

LATINO IN-MIGRATION AND ANGLO OUT-MIGRATION IN THE
TEXAS PANHANDLE PLAINS, 1980-2004

THESIS

Presented to the Graduate Council
of Texas State University-San Marcos
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements

for the Degree

Master of SCIENCE

by

Edris J. Montalvo Jr., B.A.

San Marcos, Texas
May 2005

COPYRIGHT

by

Edris J. Montalvo, Jr.

2005

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Above all I give thanks to God. I sincerely thank Mother, Father, Sedriel, Abuney, Avier, Shawn, Nevada, and Melissa for their unconditional support in every way in not only this endeavor but throughout my whole life.

I sincerely thank the members of my thesis committee for all of their support not only in the completion of this thesis but during my entire graduate career thus far. Dr. James Kimmel's expertise as a Texas geographer is virtually unmatched, and I appreciate the insight that only he can give with his great knowledge of Texas geography among his other guidance. Dr. Brock Brown's fervor and excitement regarding geography and his knowledge as a cultural geographer are an invaluable contribution to my thesis and my graduate education. In particular, I acknowledge my thesis committee chair, Dr. Lawrence Estaville, whose unconditional support, guidance, and mentorship, is complemented by his constant enthusiasm and vast knowledge that allowed me to complete this thesis successfully. Special thanks to Kristine Egan for her help with the maps.

The manuscript was submitted on April 20th, 2005

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iv
LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES.....	vii
CHAPTER	
I. INTRODUCTION.....	1
Background of Study.....	2
Significance of Study.....	3
Statement of Problem.....	3
II. LITERATURE REVIEW.....	4
Migration	4
Anglo Migration.....	6
Latino Migration.....	7
Place Utility Theory.....	8
III. METHOD.....	10
Study Area and Variables.....	12
Timeframe.....	14
Quantitative Analysis.....	14
Dependent Variables.....	15
Independent Variables.....	15
Qualitative Analysis.....	18

IV. QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE ANALYSES.....	20
Statistical Analyses.....	20
Fieldwork and Qualitative Analyses.....	22
Anglos.....	23
Latinos.....	23
V. CONCLUSIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH.....	27
APPENDIX 1.....	30
APPENDIX 2.....	32
APPENDIX 3.....	33
WORKS CITED.....	38

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

TABLES

Table	Page
1. Counties with Largest Anglo Decrease and Latino Increase.....	12
2. Hypothesized Relationships of Economic Independent Variables to Anglo Out-Migration.....	17
3. Hypothesized Relationships of Economic Independent Variables to Latino In-Migration.....	17

FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Conceptual Model of Research Problem.....	10
2. Study Area: Panhandle Plains of Texas.....	13
3. Multiple Regression Formula.....	16

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

As long as Texas has existed, first as a part of New Spain and Mexico, later as an independent country, and then as a part of the United States, Mexicans have migrated into the place we now call Texas. Latino presence in history, tradition, and culture in Texas has been strong. In 1940, 1.8 million Latinos accounted for 1 percent of Americans in the United States and mainly resided along the U.S.-Mexico border, specifically in Texas and California (Frazier 2003). Since then, the number of Latinos in the U.S. has grown exponentially, making Latinos the nation's fastest growing minority group. In 2000, the U.S. Census (2004) reported that 12.5 percent of the U.S. population is Latino, and Latinos comprised 32 percent of Texas' population. The Texas State Demographer forecasts that Latinos, mostly Mexican Americans, will be the largest ethnic group by 2020 and will be the majority of the state's population by 2030 (www.txsdem.utsa.edu).

What significance does the increase in Latino population have in Texas? While there are parts of Texas cities and towns with ethnic characteristics that predominantly identify with Latinos, the cultural borders are increasingly becoming unclear or disappearing altogether. Latinos are integrating with Anglos in areas where they once could not afford to live or simply preferred not to live. Latinos are becoming an increasingly strong presence in city politics, businesses, and civic issues (Dingemans and Datel 1995). Anglos, on the other hand, seem to be leaving some of the same areas that

Latinos are moving into. While Anglos are still the majority in most Texas counties, Latino population increases have been rapid. What are major influences for Anglo out-migration and Latino in-migration? Has Anglo perception of economic opportunity lessened in the past thirty years? Has Latino perception of economic opportunity increased? Are there cultural differences between the way Latinos and Anglos perceive economic opportunity?

Background of Study

Boswell and Jones (1980) concluded that Mexican Americans in 1970 were spatially distributed throughout the U.S. based on seven categories of different degrees of socioeconomic characteristics. With the exceptions for the Houston and Dallas metropolitan areas, the Boswell and Jones taxonomy placed most of Texas into the fifth category that was characterized by the lowest income, lowest in-migration rates from other states, and lowest attained education level of the seven categories.

Many of the counties in Texas, especially in the Panhandle Plains area, have recently experienced increases in Latino populations. In 1980, only 19 counties in the Texas Panhandle Plains possessed populations of at least 25 percent Latinos. By 2000, 35 counties had populations of at least a 25 percent Latino. This Latino population growth suggests that some characteristics are pulling Latinos to the Texas Panhandle Plains. At the same time, however, the percentages of Anglo population for some of these same counties show consistent declines. Thus, some factors in the Texas Panhandle Plains counties seem to be pushing Anglos from the area.

Researchers have attempted to explain migration using a variety of methods. Tarver and Gurley (1965), for example, saw evidence of a direct correlation between

migration rates and median family incomes, while Miller (1967) and Stone (1971) discovered a positive relationship between in-migration and out-migration that occurs in metropolitan areas. However, there is little research comparing two ethnic group's differences in perceiving the same area's economic opportunities.

Significance of Study

The population growth of Latinos, mostly Mexican Americans, in the U.S. is likely to influence societal issues on a large scale (Frazier 2003). My study is significant because I assess and compare Anglo and Latino decisions to migrate and their selection of destinations. These decisions have economic, political, and social ramifications in both the areas that provoke out-migration and those areas that stimulate in-migration.

Statement of Problem

In my research, I examine the out-migration of Anglos from and the in-migration of Latinos into the Texas Panhandle Plains during the period of 1980 to 2004. I selected the period, 1980-2004, after reviewing county census data in Texas and observing a possible migration dichotomy in the Texas Panhandle Plains. This study focuses on the fundamental question: Why does one ethnic group perceive declining opportunities in their longtime home in the Texas Panhandle Plains and express these concerns by leaving, while another ethnic group evaluates the opportunities positively in the same place and decides to move into a new homeland? I wish to add to this body of research in a different way, underscoring that the depopulation of one part of the Great Plains is not a singular out-migration but, rather, an economic tension experienced by and between two ethnic groups, Anglos and Latinos, and how each perceives the opportunities of the Texas Panhandle Plains.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Migration research is multifaceted, concerning many different types of issues and examining a variety of different techniques and factors. As I discuss here, numerous geographers have studied migration and have established different trends of study. I review trends in migration research and their relation to my specific study in addition to providing a justification for some methods I use in my study and an overall rationale for my investigation.

