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The New Latino South: The Context and Consequences of Rapid Population Growth

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Executive Summary

The Hispanic population is growing faster in much of the South than anywhere else in the United States. Across a broad swath of the region stretching westward from North Carolina on the Atlantic seaboard to Arkansas across the Mississippi River and south to Alabama on the Gulf of Mexico, sizeable Hispanic populations have emerged suddenly in communities where Latinos were a sparse presence just a decade or two ago. Examined both individually and collectively, these communities display attributes that set them apart from the nation as a whole and from areas of the country where Latinos have traditionally settled.¹

In the South, the white and black populations are also increasing and the local economies are growing robustly, even as some undergo dramatic restructuring. Such conditions have acted as a magnet to young, male, foreign-born Latinos migrating in search of economic opportunities. While these trends are not unique to the South, they are playing out in that region with a greater intensity and across a larger variety of communities—rural, small towns, suburbs and big cities—than in any other part of the country. Understanding the interplay of Hispanic population growth and the conditions that attended it helps illuminate a broad process of demographic and economic change in the South and in other new settlement areas as well. To varying degrees, communities scattered from New England to the Pacific Northwest are also seeing surging Hispanic populations. The South, different in so many ways for so much of its history, now offers lessons to the rest of the country.

Most of the Latinos added to the population of the new settlement areas of the South are foreign born, and their migration is the product of a great many different policies and circumstances in the United States and their home countries. But there is a local context as well, and it is different in the new settlement areas of the South than it is in states such as California and New York, where migrants join large, well-established Latino communities. Given its distinctive character, Hispanic population growth in these parts of the South will also have distinctive impacts on public policy, and those impacts have only just begun to be felt.

This report focuses on six Southern states—Arkansas, Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Tennessee—that registered very fast rates of Hispanic population growth between the censuses of 1990 and 2000 and continue to outpace the national average in the most recent census estimates. In order to examine the diversity of demographic and economic experiences at the local level, this report also examines 36 counties in the South that are experiencing especially rapid Hispanic growth. Some of these counties contain metropolitan areas such as Atlanta, Ga., Birmingham, Ala., and Charlotte, N.C., that registered huge increases in their Hispanic populations— for example, Mecklenburg County, N.C., which includes Charlotte, was up 500 percent. But other counties are predominately rural or contain smaller cities. Their total population in 2000 ranged from fewer than 37,000 (Murray County, a carpet-manufacturing community in northwest Georgia) to almost 900,000 (Shelby County, Tenn., home to Memphis). Thirty-six of these counties, all with an increase in their Hispanic population of 200 percent or more, had enough statistical information available to be studied in detail for this report. And in every case, the Hispanic population was relatively small before it

¹ The terms “Hispanic” and “Latino” are used interchangeably throughout this report. The terms “white” and “black” refer to non-Hispanics in those racial categories.

surged. Fewer than 7,000 Hispanics were counted in Mecklenburg in 1990, but by 2000 there were nearly 45,000. Gordon County, Ga. had just 200 Latinos in 1990 and saw its Hispanic population soar to more than 3,200 by the 2000 census.

Underlying the growth of the Latino population in the new settlement areas of the South between 1990 and 2000 was an unusually robust economy. The Southeast was one of the fastest-growing regions in the country during the 1990s, and economic progress was spread across a variety of industries. Some counties bucked the national trend and added manufacturing jobs; others shed manufacturing jobs but saw other sectors such as services emerge as a leading source of income and employment. A third group of counties, many of them part of, or centered near, large metropolitan areas, enjoyed a diverse economic base that held up well during the decade.

It is important to note that the region added jobs for both Hispanic and non-Hispanic workers at rates well in excess of the national average. In this respect, the economic context to the growth of the new settlement areas of the South mirrors the demographic context, since Hispanic population growth in the six-state region was accompanied by continued growth in the black and white populations. By contrast, in some states where Hispanics had traditionally settled, such as New York and California, the non-Hispanic white population actually declined.

The prospect of work has attracted large numbers of young Hispanics, often unmarried and mobile enough to pick up and move where the jobs are. Because the Hispanic population in the new settlement areas of the South had been so small prior to the recent surge, the region has seen less immigration due to family reunification than is common in areas of long-established Hispanic settlement. As a result, Latinos in the new settlements of the South are much more likely than those in areas of traditional settlement to have been born abroad, to have arrived recently (particularly from Mexico), to be male, to be unmarried, and to be young. Most have relatively little education, and many do not speak English well.

Because the large growth in the Hispanic region is so recent, much of the impact of the new wave of immigration is only beginning to make itself felt on the infrastructure of the host communities. But it is already clear that the impact will be dramatic, particularly on the schools. For now, employers in the region are happy to have a dependable source of low-cost labor available to them. As the new immigrants grow older and utilize more health services, and as more wives join their husbands, evening out the current gender imbalance and leading to more children, the demands they make on public services will increase but so too may their contributions to the tax bases supporting those services.

This report looks at the demographic characteristics of the new settlement areas of the South on both state and county levels, examining the economic factors that have led to the increase in Hispanic migration to the area and some of the policy implications for the region.

Some of the major findings in this report include:

- North Carolina (394%), Arkansas (337%), Georgia (300%), Tennessee (278%), South Carolina (211%) and Alabama (208%) registered the highest rate of increase in their

Hispanic populations of any states in the U.S. between 1990 and 2000, except for Nevada (217%).

- The rapid growth in the Hispanic population occurred not in isolation but in the context of strong population growth among blacks (21%) and whites (11%) in the new South states.
- The same basic trends have remained in place since 2000 with the growth of both the Hispanic population and the population overall outpacing the national average, according to the most recent Census Bureau estimates.
- The growth in the Latino population was even more dramatic at the county level, exceeding 1,000% in some counties and 500% in many others. The dramatic increases occurred across a range of county types, from small, non-metro manufacturing counties throughout North Carolina and north of Atlanta to counties in the heart of large metropolitan areas such as Nashville, Tenn.
- Hispanics in the new settlement areas of the South states are predominantly foreign-born (57%). The immigrants are mostly men (63%) and young (median age 27). Most of these immigrants (62%) lack even a high school diploma, and 57% do not speak English well or do not speak it at all. More than half of these immigrants entered the U.S. between 1995 and 2000, and most lack legal status.
- Rapid and widespread growth in income and employment in the region provided the economic incentives for Hispanics to migrate to new settlement states in the 1990s. Unemployment rates in the new South states and key metropolitan areas within those states were consistently lower than the nationwide rate between 1990 and 2000.
- Economic growth in the new settlement states created jobs for an additional 410,000 Hispanic workers and 1.9 million non-Hispanic workers in the 1990s.
- Several counties in the new settlement areas not only retained a manufacturing base but added manufacturing jobs in the 1990s. Hispanic workers in these counties accounted for 41% of the total increase in employment. Moreover, 57% of Latino workers in these counties were employed in manufacturing in 2000.
- Another group of counties in the new settlement areas retained strong ties to manufacturing but also made transitions into other sectors during the 1990s. Nearly 43% of Hispanic workers in those counties were engaged in manufacturing in 2000.
- Larger counties with more diverse economic bases provided fewer job opportunities in manufacturing but 30 percent of Hispanic workers found employment in the construction industry alone.
- The median annual income of Hispanic workers in the new South was about \$16,000. In manufacturing counties this was about 60% of the earnings of white workers. However, in

the larger counties with diverse economies the earnings of Latino workers were only 47% of the earnings of white workers.

- The Hispanic school-age population (ages 5 through 17) in the new settlement areas of the South grew by 322% between 1990 and 2000. Over the same period, the corresponding white population grew by just 10% and the black population by 18%.
- The Hispanic population of preschool age (4 or younger) increased by 382 percent between 1990 and 2000, and the number of Hispanics added was far larger than the number of whites (110,000 vs. 43,000).
- By the 2001-2002 school year, Hispanics accounted for 4 percent of school enrollment, but by 2007-2008 the Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education projects they will make up 10 percent of the primary and secondary school students in the six new settlement states of the South.
- The number of Spanish-speaking children in the region with limited proficiency in English in 1990 was 18,000. By 2000 that number had increased to 64,000.
- The poverty rate among Latinos in the six Southern new settlement states jumped from 19.7% to 25.5% between 1990 and 2000—a 30% increase compared with a 4% drop for Latinos nationwide. Meanwhile the overall poverty rate in these states dropped by 7% over the decade.
- In the six Southern states, 65% of Latinos are renters compared with 52 percent of Latinos nationwide and 21% of whites and 44% of blacks in the new settlement states.
- The impact of an influx of Latino immigrants on the region's housing is notable because Latinos have more children on average than non-Hispanics and Latino households frequently include members of an extended family or nonrelatives. The average number of people in Hispanic households in the South (3.8) was significantly larger than in either white (2.4) or black (2.7) households in the region.

Demographic Characteristics of New Latino Settlements in the South

Introduction

For more than three centuries, the politics, social structure and economic development of the South have been powerfully shaped by the interplay of whites and blacks. That has begun to change, with the arrival of a third group, Hispanics. Once a sparse presence in the South, Latinos are now a fast-growing and increasingly visible player in the region's demographic drama. Their rapid growth from a small base constitutes a distinct demographic phenomenon that differs in important ways from the slower buildup of larger Hispanic populations evident in places like California and Texas. And it is not occurring uniformly across the South. Rather, it is most concentrated in a few states and in particular in a few dozen counties within those states. By highlighting the nature of population change in parts of the South where the Latino numbers are growing fastest, this report sets out to illuminate the mechanisms that underlie that change and the demographic trajectories they produce.

Several features distinguish the kind of Hispanic population growth taking place in the new settlement areas of the South: its speed, its relation to the growth of other population groups and the characteristics of the Latinos settling there. In the six Southern states with the fastest Latino growth, the Hispanic population quadrupled between 1990 and 2000. That rapid growth reflects the fact that the Latino numbers started quite small, but it represents an extraordinarily quick demographic change nonetheless. And Latinos are not the only group that is growing. In most areas of the South experiencing very rapid Latino growth from a very small base, the numbers of whites and blacks are also increasing, albeit at slower rates. That is not the case in many other parts of the country, where the non-Hispanic populations are static or declining. Finally, the Latino population added to the new settlement areas of the South is younger, more immigrant and more male than the Hispanic population overall. This has all the characteristics of labor migration in its early stages.

As noted above, this analysis focuses on areas of the South that are experiencing rapid growth of the Hispanic population from a small base, and that necessarily involved excluding other parts of the region. Two Southern states, Texas and Florida, have large Hispanic populations of long tenure and thus do not fit the definition of places where the Hispanic population was small until a process of rapid growth got underway in recent years. Six states were selected for study because the Hispanic growth rates in these states ranked among the highest of any states in the nation from 1990 to 2000. The increases in Arkansas, Georgia and North Carolina topped 300 percent in that decade, while Georgia, Tennessee and South Carolina all rose by more than 200 percent. Elsewhere in the nation, only Nevada registered growth of more than 200 percent (Map 1 and Table 1). Two other Southern states Kentucky (173%) and Virginia (106%) had substantial Hispanic growth but below the 200 percent mark chosen as the threshold for this study. And, Louisiana had very little growth in its Latino population, just 16 percent.

Map 1
Hispanic Growth by State, 1990-2000

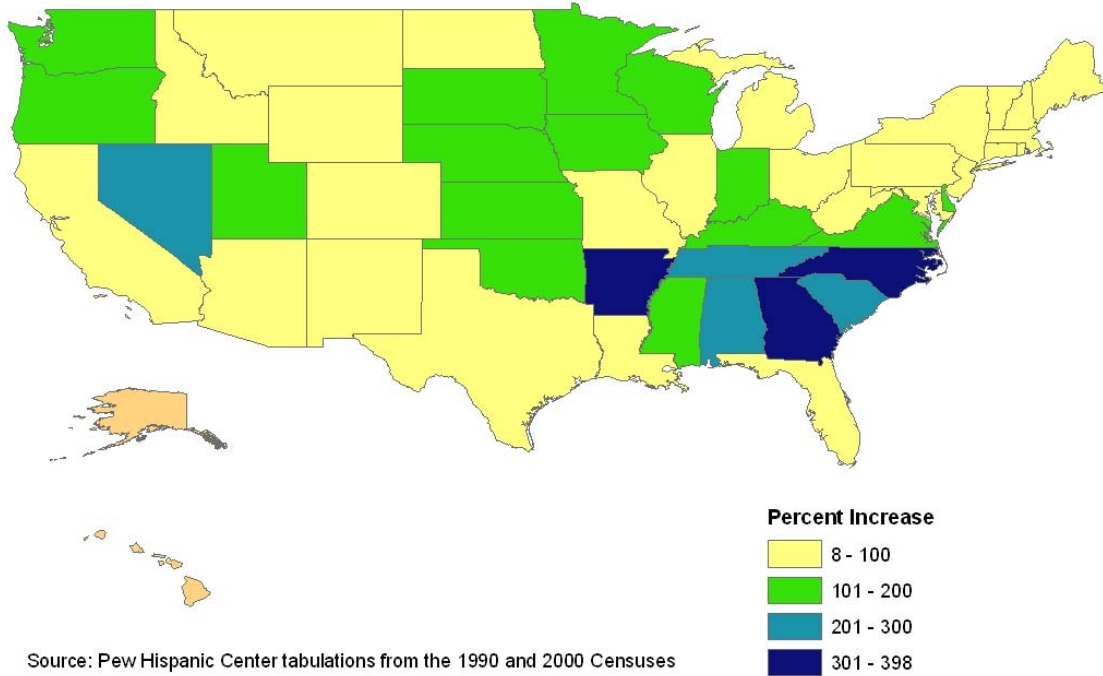


Table 1 The Change in the Hispanic Population, 1990-2000 Ten Fastest Growing States			
	Number of Hispanics 1990	Number of Hispanics 2000	Change (%)
North Carolina	76,726	378,963	394
Arkansas	19,876	86,866	337
Georgia	108,922	435,227	300
Tennessee	32,741	123,838	278
Nevada	124,419	393,970	217
South Carolina	30,551	95,076	211
Alabama	24,629	75,830	208
Kentucky	21,984	59,939	173
Minnesota	53,884	143,382	166
Nebraska	36,969	94,425	155
United States	22,354,059	35,305,818	58

Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations from 1990 and 2000 Census Summary File 1

To better understand the diversity of both demographic and economic growth patterns at a local level, this analysis also focuses on 36 counties in the South. All are within the six states except for DeSoto County, Miss., which forms part of the Memphis, Tenn., metropolitan area. The selection criteria for the 36 counties, which are described in Appendix 1, provided for a mix of counties with small, medium and large populations in rural, metropolitan and urban settings where relatively few Hispanics lived prior to 1990 and which then experienced very rapid Latino growth. About half (51%) of the Hispanic population in the six states lived in these counties as of 2000, and they were the scene of a little more than half (56%) of all the Hispanic growth since 1990.

	Number of Hispanics 1990	Number of Hispanics 2000	Change (%)
New Settlement Counties	109,081	613,023	462
Six Southern States	293,445	1,195,800	308
North Carolina	76,726	378,963	394
Arkansas	19,876	86,866	337
Georgia	108,922	435,227	300
Tennessee	32,741	123,838	278
South Carolina	30,551	95,076	211
Alabama	24,629	75,830	208
Traditional Settlement States	11,546,271	16,481,592	43
California	7,687,938	10,966,556	43
New York	2,214,026	2,867,583	30
Illinois	904,446	1,530,262	69
New Jersey	739,861	1,117,191	51
Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations from 1990 and 2000 Census Summary File 1			
Note: See Appendix 1 for list of New Settlement Counties.			

