tourism industry, which also supports many small roadside farmers stands and/or markets. For the most part, the many low skilled jobs generated by tourism--lodging, foodservice, recreation, and entertainment--have been captured by Hispanics. In addition, more labor intensive fresh market crops have supplanted relatively low labor intensive processing crops.

Nearly one-million more Hispanics lived in NY in 1990 than in 1970. During the 80's, the Hispanic population increased by 33.3%, while the comparable figure for the 70's was 22.9%. Over the two decades, it grew by nearly 65%, while the total state population fell by 1.35%. The Hispanic population has historically been divided into four categories or groups: Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Mexicans, and 'Other' Hispanics. However, the 1970 Census was not as discerning as subsequent Census in identifying members of these groups and therefore comparisons between the 1980 and 1970 figures are not as reliable as comparisons between the 1990 and 1980 data.

Puerto Ricans in NY continue to be, by far, the largest group in the state, representing over 1 million people. However, the Puerto Rican population grew slightly slower in the

80's--11%--than in the 70's--12.2%; it grew by 24.5% over the two decades. The 'Other' Hispanics category, which are primarily of Dominican Republic descent, are the second largest group and they also represent nearly one million people in 1990. Unlike the Puerto Rican group, these 'Other' Hispanics grew faster in the 80's--70.6%--than in the 70's--52.6%. Over the 20 year period, 'Other' Hispanics increased by 160%. Individuals of Mexican descent more than doubled--132%--in the 80's and tripled--229%--during the 70's. Over the two decades, they increased by an astonishing 661% and surpassed Cubans as the third largest group in New York, representing just under 100,000 people.

Table II segregates the groups listed in Table I into 'Metropolitan' and 'Non-Metropolitan' populations (the definitions of these two geographic areas are the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas [SMSA] used by the Bureau of the Census, though the boundaries of the geographic areas change every Census). During the 70's, the Non-Metropolitan areas of NY lost more than 736,000 (29.9%) people, but the rate dropped significantly in the 80's when only 125,000 (7.23%) people were lost. Nonetheless, the Non-Metropolitan population of New York fell by nearly 35% (860,000) during the 20 years. Conversely, New York's Metropolitan population grew by 57,000 (0.36%) people in the 70's and by nearly 558,000 (3.52%) in the 80's, representing a near 4% growth rate over the twenty years. The two areas changed in opposite directions during the two decades.

Using the figures on Table II, one can compute the non-Hispanic population of the state and get a clearer picture of what occurred in New York over the past two decades. The non-Hispanic Metropolitan population fell by 256,420 or 1.78% in the 70's and increased by 15,660 (0.17%) in the 80's, resulting in a 20 year drop of 240,760 or 1.67%. Similar to the total population shifts in the state, the non-Hispanic Metropolitan population fell while the total state Metropolitan population grew. The non-Hispanic Non-Metropolitan population changes are not appreciably different than the total Non-Metropolitan changes because Hispanics represent such a small percentage of the total Non-Metropolitan population. Nonetheless, 731,300 fewer non-Hispanic people lived in Non-Metropolitan areas of New York in 1990, than in 1970. Over the two decades, more than three times as many non-Hispanics left the Non-Metropolitan areas of the state than those that left the Metropolitan areas. Clearly, Non-Metropolitan New York became less non-Hispanic and it is safe to conclude that non-

Hispanics leaving the Non-Metropolitan areas of the state did not move to the Metropolitan areas, but rather left the state.

The Metropolitan Hispanic population added nearly 315,000 (23.6%) during the 70's and another 542,000 (33.0%) during the following decade, for a net 20 year addition of 855,440 or 64.4%. The Non-Metropolitan Hispanic population is rather inconsequential in terms of absolute numbers (less than 2% on the state's entire Non-Metropolitan pop.), but it grew by nearly 58% during the 80's, representing nearly 7,000 new individuals over the 20 year period. Puerto Ricans grew by identical percentages--24%--in both Metro and Non-Metro areas over the two decades, adding 211,000 and 2,800, respectively. However, the changes in the 70's and 80's are substantially different for Metropolitan and Non-Metropolitan Puerto Ricans--increasing by similar percentages in the Metro areas, but changing in opposite directions in the Non-Metro areas.

During the 80's, the 'Other' Hispanics category in both Metro and Non-Metro areas grew by the same percent (70%), adding nearly 400,000 and 4,800, respectively. However, over the two decades, the "Other Hispanic" group increased by 165%--590,000--in metropolitan areas, but only by 9% (1,000) in Non-Metropolitan areas of the state. The Metro and Non-Metro Mexican population grew similarly--229% and 226%--during the 70's, but during the 80's, the Metro segment grew at nearly three times (137%) the rate of the Non-Metro segment (48%). Over the 20 year period, 78,000 more Mexicans were in metropolitan areas of the state, but only 2,750 more in Non-Metropolitan areas. No other Hispanic group showed similar growth rates in the two geographic areas during the 70's and **vastly different growth rates** during the 80's. More on this curious outcome in subsequent sections of the chapter, but suffice it to say that the ability of the Census Bureau to enumerate Mexicans in rural areas may partly explain this curious outcome.

The Non-Metropolitan Hispanic population of NY appears to be very small, but nonetheless growing rapidly--increasing by 58% in the 80's, reversing a 20% decline during the prior decade. Conversely, the non-Hispanic Non-Metropolitan population declined by 8% during the 80's and by 35% over the 20 year period. Of the three Non-Metro Hispanic groups, the Mexicans increased the most over the 20 years: by 2,760 people representing a 384% increase.

The reasons why members of any group would choose to go to a metropolitan versus a non-metropolitan area are difficult to ascertain. Certainly year-round and seasonal employment prospects, housing availability & costs, familial contacts, and other quality of life factors will weigh heavily on an individual's decision making process. What is more challenging is to analyze the rates of change over time in group geographic choices--Mexicans going to metropolitan versus non-metropolitan areas at similar rates in one decade, but at dramatically different and opposite rates during the following decade.

Table III provides more detail to the information found in Tables I & II. The information highlights the percentage distributions of the various Hispanic groups in New York. These data show that the Hispanics represented 7.41% of the state's population in 1970 and 12.3% in 1990--a 66% proportional increase. In metropolitan areas of the state, Hispanics represent relatively larger proportions, 8.42% and 13.3% for 1970 and 1990, respectively. The Non-Metropolitan Hispanic population was 1.0% of the total NY Non-Metropolitan population in 1970 and 1.94% in 1990, nearly doubling. The doubling was largely the result of non-Hispanics exiting Non-Metropolitan NY.

Over the two decades, the Non-Metro Cuban population has been relatively stable at 3-4% of the Non-Metro Hispanic population, whereas the proportion of Metro Cubans has been halved--3.35% in 1990 compared to 7.33% in 1970. Similarly, the Non-Metro Puerto Rican population has been relatively stable at 50% of Non-Metro Hispanics, but their share of the Metro Hispanic population fell to 49.1% from 65%. In the 70's, what appears to have taken place in metropolitan areas of NY over the two decades is that "Other Hispanics" moved in. Their proportional representation grew by 61%, from 27% in 1970 to 43.4% in 1990. The proportion of the Non-Metro Hispanic population represented by "Other Hispanics" has been relatively stable at 35-40%.