Migration

The topic of migration represents a large body of research that uses a variety of methods to explore different facets of migration. Dingemans and Datel (1995) examined the dispersal of ethnic residential patterns in Sacramento, California. This study found that minorities, including Latinos, integrated with Anglos in predominantly Anglo areas. In addition, the study revealed that Latino-owned businesses were not only in identifiable Latino areas but also expanded to other ethnically identified areas. In some cases, the Latino business owners replaced African-American business owners. This relationship between the two ethnic groups, in addition to the Latino in-migration and business mobility into non-Latino areas, alludes to a phenomenon that may be evident in my study area in the Texas Panhandle Plains.

Hwang and Murdock (1998) concluded that minorities do not tend to move to areas that are ethnically identical but rather to areas with Anglo concentrations, a finding similar to the Dingemans and Datel (1995) study. This tendency is an important aspect in my study because of the apparent Latino attraction to predominantly Anglo areas like the Texas Panhandle Plains counties. Frey (1979) studied a similar phenomenon and discovered that “white flight” is both associated with the composition of racial migration and central city decline of socioeconomic attributes. I suspect the anomaly in my study area resembles a form of “white flight” due to the declining economic circumstances, but I also took into account the reasons that Latinos replace those out-migrating Anglos. Manson and Group (2000), following a comparison of intercontinental migration, gave insight to possible reasons for increased migration to rural areas, such as increased advances in transportation and improved communications technology.

Another segment of migration literature relates to rural population migration and that of the Great Plains region of Texas in particular. Nickels and Day (1997) and Lawson and Baker (1979) defined the Great Plains region as the area of the U.S. west of the 98th meridian to the eastern border of the Rocky Mountains, including the Texas Panhandle. Brown (1979) emphasized that from 1970 to 1976, the Texas Panhandle Plains saw sharp population declines of more than 6.4 percent for most counties. In addition, Brown’s study showed that for the period from 1960 to 1970, 28 counties experienced population declines. Nickels and Day (1997) conducted a more detailed study focused on the Texas Panhandle Plains and found that many of the counties in the area for the period from 1950 to 1970 depopulated at rates of 40 percent or more. However, their study also revealed that for the same period, 26 out of the 67 counties in

the study area experienced growth. While depopulation is evident for the period of 1950 to 1970 in most of the counties in the Nickels and Day study, roughly one-third of the counties experienced population increases. From 1970 to 1990, 27 counties experienced population growth (Nickels and Day 1997).

In the period from 1942 to 1964, the U.S. experienced an inflow of more than four million Mexican nationals because of the Bracero Program – a program allowing Mexicans to travel to the U.S. for temporary work (Nickels and Day 1997). The Bracero Program led to increases in the Latino population throughout Texas. Although few Latinos lived in the Texas Panhandle Plains area during the 1960s, the end of the Bracero Program in 1964 brought increases in the Latino population to the region where individuals settled to raise families (Nickels and Day 1997; Fuguitt et al. 1989). Thus, the Latino recent settlement in the Texas Panhandle Plains began to reverse the region's depopulation trend.

Anglo Migration

Frey (1979) and Hwang and Murdock (1998) argued that, while the migration of Anglos is affected by issues of race, race is not as important as issues of socioeconomic degradation in an area. Hwang and Murdock's (1998) study showed that in some areas large populations of Anglos, in fact, attract minority members. Furthermore, the study supported the idea that areas with large concentrations of minorities (Latinos included) actually inhibit the migration of minorities into such areas. Anglos likewise avoid areas with large minority concentrations. Latinos, therefore, are sometimes attracted to areas populated by Anglos rather than by Latinos, but Anglos generally are not attracted to areas with large minority populations.

Serow (1987; 2001) found that elderly retirees are attracted to areas with more amenities. The Great Plains of the U.S. are simply “too rural, too empty, and too flat” to attract older Anglos searching for environmental amenities (Svart 1976, 317). Therefore, retirement-age Anglos are possibly moving out of the Texas Panhandle Plains in search of areas with more amenities or higher standards of living. Clark and Hunter (1992) found that the availability of state recreation areas pulls Anglo male migrants over the age of 35 toward such areas.

More specifically, Nickels and Day (1997) argued that the out-migration of younger populations of all groups has left many of the Texas Panhandle Plains counties with larger populations of elderly, resulting in higher death rates and less attraction for in-migration. Nickels and Day concluded by stating that, because counties with higher percentages of elderly populations experience higher rates of out-migration, in-migration of Anglos to those counties of the Texas Panhandle Plains is low.

Latino Migration

The Bracero Program has made it difficult to assess the numbers of Latinos migrating to Texas during that period. However, the Bracero Program itself implies increases of the Latino population because of childbirth and acquired citizenship. The 1970 census indicates that approximately 4.5 million individuals of Mexican descent lived in the United States, a figure that accounts for roughly 50 percent of all Latinos in the U.S. (Boswell and Jones 1980). As discussed earlier, Boswell and Jones (1980) regionalized Mexican Americans into areas of the U.S. using socioeconomic attributes from the 1970 census. In addition to the vast majority of rural Texas, including the area along the Rio Grande River, Mexican Americans in the Panhandle Plains resided in

counties with the lowest income and education levels. Yet only one decade later, Fuguitt et al. (1989) argued that Latinos, mostly Mexican Americans, enjoyed higher levels of education and higher median incomes in the Texas Panhandle Plains than their counterparts in the Rio Grande Valley. This finding not only shows that conditions improved for Latinos in the Texas Panhandle Plains but also infers to possible pull factors for Latino migration toward the region.

Reasons for individuals to move to other areas may not be purely economic. Choldin (1973) and Litwack (1960) emphasized that family kinship plays a role in migration. Because of advances in communications, migrating individuals have an easier time communicating with their extended family (Litwack 1960). Choldin (1973) contended that there are times when family members save resources to send one individual of the family to the U.S. Then, the individuals the family sent to the U.S. over the years can pool their resources to help fund other family members to migrate to the U.S. Thus, family networks play a role in migration and may do so in the Texas Panhandle Plains for in-migrating Latinos and out-migrating Anglos alike.

Place Utility Theory

Place utility theory is a straightforward framework that relates locations to their desirability or utility as perceived by potential migrants. The theory provides insight into how voluntary migration occurs when individuals or families perceive that other places may offer superior benefits or utilities—economic, social, political, or environmental—in comparison to their current home. The potential migrants then assess the utilities of their present place with those they perceive to have higher utility values to determine if they should migrate and, if so, to select the best destination (Wolpert 1965; Root 2003).

Because economic reasons have traditionally been the most important factor in the decision-making processes to migrate voluntarily (as opposed to forced migration caused perhaps by war or disease), I focused my research efforts on economic variables but did include some other factors to explore whether they may have played a role in the push or pull of Anglo out-migration from the Texas Panhandle Plains and the in-migration of Latinos into the region.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

In addressing the trend of Latino in-migration and Anglo-American out-migration in pursuit of economic utilities, the fundamental research question is: Do perceptions of economic place utility cause Latinos to migrate to and Anglos to migrate from the Texas Panhandle Plains? In their study, Nickels and Day (1997) supported the hypothesis that the Latino population of the Texas Panhandle Plains is increasing but they do not address the underlying causes. Quantitative and qualitative analyses both played important roles in analyzing my research data. My working hypotheses center on the perceptions of the Texas Panhandle Plains economic utility as a catalyst for Anglo out-migration and Latino in-migration.

