Becoming Established on the New Frontier: The Rise of Latino Enclaves in the Nuevo South

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Introduction and Background

Previous research has documented the substantial shift of Latino migrants from established gateways to non-traditional settlement areas often referred to as "new destinations." These migration shifts are of particular interest because the context of these new settlement areas differ from those in established ones. Consequently, the incorporation process for Latino immigrants and subsequent generations might vary from those experienced in traditional areas. For instance, previous research has found that Latinos experience different levels of residential segregation, crime, and homeownership between new and established destinations (Park and Iceland 2011; Hall 2013; Painter-Davis 2016; Sanchez 2018). These studies demonstrate the need for continuous research on the circumstances faced by Latinos (and others) in non-traditional settlement areas as they might impact future life outcomes. Although these new settlement areas are dispersed throughout the United States, many are located in the South. Many of these places have experienced economic growth and increased demand for low-wage, low-skill labor thus perpetuating the inflow of Latino migrants (Hernandez-Leon and Zuniga 2005; Chaney 2010). This "nuevo" South poses a new context when considering Latino immigrant incorporation compared to those living in Southwest. For example, Latinos in the Atlanta metropolitan area may be more likely to interact with black residents compared Latinos living in the Southwest, an area with a smaller proportion of black residents but higher proportions of Latinos. Furthermore, the dynamics of housing costs and job opportunities might factor into Latinos' social mobility and overall well-being.

However, current demographic trends among the Latino population, such as decreased migration from Mexico and the rise of the second and third generations, may have transformed the context of Latino neighborhoods in both traditional and established areas. Recent, large-scale economic

events like the economic recession and mortgage crisis might have also altered the social and demographic context of Latino neighborhoods. This project provides a particular focus on Latino neighborhoods located in new destinations across the South. While Latinos living in established areas might benefit from existing networks of social capital present, those in new settlement areas across the South could be more isolated and less embedded in social networks.

Still, many of these places considered "new destinations" experienced continued growth among their Latino populations throughout the 1990s and 2000s. Although these settlement areas differ from established ones, by 2016 many of these Latino communities have existed for nearly 30 years. In many ways, we might now view these neighborhoods as "established" but located within new destinations. The embedded networks in these Latino neighborhoods may be more developed and offer more resources compared to earlier decades (as they were just emerging). The implication is that the neighborhood context faced by Latinos in these new settlement areas might have evolved over time.

The primary focus of this research is to study the emergence of "established" Latino communities located among select metropolitan areas located in the American South. In particular, we utilize spatial analyses to address the following questions:

1. To what extent has the spatial concentration of Latinos living Southern metropolitan areas changed over time (1990 to 2016)?
2. How has the context of Latino neighborhoods in Southern metropolitan areas changed over time (1990 to 2016)?

Data and Methods

We employ census tract-level data from the 1990 and 2000 U.S. Census in addition to tract-level data from the 2012-2016 American Community Survey (5-year estimates) to examine Latino residential patterns. The 1990 and 2000 Census data are standardized to 2010 boundaries in order to have an accurate comparison of tract boundaries (using the Longitudinal Tract Data Base feature from Social Explorer). In addition to percent Latino across census tracts, we plan to incorporate other neighborhood

indicators such as nativity status, educational attainment, poverty status, ecological factors, and other demographic characteristics to investigate the changing context of Latino clusters across time. When possible, we will distinguish these characteristics from the total tract population and Latino population (e.g. % of total tract population in poverty vs. % of tract's Latino population in poverty).