It is very apparent that in both metro and non-Metro areas of NY, the Mexican component of the Hispanic population has dramatically increased, particularly in non-metropolitan areas. In 1970, Mexicans constituted 3% of the Non-Metro Hispanic population, but in 1990 they represented more than one-in-ten. In metropolitan areas, the absolute numbers of Mexicans in metro areas are twenty-five times larger than in non-metropolitan areas, but in proportional terms, they are

smaller--0.9 % and 4.1 %, in 1970 and 1990, respectively. In non-metropolitan areas of the state, Mexicans 'stand-out' more because they represent a relatively larger share of all Hispanics. Also, since more and more of the migrant stream connected to the harvest of seasonal horticultural crops are Mexicans, the proportion of Mexicans in rural areas during the harvest season increases significantly.

Table IV presents similar data to the prior table, but the data is based on the 1995 Current Population Survey. The reliability of these data is highly questionable, but it nonetheless serves to illustrate several points and it is the most recent data available from the Bureau of the Census. First, the Hispanic population continued to grow at a faster rate--1.93 %--than the total--1.44 %--population of NY (to roughly compare to the ten year percentage changes listed in prior Tables, the five year percentage changes should be multiplied by two). Also, a reversal took place in the non-metro areas of the state where 253,000 (16 %) people were added, but only 4,200 (0.03 %) were added in the metro areas. The addition of 27,530 more Hispanics in metro was nearly offset by the exodus of 23,300 non-Hispanics. Hispanics continued to grow--by 49 %--in non-metro areas, but the 15,300 added were nearly half the 27,500 Hispanics added in metro areas. The non-Hispanic metro population declined by 0.16 %, but non-Hispanics in non-metro areas jumped by 10.7 %, or 175,400. Of the 253,000 additional people in non-metro areas of the state, 70 % were non-Hispanics. The exodus of non-Hispanics from non-metro areas has apparently been halted, but their rate of increase is substantially lower than the rate of increase of Hispanics.

The estimates on Table IV are suspect and this suspicion is corroborated by the estimates listed for the various Hispanic group populations. The data suggests that there were zero Mexican-American and zero *Mexicanos* in non-metropolitan areas of New York in 1995. Since the survey is conducted in March, one could expect relatively lower proportions of Hispanics, and Mexicans in particular, to be enumerated since March is not a month when much agriculture activity is taking place. The zero estimates just mentioned are based on actual sample data. Table V provides the actual sample figures the Bureau of the Census used to establish the estimates listed in Table IV. It is particularly troubling to see that only 687 individuals were sampled in non-metro areas of the state and of this sample, only 25 were Hispanics. Even though the 25 Hispanics represent 3.64 % (larger than the

proportion of Hispanics in the 1990 census) of the Non-Metropolitan sample, the sample is simply too small to make sound inferences concerning Hispanic groups.

As stated earlier, other sources of data are presented. These data may better reflect the size of the rural--Non-Metropolitan--Hispanics population in New York, particularly the Mexican group population. The following sub-sections present a number of other figures which primarily show percentages of Hispanics, and Mexicans where possible, in rural areas of the state. Each source of data will be briefly discussed.

II.B.) U.S. Border Patrol Apprehensions Data

Tables VI and VII present the number of apprehensions between 1987 and 1996 by the U.S. Border Patrol in Upstate NY. If one were to draw an imaginary line between Watertown and Binghamton, NY, then the U.S. Border Patrol District in Swanton, VT is responsible for the area east of this imaginary line (plus most of Vermont) and north from metropolitan New York City. The U.S. Border Patrol District in Buffalo, NY is responsible for the remainder of the state (the New York City District covers metropolitan NYC and nearby counties, but the district would not provide apprehensions data unless requested under the Freedom of Information Act requirements). Table VI shows that apprehensions in the Swanton district peaked in 1991 at 2,204 and that 1995 was the low year at 1,105. No pattern is discernable over the years and the only figure that stands out is the number of Latinos apprehended in 1996--i.e. more than double any previous year apprehensions.

Apprehensions by the Buffalo District, shown in Table VII, reveal a much different pattern than the Swanton District. Total apprehensions increased by 62% between 1987 and 1996; apprehensions of Latinos increased by 245%; and apprehensions of Mexicans rose by over 1,000%. The proportion of Latino apprehensions more than doubled over the ten years--from 28% to 59%--and the proportion of Latino apprehensions that were Mexicans, increased from 26% to 86%. More striking is that 545 more Mexicans were apprehended in 1996 than in 1995, when a total of 521 Mexicans were apprehended. These changes in apprehension rates may reflect a change in policy in

the Clinton administration *vis-a-vis* the Bush administration or they may indeed reflect increased numbers of undocumented individuals.

In discussions with agriculture producers in western NY, it is clear that they feel that the U.S. Border Patrol changed its policy in 1996 and conducted more "raids." In addition, the Special Apprehensions Task Force of the Immigration & Naturalization Service (INS) was also "very active" in western NY. The Task Force apprehensions are NOT included in the figures presented in Tables VI and VII and therefore total apprehensions in western NY are higher than the figures listed in Table VII. The reader should inject his/her own estimate of what percent of undocumented workers are apprehended by the U.S. Border Patrol and INS and thereafter, estimate the total number of undocumented Latinos/Mexicans in western NY in 1996.

II.C.) Rural Opportunities, Inc. Job Training Program Participant Data

Rural Opportunities Inc. is a non-profit agency serving the needs of farm workers in New Jersey, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. The agency receives funds from the U.S. Department of Labor to provide job training for farm workers. The hope is that this job training will enable farm workers to increase their human capital and therefore more effectively compete for higher paying year round jobs. Table VIII lists the job training program participants from 1983 to 1996 (1996 only lists participants for three-quarters of the year). The number of participants has progressively increased over time and the proportion of participants from NY has also increased--from 23 % in 1988 to 34 % in 1996. The proportion of program participants that are Hispanics has also increased from 71 % to 79 %, but the proportion of Hispanics in NY has increased much faster--doubling from 33 % to 62 %. More specific figures for the origin of the Hispanic participants are not published by the agency, but in personal discussions with agency staff, it is clear that the increase is mostly, if not entirely, due to Mexicans. One outcome of the change in the client base of the agency is that many of the staff were trained and/or hired before the change in the client base and therefore the ability to serve--particularly with regards to language capabilities--this new client base may not be as adequate as before. Another inference is that as these farm workers receive training and procure jobs, they will most likely settle in

rural communities where they feel some familiarity with the area. Given that the majority of program participants are Mexican or Mexican-American, they over time rural communities in NY will become more 'Mexican.'