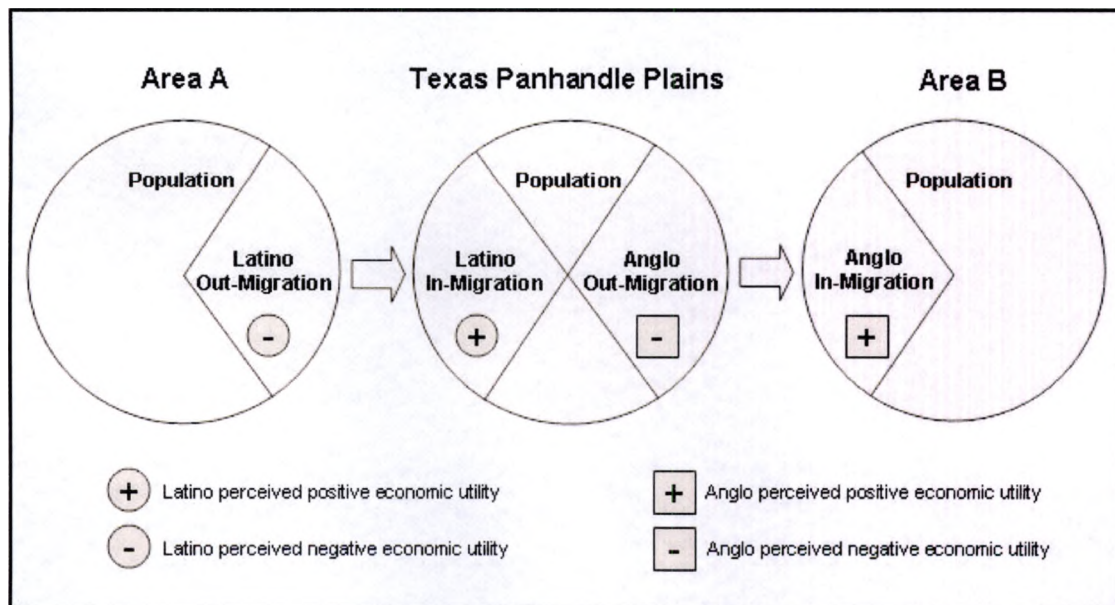


Figure 1. Conceptual model of research problem.

To formulate a method to address my problem problem, I conceptualized in Figure 1 a model of Latino migration into and Anglo migration from the Texas Panhandle Plains. Five working hypotheses or research questions guided my research and served as the basic framework for the study. I used U.S. Census data for much of my quantitative study, and data from survey instruments in Appendices 1 and 2 for my fieldwork are the basis for my qualitative analysis. These survey questions become specific points of interest within the five working hypotheses:

- 1) Do Latinos and Anglos have differing views of the economic utility in the Texas Panhandle Plains?
- 2) Do social groups and/or family ties influence Latino in-migration to the Texas Panhandle Plains and Anglo out-migration from the Texas Panhandle Plains?
- 3) Are Latinos aware of Anglo out-migration from the Texas Panhandle Plains and do they associate the Anglo out-migration with increased economic opportunity and elsewhere?
- 4) Does Latino in-migration to the Texas Panhandle Plains counties have any effect on the out-migration of Anglos? Are Anglos being forced to find work outside of the Texas Panhandle Plains because jobs are being taken by Latinos who works for less money?
- 5) When Anglos leave the Texas Panhandle Plains, are they moving to similar areas? Are Anglos collectively migrating to other areas?

Study Area and Variables

For my statistical analysis, I used data from all 54 counties of the Texas Panhandle Plains (Figure 2). For my fieldwork, of these 54 counties, I selected those with at least a 25 percent Latino population in the 2000 census. Thirty-five counties in the study area possessed Latino populations of 25 percent or more. I then calculated those counties with the largest Latino increase and largest Anglo decrease in population from 1980 to 2000. I then selected 10 counties that showed the most significant change for both groups (Table 1).

Table 1. Counties with largest Latino increase and largest Anglo decrease.

County	% Increase in Latino Population	County	% Decrease in Anglo Population
Moore	27.88%	Moore	-28.45%
Ochiltree	22.43%	Ochiltree	-23.12%
Hansford	19.85%	Childress	-20.71%
Andrews	18.22%	Potter	-20.33%
Yoakum	18.14%	Hansford	-19.91%
Deaf Smith	16.74%	Andrews	-18.41%
Parmer	16.52%	Hartley	-18.22%
Howard	16.44%	Yoakum	-17.46%
Potter	16.41%	Howard	-17.19%
Sherman	15.96%	Sherman	-17.09%

When I divided the study area into four quadrants to examine spatial coverage of the 10 counties, the southeastern quadrant was not represented. I thus included Nolan County in the southeastern corner of the study area. Finally, to ensure that the study area's two Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSAs) –Amarillo and Lubbock – were represented, I included Hale County for the Lubbock MSA. Figure 2 shows the spatial distribution of the 12 focus counties of my study.

