

The Envios of San Pablo Huixtepec, Oaxaca: Food, Home, and Transnationalism

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Transnationalism has been a major organizing theme for hundreds of immigration related studies, many of which have targeted Mexican migration to the United States economic remittances, and entrepreneurship. This case study is based on research carried out in Oaxaca with immigrants from the community of San Pablo Huixtepec and the flow of “remittance” from South to North. This study focuses on home to California sociocultural activities that serve to maintain family, community and cultural connections between the two. The major focus is on the business/entrepreneurial practice of *envios*, or family scale package services that move food and other cultural remittances from South to North. The system is not only economic but reflects transnational sociocultural activities that directly impact the immigrants’ ties back to home and life in California. This case study of the system of *envios* illustrates a unique dimension of transnational migration and living.

Key words: Migration, transnational migration, entrepreneurship, cultural remittances, cultural capital, Oaxaca, Mexico, food, *envios*

On the northern perimeter of the San Pablo Huixtepec municipal plaza stands an impressive fifteen meters tall, square, red brick clock tower. Although the clock itself is less than reliable in telling the hour, the plaque affixed to the face of the tower tells several stories. The words on the plaque (translated) say: “This clock was donated by citizens of this community located in the cities of San Jose, Milpitas, Morgan Hill, Santa Cruz, Devenport (sic), Half Moon Bay, La Selva Beach and Seaside, all in the state of California, U.S.A., in coordination with the Honorable City Council and the Committee for Moral Civic, and Material Improvement. San Pablo Huixtepec, Oaxaca, Sept, 1988.” The plaque’s words communicate significant messages about both the municipality’s immigration history, and the long-standing value of giving back to the community. Engraved within these words are other messages about importance of maintaining connections with the home community even while working and living far away in the United States, as well as the history and civic importance of financial support by immigrants.

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The message of the plaque creates the framework for the following case study focused on previously undocumented transnational migration links between the Oaxacan community of San Pablo Huixtepec and the Seaside-Monterey, California area. The study uncovers some new realities of transnational migration and transnational entrepreneurs. The unique system of *envios* (or small scale, international but family level, package services) that operates in the unexpected direction of South to North (in contrast to the North to South remittances) provides the basis for the following story.

In the past decade the topic of transnational migration has attracted significant academic attention among researchers. This attention has not been limited to Mexico but has been world-wide (Vertovec 1999; Kearney and Besserer 2004). Hundreds of studies, reports, and papers have been produced adding to the understanding and application of the concept of transnationalism and transnational migration. The transnational paradigm, in contrast to the assimilation model, advances the idea that immigrants do not break their home country ties although they often are re-defined. In spite of the extensive body of literature, this concept is not universally or unquestionably accepted.

In 1999 Portes, Guarnizo, and Landolt (1999:218) proposed that if transnational migration studies were to go beyond being a “highly fragmented, emergent field” and to develop a “well-defined theoretical framework,” a set of conceptual guidelines had to be defined, created and tested. Conway (2000) raised similar concerns and questions, arguing for the need of clarification on what is meant by transnational migration. Although this study does not answer the questions raised by these and others, it does add to the understanding of

the realities of transnational migration, the power of home, the power of cultural remittances, and dimensions of transnational economies.

Transnationalism, whether from Mexico to California or from Ecuador to Spain, involves a number of activities that play out between the immigrant and the place or origin. Portes, et al. (1999) originally proposed that transnationalism must include economic, political, and sociocultural activities, all of which can be expressed in different levels of institutionalization—from high to low. In addressing questions related to transnational economics and entrepreneurship, Portes, et al. (2002) further acknowledge the continuing debate, while others (cf. Itzigsohn and Saucedo 2002; Guarnizo 2003, Levitt 2003; Conway 2005) expand the discussion on the paradigm.

For example, Guarnizo (2003), using a perspective that stresses the idea of “transnational living” rather than simply transnational migration, argues that transnational living provides a more holistic (and thereby more realistic) and inclusive perspective that can capture the economic implications “generated by the migrants multifaceted transnational engagement” (Guarnizo 2003:669). Conway’s (2005) discussion of transnational migration also resonates. He suggests that too often in the transnational migration literature and research the idea of transnational communities is viewed as a new phenomenon, whereas in reality such communities have been around for as long as migration has occurred. Conway questions the view that transnational migration too often separates migrant peoples from their home communities. He argues that “home” is not just a symbol, but a powerful force in the lives of the immigrants who carry with them “the memories of childhood” and the “lasting power of attachments to birth-places” (Conway 2005:265). Home is an anchor for the transnational migrant composed of an influential set of forces acting in their lives—and in the lives of the family at home.