II.D.) Finger Lakes Migrant Health Clinic Data

The Finger Lakes Migrant Clinic is also a non-profit agency serving the medical needs of farm workers in the Finger Lakes Region of New York--a region that is entirely rural. Table IX provides the clinic's client figures for the past six years. Roughly 54% of all clients were Mexicans in 1995 (1996 figures may not be for entire year), while in 1991 Mexicans represented only 40% of the clients. Eight-out-of-ten Latino clients were Mexicans and the percentage has been stable over the six years. The proportion of Latino clients has modestly increased from 50% to 60%. One would expect a relatively high percentage of the clinic's clients to be Latinos and Mexicans since the clinic offers service to a migratory farm worker population. However, the clinic staff indicate that more and more of the clients are seen year round, indicating Latino/Mexican settlements. Another observation from staff is that a number of the clients come to the clinic because they feel 'more comfortable' with the staff, particularly since the staff can speak Spanish.

II.E.) NYS Department of Education Migrant Child Program Data

Tables X and XI present data from the NYS Department of Education's Migrant Child Program. Table X lists program participants by race/ethnicity, while Table XI lists participants by geographic origin (the original data indicated slight differences in the total number participants if based on race/ethnicity versus geographic origin--these tables use the race/ethnicity based totals). Total program participants (aged 0 to 21) increased by 35.5% over the six years, while Hispanic participants increased by 135%. Over the six years, the proportion of program participants that were Hispanics nearly doubled from 24% to 42%. The majority of program participants originate in New York, but what is unknown is what percent of New York (or for any other "Origin") based participants are Hispanics/Mexicans. However, based on the author's familiarity with participants, it is safe to infer

that the majority of these participants are indeed Hispanics, and likely Mexicans. Assuming that half of the 1994 participants originating in New York, Florida, Texas, and "Other Origins" are Hispanics and that everyone originating in Mexico & Puerto Rico are Hispanics, then 58% of program participants are Hispanics in 1994. It should be noted that a number of the participants are not really 'children' since many are older than, say, 16.

II.F.) NYS Department of Labor Hired Farm Worker Data

Finally, Figures 1 through 5 present the number of hired farm workers in New York from 1992 to 1996. The NYS Department of Labor reports figures for May through November, which are the months when most hired farm workers are employed. Roughly 13,000 farm workers are hired in September, the peak employment month of the year. Figure 2 shows that in September "local" hires reaches 4,500 (35%) and their employment is stable from May to September. Figure 3 is the best indicator of interstate migrant workers--representing 6,000 (46%) workers in September. By November, only 1,000 interstate workers are reported, while the May figure is 1,800. Figure 4 reports on the number of H2-A workers--who are from Jamaica--imported into New York. It is a work force that is almost entirely used to harvest apples. During the peak hiring month, September, roughly 2,000 H2-A workers come to NY, representing 15% of total peak season hired farm workers. Figure 5 lists Intrastate hired farm workers, but they represent less than 5% of NY hired farm workers. If the H2-A program becomes less attractive to producers, then the roughly 2,000 H2-A workers will have to be replaced with other workers and most likely those 'replacement' workers will be Mexican or Mexican-Americans. Conversely, if Congress enacts (unlikely given the current "Welfare to Workfare Program") a 'Guest Worker Program' for American agriculture, then the country sending the most workers will be Mexico (Canada already has a guest worker program and most workers come from Mexico).

III. ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS

The number of Latinos/Hispanics in New York has increased over the past twenty five years and their rate of increase is measurably faster than the non-Hispanic population. In 1995,

Latinos/Hispanics likely represent nearly 15 % of the state's population, though the Census Bureau estimate indicates that they only represent 12.4 % (difference can be attributed to undercounting). Latinos/Hispanics are highly concentrated--98 %--in metro areas of the state, but the ability of the Census Bureau to enumerate Latinos/Hispanics in non-metro areas is somewhat suspect and therefore the estimate may be off. Nonetheless, Latinos/Hispanics in non-metro areas increased by nearly 50 % during the first five years of this decade. The non-Hispanic population significantly declined in the 70's and 80's, but in the 90's the trend was reversed, particularly in non-metro areas. Since 1970, nearly 900,000 more Latinos/Hispanics lived in New York in 1995 and an almost identical number of non-Hispanics no longer live in the state. More revealing is that the majority--630,000 or 70 %--of the non-Hispanics who no longer live in New York left from the non-metropolitan areas of the state, whereas 97.6 % of the new Latinos/Hispanics in the state are in metro areas. The growth of the Latino/Hispanic population in the state grew faster than the non-Hispanic population, particularly in non-metro areas. These demographic changes pose significant challenges to state policy makers, for in the next 25 years the population of the state will be appreciably different than the current population. The wherewithal of policy makers to address the challenges facing New York due to these demographic shifts will contribute to the economic expansion of the state. The challenges will certainly be controversial and contentious, but this is inevitable when 'structural' shifts take place in an economy. For example, just this month the NYS Assembly (democratically controlled) passed collective bargaining legislation for farm workers and it remains to be seen if the Senate (republican controlled) will also pass the legislation. If so, then it will be up to Republican Governor Pataki to decide whether to sign or not. This issue is clearly supported by the strong labor unions of the state and by the newly emerging Latino/Hispanic politicians, but it is strongly opposed by the agricultural interests of the state who rely on Latino/Mexican labor. The outcome will be telling.

Other sources of data which indicate the rate of change of the non-metro Latino/Hispanic population, show relatively faster rates of growth. Admittedly, these other sources of data primarily address Latinos/Hispanics, but the proportional changes over time reveal a greater influx of Latinos/Hispanics into New York--particularly Mexicans. In addition to the migrants coming to the

state to harvest horticultural products, these other sources of data point to possible settlements of Latinos/Hispanics in rural areas of the state. These newly settled Latinos/Hispanics continue to contribute to the economy of rural NY, but an emerging issue is the rural communities' support for local school districts. As indicated earlier, the vast majority of the rural New Yorkers are still non-Hispanics, but the exodus from rural communities has been primarily by non-Hispanics. Many of these remaining in rural communities are older with grown children and therefore relatively not as interested in the well being of the local schools as, say, younger families with children. The new arrivals in these communities are likely to be Latinos/Hispanics. The disparity of support between non-Hispanics and Latino/Hispanics for local school districts may develop into a significant public policy issue.

A concern that has emerged over the past year, is what impact the increased activity of the U.S. Border Patrol and the INS will have of Mexicans choosing to come to New York for this year's harvest. Though many are documented individuals who live in Southwestern states, the 'unwelcome' atmosphere developing in parts of rural NY may curtail their plans to come to work. For undocumented Mexicans, the guest worker program--which consists primarily of Mexicans--in existence in Canada will continue to encourage them to pursue seasonal employment in Canada. In turn, U.S. agriculture producers will step-up their lobbying efforts for a U.S. guest worker program. Given the political climate and the "Welfare to Workfare" program, the likelihood that Congress will enact such a program is very small, but the agriculture community needs a stable reliable work force to harvest the high-value crops produced in the state. Therefore, state and federal public policy addressing farm labor will require innovative research as well as innovative approaches to prevent the state's important agricultural sector from further decline.

*--The author wishes to thank his work study students--Mr. Mahad Ibrahim and Mr. Robert Rodriguez--for their valuable contributions to this Chapter.