Finally, to draw contrasts, this report also examines four states—California, Illinois, New Jersey and New York—that are also experiencing Hispanic population growth but from a substantial base. These traditional settlement areas are different from new settlement areas because of the size and tenure of their Latino populations, but as this analysis reveals there are also several other important differences in the dynamics of population change.

Speed

The 2000 census reported that the Hispanic population had grown by 58 percent nationwide in the previous decade, but that very substantial growth rate masked major differences at the regional, state and local levels. The six Southern states studied here had a Latino population of about 293,000 in 1990 (Table 2). By 2000 that figure had quadrupled to

nearly 1.2 million. Even at a time of extraordinary overall growth in the U.S. Latino population, this part of the South registered phenomenal increases over a relatively short time frame.

During the 1990s the Latino population of these six states increased by an average of 308 percent, and each ranked among the states with the fastest growth rates in the nation, as noted above. These exceptionally high growth rates are a function of two factors: the relatively small Latino populations present when the growth began and the speed of the growth once it did so.

To keep this phenomenon in perspective it is important to note that in terms of absolute numbers the growth of the Latino population in the new settlement areas of the South was quite modest. The six states with a growth rate of 308 percent added just a bit more than 900,000 Hispanics to their populations. Meanwhile, New York and New Jersey alone, with a combined Hispanic growth rate of 35 percent, together added more than a million Hispanics to their populations, and California, growing from a very large base, had a growth rate below the national average but still added nearly 3.3 million Latinos to its population (Table 2).

Speed—not sheer size—defines Latino population growth in the six Southern states, and speed in this case means very fast increases from a very small base.

	Population		Change (%)	
	Total	Hispanic	Total	Hispanic
Six Southern States	5,195,508	902,355	19	308
New Settlement Counties	2,048,595	503,942	25	462
Traditional Settlement States	6,770,482	4,935,321	10	43
Nation	32,712,033	12,951,759	13	58

Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations from 1990 and 2000 Census Summary File 1

Notes: Traditional Settlement States are Calif., Ill., N.J. and N.Y. Six Southern States are Ala., Ark., Ga., N.C., S.C. and Tenn. See Appendix 1 for list of New Settlement Counties.

In the counties where most of the growth took place, the pace was even faster. The 36 counties examined here experienced increases in their Hispanic populations averaging 462 percent between 1990 and 2000, and 26 of them registered increases of more than 500 percent (Appendix 1). The highly concentrated growth at the local level occurred in a variety of settings. Gordon County, Ga., for example, had a total of some 44,000 mostly rural residents in 2000. But it sits astride Interstate 75 roughly midway between Atlanta and Chattanooga, Tenn., and it has a fast-growing manufacturing sector, especially in carpets and other floor-covering materials. In 1990 there were only 200 Latinos in the county, but by 2000 the Hispanic population had grown 16-fold to more than 3,200. Mecklenburg County, N.C., by contrast, includes the city of Charlotte and was home to nearly 700,000 people in 2000. Its Hispanic population increased from less than 7,000 in 1990 to nearly 45,000 in 2000, a growth rate of 570 percent.

Because those growth rates departed from such a small base, it is unlikely they could have been sustained. Indeed, Census Bureau estimates of population change since the 2000 census show that the pace of Latino growth slowed to 22 percent between 2000 and 2003 in these six Southern states (Table 4). However, compared with the nation as a whole these states

continue to experience a much higher pace of Latino growth. The Hispanic population is estimated to have grown by 13 percent nationwide during those three years. Thus, unusual speed remains a key characteristic of Latino growth in the new settlement states although now those increases are coming on a more substantial base.

Table 4
Change in the Hispanic Population, 2000-2003
Traditional Settlement and Six Southern States

	Population		Change (%)	
	Total	Hispanic	Total	Hispanic
Six Southern States	1,249,768	261,817	4	22
Traditional Settlement States	2,284,760	1,807,969	3	11
Nation	9,387,871	4,593,071	3	13

Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations from 2000 Census Summary File 1 and 2003 estimates from U. S. Census Bureau

Notes: Traditional Settlement States are Calif., Ill., N.J. and N.Y. Six Southern States are Ala., Ark., Ga., N.C., S.C. and Tenn.

Table 5
Population Growth in Six Southern States by Race and Ethnicity, 1990-2000

	Absolute Change 1990-2000				Share of Total Change (%) 1990-2000			Percent Increase 1990-2000		
	Total	White	Black	Hispanic	White	Black	Hispanic	White	Black	Hispanic
North Carolina	1,420,676	676,028	274,159	302,237	48	19	21	14	19	394
Arkansas	322,675	167,053	43,853	66,990	52	14	21	9	12	337
Georgia	1,708,237	585,236	594,300	326,305	34	35	19	13	34	300
Tennessee	812,098	478,299	153,279	91,097	59	19	11	12	20	278
South Carolina	525,309	262,235	142,539	64,525	50	27	12	11	14	211
Alabama	406,513	165,652	132,363	51,201	41	33	13	6	13	208
Total	5,195,508	2,334,503	1,340,493	902,355	45	26	17	11	21	308

Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations from 1990 and 2000 Census Summary File 1

Context

Aside from its speed, Hispanic population growth in these six states is distinctive because it occurred against a backdrop of simultaneous growth in the rest of the population. In other words, although Latinos are a rapidly growing presence in these six states, they are only one factor in an overall pattern of population growth, and in fact they are a relatively small factor in the broader picture. Both whites and blacks contributed greater numbers to the total population increase in these six Southern states, and this trend has held steady since at least 1990. These states are drawing not just Latinos but others as well, and very fast Hispanic population growth is for the most part happening in places where the whole population is growing robustly.²

The total population of these six Southern states grew by nearly 5.2 million between 1990 and 2000, and Hispanics made up only about 900,000 or 17 percent of that increase (Table 5). Meanwhile, growth in the white population (2.3 million) accounted for 45 percent of the total increase and added numbers of blacks (1.3 million) accounted for 26 percent. Thus, even if not one Latino had been added to the population of this region, it still would have experienced notable growth.

This picture of rapid Latino growth amid overall growth distinguishes these Southern states both from the nation as a whole and from California, New York, New Jersey and Illinois, states that have large, well-established Latino populations.

The overall population of the six Southern states grew by 19 percent between 1990 and 2000 compared with 13 percent in the nation as a whole. Meanwhile, in the four traditional Hispanic settlement states described here, the total population grew by 10 percent (Table 3).

The distinctive growth pattern in these six states is even more apparent when one examines the extent to which different racial and ethnic groups were responsible for population increases. In the nation as a whole, Hispanics accounted for twice as much population growth as whites (40% vs. 20%) while blacks contributed a lesser share (14%). In these six states, as noted above, the roles were reversed; whites were responsible for much more of the growth (45%) than Hispanics (17%) and blacks contributed a sizeable share (26%).

Growth rates tell a similar story. Just as the pace of Hispanic growth in these six states was several times faster than in the nation as a whole (308% vs. 58%), white and black numbers were increasing faster as well (Figure 1). The rate of white population growth in these states was 11 percent, nearly four times as high as the national average of 3 percent. The rate of black population growth was 21 percent in these states compared with 16 percent in the nation.

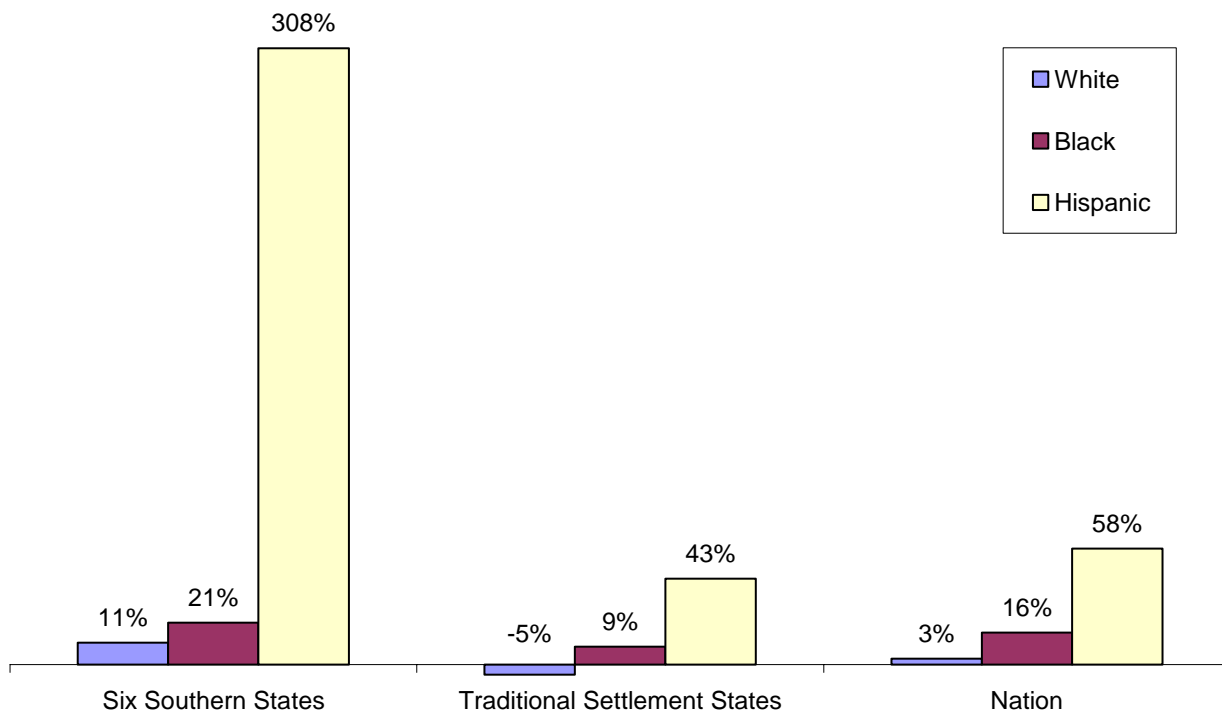
The contrast is sharpest when comparing these six states with the states that traditionally have had large Hispanic populations. In those places the white population was declining. Taken together, California, New York, New Jersey and Illinois registered a loss of nearly 2.2 million in their white populations, a 5 percent drop. The black population grew more slowly in those four traditional states than in either the nation as a whole (16%) or the six new settlement states (21%). Meanwhile, the number of Latinos in those traditional states grew by 43 percent, which was also below the national average (58%). These traditional settlement states would have experienced net population losses if it had not been for Hispanic growth.

Roughly the same pattern has held true since the 2000 census. In the six Southern states, the white population grew by 2.4 percent between 2000 and 2003, while in the four traditional

² Asian growth due to immigration has also been rapid in many new settlement areas since 1990; however, we chose to focus on Latinos in depth rather than more broadly on all immigrant groups. For further discussion of immigrant growth see *Beyond the Gateway: Immigrants in a Changing America* (Gozdziak and Martin, Eds. 2005).

states it was virtually unchanged, showing an increase of 0.2 percent, according to Census Bureau estimates. Nationally, the white population grew by 1.4 percent over that period. Thus, the region with the fastest Latino growth is also experiencing the fastest white growth.

Figure 1
Population Growth by Race and Ethnicity, 1990-2000



Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations from 1990 and 2000 Census Summary File 1
 Notes: Traditional Settlement States are Calif., Ill., N.J. and N.Y. Six Southern States are Ala., Ark., Ga., N.C., S.C. and Tenn.

Characteristics

In addition to its size and context, Latino population growth in the new settlement areas of the South is distinctive because of the characteristics of that population. Simply put, Hispanic growth in these areas is being driven by recent immigration to a greater extent than in the country as a whole or in traditional settlement areas. And, in particular, the growth has come primarily in form of young males from Mexico with comparatively low levels of education. These characteristics are the hallmarks of Mexican labor migration (Durand and Massey, 2004), but the population data from the six Southern states suggest that many of the Hispanic males who went

there for work are staying, marrying and having children. As a result, a new element of the Latino population is coming on the scene: a generation of still very young Latinos who are the native-born offspring of immigrant parents.

--Nativity

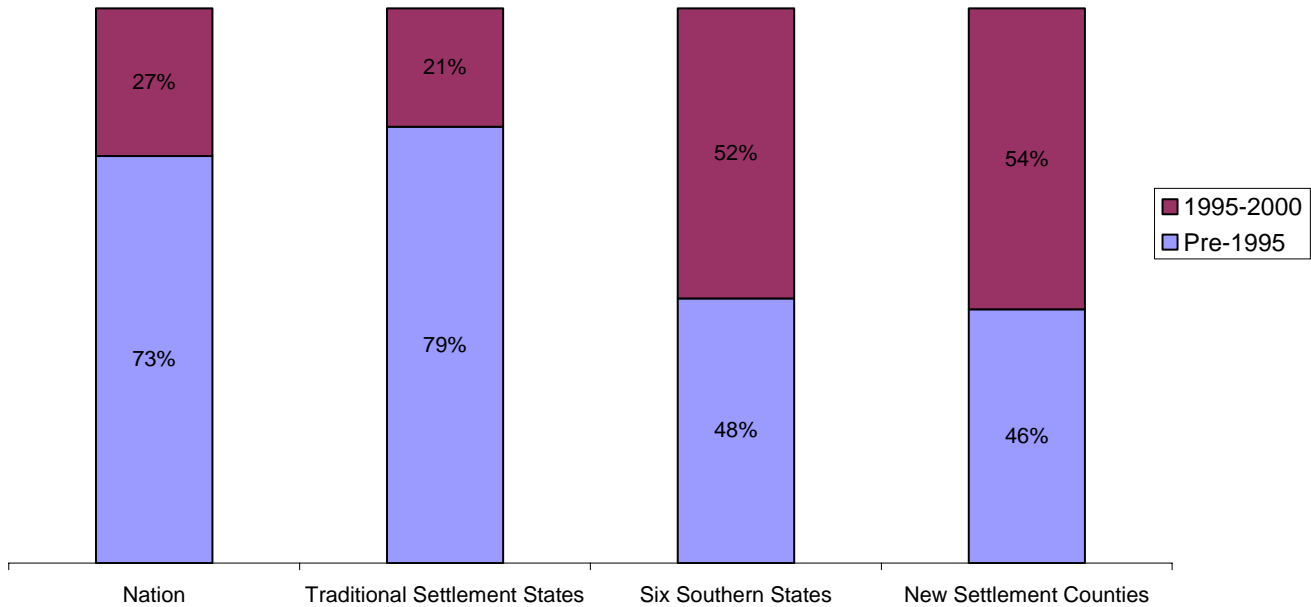
To a much greater extent than in traditional settlement states or in the nation as a whole, immigrants dominate the Latino population in the new settlement areas of the South. In the six states examined here, 57 percent of all Latinos are foreign born, and in the 36 new settlement counties where growth has been particularly intense fully two thirds (66%) of all Hispanics were born outside the United States. In contrast only 41 percent of the Hispanic population nationwide is foreign born. Outside the six new settlement states several factors have produced a larger proportion of native-born Latinos. These include the presence of Hispanics who trace their roots in this country back many generations, such as the Mexican-Americans of Texas and the Southwest, and the existence of large numbers of children born in the United States to immigrants who arrived somewhat earlier.