We use spatially explicit measures to examine changes in Latino residential concentration. These spatial measures include both global and local indices. For example, we utilize the global Moran's I, a measure of spatial autocorrelation, analyze the extent of *overall* Latino residential clustering in a given geographic metropolitan area. The advantage of this measure is that it summarizes not only the extent to which groups are clustered in particular neighborhoods, but it considers the concentration of that group that is present in surrounding ones as well (Brown and Chung 2006; Johnston et al. 2009). In addition, we use Local Indicators of Spatial Autocorrelation (LISA) clusters identify specific neighborhoods that exhibit significant Latino clustering relative to the metropolitan average (Anselin 1995). While the Global Moran's I provides an overall measure of residential concentration, LISA clusters evaluate *where* these Latino neighborhoods are located and have emerged over time. After identifying these clusters, we are able to link other tract characteristics to examine how their neighborhood context differs from the overall averages and how they have changed over time (Logan et al. 2002; Brown and Chung 2006; Walton 2015; Walton 2017).

As this research is in its preliminary stages, we first focus on five large metropolitan areas located in the South, but exclude metros from Texas and Florida as these states are considered traditional Latino settlement areas. Our current analyses examine the Atlanta (GA), Birmingham (AL), Charlotte (NC), Knoxville (TN), and New Orleans (LA) Metropolitan Statistical Areas. For each metropolitan area, we calculate the Global Moran's I for percent Latino from 1990 to 2016 to examine overall trends in Latinos' residential concentration across time. Next, we produce cluster maps to identify the geographic distribution of Latino concentrated neighborhoods across each metropolitan

areas and the emergence of new clusters across time. Our future work will consider how the neighborhood context of these Latino clusters have changed over time by examining these neighborhoods' social, economic, and ecological characteristics.

Preliminary Results

Table 1 illustrates trends in Latinos' residential concentration and dispersion between 1990 and 2016 across the five metropolitan statistical areas as evidenced by the Global Moran's I. We find instances where spatial concentration increased over time and addition to cases where Latinos became more residentially dispersed across the observation period. For example, the Latino population in Charlotte become more concentrated from 1990 (Moran's I – 0.34) to 2016 (Moran's I - 0.52). Interestingly, Atlanta and New Orleans exhibited increases in Latinos' spatial concentration between 1990 and 2000, but experienced a small decline from 2000 to 2016. Latinos became more dispersed across Birmingham and Knoxville neighborhoods from 1990 to 2016.

Table 1 - Preliminary Findings of Spatial Concentration

	Global Moran's I		
Metropolitan Area	**1990**	**2000**	**2016**
Atlanta, GA	0.45	0.58	0.56
Birmingham, AL	0.30	0.30	0.16
Charlotte, NC	0.34	0.46	0.52
Knoxville, TN	0.39	0.32	0.18
New Orleans, LA	0.43	0.52	0.47

Still, these results do not convey the place-specific geographic distribution of concentrated Latino neighborhoods, which we operationalize using LISA clusters. Figures 1-3 illustrates the geographic distribution and emergence of Latino clusters in the Atlanta MSA from 1990 to 2016 (The maps for the remaining MSA's are located in the Appendix).

Figure 1. Atlanta MSA Latino Clusters, 1990 (red = Latino Clusters)

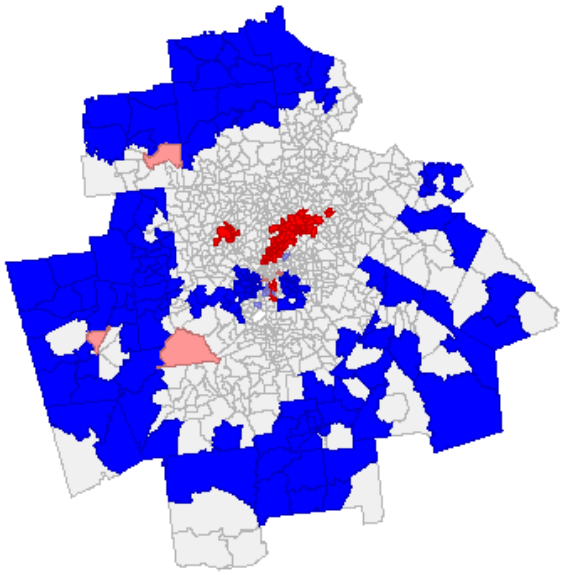


Figure 2. Atlanta MSA Latino Clusters, 2000 (red = Latino Clusters)