Table I.: New York State Population 1970, 1980, 1990

Categories of Various Groups	1970	1980		1990		
	Population	Population	% Change from 1970	Population	% Change from 1970	% Change from 1980
Total	18,236,882	17,558,072	- 3.72%	17,990,445	- 1.35%	+ 2.46%
Hispanics	1,351,982	1,660,901	+ 22.9	2,214,026	+ 63.8	+33.3
Cubans	98,479*	79,378	- 19.4	74,345	- 24.5	- 6.34
Mexicans	12,249*	40,243	+ 229	93,244	+ 661	+ 132
Puerto Ricans	872,471*	978,616	+ 12.2	1,086,601	+ 24.5	+ 11.0
Other Hispanic**	368,783*	562,664	+ 52.6	959,836	+ 160	+ 70.6

*-- A person was classified as being of Spanish origin or descent if his or her entry for this question was any of the following: Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central or South American, or other Spanish

Source: Bureau of the Census, *The 1970 Census, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Table 71 "Ethnic Characteristics by Metropolitan and Non-Metropolitan Residence."*

The 1980 Census, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Table 59 "Persons by Spanish Origin, Race, and Sex."

The 1990 Census, General Population Characteristics, Table 3 "Race and Hispanic Origin."

Table II.: Metropolitan* and Non-Metropolitan**
Populations of New York State, 1970, 1980, 1990.

Categories of Various Groups	1970	1980		1990		
	Population	Population	% Change from 1970	Population	% Change from 1970	% Change from 1980
Total						
Metro	15,771,109	15,828,425	+ 0.36%	16,385,792	+ 3.90%	+ 3.52%
Non-Metro	2,465,773	1,729,649	- 29.9	1,604,663	- 34.9	- 7.23
Hispanic						
Metro	1,327,412	1,641,145	+ 23.6	2,182,855	+ 64.4	+ 33.0
Non-Metro	24,570	19,756	- 19.6	31,171	+ 26.9	+ 57.8
Cuban						
Metro	97,256	78,736	- 19.0	73,120	- 24.8	- 7.13
Non-Metro	1,223	642	- 47.5	1,225	+ 0.16	+90.8
Mexican						
Metro	11,531	37,900	+ 229	89,770	+ 679	+ 137
Non-Metro	718	2,343	+ 226	3,474	+ 384	+ 48.3
Puerto Rican						
Metro	860,562	968,737	+ 12.6	1,071,830	+ 24.6	+ 10.6
Non-Metro	11,909	9,879	- 17.0	14,771	+ 24.0	+ 48.9
Other Hispanic						
Metro	358,063	555,772	+ 55.2	948,135	+ 165	+ 70.6
Non-Metro	10,720	6,892	- 35.7	11,701	+ 9.15	+ 69.8

* - Populations inside a Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA), as defined by the Bureau of the Census

** - Populations outside a Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) as defined by the Bureau of the Census

Source: Bureau of the Census, *The 1970 Census, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Table 71 "Ethnic Characteristics by Metropolitan and Non-Metropolitan Residence."*

The 1980 Census, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Table 59 "Persons by Spanish Origin, Race, and Sex."

The 1990 Census, General Population Characteristics, Table 3 "Race and Hispanic Origin."

Table III.: Hispanic Group Populations as Percent of New York State Populations, 1970,1980, 1990.

Group Category	1970		1980		1990	
	Metro	Non-Metro	Metro	Non-Metro	Metro	Non-Metro
Hispanic population as percent of total New York State population	7.41%		9.46%		12.3%	
Metro Hispanic population as percent of total New York State Metro population	8.42		10.4		13.3	
Non-Metro Hispanic population as percent of Non-Metro total New York State population		1.01		1.14		1.94
Cuban Metro population as percent of total Hispanic Metro population	7.33%		4.80%		3.35%	
Cuban Non-Metro population as percent of total Hispanic Non-Metro population		4.98%		3.25%		3.61%
Mexican Metro population as percent of total Hispanic Metro population	0.87		2.31		4.11	
Mexican Non-Metro population as percent of total Hispanic Non-Metro population		2.92		11.9		11.1
Puerto Rican Metro population as percent of total Hispanic Metro population	64.8		59.0		49.1	
Puerto Rican Non-Metro population as percent of total Hispanic Non-Metro population		48.5		50.0		47.4
Other Hispanic Metro population as percent of total Hispanic Metro population	<u>27.0</u>		<u>33.9</u>		<u>43.4</u>	
Other Hispanic Non-Metro population as percent of total Hispanic Non-Metro population		<u>43.6</u>		<u>34.9</u>		<u>37.5</u>
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: Bureau of the Census, *The 1970 Census, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Table 71 "Ethnic Characteristics by Metropolitan and Non-Metropolitan Residence."*
The 1980 Census, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Table 59 "Persons by Spanish Origin, Race, and Sex."
The 1990 Census, General Population Characteristics, Table 3 "Race and Hispanic Origin."

Table IV.: New York State Populations based on March, 1995 Current Population Survey Estimates.

Category	1995 Estimate		% Change from 1990
	Estimate	Percent	
Total Population	18,250,000		+ 1.44%
Total Metro Population	16,390,000		+ 0.03
Total Non-Metro Population	1,857,721		+ 15.8
Total Hispanic Population	2,256,833	12.4*	+ 1.93
Total Hispanic Metro Population	2,210,384	13.5**	+ 1.26
Total Hispanic Non-Metro Population	46,449	2.50**	+ 49.0
Total Cuban Population	53,000	2.35***	- 28.7
Total Cuban Metro Population	47,049	2.13***	- 35.7
Total Cuban Non-Metro Population	5,951	12.8***	+ 386
Total Mexican-American Population	12,259	0.54***	
Total Mexican-American Metro Population	12,259	0.54***	
Total Mexican-American Non-Metro Population	0	0.00***	
Total <i>Mexicano</i> Population	90,495	4.01***	+ 10.2****
Total <i>Mexicano</i> Metro Population	90,495	4.01***	+ 14.5****
Total <i>Mexicano</i> Non-Metro Population	0	0.00***	0.00****
Total Puerto Rican Population	982,401	43.5***	- 9.59
Total Puerto Rican Metro Population	945,238	42.8***	- 11.8
Total Puerto Rican Non-Metro Population	37,163	80.0***	+ 152
Total Other* Hispanic Population	1,118,678	49.6***	+ 16.6
Total Other* Hispanic Metro Population	1,115,343	50.5***	+ 17.6
Total Other Hispanic* Non-Metro Population	3,334	7.18***	- 71.5

* – Percent of total State Population

** – Percent of total New York Metro/Non-Metro population

*** – Percent of total Comparable Hispanic population

**** – Includes both Mexican-American and *Mexicano* Estimates

– Includes both the Central and South and Other Spanish categories

Source: Current Population Survey, Bureau of the Census and Bureau of Labor Statistics, The 1995 March Supplement, Table created using FERRET @ <http://www.census.gov>.

Table V.: Unweighted* Sample Data for New York State from the March, 1995 Current Population Survey.

Hispanic Group**	Geographic Area		
	MSA	Non-MSA	State Total
Total	9,845	687	10,532
Mexican American	11	0	11
Mexican (Mexicano)	96	0	96
Puerto Rican	941	20	961
Cuban	42	3	45
Central and South	680	1	681
Other Spanish	418	1	419
All Other	7,617	656	8,273
Don't Know	11	6	17
Na***	29	0	29

*-- Number of actual people sampled.

