



SETTLEMENT PATTERNS OF HISPANIC MIGRANTS IN CALIFORNIA AND TEXAS

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Summary

This thesis will look at the settlement patterns of Hispanic migrants in the states of California and Texas and the causes of these patterns. To see what patterns there are GIS analyses will be done alongside a literature review to look for an explanation of the observed patterns. Based on the resulting maps the border areas, mainly the southern ones, are favoured by Hispanic migrants and based on the literature this is due to social connections. These are social networks, social capital, and social identity. The three mentioned elements can make migration easier on people by providing a support network for the migrant which can give housing and help in finding a job. Apart from these three the links between place and race and ethnicity also play a role in where people settle. Overall the settlement patterns of Hispanic migrants is the same as the settlement pattern of Hispanic people born in the US.

1. Introduction

1.1 Background

Migration is the third component of population change, next to births and deaths (Holdsworth et al., 2013). It has an impact on the population of a country, but it is also important to acknowledge the impact it has on the individual. According to Holdsworth et al. (2013) migration brings emotional, social, and financial upheaval with it. With all this emotional and social upheaval people might want to move somewhere where people understand their situation and culture. Holdsworth et al. (2013) also argue that migration can be seen as a reflection of a regions social, economic, political, and environmental events for both countries.

The fact that migrants cross borders makes migration an important topic in many countries, since governments, services, and businesses have to respond and adapt to the change in population (Holdsworth et al., 2013). However migration is more than just people moving, it is also the reasoning behind the move and the integration of the migrant in the new country.

For a country such as the USA, migration is even more important, since the country was founded by migrants. Apart from the Native Americans, every person in the USA is a descendant of a migrant. These migrants were not all willing migrants but they still came from different countries. Especially in the last couple of years. In the last five years, there has been more violence, poverty, political dysfunction, and environmental degradation on the American continents. This has led to an increase in refugees, migrants, and asylum seekers (Restrepo et al, 2019). These migrants are predominantly Hispanic in origin and a lot of them go to the USA for a new and/or better life.

In recent years the two largest migrant groups in the USA are Asian and Hispanic migrants. Hispanic migrants were 31.8% whereas Asian migrants were 37 per cent of the new arrivals to the USA in 2018 (PEW, 2020). Knowing where these people settle might help later in finding ways to integrate them into American society. The understanding of Hispanic migrants settlement patterns can also help with understanding trends in areas such as politics. Not all Hispanic Americans vote the same. An example is Florida where Hispanic voters are more Republican, which differs from the rest of the USA (PEW, 2020). But knowing where the new migrants settle might give an idea of the political future of that region.

In this thesis, the aim is to look at the patterns of Hispanic migrants once they have entered the USA. From initial research into this topic, it seems that there has not been a Geographic Information Systems, henceforth referred to as GIS, analysis done in recent years that focused on Hispanic migrants in a specific area. However, The Pew Research Center has taken multiple looks over the years at the patterns that can be seen in the settlement of Hispanic people living in the USA. But it takes all of the Hispanics in the USA not specifically the Hispanic migrants. In this thesis, the emphasis will lie on Hispanic migrants and their settlement patterns in California and Texas.

1.2 Research problem

As mentioned in the background section, migration is an important component of the USA. A country founded by migrants and the promise of a better life for the people who move there. Most of the current population growth of the USA is due to migrants moving to the USA and them having children.

Hispanics are the largest minority in America according to Pew Research Center (2020), and they are the fastest-growing group. This growth is not caused only by births, but also by migration. These migrants seem to mainly locate in the states of California and Texas, which account for 45% of all the

Hispanic people in the USA. This raises questions such as: why do so many live there, and do they cluster close together in these states?

The main question in this research is 'what are the explanations for the settlement patterns of Hispanic migrants in the states of Texas and California?'. To answer this question there will be 2 parts to this research. The first part is to identify the observable patterns in the settlement of Hispanic migrants within the USA. Secondly, there is aimed to identify what theories or principles exist to explain these patterns. The research will be executed by using mixed methods with the use of maps, the data for the maps, and literature.

To see what trends there are in the settlement of Hispanic migrants in the USA secondary data will be used to do a GIS-analysis. The analysis will focus on Hispanic migrants that moved to the states of California and Texas. This analysis will look at what can be observed in the settlement of Hispanic migrants. Within these patterns, there could be spatial clustering. Spatial clustering is grouping a set of spatial objects, places of residence, together based on location.

For trying to find an explanation of the trends that are observed during the GIS analysis and analysis of literature and previous studies on the topic of migration will be used, as well as literature on ethnicity/race and place. The expectation is that when people migrate they move to areas where there are other people of the same background. The explanation for the settlement patterns can be social networks which the migrants want to use to get everything in order or to feel more at home in the USA (De Haas, 2005).

This research can help to better conceptualise where Hispanic migrants live. Total numbers will always favour the large cities, but if Hispanic migrants are a larger per cent of the population of rural areas they will have more impact there. With a greater impact on the culture of an area, this area might see a shift in things such as voter preference (PEW, 2020) as well as the overall culture and language in these areas. According to Van den Berg and Bodvarsson (2009), the assimilation of Hispanic migrants is slow due to them living in clusters as well as their socio-economic status. Therefore knowing where Hispanic migrants settlement patterns and where they live can also help in understanding why their assimilation into the larger society is so slow.

1.3 Structure

This thesis has two main parts of importance after this point. These are the theoretical framework and the results sections. The theoretical framework will lay out which theories are most important to this research, what they are, and how concepts of these theories are connected. The theoretical framework will also include and conceptual model of the different concepts found within the theories and how these are linked together, as well as a short explanation of the model. Before the results section, there is the methodology on how the research was done and which specific analysis tools have been used on the collected data. It will also explain how the data was collected and from where. The result section will be in four parts. This is due to the three different analyses that have been done and the explanation of the patterns of settlement based on literature. With this structure the story told in this thesis is easy to follow and understand.

2. Theoretical framework

To start we need to have an understanding of the theories behind migration. De Haas (2005) wrote that changes have to be made in the migration process, both in the countries of origins and in the receiving countries. For this thesis, this part of the article might not be the most interesting, but de Haas also talks about myths surrounding migration. One of these myths, in particular, seemed interesting.

The myth is that poverty and misery are the roots of migration, but de Haas argues that this is simply not the case. People migrate to improve their lives, which does not automatically mean that their lives were miserable before, and apart from that, it is also not the poorest people that migrate. De Haas lists things that are necessary to migrate such as aspirations, money, and a social network.

Money is an obvious necessity as migration is rather expensive: some fees need to be paid, and travel to the destination country itself costs money. Aspirations are the drive behind the move and are necessary to get through the whole ordeal. Social networks make the move easier since this increases the chances to find a job or a home.

But there is a side effect to these networks and that is that certain groups might group in certain areas due to these networks. This thesis aims to see what the settlement patterns of Hispanic migrants are once they have moved to the USA, so these social networks might be worth a look at.

Social networks are part of social capital according to the paper by Anthias (2007) and it can be linked to resource mobilisation. In the article, Anthias references Bourdieu's idea of social capital which he quoted from the text of Bourdieu himself.

'Social capital is the sum of resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalised relations of mutual acquaintance and recognition'.

(Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, cited by Anthias 2007, p790).

There is also a link between social capital and membership to a group.

'The volume of the social capital possessed by a given agent... depends on the size of the network of connections he can effectively mobilize and on the volume by each of those to whom he is connected'
(Bourdieu 1986, cited by Anthias 2007, p790).

This might explain why migrants settle together if they are from similar backgrounds or from the same country or region. They know each other and can benefit from the network they have within this community. Of course, there is a difference between having these resources and mobilising them so that you can use them. There are reasons why people might not be able to mobilise the resources due to lack of knowledge or lack of access to areas where the resources can be used (Anthias, 2007).

There are two ways to mobilise social capital. The first one is called 'positively advantaged social capital', which is focused on consolidating the position of someone who has an advantage. This method of mobilising social capital takes advantage of someone's position within the hierarchy of the community and helps to improve their standing even further.

The second way of mobilisation is called 'negatively advantaged social capital'. This is a more defensive way of mobilising the social capital available to the migrant. This one is more frequently used by migrants because the migrants do not have access to their original social network. An example that Anthias references is an article written by Archer and Francis in 2006, about Chinese migrants who

were focused on the future and escaping their less than ideal situation by furthering their children's education. The mindset was based on the hardships they had endured as migrants, and their ethnicity and social networks were a great resource to them.

An important theory here is the social identity theory of Tajfel. In 1979 Tajfel proposed people can derive great pride and self-esteem from their group memberships. People can identify their group by pointing out the differences of other groups and the similarities of things in the same group. This creates an 'us versus them' idea in people's minds.

Tajfel and Turner (1979) write that there are three main mental processes involved with classifying 'us' or 'them'. The first is categorisation, what describes a person or in which box does this person fit? Secondly, there is social identification, which is where you adopt the identity of the group that you are a part of. And the final step is comparing the group you are a part of with other groups.

This theory could help to understand the decisions made by migrations to locate in certain areas. They might see themselves as part of a group and want to be close to others of the same group for support. Tajfel defined social identity.