--Period of immigration

About half of the foreign-born Latinos in both the six new settlement states (52%) and the 36 new settlement counties (54%) are relatively recent arrivals—people who had been in the United States for five years or less at the time of the 2000 census (Figure 2). In contrast, recent arrivals made up only about one quarter of Latino foreign-born population (27%) nationwide, and in states with a long history of Hispanic settlement—New York, New Jersey, California and Illinois—recent arrivals accounted for only about one of every five foreign-born Latinos in 2000.

This flow of recent immigrants to new settlements in the South is a large and critical element of a broader change in Latino migration patterns. Considerable evidence now shows that an important share of the migrant streams from Latin America and Mexico began heading to new settlement areas around the country in the 1990s (Passel and Zimmermann, 2001; Singer, 2004). Many Latino newcomers continued to arrive in traditional receiving states. But at an accelerated pace, from the mid-1990s onward, others went to Arizona, Nevada, Oregon, Utah, Nebraska, Iowa and Colorado as well as the six Southern states examined here. It is in the new settlement areas of the South, however, that this demographic pattern of new Latino migration to places where the Hispanic population was previously sparse is both most intense and most widespread across a region.

Figure 2
Period of Immigration for Foreign-born Latinos, 2000



Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations of Census 2000 Integrated Public Use Microdata Series

Notes: Traditional Settlement States are Calif., Ill., N.J. and N.Y. Six Southern States are Ala., Ark., Ga., N.C., S.C. and Tenn. See Appendix 1 for list of New Settlement Counties.

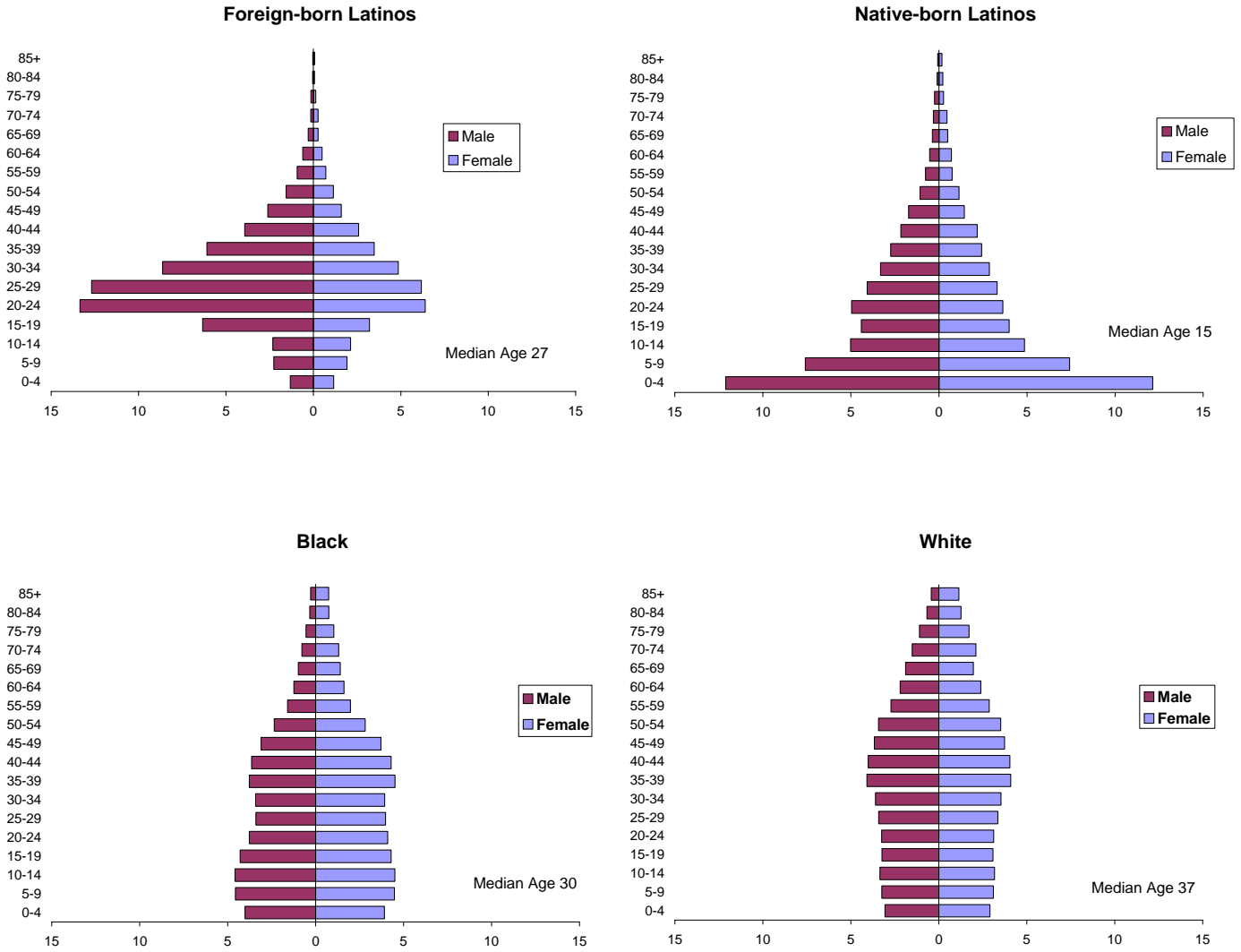
--Age

The foreign-born Latino population is dominated by persons who are of working age, and it is particularly young in the new settlement areas of the South (Figure 3). The median age for foreign-born Latinos in both the six Southern states and the new settlement counties is 27 compared with 33 nationally and 34 in the traditional settlement states. Moreover, Latinos in new settlement states are much younger than whites (median age=37) and blacks (median age=30) residing in these states.

Native-born Latinos are younger than foreign-born Latinos, reflecting the large numbers of children born in the past two decades to immigrant parents. Nationwide, their median age is 18. In traditional settlement states, the median age is 16, and in the six Southern new settlement states it is 15. In some new settlements in the South, virtually all native-born Hispanics are youngsters. In Hall County, Ga., and Randolph County, N.C., for example, the median age of native-born Hispanics is just 5 while in Franklin and Johnston Counties, N.C., it is 4.

Figure 3

Age and Gender Distribution in Six Southern States by Race and Ethnicity, 2000



Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations from Census 2000 Integrated Public Use Microdata Series
 Notes: Six Southern States are Ala., Ark., Ga., N.C., S.C. and Tenn.

--Education

The foreign-born Latino population of the new Southern settlement areas has a relatively low level of education. In the six states, 62 percent of adults at least 25 years of age have not finished high school compared with 43 percent nationwide and 39 percent in the four traditional settlement states (Figure 4).

Among the 36 counties studied, Rowan and Alamance counties in North Carolina and Hall County, Ga., had the largest share (82%) of foreign-born Latino adults without a high school diploma.

Figure 4
Educational Attainment of Foreign-born Latinos, 2000

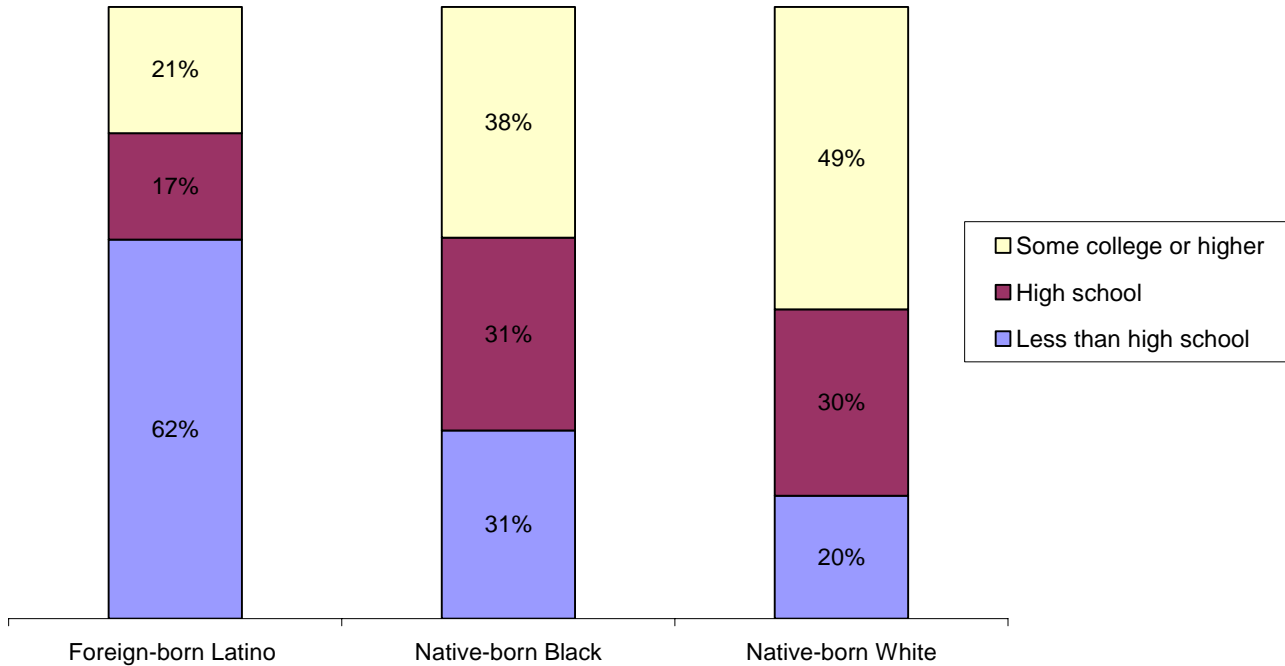


Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations of Census 2000 Integrated Public Use Microdata Series

Notes: Traditional Settlement States are Calif., Ill., N.J. and N.Y. Six Southern States are Ala., Ark., Ga., N.C., S.C. and Tenn. See Appendix 1 for list of New Settlement Counties. Universe is persons 25 years of age or older.

Educational attainment is notably higher among white and black adults in the new settlements of the South. Compared with the 62 percent of foreign-born Latinos in the six states, only 20 percent of whites and 31 percent of blacks have less than a complete high school education. Conversely, nearly half of all white adults (49%) and more than a third of blacks (38%) have at least some college education, compared with a fifth (20%) of foreign-born Hispanics (Figure 5).

Figure 5
Educational Attainment in Six Southern States by Race and Ethnicity, 2000

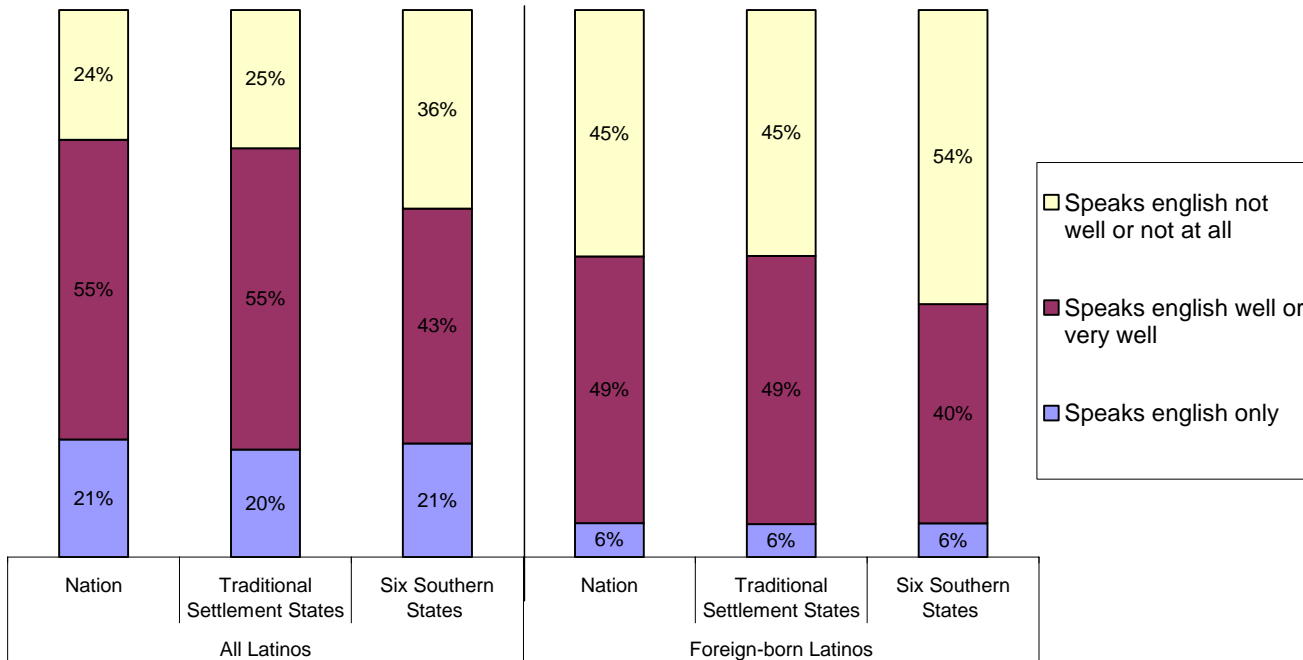


Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations of Census 2000 Integrated Public Use Microdata Series
 Notes: Six Southern States are Ala., Ark., Ga., N.C., S.C. and Tenn. Universe is persons 25 years of age or older.

--English-language skills

Not surprisingly given how recently they arrived and how little education they have, large numbers of foreign-born Latinos in new settlement areas do not speak much English. Only 43 percent of all Hispanics in the six new settlement states reported in the 2000 census that they could speak English “well” or “very well” compared with 55 percent nationwide and in the four traditional settlement states. The difference is driven by the larger share of foreign-born in the Latino population of the new settlement states. Among foreign-born Latinos in these states, 54 percent said they speak English “not well” or “not at all.”

Figure 6
English Language Ability of Latinos, 2000



Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations of Census 2000 Integrated Public Use Microdata Series
 Notes: Traditional Settlement States are Calif., Ill., N.J. and N.Y. Six Southern States are Ala., Ark., Ga., N.C., S.C. and Tenn. Universe is all Latinos 5 years of age or older.

--Country of origin

Mexico is the country of origin for more Hispanic immigrants in the United States than all other nations put together, accounting for 64 percent of all Latino immigrants. That dominance is even stronger in the six new settlement states in this study, where those born in Mexico make up 73 percent of foreign-born Latinos (Table 6). Recent data also suggest that some new settlements in the South may be drawing a relatively larger share of migrants from regions of Mexico that have only recently begun sending large numbers of immigrants when compared with the traditional settlement states of California, Illinois, New Jersey and New York.

³

³ A survey of Mexican immigrants applying for a document known as a *matrícula consular* in Raleigh, N.C., captured relatively large shares of migrants from Veracruz and Oaxaca and relatively smaller shares from Michoacán and Jalisco. In Los Angeles, Chicago and Fresno, Calif., the pattern was just the opposite. Because Jalisco and Michoacán have long histories as migrant sending states, and Veracruz and Oaxaca have shorter histories, these data suggest that not only are recent arrivals overrepresented in the South but that a sizeable share of these migrants may be entirely new to the migrant stream.

	Nation	Traditional Settlement States	Six Southern States	New Settlement Counties
Mexico	64	66	73	73
Cuba	6	2	2	2
El Salvador	6	6	4	5
Dominican Republic	5	7	1	1
Colombia	4	3	3	4
Guatemala	3	4	4	4
Ecuador	2	3	1	1
Honduras	2	2	3	4
Any Other Country	9	7	9	7
	100	100	100	100

Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations of Census 2000 Integrated Public Use Microdata Series
Notes: Traditional Settlement States are Calif., Ill., N.J. and N.Y. Six Southern States are Ala., Ark., Ga., N.C., S.C. and Tenn. See Appendix 1 for list of New Settlement Counties.