**--Defined as persons of Hispanic origin or Hispanic descent

***-- Persons who were not asked this particular question, because they are not of Hispanic origin

Source: Bureau of the Census and Bureau of Labor Statistics, Current Population Survey., The 1995 March Supplement, Table created using FERRFT @ <http://www.census.gov>.

Table VI.: **BORDER PATROL
APPREHENSIONS, SWANTON, VT
DISTRICT, 1987-1996**

YEAR	TOTAL	LATINOS	MEXICANS
1987	1,480	*	*
1988	1,561	*	*
1989	1,870	79 (4.2%)**	0 (0.0%***)
1990	1,914	89 (4.6%)	0 (0.0%)
1991	2,204	95 (4.3%)	23 (24.2%)
1992	2,176	61 (2.8%)	0 (0.0%)
1993	1,832	64 (3.5%)	0 (0.0%)
1994	1,260	46 (3.6%)	46 (100%)
1995	1,105	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)
1996	1,712	205 (11.9%)	30 (14.6%)

* --Data not available.

** --Percent of total annual apprehensions.

***--Percent of Latino apprehensions who are Mexican.

Source: United States Border Patrol. Sector Headquarters, Swanton, Vermont.

Table VII.: **BORDER PATROL
APPREHENSIONS, BUFFALO, NY
DISTRICT, 1987-1996**

YEAR	TOTAL	LATINOS	MEXICANS
1987	1,293	358 (27.8%)*	94 (26.3%)**
1988	1,043	159 (15.2%)	126 (79.2%)
1989	1,342	93 (6.9%)	93 (100%)
1990	1,209	215 (17.8%)	131 (61.0%)
1991	1,892	344 (18.2%)	215 (62.5%)
1992	1,715	286 (16.7%)	212 (74.1%)
1993	1,483	405 (27.3%)	333 (82.2%)
1994	1,177	409 (34.5%)	367 (89.7%)
1995	1,634	661 (40.5%)	521 (78.8%)
1996	2,090	1,234 (59.0%)	1,066 (86.4%)

*--Percent of total.

**--Percent of total annual Latino apprehensions.

Source: United States Border Patrol, Sector Headquarters, Buffalo, New York.

Table VIII.: PARTICIPANTS IN RURAL OPPORTUNITIES, INC. PROGRAM*, 1983-1996

FISCAL YEAR	TOTAL PROGRAM PARTICIPANTS	NEW YORK STATE PARTICIPANTS	TOTAL HISPANIC PARTICIPANTS	% HISPANIC PARTICIPANTS	NEW YORK STATE HISPANIC PARTICIPANTS
1983	1,446	**	911	63.0%	**
1984	2,323	**	1,254	54.0%	**
1985	3,818	**	2,394	62.7%	**
1986	3,984	**	2,374	59.6%	**
1987	4,559	**	3,114	72.7%	**
1988	5,645	1,274 (22.5%)†	4,002	70.9%	419 (32.8%)‡
1989	5,770	1,882 (32.6%)	3,947	66.4%	809 (42.9%)
1990	6,051	1,810 (29.9%)	4,502	74.4%	816 (45.1%)
1991	5,891	1,748 (29.7%)	4,654	79.0%	1,009 (57.7%)
1992	6,861	1,995 (29.1%)	5,571	81.2%	1,612 (80.8%)
1993	7,234	2,444 (33.8%)	5,838	80.7%	1,975 (80.8%)
1994	6,314	1,724 (27.3%)	5,165	81.8%	1,103 (63.9%)
1995	5,545	1,524 (27.5%)	4,548	82.0%	968 (63.5%)
1996***	4,524	1,549 (34.2%)	3,562	78.7%	959 (61.9%)

*--JIPA Section 402, Migrant and Seasonal Farmworker Adult Training and Employment Program.

**-- Data not available.

***-- YTD July 1, 1996-March 31, 1997, all other years July 1 to June 30.

†--Percent of total program participants.

‡--Percent of New York State participants.

Source: Rural Opportunities, Inc., 339 East Avenue, Suite 401, Rochester, New York 14604.

Table IX.: **FINGER LAKES MIGRANT HEALTH CARE
CLIENTS, 1991-1996**

YEAR	TOTAL	LATINOS	MEXICANS
1991	1,598	797 (50.5%)*	634 (79.5%)**
1992	2,398	1,303 (54.3%)	1,094 (84.0%)
1993	1,986	1,113 (56.0%)	898 (80.7%)
1994	2,414	1,408 (58.3%)	1,196 (84.9%)
1995	2,701	1,561 (57.8%)	1,464 (93.8%)
1996	1,955	1,165 (59.6%)	940 (80.7%)

*--Percent of total, program participants

**--Percent of Latino participants who are Mexican.

Source: Finger Lakes Migrant Health, The Rushville Health Center, Inc., Rushville, NY 14544.

Table X.: **New York State Migrant Education, Migrant Child* Count, by Race/Ethnicity
1989 -1994**

Y E A R	Native American		Asian-Pacific		Black		Hispanic		White		Total
	Count	% of annual total	Count	% of annual total	Count	% of annual total	Count	% of annual total	Count	% of annual total	
1989	115	1.2%	24	.3%	1,047	10.8%	2,316	23.9%	6,188	63.9%	9,690
1990	102 (-11.3%)**	1.0	20 (-15.0%)	0.2	1,051 (0.004%)	10.2	2,288 (-1.21%)	22.3	6,804 (+9.95%)	66.3	10,265 (+5.93%)
1991	81 (-20.6)	0.8	17 (-1.15)	0.2	975 (-7.23)	9.28	2,423 (+5.90)	23.1	7,008 (+3.00)	66.7	10,504 (+2.33)
1992	72 (-11.1)	0.7	12 (-29.4)	0.1	994 (+2.0)	9.12	2,777 (+14.6)	25.5	7,050 (+1.0)	64.7	10,905 (+3.82)
1993	79 (+9.72)	0.7	12 (0.00)	0.1	873 (-12.2)	7.60	3,742 (+34.7)	32.6	6,779 (-3.84)	59.0	11,485 (+5.32)
1994	88 (+11.4)	0.7	14 (+16.7)	0.1	815 (-6.64)	6.21	5,454 (+45.8)	41.5	6,761 (-0.003)	51.5	13,132 (+14.3)

*-- Ages 0-21

**-- Percent change from the previous year.

Source: Migrant Education Program, New York State Department of Education.