"Social identity" is defined as "that part of the individuals' self-concept which derives from their knowledge of their membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance of that membership"

(Tajfel 1981, cited by Tajfel 1982, p24).

These theories are interesting for this research as it looks for explanations for the settlement patterns of Hispanic migrants in the states of California and Texas. De Haas (2005) stating that a social network is one of the things necessary to migrate can be linked to social capital and social identity theory. As social networks are often built on a common aspect of people. This can be culture, language, or a shared interest. However, these same commonalities can also influence which group a person is a part of, or identifies with, which is part of social identity.

Then there is the link between social networks and social capital. This link is the connections a person has. If you have somebody in your social network who can help you find work and is willing to do so you have also mobilised your social capital.

The last link is between social identity and social capital. As mentioned before social identity comes from being part of a group. In this group, you can ask people for help looking for work or a place to live, which is part of social capital. Networks and identity often help in finding work and housing and are therefore linked to social capital. Especially if you can mobilise them to help and aid you.

Where these aspects come into play in this thesis is the spread of the Hispanic migrants across the states of California and Texas. In larger cities, social network, identity, and capital might play a smaller role since there are more jobs and housing options available. But in the smaller counties, with less than 2000 inhabitants these three aspects might be more important. There are fewer jobs and housing options available, so moving there is a risk if you are a migrant and do not have a connection in the county or town. Newcomers to a small community are often easily identified by the people of the community. And depending on the community are treated differently.

Out of these different theories a conceptual model follows, this is shown below. Social identity theory and social network are seen as interconnected in this thesis. The reason for this is that social identity is formed by categorisation and identification with a certain group. This group is important for the individual and they will look for a network within this group. Such a group can be created around a

shared ethnicity, religion, or culture. In this thesis, the group that is being looked at is the migrants of Hispanic origin that live in Texas and California.

Lastly out of the places of settlement a spatial pattern can be formed. These could be clustering in a certain area of counties or cities. There is also the possibility that there are no real patterns at all, that migrants do not favour a certain area over another.

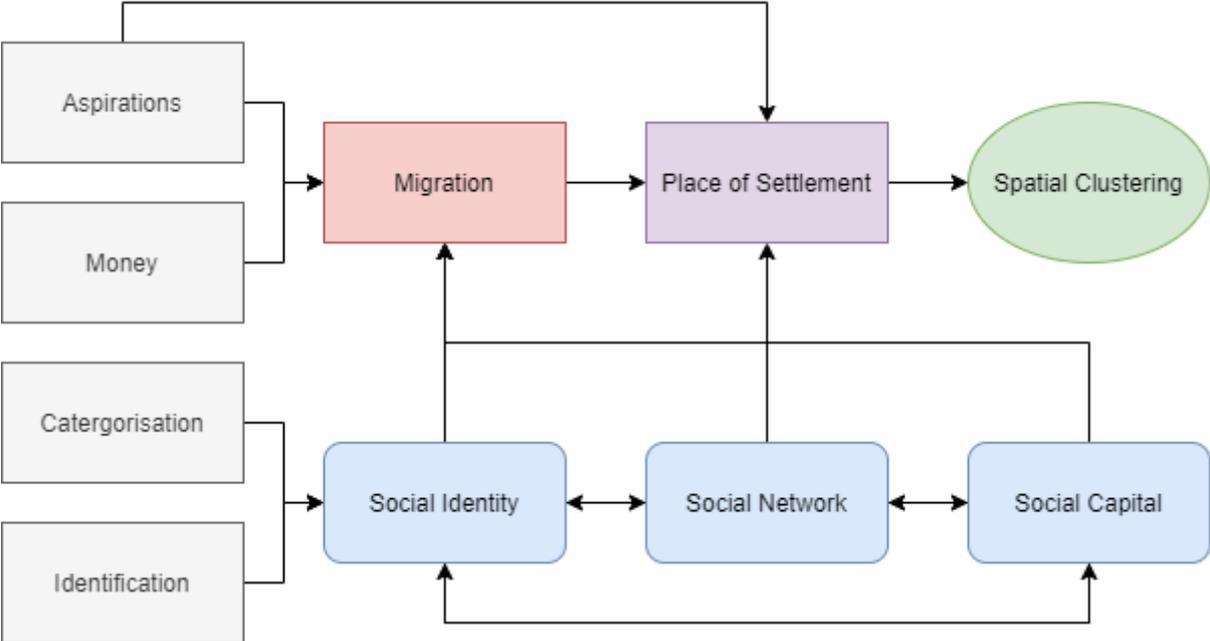


Figure 1 Conceptual Model

Figure 1 shows the connections of the different aspects of theories discussed before as they are seen in this thesis. Within this thesis it is believed that social networks, social capital, and social identity interconnect, these connections have been explained a little while ago. These factors influence migration and the place of settlement. The reason for the explanation before is to make the reader aware of what the different terms in this model and further in the thesis mean and why they are being used.

3. Methodology

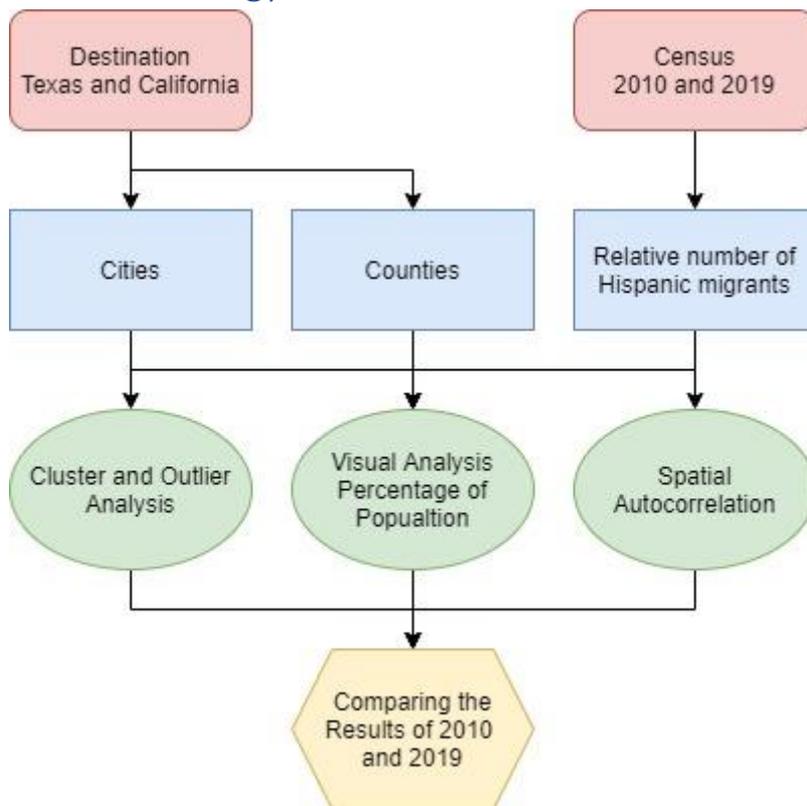


Figure 2 Analysis Model

This thesis uses mixed methods to analyse the patterns of settlement of Hispanic migrants in the states of Texas and California and the explanations that there might be for these patterns. The topic of this research is being observed from a distance, since the researcher does not live in the USA and was born and raised in one country. The researcher might not know what it is like to be a Hispanic migrant going to the USA, but I am interested in the reasoning behind it and the patterns it creates.

The data used in this thesis comes from the US Census Bureau. The Bureau does multiple censuses and the one from which the data comes is the US Community Census. This census is done each year, and the earliest data that was available was from 2010 and the latest was from 2019. The US Census bureau gathers this data each year from the citizens by asking them to fill in a survey.

As how ethical the use of this survey is, the data from the survey is completely anonymous and a person's private information is not revealed or gathered. These are things such as names, addresses, and social security numbers. The data that is gathered is the age, number of people in the household, ethnicity and race, marital status, employment, and schooling. Due to this, the data that has been gathered for this thesis contains no private or sensitive information about the migrants whose settlement patterns are being looked at.

The data that has been collected is for both county and city/town/place level in the states of California and Texas for both 2010 and 2019. This means that 8 data sets have been gathered. The reason for gathering data from two different years is to see if there has been a change in the settlement patterns or not, and if it is the case on which level and in which state. Another thing to note is that this thesis will look at relative numbers and not total numbers. The main reason is the uneven spread of people

across both states. Cities such as Houston, Dallas, Los Angeles, and San Francisco have millions of inhabitants as do the counties that they are in, but the more rural regions sometimes have less than 1000 inhabitants. 200 migrants in one of those rural areas might have a greater impact on the area than 1000 migrants in one of the larger cities.

GIS will be the main software used in this research. It has options to do spatial analysis, as well as some statistical analyses such as spatial autocorrelation. The maps that have been produced will be visually analysed to see what the patterns are. The main spatial analysis tool that will be used is the cluster and outlier analysis. It shows clusters, which are areas that have similar values to each other, outliers, areas that have different values than the majority of areas around them, and lastly, areas that are seen as insignificant, these areas are not a cluster or an outlier. The spatial autocorrelation reports look at whether the patterns are dispersed, random, or clustered. As well as what the likelihood is that these patterns are the result of random chance. The last part is the possible explanations for the patterns. This part will be done by looking at literature on cultural geography, and the links between race/ethnicity and place as well as the theoretical framework that was in the previous section.