--Legal status

Current estimates of the size and characteristics of the unauthorized population show that a substantial share of the Latino foreign born in new settlement states are undocumented (Passel, 2005). Nationally, about 80 percent of the migrants arriving from Mexico since 1995 became unauthorized residents, according to these estimates. North Carolina, with roughly 300,000 undocumented immigrants, now ranks eighth among states with the largest undocumented populations. Estimates put the undocumented population of Georgia between 200,000 and 250,000, of Tennessee between 100,000 and 150,000 and of South Carolina, Arkansas, Alabama and Mississippi between 20,000 and 35,000 per state.

--Gender

Across the United States there are somewhat fewer men in the white and black populations than there are women. This reflects the fact that women tend to live longer than men. The phenomenon is measured with a demographic tool called the sex ratio, which compares the number of men per 100 women in a population. The sex ratio nationally is 96 for whites and somewhat lower (90) for blacks, among whom early male mortality is more pronounced. For native-born Hispanics nationally the sex ratio is slightly higher (100) because this is a younger population and earlier male mortality has yet to have had its full effect (Table 6).

New Latino settlements in the South are very different on this score. In the six Southern states, the sex ratio for all Hispanics is 140, and the disproportionate number of males is driven by international migrants. Among foreign-born Latinos in the six states there are 173 men for every 100 women. Four counties—Jefferson County, Ala., Cherokee County, Ga., and Robeson and Mecklenburg Counties in North Carolina—all had at least 200 men for every 100 women.

	All Latinos	Foreign-born Latinos	Native-born Latinos	Whites	Blacks
Nation	105	113	100	96	90
Traditional Settlement States	103	108	99	95	89
Six Southern States	140	173	107	96	88
New Settlement Counties	142	170	103	95	86

Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations of Census 2000 Integrated Public Use Microdata Series
Notes: Traditional Settlement States are Calif., Ill., N.J. and N.Y. Six Southern States are Ala., Ark., Ga., N.C., S.C. and Tenn. See Appendix 1 for list of New Settlement Counties.

Unbalanced sex ratios are typically a product of a migration in which men are moving in search of economic opportunity. In the frontier states of the American West, for example, sex ratios were exceptionally high compared with those in the East in the middle of the 19th century. (Stephan, 2005) High ratios of males are evidence of a labor migration among Hispanics today, and this is vividly clear in the new settlement states. It is important to note, however, that nature tends to take its course over time and that sex ratios eventually become balanced. Consider again the example of the American West: Fifty years after experiencing very high sex ratios of the sort now registered among foreign-born Hispanics in the new settlements of the South, the populations of states like California, Wyoming and Colorado were in the normal range.

--Marital status

The young males who are the pioneers of the Latino migration to new settlement states are mostly still living without spouses, although there are signs that some of the newcomers are beginning to form families. On this score, it is useful to differentiate by age. Looking at foreign-born Hispanic men ages 16 to 38, a little more than half (51%) are single and never married in the six Southern states. This is only slightly higher than the share nationally (47%) and in the traditional settlement states (47%). The same pattern holds for men who are somewhat older as well (Table 8).

Table 8
Marital Status of Foreign-born Latino Men by Age Group, 2000

	Nation	Traditional Settlement States	Six Southern States	New Settlement Counties
18-36 Years				
Married, Spouse Present	41	41	33	34
Married, Spouse Absent	7	7	12	12
Separated/Divorced or Widowed	5	5	4	4
Never Married/Single	47	47	51	51
	100	100	100	100
36 Years and Older				
Married, Spouse Present	68	69	55	55
Married, Spouse Absent	7	6	17	18
Separated/Divorced or Widowed	14	13	13	14
Never Married/Single	11	12	14	13
	100	100	100	100

Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations of Census 2000 Integrated Public Use Microdata Series

Notes: Traditional Settlement States are Calif., Ill., N.J. and N.Y. Six Southern States are Ala., Ark., Ga., N.C., S.C. and Tenn. See Appendix 1 for list of New Settlement Counties.

Another third of the Hispanic foreign-born males in the younger age category (33%) are married and living with their spouses. The national mark is higher (41%) for this group; nationwide, this age group is more settled. And in another sign of how recent the migration has been, 12 percent of the males in this category are married and living apart from their spouses compared with 7 percent in more settled populations.

Over time, as men who have migrated in search of economic opportunity settle down, women join the migration in greater numbers. Wives who had stayed behind join their husbands, new marriages are formed, and eventually children are born. Inevitably, the impact of the migration on the receiving community changes as the years pass. Recent case studies conducted in Atlanta showed that when married men migrated to the United States, their wives tended to join them within three years (Rees, 2001).

--Variations at the County Level

Not all new settlement areas in the South are the same. The characteristics described above appear with different levels of intensity in different counties.

Cobb County, Ga., which is just northwest of Atlanta, exemplifies this kind of Hispanic population growth. The foreign born make up 65 percent of the Latino population, and among those migrants, most (72%) report Mexico as their birthplace. There are 152 males for every 100 females among the Latino foreign born, and these migrants are mostly young adults; their median age is 27. Most (56%) have not completed high school and a similar share (57%) reported limited or no English proficiency.

If Cobb County has the typical profile of a new Latino settlement in the South, then Robeson County, N.C., illustrates one of the more extreme cases. Its Latino population is younger and even more foreign-born than most new settlement counties, and far more male dominated. Located south of Fayetteville and stretching to the South Carolina border, Robeson County has an unusually diverse population that includes a large share of American Indians (38% in 2000) and a diverse economy (tobacco farming and manufacturing). Here, a higher than average share of Latinos, 67 percent, were foreign born in 2000, and among those foreign-born Latinos the median age was only 24. A substantial majority (75%) has not completed high school and 65 percent reported limited or no English proficiency. Robeson also had the highest male-to-female ratio of the new settlement counties with 253 foreign-born Latino males per 100 females.

At the other extreme is Shelby County, Tenn., which encompasses most of the Memphis metropolitan area. Shelby County's Latino population was relatively less foreign born, older and more evenly balanced between male and female immigrants. Only 54 percent of Latinos in Shelby were foreign born, and the median age was 28. They were better educated; just 50 percent of foreign-born Latinos in Shelby lacked a high school diploma. Only 53 percent reported limited or no English proficiency. Although not the lowest for any county, the ratio of males to females among all Latinos was 133, lower than the average of 142 for all of the 36 counties combined, again reflecting the fact that the population mix in Shelby has a greater share of native-born Latinos than more typical new settlement counties in the South.

Economic Context

What are the economic circumstances that can produce a very rapid influx of young foreign-born Latino males as described above? Not surprisingly, this kind of population growth coincided with a period of robust economic growth in the South. The new settlement areas of the South stand out both because they have experienced very rapid growth of a Latino population that hardly existed as recently as 1990 and because they have undergone booming economic development. These two factors coincide quite clearly in the six states and 36 counties studied here, although there are important variations among them. The pace of economic growth has been high across all these areas, but that growth has taken different forms.

As with the population increase, the growth of the Latino labor force in the new settlement areas of the South is distinctive because of its size, context and characteristics. Compared with rates both nationally and in traditional settlement areas the pace of growth was very fast, although the absolute numbers were not large. Both white and black employment generally increased also. And the employment growth followed specific patterns by industry.

For Hispanics migrating in search of work in the 1990s, the new settlement areas of the South were particularly attractive destinations. Not only was the region's economy one of the most robust in the country, but its evolution and diversification created job opportunities that Hispanics were eager and willing to fill. Many new settlement counties in the South were adding manufacturing jobs at a time when such jobs were on the decline in most other areas, and these became a magnet for Hispanics. Other counties, principally those in or near large metropolitan areas, were experiencing growth driven by the service and financial industries and by construction, transportation and public utilities. As non-Hispanic workers filled white-collar jobs in the metropolitan South, Hispanic workers gravitated to construction work in the same areas.

Regional Trends in Income and Employment

The migration of Hispanics into the new settlement areas of the South occurred in the midst of a record expansion of the U.S. economy. The entire period from 1990 to 2000 was marked by economic growth except for a brief recession that lasted from July 1990 to March 1991. As a consequence of the recession, unemployment rates in the United States were relatively high at the beginning of the decade—11.6 percent for Hispanics and 7.1 percent for non-Hispanics in 1992. But in the remainder of the decade real gross domestic product grew at an annual average rate of 3.7 percent and employment increased by more than 2 percent per year. By 2000, the nationwide unemployment rate for Hispanics had been cut in half to 5.7 percent and the rate for non-Hispanics had fallen to just 3.8 percent.⁴

⁴ The data in this paragraph are from the Bureau of Economic Analysis of the U.S. Department of Commerce and the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Table 9
Income and Employment Growth by Industry and Region, 1990 to 2000
Average Annual Change in Percent

	U.S.	New England	Mideast	Great Lakes	Plains	South- east	South- west	Rocky Mnts.	Far West
Total personal income	5.6	5.3	4.8	5.2	5.5	6.0	7.0	7.6	5.7
Personal income by industry									
Agricultural services, forestry, fishing and other	6.2	4.9	6.1	6.8	5.1	7.4	7.9	9.4	4.6
Mining	4.3	8.6	2.5	2.4	2.9	1.6	6.7	3.7	2.5
Construction	5.7	5.1	3.3	5.7	7.1	6.2	8.5	11.6	4.8
Manufacturing	4.2	3.3	2.8	4.2	4.5	3.9	6.2	6.2	5.1
Durable goods	4.5	2.9	2.0	4.4	4.7	4.9	6.8	6.8	5.4
Nondurable goods	3.8	4.1	3.6	3.9	4.3	2.9	5.1	4.9	4.4
Transportation and public utilities	6.2	5.5	4.9	5.1	5.7	6.5	8.9	8.3	6.3
Wholesale trade	5.6	5.4	4.1	5.3	5.3	6.4	8.0	7.8	5.2
Retail trade	5.1	4.3	3.7	4.7	5.2	5.7	6.6	7.2	4.9
Finance, insurance and real estate	9.8	10.0	9.9	8.2	9.3	10.0	11.3	14.0	9.4
Services	7.1	6.8	5.6	6.7	7.2	8.2	8.3	9.5	7.3
Business services	11.2	11.3	8.2	10.0	11.2	12.8	12.0	14.4	12.7
Total employment	1.8	1.0	0.8	1.6	1.8	2.2	2.8	3.5	1.7
Employment by industry									
Agricultural services, forestry, fishing and other	3.8	3.8	3.2	4.1	4.0	4.4	4.3	6.0	3.0
Mining	-2.8	-0.5	-3.3	-3.9	-2.8	-3.1	-2.6	-2.0	-2.8
Construction	2.7	1.4	0.6	2.6	3.7	2.7	5.0	7.7	1.9
Manufacturing	-0.3	-1.8	-1.8	0.2	0.7	-0.3	1.0	1.5	-0.5
Durable goods	0.0	-2.0	-1.7	0.3	1.0	0.9	1.5	1.9	-0.7
Nondurable goods	-0.8	-1.2	-1.8	-0.1	0.2	-1.5	0.3	0.7	0.1
Transportation and public utilities	2.3	1.2	1.2	1.8	2.2	2.9	3.7	3.5	2.3
Wholesale trade	1.2	0.6	0.1	1.1	1.1	1.9	2.4	2.7	0.9
Retail trade	1.8	0.8	0.8	1.4	1.8	2.2	2.8	3.6	1.5
Finance, insurance and real estate	2.1	0.9	0.5	2.0	2.2	2.9	3.5	5.1	2.0
Services	3.2	2.6	2.3	2.8	2.9	4.2	3.9	4.4	3.0
Business services	5.1	4.0	3.1	4.7	4.5	7.1	5.9	6.6	4.7

Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations from the Regional Economic Information System (REIS) database of the Bureau of Economic Analysis

Note: Growth rates for income are not corrected for inflation. The industry classifications are based on the 1987 Standard Industrial Classification (SIC). The regions—as defined by the BEA—are as follows: *New England*—Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Vermont; *Mideast*—Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland, New Jersey, New York and Pennsylvania; *Great Lakes*—Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio and Wisconsin; *Plains*—Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota and South Dakota; *Southeast*—Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia and West Virginia; *Southwest*—Arizona, New Mexico, Oklahoma and Texas; *Rocky Mountain*—Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Utah and Wyoming; and *Far West*—Alaska, California, Hawaii, Nevada, Oregon and Washington.

The economic expansion of the 1990s was led by three regions: the Southeast (which includes the six states studied here), the Southwest, and the Rocky Mountain region.⁵ As shown in Table 9, income growth in these regions and the Far West exceeded the U.S. average of 5.6 percent per year between 1990 and 2000.⁶ What is notable about the Southeast, Southwest and Rocky Mountain regions is the breadth of their expansion. Virtually every industry exceeded the national average in income growth. Employment growth, also detailed in Table 9, was equally strong. Employment grew faster than the national average rate of 1.8 percent per year between 1990 and 2000 only in the Southeast, Southwest and Rocky mountain regions. This was true of almost all industries in these three regions, but taking both income and employment growth into consideration, the construction, transportation and public utilities, finance, insurance and real estate (FIRE), and services (especially business services) industries emerge as the leaders of the past decade both nationally and within the fast-growing regions.

A clear economic contrast between the new and traditional settlements emerges from trends in the unemployment rates in these areas. The new Hispanic settlements selected for this study are all in the fast-growing Southeast region. In contrast, many of the traditional states for Hispanics, such as California, New York and Illinois, are located in regions where the growth in income and employment from 1990 to 2000 was below the national average. Figures A3.1 through A3.10 in Appendix 3 show the unemployment rates from 1990 to 2004 in 10 states and the relevant metropolitan areas within those states.

In all six of the states this report focuses on—Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Tennessee—the unemployment rate hovered below the national rate throughout 1990-2004.⁷ What is more striking is that the metropolitan areas within these states that received the new Hispanic population consistently recorded unemployment rates below the state averages. For example, three large metropolitan areas in North Carolina—Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord, Durham and Raleigh-Cary—are home to most of the new Latino migrants to that state. As shown in Figure 7 below, all three metropolitan areas had unemployment rates below the state and national rates from 1990 to 2004.

Unemployment in states of traditional Latino settlement was generally worse than the national norm. The set of charts in Appendix 3 also contain data for New York, California and Illinois. These three states, and the large metropolitan areas within them that house most Hispanics, tended to have higher unemployment rates than the nation from 1990 to 2004. Figure 8 below illustrates the situation in New York. It is evident that the unemployment rates in the state of New York and the New York City metropolitan area were at or above the national average throughout the 1990 to 2004 time period.

⁵ For economic accounting purposes the Bureau of Economic Analysis (BEA) divides the U.S. into eight regions. These are New England, Mideast, Great Lakes, Plains, Southeast, Southwest, Rocky Mountain and Far West. See the note to Table 1 for a list of states in each region. BEA's methodology for collecting regional income and employment data is available at <http://www.bea.gov/bea/regional/articles/lapi2003/>.

⁶ This growth rate is not corrected for inflation.

⁷ That was not the case in Mississippi, a Southern state included in the set of charts because it is home to DeSoto County, which falls within the Memphis, Tenn., metropolitan area.