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Table XI.: New York State Migrant Education, Migrant Child Count*, by Geographic Origin,
1989 -1994

Y E A R	New York		Florida		Texas		Mexico (includes Central America)		Puerto Rican		Other Origins***		Total
	Count	% of annual total	Count	% of annual total	Count	% of annual total	Count	% of annual total	Count	% of annual total	Count	% of annual total	
1989	6,685	69.0%	927	9.57%	614	6.34%	143	1.48%	268	2.77%	1053	10.9%	9,690
1990	7,480 (+11.9%)**	72.9	868 (-6.36%)	8.46	497 (-19.1%)	4.84	301 (+110%)	2.93	214 (-20.1%)	2.08	905 (-14.1%)	8.80	10,265 (+5.93%)
1991	7,761 (+3.76)	73.8	858 (-1.15)	8.17	469 (-5.63)	4.46	391 (+30.0)	3.72	177 (-17.3)	1.69	848 (-6.3)	8.07	10,504 (+2.33)
1992	7,786 (+0.32)	71.4	1,014 (+18.2)	9.30	450 (-4.05)	4.13	479 (+22.5)	4.40	315 (+78.0)	2.89	861 (+1.51)	7.90	10,905 (+3.82)
1993	7,622 (-2.11)	66.4	1,041 (+2.66)	9.06	508 (+12.9)	4.42	555 (+15.9)	4.83	584 (+85.4)	5.08	1175 (+36.5)	10.2	11,485 (+5.32)
1994	7,692 (+1.0)	58.6	1,148 (+10.3)	8.74	473 (-6.89)	3.60	1,158 (+109)	8.82	1,024 (+75.3)	7.80	1637 (+39.3)	12.5	13,132 (+14.3)

*-- Ages 0-21

**-- Percent change from the previous year.

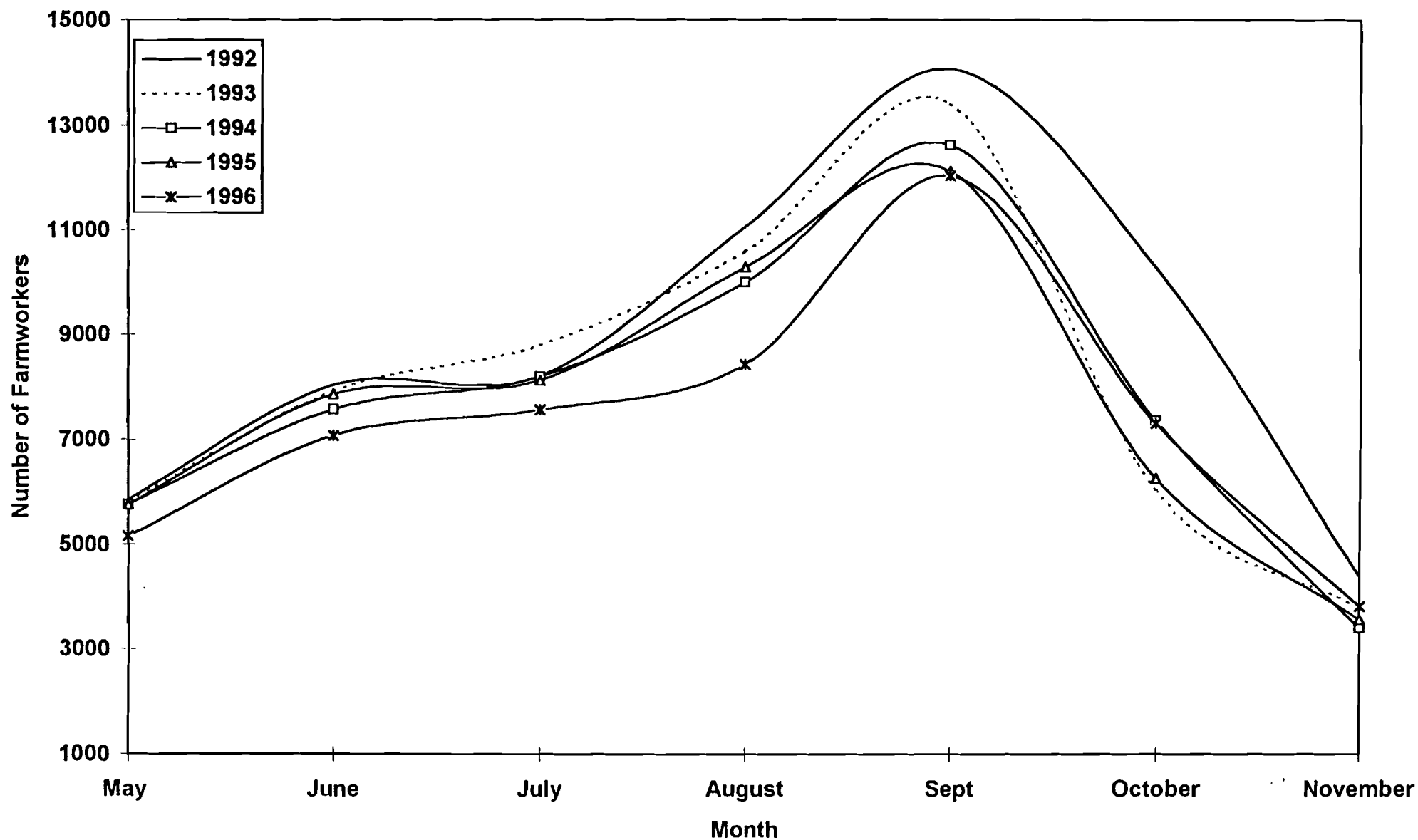
***--Difference between annual total in Table X and the sum of the listed Geographic Origin found in Table XI.

Source: Migrant Education Program, New York State Department of Education.

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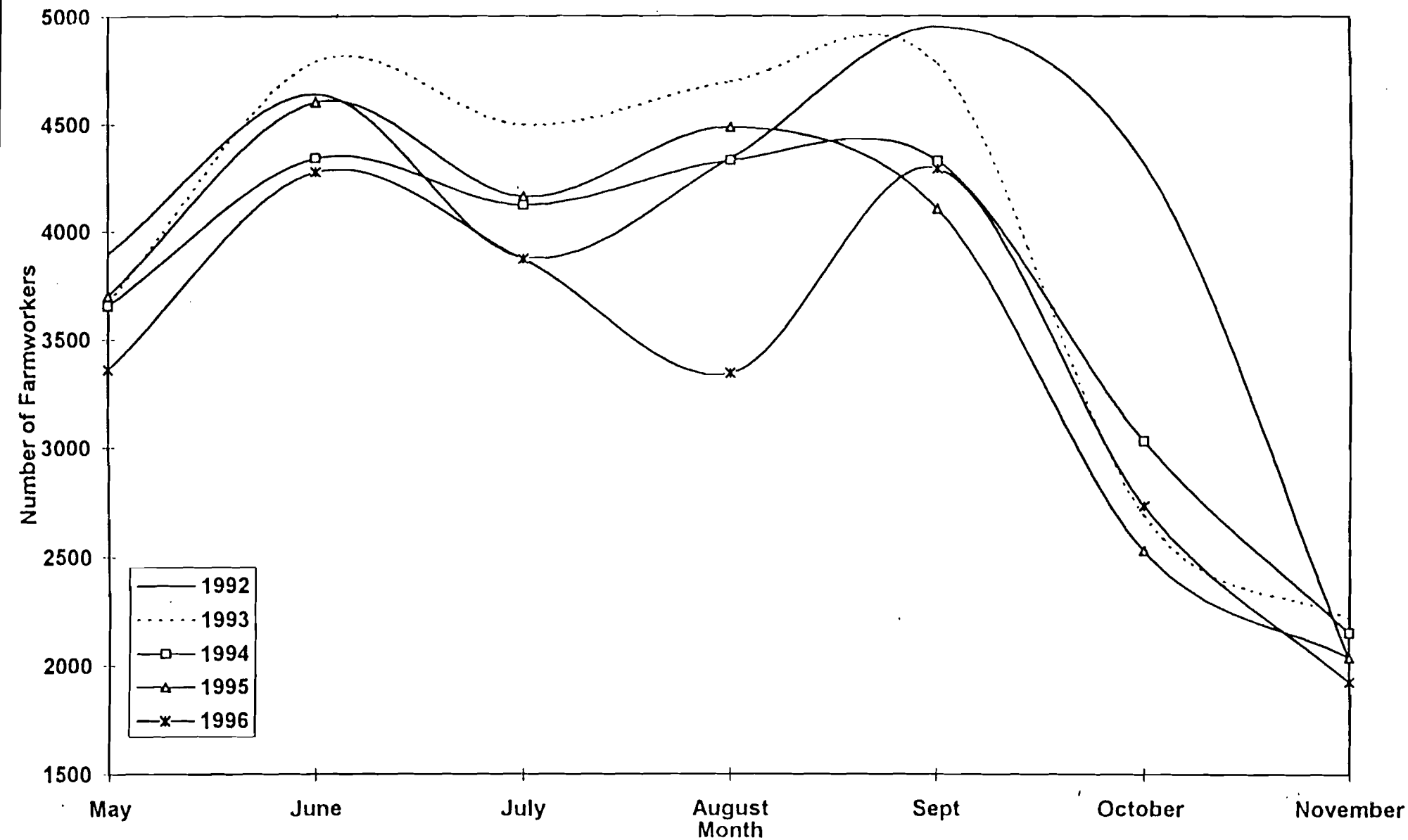
Figure 1, **Total Number of Farmworkers in NYS, 1992-1996***