In reality migration undoubtedly has multiple effects on the individual. The individual migrant becomes separated from his family, home, and/or community and all that the family, home, and community contain. Migration also impacts the individual’s identities, often leading to the assignment of new and undesirable ones. Despite the arguments from the assimilation model (Portes and Rumbaut 1996), when the individual lives in the new setting, separate and with altered identities, the tendency may be to attempt to reduce these changes, to live in a familiar way and system and with familiar cultural objects. In effect the reality is to create a life that is nearly as like that left at home, while those at home may attempt to help reinforce that tie to home through whatever means they can use. For example, in recent years phone, computer, and audio-visual technologies have expanded the tools available for transnational immigrants (Richman 2005; Levitt 2003).

In cases of Mexican transnational migration research, attention has been directed to the nature of this migration and types of political, economic, and sociocultural actions

and outcomes. Studies have detailed the connection between transnational migration and civic participation via hometown associations (Fox and Rivera-Salgado 2004) as well as political participation in both Mexican and United States settings (Kearney and Besserer 2004; Martinez-Saldaña 2004). Increasingly attention has been focused on the flows of people from Mexico to the United States (or from South to North) and the flow of money in the form of remittances from the United States to Mexico (from North to South) (Massey and Parrado 1994; Cohen 2001; 2005; Cohen and Rodriguez 2005). This latter flow, now estimated to exceed \$16 billion per year, has also attracted the attention of the Mexican government (Banco de Mexico 2004; Thompson 2005).

Others have expanded the ideas related to transnational entrepreneurship and remittances. In the case of remittances from “north to south,” Levitt (1998) documents examples of social remittances, or those that go beyond the emphasis on financial or economic, by providing evidence of the importance of the flow of ideas, behaviors, identities, and social capital within the Dominican transnational immigrant communities. Itzigsohn et al. (1999) documented the flow of food, music, and other goods moved by couriers from the other direction from the Dominican Republic to New York, providing evidence of what has been referred to as “return migrant enterprises” (Portes et al. 2002).

This study contributes to the focusing of the lens for viewing transnational migration, particularly as it relates to sociocultural activities and specific related economic/entrepreneur activities. In the case study presented here, transnational migration is not just the movement of people from South to North. Nor is it only limited to money moving from North to South. The movement is not solely financial capital but social and cultural capital in the form of food and other goods. Such movements also include the movement of ideas, the impacts on identities, and the maintenance of home in the new setting. These more inclusive views provide the framework for this study.

This case study focused on the village of San Pablo Huixtepec (SPH), Oaxaca, Mexico to examine specific socio-cultural activities inherent to the local forms of transnational migration. While the study focuses on San Pablo, no doubt similar cases can be found in other areas of Mexico. This case study also portrays the roles that technologies, specifically telephones and computer internet, play in the maintenance of family, community, and cultural identities in a transnational living situation.

Central to this study is the description of small, family level systems of *envios* (shipments) between Mexico and California. The system of *envios* services found in San Pablo Huixtepec are on the surface similar to the package shipping services exemplified by DHL or FedEx. For a fee paid in California, these *envios* provide the delivery of goods from Oaxaca to receiving families in California and other states. Corporate style *envios* services are found in the city of Oaxaca, with branches in Puebla and some smaller municipalities

in Oaxaca. However, more unique are the purely community based (or family or “mom and pop”) businesses in SPH. These latter varieties of *envios* are also in contrast, both in size and direction, to the highly visible and more often studied system of money remittances from North to South.

The research for this study was carried out in Oaxaca from March through July 2004. During that time the author was involved in other work in SPH related to a collaborative educational project on cultural traditions and which provided entry into the local system of *envios*. Research used observation, interview, and questionnaire procedures to gather information and data on the *envios*. Seven of the 11 operators of *envios* were interviewed and home and store level observations carried out. In addition six of the seven telephone *casetas* businesses were interviewed, along with four of the existing five computer center businesses.

During late 2004 and in 2005, fieldwork on the *envios* was also conducted in San Jose and Seaside, California, where the largest number of San Pablo immigrants live and work. Observations and interviews of *envios* operators (some of whom were originally contacted and interviewed in San Pablo) took place in Seaside. Contact, in person, by phone and by computer, with two of the *envios* operators has been maintained to date. The latter has included providing advice on dealing with entry issues into the United States (see below for more details).