The economic incentives for Hispanic workers to migrate to the Southeast were clear. It was economically vibrant both in the absolute sense and in comparison with traditional Latino settlements during the 1990s. Moreover, economic progress in this region was spread across a variety of industries.

The growth in employment in the six new South states reflected the regional trend. As shown in Table 10, most of these states added jobs at a faster rate than the national average. Georgia led the way with an annual average increase in employment of 2.9 percent per year between 1990 and 2000. That was well above the national rate of growth in employment of 1.8 percent per year. Only Alabama, at 1.6 percent per year, lagged the nation in adding jobs. The new settlement counties not only added Hispanic population at among the highest rates in the country but also averaged job growth of 2.7 percent per year in the 1990s.

Figure 7
The Unemployment Rate in the U.S., North Carolina
and Selected Metropolitan Areas, 1990-2004

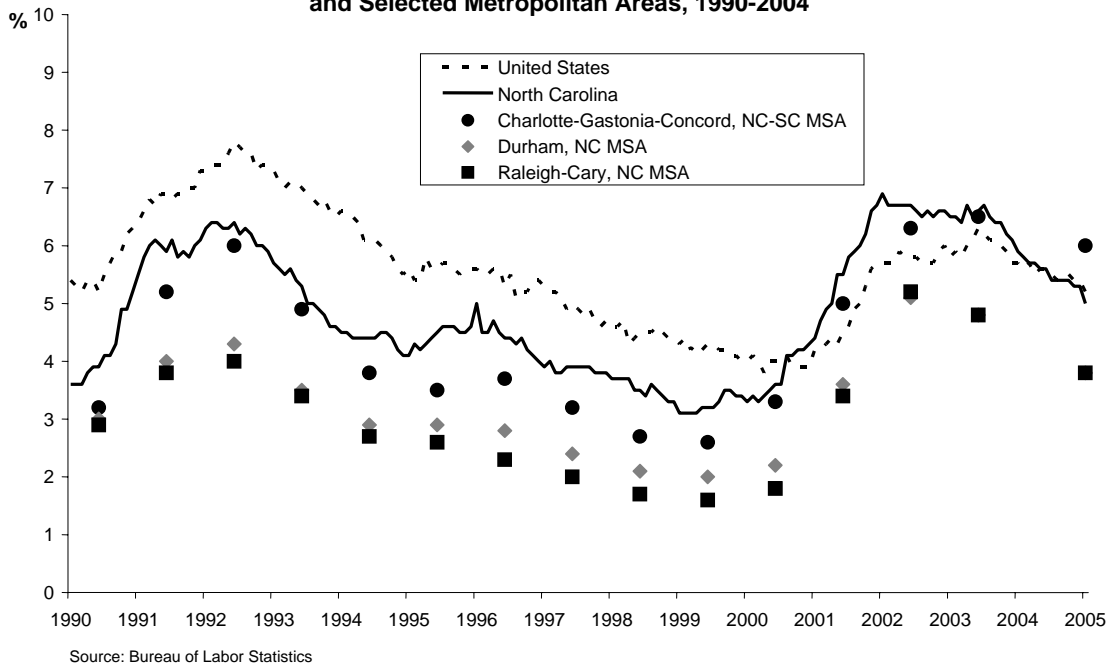


Figure 8
The Unemployment Rate in the U.S., New York
and Selected Metropolitan Areas, 1990-2004

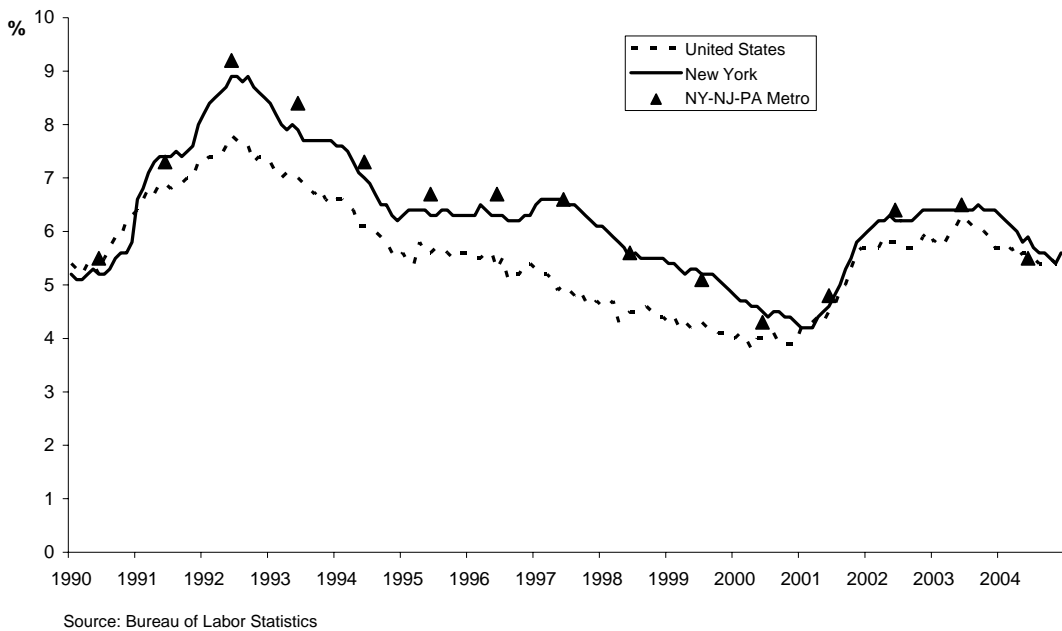


Table 10
Employment Growth in New Settlement States by Industry, 1990-2000
Average Annual Change in Percent

	U.S.	Alabama	Arkansas	Georgia	North Carolina	South Carolina	Tennessee	New Settlement Counties
Total employment	1.8	1.6	2.2	2.9	2.3	1.8	2.3	2.7
Agricultural services, forestry, fishing and other	3.9	4.6	4.6	5.9	5.1	4.9	4.6	3.2
Mining	-2.8	-4.1	-2.0	-1.0	-1.6	-0.7	-3.5	-3.2
Construction	2.7	2.8	3.6	3.6	3.4	1.5	3.6	3.1
Manufacturing	-0.3	-0.7	0.8	0.5	-0.9	-1.0	-0.2	0.1
Durable goods	0.0	0.3	1.2	1.9	0.9	1.7	1.5	---
Nondurable goods	-0.8	-1.7	0.4	-0.5	-2.3	-2.8	-2.3	---
Transportation and public utilities	2.3	2.0	2.8	3.4	2.3	4.0	4.5	3.2
Wholesale trade	1.2	1.5	2.0	1.9	1.9	2.7	1.6	1.7
Retail trade	1.8	2.4	2.7	3.0	2.2	2.2	2.4	2.6
Finance, insurance and real estate	2.1	2.9	2.9	3.6	3.6	2.5	3.7	3.1
Services	3.2	3.4	3.5	4.9	4.8	3.9	3.8	4.7
Business services	5.1	6.4	5.9	7.5	7.3	6.0	6.5	---

Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations from the Regional Economic Information System (REIS) database of the Bureau of Economic Analysis

Note: The new settlement counties include DeSoto, Miss. The industry classification is based on the 1987 Standard Industrial Classification (SIC).

Contrary to longstanding national trends, Arkansas, Georgia and the new settlement counties added manufacturing jobs between 1990 and 2000. Indeed, all six states created jobs in durable goods manufacturing at rates ranging from 0.3 percent per year in Alabama to 1.9 percent per year in Georgia. Non-farm industries that increased employment at the highest rates in the new South states and counties were construction, transportation and utilities, retail trade, FIRE (finance, insurance and real estate) and services. The growth in employment in business services (advertising, personnel supply, computer services, repair services, etc.) is especially notable, ranging from 5.9 percent per year in Arkansas to 7.5 percent per year in Georgia.⁸

Employment Growth in the Southern States and Counties, 1990 to 2000

Despite the rapid overall growth in service-sector employment, most Hispanic workers in the new settlement states and counties of the South were employed in either construction or manufacturing in 2000. As shown in Table 11 nearly one half (48.3 percent) of Hispanics in the new settlement counties were doing either construction or manufacturing work.⁹ This is a sharp contrast to the nation at large, where only 25.5 percent of all Latino workers were engaged in these industries in 2000. The roles are reversed in the four services industries. Whereas 40.5 percent of Hispanics in the nation were employed in services in 2000, that was true of only 32.1 percent of Hispanics in the new settlement counties.

Non-Hispanic white and black workers were also more likely to be hired into construction and manufacturing in the new settlement counties, but for them the contrast to the

⁸ The industries shown in Table 10 are based on the 1987 Standard Industrial Classification (SIC).

⁹ The industries shown in Table 11 are based on the North American Industrial Classification System (NAICS).

Table 11
The Distribution of Workers by Industry in New Settlement States, 2000
(in percent)

	United States	Alabama	Arkansas	Georgia	North Carolina	South Carolina	Tennessee	New Settlement Counties
Hispanics								
Agr., forestry, mining, etc.	3.2	2.8	7.1	3.7	5.1	4.4	3.7	2.2
Construction	9.8	10.5	8.1	22.8	22.3	22.0	18.1	25.9
Manufacturing	15.7	30.4	43.8	22.1	28.9	18.8	23.6	22.4
Transportation and warehousing	4.2	2.9	2.8	2.6	1.5	1.8	3.0	2.2
Info., comm. and utilities	2.9	1.4	1.1	2.1	1.6	2.3	2.3	2.0
Trade	15.2	12.9	10.7	10.5	9.2	12.3	11.6	9.7
FIRE	5.0	3.6	2.0	2.9	1.7	3.5	2.3	2.5
Services	40.5	32.7	22.6	31.6	28.2	32.7	33.9	32.1
Public administration	3.4	2.9	1.8	1.8	1.5	2.1	1.5	1.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Non-Hispanic Whites								
Agr., forestry, mining, etc.	0.7	2.2	3.9	1.4	1.5	1.0	1.5	0.7
Construction	3.8	8.2	7.4	8.2	8.4	8.8	7.6	6.9
Manufacturing	13.0	17.6	17.8	14.2	18.3	17.4	19.1	14.3
Transportation and warehousing	6.5	3.8	4.9	4.5	3.5	3.3	4.7	4.3
Info., comm. and utilities	4.3	4.0	3.5	4.6	3.4	4.2	3.6	4.7
Trade	12.3	16.7	17.1	16.9	16.1	16.1	16.0	17.1
FIRE	6.5	6.2	5.1	7.1	6.5	6.6	6.0	8.5
Services	45.9	36.2	36.2	38.0	38.2	38.1	37.7	40.1
Public administration	7.2	4.9	4.1	5.0	4.0	4.7	3.7	3.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Non-Hispanic Blacks								
Agr., forestry, mining, etc.	1.9	1.2	2.0	1.0	0.9	1.3	0.4	0.3
Construction	7.0	4.5	3.5	4.6	4.5	6.0	3.4	3.9
Manufacturing	13.9	20.7	23.6	15.5	22.6	25.1	17.6	13.1
Transportation and warehousing	4.1	3.9	4.7	7.0	5.0	4.3	8.4	8.2
Info., comm. and utilities	4.1	3.0	2.6	4.8	3.1	2.6	3.6	5.2
Trade	15.8	13.1	12.7	13.4	11.9	12.4	13.3	13.6
FIRE	7.2	4.8	3.0	5.8	5.3	3.5	5.1	7.7
Services	41.2	42.7	41.3	41.1	41.8	39.2	42.3	42.3
Public administration	4.7	6.1	6.7	6.6	4.9	5.7	5.9	5.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations of data from Census 2000 IPUMS files

Note: The industrial classification is based on the North American Industrial Classification System (NAICS). The new settlement counties include DeSoto, Miss.

nation as a whole was not nearly as sharp. It is fair to say that approximately 20 percent of black and white workers were in construction and manufacturing both nationally and in the new settlement counties. Similarly, about 40 percent of these workers were engaged in the service sector both in the U.S. and in the new settlement counties. Both white and black workers display a high concentration in educational, health and social services.

The growth in the employment of Hispanic and non-Hispanic workers in the new settlement states and counties was well in excess of the nationwide rate. Data from the decennial censuses show that total employment in the U.S. for Hispanic workers increased by 48.6 percent between 1990 and 2000 (Table 12). However, the increase in employment of Latinos in the six new settlement states was much higher than the nationwide rate. The smallest increase was in Alabama, but even so the employment of Latino workers there increased by 244 percent.¹⁰ The largest increase, 495 percent, occurred in North Carolina. In the six new settlement states combined, Latino employment was 349 percent higher in 2000 than in 1990. The employment of non-Hispanic workers increased by 14.9 percent in the six Southern states. This was well above the national average growth of 9.1 percent for non-Hispanics in the 1990s. Georgia led the way for non-Hispanic workers as their employment increased by 19.8 percent in that state.

However, the new South was more critical to the growth in jobs for non-Hispanic than for Hispanic workers. While the percentage increases in the employment of Latinos are astounding, the absolute increases in number are more modest. In the six Southern states combined, the total increase in Hispanic employment was just over 404,000, and that accounted for less than 10 percent of the nationwide increase of 4.4 million in Latino employment. All together, these six states added jobs for 1.9 million non-Hispanic workers between 1990 and 2000. That amounted to 20 percent of the nationwide increase of 9.7 million in non-Latino employment. Overall, more than 80 percent of the new jobs created in these states in the 1990s were filled by non-Hispanic workers and fewer than 20 percent by Hispanics. The Hispanic share of new jobs was much higher on a nationwide basis as Latinos captured 31 percent of the 14 million new jobs created nationally between 1990 and 2000.

Table 12 also details the employment opportunities created during the 1990s for Latino and non-Latino workers in each of the 36 Southern counties selected for this study. Collectively, these counties created new jobs for both Hispanics (up 435 percent) and non-Hispanics (up 16 percent) at a faster rate than the average for all six states in the new South. The share of Hispanics in total job growth in these counties was 26 percent—higher than for the six states but lower than the national average. There was, however, considerable variation in the growth of employment across counties. For non-Hispanics, employment fell by 11.7 percent in Whitfield County, Ga. That was the only county in which non-Hispanics lost jobs. In the remaining 35 counties, the lowest percentage increase in employment for non-Hispanics was 0.3 percent in Gaston County, N.C., on the western fringe of Charlotte; the highest was 59.1 percent in DeSoto, Miss., in the Memphis metropolitan area. For Hispanics, the employment gains ranged from 236.5 percent in DeKalb County, Ga., in metropolitan Atlanta, to 1,470 percent in Randolph County, N.C., in the Greensboro-High Point metropolitan area. The counties in North Carolina appear to have delivered consistently high job growth for Hispanics from 1990 to 2000.

¹⁰The increase in the employment of Hispanic workers was lower in Mississippi (204 percent) but that state is not one of the six new South states. It is included in Table 2 because of the presence of DeSoto County.

