

THE LATINOS OF TULSA: THEIR PLACE IN SPACE
AND PATTERNS OF MIGRATION

By

SAMUEL TAYLOR DENT

Bachelor of Arts in 2005

Oklahoma State University

Stillwater, Oklahoma

2008

Submitted to the Faculty of the
Graduate College of the
Oklahoma State University
in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for
the Degree of
MASTER OF SCIENCE
July, 2008

THE LATINOS OF TULSA: THEIR PLACE IN SPACE
AND PATTERNS OF MIGRATION

Thesis Approved:

Dr. Alyson Greiner

Thesis Adviser

Dr. Allen Finchum

Dr. Michael M. Smith

Dr. A. Gordon Emslie

Dean of the Graduate College

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author would like to thank Dr. Alyson Greiner, Dr. Michael Smith, Dr. Allen Finchum, Michael Larson, Jessica Withington and of course all of the Latino participants for their valuable contributions to the study.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. INTRODUCTION	1
Problem Statement.....	2
Historical Overview of Mexican and Latino Migration to Oklahoma and Tulsa	3
Historical Overview of the Study Area.....	8
II. LITERATURE REVIEW	11
Introduction	11
Regional and Historical Studies	12
Mexican and Latino Migration and the Changing Cultural Landscape	18
Mexican and Latino Immigration in Urban Areas.....	21
Current Research on Mexicans and Latinos in Oklahoma	25
III. METHODOLOGY	28
Introduction	28
Research Questions and Methods	29

Chapter	Page
IV. PATTERNS OF MIGRATION AND OTHER CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE POPULATION	35
Today's Mexicans and Latinos in Tulsa	35
Origins.....	37
Time of Arrival.....	46
Other Places of Residence in the U.S.....	47
Occupation	49
Why Tulsa?.....	52
Is the Sample Population Staying or Not and Why?	57
Conclusion.....	61
V. THE LATINO BUSINESS DISTRICTS OF TULSA.....	63
Introduction	63
The Kendall-Whittier District.....	64
The 21 st and Garnett District	65
Summary of the LBDs	66
Spatial Extent of the LBDs	74
Conclusion.....	79
VI. CONCLUSION	81
Comments on the Research Questions.....	82
Limitation of the Study	85
Ideas for Future Studies	86
REFERENCES	88
APPENDIX	92

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS PER COUNTRY IN THE SAMPLE.....	37
TOP FIVE STATES IN MEXICO SENDING MIGRANTS TO TULSA	37
TOP FIVE CITIES/DISTRICTS IN MEXICO SENDING MIGRANTS TO TULSA	42
THE STATES OF MEXICO, POPULATION, AND EACH STATE'S PERCENT OF THE TOTAL POPULATION	44
TOP THREE CITIES SENDING IMMIGRANTS DIRCETLY TO TULSA	56

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
Study Area Outlined in Green.....	9
States of Mexico	39
Origins of Respondents Interviewed.....	41
Origins of Respondents Interviewed (Enhanced)	41
Year of Arrival in the U.S.	46
Percentage of Migrants Coming Directly to Tulsa and Staying in other States	48
Occupations of the Sample.....	50
Reasons for Coming to Tulsa	53
Reasons for Staying in Tulsa.....	58
Reasons for Leaving Tulsa.....	59
Reasons for Location of Business	69
Services Offered by Sampled Businesses.....	71
Ethnicity of Clientele	70
Kendall-Whittier District	74
Intersection at Admiral and Lewis Street	75
Our Lady of Guadalupe Church.....	76
21 st and Garnett District.....	77
Intersection at 21 st and Garnett	78
Plaza Santa Cecilia	79

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The city of Tulsa does not fit the common profile for a traditional Latino immigrant destination city because its economic growth has remained unnoticed by the rest of the nation, unlike places such as Chicago or New York. Tulsa is located well over 500 miles to the north of the Mexican border and yet within the last ten years Tulsa's Latino population has continued to grow. Tulsa is now home to 43,000 if not more Mexican and Latino immigrants, up from 28,111 in the year 2000 (2006 American Community Survey U.S. Census Bureau, 2000 U.S. Census). The amount of academic research conducted on the cultural geography of Tulsa's current Latino population is very small. Up until the late 1990s, Tulsa's Latino population remained somewhat of an unseen minority on the cultural landscape of the city. However, the steady increase of Latinos living and working in Tulsa combined with the idea that the city is a nontraditional destination helps explain the need for this study. This study is comprised of two main parts. First, it records and discusses the origins and patterns of migration for a sample population of Latinos living and working in Tulsa. This part of the

study also wants to know what has brought the sample population to Tulsa and these reasons will be discussed as well. It also explores issue such as time of arrival to the U.S. and Tulsa, occupations, and if the majority of the sample population plans on living in Tulsa or moving somewhere else. The second part of the study is concerned with how the Mexican and Latino population of Tulsa is present in the cultural and commercial landscape of the city. The major area of focus for the second part of the study is in the two Latino business districts that are located within Tulsa. Simply put, Latino Business Districts (LBDs) are created when numerous Latino businesses are located within close proximity to one another. These districts consist of small businesses that stock specialty items to cater to the emerging Latino niche market and also larger businesses that cater to Latinos along with Anglo-Americans. The majority of these businesses are owned, operated, and frequented by Latinos. The second part of the study is focused on the chronology of development for the LBDs and the types of services that are being offered. Other characteristics that will be discussed include the ethnicity of their clientele and specific reasons Latino business owners gave for locating their business in a particular location. The personality of these business districts may provide clues about the distribution of Tulsa's Latinos over time and space.

Problem Statement

The lack of scholarly work focused on the migration of Mexicans and Latinos into the Midwest and more specifically Tulsa, Oklahoma justifies this

study because documentation of the migration is needed for present and future studies. This study's purpose is fixed on documenting the patterns of migration for a sample population of Mexicans and Latinos living and working in Tulsa. To understand the economic and social connection between Tulsa and other parts of Mexico and Latin America the need for data on the origins of Latinos below the country/state level is crucial. In addition, the study also examines how this ethnic group appears on the cultural and business landscape of the city. Latino business districts within the city will be defined and an account of the services offered will be produced. The information presented in this study will hopefully add to the literature on the Mexican and Latino community of Tulsa.

Now that this chapter has introduced both parts of the study, it is necessary to take the time to discuss Mexicans and Latinos briefly in a historical context. The following section of this chapter will give a historical overview focused on both Mexican and Latino migration to Tulsa and their presence in the city.

Historical Overview of Migration to Oklahoma and Tulsa

The United States has looked to its southern neighbor for available and cheap labor since the beginning of the 20th century. Mexicans were the first Latinos to migrate into Oklahoma and eventually Tulsa. This migration became noticeable when Mexico found itself in a time of turmoil with the beginning of the Mexican revolution in 1910. A constant threat of war combined with the fact that 92% of the Mexican population owned no land made for an unstable and mobile

lower Mexican class (Smith 1980). There was a definite presence of a push factor influencing Mexicans to leave their country, but there was also a pull factor as well. The expansion of the railroad and agriculture were to be the greatest sources of employment for Mexican immigrants at this time. The railroad was also an invaluable source of transportation for Mexican migrant workers coming to Oklahoma. The railroads of the U.S. during the early twentieth century can be seen as a superhighway for Mexican immigrants allowing them travel to different areas of the U.S. for work. Railroad companies were also a primary source of employment for Mexicans in the U.S. and in Tulsa (Smith 1980). In the early twentieth century, the State of Oklahoma saw an astonishing increase in Mexicans in just ten years. In 1900, Oklahoma held only 134 Mexican-born residents, but by 1910 that number had increased to 2,744. However, by 1920 the Mexican population in the state was reduced to 1,818 (Gamio 1930). The decrease in the Mexican population from 1910 to 1920 can be attributed to the fact that the majority of Oklahoma's railroads were complete by 1907. Mexicans in Oklahoma worked for railways such as the Atchinson, Topeka, Santa Fe, and St Louis and San Francisco Railroad Company (Smith 1980). In Tulsa, Mexicans working on the railroad were provided living quarters not far from the tracks. The Mexicans who worked on the St. Louis and San Francisco line in Tulsa lived in tents pitched along the railway. It was common for employers to provide living quarters so close to the track in case of any emergency that required immediate attention such as a derailment or washout (Smith 1980).

During the late 1920s Tulsa had a small Mexican population with an approximate number of 200 (Smith 1980). However, employment provided by railroad companies in Tulsa was a major attractor for Mexican migrant workers. Even after all of the railroads in the state were constructed immigrant labor was needed to maintain the many tracks and locomotives that ran through Tulsa. The railroad company a Mexican migrant worked for strongly influenced where the immigrant lived in Tulsa. In Tulsa, during the 1930s and 40s, there were two prominent Mexican communities tied directly to the railroads. The first was known as the *Y* and was located in west Tulsa. The St. Louis and San Francisco Railroad Company owned the land in which this community was located and its residents were allowed to live there tax and rent free in exchange for work with the railroad company. The settlement was given its title due to the orientation of a series of tracks surrounding the area. An eastbound track came directly at the settlement and split when it passed Union Avenue sending two tracks merging north and south. The two tracks intersected with a north bound track, completely enclosing the inhabitants and making a shape that resembled the letter “y”. The *Y* was located just west of the Arkansas River on 21st Street in between Union and Quanah Avenue. The *Y* encompassed an area of land that was no bigger than five acres and was filled with 11 small shacks containing a population of about 45 people. Of those 45 inhabitants, thirty or so were Mexican (Gomez 2005, 182).

La Colonia was the other prominent Mexican community which formed just outside of Tulsa in Sand Springs around 1917. This particular Mexican

community sprang up due to the presence of the Sand Springs Railroad company, which is still in business today. In its prime the community was home to as many as 60 or 80 Mexicans, all working for the Sand Springs line (Interview, Aurora Helton-Ramirez, November 2006). *La Colonia* itself was a neighborhood of little cottages inhabited by Mexicans located next to the Sand Springs Railroad station. Mexicans who worked there did common manual labor that included the construction and maintenance of the railroad. Mexicans were not the only ethnic group working on this particular railroad; they were also accompanied by a large group of African Americans. Mexicans and African Americans worked side by side, but returned to their own ethnically separate housing area at day's end. The Sand Springs Railroad treated their workers well, provided moderate pay for the time, and also provided a rent-free house for each family. *La Colonia* was a modest and thriving Mexican community through the 1920s and most of the 30s.

In the winter of 1929, the stock market crashed, sending an economic shock wave throughout the United States. For a while, the residents of Tulsa appeared immune to the Depression, and it seemed for the time being that the population would keep their jobs. It took time for the economic consequences of the Depression to trickle down to the Mid-West and eventually Tulsa. The city even experienced economic growth during the first year of the Depression (Vaughn-Robinson 1984). However, by the winter of 1931 Tulsa felt the affects of the Depression and so did the inhabitants of *La Colonia* and the Y. One Mexican-American living in Tulsa During the depression was asked at the

¡Latinos Presentes! presentation “What was the Depression like?” and he responded “Depression, what Depression? We were already in a depression!” (Testimony of Cecil Gomez, November 2006). Mexicans who worked for the railroads of Tulsa and the surrounding area earned around 35 to 40 cents an hour and with the arrival of the Depression in the Midwest things only got worse (Interview, Solomon Cruz, November 2006). Minorities including Mexicans and Blacks were the first to lose their jobs (Gomez 2005).

The state of Oklahoma was also attractive to Mexican migrant workers due to the many coal mines located in the eastern part of the state. During the 1920s and 30s Tulsa was a major contributor to the state’s production in coal which attracted many Mexicans. Of the many coal mines located in Tulsa, the Adams Coal Company and the Old Hickory Coal Company employed the majority of the Mexicans (Interview, Cruz, November 2006). The Adams Coal Company was located at 21st and Yale and extended to the east and to the north. The Old Hickory Coal Company was located at 37th and Harvard and extended east encompassing around 160 acres. Mexicans who worked in the Tulsa mines could expect to earn anywhere from two to three dollars a day. Fortunately, the houses provided by the coal companies were spaced far enough apart to allow for agriculture. They grew food in gardens and family members raised livestock. The Tulsa mines served as a good and reliable source of employment for incoming Mexican immigrants during the 1920s and 30s. However, by the mid 1940s the mines became exhausted forcing them to shut down. The result was a large reduction in the Mexican population for Tulsa.

Historical Overview of the Study Area

The history of migration for Mexicans and Latinos is much more complex than the history of Mexicans and Latinos within the study area of this thesis. Mexicans first arrived in the area of the “Kendall-Whittier district” to labor in one of the many industries providing employment for immigrants at that time. In this particular part of Tulsa during the 1920s and 30s, the first Mexicans were working for a number of different coal companies operating in the area. While the heart of the Kendall-Whittier district has always maintained a commercial presence, much of the area just south of the district was owned by the previously mentioned Adams and Old Hickory coal companies (Interview, Solomon Cruz, November, 2006). It is unknown as to whether there are still direct descendents of the first Mexicans who lived and worked in this part of Tulsa. Nevertheless, the Kendall-Whittier district has had a steady presence of Mexicans and Latinos due to the participation of a specific church in the community of that area. The St. Francis Xavier Our Lady of Guadalupe Church, located at 1st and Atlanta, has stood as a social and religious symbol for Mexicans and Latinos in Tulsa since the late 1920s and 30s (Smith 1980, Interview, Lala Cruz, November 2006). Prior to the 1970s and 80s this church held a congregation of mostly Anglo-American Catholics accompanied by a noticeable population of Latinos. Now, the present day congregation of the church comes from a number of different countries in Latin America, the majority being from Mexico (Interview, Rev. Daniel Campos, November 2006). Out of the nine masses celebrated during the weekend, seven are conducted in Spanish and it is believed that this

congregation is the biggest congregation of Catholics in the state

(www.dioceseoftulsa.org).

The second study area known as the “21st and Garnett district” has a history involving Mexicans and Latinos that pales in comparison to the Kendall-Whittier district. Located on the eastern edge of town, this area of Tulsa was all pasture land when the first wave of Mexicans arrived to Tulsa. The area that is the 21st and Garnett district was literally miles away from the city limits of Tulsa up until the 1960s. The land surrounding the intersection at 21st and Garnett began to swell with houses and typical suburban businesses as Tulsa’s population grew throughout the last half of the 20th century. The area began to see a presence of Mexicans and Latinos in the early 1990s and has continued to steadily progress, a subject that will be discussed more in chapter five.

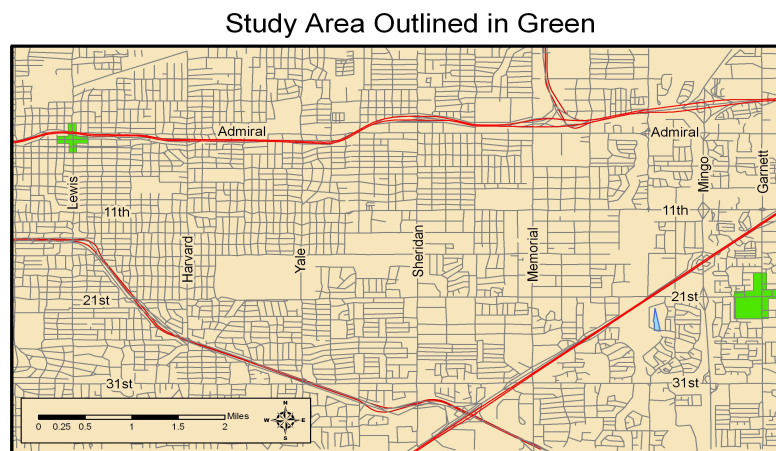


Figure 1

Both districts (Figure 1) contain multiple census blocks in the surrounding area that are 45-75% Hispanic (2000 U.S. Census). The two study areas can almost be seen as two ethnic islands within a larger sea of Anglo-Americans. The type of people and also the types of businesses make these ethnic islands so distinct within the larger cultural landscape of Tulsa. These districts are where the larger Latino population of Tulsa announces its presence within the city. By examining the people and businesses which make their presence visible, the ethnic impact of this Latino population in Tulsa can be revealed.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

Mexican and Latino immigration into the United States has been a topic for discussion and study since the early 20th century. Today, in the 21st century, this topic continues to receive significant attention from scholars, popular press, and the governments of Mexico and the United States. A vast amount of literature can be found relating to Mexican/Latino immigration into the U.S. within such disciplines as anthropology, sociology, history, and geography. The following review attempts to classify the literature based on the broad trends prevalent in the academic literature. This literature review concluded that there are three main issues that have attracted scholars. The first is the analysis of immigrant origins, normally found within a historical context. A second issue involves the transformation of cultural landscapes within places receiving Mexican/Latino immigrants. And finally, a third issue centers on the social geography of urban areas in which there is a high concentration of Mexican and Latino immigrants.