4. Results

The results are in four parts. The first is looking at the non-analysed maps that show the percentage of Hispanic migrants. The second part is looking at the result of the cluster outlier analysis and the patterns that can be seen from this. In the third part, the results of the spatial autocorrelation will be looked at. The last part is looking for an explanation based in part on the theoretical framework used in this thesis as well as other literature on race/ethnicity and space.

4.1 Percentage of population

The first results that will be discussed are the percentages of Hispanic migrants of the population. In figures 3 and 4 maps are seen that show the percentage of the population at the county level. Figure 3 shows the results of 2010 and figure 4 shows the results of 2019. At the county level, the highest percentage observed is 40 per cent of the population.

What stands out is that the highest percentage can be found around the southern borders of both states. This might be because these states immediately border Mexico, but the explanations of the patterns will be discussed later on. Other trends that can be seen is that there is a high percentage in the north of Texas, but mainly along the border. The last trend is that there is also a high percentage in the counties where the major cities, such as Los Angeles, Houston, and Dallas, are located.

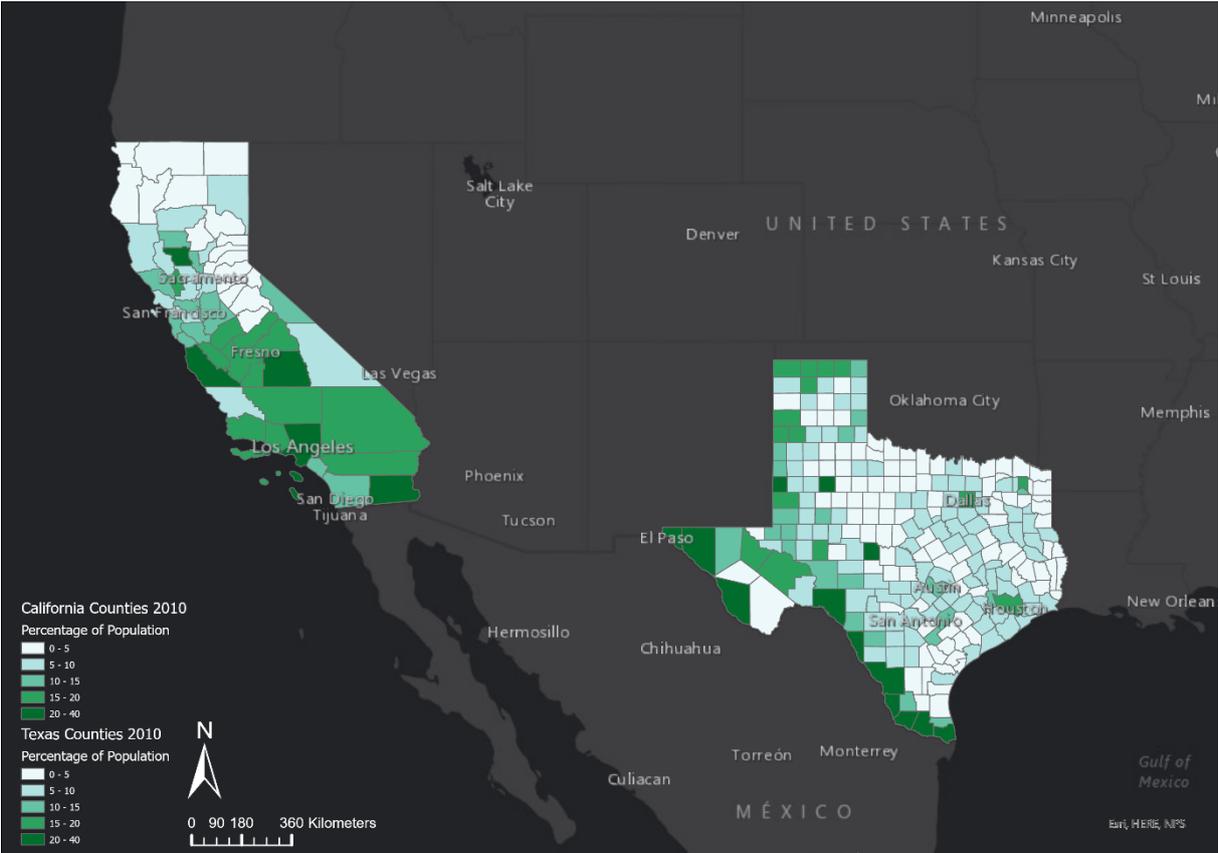


Figure 3 Percentage of Population Counties 2010

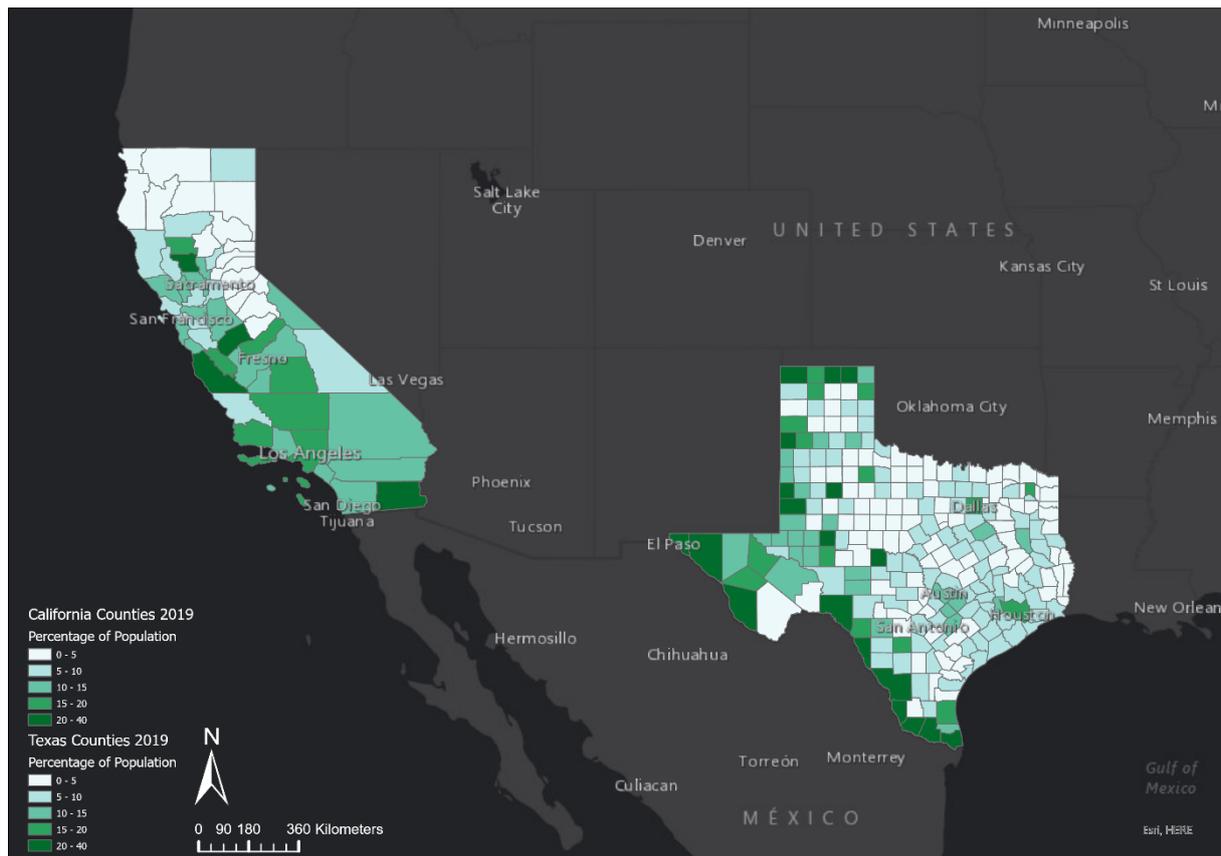


Figure 4 Percentage of Population Counties 2019

There have been changes to the patterns over between 2010 and 2019. Whereas in 2010 the northern border of Texas mainly had counties with 15 to 20 per cent Hispanic migrants in 2019 it is mainly 20 to 40 per cent Hispanic migrants. In California, there has been a small shift in the northern part of the state. One county went from 5 to 10 per cent down to 0 to 5 per cent, while the county directly to the north of it went up. In the south of the state, the percentage has gone down as well, but one county in the middle has gone up. These changes can be due to moving, or the native-born population and other foreign-born people increasing over the time between 2010 and 2019.

The cities show a similar pattern, although within counties with a low percentage there are towns that have a high percentage of Hispanic migrants living there. To see examples of cities having different percentages of Hispanic migrants appendix 5 and appendix 6 show maps of cities in northern California and the cities of Houston county. Overall Hispanic migrants, based on just the percentage that they are, seem to favour the southern parts of California and Texas. Other regions where they make up a decent amount of the population are the border regions and the larger cities.