Table 12
Hispanic and Non-Hispanic Employment in New Settlement States and Counties, 1990 and 2000

	Hispanic		Non-Hispanic		Change: 1990 to 2000		% Change: 1990-2000	
	1990	2000	1990	2000	Hispanic	Non-Hispanic	Hispanic	Non-Hispanic
U.S.	8,981,516	13,347,876	106,699,686	116,373,636	4,366,360	9,673,950	48.6	9.1
New States	115,863	520,366	12,803,177	14,714,057	404,503	1,910,880	349.1	14.9
New Counties	53,318	285,181	4,116,720	4,792,415	231,863	675,695	434.9	16.4
Alabama	9,010	30,969	1,732,784	1,889,220	21,959	156,436	243.7	9.0
Jefferson	1,318	4,839	288,570	292,284	3,521	3,714	267.1	1.3
Arkansas	7,865	33,838	986,424	1,139,561	25,973	153,137	330.2	15.5
Benton	618	5,461	43,753	66,510	4,843	22,757	783.7	52.0
Washington	668	4,791	54,899	72,323	4,123	17,424	617.2	31.7
Georgia	47,231	193,321	3,043,045	3,646,435	146,090	603,390	309.3	19.8
Cherokee	657	4,054	47,580	71,262	3,397	23,682	517.0	49.8
Clayton	1,758	7,617	94,822	106,851	5,859	12,029	333.3	12.7
Cobb	4,974	22,583	248,122	306,553	17,609	58,431	354.0	23.5
DeKalb	8,127	27,349	291,725	320,061	19,222	28,336	236.5	9.7
Fulton	7,029	24,065	313,120	368,562	17,036	55,442	242.4	17.7
Gordon	134	1,660	17,305	20,791	1,526	3,486	1138.8	20.1
Gwinnett	4,267	29,180	199,120	285,291	24,913	86,171	583.9	43.3
Hall	2,342	10,773	46,710	55,814	8,431	9,104	360.0	19.5
Murray	67	799	13,180	17,003	732	3,823	1092.5	29.0
Whitfield	1,183	7,156	36,749	32,437	5,973	-4,312	504.9	-11.7
Mississippi	5,196	15,808	1,023,577	1,157,506	10,612	133,929	204.2	13.1
DeSoto	94	1,217	33,034	52,556	1,123	19,522	1194.7	59.1
North Carolina	27,570	164,009	3,210,844	3,660,732	136,439	449,888	494.9	14.0
Alamance	340	3,803	57,174	61,092	3,463	3,918	1018.5	6.9
Cabarrus	220	2,507	51,588	64,463	2,287	12,875	1039.5	25.0
Catawba	371	4,080	66,397	71,112	3,709	4,715	999.7	7.1
Davidson	224	2,072	68,120	72,078	1,848	3,958	825.0	5.8
Duplin	477	3,244	17,824	18,398	2,767	574	580.1	3.2
Durham	1,167	8,313	95,491	106,062	7,146	10,571	612.3	11.1
Forsyth	921	8,673	135,383	142,158	7,752	6,775	841.7	5.0
Franklin	94	951	17,407	21,775	857	4,368	911.7	25.1
Gaston	473	2,295	88,807	89,059	1,822	252	385.2	0.3
Guilford	1,335	7,987	187,098	209,117	6,652	22,019	498.3	11.8
Johnston	471	3,107	41,137	56,534	2,636	15,397	559.7	37.4
Lincoln	218	1,714	25,930	30,617	1,496	4,687	686.2	18.1
Mecklenburg	3,509	23,024	277,692	346,251	19,515	68,559	556.1	24.7
Randolph	243	3,815	59,220	63,335	3,572	4,115	1470.0	6.9
Robeson	288	2,426	44,124	45,853	2,138	1,729	742.4	3.9
Rowan	309	2,167	54,421	59,520	1,858	5,099	601.3	9.4
Sampson	332	2,412	21,457	24,060	2,080	2,603	626.5	12.1
Union	268	3,393	43,417	58,868	3,125	15,451	1166.0	35.6
Wake	2,673	16,962	238,019	326,464	14,289	88,445	534.6	37.2
South Carolina	11,435	42,065	1,591,990	1,782,635	30,630	190,645	267.9	12.0
Greenville	1,438	7,127	160,457	181,362	5,689	20,905	395.6	13.0
Tennessee	12,752	56,164	2,238,090	2,595,474	43,412	357,384	340.4	16.0
Davidson	2,234	13,003	262,446	278,280	10,769	15,834	482.1	6.0
Shelby	2,477	10,562	374,422	397,659	8,085	23,237	326.4	6.2

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Decennial Censuses of 1990 and 2000

Note: The new settlement states are Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Tennessee.

It is important to note that the data in Table 12 measure the employment status of residents of a county regardless of where the jobs are located. Since individuals may commute to work across county lines, job losses or gains within a county may actually reflect economic developments in a neighboring county. So, for example, the job loss for non-Hispanics in a suburban county like Whitfield could have been the consequence of economic developments in an adjacent county. Conversely, employment growth in Union County, N.C., may be tied to job growth in the Charlotte metropolitan area, most of which lies in Mecklenburg County.

There is little evidence that the gains for Latinos were accompanied by losses for non-Latinos. Subject to the caveat that resident and job locations may differ, if Latino job growth was a catalyst for job loss among non-Latinos one would expect to observe below-par job gains for non-Latinos in counties with higher job growth for Latinos. But that is not generally the case. Several counties with extremely rapid job growth among Hispanics also had well above average job growth among non-Hispanics. Examples of these counties are Cabarrus and Union in North Carolina, Benton in Arkansas and DeSoto in Mississippi. On the other side of the coin, there are several counties with below-par growth for both Hispanics and non-Hispanics. Examples of these are DeKalb in Georgia, Shelby in Tennessee and Jefferson in Alabama. The overall pace of economic growth in counties appears to have been the most powerful influence on job opportunities for all groups of workers. In other words, employment tended to grow at relatively fast or slow rates for Latinos and non-Latinos in the same counties.

Employment trends for black workers specifically also show no signs of job displacement from the rapid influx of Hispanic workers. The nationwide employment of black workers increased 14 percent between 1990 and 2000, but it grew by 20.7 percent in the new South states and 33 percent in the new settlement counties in the same time period (See Table A3.1 in Appendix 3).¹¹ There was an erosion of black employment in only three counties—Davidson, Duplin and Union, all in North Carolina. Most counties in Georgia witnessed dramatic increases in the employment of black workers. Gwinnett County nearly quadrupled the number of blacks employed, from 10,812 in 1990 to 40,971 in 2000.

In sum, economic growth in the new South appears to have delivered significant new job opportunities for most workers during the 1990s. The increase in employment of Hispanic workers was strong in all counties and varied only in its intensity. There was no job loss for non-Hispanic workers, and in numerous counties their employment increased at rates well above the national average.

Economic Characteristics of New Settlement Counties

No single form of economic development explains the rapid influx of Hispanic workers to the new South. In fact, the job growth took place in a variety of economic settings across the new settlement counties. The Latino workforce increased at a rapid rate just as much in small towns where poultry-packing plants were major employers and in big cities where bank headquarters dominated the skyline. Examining data at the county level illustrates this diversity.

¹¹ The data in Table A3.1 include blacks who are also Hispanic. About 2% of blacks in the U.S. are Hispanic. This figure is below 1% in most of the new settlement counties. The exceptions are Benton County, Arkansas and Murray County, Georgia. In those counties 7.7% and 54.6% of the black population, respectively, is Hispanic. Thus, except for these two counties the employment trends in Table 13 are a fair reflection of the experience of non-Hispanic blacks. One problem that does affect the employment trends is the change in the race classification between the 1990 and 2000 Censuses.

The new settlement counties can be loosely classified into three broad categories using the principal sources of income and employment in those counties as yardsticks. These three categories are *Diverse*, *Transition* and *Manufacturing*. Each category represents a different economic context for Latino population growth, and each illustrates a somewhat different role for Latino workers in the economic development of new settlement areas in the South.

--*Diverse Counties*

The Diverse counties draw their income and employment from a variety of industries. Economic growth in these counties in 1990s was also driven by a number of industries ranging from FIRE to services to transportation and utilities. Most of these counties are in or around large metropolitan areas including Atlanta, Charlotte, Nashville, Memphis and Birmingham.

Fulton and Gwinnett counties in Georgia and Mecklenburg and Union counties in North Carolina are typical of counties with a diverse economic base. Fulton and Gwinnett are part of the Atlanta metropolitan area and were home to a combined total of over 1.4 million persons in 2000. The services sector is the leading industry in Fulton, accounting for 29 percent of income in 1990 and more than 35 percent by 2000 (see Appendix 4). FIRE and transportation and public utilities also grew over the decade, increasing their contribution to income in Fulton from a total of 24 percent to 28 percent. The rate of growth in income in FIRE and services was especially impressive in Fulton; both registered an average annual change of 10 percent per year in current dollars. In neighboring Gwinnett County, growth in FIRE and services was even higher at more than 15 percent per year. In 1990, manufacturing, wholesale trade and services contributed income in almost equal measure in Gwinnett, but, by 2000, services had emerged as the leader in both income and employment. In both counties, roughly 50 percent of Hispanic workers could be found in either construction or services. The role of Hispanics in construction is especially important in Gwinnett and Fulton because they made up over 25 percent of the construction work force in those counties.

Mecklenburg and Union counties, home to more than 800,000 persons in 2000, are part of the Charlotte-Gastonia metropolitan area on the south-central border of North Carolina. Mecklenburg, which is the core of the metropolitan area, currently draws income from FIRE and services in almost equal measure—20 percent from the former and 25 percent from the latter. Transportation and public utilities, manufacturing and wholesale trade are other important sources of income and employment. Union, which lies on the fringes of Charlotte, depended upon manufacturing, especially poultry processing, in 1990. However, sharp growth in income and employment in the services and construction sectors is steadily eroding the importance of manufacturing in Union. According to the Union County Chamber of Commerce, three of the top 10 employers in Union are now construction companies (see Appendix 4) and as manufacturing diminished in importance construction loomed as a larger source of both income and employment (see Appendix 4). As was the case in Atlanta, the leading draws for Hispanic workers to these counties were the construction and services industries with more than 50 percent of Hispanic workers in Mecklenburg and over 40 percent in Union employed in these industries.

Durham County, N.C., the home of Duke University, is counted here as a diverse economy even though it draws more than 40 percent of its income from manufacturing. Much of this is high-technology, high-value-added manufacturing that employs relatively few workers. Thus, the leading employer by far in Durham County is the services industry, which employs more than 40 percent of workers in the county. At the same time, services account for more than

30 percent of income in Durham. The service sector in Durham is also devoted to high-end services; Duke University Medical Center, Research Triangle Center, Blue Cross and Durham Regional Hospital are among the major employers (see Appendix 4). The role of Hispanic workers in Durham shows the characteristics of other diverse economies with more than 60 percent of them working in construction and services.

--Transition Counties

The Transition counties were dependent on the manufacturing sector as a key source of income and employment in 1990. But these counties either shed manufacturing jobs or witnessed the emergence of other sectors, primarily services, as a leading source of income and employment in the 1990s. Many of these counties are lightly populated or on urban fringes.

Gaston County in North Carolina is part of the Charlotte-Gastonia metropolitan area but is classified as a Transition county. Manufacturing here has diminished in importance and services, which provided half as much employment as manufacturing in 1990, are now an equally important source of employment. But manufacturing, especially textiles, has not completely faded away and provided for 37 percent of income and 27 percent of employment in 2000 in Gaston. Benton, Ark., is another transition county that has transformed from a manufacturing-based economy to a retail-trade economy. That, of course, is coincidental with the rise of Wal-Mart, Inc. Nonetheless, Benton retains many of its older ties to food processing and Tyson Foods, Inc., and Kraft are among the leading employers. The mix of manufacturing and retail trade in Benton employed more than 50 percent of Hispanic workers in Benton in 2000. In Gaston, where textile manufacturing retains a stronger presence, nearly 60 percent of Latinos were employed in manufacturing alone in 2000.

--Manufacturing Counties

Manufacturing counties count upon the manufacturing sector as their primary source of income and employment. All of these counties added manufacturing jobs between 1990 and 2000. These counties have small to mid-size populations and several are non-metropolitan.

Two sparsely populated counties—Catawba, N.C., and Hall, Ga.—are typical of manufacturing counties. The manufacturing industry remains the leading source of income and employment in these counties—furniture in the case of Catawba, home to the city of Hickory, and food processing in the case of Hall. Both counties added manufacturing jobs between 1990 and 2000, at more than 3 percent per year in the case of Hall. In 2000, nearly 40 percent of all employment in Catawba was provided by the manufacturing sector with services contributing a scant 18 percent. Not surprisingly, more than 60 percent of Latinos in Catawba worked in manufacturing-sector jobs.

Employment and Income Patterns in New Settlement Counties, 2000

This section presents more detailed evidence on the industry and occupation distributions and the earnings of Hispanic and non-Hispanic workers in the new settlement counties. The evidence is shown for the three groups of counties—Diverse, Transition and Manufacturing—rather than for individual counties. Economic trends in individual counties that typify each of these three groups were presented in the preceding section. A full list of counties that are classified into each of these groups is shown in Table A2.1 in Appendix 2.

The collective growth in employment in each group of counties from 1990 to 2000 is presented in Table 13. For Latino workers, growth was strong in all three groups but leaned toward counties with a manufacturing base in 1990. The Manufacturing and Transition counties provided employment for only 10,039 Latinos in 1990, or 19 percent of the total employment of Latinos in all three groups of counties. By 2000, the number of employed Latinos in the two county groups had increased to 69,253, or 24 percent of the total employment of Latinos in the new South counties. It is also notable that Hispanic workers accounted for 40 percent of the increase in total employment in the Manufacturing counties. Thus, the manufacturing sector in the new South provided considerable new opportunities for Hispanic workers.

Employment growth for non-Hispanic workers was strongest in the Diverse counties. Their employment in this group of counties increased by 17.5 percent from 1990 to 2000 compared with about 14 percent or less in the Manufacturing and Transition counties. This is most likely a function of the fact that economic development in Diverse counties was led by a variety of industries, including industries such as FIRE and business services that hire many white-collar workers. In keeping with their greater proclivity for white-collar work, non-Hispanics accounted for 76 percent of the new employment created in the Diverse counties in the 1990s. This is well above their 60 percent share of new jobs in Manufacturing and Transition counties.

Table 13
Employment Growth in County Groups in the New South, 1990 to 2000

County Group	Non-Hispanics		Hispanics		Change: 1990-2000 Non-Hispanic		% Change: 1990-2000 Non-Hispanic	
	1990	2000	1990	2000	Hispanic	Hispanic	Hispanic	Hispanic
Manufacturing	289,661	329,000	5,074	31,426	39,339	26,352	13.6	519.4
Transition	655,861	738,602	4,965	37,827	82,741	32,862	12.6	661.9
Diverse	3,171,198	3,724,813	43,279	215,928	553,615	172,649	17.5	398.9

Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations of data from Census 1990 and 2000

Industry Distribution

Hispanic workers moved into the new South to work primarily in the manufacturing and construction industries. This was demonstrated in Table 11, which showed that 48 percent of Latinos in the new settlement counties were engaged in these two industries alone in 2000. A further specialization into manufacturing or construction work is evident from the employment patterns in the three county groups. Not surprisingly, Hispanic and other workers are most likely to be employed in the manufacturing sector in counties that depend on those industries. As shown in Table 14, about 15 percent each of Hispanics and non-Hispanics work in manufacturing on a nationwide basis. However, in the new South counties where manufacturing remains vital the proportions of white and black workers in manufacturing were 28.1 percent and 35.1 percent respectively in 2000. Among Latinos, a solid majority of 57 percent in Manufacturing counties was employed in either durable or non-durables good manufacturing. In Murray, Whitfield and Gordon Counties in Georgia, where textile mills are a major factor, Hispanic workers are engaged almost exclusively in manufacturing; 70 percent of them are employed in that industry alone.