Regional and Historical Studies

A number of studies relating to Mexican/Latino immigration are approached in either a regional or historical context. The historical aspect of this theme is important because it shows why Mexicans and Latinos migrated to a certain area in a particular time. For example, one piece of literature that serves as a historical base for this study provides data on Mexican immigrants specifically for the city of Tulsa in the first half of the twentieth century.

Population numbers and even the locations of Mexican communities can be found in this work (Smith 1980). The history of Mexican and Latino immigration also provides contemporary studies a base for comparison. The regional aspect of this theme plays an important role in that it serves as a tool. This tool is used to classify certain regions of the United States based on the population of Mexican and Latino immigrants. The southwestern part of the United States has been classified as a region with a very high population of Mexican and Latino immigrants, as opposed to the Midwestern part of United States. Larry G. Rutter's study "Mexican Americans in Kansas: A Survey and Social Mobility Study, 1900-1970" is an excellent example of how the themes of history and regionalization can be combined.

Rutter (1972) begins his study by first discussing the historical background of the Mexican people in the United States. Rutter stresses issues such as the economic and political instability of Mexico as a country, the advancement of transportation, and the demands of the American economy in the early 20th century. These issues are key causes for Mexican immigration into the U.S.

Rutter continues to discuss the history of Mexican immigration, focusing on specific regions that have historically served as source regions. Certain states such as, Jalisco, Michoacán, Guanajuato, Zacatecas, and Aguascalientes, which form the Central Plateau region of Mexico, served as the first source states of out-migration. Rutter uses a combination of oral interviews with Mexicans and unpublished academic manuscripts to find which states are the biggest providers of immigrants for Kansas. In many cases, oral history and unpublished works are the only sources one has to rely upon. The states Rutter identified are still significant providers today, but they are now joined by a number of different states as Mexican immigration continues to expand.

Michael M. Smith (1980) wrote an extremely valuable work that documents the history of Mexican immigration into Oklahoma titled, The Mexicans in Oklahoma. This regional and historical study focuses on the settlement and locations of Mexican communities in Oklahoma during the first half of the 20th century. Smith begins his book by establishing a bridge between Mexico and Oklahoma, to show how the two regions are connected. This portion of his study discusses when and why Mexicans began to migrate into Oklahoma. Mexicans came into Oklahoma due to economic reasons and these reasons heavily influenced where they decided to live. Occupations consisting of nothing more than manual labor were in high demand in Oklahoma during the early 20th century according to Smith. The Mexicans of Oklahoma also contains information on where Mexicans settled in Oklahoma, and more specifically, where in Tulsa and Oklahoma City. During the 1920s and 1930s a number of

Mexican communities, known as *colonias*, existed in Tulsa. Smith briefly discusses the majority of these *colonias* and considers why they began. He uses a mixture of census data, scholarly works, and personal interviews to compile data used for his book. His approach to the study is quantitative and qualitative. Smith displays the percentage of Mexicans per county in Oklahoma by using choropleth maps, but he is also interested in the personal stories told by the immigrants and descendants of immigrants. The personal testimony of the immigrants provides vital information that is unquantifiable. Historical information gathered by the author creates an identity for the Mexican immigrant in that period of time and place. Smith (1980, 7) states Mexicans have been Oklahoma's "invisible minority" with respect to state histories, journal articles, and ethnic studies. The purpose of his work is to inspire future studies that examine how Mexicans played a role in the states economical and cultural development.

Thomas D. Boswell and Timothy C. Jones (1980) collaborated on an article titled "A Regionalization of Mexican Americans in the United States." This article's main focus is centered on classifying regions where Mexicans are dominant in the United States. Boswell and Jones briefly discuss population census figures on Mexicans in the 1970s then use this information to classify these regions based on certain socioeconomic variables. The variables total 11 in all, some of which are age-dependency ratio (persons less than 15 years plus persons 65 years or older divided by those in the 15 to 64 year age class), male-female ratio, fertility ratio, and median highest grade attended by persons 25 years of age or older, to name a few. The authors have contributed to the study

of Mexican immigration by developing a generalized framework of social indicators to classify regions with high Mexican immigrant populations. This study provides area types that are useful for comparison over time. The area types total 7 in all and are designated based on geography and a number of socioeconomic variables. For example, San Francisco, Gary-Hammond-East Chicago Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA), New York City, Long Island, Westchester and Rockland counties, northern New Jersey, and southwestern Connecticut are type 1 areas due to the fact that Mexican Americans are the most successful in socioeconomic terms in these urban areas. It is not a surprise that Oklahoma was almost exclusively outside of their typology. This was mostly likely due to the low population of Latinos residing in Oklahoma during the 1970s.

Daniel D. Arreola is another geographer who has published numerous works contributing to the study of Mexican immigration in a regional context. One regional study conducted by Arreola titled Tejano South Texas: A Mexican American Cultural Province is specifically concerned with southern Texas as a subregion of the Hispanic American borderland. His thesis for this well written book is that south Texas is a distinctive borderland, unlike any other Mexican American subregion. Arreola begins the study by discussing the history of border cities in southern Texas and how they have developed and evolved. The expansion of land use in southern Texas and how it attracted so many Mexican migrant workers in the early 20th century is explored by the author as well. Arreola discusses the historical aspect of Mexican immigration into southern

Texas to create the foundation of this cultural subregion. Then the author begins to describe the major cities that make up this cultural subregion. Arreola feels that one of the strongest measures of urban identity can be seen in the relationship of a city to a particular ethnic group and its landscape. He uses the identity of these urban places to create what he calls a "Mexican American cultural province" (Arreola 2002, 7). Arreola uses variables such as space (in the sense of artificial landscapes), small town or *pueblo* life, cities (in the sense of economic centers for Mexicans), and social identities (language and religion serving as the most obvious indicators) to mark the boundaries for this Mexican American cultural province.

Richard C. Jones, in "Undocumented Migration from Mexico: Some Geographical Questions" is mainly concerned with the regional aspect of migration and settlement, but he does incorporate historical figures for comparison. Jones (1982) wants to know if recent arrivals are moving away from the border at a pace much greater than before. Jones finds that the pattern of undocumented Mexican migration into the U.S. during the time of the study is highly concentrated, with more than 50 percent of the migrants in California. In contrast, the pattern of Mexican origins of undocumented migrants is not homogenous. Jones's (1982) ultimate conclusion is that the attractive forces are spatially more specific, whereas the "push" factors are spatially more generalized and widespread.

Jones also wrote an additional study concerned with the immigration of Mexicans into the U.S. This work is titled "Channelization of Undocumented

Mexican Migrants to the U.S.” and is also a regional study using history as a reference for comparison. Three geographic scales of dimension such as local or intraurban, interregional or interurban, and international, are used to classify human migration (Jones 1982). The author uses a number of academic studies concentrated on Mexican immigration and U.S. Census figures to produce the data needed for the study. Jones also made good use of available data on deported aliens provided by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) in Washington D.C. The main theme in Jones’s paper is the channelization of undocumented Mexican migrants. Jones is concerned with the spatial patterns of migrant origins, destinations, and flows. For example Jones (1982, 158) states that “Channelized migration is a disproportionately large flow of migrants between a specific origin and a specific destination; it tends to connect a non-metropolitan origin with a metropolitan destination.” Jones even includes Oklahoma as a destination for the migration of Mexicans. He comments that Oklahoma has a high concentration of channelization from Mexican migrants, but Jones excludes the state in parts of his study due to a small sample size. Through the use of U.S. Census figures and data provided by the INS Jones is able to identify the central and northern states of Mexico as the major provider for Mexican migrants into the U.S. With the same sources he also points out that the southwestern part of the United States is the major receiver of these Mexican migrants.

Mexican and Latino Migration and the Changing Cultural Landscape

The study of Mexican and Latino migration has begun to explore how this ethnic group alters the cultural landscape in which it settles. A number of studies have been produced, most notably by Arreola, which are concerned with how Mexican/Latino migration has changed the cultural landscape in a specific area of a city or region. Once a certain city accumulates a sizable number of Mexican and Latino immigrants, the cultural landscape of that city will begin to change. The works discussed in this section of the review all illustrate the theme of how Mexican and Latino migration has changed the cultural landscape in the city or region in which these migrants are found.

Arreola (2000) conducted a well-rounded and informative study on Mexican migration and its impact on the cultural landscape titled “Mexican Americans.” This study seems to discuss every aspect of Mexican immigration into the United States. Arreola begins by discussing the origins of Mexican migration in the borderlands along with the patterns of settlement in the southwestern part of the U.S. Next, Arreola addresses everything from how the flow of Mexican migration was reduced by the Depression in the 1930s to the population distribution of Mexican nationals living in the U.S. Arreola continues the study by discussing how the urban cultural landscape of a city or town can show the presence of a specific ethnic group. Murals that display such scenes as when Cortés met Montezuma for the first time in central Mexico reaffirm the presence of a Mexican-American population in East Los Angeles, for example. Arreola also discusses the idea of smaller barrios existing within the larger

barrios. The small barrios or *barrioitos*, house principally Mexican nationals or immigrants. These smaller barrios are often a single apartment complex or housing unit with a distinct identity that separates them from Mexican Americans and other Mexican immigrants. Arreola also introduces the idea of the “Mexican Latin shopping street” in relation to the changing commercial streetscape. Cities like McAllen, Texas, and Huntington Park, California, are both examples of how commercial districts can evolve from one ethnic presence to the next. Arreola concludes that many of these places that experience cultural change in commercial districts do so because of the out-migration of upscale retail to suburban malls. In the case of his study retailers have left downtown Los Angeles for the more spacious suburban retail centers. Immigrant entrepreneurs take advantage of the lower than usual property values and create a Latino place in an Anglo space.

Lawrence A. Herzog (2004) contributed to the study of Mexican and Latino landscapes when he published “Globalization of the Barrio: Transformation of the Latino Cultural Landscapes of San Diego, California.” In his study he uses the barrioization paradigm to explain barrio landscapes in Mexican and Latino communities in San Diego. Barrioization explains how barrios form by one ethnic group leaving and another moving in thereafter, just as Arreola (2000) mentioned in his study. This occurs when a less advantaged Latino population is seeking a new place to call home, which happens to be an area that is plagued with crime and poverty. Barrioization is more like the process and end result of how once a Mexican and Latino population is present they strive to turn a ghetto into a

community. Herzog (2004, 106) claims that “This growing social place consciousness produced a contemporary generation of artists, community organizers, architects, store owners, schoolchildren, and others determined to inscribe their cultural origins on the built landscape of their neighborhoods.” Once barrioization has taken place the cultural landscape in which a Mexican and Latino population lives has a more Mexican and Latino characteristic than before. The author concludes his study by suggesting another paradigm is responsible for the formation of barrio landscapes, this being globalization. Herzog’s theory is that barrios are struggling against external developers like state and federal governments or corporate investors to maintain the cultural distinctiveness of their neighborhood. The future of the barrio in San Diego and others in the southwestern U.S. depends on how the barrio copes with the new issues brought by globalization.

Another study focused on the creation and continuation of barrios in the southwestern U.S. was written by James R. Curtis. This study is titled “Barrio Space and Place in Southeast Los Angeles,” and as the title indicates the study explores how the barrio formed, its growth, and the current character of the barrio (Curtis 2004). This study is much like the study conducted by Herzog in that it examines how, why, and where barrios form using a barrio from Los Angeles as an example. Curtis discusses how this particular barrio in southeast L.A. formed by the traditional way of “barrioization” where one ethnic group leaves (Anglos in this case) and another moves in (Mexicans/Latinos). Curtis, unlike Herzog, does not discuss the idea of “barrioization” in his study as a factor explaining the

creation of barrios. However, Curtis does discuss the affect of globalization on this particular barrio in his study. Curtis finds that foreign investment, which spurred reindustrialization in this part of southeast L.A., has directly contributed to the Latino character of the barrio. He concludes that reindustrialization along with a fiscally stable responsive local government and the revitalization of the barrio's commercial district promises a bright future for this particular ethnic enclave.

Mexican and Latino Immigration in Urban Areas

The first half of the twentieth century produced a number of studies looking at Mexican and Latino immigration in rural parts of the United States. Now, the focus on Mexican and Latino immigrants in rural areas has shifted to Mexican and Latino immigrants in urban areas. Agriculture is no longer the economic mainstay for the Mexican and Latino immigrant, as it was in the early twentieth century. Today Mexican immigrants find numerous jobs in the service industry, which can include, restaurants, cleaning services, or landscaping, to name just a few. The following works in this section are concerned with the Mexican immigrant in the urban setting. Where they live, work, and socialize are just some of the issues that are addressed in these works.

One study on Mexican immigrants written by Judith Ann Fincher Laird (1975) titled "Argentine, Kansas: The Evolution of a Mexican-American Community, 1905-1940" shows how this community of Mexican immigrants in Kansas City has evolved over time. One particular chapter titled "Argentine

Barrio as an Urban Village” is particularly interesting in relation to this project. Laird describes the process of how Mexican immigrants consolidated the barrio and made it a permanent ethnic enclave, or “urban village.” The term, “urban village,” is used here to describe the function of the Argentine barrio within the city. Laird does not want to give the impression that these Mexican immigrants came from small Mexican villages, but a Mexican village was created when these immigrants came to Kansas City. Laird describes how the village interacted with the rest of the city. This ethnic enclave derives its characteristics from work, family life, and religion, similar to a typical small village in Mexico. The Catholic Church, the Santa Fe Railway, and their family ties served as the foundation for this community. A major function of this barrio was to accommodate newly-arrived immigrants, as is the case with many Mexican barrios today. As time passed, more residents of the barrio would venture out into the city and become involved in local, non-barrio institutions, such as public school systems. Eventually the barrio was fully integrated into the city, as more residents became permanent and not seasonal workers.

A study done by Rachel H. Adler (2004) titled Yucatecans in Dallas, Texas: Breaching the Border, Bridging the Distance examines a small group of Mayan Mexicans living in an apartment complex in Dallas. Adler uses this group of Mexicans to demonstrate a phenomenon known as *transnational migration* or TNM. TNM is the process in which social fields are maintained across political borders after a person or group of persons has migrated to a new country. The economic situation in both the origin and destination of the immigrant is studied

by Adler to understand TNM. Adler also uses a more subtle analysis to study TNM, that being the qualitative study of cultural variables with ethnographic methods. Another issue that is discussed in this work is the kinship that these communities have for one another. Being able to locate and maintain a job is of great importance to the members of this community, but it is not as difficult with help from others. Many of the Mexican immigrants in this community either work in the restaurant business or cleaning service and when there is a new arrival, he or she will quickly be employed with the help of a fellow member of the community. There is a strong sense of communal ties between each person in the community and each one is always willing to help another. Adler concludes that this is how these communities seem to survive, with the constant help and guidance of friends and family members.

A study conducted by Steven L. Driever (2004) titled "Latinos in Polynucleated Kansas City" explores why Latinos come to Kansas City and also how Latinos have participated in the development of the city. Driever also discusses how the growth of the city has had an impact on where Latinos live and work in present day Kansas City. The author begins by comparing the Latino communities of the early twentieth century with the present day communities of Latinos. Driever does this to show how the geographic distribution of these communities has evolved over time. Much of this study is focused on how the city of Kansas City has changed over time in relation to the presence of Latinos. During the time of the study the Latino community's geographic distribution had no central point, making it hard for the small enclaves

to stay connected. Driever also finds that within the many barrios, the community is divided by class conflict due to generation differences between first-generation immigrants and second and third generation descendants of immigrants. Driever concludes that the Latino community comes together on one important issue. The Latinos of the city feel it is their time to shine and be appreciated for their part in the city's progress and enjoy an equal status of citizenship with other non-Latino residence.

Kate A. Berry conducted a study titled "Latino Commerce in Northern Nevada" focusing on the recent emergence of Latino businesses in Reno, Nevada. Her study examines how a growing Latino presence in Reno is represented by the use of the Spanish language throughout Reno's business-scapes and the location of a number of Latino-owned businesses (Berry 2004). Through the use of field work and interviews Berry discusses the geography of these Latino-owned businesses along with the types of products and services offered. She also discusses the evolution of these businesses finding that the majority of them have only been present for five years or less. Berry concludes her study by stressing that Reno is a city in transition and this transition is credited to the growing presence of Latinos. The methods used by Berry in her study provide an applicable model for the current study at hand.