The locations with a high percentage of Hispanic migrants match the data on the locations with a high Hispanic population in the USA shown by the US Census Bureau (2021). Here they have data on the percentage of the population that is Hispanic, and the patterns of where high percentages can be found line up with where there is a high percentage of Hispanic migrants. These patterns match which could indicate that social networks, social identity, and social capital play a role in the settlement of Hispanic migrants.

Between 2010 and 2019 the settlement pattern of Hispanic migrants has not changed a lot. Some counties have risen in percentage and others have a smaller percentage but the overall trends remain the same in both years. This makes sense since the data displayed shows all Hispanic people who live in the USA but were not born there.

4.2 Cluster and outlier analysis

This second part will discuss the results of the cluster and outlier analysis done on the percentage of Hispanics in the population of the counties and the cities. Figures 5 and 6 show the results of this analysis for the counties in 2010 and 2019. Figure 5 is shown at the bottom of this page and figure 6 can be found on the next page.

The first thing that stands out in California is that the high-high cluster, meaning a cluster of high percentages, has shrunk from 5 to 3 counties that are no longer directly connected. However, the low-low, cluster of low percentage counties, areas in the northern part of the state have also both shrunk down. This gives the impression that the spread of Hispanic migrants might have become more even over the state since 2010.

As for Texas, there is a high-high area of multiple counties in the west and the south of the state. These have grown since 2010 or changed shape a bit. Some high-low outliers have disappeared and some new ones have shown up. These are outliers that have a significantly higher percentage than the counties around them. And the low-high outliers, areas with a significantly lower percentage, have been reduced to 6 in 2019 while in 2010 there were 7 of these.

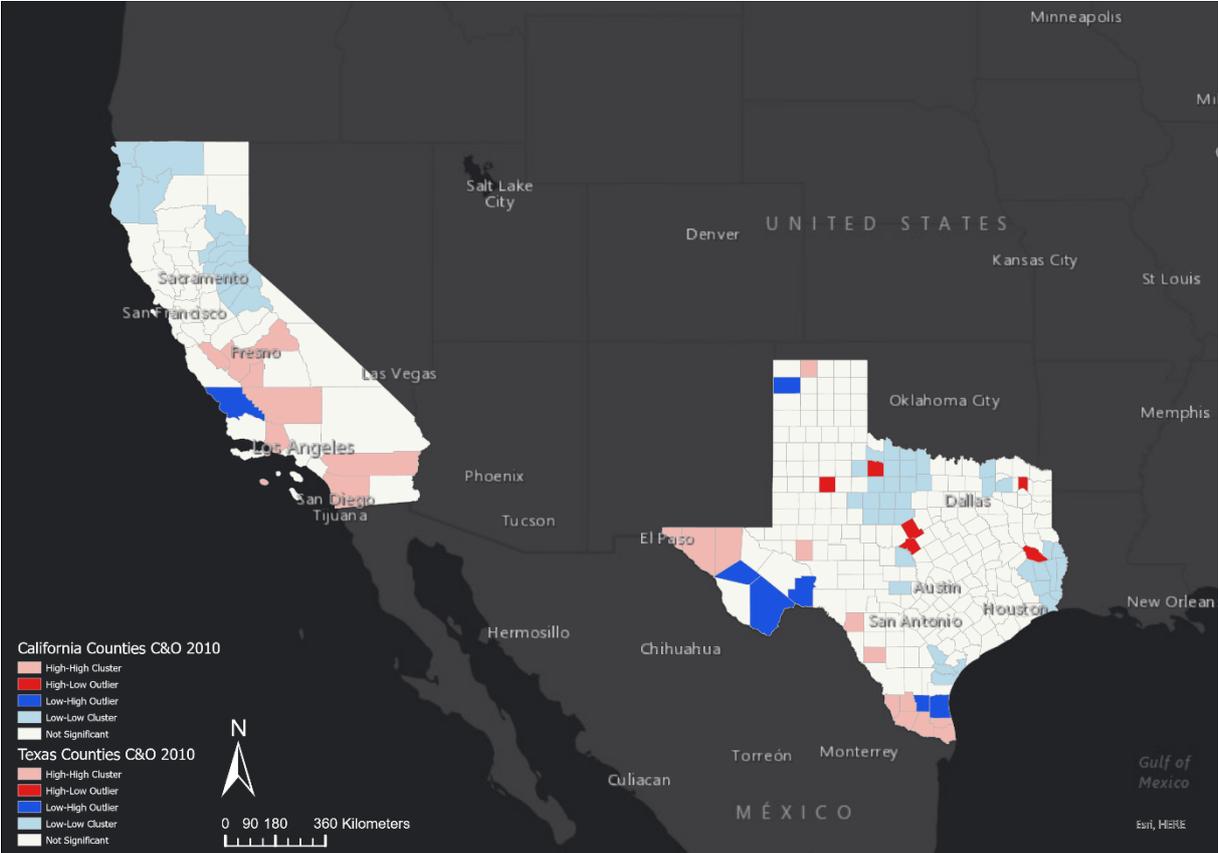


Figure 5 Cluster Outlier Analysis Counties 2010

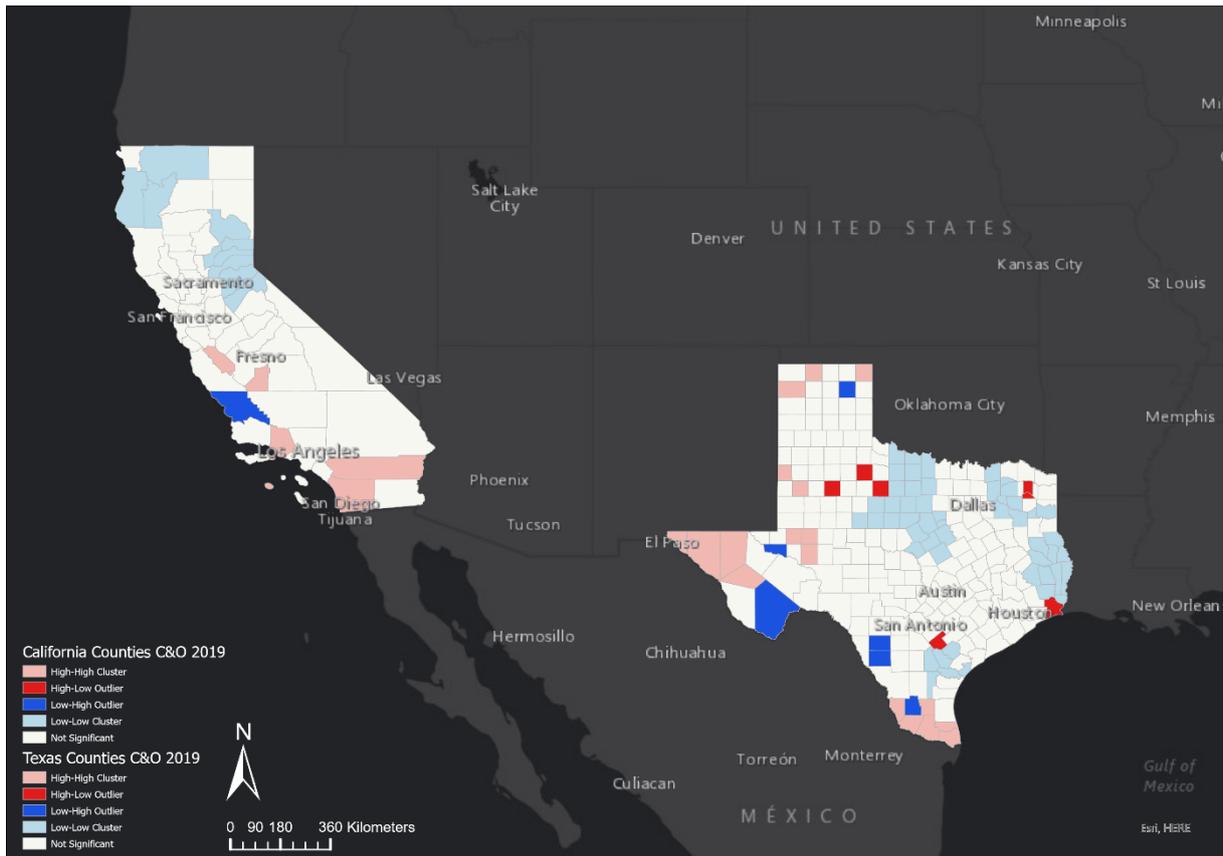


Figure 6 Cluster Outlier Analysis Counties 2019

This analysis shows which areas have a significantly higher percentage of Hispanic migrants than the counties around them as well as which counties have a significantly lower percentage of Hispanic migrants living there. This means that these maps show both cold and hot spots within the settlement of Hispanic migrants. These spots can help in visualising which areas are statistically more or less attractive to Hispanic migrants to settle and build their lives.

There are of course differences between the patterns seen in these maps and the maps showing purely the percentage of the population, but the main patterns do not change. These maps still show high-high clusters around the southern parts of the states and the borders. The main difference, especially in Texas, is that the larger cities jump are parts of high-high outliers as well or they are seen as insignificant. During this research close-ups of different cities have been made to show the differences within them. Los Angeles is often seen as one entity, but it is made up of different cities, and the map of the cluster outlier analysis done on it shows the differences between these cities. This map can be found in appendix 7. Appendix 8 shows a city as a high-high cluster which was located in a county that is also part of a high-high cluster.