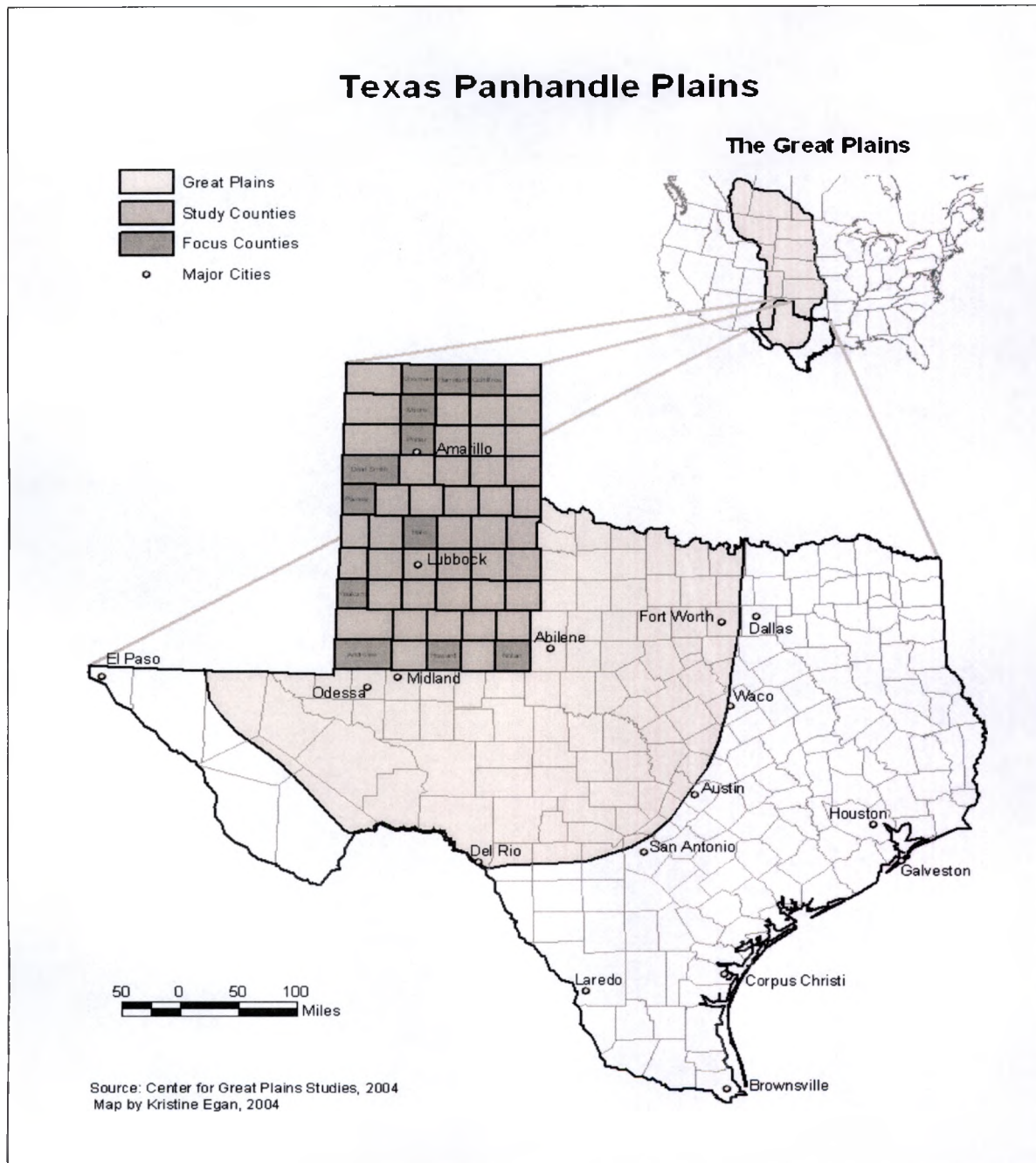


Figure 2. Study area with selected focus counties.

I examined only the county seats of the 12 focus counties in my qualitative analysis because they represent the central places of county governance and information. A pilot study, in which I conducted fieldwork in Nolan County, assisted me in determining what qualitative data to gather and how many individuals to survey.

Timeframe

The Bracero Program (1924-1964), in which Mexican agricultural workers entered the U.S. to work on farms and ranches, led to increases in Latino populations in the counties of my study area (Fruguitt et al. 1989). The first U.S. census after the end of the Bracero Program was in 1970. Latinos were included in the assessment of the “white” population in the 1970 census, thereby confounding the 1970 Latino county enumeration. As a result, I began my study with the 1980 U.S. Census that specifically enumerated Latinos (i.e. Hispanic origin) at the county level in 1980.

I examined data for time slices that correspond with each decennial census –1980, 1990, and 2000. In 2004, I also collected qualitative information for the study period. This “mixed” method of quantitative and qualitative data allowed me to compare the results of the multiple regression analyses with the results of my fieldwork.

Quantitative Analysis

For the quantitative portion of the study, I used county-level U.S. census data. In addition, I aggregated census data into Anglo and Latino categories to process the economic factors needed in my investigation. County-level data also allowed for examinations of metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas (Root 2003).

I employed step-wise multiple regression analyses to understand better the relationships of the demographic data. The purpose of multiple regression is to examine how a set of independent variables predict or explain a dependent variable. I conducted the multiple regression analyses at a 95 percent confidence level or an alpha of .05.

Dependent Variables

I conducted eight multiple regression analyses. Stepwise multiple regression selects the variable that has the highest correlation with the dependent variable and tests to see what combination of the variables are the best predictors of a given phenomenon. By employing this technique, I determined the best combination of variables to support my hypothesis. Two regression analyses corresponded with each census. For each year, I conducted an analysis with Latino county population as a dependent variable and Anglo county population as a dependent variable. This system of testing the variables not only allowed me to compare the results of Latino and Anglo analyses, but also allowed me to compare each decennial census to observe any trends or changes during my study period.

Independent Variables

Ravenstein (1889) referred to the “dominance of the economic motive” as one of the “laws” of migration that is generally provoked by one’s desire to increase wealth or material possessions. This generalization supports my hypothesis that the reason for the suspected anomaly of migration in Texas Panhandle Plains relates to different perceptions of economic factors by two different ethnic groups. Thus, the key independent variables incorporated into the regression analyses are economic in nature and derived from the census reports for the study period.

The first independent variables I incorporated are unemployment rates. Many migrating individuals are concerned with labor opportunities (Clark and Hunter 1992; Halseth 1999). Therefore, the presence, or lack, of jobs is possibly a major reason for migration in the Texas Panhandle Plains counties. I tested to determine if

unemployment rates serve as a positive or negative utility and are responsible for stimulating Latino in-migration and Anglo-American out-migration in my study area.

Income is another important determinant of the economic prosperity. I used median family income to test the utility of income in my hypothesis. Clark and Hunter (1992) contended that areas with higher income rates should attract migrants. Furthermore, in a study on international Mexican migration, Jenkins (1977) argued that a reason for Mexican out-migration from Mexico was the pull of higher income rates from other areas. Thus, I incorporated median family income data from the U.S. census as an economic utility factor.

The cost of living in an area is another pertinent factor of migration that is used by various researchers (e.g., Carlson et al. 1998; Clark and Hunter 1992; Serow et al. 1986). Clark and Hunter (1992) and Root (2003) used housing costs as determinants for cost of living. In Serow et al.'s (1986, 319) opinion, "... cost of living differentials should be of paramount importance to potential older migrants." To assess the cost of living in the selected counties, I used the median value of owner-occupied housing data.

$$Y = a + b_1 X_1 + b_2 X_2 + b_3 X_3$$

Where:

Y = dependent variable (Latino Population, Anglo Population)

X₁ = county level unemployment rate

X₂ = county level median value of owner occupied housing (cost of living)

X₃ = county level median family income

a = Y-intercept or constant

b₁...b₃ = regression coefficients

Figure 3. Multiple regression formula.

Table 2. Hypothesized Relationships of Economic Independent Variables to Anglo Out-migration.

ECONOMIC INDEPENDENT VARIABLES TO ANGLOS		
CONCEPTUAL	OPERATIONAL	HYPOTHEZIZED RELATIONSHIP
Employment	County Unemployment Level 1980, 1990 ,2000	Negative
Cost of Living	County Median Value of Owner Occupied Housing 1980, 1990, 2000	Negative
Income	County Median Family Income 1979, 1989, 1999	Negative

Table 3. Hypothesized Relationships of Economic Independent Variables to Latino In-migration.

ECONOMIC INDEPENDENT VARIABLES TO LATINOS		
CONCEPTUAL	OPERATIONAL	HYPOTHEZIZED RELATIONSHIP
Employment	County Unemployment Level 1980, 1990, 2000	Positive
Cost of Living	County Median Value of Owner Occupied Housing 1980, 1990, 2000	Positive
Income	County Median Family Income 1979, 1989, 1999	Positive

The economic variables constituted the prospective positive or negative utility for each individual county in the Texas Panhandle Plains. While these factors might contribute to the rate of in- or out-migration of an area, other variables also play a role. Although my general research hypothesis is that economic factors are responsible for the

in- and out-migration of this area, I conducted a concurrent qualitative field study to provide added insight into the phenomenon of migration.