Susan M. Walcott conducted a study that deals with a number of different ethnicities and their interaction along Atlanta's Buford Highway. The study titled "Overlapping Ethnicities and Negotiated Space: Atlanta's Buford Highway," does not specifically deal with Hispanics, but they are included. What is of interest to

this literature review is how Walcott (2002) uses the built environment to explore population succession and what she calls “entrepreneurial cultural adaptation strategies” for a multitude of minorities including Hispanics, Vietnamese, Chinese, and Koreans. Along with interviews and surveys Walcott includes the arrival of these immigrants, the types of immigrants (ethnically speaking), and host society absorptive capacity to explain this population succession and adaptation. The survey Walcott uses to track the ethnic evolution of the Buford Highway corridor is particularly useful to my study as the reader will see in the methodology section of this paper. Walcott concludes that a bipolar labor market enhances the rate of assimilation and encourages the mixing of skills and resource levels in these ethnic shopping areas.

Current Research on Mexicans and Latinos in Oklahoma

Perhaps it is the overall low number of Mexicans and Latinos that reside in Oklahoma and most specifically Tulsa, but academic research on the subject is nearly nonexistent. The book written by Michael Smith (1980) examines Mexicans in Oklahoma during the first half of the twentieth century and does not go into contemporary issues surrounding the minority group today. Many newspaper articles have been written concerning the Latino population of Tulsa in recent years, but none of these articles can serve as academic studies. Within my own research I was only able to find two works recently published specifically focusing on Mexicans and Latinos in Oklahoma, both of which are from the same author, Linda Allegro.

The first work is titled "Oklahoma." This work is simply an overview of Mexicans and Latinos in Oklahoma. Allegro begins by discussing the historic aspect of Mexican migration into the state. Naturally she next discusses the current situation of Mexican and Latino migration into the state. Allegro (2007) then explores current issues in the Latino community of Oklahoma. She states that the community is showing signs of organization due to concerns about issues like business-ownership, immigrant rights advocacy, and cultural life. Allegro concludes her study by describing the types of cultural contributions that are brought by Mexicans and Latinos. Some of these contributions are shown by music, language, and other types of artistic works.

The second of Allegro's studies is titled "Borders in the Heartland: Immigration Politics in Oklahoma" and is an ethnographic work about the way local and state authorities have responded to ineffective federal immigration laws (Allegro 2007). Allegro discusses a number of factors that are involved in creating local immigration politics. The main focus of the paper is how the Mexican and Latino community will react to the passage of the *Oklahoma Taxpayer and Citizen Protection Act* proposed by Governor Brad Henry in May of 2007. The bill itself, also known as HB 1804, gives power to local law enforcement and government-funded service providers to check for legal status, criminalizes people who transport, harbor, or assist undocumented immigrants, and restricts access to financial aid for undocumented college students. Allegro (2007, 16) concludes by saying in relation to the immigration problem that "What should be on the agenda is a sensible approach for dealing with the inevitable

progression towards a more integrated multi-state future between the U.S., Canada, and Mexico under current conditions of globalization.”

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter discusses the methods employed in producing the data used in chapters four and five of this study. Three general research questions, which essentially simplify the study and the tools that are used to answer them are the main focus throughout the chapter. The majority of the data was created through the use of two surveys.¹ Each survey had a particular use. The first was to document the patterns of migration and explore certain characteristics for a sample of migrants. The second was to document the chronology of development and services offered for two particular Latino business districts within Tulsa. The surveys are discussed with reference as to where, when, and how they were conducted. Along with the efforts used to answer each research question to the fullest extent any shortcomings are mentioned as well.

¹ A copy of both surveys can be found in the appendix of this document under “Patterns of Migration” and “Latino Businesses”.

Research Questions and Methods

Research Question 1:

Where are the majority of the Mexican and Latino immigrants in the study's sample coming from, where are they living in the U.S. before coming to Tulsa, and why are they coming to Tulsa?

Method:

To gain a general idea of where Mexican and Latino immigrants are from data found in the 2000 U.S. Census on the Hispanic population of Tulsa is used. Mexico is the major supplier of Latino immigrants in Tulsa. In fact, out of the 42,763 documented Mexican/Latinos 82% are from Mexico with Puerto Rico and Cuba following in that order (2006 American Community Survey, U.S. Census Bureau). It is important to note that although Mexico is the major supplier of Latino immigrants many other countries located in Latin America contribute to the population in Tulsa. The 2000 census does not give information on specific locations of where Mexican and Latino immigrants are from, i.e. cities and states. Therefore, a more detailed survey was used to obtain even more information on where Mexican and Latino immigrants are from. Locations of origin such as specific cities/towns, states, and regions of Mexico and Latin America served as the primary information desired from this survey. The survey was also concerned with many specific characteristics about the sample population of Mexicans and Latinos. Information pertaining to their arrival to the U.S. and Tulsa, where they lived in the U.S. before coming to Tulsa, their occupations,

why they came, and why they were planning on leaving or staying was the secondarily recorded. Many would be quick to conclude that economics are the only driving force in migration, but as the Mexican and Latino population grows in Tulsa so does the chance that immigrants are moving into the city with the intent to be close to family and friends as well.

The surveys were conducted for the most part within the two previously mentioned LBDs. The surveys were targeted at Mexican and Latino immigrants that were adults (over 18) and living in Tulsa. The two areas in which the surveys took place provided a multitude of services and attracted a variety of people to be surveyed. All of the surveys were conducted in person by the researcher. The two LBDs served as the main areas for conducting surveys; however other specific areas in Tulsa that have high numbers of Mexicans and Latinos were also sampled. For example, one area that many Mexicans and Latinos frequented on Saturdays was the flea market located at the intersection of Mingo and Admiral in east Tulsa. After conducting a number of surveys in the two designated areas, this location was revealed to the researcher by one Latino informant. At this particular flea market it appears that the majority of the shoppers are Latino and a large number of vendors are as well.

Surveys concerned with the patterns of migration were completed in a manner similar to an on-site interview and were conducted during the months of January and February of 2008. A total of ten trips were made from Stillwater to Tulsa to find participants for the study. Originally it was thought that many of the surveys would be distributed to places like a church or library and collected some

time later. However, it was soon realized that the surveys would be completed much sooner if they were conducted in person.

Each and every potential respondent was approached in Spanish and asked if they would like to participate in a study concerning the patterns of migration for Tulsa's Latino population. Places such as parking lots, laundry mats, public libraries, and carwashes all served as venues for completing surveys within the study area. Once verbal confirmation was given by the potential respondents the interview ensued on the spot. Participants were chosen randomly based on the assumption that they were Latino due to their appearance or the use of Spanish in public. A total of 271 potential respondents were asked to participate and only ten declined. All of the surveys conducted were used in the study.

The final two questions in the survey were added due to the recent house bill that took effect on November first of 2007. House Bill 1804 will allow law officers to check the legal status of immigrants, end public assistance to undocumented immigrants, and penalize employers for employing undocumented immigrants. It was thought that Mexican and Latino immigrants might be looking for a new location to live outside of the state of Oklahoma due to House Bill 1804 and that this might affect migration patterns. All of the responses provided by the surveys were computed and a number of charts and maps were produced which display the final results for each individual question. The findings were discussed and any trends that developed were explained. Efforts to answer the question as to why the majority of the sample came from

where they did was provided, and a map showing the origins of all the respondents was created.

Research Question 2:

Do the Latino business districts show a distinct pattern or chronology of development and what specific types of business activity are occurring in these business districts?

Method:

From 1997 to 2002 it was recorded that over 1000 new Latino owned businesses opened within Tulsa County (Allegro 2007). The two business districts used for the patterns of migration survey also served as the focal point for this part of the research. Interviews with Latino business owners were the primary source for information pertaining to research question two. A total of 31 different Latino business owners were interviewed.² In the Kendall-Whittier district 15 Latino business owners were surveyed while 16 Latino business owners were interviewed in the 21st and Garnett district. A total of five trips were made from Stillwater to Tulsa during the months of February and March to find participants.

Latino business owners were contacted in person at their place of business and asked if they would like to participate in the study. The majority of these surveys were conducted in English. English was primarily used to conduct

² This survey was created in the likeness of a previous survey conducted by Susan M. Walcott in a study titled, "Overlapping Ethnicities and Negotiated Space: Atlanta's Buford Highway" found in the *Journal of Cultural Geography* Fall/Winter 2002, 20(1):51-75.

the surveys because many Latino business owners speak English, as it is a necessity when doing business in the U.S. Once verbal confirmation was given by the business owner the interview then ensued at his or her place of business. Products sold and services offered that target Latinos were indicators that businesses in these two areas were relying on Latino based clientele for their income. The relative age of the business and businesses as a group also served as an indicator to the growing Latino population. Businesses that are in their infancy are testaments to the fact that the Mexican and Latino population is growing and trying to cater to the particular needs and tastes of its own ethnic group (Walcott 2002). The first and oldest Latino businesses are indicators as to when the Latino population arrived on the business landscape in this part of town. The older businesses served as the base line for knowing at what time this change began to occur. Along with the age of the stores, information as to the types of businesses that were previously located in the same locations was recorded. This information shows what type of ethnic evolution is occurring in the commercial landscape of the study area. Finally, the ethnicity of the owner, employees, and patrons was recorded. Information obtained from business owners during interviews was used to trace the evolution of the two business districts. In the Kendall-Whittier district 15 Latino business owners were interviewed while 16 Latino business owners were interviewed in the 21st and Garnett district.

Research Question 3:

To what extent have Latino business districts formed in Tulsa and where do these business districts appear spatially?

Method:

Exploring the number of Latino business districts along with their locations was the main focus of this research question. Observation of the language usage in which signs are displayed served as the initial method for first identifying the limits of these business districts. Preliminary research conducted by the author provided evidence that the Latino population had formed two large business districts within Tulsa. The boundaries of the two districts were observed doing field work on foot or by car using signage and known Latino businesses as clues to their extent.

CHAPTER IV

PATTERNS OF MIGRATION AND OTHER CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE POPULATION

Today's Mexicans and Latinos in Tulsa

Today when one compares the current Mexican and Latino population living in Tulsa to the population that lived there 70 or 80 years ago three main differences are evident. The first and most obvious is that the population has grown tremendously. Tulsa's Mexican and Latino population stayed at a relatively unnoticeable size until it began to grow rapidly in the 1990s. In 1990 the number of Mexicans and Latinos residing in Tulsa County nearly reached 12,000. In 1997 this number had increased to 17,664 and by the year 2000 it had reached 33,616 (1990, 2000 U.S. Census). The year 2000 seems to be a relatively high period of immigration for Mexicans and Latinos in Tulsa, as the data will show in this chapter. The second difference is that Mexicans and Latinos find employment through an extremely wide variety of services. Mexicans that lived in Tulsa during the first half of the 20th century were limited to agriculture and industry for employment. Now, a majority of Mexicans and Latinos work in the construction and hotel/restaurant industry, not to mention the

large numbers that have started their own business. The third and final difference that is of great importance to the city of Tulsa is the characteristics of the Mexican or Latino immigrant. Traditionally Mexican and Latino immigration into Oklahoma has followed a seasonal pattern and displayed a high turnover rate (Smith 1980). Immigrants would come and go with the agricultural seasons or just come and work for a year and return home to their families. However, research conducted for this study shows that many Mexican and Latino immigrants that have moved to Tulsa are intending to stay for as long as they can. These results may surprise the reader considering a most controversial legislation passed in November of 2007 known as “House Bill 1804”. This house bill allows law officers to check the legal status of immigrants, ends public assistance to undocumented immigrants, and applies a harsh penalty for employers that employ illegal immigrants. It was theorized that the survey created for this section of the study would be met with much skepticism by participants considering the timing of its release. Nonetheless, a sufficient number of respondents were attained and a small window into the Mexican and Latino community opened.

The following discussion explores the patterns of migration and other characteristics for a sample of Mexicans and Latinos living and working in Tulsa. This chapter examines the answers given to each question on the survey previously mentioned and also discusses relevant trends that emerged within the sample. Certain characteristics of the sample population are discussed relating to things such as origins, time of arrival to the U.S., other places of residency in

the U.S., time of arrival to Tulsa, occupation, and why or why not many are staying in Tulsa.

Origins

Of the 261 people interviewed 93% were found to have come from somewhere in Mexico. As Table I shows Mexico was the country with the majority of places of origin. The survey also recorded a total of 111 different cities and pueblos in Latin America, 95 of which are in Mexico.

TABLE I
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS PER COUNTRY IN THE SAMPLE

Country or Territory of Origin	Number of Respondents
Mexico	242
El Salvador	5
Guatemala	5
Costa Rica	4
Peru	2
Colombia	1
Nicaragua	1
Puerto Rico	1
Total	261

TABLE II
TOP FIVE STATES IN MEXICO SENDING MIGRANTS TO TULSA

State of Origin	Number of Migrants in Sample	Percent of Migrants in the Sample
Zacatecas	42	16%
Jalisco	18	7%
Guanajuato	16	6%
Veracruz	16	6%
Aguascalientes	14	5%

When we examine the origins of the sample at the state level within Mexico we can see the geography becomes more concentrated. If we look at Table II, we can see that Zacatecas sent more than twice as many migrants to Tulsa out of the sample population than any other state in Mexico. Table II also shows that the states of Jalisco, Guanajuato, Veracruz, and Aguascalientes did not closely follow Zacatecas. Zacatecas is a major sending state for immigrants coming to the United States. As of 2004 it was reported that as many as 600,000 to 1 million Zacatecans now live in the U.S. (Coerver et al. 2004). Nearly 20% of the Mexicans that were interviewed were from the state of Zacatecas, with the city of Zacatecas accounting for slightly more than half of that percentage. Mining, agriculture, and cattle ranching have been the most prosperous outlets for making a living in the region. The production of wine has been present in the state since the colonial period due to the favorable environment and continues today, but the state has failed to provide sufficient jobs in industry and agriculture leading to such a large out migration rate (Jones 1995). These factors may explain why so many Zacatecans are coming to Tulsa from the sample population.

States of Mexico



Figure 2

The states that follow Zacatecas (Figure 2) in numbers of migrants sent share the same problems which lead to out migration. Jalisco has experienced significant downsizing in its electronics and textile industry (Coerver et al. 2004). Overpopulation in its urban areas, such as Guadalajara, and a high unemployment rate has force many to leave the state. Guanajuato has also been unsuccessful in supplying its growing urban population with adequate jobs resulting in high levels of immigration to the U.S. (Coerver et al. 2004). The state of Veracruz has experienced economic growth in petroleum and cattle ranching during the 21st century, but environmental problems caused by rapidly expanding ranching along with the lack of industrial jobs to support a growing urban

population has led to out migration (Coerver et al. 2004). The small central state of Aguascalientes has also experienced hardships (drought, erosion) leading to out migration of its population. Overpopulation within the capital city has left many people in the state without housing or services.

One of the most interesting findings when it comes to the origins section of this survey is that the city that was home to the highest number of immigrants was Mexico City. Looking at Figures 3 and 4, which is a zoomed in version of Figure 3, and Table III below we can see that Mexico City sent 34 migrants out of the sample population which accounts for 13% of the total. This number may seem low compared to the total number of Latinos and Mexicans interviewed, but considering the large number of cities and pueblos that only displayed one or two respondents, this number is significant. The numbers produced for this section of the study may not corroborate with other estimates. For example, an article titled "Bordering on a problem: In their fathers footsteps" published in the *Tulsa World* stated that an estimated 3,000 people from the Town of Casa Blanca, Zacatecas have moved to Tulsa over the years (Droege 2006). However, the survey in this study only recorded a total of two respondents originating in the small pueblo of 1,062 residents (INEGI 2005).