4.3 Spatial autocorrelation

The third analysis that was done was the spatial autocorrelation. The results of this analysis show that in both years, both states, and on both levels, the spatial distribution is clustering and has less than 1 per cent likely to be caused by random chance. This means that there is a pattern and that this pattern has been created on purpose. Therefore there has to be a reason for the patterns that have been observed. The pattern that has been found in the data is a clustering pattern, which could also be seen in the percentage of the population, and the cluster and outlier maps. This thesis argues that it is caused by a combination of social networks and social identity, which can influence each other.

To show proof of what is stated before on the right is part of one of the spatial autocorrelation reports for one of the data sets used in this research. This report shows the bell curve used in the analysis and where the dataset used falls.

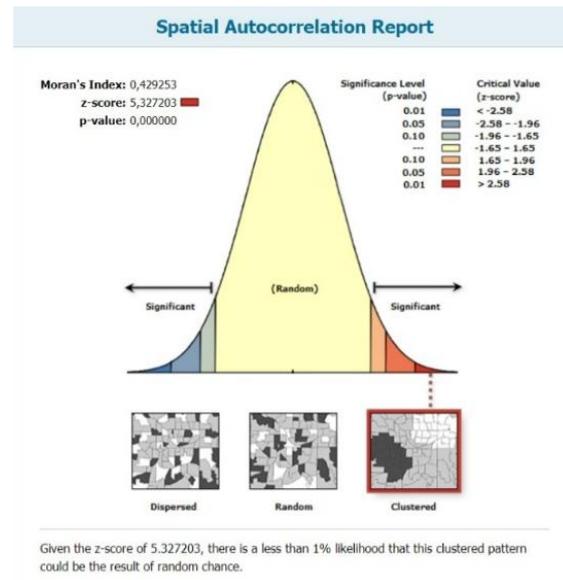


Figure 7 Spatial Autocorrelation report California Counties 2019

4.4 Explanations of the settlement patterns

In this last part of the results, the focus will be on the possible explanations of the observed trends. This is also the second question of the research.

In the theoretical framework social networks, social identity, and social capital were mentioned. These three are the start of a possible explanation for the patterns seen in the states of California and Texas. When a person moves they leave behind the network of their origin region, so having one in place in the new region is important (De Haas, 2005). This is especially the case in small towns. In a larger city, there are more jobs available so a strong social network to help find work might not be needed. But in a small town with limited work knowing someone who can offer you a job might be an incentive to move there. This social network is also part of the social capital since social capital can be mobilised to help people move up the ladder in society (Archer and Francis, 2006). According to Samers and Collyer (2017), the existence of social networks itself might already be a reason to move to a certain place. They also state that the social capital that comes with a social network is often seen as a good thing that can help a migrant settle in a new place. The continuous arrival of new migrants to a certain area only strengthens the appeal of the area and will draw more and more migrants to it. This attraction of new migrants by other migrants already living in the area might explain why there are so many in the states of Texas and California. There were some migrants there, and their social networks kept attracting more migrants.

There is also social identity. This as mentioned before is made up of three parts. These parts are categorisation, identification, and comparison (Tajfel, 1981). The reason this thesis believes that social networks, social capital, and social identity are linked is since people create networks among people with whom they have something in common. This can be a language, culture, or interest. So if a Hispanic person wants to move to another country they might ask around to see if there are people who know someone in that country. Thus using their social networks and partially their social identity

since they have something in common with the person they are asking. When they arrive in the new country they might stay at the acquaintances' place until they can get everything together, but what is often seen is that this acquaintance shares similarities with the person they are hosting. This is often a background of migration, or a cultural element, both of which can influence and shape someone's social identity.

What is mentioned above explains why the states of California and Texas have such a high number of Hispanic migrants living there overall, but not why these migrants cluster in certain areas of these states. The larger cities are favoured due to the opportunities, as mentioned before. But the more rural areas seem a bit odd. These areas are small and do not offer as many chances as the cities so why would migrants move there? The explanation above might be partially applicable here with the migrants' social network, but why do Hispanic migrants make up so much of the population there? According to Anderson (2015), there are three options in which a dominant group can deal with a minority. The first two are genocide and tight control but the third one might explain why Hispanic migrants move to rural areas. The third way is a partnership (Anderson, 2015), this means that the new and different culture is welcomed by the dominant one and that the minority is granted equality.

So, what does this have to do with the rural regions in Texas? Well if the people who were born in the USA are open to a partnership with the migrants then those migrants might want to move there. This partnership does not mean that the groups completely integrate, they can still lead parallel lives to one another since the 'stranger danger' might still be there.

Another important thing to point out is that both California and Texas used to be part of Mexico, so there was already a large population of Hispanic people living there. After all the 39.47 per cent (US Census Bureau, 2021) of the Texas population that is Hispanic is not just migrants. The same goes for 39 per cent (Public Policy Institute of California, 2021) of the population of California. The Hispanic people already living there as well as the history of these two states can play an important role in why people move there. And if these groups then live around the border then the migrants will locate themselves there as well. The spread of the native-born Hispanic population, Hispanic people born in the USA, goes along very similar lines as the spread of the Hispanic migrants. This is based on the data of the US Census Bureau and the 2019 data of the American Community Census.

Other things to bring up are the neighbourhoods or towns in which one nationality or cultural group locates itself. These areas, even if it is small in numbers, then attract more people of the same group due to the shared social identity, and in small part social networks and social capital. These last two might be easier to establish in a community with whom you share your social identity.

The last thing to mention is that these explanations can be applied to both the observed patterns from 2010 and 2019 since there is no real difference between the two years as far as the patterns of the settlement are concerned.

5. Reflections and conclusions

5.1 Reflections

This thesis has highlighted the settlement patterns of the Hispanic migrants in California and Texas, but due to time constraints, other states had to be left out. Whereas Pew Research Center can do research and analysis for all the 50 states and their Hispanic inhabitants this was not possible in this thesis. The Pew Research Center looks at all Hispanic people and not specifically at the migrants when they look at settlement patterns, so this thesis will at least add this to the existing research on this topic.

The thesis does have its limitations. One of these is the time restraint on this project. If there had been more time the settlement patterns of the Hispanic migrants in Florida and New York would also have been added since these two states have the most Hispanic migrants after the states of California and Texas. Another limitation is the available data. The data from the US Census Bureau is gathered by asking people to fill in a survey, so the data might be incomplete if not everyone fills it in and there is no way to know if everyone takes part in these surveys.

5.2 Conclusions

The research done in this thesis has shown that there is a pattern in the settlement of Hispanic migrants in the states of California and Texas. The migrants seem to favour the borders of both states and mainly the southern ones, both on county and city level. Within counties, some towns seem to be more favoured than others. This is due, based on the literature, to a combination of social networks, social capital, and the concepts of place and ethnicity/race. People feel more comfortable around others with similar background and culture. And given the history of the two states that have been analysed, it makes sense that a lot of newly arriving Hispanic migrants settle in them. As for why the migrants settle near the borders, this is due to the aforementioned social networks and the fact that Hispanic people who have been born in the USA also live there. This creates an attractive environment for Hispanic migrants to settle in these areas. The impact that these migrants have differs per scale and the size of the place that you look at. A small town can be impacted greatly by very few migrants and their culture, whereas a large city such as Houston will not feel the impact of these people and their culture.

The larger cities a relatively high percentage of Hispanic migrants as well. This is due to the opportunities in these larger cities as well as the presence of already established Hispanic communities. The total numbers would have only shown the major cities but by looking at the relative numbers a clearer picture can be formed in the settlement patterns of Hispanic migrants in the states of Texas and California on both county and city/place level. Some areas have fewer inhabitants but this does not mean that Hispanic migrants are not an important part of their populations.

In the last part of the data analysis, the statistical spatial autocorrelation has shown that these patterns are not the result of random chance and that Hispanic migrants do indeed cluster. This was both the case in 2010 and 2019. This clustering, just like the favouring of certain cities in counties, is linked to social networks, social capital, and the connection between place and race/ethnicity.

Linking the findings back to the theory can be done by looking back on the possible explanations given at the end of the result section. In that part, it was mentioned that people move to areas that are attractive to them in regards to jobs, or social aspects. If a culture is similar people might feel more at home. Taking both social identity theory and the point of Samers and Collyer (2015) together the picture is that migrants go to areas where they have social contacts or where there is a large

community of migrants. This is the link between the observed patterns of settlement and the theoretical framework at the beginning of the thesis. Since in that theoretical framework social networks, capital, and identity were identified as important components to migration. These three then play into to choice of destination of the migrants and since there are large Hispanic communities around the borders in Texas and southern California, migrants will gravitate towards there.