Qualitative Analysis

The qualitative portion of this study included interviews of Anglos, namely long-time business owners or those who have resided in the same county for numerous years, about their decision to stay in the area and about their knowledge of why other Anglo individuals might have moved from the same area. Concurrently, I also interviewed Latinos in the focus counties to discover reasons for their original migration to the area. I also tried to determine from where Latinos migrated and to where Anglos moved. In addition, I investigated historical archives of each focus county (e.g., libraries and courthouses) for any other information or evidence regarding Latino in-migration and Anglo out-migration. The survey consisted of questions derived from the five working hypotheses of this study: 1) Do Latinos and Anglos have differing views of the economic utility in the Texas Panhandle Plains? 2) Do social groups and/or family ties influence Latino in-migration to the Texas Panhandle Plains and Anglo out-migration from the Texas Panhandle Plains? 3) Are Latinos aware of Anglo out-migration from the Texas Panhandle Plains, and do the Latinos associate the out-migration with increased economic opportunity and utility? 4) Does Latino in-migration to the Texas Panhandle Plains counties have any effect on the out-migration of Anglos? Are Anglos being forced to find work outside of the Texas Panhandle Plains because jobs area being taken by a labor force that works for less money? 5) When leaving the Texas Panhandle Plains counties, are Anglos moving to similar areas? Are Anglos collectively migrating to other areas?

From these questions, I developed two surveys: one for Latinos and the other for Anglos. I created the survey for the Latinos in both English (Appendix 1) and Spanish (Appendix 2), thereby discounting language as barrier in my research.

After acquiring the survey results, I analyzed the information looking for common words, thoughts, and trends. I then compared these qualitative fieldwork findings with my quantitative statistical analyses to try to answer more fully my five working research hypotheses.

CHAPTER IV

QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE ANALYSES

Statistical Analysis

Each of the 54 counties of the Texas Panhandle Plains lost population from 1980 to 1990. During this time, 12 counties experienced more than 7 percent population losses, a trend consistent with the depopulation in the Great Plains of the United States. In the 1990s, only 4 counties gained Anglo population—none reaching more than 3.5 percent. However, during the same time, 23 counties experienced more than a 7 percent loss of Anglo population.

For the entire study period, 1980-2004, only 3 counties in the Texas Panhandle Plains gained Anglo population—all less than 3 percent. Sixteen counties lost more than 14 percent of their Anglo population, while 41 counties lost 7 percent of their Anglo population. Overall, the Texas Panhandle Plains lost 85,000 people, causing Anglos to become the minority in 10 counties of the Texas Panhandle Plains.

The decade of 1980-1990 shows gains in Latino population. By 1990, only three counties showed decreases in Latino population--each near or less than 1 percent. During the 1990s, 26 counties showed increases in Latino population of at least 7 percent, while only three counties showed decreases in Latino population of 3 percent or less. By 2000, 25 counties had gains of at least 10 percent, and only one county had a decrease of less

than 2 percent. Over the twenty-year period, the Latino population in the 54 counties of the Texas Panhandle Plains increased by 98,000 people, a gain of 58 percent.

The regression analyses of the economic factors yielded only two significant variables: 1) median family income and 2) unemployment rates. The cost of living variable was not significant for any of the regression analyses. The R^2 value for Anglos in 1980 for median family income was .401. While this figure shows relatively weak explanatory power, the validity of the measure is significant in 1990, with a R^2 of .714, and .541 for 2000. These relationships show that for the study period, Anglos clearly enjoyed higher median incomes and probably higher paying jobs. This finding leads me to believe that Latinos did not have median family incomes that were as high as Anglos. Thus, Latinos had lower-paying jobs and were less wealthy than Anglos.

Although unemployment rates were statistically insignificant for Anglos in 1980, the variables, Anglos and unemployment rates, had negative relationships for 1990 and 2000 with R^2 values of .696 and .752, respectively. These relatively strong relationships support my hypothesis that Anglos were being pulled from the Texas Panhandle Plains to other areas in search of higher paying or more appealing jobs. Unemployment rates had positive relationships for Latinos, R^2 values of .622 in 1990 and .535 in 2000 (1980 showed no significance), thereby suggesting that as the population of Latinos in an area increased, the unemployment rate also increased.

Via Place Utility Theory, the overall hypothesis of this study is correct: Anglos left the Texas Panhandle Plains in search of greater opportunities elsewhere, while Latinos, many who were originally from South Texas and Mexico and were willing to

work for lower wages and do labor intensive jobs, in-migrated to the study area to fill lower-paying jobs. This Anglo out-migration and Latino in-migration means that the Texas Panhandle Plains is experiencing economic and social restructuring. As the number of Latinos grows and they become better educated, they begin to replace jobs that the out-migrating Anglos once held. This new economic structure leads not only to changes in the ethnicity of the population, but it also changes the cultural landscape and social status of both Anglos and Latinos alike.

Fieldwork and Qualitative Analyses

I undertook extensive fieldwork to try to verify these statistical findings and discover other manifestations of the Anglo-Latino relationships in the Texas Panhandle Plains. I report here the results of 94 personal interviews from the 12 focus counties in the study area. I selected the 94 survey respondents in a "by convenience sample;" that is, I attempted to interview as many people as possible when I visited each county seat. However, many people I approached did not want me to interview them. Although I am myself Latino and speak Spanish fluently, other people, especially young Latino men engaged in farm and construction work, appeared to be fearful of my presence.

Thus, my personal interviews were a nonrandom sample. Appendix 3 list the gender, age, ethnicity and occupations of the 94 people in the sample and show that they have diverse backgrounds, ranging from government officials, college administrators and hotel employees to shop owners, restaurant waitresses, students, and construction workers. I used this survey information to interpret in a qualitative way the perspectives within diverse groups of Anglos and Latinos in the 12 focus counties in the Texas Panhandle Plains.

Anglos

Of these 94 individuals, 50 were Anglo (32 females and 18 males) with a mean age of 48 years and all having at least a high school education. Many of the Anglos possessed college degrees. Most Anglos were eager to speak with me and answer the survey questions. I discovered several trends regarding my interviews with Anglos.

More than 60 percent of the individuals interviewed were residents of the Texas Panhandle Plains for at least 25 years. However, out of the 28 Anglos who have lived in the area over 25 years, only four were in their 20s and two were in their 30s. This information may suggest that many younger individuals in the area tend to move out of the Texas Panhandle Plains or to the area's two MSAs. Forty-four of the Anglos, most less than 45 years old, surveyed stated that they planned on leaving their home in the Texas Panhandle Plains some time in the future. Fifty-eight percent of the Anglos said they knew of individuals who had left the area, and all Anglos said that those individuals moved searching for better economic opportunities. A female college counselor emphasized the prevalent sentiment: "I stayed here because I married my husband. . . . my sister left because she wanted to get a better job than what they offer here."