The very high concentration of Hispanic workers in manufacturing did not mean that they had also staked claim to most jobs in that industry in Manufacturing counties. In Murray, Whitfield and Gordon counties the Hispanic share of manufacturing jobs was only 20 percent in 2000. The Latino share in manufacturing jobs in this group of counties was highest in Hall County, Ga., (34%) and lowest in Rowan County, N.C. (5%).

The engagement of Hispanic workers in manufacturing remains strong in the Transition counties. A high plurality of them—42.6 percent—are located in the manufacturing industry in Transition counties. Notable concentrations of Latino workers in manufacturing again occur in two counties noted for textiles and furniture production—Randolph (67%) and Robeson (58%), both in North Carolina. Overall, though, there are proportionally fewer Latinos in manufacturing in Transition counties. Their share of jobs in the manufacturing industry in this group of counties ranges from a high of 22.7 percent in Sampson and Duplin counties in North Carolina to a low of 4.2 percent in Davidson County, also in North Carolina. Sampson and Duplin are rural counties and food processing is an important part of their manufacturing sectors.

The reduced role of manufacturing in Transition counties does not necessarily mean that Hispanics were moving into new growth industries in those counties. For example, even as retail trade reshaped the economic landscape in Benton County, Ark., 52.6 percent of Latinos in that county could be found in manufacturing in 2000. Similarly, Sampson and Duplin counties collectively were shedding manufacturing jobs in the 1990s while they witnessed growth in other

Table 14
The Industry and Occupation Distribution of Workers in County Groups in New Settlement States, 2000

	% Distribution of Latinos				% Distribution of Whites				% Distribution of Blacks			
	Manuf. Counties	Transition Counties	Diverse Counties	U.S.	Manuf. Counties	Transition Counties	Diverse Counties	U.S.	Manuf. Counties	Transition Counties	Diverse Counties	U.S.
Industry												
Construction	12.3	16.1	30.1	9.8	7.2	8.3	6.7	3.8	3.1	4.7	3.9	7.0
Manufacturing	57.3	42.6	13.4	15.7	28.1	20.8	11.2	13.0	35.1	31.1	11.1	13.9
Trade	6.7	9.3	10.3	15.2	16.5	18.3	16.9	12.3	10.8	12.1	13.8	15.8
Transport and warehousing	1.1	1.5	2.5	4.2	4.2	4.1	4.4	6.5	5.2	4.4	8.5	4.1
Info., comm. and utilities	1.0	0.8	2.3	2.9	2.6	3.7	5.2	4.3	2.4	2.9	5.5	4.1
FIRE	1.1	1.1	3.0	5.0	4.5	5.9	9.5	6.5	3.0	3.5	8.1	7.2
Services	16.3	20.7	36.2	40.5	33.0	34.1	42.2	45.9	37.2	36.3	42.7	41.2
Agr., forestry, mining, etc.	3.1	7.1	1.2	3.2	1.4	1.6	0.4	0.7	0.1	1.4	0.3	1.9
Public administration	0.9	0.6	1.3	3.4	2.7	3.3	3.6	7.2	3.0	3.5	6.0	4.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Occupation												
Management, professional and related	5.5	10.1	13.2	16.1	23.9	26.0	40.1	31.6	14.7	14.1	22.8	21.1
Office and admin. Support	5.2	4.4	6.9	13.7	14.8	15.7	15.3	15.4	12.3	12.9	21.4	18.4
Healthcare	1.1	1.3	2.1	4.0	5.3	5.6	6.0	6.5	8.6	7.5	6.8	8.9
Protective services	0.3	0.6	0.6	1.7	1.6	1.6	1.4	1.9	1.9	1.8	2.5	3.3
Food preparation and serving	4.2	5.6	9.9	7.5	4.0	3.3	3.3	4.3	5.0	5.4	5.1	5.3
Building and grounds cleaning and maintenance	5.0	4.0	9.8	7.7	2.3	2.5	1.6	2.4	5.4	5.2	4.5	5.1
Personal care and service	1.0	0.9	1.6	2.9	2.1	2.3	2.3	2.6	2.3	2.3	2.8	3.5
Sales	2.8	3.4	5.5	9.3	11.5	11.8	14.1	11.9	7.1	7.9	9.6	8.9
Construction	11.6	15.9	28.5	9.1	6.0	5.9	4.2	5.3	3.0	4.3	3.3	3.5
Production	45.6	36.1	11.2	12.9	15.7	12.6	4.1	7.6	23.8	23.0	8.2	9.8
Installation, maint. and repair	2.5	3.5	3.1	4.0	4.9	5.9	3.5	4.1	2.6	3.9	3.1	3.0
Transportation and material moving	11.7	8.2	6.3	8.3	7.3	6.3	3.9	5.6	13.0	10.7	9.9	8.8
Farm, fishing, extraction, etc.	3.4	6.0	1.2	2.8	0.6	0.5	0.1	0.6	0.4	0.8	0.1	0.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations of data from Census 2000 IPUMS files

sectors, such as FIRE, trade and services. But 63.7 percent of Latino workers in Sampson and Duplin could be found in either manufacturing or agriculture, the “old guard” industries in those counties.

In contrast to the other county groups, Latinos in Diverse counties are most likely to be found doing construction work. The proportion of Latino workers in the manufacturing sector in the Diverse counties drops to only 13.4 percent but the proportion in the construction industry climbs sharply to 30.1 percent (three times the national norm for Latinos in 2000). This is a fairly uniform phenomenon across the counties with a diverse economic base. The proportion of Hispanics in the manufacturing industry in these counties ranges from 7% in DeKalb, Ga., to 24.8% in Forsyth, N.C. On the other hand, the percentage of Hispanics in the construction industry is high in all Diverse counties, varying from 20% in Jefferson County, Ala., to 44.4% in Franklin and Johnston counties in North Carolina. Durham County, N.C., is highly dependent on Hispanics in construction; they account for 39.5 percent of the workforce in that industry. However, the employment share of Latino workers in the construction industry is most notable in DeKalb, where nearly one half (45.3%) of construction-sector employment is in their hands.

Diverse counties also employ sizable proportions of Hispanic workers in other industries, such as arts, entertainment, recreation, accommodations and food services and professional, scientific, management, administrative and waste management services. The former sector includes hotels and restaurants and the latter includes landscaping and other services to building and dwellings. The industry distributions of white and black workers in the Diverse counties roughly approximate the nationwide industry distributions of these workers.

Occupational Distribution

The economic contrast across the county groups is also evident in the occupational distributions of workers in 2000 (Table 14). The share of Hispanic workers engaged in production occupations diminishes from 45.6 percent in Manufacturing counties to 11.2 percent in the Diverse counties, whereas the proportion in construction occupations rises from 11.6 percent to 28.5 percent. Most notably, just over one half (50.7%) of Latinos in Gordon, Murray and Whitfield counties in Georgia were production workers. In Franklin and Johnston counties in North Carolina 43.7% of Latinos were in construction occupations alone.

Hispanic workers in Diverse counties are also likely to be found in management, professional and related occupations but their representation in these occupations (13.2%) in Diverse counties was below their national average (16.1%) in 2000. Similarly, Latinos were far less likely (6.9%) than the national norm (13.7%) to be found in office and administrative-support occupations in Diverse counties. These tendencies are, no doubt, a reflection of the fact that Latinos in the new South are far more likely to be foreign born than in the rest of the country.

White and black workers are also far more likely to be found in white-collar occupations in Diverse counties in comparison with other counties. In fact, 40.1% of whites could be found in management, professional and related occupations alone in the

Diverse counties, well above their national average of 31.6% in 2000. Conversely, white workers were less likely than the national average to be employed as construction or production workers in Diverse counties.

Overall, the employment patterns in the new settlement counties in 2000 reveal a strong concentration of Latinos in manufacturing and construction. In part, this is a reflection of the characteristics of these workers. As shown earlier in this report, Latino workers in the new South are more likely than average to be male and foreign born. However, the data also show that Hispanic workers, as well as white and black workers, were also responding to economic trends in these counties. All Manufacturing and some Transition counties continued to create manufacturing jobs in the 1990s. Thus, high proportions of all workers, not just Latino workers, were engaged in production work in these counties. However, manufacturing employment is scarcer in the Diverse counties, and Latino workers appeared to have responded to economic growth in these counties by filling construction jobs. Yet construction was only one source of growth in these counties. Leading roles were also played by FIRE, business services and trade. Reflecting their comparative advantage, white and black workers in these counties are concentrated in relatively greater proportions in management and administrative-support occupations.

Earnings of Hispanic and Non-Hispanic Workers

The earnings of Hispanic workers were fairly constant across the three county groups in 2000. As shown in Table 15, the median annual income of Latinos in Manufacturing counties was \$16,000. It was at the same level in Diverse counties and, at \$15,000, only a little lower in Transition counties. The income data are consistent with the concentration of Hispanic workers in blue-collar jobs, either in manufacturing or construction, in all three county groups.

However, the income of Hispanics relative to whites was much lower in Diverse counties in comparison with the other counties. Nationally, Latinos were earning 61 percent as much as whites in 2000.¹² The situation was approximately the same in manufacturing-oriented counties, as Latinos earned 64 percent as much as whites in Manufacturing counties and 58 percent as much in Transition counties. But the median income of whites in Diverse counties is significantly higher than in the other counties—\$34,100 versus \$26,000 or less in the other county groups. This reflects the far greater opportunities in white-collar occupations for white workers in Diverse counties. Consequently, Hispanic workers earned only 47 percent as much as white workers in Diverse counties in 2000.

A Look Ahead

The economic expansion in the 1990s came to an end with a recession lasting from March to November 2001. The recession was relatively short and not severe. However, the recovery from the recession was uncharacteristically slow and it took approximately two years from the end of the recession for the first signs of job growth to

¹² The relatively low income of Hispanic workers is a consequence of many factors. These include relatively low education, age and experience, immigration status, English skills, weekly hours worked, weeks worked in a year, part-time or full-time status, and occupation.

appear. That period is generally referred to as the “jobless recovery.” The new settlement states were not immune to the effects of the business cycle. As shown in Figures A3.1 to A3.10 in Appendix 3 the unemployment rates in these states followed the ups and downs of the U.S. economy. The unemployment rates in North Carolina and South Carolina climbed above the national rates in 2001. In some specific

Table 15
The Median Income of Workers in New Settlement County Groups, 2000

	Annual Income	
	Median	Relative to Whites
National		
Hispanic	\$18,000	61%
Black	\$22,700	77%
White	\$29,400	100%
Manufacturing Counties		
Hispanic	\$16,000	64%
Black	\$20,000	80%
White	\$25,000	100%
Transition Counties		
Hispanic	\$15,000	58%
Black	\$20,000	77%
White	\$26,000	100%
Diverse Counties		
Hispanic	\$16,000	47%
Black	\$24,000	70%
White	\$34,100	100%

Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations of data from Census 2000 IPUMS files

metropolitan areas, such as Memphis, the unemployment rate remained below the U.S. average for much of the post-2000 period but increased at a faster rate. Mixed signals from the unemployment rate are also reflected in payroll figures from the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Nationally, payroll data showed a fall of 0.8 percent in private-sector employment between 2001 and 2004. However, the fall in employment exceeded this percentage in Georgia, Mississippi and North Carolina. The same was true in some major metropolitan areas, such as Atlanta, Greenville, S.C., and Durham, N.C. Thus, labor market indicators suggest a slowing down in the incentives to migrate to the Southeast during the 2001 recession and the period thereafter.

A more optimistic economic picture is presented by data on income growth. Those data show that income growth in the Southeast at large and in most of the six new settlement states was higher than the national average from the recession in 2001 to the end of the jobless recovery in 2003 (Table 16). Income growth from 2001 to 2003 was slightly below par in Georgia and North Carolina but most of the new settlement counties within these states sustained higher income growth than the national average. The most notable exceptions were three counties in the Atlanta area—Cobb, DeKalb and Fulton—

where there was a slowdown in both the construction and services industries. In the aggregate, the employment and income data suggest that the economic incentive to migrate to certain areas in the new South may have been mitigated by the 2001 recession. But the permanence of these effects remains to be determined, and conditions remain favorable for ongoing migration to several new settlement areas in the South.

Table 16
Personal Income Growth by Region and State
Percent Change, 2001 to 2003

U.S.	5.0%
Regions	
New England	3.1%
Mideast	3.9%
Great Lakes	4.7%
Plains	6.1%
Southeast	6.6%
Southwest	4.8%
Rocky Mountain	4.4%
Far West	4.8%
New Settlement States	
Alabama	8.1%
Arkansas	7.3%
Georgia	4.6%
North Carolina	4.9%
South Carolina	6.9%
Tennessee	8.4%

Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations from the Regional Economic Information System (REIS) database of the Bureau of Economic Analysis

The Public Policy Impact of a Growing Latino Population in the New Settlement Areas of the South

--School-Age Children

Across the United States, the racial and ethnic mix of the school-age and pre-school population is changing very quickly. Latinos, especially Latino immigrants, have higher birth rates than whites. (Edmonston and Passel, 1999) And because of a steady influx of young, foreign-born adults, a greater share of the Hispanic population is still in its prime child-bearing years than is the case with the white population. One result is that by 2000 the number of Hispanics ages 0 to 4 had increased by about 1.3 million over the previous decade while the number of whites in that age group had declined by about 1.3 million and the number of blacks was virtually unchanged.

The situation is somewhat different in the new settlement areas of the South. As noted above, all six states in the region are attracting new white residents, adding to the stock of potential parents. And the Latino population of the South's new settlement areas still bears the hallmarks of a recent labor migration with its large share of unaccompanied males. That is likely to change as more women join the migration and the newcomers begin to form families. Then, the impact of Latino population growth will be felt forcefully in the schools.

This process has just begun. Like the Latino population as a whole, the Latino school-age population started very small and is growing very rapidly. In counties where Hispanic youngsters numbered in the tens in 1990, they numbered in the hundreds by the end of the decade. In counties where they numbered in the hundreds not long ago, they now number in the thousands. (See Appendix 5 for county-level data) The numbers are still relatively small, and Hispanics make up just a fraction of the school-age population in new settlement areas. But their impact on local schools is multiplied by two factors: Coming out of homes where Spanish is spoken, they often present special needs for English-language instruction. And because this is a new population that has emerged quite suddenly, many school systems do not have the programs in place to deal with those needs (TRPI, 2004).

Table 17
Change in the School-Age Population, 1990-2000,
for U.S., Traditional Settlement and Six Southern States

	Number of Hispanics 1990				Number of Hispanics 2000				Increase (%)			
	Total	Hispanic	White	Black	Total	Hispanic	White	Black	Total	Hispanic	White	Black
Six Southern States	5,151,020	55,199	3,498,317	1,516,855	6,081,356	232,756	3,849,294	1,783,819	18	322	10	18
States	11,709,848	2,677,847	6,603,930	1,563,318	14,102,777	4,095,619	6,697,120	1,782,135	20	53	1	14
Nation	45,216,781	5,305,176	31,327,855	6,641,799	53,076,139	8,578,574	32,861,490	7,820,496	17	62	5	18

Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations of Census 1990 and 2000 Integrated Public Use Microdata Series

Notes: Traditional Settlement States are Calif., Ill., N.J. and N.Y. Six Southern States are Ala., Ark., Ga., N.C., S.C. and Tenn. Universe is children ages 5-17.