Origins of Respondents Interviewed

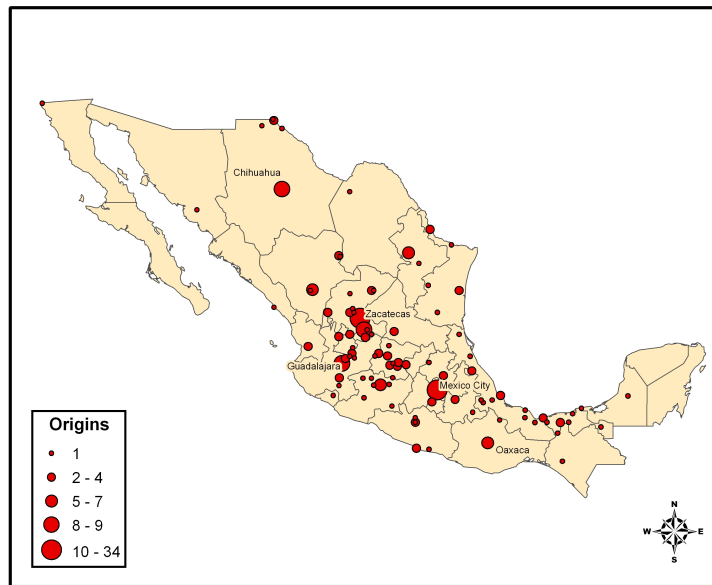


Figure 3

Origins of Respondents Interviewed Enhanced

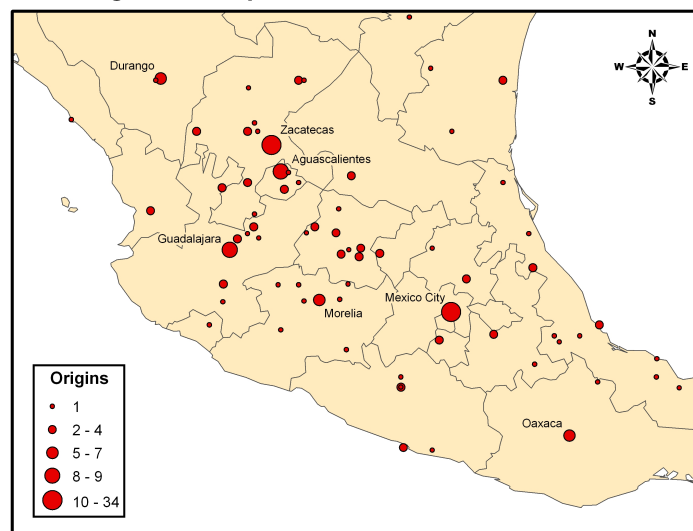


Figure 4

TABLE III

TOP FIVE CITIES/DISTRICTS IN MEXICO SENDING MIGRANTS TO TULSA

City and State/District	Number of Migrants Coming to Tulsa	Percent of Migrants in the sample
Mexico, D.F.	34	13%
Zacatecas, Zac.	23	9%
Guadalajara, Jal.	9	4%
Chihuahua, Chih.	8	3%
Aguascalientes, Ag.	8	3%

Mexico City is not usually considered a large sending city for Mexican immigrants to the U.S. Since The metropolitan area of Mexico City accounts for nearly 20% of the total population of Mexico this city is underrepresented in the sample population data concerning origins (Coerver et al. 2004).

The city with the second highest number of migrants moving to Tulsa with a total of 23 respondents was Zacatecas, in the state of Zacatecas. The capital city of the state, Zacatecas has a population of nearly 123,000 making it the largest in the state (INEGI 2005). Although Zacatecas is a prominent city, it cannot escape the problems experienced by many central Mexican cities and pueblos such as poverty, over population, and unemployment. The growing population of the city has not been matched with sufficient jobs leaving many Zacatecanos with the only option of migrating to another part of Mexico or to the U.S.

Guadalajara in the state of Jalisco proved to be the third most common place of origin for Mexican immigrants in the sample. After a short prosperous period in the electronic industry during the 1990s, the quality of life in

Guadalajara began to decline. The rise of slums, violence, and drug trade accompanied by an economic recession has led many to leave the city.

Chihuahua the capital city of Chihuahua experienced some economic growth with the arrival of many *maquiladora* plants during the late 1980s and 90s. However, the use of toxic industrial chemicals within the plants has devastated much of the environment in the area (Coerver et al. 2004). Jones (1982) states that many migrants who leave Chihuahua do so with the intent of relocating to Juárez/El Paso or Monterrey. Juárez/El Paso and Monterrey can be seen as intervening opportunities that may inhibit the flow of migrants from Chihuahua to other parts of the U.S. because they are closer and may serve as primary destinations for migrants when they first leave.

The environment surrounding the city of Aguascalientes has also played a large roll in influencing people to leave the city. Drought has forced many of the inhabitants in the surrounding farm land to move into the city in search of jobs. Overpopulation combined with high numbers of unemployment has forced many to migrate elsewhere in and outside of the country (Coerver et al. 2004).

We have discussed the countries, states, and cities that stand out in the sample population, but how well of a representation is this sample population based on the true geographic distribution of people in Mexico? Considering the majority of Mexico's population is concentrated in the central highlands and the majority of the sample came from central Mexico the sample appears to be very representative of the Mexican population. Out of the top five sending states for the sample, four are located in central Mexico, Veracruz being the state located

outside of this region. Also, out of the top five sending cities all, with the exception of Chihuahua, are located in central Mexico. In general it seems that the sample population does a good job of representing the geographic distribution of Mexico's population. However, when we examine the sample population in relation to each state there are a few states that have very high populations with little or no representation.

TABLE IV
THE STATES OF MEXICO, POPULATION, AND EACH STATE'S
PERCENT OF THE TOTAL POPULATION

State/District	Population	% of Total Population
Aguascalientes	1,065,416	0.8%
Baja California	2844,469	2.1%
Baja California Sur	512,170	0.4%
Campeche	754,730	0.6%
Chiapas	4,293,459	3.1%
Chihuahua	3,241,444	2.4%
Coahuila	2,495,200	1.8%
Colima	567,996	0.4%
Distrito Federal	8,720,916	6.4%
Durango	1,509,117	1.1%
Guanajuato	4,893,812	3.6%
Guerrero	3,115,202	2.3%
Hidalgo	2,345,514	1.7%
Jalisco	6,752,113	4.9%
Mexico	14,007,495	10.2%
Michoacán	3,548,200	2.6%
Morelos	3,966,073	2.9%
Nayarit	949,684	0.7%
Nuevo León	4,199,292	3.1%
Oaxaca	3,506,821	2.7%
Puebla	5,383,133	3.9%
Querétaro	1,598,139	1.2%
Quintana Roo	1,135,309	0.8%
San Luis Potosí	2,410,414	1.8%
Sinaloa	2,608,442	1.9%
Sonora	2,394,861	1.8%
Tabasco	1,989,969	1.5%
Tamaulipas	3,024,238	2.2%
Tlaxcala	1,068,207	0.8%
Veracruz	7,110,214	5.7%
Yucatán	1,818,948	1.3%
Zacatecas	1,367,692	1.0%

Table IV shows each state/district in Mexico accompanied by its population and the percent of the total population that the state holds. When we observe the data displayed in Table IV the state of Mexico seems to stand out the most. This state stands out because it holds the highest percentage of the country's population, but in the sample it was virtually invisible. The state of Mexico accounts for 10% of the total population in Mexico and yet there were no respondents claiming origins in this area. Mexico State is like many central Mexican states in that it experienced an economic boom late in the 20th century followed by a harsh recession. Overpopulation and environmental problems were the results of this economic prosperity. The question of why no respondents claimed the state of Mexico for their origins may be found in its spatial relation to Mexico City. The state of Mexico practically surrounds the Federal District (Mexico City) and many inhabitants may simply decide to migrate into Mexico City, instead of making the trip farther north. Also, many respondents may have simply decided to state they were from Mexico City and not a small pueblo in the state of Mexico due to the proximity of the two.

We can also see by comparing Tables II and IV that there are a few Mexican states that seem to be overrepresented based on their percent of the total Mexican population. Zacatecas is a state that only holds 1% of the total population of Mexico and yet 16% of the sample population came from that state. The states of Jalisco and Guanajuato also hold small percentages of the total population but were highly represented in the sample population for the study. All three of these states are within close proximity of one another in Central

Mexico and this may hold a clue to their high representation. These states may be overrepresented in the sample population due to overpopulation and environmental problems that have been discussed earlier in this chapter. All three states are characterized by poor living and working conditions.

Time of Arrival

The year that displayed the highest number of arrivals was 2000 with 26, followed by the year 2006 with 22 immigrants. Mexican and Latino immigrants commonly make either several trips to the U.S. or maybe only one long stay for several years (Jones 1995, Adler 2004). In fact out of the 261 Mexicans and Latinos interviewed 57% had arrived in the U.S. either in the year 2000 or more recently, as Figure 5 shows.

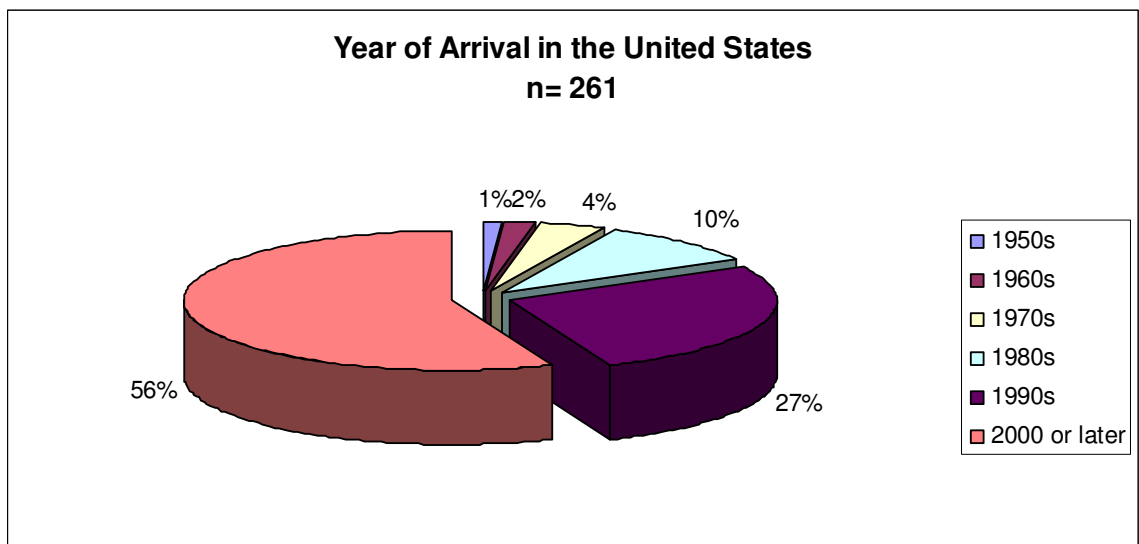


Figure 5

The data also shows a noticeable increase in arrivals since the 1950s. Although, immigrants surveyed arrived in the 50s and 60s, these numbers are

slight compared to the total. The earliest year recorded for an arrival to the U.S. living in Tulsa was 1958, with only one recorded. The age of each migrant was not noted on the surveys, but most migrants interviewed were probably, on average, between the ages of 20 and 30.

The year that recorded the most arrivals for Tulsa was 2007 with 13% of the sample population arriving in that year. Close to 75% of the sample population arrived in the year 2000 or more recently. The results suggest that many Mexican and Latino immigrants are recent arrivals in Tulsa. However, the author must remind the reader that these numbers come from a small sample size when one considers the 40,000 plus Mexicans and Latinos that live in Tulsa. Information pertaining to the entire population of Mexicans and Latinos might or might not display the same type of results.

Other Places of Residence in the U.S.

The sample population was asked what states they had lived in before coming to Tulsa. This section of the study was included to develop a general idea about the patterns of migration and to also see if many come directly from other countries or move in a step-wise fashion. During the data collection process, a state was included as long as the respondent had either lived or worked for a period of time in that given state and was not simply visiting friends or family. The results displayed such a wide variety of patterns leading to Tulsa that virtually no multi-state patterns (living or working in more than one state) were recorded more than once.

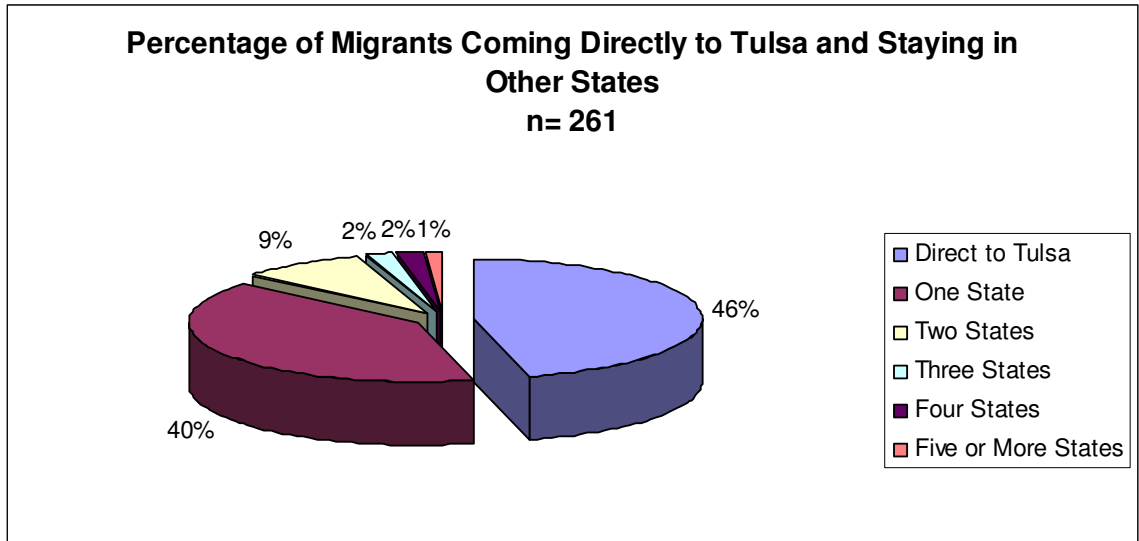


Figure 6

The most interesting finding for this section of the survey was that a large number of Mexican or Latino immigrants came directly to Tulsa from Mexico or Latin America, as we can see in Figure 6. Nearly half of the 261 respondents interviewed said they came directly to Tulsa. This suggests the presence of a strong social awareness of Tulsa as a viable destination. Many studies looking at international migration have concluded that social ties can be significant predictors for migration behavior (Taylor 1999, Massey 1986).³ The sample population also displayed a high percentage for those that had stayed in only one state before coming to Tulsa. Texas and California were the two states that displayed the highest numbers. Out of the total population 12% had lived in Texas and 15% in California before coming directly to Tulsa. Texas and California were the starting points for a significant number of migrants in the

³ The advantages of having friends and family in a receiving community will be further discussed in this chapter under the subtitle, *Reasons for Coming*, along with a few communities that showed a strong connection with Tulsa.

sample population. In fact, out of the 261 respondents a total of 18% had started in California and 14% in Texas.

The study did record a few migrants living in a multitude of states before coming to Tulsa. For example one respondent stated that he had worked in California, Washington, Hawaii, Alaska, Canada, Texas, and North Carolina in that order before coming to Tulsa. If we examine Figure 6 we can see that this type of pattern rarely occurred within the sample population. In fact the only multi-state migration pattern leading to Tulsa recorded more than once was one from California to Texas and just two respondents took this route.

A small percentage of the sample population may have come directly to Oklahoma, but not to Tulsa first. This particular group only accounted for 2% of the total sample population. Oklahoma City and Sapulpa both sent two migrants to Tulsa while Bixby had sent only one. These three cities were the only three places within Oklahoma that had held migrants before they eventually came to Tulsa out of the sample.

Occupation

The study would not be complete without some sort of analysis focused on the occupations of the sample population. Later on in this chapter the issue of why many Mexicans and Latinos come to Tulsa will be discussed. Many would say it is the economic factor that draws so many from so far away and if this is the case we must examine the different jobs taken by the sample population. The majority of the jobs taken by Mexicans and Latinos in Tulsa may seem a bit

masculine and the reason for that is there were more males interviewed than females in the study. As stated in chapter three, the sample was chosen at random and the end result was 68% male and 32% female.

Figure 7 shows that construction is the leading employer for the sample population, accounting for a quarter of the responses. This is a testament to the physical growth Tulsa has experienced in the last 10 years.