The Setting

SPH is an agricultural community situated in the District of Zimatlan, approximately 40 kilometers from the capital of Oaxaca. Although nearby communities such as Santa Ines Yatzeche are indigenous Zapotec communities, SPH exhibits little evidence of its original Zapotec roots. In 2000 SPH had a population of 8,500 inhabitants (INEGI 2000), a figure that does not include the estimated 2,000 to 5,000 residents living in the United States. The majority of these immigrants are found in California and concentrated in and near Seaside, California. Migration from SPH has been a reality since the 1980s and continues at a high level today. Many nearby communities such as Santa Ines Yatzeche, San Bernardo Mixtepec, and Santa Maria Ayoquezco also send a large percentage of their population to California and other states.¹

While estimates of the number of persons from SPH and the surrounding communities in the Monterey, California area range from 1,500 to 4,000, the real number of migrants is unknown. Also, the flow of undocumented immigrants continues. For those who are documented and even citizens of the United States, contact with families in SPH is spoken of as essential. Some residents of Seaside make yearly and even more frequent return visits to SPH. At the same time communication via phone and internet/e-mail has increased.

In the past few years the number of telephone *casetas* or public phone services in SPH has grown to seven, most with three to five lines each. These *casetas* provide a relatively inexpensive means for family members in Seaside to communicate

with family in SPH. A person in Seaside will call the *casetas* closest to their family in SPH where a message is taken for the family member to be at the *casetas* at a specific hour in order to talk with their family member in Seaside. The Seaside (or other US) caller pays for the call and the local *casetas* charges a small fee (usually ten pesos per hour) for the use of the phone. *Casetas*' owners report anywhere from three to ten calls on a weekday from the United States, a number that increases on the weekend and during holidays and fiestas.

The increase in computer facilities has enhanced the communication from the United States to SPH. Currently five computer centers, some with satellite connections, permit regular e-mail and even chat services. In January 2004 a webpage and site for SPH was created (www.huixtepec.com) with the support of the local municipality. This webpage receives on a daily average between 100 and 125 “visitors,” the vast majority from immigrants from SPH living in California. This web site also now includes a chat room that attracts hundreds of visitors from California and other settings.²

The history of migration from SPH to California can be traced back to the 1980s, a fact important for understanding the creation and operation of the *envios* systems. While many migrants began their work in the agricultural fields of the Salinas (California) Valley area, over time they began to obtain employment in the large hotel, restaurant and service industry of the Monterey area. Also in the late 1980s with the signing of the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA), many then undocumented immigrants became documented. As the number of immigrants continued to grow, so did the demand for regular contact and connections with families and friends in SPH.

The appearance of organized *envios* in SPH is relatively recent. According to two of the *envios* operators, the first organized *envios* were started by chance in 2000. These individuals, like many other *envios* operators, had originally entered California illegally in the 1980s but gained legal immigrant status with the passage of IRCA. Subsequently they could travel relatively easily between California and Oaxaca. While some family members stayed in California, others returned to live and work in Oaxaca. In one case the wife returned to live in SPH but periodically traveled to California to visit her husband. On such trips she would be asked by others in SPH to carry food items to their own relatives in Seaside. She was also offered a “tip” (*propina* in Spanish) for the service. According to this informant, the idea for a regular *envios* system was catalyzed by this coincidence. From that point it has grown to include local advertising, regular trips, and the delivery of multiple remittances in reverse via the *envios*, sometimes two or three times per week.

Of the 11 *envios* businesses operating in SPH in 2004 the largest counts on five individuals including family members in Seaside, California. The smallest consist of two persons - one in SPH and one in Seaside. Since the original interviews, several of the *envios* businesses have added couriers whose function is to move the items from SPH to the United States. The overwhelming percentage of goods sent to Seaside (and