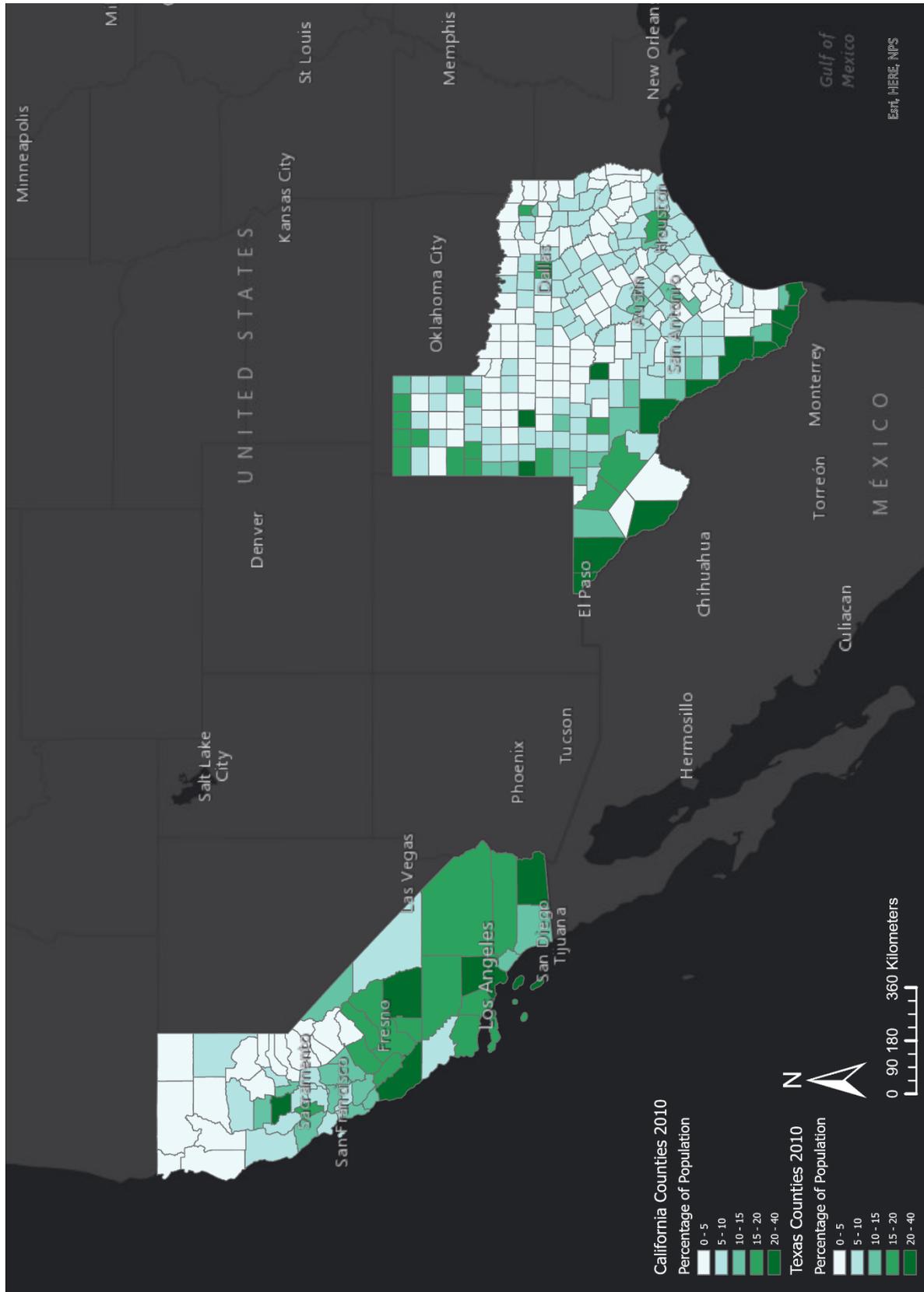
At last, I want to give some recommendations for future research. One if is doing the research that has been done here on the states of Florida and New York, and other states with large Hispanic communities as well. This will give a clearer image of the settlement patterns of Hispanic migrants across the entirety of the US. Another research idea is looking at the influence Hispanic migrants have on the overall culture of the states they live in. The USA does not have an official language, and if the influence of Hispanic migrants continues to grow Spanish might become more prevalent in official government documents.

Bibliography

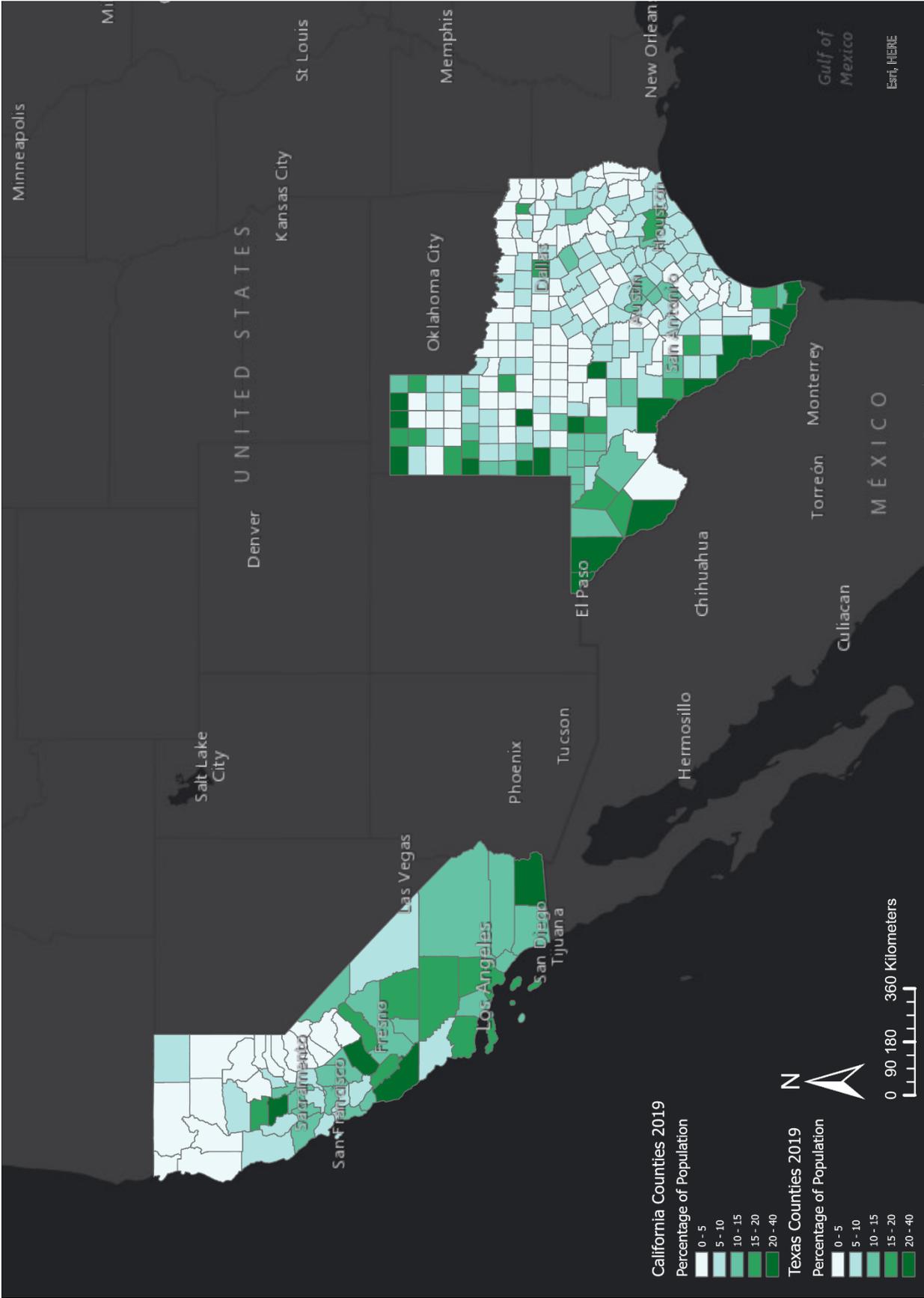
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Appendices: GIS Maps