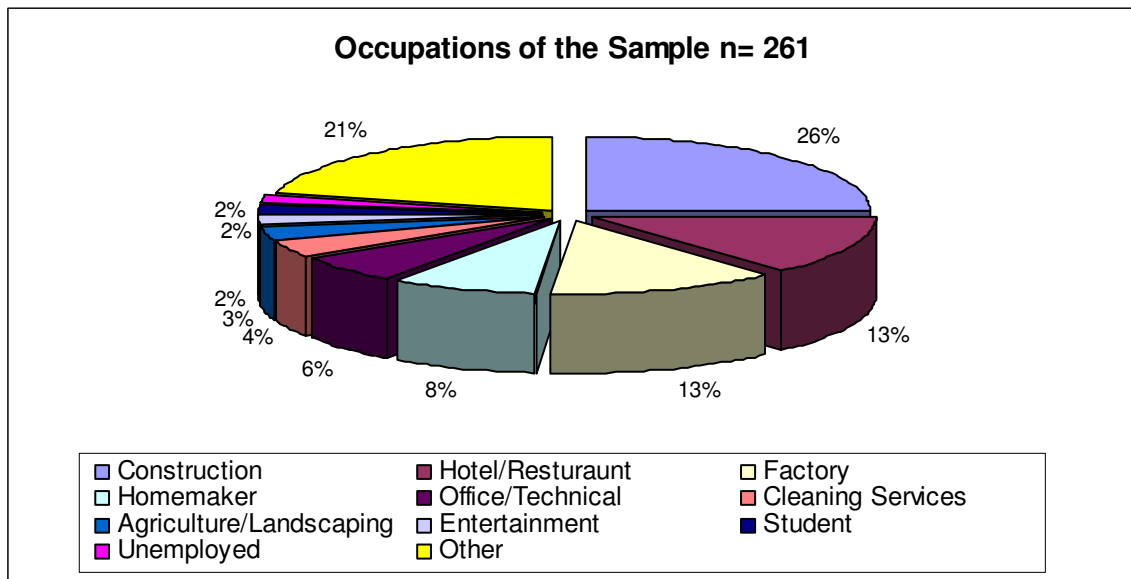


Figure 7

The southeastern section of Tulsa, near the suburbs of Broken Arrow and Bixby, has continued to grow well into the 21st century. A number of new shopping centers with a multitude of different stores have been built using the inexpensive contract labor so commonly associated with immigrants. Shopping centers are not the only construction projects that need large numbers of contract labor in Tulsa. Banks, houses (entire neighborhoods at times), office buildings, apartment complexes, and anything else that must be constructed in a timely fashion relies upon the contract immigrant laborer for a speedy completion.

Hotel/restaurant and factory work were the next two types of occupations most commonly recorded. The reader can see in Figure 7, both occupational types accounted for 13% of the total sample population. It is common for many Mexican or Latino immigrants to find employment as hotel staff and in the kitchens of restaurants and hotels. Migrants that find work in the restaurants of Tulsa do more than just cook. Many wash dishes, bus and wait tables, and also help manage the restaurant. Latino workers can be found in Mexican and American style restaurants in Tulsa.

In terms of factory work, a number of different items are being manufactured in Tulsa with the help of Mexicans and Latinos. Oil and gas pipelines, air conditioners, metals, plastics, glass, and bricks are all made with labor provided by this sample population. Traditionally factory work, along with agriculture, has ranked high in providing employment for Mexican and Latino migrant workers (Gamio 1930). Considering that Tulsa is an urban area it is sensible that more Mexican and Latino immigrants work in the factories than in agriculture. Agriculture/landscaping only accounted for 3% of the sample, but this figure has the potential to change depending upon the season in which interviews are conducted. All of the interviews were conducted during the winter months when landscaping and anything of the like is virtually nonexistent and if the interviews were conducted during the spring and summer months a higher response within the agriculture/landscaping business could be expected.

The remaining job types that account for more than a quarter of the population are grouped into the category titled "Other". This category consisted

of a considerable number of individuals working in some type of manual labor industry, just not the same as any other of the categories presented here. Painting, drilling for oil, and truck driving were among some of these types of jobs. Categories such as cleaning services, agriculture/landscaping, and entertainment accounted for a very small portion of the sample. It was also recorded that only 2% of the sample claimed to be unemployed at the time. Such a low percentage of unemployment indicates that the sample has a strong desire to work.

Why Tulsa?

One section of the interview asked specifically what brought this sample population of Mexicans and Latinos to Tulsa. Many assume that it is an issue of better economic opportunities and nothing else. The findings presented here indicate that economics is at the root of this growing population of Mexicans and Latinos, but they also show that it is not the only reason the numbers continue to grow. As the number of migrants coming to Tulsa goes up so do the odds of them staying, which in turn brings more migrants. The more Mexican and Latino migrant workers live and work in Tulsa, the stronger the bond becomes between the sender and host communities. As Figure 8 shows, the findings for this section of the survey seem to suggest a number of reasons why Mexican and Latino migrants are coming to Tulsa.⁴

⁴ Again, this study acknowledges that better economic opportunities existing in Tulsa are bringing Mexican and Latino migrants to Tulsa. However, once the first relative or friend in a sender community comes to Tulsa and establishes him or herself that person becomes part of the reason for another migrant to come from the same sender community, and therefore part of the reason the second migrant came.

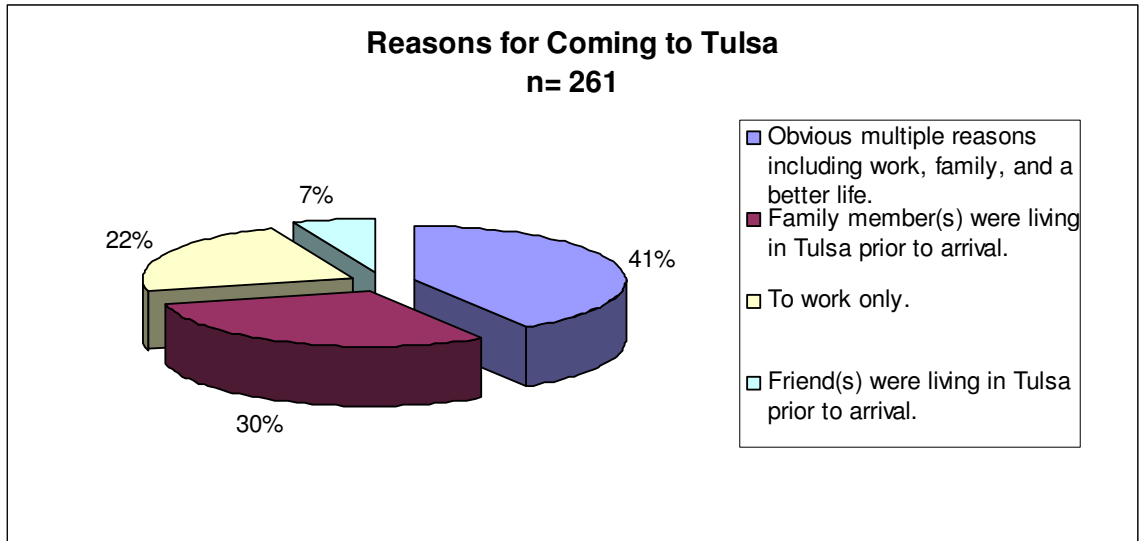


Figure 8

The category with the highest number of respondents, which we will call OMR (obvious multiple reasons) accounted for 41%. This category was created because as the interviews were conducted the researcher found that the answers were more complex than just simply “work” or “family”. As Figure 8 shows it was common for many respondents to list a number of reasons for coming to Tulsa. Whenever the respondent would list that they came to Tulsa to work, for their children, and because they had family with them, this was generally understood that they were in search of an overall better way of life. Many respondents that were male indicated that they were not alone in Tulsa and that they had brought their wife and children with them.⁵

The findings of this section of the study suggest the existence of strong transnational ties between Tulsa and the cities/pueblos that are sending the majority of these immigrants. Let us take the city of Zacatecas for example.

⁵ The subject of whether or not the Mexican and Latino population of Tulsa intends to stay will be discussed in more detail later on in this chapter.

Zacatecas was one of the top cities for immigrants coming to Tulsa and it has been known within the Mexican community that there are many Zacatecans living in Tulsa, especially from the small pueblo of Casa Blanca, but this community did not produce strong numbers out of the sample. More than half of the 23 Zacatecans in the sample population came directly to Tulsa, without working anywhere else in the U.S. This finding suggests a strong connection between the two cities in terms of not only economic networks, but social networks as well. This makes Tulsa more attractive to immigrants coming from the city of Zacatecas (Lindstrom and Lauster 2001). The connection between Zacatecas and Tulsa is strong enough that there is even a bus line that will take someone from Tulsa directly to Zacatecas. Out of the 23 Mexicans interviewed from the city of Zacatecas only two indicated that they came to Tulsa just to work. The 21 other Zacatecans may have mentioned both work and family or just family for being the reason for coming to Tulsa. Within the sample of Zacatecans, construction or hotel/restaurant work were the most prevalent for their occupations. Immigrants coming from a similar place in their home country have a tendency to find themselves in these occupational niches due to news of jobs traveling by word of mouth. It must be noted that the categories of construction with five Zacatecan respondents and kitchen work with three Zacatecan respondents may have been the two occupations occurring the most, but it appears that many Zacatecans arrive in Tulsa because of the presence of family and not a specific job. Once migrants have arrived in Tulsa they may be able to use family connections to find similar jobs.

As it was stated before, Zacatecas was not the only city with a high number of immigrants coming to Tulsa. The cities of Mexico City and Guadalajara also recorded a high number of immigrants in Tulsa as well. If the reader will remember, Mexico City was the city with the highest number of immigrants coming to Tulsa, with a total of 34. Out of the 34 immigrants from Mexico City, 14 came directly to Tulsa. Close to 80% of the 34 immigrants from Mexico City reported their reason for coming included having family or friends living in Tulsa prior to their arrival. It must be remembered that internal migration within Mexico brings many migrants to the primate city. This may also explain the high number of migrants from Mexico City because many migrants may not have originally been from the city and had just lived there for an extended period of time, listing it as their place of origin.

Immigrants coming from Mexico City also tended to gain employment in construction and restaurants/hotels. Six immigrants worked in construction and seven worked in restaurants/hotels, while the rest displayed a wide variety of miscellaneous jobs that included some type of manual labor. The fact that a large number of immigrants from Mexico City came directly to Tulsa and also had either family or friends living there suggest a connection between the two cities. However, Mexico City is a much larger city when compared to Zacatecas, the former having approximately 20 million and the latter with approximately 123,000 (INEGI 2005). With that said, the study cannot suggest that the connection between Mexico City is as strong as the connection between Zacatecas. With the size of these two cities aside though the data obtained within the sample

population suggest that there is some kind of connection between the two cities that exists on an economic and social level.

Guadalajara was the city with the third most immigrants coming to Tulsa according to Figures 3 and 4. Guadalajara sent far fewer immigrants than Mexico City or Zacatecas, but when Guadalajara is compared to the rest of the sender cities/pueblos the number reported is significant. Guadalajara is a large city with approximately 1.5 million residents with a weak industrial economy which makes it a usual source of immigrants to Tulsa (Coerver et. al. 2004). Guadalajara displayed a relatively low number of immigrants coming to Tulsa when compared to Mexico City and Zacatecas and there were only five out of nine respondents that said they came directly to Tulsa. The percentage of immigrants coming directly to Tulsa from Zacatecas, Mexico City, and Guadalajara can be found in Table V. All nine respondents claimed that they came to Tulsa because they had either family or friends living there previously.

TABLE V

TOP THREE CITIES SENDING IMMIGRANTS DIRECTLY TO TULSA

City	Total Sent	Number Directly to Tulsa	Percent of Total Per City
Zacatecas	23	14	60%
Guadalajara	9	5	55%
Mexico City	34	14	41%

Occupations for the Guadalajara sample population did not show any noticeable trends. The most common job being done was in the restaurant/hotel business with a total of three. The rest of the population displayed a number of different jobs typical for Mexican and Latino immigrant living in Tulsa. Findings

for the Guadalajara population may not suggest as strong a connection with Tulsa due to the low number of immigrants coming directly, but there is potential for a stronger connection to develop in the future. As the Mexican and Latino population in Tulsa continues to grow so does the chance that Guadalajara could one day be a city sending large numbers of immigrants to Tulsa, especially considering that 100% of the respondents from Guadalajara had family or friends in Tulsa prior to their arrival.

With these connections in mind, one must ask whether or not there is evidence of chain migration occurring between Tulsa and these parts of Mexico? Simply put, chain migration occurs when family members or friends from a particular origin establish themselves in a particular destination and then send for the rest of their family or friends to join them (Jones 1995). If we examine Figure 7 we can see that close to 75% of the sample population came to Tulsa because they had friends or family already living there. From what we have seen in this sample population of Latinos, there is strong evidence to support the idea that chain migration is occurring.

Is the Sample Population Staying or Not and Why?

Considering how important it is for a strong social network to exist between two points of migration and the current environment surrounding immigration in the state of Oklahoma, the study included a question concerned with the future plans of the sample population. Immigrants were simply asked whether or not they were staying in Tulsa or had plans to move. They were then

asked the reason why they had decided to stay or not. Out of the 261 immigrants interviewed, nearly 60% said they were staying in Tulsa and 40% said they were planning on leaving sometime in the near future. These numbers suggest that the majority of the sample population has intentions on staying in Tulsa for as long as possible.

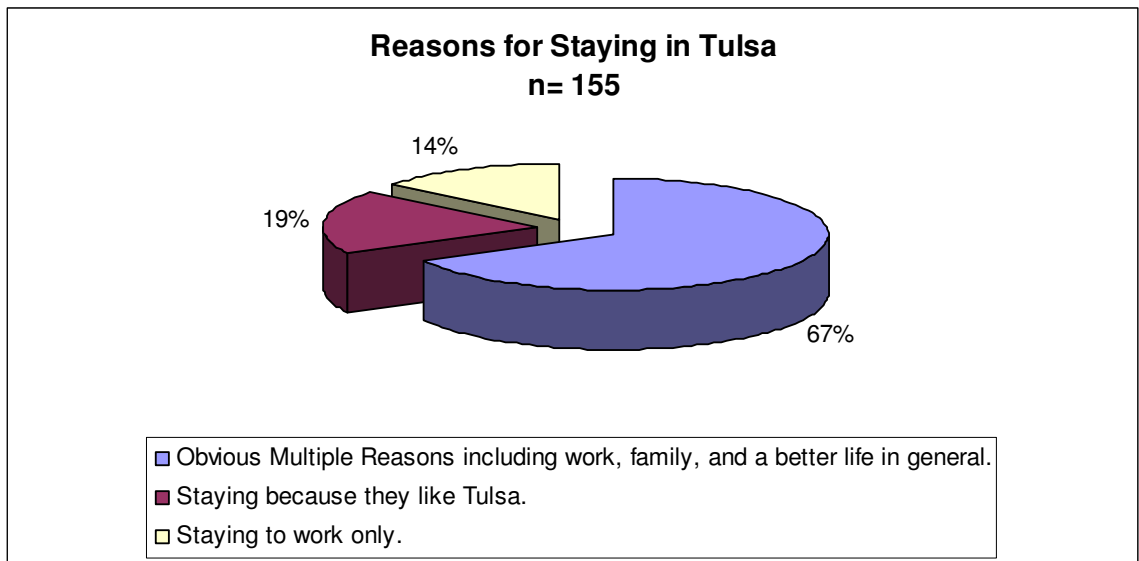


Figure 9

Figure 9 shows the different reasons given by immigrants for staying in Tulsa. The category that received the highest number of respondents should seem familiar to the reader because it is simply the same category found in the *Why Tulsa* section of this chapter. The only difference is that now the OMR category serves as the obvious reasons for immigrants to stay in Tulsa. We can see in Figure 6 that out of the 155 immigrants that said they were staying in Tulsa, 67% said that they were staying due to the opportunity of an overall better life available to them. Again, this category included multiple responses concerned with family, friends, and work. Almost 20% of the 155 immigrants

staying in Tulsa were staying simply because they liked Tulsa. One could include this answer with the OMR category, but when the interviews were conducted many respondents replied that they were happy with Tulsa as a city and wanted to stay because they had become familiar with the town and did not want to have to move and start all over again. Surprisingly, the category with the lowest number of respondents was only concerned with issues of economics. Only 14% of the immigrants staying in Tulsa reported they were staying in Tulsa for the sole purpose of working. This finding suggests that many immigrants living and working in Tulsa have their families with them, which makes them more likely to try and stay. This finding also challenges the common stereotype that these immigrants are solely economic immigrants.