elsewhere in California and the United States) consists of food. The variety of food shipped includes chile peppers, *mole* (a chocolate based cooking sauce), *tlayudas* (a tortilla unique to Oaxaca), cheese, *mezcal*, grasshoppers (or *chapulines*, a Oaxacan and SPH delicacy), pumpkin seeds, meat, and other food items. For family-provided items, the majority of this food is produced in homes of the senders in SPH and nearby villages. Other items such as letters, videotapes, jewelry, and artisan goods are also sent. To send a package, the sender drops off the item at a local store or at the home of the envios owner. Food is wrapped in a plastic bag with the intended recipient's name and phone number in California and their own name taped to the bag. A log of items received and personal identification is kept. Dates for drop-off of items and departure are posted throughout SPH on flyers attached to light poles or on signs in front of stores. Prior to departure, the items are packed in either cardboard boxes or suitcases. Due to airline restrictions, each container cannot weigh over 70 pounds. On the day of departure, the courier takes the containers/suitcases to the airport in Oaxaca. Most envios operations fly to San Jose, California where, once they pass through customs and immigration, they are driven to Seaside by the local contact. Upon arrival in Seaside, the containers are opened, the packages are set out and organized by last name, and telephone calls are made to the persons who are to receive them. When recipients come to the local house to pick up their items, they are required to pay for the delivery. "Delivery" charges for food are usually \$3.50 per pound but vary for other items such as letters, jewelry, or artisan goods. The costs for delivery are all the responsibility of the recipients; senders from SPH do not pay for the charges. In addition to transporting food and other items to California, envios "couriers" return to SPH with items, mainly clothes, shoes, letters, and money (with a five percent charge). Costs for sending these items are also paid by the person sending the items.

Changes, both minor and major, have occurred in the system. The rapid and resourceful responses of the owners to these changes illustrate their resiliency and creativity. For example, the importation of meat and cheese was slowed and then halted due to U.S. Customs requirements. In fact the restrictions were unevenly applied in 2003 in that the Customs officers in the San Francisco airport stopped the importation resulting in a re-direction of the envios to the San Jose, California airport where, for a period, they could pass. In the latter part of 2004 family operations began to face more serious challenges in the San Jose entry port. Since 2003 the U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA) required anyone bringing in food from a foreign country to file a Prior Notice (cf. www.fda.gov). This requirement specified that the person physically transporting food items must identify, prior to arrival, what food is being imported, its source, its manufacturer, all arrival information, and the persons responsible, among other information. A Prior Notice must be submitted via the FDA website on the internet and in English, thus requiring computer access and knowledge, as well as English literacy.

None of the SPH envios operations was prepared or equipped to file the required information. None had the computer/internet equipment to submit the Prior Notice or the computer skills or the English literacy to complete the forms. As a result, with the 2004 enforcement of the Prior Notice requirement, San Jose couriers were allowed to enter but the containers were not and were sent back to Mexico. Their return resulted in high cost and major losses to the businesses as well as a loss of confidence by the senders.

To overcome this obstacle envios owners had to rapidly (within a matter of weeks) and creatively find ways to complete and to submit via the internet the Prior Notice forms prior to leaving Mexico. For the first few weeks, the response was for the envios couriers to fly into Tijuana and also into Los Angeles where the Prior Notice requirement was less stringently enforced. However, significant added costs for transportation resulted, as well as added time. These added costs were too much for the system to continue in this fashion. The two person operations stopped operating. Responses on the part of other operators indicated their resourcefulness. In two cases the author himself was contacted by long distance phone calls to California from envios owners in SPH seeking advice and computer assistance to complete the required Prior Notice forms. Also, as a result of this requirement, one of the computer center operators in San Pablo Huixtepec responded by providing a fee based service to complete the required Prior Notice forms, thereby ensuring and expanding the movement of the goods. He now provides Prior Notice filing services for eight different envios operators.

Frequency and Size of Envios

Interviews conducted with the SPH envios operators provided other important information. In regards to the frequency of trips, during most of the year most owners indicated that one trip was made every three or four weeks. At holiday times such as Mother's Day, Semana Santa (Holy Week), and other holidays, trips were more frequent. For one enterprise, trips have been increased to twice, and sometimes three times, a week. Reasons for this increase were that more people send more items. But, more important was the fact that the food items being carried often are for commercial use in restaurants in the Seaside, Santa Cruz, and San Jose areas. In the California homes where packages were received it was not unusual to see dozen of bundles of tlayudas with over a 100 tlayudas in each. With more frequent trips, other changes have been made. Owner/operators of the envios now hire for a fee couriers to ferry the containers to San Jose, paying them around \$300 per trip. In this situation, the couriers, be they family members or not, are ferrying up to eight containers each.