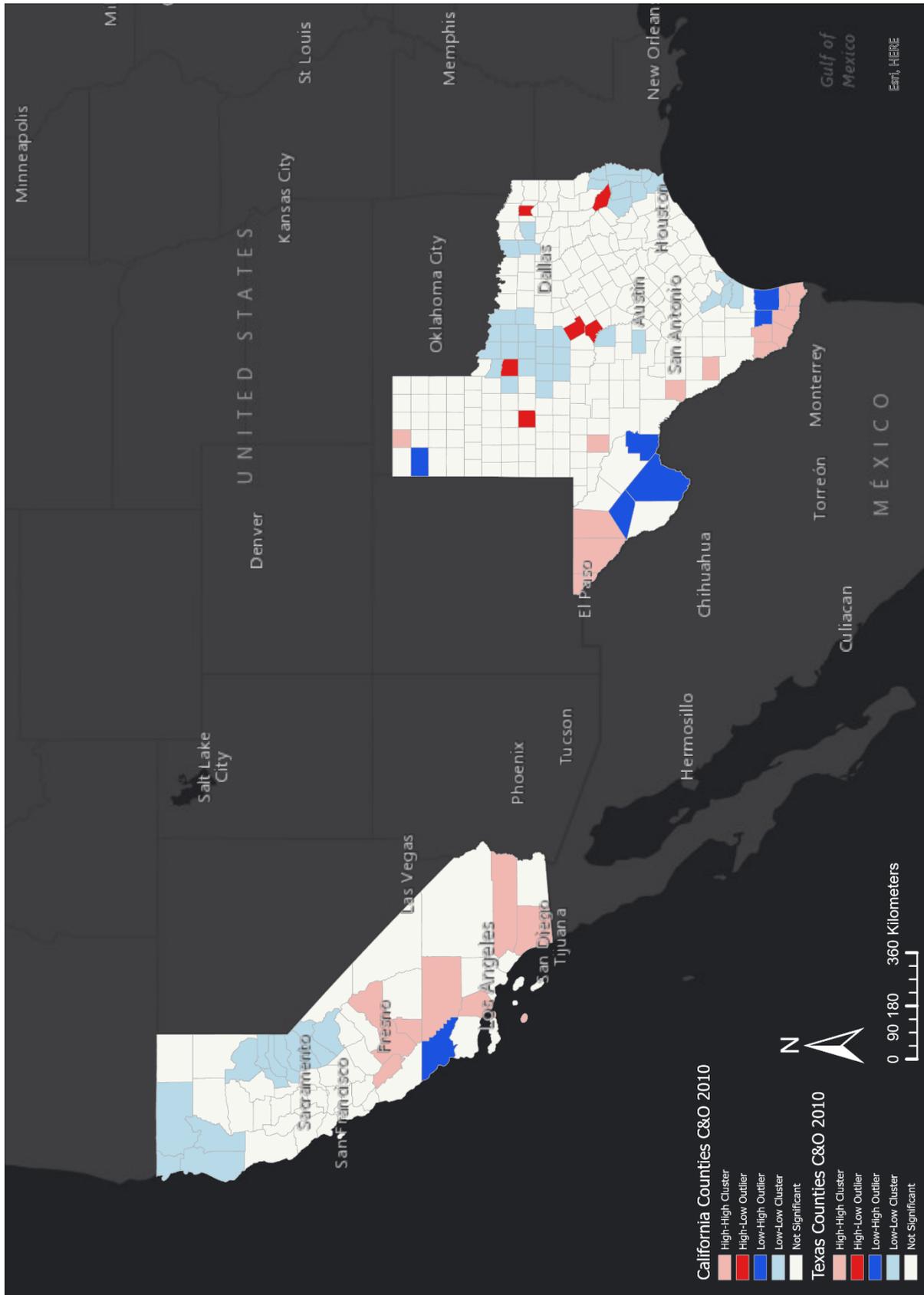
Appendix 1. Percentage of Population Counties 2010



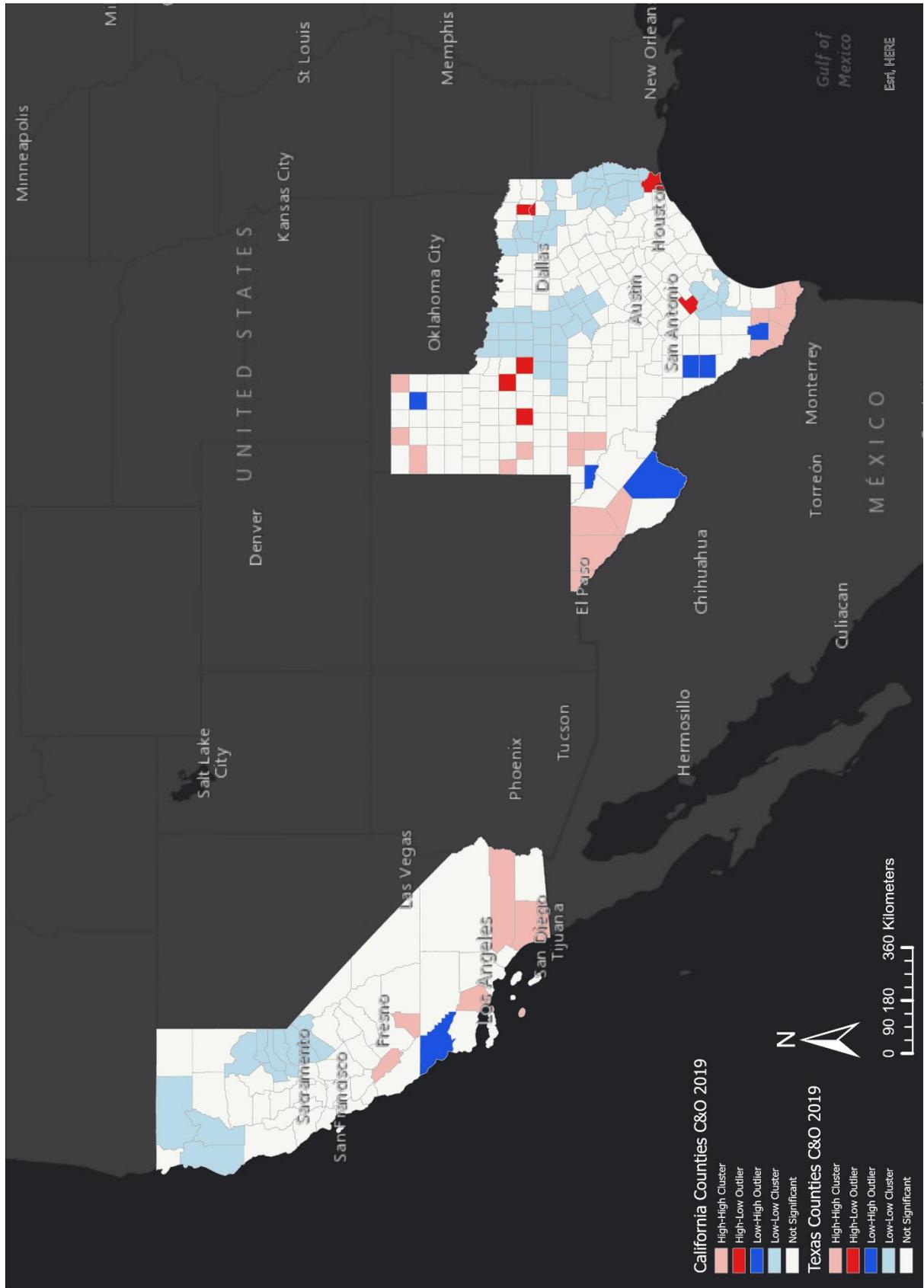
Appendix 2. Percentage of Population Counties 2019



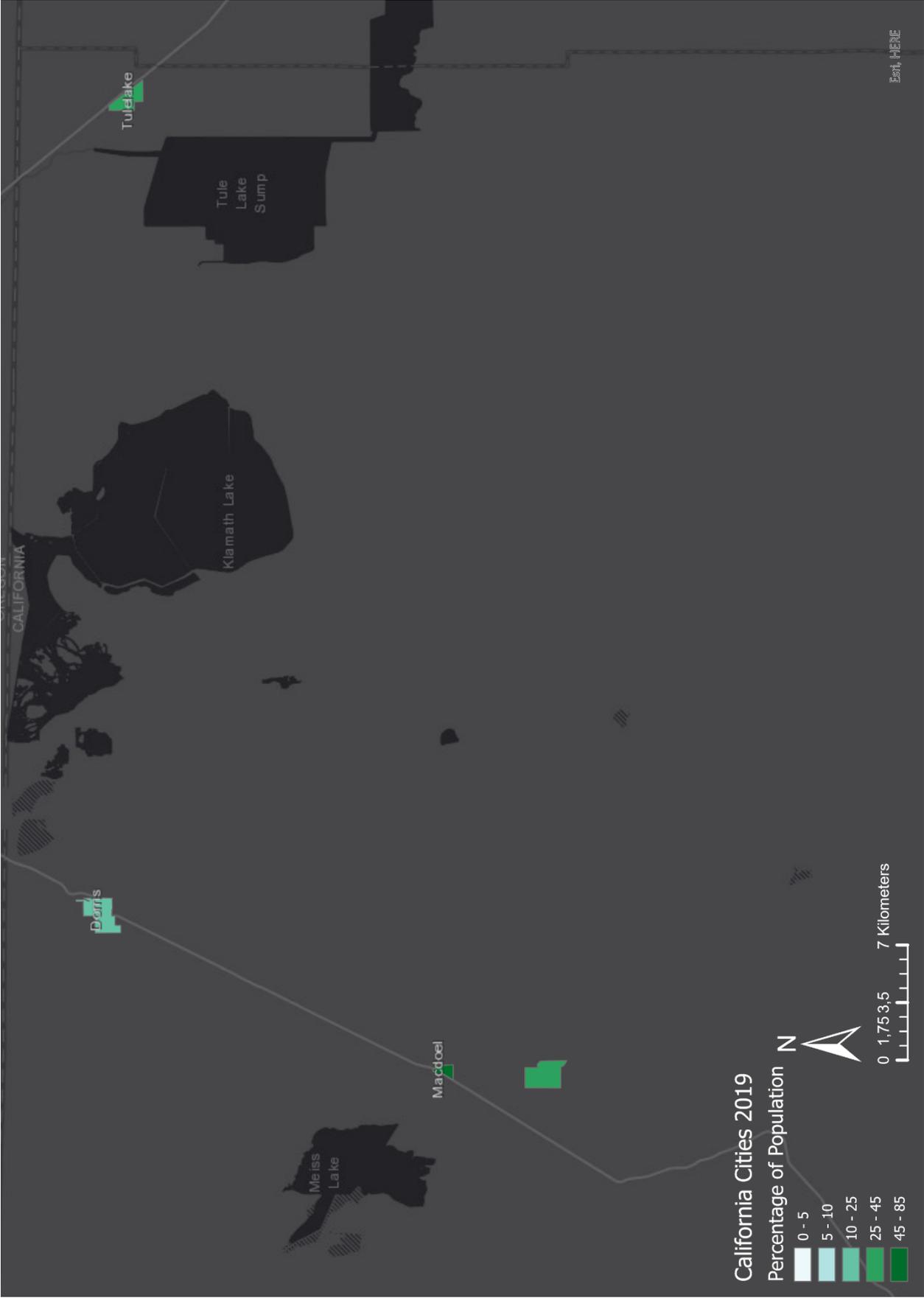
Appendix 3. Cluster Outlier Analysis Counties 2010