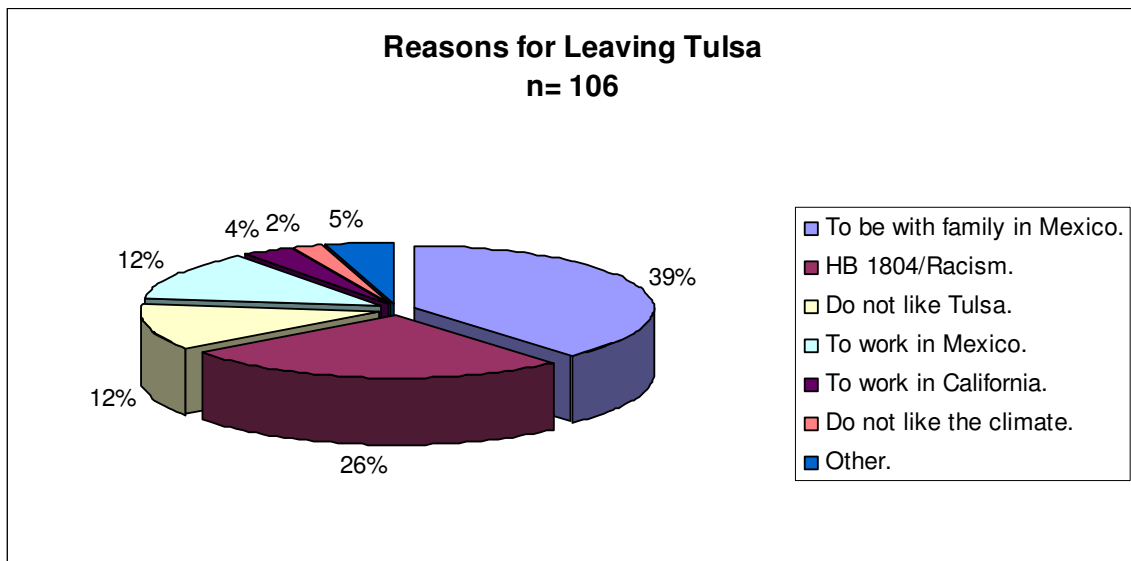


Figure 10

As Figure 10 shows there were a number of reasons given for why immigrants were leaving Tulsa. As we can see 39% of the 106 immigrants that planned on leaving were doing so because they wanted to return and be with

family in either Mexico or some other country in Latin America. This finding is perplexing because numbers formulated in previous parts of this chapter indicated that many immigrants brought most of their immediate family with them. However, it was common to hear from immigrants during interviews that they had only brought one or a few members of their immediate family. Many immigrants may have brought a daughter or son with them while the wife or husband stayed in Mexico to care for the rest of the family. These types of comments from the sample population suggest that the extended family plays a large roll in influencing the movement of these migrants. The family can influence a migrant to leave and return to his or her home country.

More than a quarter of the sample said they were leaving due to House Bill 1804 and an overall general sense of prejudice by the Tulsa community towards Mexican and Latino immigrants. Another group of immigrants in this sample (12%) stated that they simply didn't like Tulsa. This could possibly be combined with the "HB1804/Racism" category, but it must be stressed that these immigrants stated that they did not like Tulsa not only because of the racism but also they did not like the town, people, and had an overall dislike of the way things worked. Another 12% reported that they were leaving to return to Mexico for work because they had an old job waiting for them or had hopes of starting a business of their own.

The remaining reasons immigrants gave for leaving, which comprised the "Other" category, consisted of plans to work in other states and not liking the climate. While just 4% of the total sample planned to leave and work in the state

of California, a smaller percentage had plans to work in other states. Just 2% of the respondents stated they did not like the climate. A few immigrants responded that the climate in Tulsa was too cold, not surprising considering the interviews were conducted in the winter months. Whether or not these responses regarding the climate of Tulsa were the real reasons for their departure remains to be determined.

Conclusion

Based on the findings within this chapter a number of conclusions can be formulated relating to the Mexican and Latino sample population of Tulsa. First we must admit that the sample population in this study is overwhelmingly Mexican when it comes to their country of origin. This finding was expected by the researcher, but the high concentration of migrants coming from the central part of Mexico was not expected. The data also suggests a strong chain of migration exists between the cities of Zacatecas and Tulsa, with Guadalajara and Mexico City to a lesser extent. The size of Mexico City, when compared to other cities in the sample, makes it a hard place of origin to connect with Tulsa. Regarding when the majority of the sample population arrived in the U.S., the beginning of the 21st century was an important time of immigration for the Mexican and Latino sample population.

Construction was the occupation with the highest number of respondents with hotel/restaurant being the second highest employer for the sample population. With these findings in mind it can be assumed that the majority of

immigrant Mexicans and Latinos in Tulsa work in low-wage jobs that usually require some type of manual labor. Even though the number of people in the sample population that were unemployed only accounted for a small fraction of the total, one cannot conclude that the only reason this sample population has come to Tulsa is to work. Actually work was one of the responses least recorded. Many immigrants in the sample population stated that they came to Tulsa to be with friends and family and to also have a chance at a better life in general.

Many immigrants in the sample population may have come to Tulsa for a better life, but how permanent is this population? Less than half of the sample population said that they were not going to stay in Tulsa. The most common reason given for this out-migration was to be with family in Mexico or some other country in Latin America. The issue of HB 1804 and racism was also a strong factor when the sample population was listing reasons for leaving.

Before the data was collected for this section of the study it was the assumption of this researcher that more immigrants would want to leave due to HB 1804, but we can see that this was not the case for our sample population. A small number of immigrants stated that they were leaving to work in other parts of the United States, but this number was so small that it was insignificant when considering the entire sample population. These findings suggest that the Mexicans and Latinos living and working in Tulsa are here to stay. It seems that the families of these Mexicans and Latinos are the deciding factors when it comes to making plans for the future.

CHAPTER V

THE LATINO BUSINESS DISTRICTS OF TULSA

Introduction

This chapter discusses a number of different components that make up the Latino business districts (LBDs) of Tulsa. Data has been collected through the use of personal interviews with Latino business owners. Information pertaining to the year the business opened, what existed there before the business, why the business chose its current location, what types of services and products are offered, the ethnicity of the clientele and employees, where the business owners are from, how long the business owners have lived in Tulsa, and finally the impact of House Bill 1804 on business will be discussed. The results of the interviews for both districts are presented separately. Next, a summary has been included regarding the differences and similarities for both districts. The final section of this chapter will discuss the spatial extent of each LBD and also the landscape presence of Latinos within the districts.

The Kendall-Whittier District

A total of 15 personal interviews were conducted with business owners in the Kendall-Whittier district. The majority of the businesses were sampled considering this district has approximately 20 Latino owned businesses. It is unknown as to when the Kendall-Whittier district began exactly, but based on the data that came from this particular area combined with testimony from other sources we can assume it was sometime in the late 1980s. The Kendall-Whittier district has experienced a small economic revival with 38% of its businesses moving into spaces that had not been occupied for 2 years or more. A person who is familiar with the Kendall-Whittier district will remember that many buildings in the area are currently vacant, which may explain the high amount of ethnic turnover in the business-landscape. The Kendall-Whittier district is mainly comprised of auto shops owned and operated by Latinos and Anglo-Americans. Close to half of the businesses in this district dealt in either repairing or selling cars. Based on the interviews conducted, many Latino business owners felt it was better to locate in an area that is know for a particular service, in this case the repairing and selling of automobiles. The Kendall-Whittier district also contains a number of different Mexican food restaurants, which accounted for 36% of the businesses surveyed in that district.

The Kendall-Whittier district provides services to not just Latinos but also Anglo-Americans as well. For example, it was recorded that 23% of the business owners had a clientele that was half Latino and half American. The diversity of clientele for the Kendall-Whittier district may be explained in the types of services

offered. The high number of auto shops and Mexican restaurants in the district has the ability to attract customers outside of the Latino community, since these are services that are not aimed at a specific ethnic group.

The 21st and Garnett District

A total of 16 Latino owned businesses were interview within the 21st and Garnett district. This district contains approximately 30 Latino owned businesses and according to the interviews conducted we can conclude that this particular LBD began no earlier than the year 2000. The 21st and Garnett district appeared to not bring a high amount of economic revival to the area. Out of the sample population only 5% of the owners stated they had moved into a building that had not been occupied for two years or more. The sample in the 21st and Garnett district recorded a number of different types of services. For example, 35% of the sample in this district can be labeled as businesses providing “Household Services”. These stores provide services such as hair styling, prepaid phone cards to Latin America, herbal medicines, money sending, dietary supplements, and/or tax preparation. The 21st and Garnett district also contains a number of “Variety Stores” that offer products like videos, small gifts, CDs, books, jewelry and other types of merchandise. Within the sample, 23% of the businesses were labeled as variety stores. Variety stores and household service stores are different from one another due to one main characteristic. Variety stores sell items and offer services that are American in nature while household service stores mainly sell items and offer services that are Mexican or Hispanic in nature.

For example, within a household service store one will find that the majority of the products are from Mexico. It is common to find prayer candles and framed paintings of the Virgin of Guadalupe in household service stores while in variety stores the majority of the products cater to American tastes.

The 21st and Garnett district itself can be considered a type of variety district. There are a number of different types of services that can be found within the district from Mexican restaurants to Spanish speaking dentists. No service within the district can be labeled as the one main service offered.

Summary of the LBDs

The Kendall-Whittier district located at the intersection of Admiral and Lewis Street can be considered the oldest LBD in Tulsa. Mexicans and Latinos have been present in this area of Tulsa for generations, but this is not to say that there has been an LBD in this location for the same length of time. The first Latinos to inhabit this part of Tulsa were from Mexico, most likely laboring in the coalmines. The Kendall-Whittier district began displaying the presence of Latinos in the business-landscape as early as the late 1980s with the use of Spanish surnames appearing in the signage around the area. One informant, located in the Kendall-Whittier district, who employs his surname in his sign, explained that his business had been located in the same place for the last 20 years. This is the oldest continuous Latino business sampled in the area, although there may have been Latino businesses prior to this one.

The LBD located at the intersection of 21st and Garnett Street is not located within the heart of Tulsa, but farther east of town. Based on discussions with multiple informants, Latinos and their families began to move into this part of Tulsa as property values began to drop in the early 1990s. Soon many minority groups began to populate the neighborhoods surrounding the 21st and Garnett intersection that many of the Anglo families chose to leave this part of town, a perfect example of what has been labeled so many times as “white flight”. This area of Tulsa did not begin to show signs of an emerging LBD until the opening of the *Plaza Santa Cecilia* in 2000 (Latino business owner, interview, Mar. 10, 2008). The Plaza is a converted bowling alley that has been transformed into a miniature shopping mall. What used to be a bowling alley now houses a number of different Latino shops offering a variety of services. Over the last 8 years the area surrounding the intersection at 21st and Garnett has grown so fast that it can now be call the central LBD for Tulsa. Based on observations and personal interviews it is apparent that the 21st and Garnett district is the larger more central LBD of Tulsa. This LBD is central due to the fact that it offers every service possible to the Latino population of Tulsa. Personal observations have also shown that the 21st and Garnett district always has a larger amount of Latinos present when compared to the Kendall-Whittier district, no matter what day of the week it may be.

The majority of the Latino businesses surveyed opened in the year 2000 or later. The years 2000, 2003, and 2004 displayed the highest number of openings with five per year for the sample of businesses. The opening of the

Plaza Santa Cecilia in 2000 paved the way for many other Latino businesses in the 21st and Garnett districts. *Plaza Santa Cecilia* provided a place for Latino business owners to not only start a business in an area with a high number of Mexicans and Latinos, but to also establish their business in an area where the Latino community is strong.

Latino business owners were asked what type of business existed in their current location before their arrival to see if there had been an ethnic turnover from Anglo-American businesses to Latino businesses. As we would expect 71% of the businesses sampled moved into extant commercial space. We also discovered that 23% of the businesses moved into a space that hadn't been occupied for two years or more. This finding is significant because it tells us that these businesses are responsible for some ethnic turnover in the two study areas.

When we compare the two LBDs we can see that Latino business owners in the Kendall-Whittier district have lived in Tulsa much longer than the business owners in the 21st and Garnett district. For example, 21% of the Latino business owners sampled in the Kendall-Whittier district arrived in Tulsa in the 1980s while none of the business owners in the 21st and Garnett district arrived before the 1990s. Close to 30% of the Latino business owners sampled in the Kendall-Whittier district arrived in the 1990s and 14% had arrived in the year 2000 or later. The 21st and Garnett district on the other had 59% arrive in the 1990s and 41% in the year 2000 or later. These findings support the idea that the Kendall-Whittier is the older of the two LBDs.

To understand why these Latino business districts appeared upon the cultural and business landscape of Tulsa, business owners were asked why they had chosen their particular location. Figure 11 shows us that the most common factor influencing the location of these sampled Latino businesses was the availability of a Latino market. Business owners from Mexico or other parts of Latin America are willing to provide products that cater to the particular taste of Mexicans and Latinos. The growing population of Mexicans and Latinos in Tulsa created an ethnic market that was untapped by Anglo-American business owners. Historically Anglo-American business owners have been more interested in hiring Mexicans and Latinos than providing services and products specifically for them.

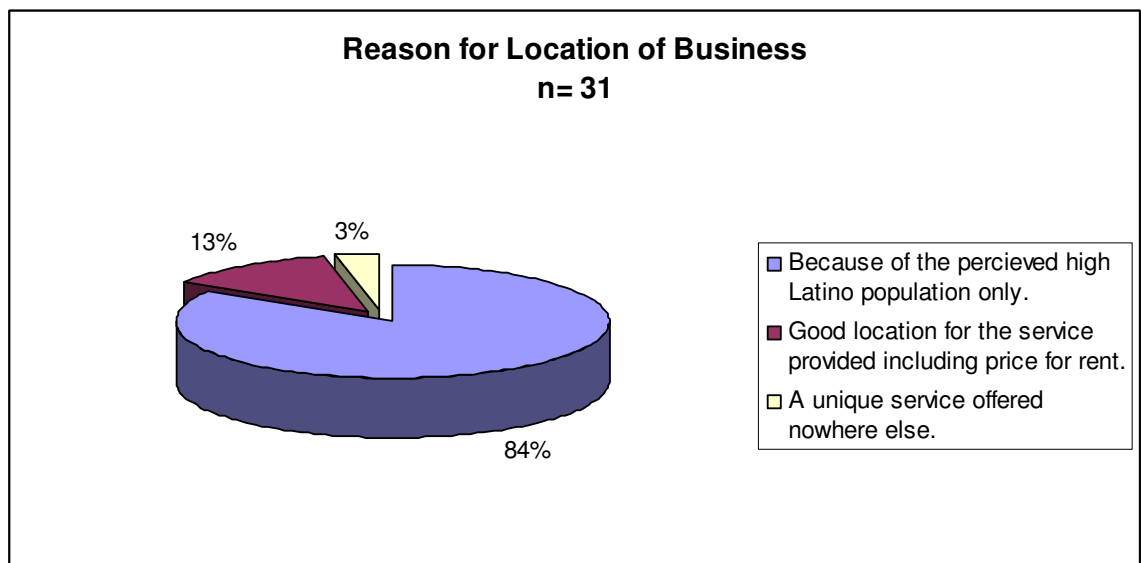


Figure 11

What services are being offered by these Latino businesses? What seems to be the most dominant business venture by an ethnic group whose entrepreneurial efforts and identity seem to go hand in hand? When we examine

the percentages found in Figure 12 we can see that businesses dealing with food displayed the highest number of establishments.