The increase in number of containers is the result of several factors. One is the increased demand for food items from the San Pableños living in California. As well, another source of demand beyond the family has occurred. In the case of tlayudas, a unique Oaxacan tortilla, a constant demand exists, such that now multiple packages of tlayudas are sent for

sale to restaurants and stores in communities beyond Seaside. As the entrepreneurial aspect of the *envios* has expanded, so too has the reach of the operations. Couriers, upon arrival to Seaside, now make regular trips to towns in the Central Valley of California to deliver packages to immigrants from San Pablo and other communities. Packages are also delivered to small stores and restaurants in these smaller towns. Tlayudas, one of the popular items, normally sell for \$1 or more per tlayuda.

The Economics of the *Envios*

In one sense the business of *envios* is just that—a transnational economic enterprise. It is a capital-based, entrepreneurial operation with expenses and income. To illustrate: a round trip plane fare from Oaxaca to San Jose usually costs from \$650 to \$700 per courier. In addition airline shipping charges must be paid for additional containers beyond the first two. Specifically, Mexicana Airlines charges \$75 for each of the third and fourth containers, \$100 each for the next five containers and \$200 for any additional containers. Costs to the operators to transport eight containers total \$1,200 and are as follows: \$650 for the plane ticket and \$550 for eight containers (first two ‘free,’ second two \$150 and next four \$400). This figure does not include other costs of local transportation, food, or lodging.

On the “income” side, fees charged are \$3.50 per pound of food. Each container weighs 70 pounds for a total of 560 pounds: 560 lbs X \$3.50 totals \$2,000. Without considering other costs, a “profit” of \$800 could result. Even with a courier fee of \$300, a positive balance still results. Such “mom and pop” businesses are indeed the products of the transnational entrepreneurs. Other factors impact and increase the “bottom line.” These include the fees charged for other items including jewelry, artisan goods, and letters. In addition, couriers returning to Oaxaca transport items such as shoes and clothing that generate additional fees and income, as well as carry money remittances which carry a five percent fee.

This system of small-scale, family-operated *envios*, as it has evolved, has become an economic enterprise. However, these operations are much more than businesses concerned with capital. The innovators who organized the first *envios* operations were explicit: the desire was to provide a means to connect those at “home” with the immigrant “away” in California (cf. Conway 2005). The service, certainly from the points of view of both the recipient and the sender, provides connections, links, and nostalgic reminders to those who are at “home” and who are “away.” The movement of the food, cultural items, letters, pictures and other objects appears to carry the power to re-attach the immigrant to his or her family and community. On the home side, items sent can serve as reminders of obligations to stay connected and to reciprocate (cf. Mauss 1955).

Comments from those receiving food and other items in the Seaside community, as well as those senders in SPH, provide insight into the sociocultural significance of the

envios, especially food. Recipients would commonly talk about the “authenticity” of the food, both in regards to the taste and the fact that it came from their homes and was made by their mother. Similarly, recipients would talk about the feeling of obligation to call or communicate or send money, in other words how to reciprocate. In SPH, conversations with those sending food also revealed the themes of the “need” or “obligation” to send items and to provide support for the family member in Seaside. Such comments and actions suggest that family obligation was central to the sending of *envios* from SPH and in turn the sending of goods, letters and money from Seaside back home (cf. Conway and Cohen 2003).

The idea of “home” is central to the reality of the *envios* at the sociocultural level. “Home-places” (Conway 2005:266) provide the anchors for the experiences of the transnational migrant. The drive is to avoid homelessness and to maintain the ties to home. However, while the “home” may be the anchor, the food, be it tlayudas or grasshoppers, is the chain connected to the anchor.

The anchor and the chain are symbols of the networks, and the particular items that flow from SPH to Seaside serve to solidify and reinforce the networks. These networks are also reinforced and expanded by technologies such as telephones, computers, and internet messaging. In different cultural settings (i.e., Haiti and Virginia) and with a different technology (i.e., audio-cassettes), Richman (2005) documents in a similar fashion the use of tools of technology for maintaining family and community networks between immigrants and the home. Technology can create networks and connections, and can ensure the ties to the anchor.