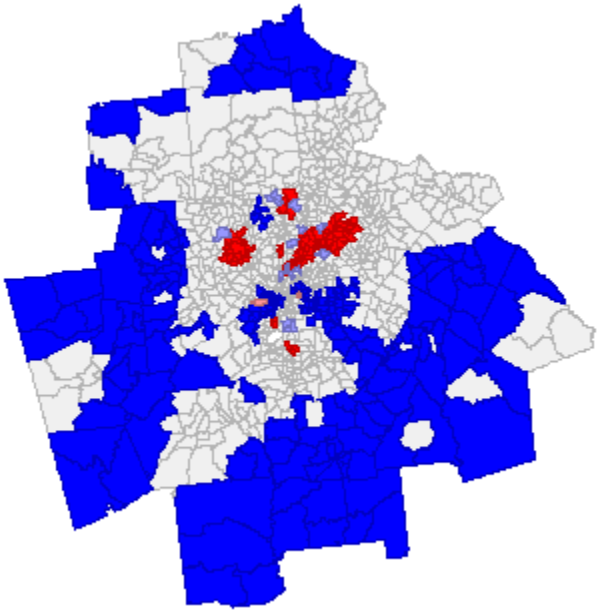
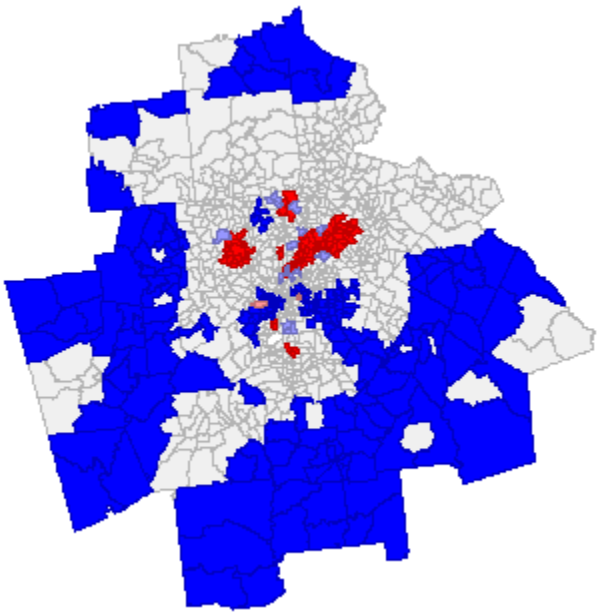


Figure 3. Atlanta MSA Latino Clusters, 2016 (red = Latino Clusters)



In 1990 (Figure 1), there are observable Latino clusters located just northeast (North Atlanta) and northwest (Marietta and Smyrna) of Atlanta. By 2000 (Figure 2), the aforementioned clusters increased in size while other Latino clusters began to emerge. These places include neighborhoods near Roswell (north) and East Point (south of Atlanta). The cluster map remained relatively similar in 2016 (Figure 3). Although we primarily focus on Latino clusters (high % Latino neighborhoods surrounded by other high % Latino neighborhoods), we are also interested in investigating Latino high-low clusters (light red neighborhoods). These are areas with a high proportion of Latinos but are adjacent to neighborhoods with relatively low proportions of Latinos. We are interested in how the context of these "high-low" clusters differ from the more common "high-high" clusters.

Next Steps

The next steps of the project will allow us to consider the context and changing nature of concentrated Latino communities in these select Southern metropolitan areas. The table shell below (Table 2) represents the neighborhood characteristics we plan to examine for Latino clusters across time

for each Metropolitan Area. Furthermore, we plan to stratify our cluster sample to distinguish between neighborhoods that we clusters in each observation period (1990, 2000, and 2016) versus those that emerged in later years. This will allow us to identify and better understand the changing context of what we perceive as "established Latino communities on the new frontier."