In the six new settlement states of the South, the Hispanic school-age population (ages 5 to 17) grew by 322 percent between 1990 and 2000. Over the same period the white population of school age grew by just 10 percent and the black population by 18 percent. However, because Latinos were starting from such a small base—1% of the

school-age population in the six states—they still represented a very small share—4%—even after the growth spurt. The number of white youngsters added to the school-age population of the six states was nearly 351,000 compared with some 177,000 Hispanics. In the nation as a whole the situation is different because the number of Hispanics added to the school-age population (3.3 million) is considerably larger than the number of whites (1.5 million).

Table 18
Change in the Pre-School-Age Population, 1990-2000,
For U. S., Traditional Settlement and Six Southern States

	Number of Hispanics 1990				Number of Hispanics 2000				Increase (%)				
	Total	Hispanic	White	Black	Total	Hispanic	White	Black	Total	Hispanic	White	Black	
Six Southern States	1,976,647	28,753	1,341,732	577,710	2,234,692	138,568	1,384,598	610,347	13	382		3	6
States	4,975,717	1,212,379	2,785,126	638,410	5,119,376	1,696,068	2,252,870	595,684	3	40	-19		-7
Nation	18,201,472	2,327,247	12,457,217	2,657,208	19,046,165	3,669,712	11,176,648	2,661,723	5	58	-10		0

Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations of Census 1990 and 2000 Integrated Public Use Microdata Series
Notes: Traditional Settlement States are Calif., Ill., N.J. and N.Y. Six Southern States are Ala., Ark., Ga., N.C., S.C. and Tenn. Universe is children ages 0-4.

To see the future impact on the schools one only has to look at the youngest kids, pre-schoolers ages 0 to 4. In this age group the Hispanic population increased by 382 percent between 1990 and 2000 in the six Southern states, and the number of Hispanics added was far larger than the number of whites (110,000 vs. 43,000). Latinos accounted for 43 percent of the people added to the population of these states in the pre-school age range. In the new settlement counties where Latino population growth is most intense the Hispanic population in this age group increased by an extraordinary 557 percent.

As with the growth of the Hispanic population in general, the impact on the schools in new settlement areas has to be measured not just in terms of the change but also in terms of the speed of change. Just 15 years ago, Latino youngsters were a negligible presence in the six Southern states, accounting as noted above for just 1 percent of the school-age population in 1990. By the 2001-2002 school year, Hispanics accounted for 4 percent of the school enrollment, but by the 2007-2008 school year they will make up 10 percent of all the primary and secondary school students in these six states, according to projections by the Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education. (WICHE, 2003) Having had just 184,000 Latino students enrolled in September 2001, the six Southern states will have an estimated 571,000 by September 2007, an increase of 387,000 Latino students. To put this in perspective, consider that the four traditional settlement states of California, Illinois, New York and New Jersey had a vastly larger Hispanic school enrollment—3.4 million in 2001—but will add only another 535,000 Latino students by 2007.

In addition, broader demographic trends that are already evident nationally will begin to play out more forcefully in the new settlement areas of the South. Lower fertility rates among whites will slow the growth of the white youth population. While Latino enrollment surges, white enrollment is projected to actually decline by nearly 26,000 students between 2001 and 2007 in the six states. Put another way, these projections show that Latino school enrollment in the six Southern states will increase by 210 percent while the number of all non-Hispanic students increases by a mere 2 percent.

Table 19
Actual and Projected Enrollment for Public Elementary and Secondary Schools by Race and Ethnicity,
2001-2002 and 2007-2008

Actual and Projected Enrollment by Race and Ethnicity

		Hispanic	White	Black	AIAN	API	Total
The Nation	2001-2002	7,173,174	26,141,558	7,307,894	510,639	1,837,383	42,970,648
	2007-2008	9,178,874	24,586,044	7,366,045	546,851	2,229,364	43,907,178
	Projected Change	2,005,700	-1,555,514	58,151	36,212	391,981	936,530
Six New Settlement States	2001-2002	184,055	3,055,646	1,678,732	29,527	78,872	5,026,832
	2007-2008	570,998	3,030,027	1,746,352	36,756	119,142	5,503,276
	Projected Change	386,943	-25,619	67,620	7,229	40,270	476,444
Traditional Settlement States	2001-2002	3,397,640	5,203,569	1,544,759	65,317	940,420	11,151,705
	2007-2008	3,933,062	4,710,420	1,463,601	69,212	1,102,965	11,279,260
	Projected Change	535,422	-493,149	-81,158	3,895	162,545	127,555

Actual and Projected Race/Ethnic Distribution

		Hispanic	White	Black	AIAN	API	Total
The Nation	2001-2002	17	61	17	1	4	100
	2007-2008	21	56	17	1	5	100
Six New Settlement States	2001-2002	4	61	33	1	2	100
	2007-2008	10	55	32	1	2	100
Traditional Settlement States	2001-2002	30	47	14	1	8	100
	2007-2008	35	42	13	1	10	100

Source: Pew Hispanic Center calculations of Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education projections,
Notes: Enrollment and projections are for Grades 1 - 12. AIAN refers to American Indians and Alaska Natives. API refers to Asian and Pacific Islanders. Traditional Settlement States are Calif., Ill., N.J. and N.Y. Six Southern States are Ala., Ark., Ga., N.C., S.C. and Tenn.

The impact of Latino growth in the school-age population is magnified because so many of these children have Spanish-speaking immigrant parents and thus require instruction in the English language. Whereas only about 18,000 Spanish-speaking children with limited English proficiency lived in the six new settlement states of the South in 1990, by 2000 the number had increased 261 percent to 64,000. Given that the Latino population growth in these new settlement areas is driven by international migration to a greater extent than elsewhere, it is not surprising that a greater share of Spanish-speaking children in the six Southern states reported not speaking English well or at all (24%) compared with the nation as a whole (15%) or the four traditional settlement area states (15%). (See Appendix 5 for county-level data)

Table 20
Change in School-Age Population of Spanish Speakers by English-Speaking Ability
Traditional Settlement and Six Southern States, 1990-2000

		1990				2000			
		English-Speaking Ability				English-Speaking Ability			
		Speaks Very Well	Speaks Well	Well or Not at All	Total	Speaks Very Well	Speaks Well	Speaks Not Well or Not at All	Total
Six New Settlement States	5-17-year-olds (#)	62,554	21,449	17,796	101,799	142,559	59,476	64,280	266,315
	Distribution (%)	61	21	17	100	54	22	24	100
Traditional Settlement States	5-17-year-olds (#)	1,246,139	502,062	353,107	2,101,308	1,999,640	788,176	474,006	3,261,822
	Distribution (%)	59	24	17	100	61	24	15	100
The Nation	5-17-year-olds (#)	2,530,779	993,417	643,457	4,167,653	4,245,416	1,546,722	1,037,962	6,830,100
	Distribution (%)	61	24	15	100	62	23	15	100

Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations from 1990 and 2000 Census Summary File 1

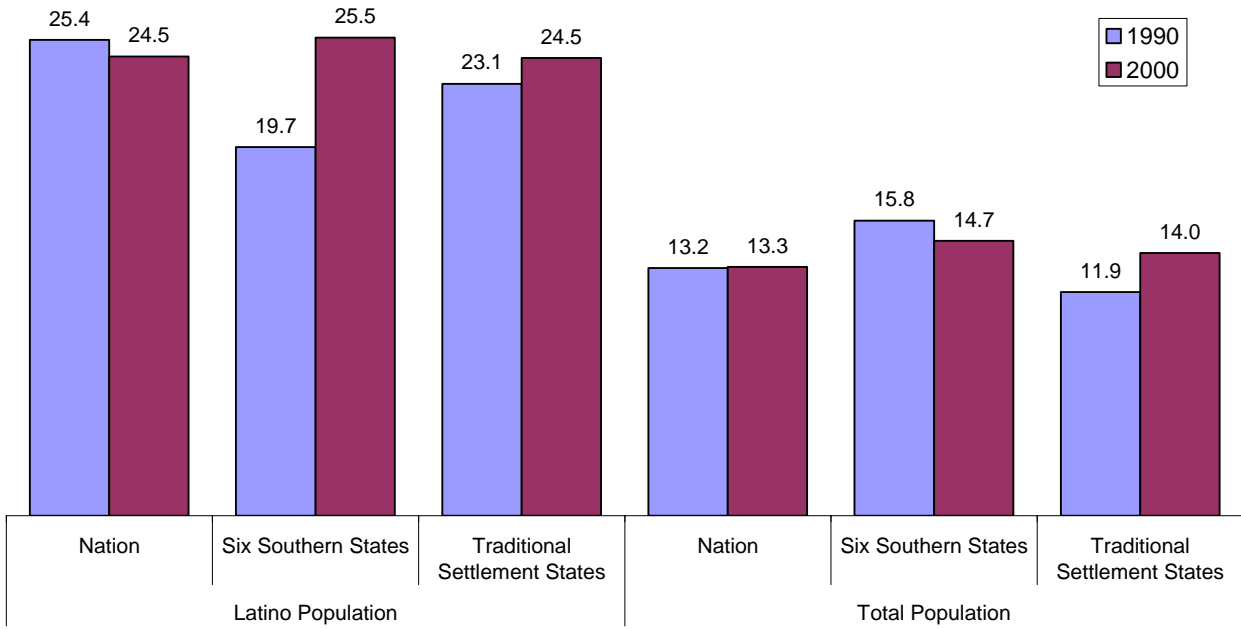
Notes: Traditional Settlement States are Calif., Ill., N.J. and N.Y. Six Southern States are Ala., Ark., Ga., N.C., S.C. and Tenn. Universe is children ages 5-17 in households where Spanish was spoken at home.

--Poverty

The overall poverty rate in the six Southern new settlement states dropped from 15.8 percent to 14.7 percent between 1990 and 2000, a decline of 7 percent while it held steady nationwide, reflecting the robust economic performance of the Southeast. Meanwhile, however, the poverty rate among Latinos in these states increased significantly from 19.7 percent to 25.5 percent. That was a 30 increase reflecting the influx of young foreign-born Latinos filling low-wage jobs. Nationwide, the poverty rate among Latinos declined by 3.5 percent over the decade. This illustrates the consequences for both the new settlement communities and the new Latinos moving there of a kind of economic growth in which an increased reliance on low-skilled foreign workers is a key factor in the development pattern.

The relative intensity of the increase in Latino poverty is evident by contrasting the new settlement states of the South with the four traditional settlement states. In the six Southern states, Latinos accounted for three times as much of the growth in the poverty population (54%) than of the overall population (18%). In the traditional states, Latinos contributed less (61%) to the increase in the number of people in poverty than they did to the overall population (75%).

Change in Poverty Rates 1990-2000



Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations of 1990 and 2000 Censuses, Integrated Public Use Microdata Series
 Notes: Traditional Settlement States are Calif., Ill., N.J. and N.Y. Six Southern States are Ala., Ark., Ga., N.C., S.C. and Tenn. Universe is population not residing in group quarters.

Table 21
Change in Poverty Rates
for U.S., Traditional Settlement and Six Southern States, 1990-2000

		Total Population	Latino Population	Total In Poverty	Latinos In Poverty	Latino Share of Total Population Growth	Latino Share of Poverty Population Growth
Six Southern States	1990	27,008,955	246,462	4,256,020	48,526	18	54
	2000	32,095,033	1,149,028	4,710,341	293,468		
	Increase	5,086,078	902,566	454,321	244,942		
Traditional Settlement States	1990	64,994,840	11,035,869	7,763,984	2,545,612	75	60
	2000	71,777,207	16,132,187	10,079,205	3,945,847		
	Increase	6,782,367	5,096,318	2,315,221	1,400,235		
Nation	1990	241,469,575	21,355,418	31,934,481	5,427,306	41	68
	2000	273,637,396	34,494,801	36,386,969	8,461,393		
	Increase	32,167,821	13,139,383	4,452,488	3,034,087		

Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations of Census 1990 and 2000 Integrated Public Use Microdata Series
 Notes: Traditional Settlement States are Calif., Ill., N.J. and N.Y. Six Southern States are Ala., Ark., Ga., N.C., S.C. and Tenn.

--Housing

Given their economic status and the large number of recent immigrants among them, Hispanics nationally are more likely to be renters than homeowners. In fact nationwide, more than twice as large a share of the Latino population (52%) lives in rented housing as among whites (24%). This contrast is even more apparent in the new settlement states of the South, with an even greater concentration of low-income earners and recent arrivals in the Hispanic population. In the six Southern states, 65 percent of Latinos are renters compared with 21 percent of whites. Blacks in these states rent at a somewhat lower rate (44%) than they do nationally (51%).

Table 22
Share of Total Change in the Number of Occupied Housing Units by Race and Ethnicity, 1990-2000, in Percentages

	Share of Change in Housing Units (%)								
	All Occupied Housing Units			Owned Housing Units			Rented Housing Units		
	Hispanic	White	Black	Hispanic	White	Black	Hispanic	White	Black
United States	24	40	17	15	60	12	57	-36	36
Six New Settlement States	9	56	27	4	68	22	27	11	47
Four Traditional States	52	-16	18	34	21	13	103	-123	32

Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations from 1990 and 2000 Census Summary File 1

Notes: Black population figures are not consistent from 1990 to 2000. 1990 data are for Black non-Hispanics, and 2000 are for Blacks, including Black Hispanics. About 2 percent of blacks in the U.S. are Hispanics. Traditional Settlement States are Calif., Ill., N.J. and N.Y. Six Southern States are Ala., Ark., Ga., N.C., S.C. and Tenn.

The growth of the Hispanic population in the new settlement areas of the South has predictably added to the ranks of renters much more than to the number of homeowners. Latinos accounted for just 4 percent of the growth in the number of owned housing units in the six states compared with 27 percent of the increase in the number of rented units. Among whites the opposite was true, as they accounted for 68 percent of the increase in owned units and 11 percent of the rentals. Among blacks the outcome was somewhat more balanced, though tilted towards rentals (22% of the increase in owned vs. 47% of the increase in rentals).

Latino population growth has another distinctive impact on housing because Hispanics typically have larger households than either whites or blacks. This is particularly true in the new settlement areas of the South. Two factors explain this: Latinos have more children, and Hispanic households are more likely to include members of an extended family (beyond a husband, a wife and their children) or people who are not part of the householder's family. The creation of households that include more than a nuclear family is a particularly prevalent phenomenon among recent immigrants.

Table 23
Household Characteristics
for U. S., Traditional Settlement and Six Southern States, 1990-2000

	Average Number of People Per Household			Average Family Size			Average Number of Families Per Household		
	Hispanic	White	Black	Hispanic	White	Black	Hispanic	White	Black
United States	3.6	2.4	2.7	3.6	2.3	2.6	1.1	1.2	1.1
Six New Settlement States	3.8	2.4	2.7	3.3	2.3	2.6	1.5	1.1	1.1
Four Traditional States	3.8	2.4	2.7	3.6	2.3	2.6	1.3	1.1	1.4

Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations of 1990 and 2000 Censuses, Integrated Public Use Microdata Series

Notes: Traditional Settlement States are Calif., Ill., N.J. and N.Y. Six Southern States are Ala., Ark., Ga., N.C., S.C. and Tenn. Universe is population not residing in group quarters.

In the Southern new settlement states Latinos accounted for 17 percent of the population increase between 1900 and 2000 but just 9 percent of the increase in the number of households. The average number of people in those Hispanic households (3.8) was significantly larger than in either white (2.4) or black (2.7) households in the six states.

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