The concept of cultural capital (as differentiated from economic capital and social capital) applies to this case. For example, Coleman (1988) and Putnam (2000) refer to social capital as that pertaining to connections, relationships, and roles that help shape the social interactions of a system. Social capital consists of non-material concepts such as trust, understanding, and shared values and practices that bind the members of a network and a community. Cultural capital, according to Bourdieu (1986), represents non-economic forces including family background and class. He differentiates three forms: the embodied state, the objectified state, and the institutionalized state of cultural capital. Of importance here is the objectified state represented by “cultural goods and material objects which is a type of cultural capital transmissible in its materiality” (Bourdieu 1986:246). Although he speaks principally of such material objects as writings, paintings, and musical instruments and their transferability, food may also be considered a form of cultural capital. And, it is in this sense that food sent via the *envios* system becomes a form of cultural capital.

The receipt of the food and other goods also has an instrumental effect (VanWey et al. 2005). From comments of recipients, foods received are valued as much for their sociocultural significance as their nutritional value. They often commented that the food, be it tlayudas, mole, grasshoppers, or mezcal, was important to them and their identity as a person

from San Pablo. They mentioned the authenticity (i.e., “it tasted better”) of the food as a highly valued quality. Food takes on a function far beyond the nutritional one, fulfilling cultural and psychological ones (cf. Brown and Mussell 1984; Counihan and Van Esterik 1997).

Observations and interviews of recipients in Seaside originally from SPH and nearby communities confirm the meaning of the food to them: food represents “home,” the family, the household, and the local community of SPH. The food received is the real thing and is accepted as culturally authentic. It signifies a person’s identity as being a resident of San Pablo Huixtepec. As one respondent said “The food we get here is not the same. The real food comes from home.”

An intriguing but unanswered question about home and away, transnational immigrants, and the power of food lies within those who are members of the second and third generations of San Pableños living in the Seaside area. It is unclear and undetermined how youth view the importance of the food to their identities as San Pableños. Similarly, it is not known how or if they view the home as the anchor. Evidence, in this case, remains to be gathered as to how second generation individuals view these cultural remittances or even whether they are considered as such. This question is part of the much larger question Foner (2002) raises: is transnationalism only a first generation phenomenon?

The system of envios and their operation go beyond that of economic capital into the realms of social capital and cultural capital. As well, the food and other material goods that are physically transmitted from family members to family members illustrate the reality of cultural remittances. The direction of these remittances is one of the fascinating aspects of this system, be it economic or sociocultural. Their flow is from South to North, whereas with other capital or social remittances, the flow is the reverse—from North to South.

The existence, influence, and power of the envios system also speak to the reality of transnational migration. To migrate requires great flexibility, resourcefulness, and creativity. These are qualities also exhibited by the entrepreneurs who have organized, managed, and adjusted the system of envios. Their ability to be entrepreneurial, not just in economic activities but in sociocultural ones, in the face of constant change is an under-appreciated dimension of transnational migration. The reality of these transnational migrants is far more than migrating from Mexico to California and working, saving, and sending money back to family in SPH. They are living in a transnational context, one that is a dynamic field of social interactions and practices that connect the migrants with their communities of origin. But those connections are not one-way but two-way and affect not only the individuals, but their families, local groups, and institutions.

Epilogue

In late 2005 the construction of a new, modern municipal building (or city hall) for San Pablo Huixtepec was completed. Built on the western side of the municipal plaza,

at right angles to the 1980s clock tower, this structure was a product of community efforts. Thousands of San Pableños from both the local community and returning immigrants from California contributed their labor through community *tequios* (or communal work parties) to tear down the original municipal building, to lay the foundation for the new one and to build the three-story modern building. Each tequio involved men, women, youth, and children. Men carried buckets filled with cement to lay the foundation and to create the three-story structure. Women prepared and served drinks and food for all the workers. Youth provided music and entertainment and children offered their enthusiasm and support. Participating community members were not only from San Pablo, but some came from San Jose and Seaside, California to help. Others sent money to support the effort. As the construction progressed, pictures were taken and posted on the internet for all San Pableños whether in San Pablo or in Seaside. At the conclusion of the Sunday tequios, everyone sat down to eat the food prepared by the women of San Pablo—mole, res (beef), tlayudas, cheese, grasshoppers, mescal, and more. The food also confirmed for all there that they were members of the community of San Pablo Huixtepec.

Notes

¹One case, uncovered in late summer 2005, was an envios operator from San Pablo Huixtepec who contracted with two couriers from San Pablo to carry 16 packages from San Bernardo Mixtepec to the immigrant community in Columbus, Ohio.

²As of April 2006, the webpage www.huixtepec.com no longer is accessible. A new webpage www.huixtepec.org is now accessible. It includes a chat room and an extensive photo section.

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