Only 7 percent of Anglos thought that Anglos were not leaving the Texas Panhandle Plains. Fifty-eight percent felt that Anglos were leaving, and most of the interview respondents attributed the Anglo out-migration to the declining economy since the "oil bust" of the 1980s. Conversely, 82 percent of Anglos felt that Latinos have been in-migrating to the area.

Elements of prejudice in the area were not widespread but were evident from the thoughts of some of the interviewees. While 82 percent of Anglos agreed that the

number of Latinos was increasing as they searched for jobs, 16 percent of Anglos did say that some Anglos move from the area because of the increasing number of Latinos.

Some of those Anglos seemed bitter toward the increasing number of Latinos. One woman declared:

I am moving because the increasing number of Latinos makes it hard to get a job. I'm tired of not getting a job because I can't speak 'Hispanic.' They take the jobs because we are forced by the government to employ so many. They come over here and instead of them learning English, we have to spend tax money to print things out in Spanish. Eventually, I think that all the Anglos will leave the Panhandle of Texas because they [Latinos] take our jobs and live 10 families to a house, and we can't compete with that.

A middle-aged female manager of a Chamber of Commerce in the study area had a similar view: "Yes, there is a lot of prejudice. We have to furnish them with welfare, but, when I was just starting out, I couldn't get the help. There are a lot of Wetbacks here." On the other hand, many Anglos had a great deal of respect for the in-migrating Latinos as one small business owner explained: "They work very hard. Many men come in the summertime and go back. All they do is send money back to the family. They do the jobs us white people don't want to do."

Latinos

Of the 44 Latinos interviewed (25 females and 19 males), about 20 percent had not completed high school and had a significantly younger mean age, 35, than Anglos in the Texas Panhandle Plains. Unlike the Anglo interviewees, many of the Latinos seemed apprehensive when answering my interview questions, although I spoke with most of them in Spanish.

Only 26 percent of Latinos interviewed had been residents of the area for 25 years or more, thus showing large recent Latino in-migration. Forty-four percent of the Latinos

surveyed had migrated to the area in the past 20 years, and 28 percent of Latinos had moved to their Texas Panhandle Plains counties in the past 10 years, clearly underscoring that this Latino in-migration is a relatively new phenomenon. Indeed, only 13 percent of the Latino respondents said that they were natives to their counties.

When asked why they moved to the area, 67 percent of Latinos stated that it was to search for economic improvement. Another 21 percent of Latinos moved to their new homes for a variety of other reasons, including family networks and religious callings. Forty-nine percent of the Latinos moved with family members, and 18 percent of Latinos had encouraged friends or family members to likewise move to their Texas Panhandle Plains counties. One restaurant owner expanded on the economic reasons for his move: “We moved to find a better job, because there is no opportunity in Mexico. We wanted our kids to have a better chance and a better life.” Sixty-two percent of Latinos believed that economic opportunities had increased in the area after they had arrived. Sixty-four percent of Latinos believed that Anglos were leaving the Texas Panhandle Plains. When asked why Anglos were leaving, Latinos felt that Anglos did not want the low-paying, manual labor jobs that many Latinos have. In Cactus, Texas, a town of almost all Latinos, one shop owner emphasized: “You will not see any white people working at the [beef packing] plant. . . . They don’t like those jobs. . . . Only managers or owners are white around here.”

A few Latinos did complain of racial undertones in the Texas Panhandle Plains. While there were no questions that specifically addressed such prejudicial perceptions of Latinos, many of those interviewed felt compelled to comment on this sensitive subject. One migrant worker, stopping in a local grocery store to get a six-pack of beer after

working a shift at one of the meat processing plants in the area, spoke to me in broken English: "The whites do not want to work where we work. It smells and it is not nice. We do the work they do not want, but it is better than Mexico." Yet, another longtime Latina restaurant owner said with some emotion: "When I came here I had nothing. We came in search of the American dream." Nevertheless, even some Latinos complained that unless you are one of the few privileged Latinos in the town with money, it is difficult to find a decent job.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

One of the salient aspects of my research is that I used a mixed-method approach. The statistical analyses I used is one way of examining the socioeconomic trends of the study area. The 94 interviews I conducted during my fieldwork verified the statistical analyses and provided other insights, some of which I had not anticipated.

I found that my fundamental research hypothesis was correct. While Anglos are indeed leaving the Texas Panhandle Plains in search of economic opportunities, the young to middle-aged Anglos are those who are leaving in large numbers. Thus, with mostly elderly Anglos remaining, it is inevitable that the Anglo population will continue to decline significantly in the Texas Panhandle Plains.

Latinos, on the other hand, are migrating into the Texas Panhandle Plains in search of new and better economic opportunities – at least better than in South Texas or Mexico. These new immigrants tend to search for employment in low-paying, labor-intensive jobs. Later, some decide to open businesses for themselves. With most immigrating Latinos being relatively young, their high birthrates will continue to drive increases in the Latino population of the Texas Panhandle Plains.

Elements of racism unfortunately still exist in the Texas Panhandle Plains. Some Anglos feel that the immigrating Latinos cause a rise in taxes and crime and make it more

difficult for Anglos to keep jobs. Some Latinos feel that they are still looked down upon when they apply for higher-paying jobs. However, for the most part, there is a peaceful cultural shifting taking place in the Texas Panhandle Plains. Having an almost homogeneous Anglo population 30 years ago, today the Texas Panhandle Plains is an area with a large Latino lower socioeconomic class, an increasing number of middle-class Latinos joining their Anglo neighbors, and a predominantly Anglo upper class with but a few Latinos.

My research points to a continuation of this socioeconomic shift for the foreseeable future. Indeed, it seems that Place Utility Theory is relevant in the Texas Panhandle Plains. For Anglos, the pull of better economic opportunities outside the Panhandle Plains has many of them leaving. During this out-migration of Anglos, Latinos are pulled from Mexico and South Texas to the Texas Panhandle Plains because of better economic opportunities – the opportunities that out-migrating Anglos left behind. As these Latino people settle, they lay the seeds for other generations of Latinos in the area. These Latino generations, second and thereafter, are experiencing and will continue to experience better socioeconomic conditions than their first generation Latino parents.

Many questions remain as the tension between the Anglo and Latino cultures continues into the 21st century in the Texas Panhandle Plains. To continue to understand these socioeconomic dynamics, longitudinal research should mark every decennial census. Questions are many. For example, how will the economy of the Texas Panhandle Plains unfold through time? What will be the cultural imprints on the landscape? When will the predominant Latino population in each county achieve

political influence? To what degree will racism remain in the cultural Latino-Anglo interface? Trying to answer these and other questions will help better explain the continuing transitioning of the populations and cultures of the Texas Panhandle Plains, and the answers may be applicable to other areas in the U.S. experiencing similar population shifts.

APPENDIX 1

Survey questions for Latinos:

- 1) When did you move to the area (Panhandle Plains of Texas)?
- 2) Why did you move to this location?
- 3) How long have you been in your present location?
- 4) Was your move for economic reasons? If not what pulled you to this area?
- 5) Were there factors that caused you to move from your former home?
- 6) In your opinion, have the economic opportunities in your area increased and in what fashion?
- 7) If the move was for economic reasons, please explain the improvements present in this area over your former home.
- 8) Did you move alone, with members of family, or other individuals?
- 9) Has your move to this area encouraged any other individuals in your family to follow you to this area?
- 10) Do you think the Panhandle Plains of Texas is depopulating as a whole?
- 11) Do you think that many Anglos are moving away from the Panhandle Plains Counties of Texas?
- 12) If you think that Anglos are leaving the Panhandle Plains of Texas, did this have any effect on your decision to move to the area?
- 13) Where was your former home?