*11/96 figures based on avg. ratio Oct./Nov. 1992-1995

Source: Agricultural Employment Bulletin, NYS Dept. of Labor

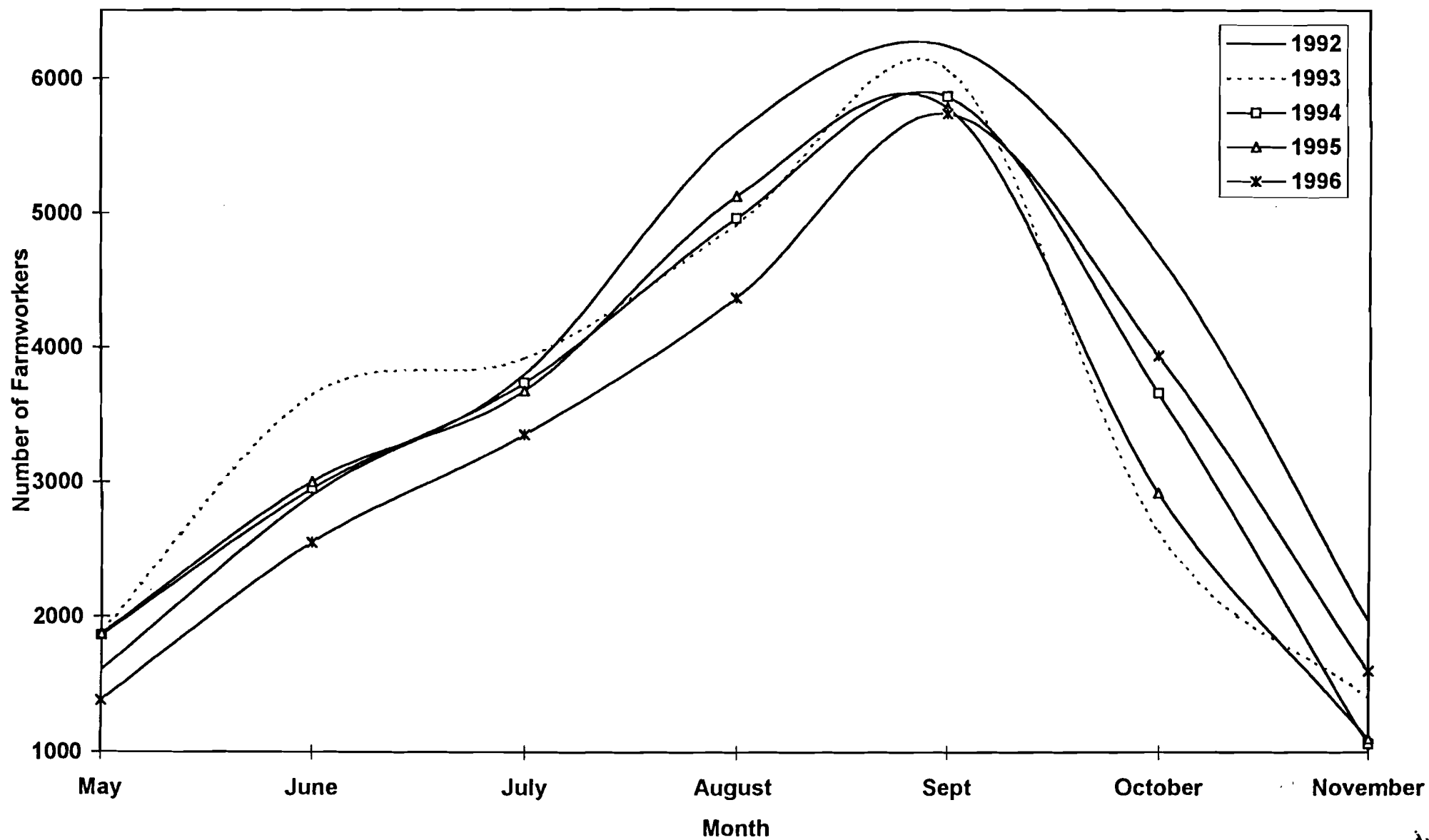
Figure 2, Hired Local Farmworkers in NYS, 1992-1996*