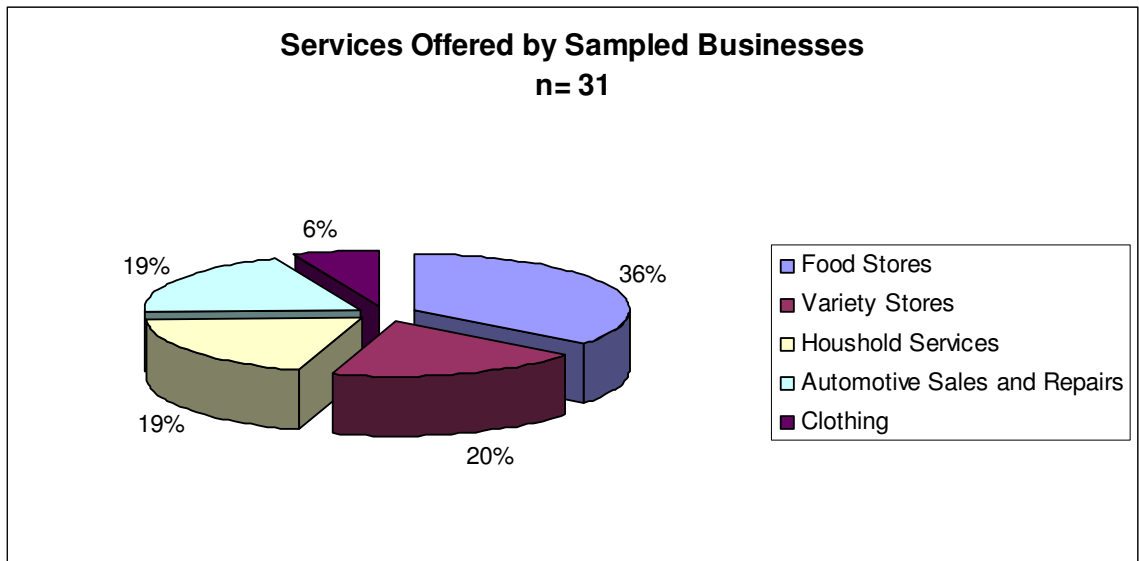


Figure 12

Businesses that fell into the category of “Food Stores” consisted of restaurants exclusively of Mexican or Latino style dishes and grocery stores that mainly sold items catering to the wants and needs of the Mexican and Latino population. The second most common type of business occurring within the two study areas were “Variety Stores”. “Household Services” closely followed the previous category accounting for 19% of the total sample of businesses. The “Automotive Sales and Repairs” category accounted for 19% of the total sample population. The number of businesses that made up this category would only provide one service such as selling cars or fixing cars. The category “Clothing Stores” had the least amount of businesses within the whole sample population. The fact that this category had such a low response may be explained by the difficulty this type of store experiences in business. Much of the clientele for

these two districts are low-wage migrant workers with less or very little disposable income to spend on clothes.

A high number of Mexicans and Latinos in the area was the reason 84% of the businesses opened where they did, but can this presence of Mexicans and Latinos be attributed to the success for many of these businesses? Looking at Figure 13 we can see that much of the clientele for these businesses is Mexican or Latino.

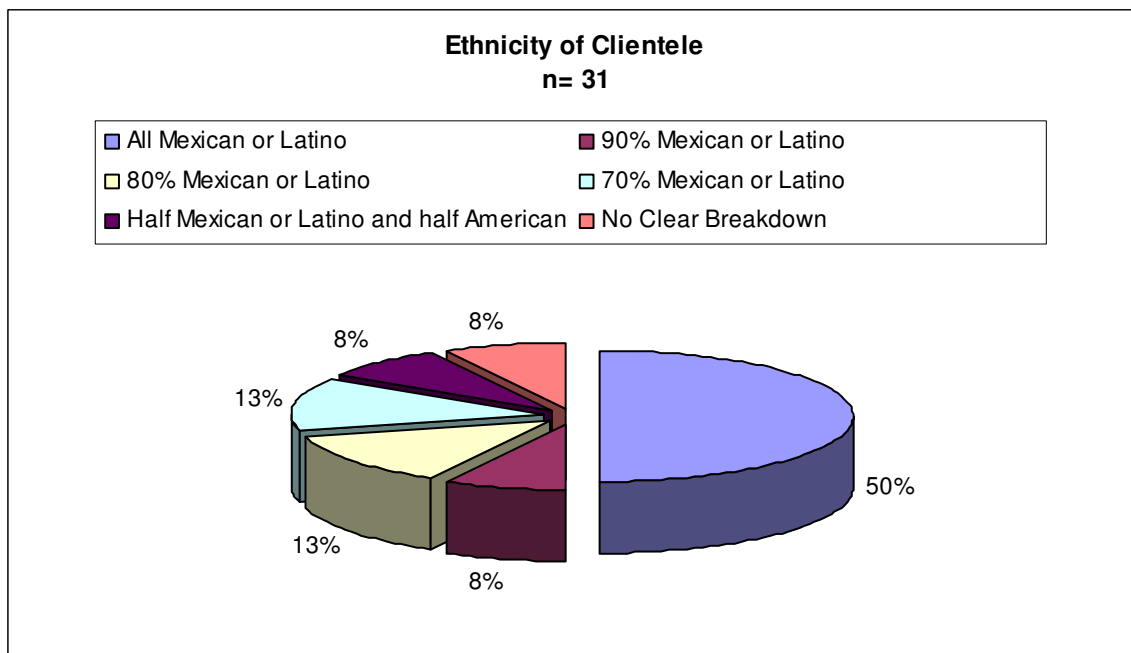


Figure 13

Half of the businesses in the sample stated that their business relies completely on a Mexican or Latino clientele. We can see that the other half of the businesses have a clientele that might not be completely Mexican or Latino, but they are still represented and usually the majority. Businesses that fell into the category titled “No Clear Breakdown” stated that their clientele consisted of a

mixture of Latinos and Americans. These business owners also stated that their clientele was so diversified that no ethnicity stood out as the majority.

Now it has been established that the sample of Latino businesses are relying upon the concentration of Mexicans and Latinos in the area for a large portion of their economic success, but does the Mexican and Latino population rely on Latino businesses for employment. The previous chapter in this document addressed the issue of occupation for the sample population of Mexicans and Latinos. Construction proved to employ the highest number of Mexicans and Latinos in the sample, but there were few people working for small Latino owned businesses. The majority of people employed by Latino businesses sampled are Latino. In fact, 61% of the businesses within the survey employed only Latinos. A little more than a quarter of the businesses were family owned and operated and 13% employed Latinos and other ethnicities/national origins. One could argue to combine the 61% of employees that are Latino with the quarter of the businesses that are family owned because they are Latino in ethnicity, but it provides insight on the nature of family ties within the sample of businesses.

All of the business owners were from Mexico with the exception of one family owned business whose owners are from Lima, Peru. The only two cities from Mexico that claimed a number of business owners were Zacatecas and Mexico City. This finding parallels the findings in the previous chapter on patterns of migration. In the previous chapter we saw that the two most common cities in Mexico for immigrants in Tulsa were Zacatecas and Mexico City. Out of

the total sample of business owners 22% were from Mexico City and 19% from Zacatecas. We can see that these two cities in Mexico not only send day laborers to Tulsa, but also entrepreneurs hoping to start a business along with a new life.

Many Mexicans and Latinos living in the state of Oklahoma expressed much concern when HB 1804 was officially declared a law in November of 2007. Migrant workers were worried they would no longer be able to work and Latino business owners were worried they would no longer have a clientele for income. Of the Latino business owners interviewed 81% claimed they had experienced a reduction in business by at least 50% or more since HB1804 became a law. Latino business owners also expressed that it has become hard to find people to employ. HB 1804 not only hurts business but also makes it hard for employers to find employees. A surprising 16% of the businesses experienced no affect from the bill while 3% had only experienced a shortage in employees. It is surprising that 16% of the sample experienced no decline in business because out of this 16% only two businesses said they had a majority Anglo-American clientele. The remaining businesses had a majority Latino clientele. Nearly a quarter of business owners in the sample that stated they were not affected by HB 1804 admitted that the first month after the bill was passed they did see a decline in business, but currently business was back to normal. It appears that the ramifications of HB1804 were first felt severely following the first few months of its introduction.

Spatial Extent of the LBDs

In the course of conducting the interviews with Latino business owners the researcher also took notes on the landscape presence of Latinos and used these notes to help document the boundaries of the LBDs. The presence of Latinos within these LBDs

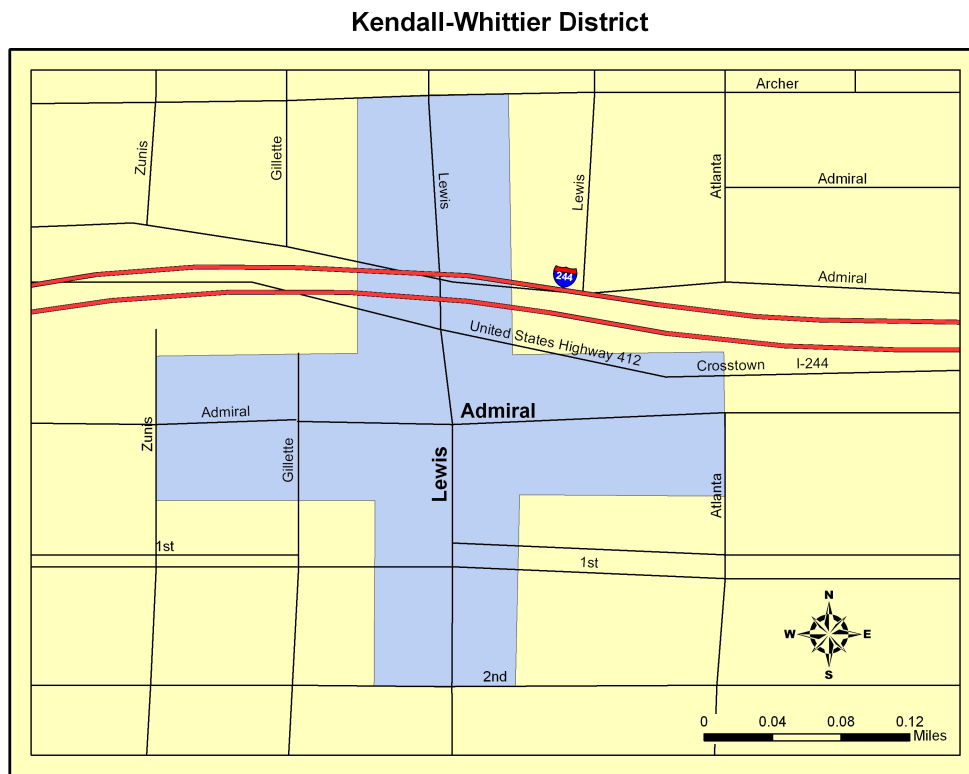


Figure 14

appears to be more commercial than cultural. The Kendall-Whittier district has its core area at the intersection of Admiral and Lewis Street as we can see by

looking at Figures 14 and 15.



Figure 15, Intersection at Admiral and Lewis St. (Kendall-Whittier District).

Figure 14 shows this intersection and also the streets to the north, south, east, and west that serve as the boundaries. The northern extent of the Kendall-Whittier district stops once one reaches Archer Street. To the south, this district goes as far as 2nd street. Traveling east, the district is bound by Zunis Street and to the west by Atlanta Street. Figure 16 shows the western extent of the Kendall-

Whittier district indicated by the presence of the Our Lady of Guadalupe Church.



Figure 16, Our Lady of Guadalupe Church, 1st and Atlanta.

By looking at Figures 17 and 18 we can see that the 21st and Garnett district has its core area at the intersection of 21st and Garnett Street.

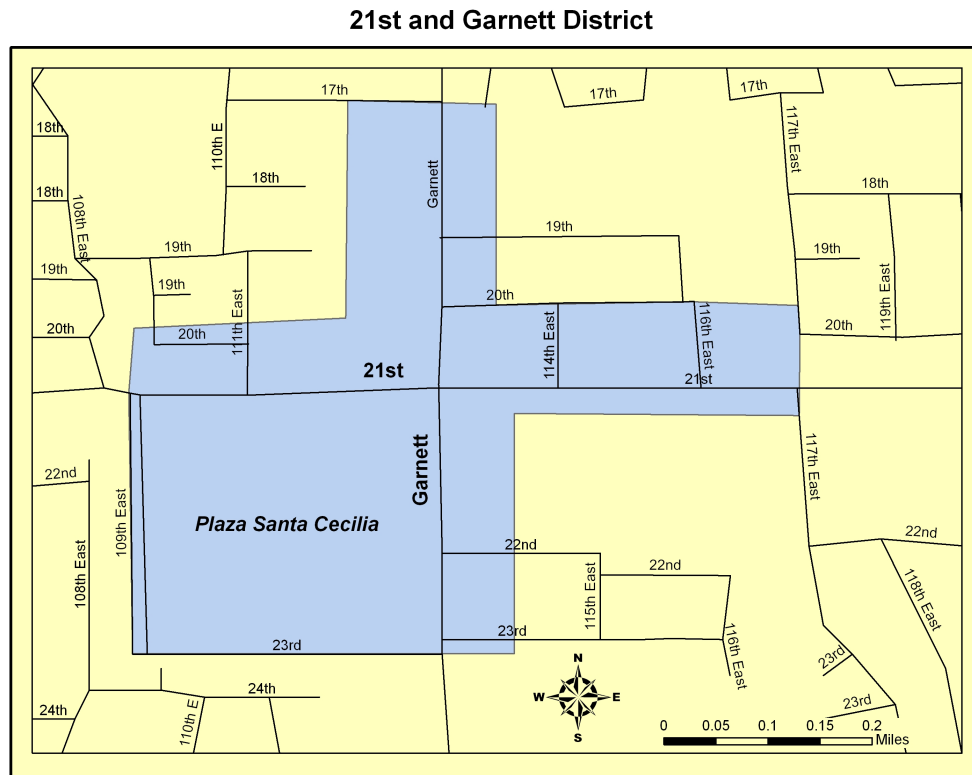


Figure 17



Figure 18, Intersection at 21st and Garnett (21st and Garnett District).

This district stretches from its core area to the north and ends once it reaches 17th Street and to the south 23rd Street. To the east the district is bounded by 109th Street East and to the west 117th Street East. This district may appear to be smaller in size when compared to the Kendall-Whittier district, but the physical extent of the two districts should not be the defining factor on size. In the Kendall-Whittier district the businesses are more spread out and are usually not located right next to one another. In the 21st and Garnett district the majority of the businesses are located next to each other as we can see in Figure 19.



Figure 19, Plaza Santa Cecilia

Conclusion

Based on the findings provided for this chapter we can assume that the majority of the Latino businesses began in the year 2000 or more recently. The Kendall-Whittier district is the older of the two LBDs with its beginning starting some time in the late 1980s. The 21st and Garnett district began in the year 2000 with the opening of the *Plaza Santa Cecilia* allowing for many Latino businesses to get their start. Both districts displayed a high number of businesses that chose their location due to a high population of Mexicans and Latinos in close proximity. The most common type of business to occur within these two districts are businesses that deal with food in some way. The 21st and Garnett district was

highly represented in this finding while the Kendall-Whittier district was more represented in the high number of automobile businesses. Both districts rely heavily upon the Mexican and Latino population for economic success. The different types of services offered were a major factor in explaining this finding. Based on personal observations taken during interviews with Latino business owners we can conclude that both districts have defining boundaries that make them unique in the landscape of Tulsa. Finally all of the Latino businesses surveyed stated that they had been affected by the passing of House Bill 1804 in some way or another.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

As the Mexican and Latino population of Tulsa grew through the 1990s and into the 21st century so too did their presence among the greater population of the city. The permanence of the Latino population has only strengthened transnational ties between Tulsa and Latin America. On-site personal interviews were the main method for obtaining the desired data, supplemented by U.S. census data and other informal interviews for the entire study. Personal one-on-one style interviews allowed each participant in the sample population to communicate directly with the researcher. Latino business owners were interviewed in their place of business during business hours. Participants were recorded coming from a number of countries stretching between Mexico and Peru, but as expected, most were from Mexico. Therefore, the country of origin was not the number one concern when conducting surveys but the regions and most importantly cities or pueblos of origin. Once the origins of the sample population were recorded, investigating the secondary patterns of

migration once they entered the U.S. seemed the next logical step. Tracking the states that participants lived and worked in proved to be difficult when trying to create some type of pattern for the sample population. With the patterns of migration recorded for the sample population the only question left to ask was, why Tulsa? The opportunity for employment has proven to be the most influential motive when we look back at the historical process of Mexican and Latino migration to the U.S. Today, migrants continue to come to the U.S. in search of employment, but the sample population of Latinos in Tulsa gave a multitude of reasons for making the trip north.

The Mexican and Latino population of Tulsa has also made their mark on the business landscape in certain parts of the city. Two distinct areas of Tulsa were designated as Latino business districts (LBDs) and a number of businesses were surveyed to document the evolution of the districts along with the different types of services offered. Both districts were distinct in the fact that they occupy a specific area of space and offer specific types of services.

Comments on the Research Questions

This study utilized three research questions. Each is addressed below in light of my results.

1. Where are the majority of the Mexican and Latino immigrants in the study's sample coming from, where are they living in the U.S. before coming to Tulsa, and why are they coming to Tulsa?