Survey questions for Anglos:

- 1) How long have you lived in the Panhandle Plains counties of Texas?
- 2) Were you born in the Panhandle Plains of Texas or did you move to the area?
- 3) Are you aware of the depopulation of the Panhandle Plains of Texas as a whole?
- 4) Do you know of any Anglo families who have moved out of this county? If so, where did they move to and why did they move?
- 5) Are you planning to leave the Panhandle Plains counties of Texas? If so, why?
- 6) Do you know of someone who has left or is planning to leave the Panhandle Plains counties of Texas? If so, why?
- 7) If you are moving, will your move away from the area cause other individuals of your family or friends to come with you?
- 8) When do you think Anglos began leaving the Panhandle Plains of Texas in substantial numbers?

- 9) Do you think that this movement of Anglos out of the Panhandle Plains counties of Texas is increasing?
- 10) Do you think the amount Latinos moving to the Panhandle Plains of Texas is increasing?
- 11) Do you think that rising numbers of Latinos in any way causes Anglo Americans to move from the Panhandle Plains counties of Texas?

APPENDIX 2

Preguntas para Latinos:

- 1) ¿Cuándo llegó usted a este condado?
- 2) ¿Porqué llegó usted a este condado?
- 3) ¿Cuanto tiempo lleva usted en esta ciudad?
- 4) ¿Llegó usted a esta ciudad por razones económicas? Si no, ¿que lo trajo aquí?
- 5) ¿Qué factores contribuyeron para que usted se trasladara de su hogar anterior a esta ciudad?
- 6) En su opinion, ¿han aumentado las oportunidades económicas y cómo?
- 7) Si usted llegó aquí por razones económicas, dígame ¿como las cosas han mejorado aquí?
- 8) ¿Llegó usted solo, con familia, o acompañado?
- 9) ¿Conoce usted otras personas que han llegado aquí por las mismas razones que usted?
- 10) ¿Cree usted que el condado esta perdiendo población.
- 11) ¿Cree que anglosajones se estan mudado de este condado? Porqué cree usted?
- 12) ¿Dónde vivia usted antes de llegar a este condado?

APPENDIX 3

County: Andrews

Gender	Age	Ethnicity	Occupation
Male	54	Anglo	Newspaper Editor
Male	75	Anglo	Mayor
Male	42	Anglo	City Manager
Male	32	Anglo	Grocery Store Owner
Male	68	Anglo	Retired High School Principal
Female	31	Latino	Manager, Chamber of Commerce
Male	50	Latino	Business Owner
Female	35	Latino	School District Social Worker
Female	46	Latino	Hospital Administrator
Male	73	Latino	Restaurant Owner

County: Deaf Smith

Gender	Age	Ethnicity	Occupation
Male	59	Anglo	County Economic Development Board Member
Female	54	Anglo	County Museum Director
Female	55	Anglo	City Library Director
Male	50	Anglo	City Manager
Male	63	Latino	Clothing Store Owner
Male	41	Latino	Store Owner
Female	34	Latino	Hotel Receptionist
Female	18	Latino	Restaurant Waitress
Female	18	Latino	Restaurant Waitress
Male	23	Latino	Restaurant Worker

County: Hale

Gender	Age	Ethnicity	Occupation
Female	22	Anglo	Secretary, Real Estate Agency
Male	45	Latino	Restaurant Owner
Male	27	Latino	Construction Worker

County: Hansford

Gender	Age	Ethnicity	Occupation
Male	38	Anglo	Foreman, House Construction
Female	71	Anglo	Retired High School Teacher
Male	45	Latino	Meat Packing Plant Truck Driver

County: Howard

Gender	Age	Ethnicity	Occupation
Male	52	Anglo	College Computer Technician
Female	57	Anglo	College Enrollment Director
Female	29	Anglo	College Librarian
Male	48	Anglo	City Attorney
Female	53	Anglo	College Administrator
Female	47	Anglo	College Grant Writer
Male	36	Latino	College Dean
Female	38	Latino	College Recruiter
Female	21	Latino	Hotel Clerk
Male	35	Latino	Restaurant Owner

County: Moore

Gender	Age	Ethnicity	Occupation
Female	46	Anglo	Director, Satellite College Campus
Male	50	Anglo	County Librarian

Female	35	Anglo	Hotel Receptionist
Female	42	Anglo	City Librarian
Female	64	Anglo	Museum Curator
Female	48	Anglo	Museum Curator
Female	33	Latino	Hotel Receptionist
Male	36	Latino	Library Custodian
Female	37	Latino	Hotel Maid
Female	37	Latino	Restaurant Manager
Female	41	Latino	City Librarian

County: Nolan

Gender	Age	Ethnicity	Occupation
Female	57	Anglo	Hotel Receptionist
Female	62	Anglo	Hotel Receptionist
Female	44	Anglo	County Librarian
Female	64	Anglo	City Hall Worker
Male	20	Anglo	Graphic Designer
Female	21	Anglo	Manager, Chamber of Commerce
Male	21	Anglo	Self-Employed
Female	42	Latino	Restaurant Cook
Female	43	Latino	Restaurant Waitress
Female	31	Latino	County Librarian
Male	44	Latino	K-Mart Store Manager
Male	40	Latino	K-Mart Store Assistant Manager

County: Ochiltree

Gender	Age	Ethnicity	Occupation
Female	41	Anglo	President, Chamber of Commerce
Female	47	Anglo	School District Superintendent
Female	44	Anglo	County Librarian
Male	43	Anglo	Sheriff's Deputy
Female	32	Latino	Radio Marketing Representative
Female	25	Latino	Real Estate Agent
Male	56	Latino	Grocery Store Manager

Female	44	Latino	Restaurant Owner
Female	26	Latino	Restaurant Owner

County: Parmer

Gender	Age	Ethnicity	Occupation
Male	48	Anglo	Middle School Teacher
Male	18	Anglo	High School Student
Male	21	Latino	Restaurant Cook
Female	26	Latino	Grocery Store Cashier

County: Potter

Gender	Age	Ethnicity	Occupation
Female	31	Anglo	Visitor Center Representative
Male	47	Anglo	County Librarian
Female	35	Anglo	Hotel Receptionist
Male	50	Anglo	College Administrator
Female	19	Anglo	College Student
Female	19	Anglo	College Student
Female	45	Anglo	Hotel Receptionist
Male	35	Latino	Restaurant Owner
Female	35	Latino	Restaurant Owner
Male	34	Latino	Restaurant Worker
Female	18	Latino	Restaurant Waitress

County: Sherman

Gender	Age	Ethnicity	Occupation
Female	42	Anglo	Manager, Chamber of Commerce
Female	34	Anglo	Bank Manager
Female	39	Anglo	Cable Customer Service Representative
Female	53	Anglo	Pharmacy Owner
Female	49	Anglo	County Library