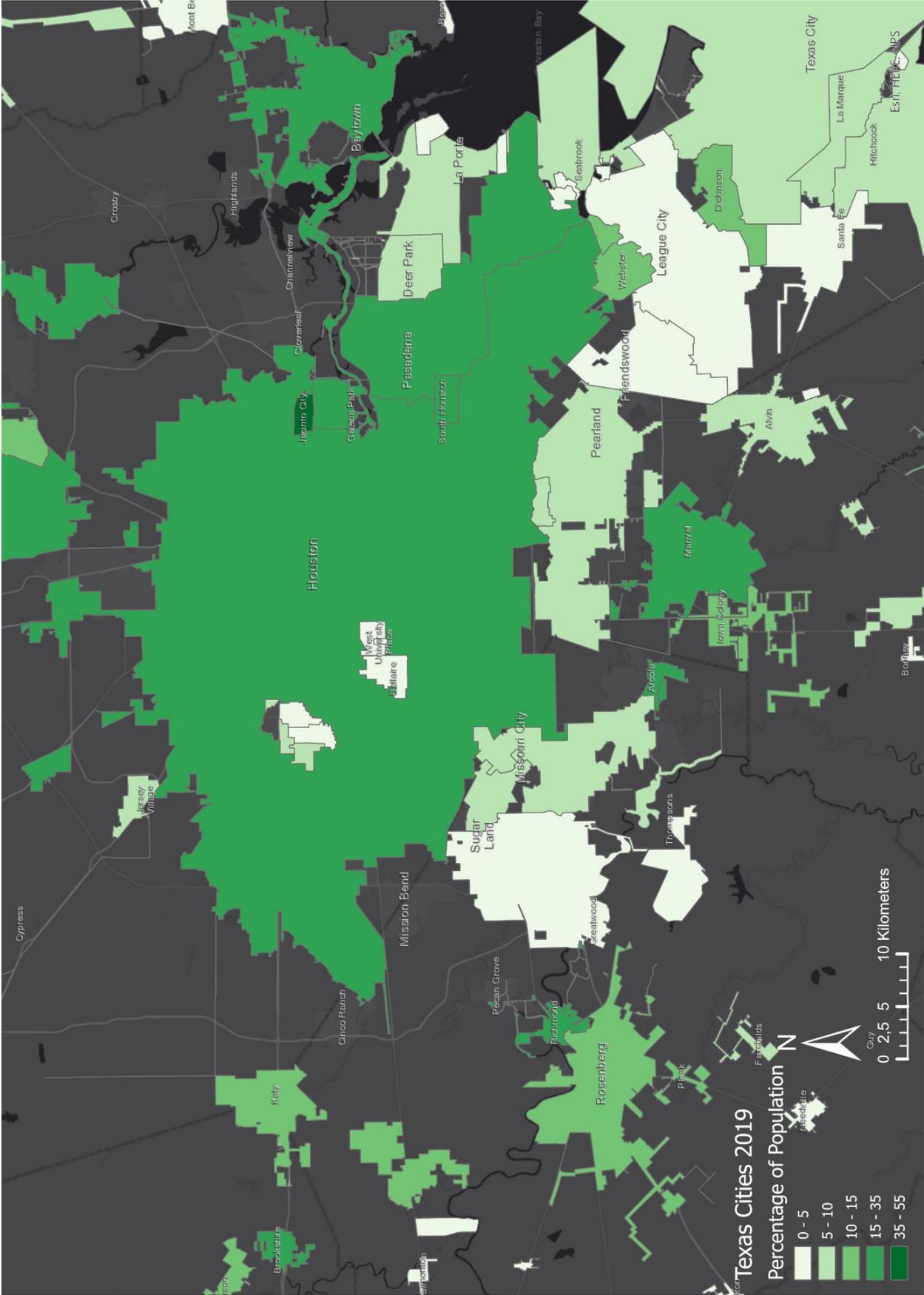
Appendix 4. Cluster Outlier Analysis Counties 2019



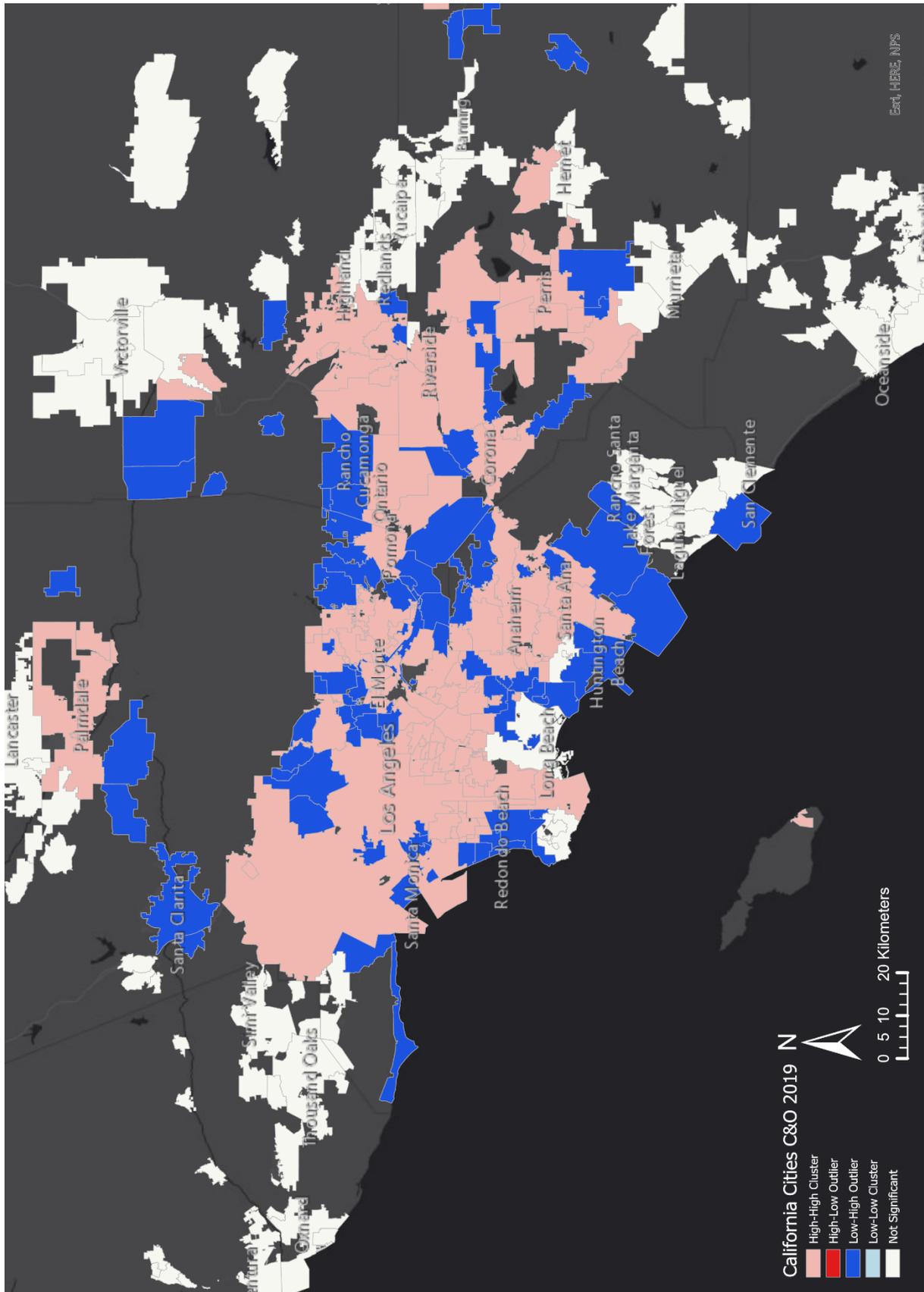
Appendix 5. Percentage of Population Cities Northern California 2019



Appendix 6. Percentage of Population Houston 2019



Appendix 7. Cluster Outlier Analysis Los Angeles 2019



Appendix 8. Cluster Outlier Analysis Southern Texas 2019