At the national level the sample population did not display a wide variety of origins. The sample itself was 93% Mexican, therefore we can label the sample predominantly Mexican in its origins. Central Mexico was the area with the highest concentration of origins. Mexico City, D.F. and Zacatecas, Zacatecas were the two cities with the highest number of origins.

The study did record a wide variety of secondary migration once the predominantly central-Mexican sample migrated to the U.S. Originally it was hoped that some discernable pattern of migration within the U.S. would emerge after completing all of the surveys. However, many participants may have lived in a number of different states, but no noticeable routes revealed themselves. Texas and California were the two states with the highest numbers in terms of being the first states that many migrants lived in. The most interesting finding that came from this research question was the fact that nearly half of the sample population came directly to Tulsa from Mexico or Latin America. This finding suggests a connection between Tulsa and central Mexico that is economic and social.

It seems this transnational connection may have influenced migrants to come to Tulsa. Economic opportunity is without a doubt a strong attractive force influencing a significant proportion of the sample to choose Tulsa. More than 40% of the sample population gave a multitude of reasons for coming to Tulsa that included work, family, and an overall better life. This finding suggests that the sample population is migrating to Tulsa not only to work, but to also start a

new life that is based on living in the city. Survival seems to be at the core for the sample population when deciding why they came.

The transnational connection between central Mexico and Tulsa has also provided the study with evidence of chain migration. As the study showed, a number of respondents indicated that they had family or friends living in Tulsa prior to their arrival and this was influential in their decision to come. The family and friends of the respondents had encouraged them to come to Tulsa, creating the chain of migration.

2. Do the Latino business districts show a distinct pattern or chronology of development and what specific types of business activity is occurring in these business districts?

Yes, both LBDs do show a distinct chronology of development. The first characteristic that separates the two LBDs is their location and the second is their age. The Kendall-Whittier district is the senior of the two, beginning sometime in the late 1980s. The 21st and Garnett district began in the year 2000 and has continued to grow during the last eight years. The Kendall-Whittier district may appear to be the older of the two districts, but based on personal observations the 21st and Garnett district is definitely more prosperous.

The third characteristic that separates the districts is the type of services they offer. The Kendall-Whittier district is mostly comprised of automotive shops and Mexican style restaurants. However, if one was to rely only on personal observation of the district the most common business that appears within the commercial landscape is the automotive shop. If the reader will remember nearly

half of the businesses surveyed in the Kendall-Whittier district either dealt in automotive repairs or sales. The 21st and Garnett district is not as homogeneous as the Kendall-Whittier district. The 21st and Garnett district offers consumers a variety of services in the food, clothing, and personal services such as tax preparation or money sending. The 21st and Garnett district has no common type of business such as the Kendall-Whittier district and is comprised of a number of small specialty stores.

3. To what extent have Latino business districts formed in Tulsa and where do these business districts appear spatially?

Tulsa appears to house two distinct LBDs that have developed over the last 20 years. We have discussed the Kendall-Whittier and 21st and Garnett districts in detail throughout chapter five. The Kendall-Whittier district is centered on the intersection of Admiral and Lewis Street while the 21st and Garnett district is centered on the intersection it is named for. The two districts are separated by 7-8 miles and both contain distinct boundaries to the north, south, east, and west.

Limitations of the Study

Contacting the Latino business owners before hand and setting a date for the interviews may have been helpful, but this method proved to difficult after many attempts. If many of the Latino business owners had more time to prepare for the interview, by knowing what questions were going to be asked beforehand, more information could have been obtained relating to the ethnicity of their clientele and the types of businesses that were there prior to their opening.

Ideas for Future Studies

Perhaps, in the future the use of discussion groups consisting of Latino immigrants could be arranged through community leaders when obtaining the data on the patterns of migration and other characteristics. This may provide more information pertaining to how many of the respondents come to Tulsa and also why they come.

The geographic distribution of the Mexican population within Tulsa is one idea that this study has produced for future investigation. The sample used in this study showed that the Mexican population mainly comes from central-Mexico. It would be interesting to see if Zacatecans are only living in close proximity to Zacatecans. First one must map out where the Mexican population lives in Tulsa and then try to see if people from specific regions or cities are continuing to live with one another. To achieve such a project would take a strong understanding of the Mexican community. Personal interviews would have to occur in a door to door manner in neighborhoods that have a high concentration of Mexicans.

Exploring the transnational connection between the city of Zacatecas and Tulsa is another idea that this study has raised. Many Zacatecans in the study's sample came directly to Tulsa and a high percentage of those who came directly stated they had family or friends before coming. Producing accurate numbers for the amount of Zacatecans that move to Tulsa each year and also knowing the number of Zacatecans that move back home from Tulsa would be interesting. If

one could access records kept by money sending services in Tulsa, then an estimate on the number of dollars that flows from Tulsa to Zacatecas could be produced. Knowing the approximate number of dollars that is sent to Zacatecas from Tulsa may reveal how strong the economic connection is between the two places. Research may also be required to take place in Zacatecas to see if and how Tulsa has had an affect on Zacatecans and their surroundings.

Enlarging the sample size for both migrants and Latino businesses could produce a study with more detail in the future. A sample size of migrants twice or three times the size of the one used in this study could uncover more cities in Mexico or Latin America that have a strong connection with Tulsa. A larger sample size in relation to the Latino businesses may create a more detailed chronology of development for the two districts. A larger sample for this section of the study would allow for a more detailed analysis of the two LBDs.

REFERENCES

- Adler, H. Rachel. 2004. *Yucatecans in Dallas, Texas: Breaching the Border, Bridging the Distance*. New York, Pearson Education, Inc.
- Allegro, Linda. n.d. Oklahoma. *Latino-America Encyclopedia*. Place: Greenwood Publishing, Forthcoming.
- . n.d. Borders in the Heartland: Immigration Politics in Oklahoma. Prepared for delivery at the *2007 Congress of the Latin American Studies Association* Montreal, Canada, September 5-8, Forthcoming.
- Arreola, Daniel D. 1987. The Mexican American Cultural Capital. *Geographical Review* 77: 17-34.
- . 2000. Mexican Americans. ed. Jesse O. McKee in *Ethnicity in Contemporary America: A Geographical Appraisal*. (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, Inc.) pp. 111-138.
- . 2002. *Tejano South Texas: A Mexican American Cultural Province*. Austin: The University of Texas Press.
- Berry, A. Kate. 2004. Latino Commerce in Northern Nevada. ed. Daniel D. Arreola in *Hispanic Spaces, Latino Places*. Austin: The University of Texas Press. pp. 224-238.
- Boswell, Thomas D. and Jones, Timothy C. 1980. Applied Geography A Regionalization of Mexican Americans in the United States. *Geographical Review* 70: 88-89.
- Campos, Daniel Rev. Interview by author, 17 November 2006, Tulsa. Tape recording. St. Francis Xavier Our Lady of Guadalupe Church.
- Coalition of Hispanic Organizations*. 2006. Tulsa Hispanic Community Survey.

- Coerver, M. Don and Pasztor, B. Susanne, and Buffington, M. Robert. 2004. *Mexico: An Encyclopedia of Culture and History*. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO.
- Cruz, Lala. Interview by author, 6 November 2006, Tulsa. Tape recording. At residence.
- Cruz, Solomon. Interview by author, 3 November 2006, Bixby. Tape recording. At residence.
- Curtis, James R. 2004. Barrio Space and Place in Southeast Los Angeles, California. ed. Daniel D. Arreola in *Hispanic Spaces, Latino Places*. Austin: The University of Texas Press. pp. 125-141.
- Driever, Steven L. 2004. Latinos in Polynucleated Kansas City. ed. Daniel D. Arreola in *Hispanic Spaces, Latino Places*. Austin: The University of Texas Press. pp. 207-223.
- Droege, Tom. 2006. Bordering on a Problem: In Their Fathers Footsteps. *The Tulsa World*, 17 April.
- Gamio, Manuel. 1930. *Mexican Immigration to the United States: A Study of Human Migration and Adjustment*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- García, R. Juan. 1996. *Mexicans in the Midwest 1900-1932*. Tuscon, Arizona: The University of Arizona Press.
- Gomez, Cecil. 2006. *A Mexican Twilight*. Lincoln, New England: iUniverse, Inc.
- Gomez, Cecil. Testimony recorded by author, 12 November 2006, Tulsa. Tape recording. *¡Latinos Presentes!* "Growing up Hispanic in Oklahoma", Martin Regional Library.
- Helton-Ramirez, Aurora. Interview by author, 12 November 2006, Tulsa. Tape recording. Tulsa Martin Regional Library.
- Herzog, Lawrence A. 2004. Globalization of the Barrio: Transformation of the Latino Cultural Landscapes of San Diego, California. ed. Daniel D. Arreola in *Hispanic Spaces, Latino Places*. Austin: The University of Texas Press. pp. 103-124.
- Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Informática (INEGI). 1 Feb. 2005. INEGI . 1 March 2008. <http://www.inegi.gob.mx/A_Z.asp?letra=P&S=est.

- Jones, Richard C. 1995. *Ambivalent Journey: U.S. Migration and Economic Mobility in North-Central Mexico*. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press.
- Jones, Richard C. 1982. Channelization of Undocumented Mexican Migrants to the U.S. *Economic Geography* 58 (2): 156-176.
- Jones, Richard C. 1982. Undocumented Migration from Mexico: Some Geographical Questions. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 72: 77-87.
- Laird, Judith F. 1975. Argentine, Kansas: The Evolution of a Mexican-American Community, 1905-1940. Ph.D. Diss. University of Kansas.
- Lindstrom, P. David and Lauster, Nathanael. 2001. Local Economic Opportunities and the Competing Risk of Internal and U.S. Migration in Zacatecas, Mexico, *International Migration Review*, 35(4):1232-1256.
- Massey, D. S. 1986. The Social Organization of Mexican Migration to the United States, *Annals of the American Academy*, 487:102-113.
- Rodríguez, Christina. Testimony recorded by author, 12 November 2006, Tulsa. Tape recording. *¡Latinos Presentes!* "Growing up Hispanic in Oklahoma", Martin Regional Library.
- Roman Catholic Diocese of Tulsa. 15 Feb. 2008. Roman Catholic Church of Eastern Oklahoma. 20 Feb. 2008.
<<http://www.dioceseoftulsa.org/index.asp>>
- Rutter, Larry G. 1972. Mexican Americans in Kansas: A Survey and Social Mobility Study, 1900-1970. Thesis, Kansas State University.
- Smith, Michael M. 1980. *The Mexicans in Oklahoma*. Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press.
- Taylor, J.E. 1999. The New Economics of Labor Migration and the Role of Remittances in the Migration Process, *International Migration*, 37(1):63-88.
- U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1990. 1990 Census, city of Tulsa, percent of population Latino.
- U.S. Bureau of the Census. 2000. 2000 Census, city of Tulsa, percent of population Latino.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. 2006. 2006 American Community Survey, city of Tulsa, percent of population Latino.

Vaughn-Roberson, Courtney Ann and Glen. 1984. *City in the Osage Hills: Tulsa Oklahoma*. Boulder, Colorado: Pruett Publishing Company.

Walcott, Susan M. 2002. Overlapping Ethnicities and Negotiated Space: Atlanta's Buford Highway. *Journal of Cultural Geography* 20: 51-75.

APPENDIX

Patterns of Migration Survey

Question 1:

In what city/town and country were you born?

Question 2:

When did you come to the United States?

Question 3:

Where did you live in the U.S. before coming to Tulsa? Please list all cities/towns that you worked in before coming to Tulsa.

Question 4:

When did you come to Tulsa?

Question 5:

What is your occupation here in Tulsa?

Question 6:

Why did you come to Tulsa? Do you have family or friends that were living in Tulsa before you came?

Question 7:

Do you plan on staying in Tulsa or moving in the near future? If you plan on moving please provide where.

Question 8:

What is your reason for either leaving or staying in Tulsa?

Latino Businesses of Tulsa Survey

Question 1:

How many years has your business been in this location?

Question 2:

What types of businesses have operated in this location before?

Question 3:

What was your primary reason for opening your business here?

Question 4:

What are the main services or products offered by your business?

Question 5:

What ethnic groups frequent your store and which is the most common?

Question 6:

What ethnicity are your employees?

Question 7:

What city and country are you from?

Question 8:

How long have you lived in the Tulsa area?

Oklahoma State University Institutional Review Board

Date: Wednesday, December 12, 2007
IRB Application No AS0796
Proposal Title: The Mexicans/Latinos of Tulsa: A Study of Migration and Cultural Landscape

Reviewed and Exempt
Processed as:

Status Recommended by Reviewer(s): Approved Protocol Expires: 12/11/2008

Principal
Investigator(s)

Samuel Dent	Alyson Greiner
419 1/2 S. Ramsey	225 Scott Hall
Stillwater, OK 74074	Stillwater, OK 74078

The IRB application referenced above has been approved. It is the judgment of the reviewers that the rights and welfare of individuals who may be asked to participate in this study will be respected, and that the research will be conducted in a manner consistent with the IRB requirements as outlined in section 45 CFR 46.

☒ The final versions of any printed recruitment, consent and assent documents bearing the IRB approval stamp are attached to this letter. These are the versions that must be used during the study.

As Principal Investigator, it is your responsibility to do the following:

1. Conduct this study exactly as it has been approved. Any modifications to the research protocol must be submitted with the appropriate signatures for IRB approval.
2. Submit a request for continuation if the study extends beyond the approval period of one calendar year. This continuation must receive IRB review and approval before the research can continue.
3. Report any adverse events to the IRB Chair promptly. Adverse events are those which are unanticipated and impact the subjects during the course of this research; and
4. Notify the IRB office in writing when your research project is complete.

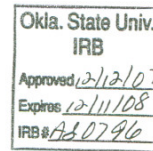
Please note that approved protocols are subject to monitoring by the IRB and that the IRB office has the authority to inspect research records associated with this protocol at any time. If you have questions about the IRB procedures or need any assistance from the Board, please contact Beth McTernan in 219 Cordell North (phone: 405-744-5700, beth.mcternan@okstate.edu).

Sincerely,



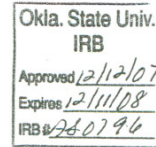
Sue C. Jacobs, Chair
Institutional Review Board

Script Attached to Migration Surveys



The purpose of this study is to document migration patterns of Mexican/Latinos living in Tulsa and to also see how they are changing the cultural landscape. There are no physical or mental risks involved if you decide to participate in the study. The survey is only interested in places you have lived in before coming to Tulsa. If you wish to participate you will only be asked a series of questions. The survey should take no longer than 15-30 minutes to complete. This information shall remain confidential. Please **do not** provide your name or any other personal information that can identify you.

Script Attached to Business Survey



The purpose of this study is to document migration patterns of Mexican/Latinos living in Tulsa and to also see how they are changing the cultural landscape. There are no physical or mental risks involved if you decide to participate in the study. If you wish to participate you will only be asked a series of questions. The survey is interested in what types of business activity you experience, the ethnicity of your employees/patrons, and how long your business has been there. The survey should take no longer than 15-30 minutes to complete. This information shall remain confidential. Please **do not** provide your name or any other personal information that can identify you.

VITA

Samuel Taylor Dent

Candidate for the Degree of

Master of Science

Thesis: THE LATINOS OF TULSA: THEIR PLACE IN SPACE AND PATTERNS
OF MIGRATION

Major Field: Geography

Biographical:

Personal Data:

Education:

Bachelors of Arts at Oklahoma State University Stillwater, Oklahoma
July, 2005

Completed the requirements for the Master of Science in Geography
at Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma July, 2008.

Experience:

Professional Memberships:

Gamma Theta Upsilon (Chi Chapter) Geographical honor society.

Name: Samuel Taylor Dent

Date of Degree: July, 2008

Institution: Oklahoma State University

Location: Stillwater, Oklahoma

Title of Study: THE LATINOS OF TULSA: THEIR PLACE IN SPACE AND
PATTERNS OF MIGRATION

Pages in Study: 95

Candidate for the Degree of Master of Science

Major Field: Geography

Scope and Method of Study:

This study's goal is to develop a better understanding of Latinos and Latino businesses in Tulsa. This study was created with the help of two surveys. On site interviews were conducted to acquire the majority of the data.

Findings and Conclusions:

The sample population of the study is overwhelmingly from central Mexico. The sample of Latino businesses in the study do show a chronological pattern and offer specific types of services unique to each district.

ADVISER'S APPROVAL: Dr. Alyson Greiner