			Worker
Female	38	Latino	Insurance Agent
Female	29	Latino	Specialty Shop Owner
Male	46	Latino	Hotel Receptionist

County: Yoakum

Gender	Age	Ethnicity	Occupation
Female	33	Anglo	Bank Teller
Male	44	Latino	Auto Mechanic
Female	29	Latino	Office Secretary

WORKS CITED

- Bogue, Donald J. 1969 *Principles of Demography*. New York: Wiley.
- Boswell, Thomas D., and Timothy C. Jones. 1980. A regionalization of Mexican Americans in the United States. *Geographical Review* 70, no. 1: 88-98.
- Brown, David L. 1979. Potential impacts of changing population size and composition of the plains. In *The Great Plains: Prospectives and prospects*, eds. Merlin P. Lawson and Maurice E. Baker, 35-52. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.
- Chodin, Harvey M. 1973. Kinship networks in the migration process. *International Migration Review* 7, no. 2: 163-75.
- Clark, David E., and William J. Hunter. 1992. The impact of economic opportunity, amenities, and fiscal factors on age-specific migration rates. *Journal of Regional Science* 32, no. 3: 349-65.
- Dingemans, Dennis, and Robin Datel. 1995. Urban multiethnicity. *Geographical Review* 85, no. 4: 458-77.
- Dorigo, Guido, and Waldo Tobler. 1983. Push-pull migration laws. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 73, no. 1: 1-17.
- Frazier, John W. 2003. *Race and place: Equality issues in urban America*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Frey, William H. 1979. Central city white flight: Racial and nonracial causes. *American Sociological Review* 44, no. 3: 425-48.
- Frugitt, Glen V., David L. Brown, and Calvin L. Beale. 1989. *Rural and small town America*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Halseth, Greg. 1999. We came for the work: Simulating employment migration in B.C. small, resource based, communities. *The Canadian Geographer* 43, no. 4: 363-81.
- Heberle, Rudolph. 1938. The causes of rural-urban migration survey of German theories. *American Journal of Sociology* 43, no. 6: 932-50.

- Hwang, Sean-Shong, and Steve H. Murdock. 1998. Racial attraction of racial avoidance in American suburbs. *Social Forces* 77, no. 2: 541-65.
- Jenkins, Craig J. 1977. Push/pull in recent Mexican migration to the U.S. *International Migration Review* 11, no. 2: 178-89.
- Lawson, Merlin P., and Maurice E. Baker, eds. 1979. *The Great Plains: Perspectives and prospects*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.
- Leiber, Stanley R. 1978. Place utility and migration. *Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography* 60, no. 1: 16-27.
- Litwak, Eugene. 1960. Geographic mobility and extended family cohesion. *American Sociological Review* 25, no. 3: 385-94.
- Manson, Gary, and Richard E. Groop. 2000. U.S. Intercounty migration in the 1990s: People and income move down the urban hierarchy. *Professional Geographer* 52, no. 3: 493-504.
- Miller, A. 1967. The migration of employed persons to and from metropolitan areas of the united states. *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 62: 1418-32.
- Nickels, Charlene R., and Frederick A. Day. 1997. Depopulation of the rural Great plains counties of Texas. *Great Plains Research* 7: 225-50.
- Population Reference Bureau. 2004. Human population: Fundamentals of growth effect of migration on population growth. *Population Reference Bureau Online*. Home page on-line. Available from http://www.prb.org/Content/NavigationMenu/PRB/Educators/Human_Population/Migration2/Migration1.htm#push; Internet. Accessed 20 Feb. 2004.
- Ravenstein, E.G. 1885. The laws of migration. *The Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 48: 167-235.
- Ritchey, Neal P. 1976. Explanations of migration. *Annual Review of Sociology* 2: 363-404.
- Root, Ginger. 2003. Determinants of migration in Texas counties: Economics vs. amenities. Masters Thesis, Southwest Texas State University.
- Serow, William J. 2001. Retirement of migration counties in the southeastern United States: Geographic, demographic, and economic correlates. *The Gerontologist* 41, no. 2: 220-7.

- _____. 1987. Determinants of interstate migration: Differences between elderly and nonelderly movers. *Journal of Gerontology* 42, no. 1: 95-100.
- Serow, William J., Douglas A. Charity, Gary M. Fournier, and David Rasmussen. 1986. Cost of living differentials and elderly interstate migration. *Research on Aging* 8, no. 2: 317-27.
- Stone, L. O. 1971. On the correlation between metropolitan area in and out migration by occupation. *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 66: 693-701.
- Svart, Larry M. 1976. Environmental preference migration. *Geographical Review* 66, no. 3: 314-30.
- Tarver, D., and W. R. Gurley. 1965. The relationship between selected variables with county net migration rates in the United States, 1950 to 1960. *Rural Sociology* 30: 3-22.
- Texas Parks and Wildlife Department. 2004. Exploring Texas: Texas region charts. *TPWD Online*. Homepage on-line. Available at <http://www.tpwd.state.tx.us/expltx/ecomapx.htm>; Internet. Accessed on 12 May 2004
- Texas State Data Center. 2004. Publications and Reports. Home page on-line Available at <http://txsdc.utsa.edu/>; Internet. Accessed on 27 January 2004.
- U.S. Bureau of the Census. Vol. 1 Characteristics of the population. *Census of Population: 1980*. Part 45, Texas -- Section 1. Washington, DC Government Printing Office, 1983.
- U.S. Bureau of the Census. Vol. 1 Characteristics of the population. *Census of Population: 1990*. Part 45, Texas -- Section 1. Washington, DC Government Printing Office, 1993.
- U.S. Bureau of the Census. General social and economic characteristics. *Census of Population: 1980*. Part 45, Texas -- Section 1. Washington, DC Government Printing Office, 1983.
- U.S. Bureau of the Census. General social and economic characteristics. *Census of Population: 1990*. Part 45, Texas -- Section 1. Washington, DC Government Printing Office, 1993.
- U.S. Census Bureau. 2004. State and county quick facts. *U.S. Census Bureau Online*. Home page on-line. Available at <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/48000.html>; Internet. Accessed on 1 May 2004.
- Wolpert, Julian. 1965. Behavioral aspects of the decision to migrate. *Papers and Proceedings of the Regional Science Association* 15: 159-69.

VITA

Edris J. Montalvo, Jr. is the oldest of four children. In 1980 his parents moved from Puerto Rico to Corpus Christi, Texas, before finally settling in Port Lavaca, Texas, when Edris was two years old. Edris began his undergraduate work at Texas State University-San Marcos studying to be an attorney. However, during his undergraduate career, Edris worked in the Department of Geography and decided that the law was not his calling. Curious about geography, Edris entered the Master of Science program in Geography at Texas State University-San Marcos. During this time he held a graduate assistantship and participated in conferences and paper publications. Edris looks to gain teaching experience before achieving his ultimate goal of a Ph.D. in Geography.

Permanent Address: 137 Seascape
 Port Lavaca, TX 77979

Edris J. Montalvo, Jr. typed this thesis.