*11/96 figures based on avg. ratio Oct./Nov. 1992-1995

Source: Agricultural Employment Bulletin, NYS Dept. of Labor

Figure 3, Interstate Farmworkers in NYS, 1992-1996*

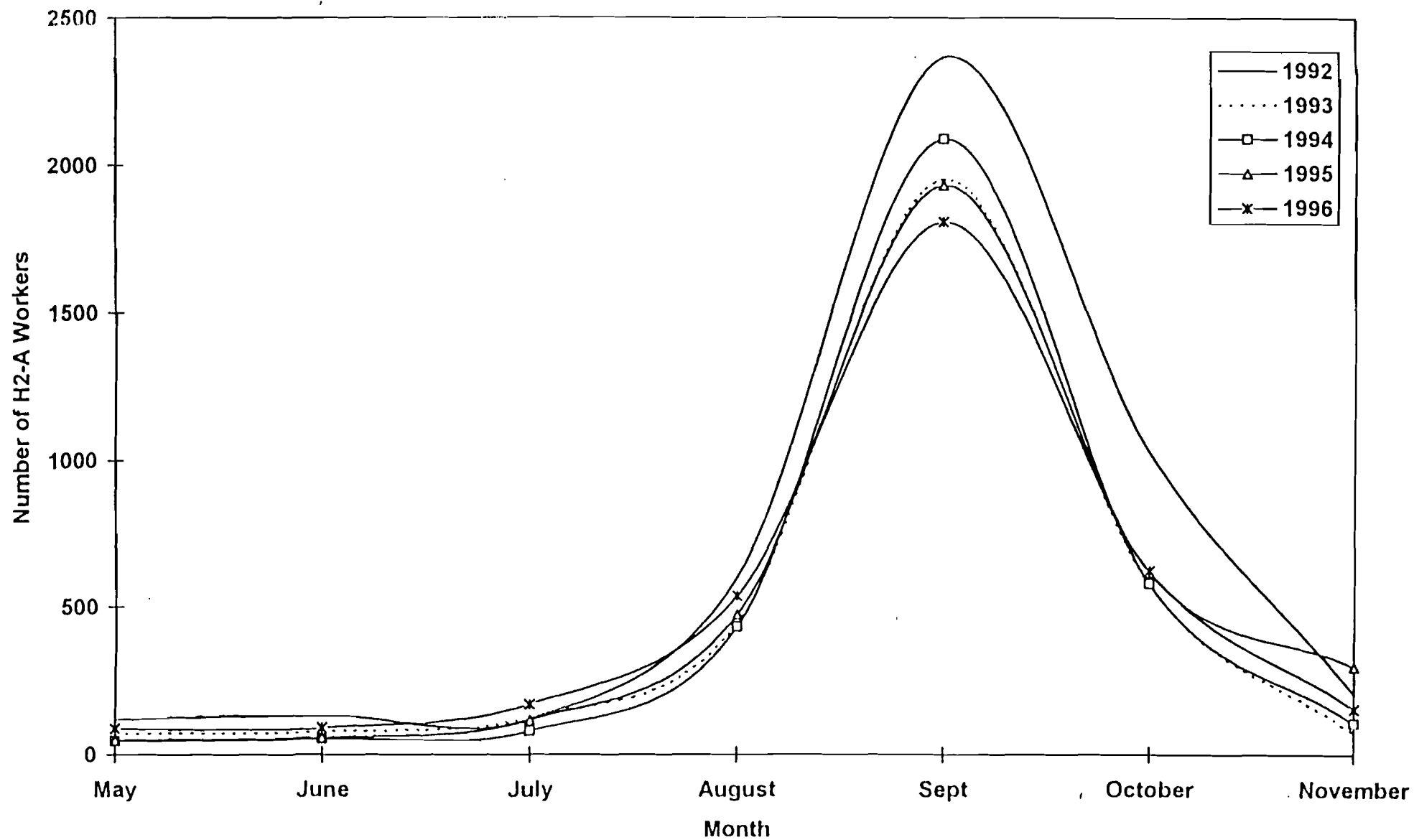


*11/96 figures based on avg. ratio Oct./Nov. 1992-1995

Source: Agricultural Employment Bulletin, NYS Dept. of Labor

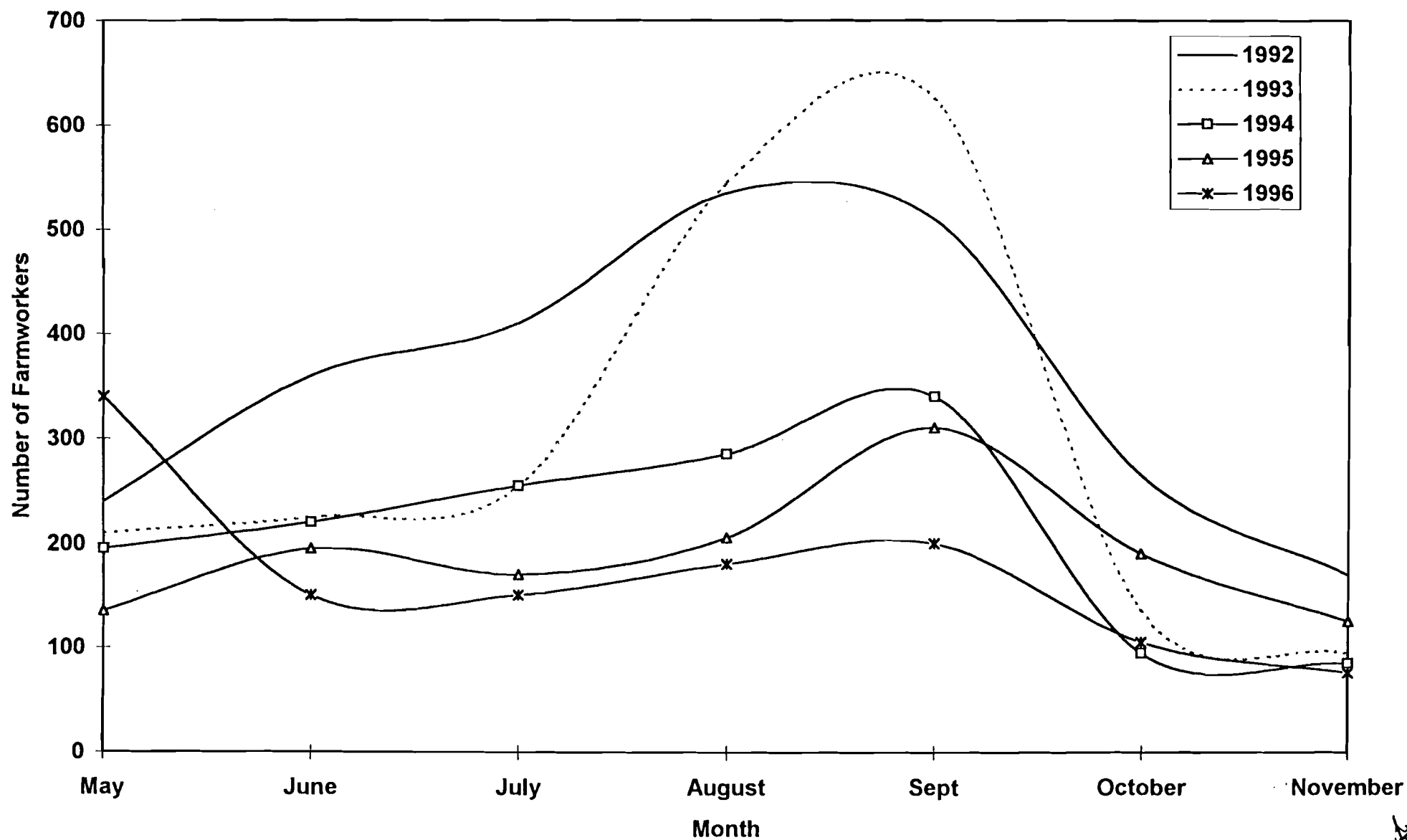
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Figure 4, H2-A Workers in NYS, 1992-1996*



*11/96 figures based on avg. ratio Oct./Nov. 1992-1995

Figure 5, Intrastate Farmworkers in NYS, 1992-1996*



*11/96 figures based on avg. ratio Oct./Nov. 1992-1995

Source: Agricultural Employment Bulletin, NYS Dept. of Labor

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