Table 2. Descriptive Statistics for Latino Immigrant Enclaves (Atlanta MSA)

Neighborhood Characteristics	**1990**	**2000**	**2010**
Population Density (per sq.mile)			
% < 18 years of age			
% > 65 years of age			
% Latino			
% Married			
% < H.S. degree			
% Unemployed			
Median HH Income			
Latino:White Income Ratio			
Gini Index			
% Homeowner			
Median Year Structure Built			
Median Home Value			
Median Gross Rent			
% Family Poverty			
% Foreign-born			
% Recent Arrival			
% w/out Health Care			
# of High-High Clusters			

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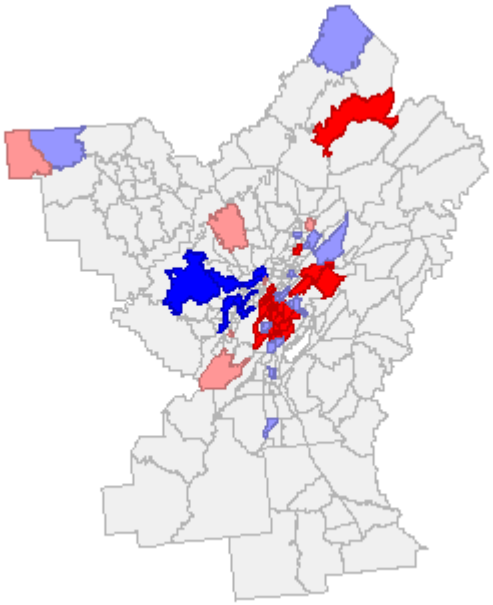
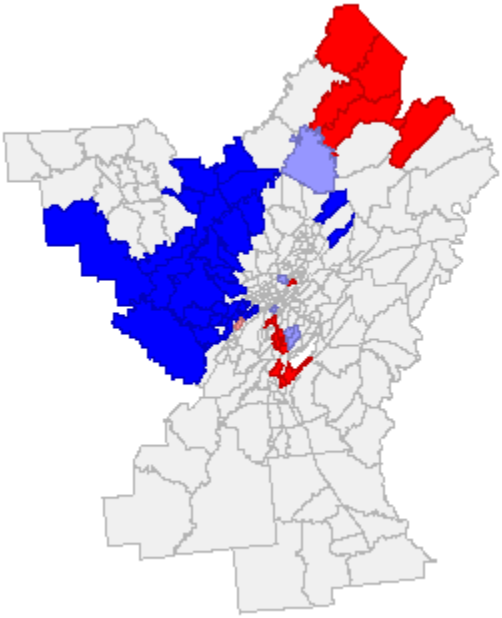
Appendix – Cluster maps for all other MSA's in the current study (1990 to 2016)

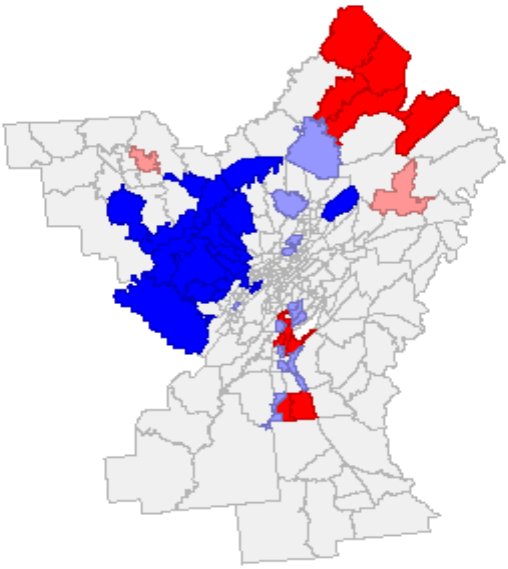
Birmingham (MSA) Latino Clusters - 1990



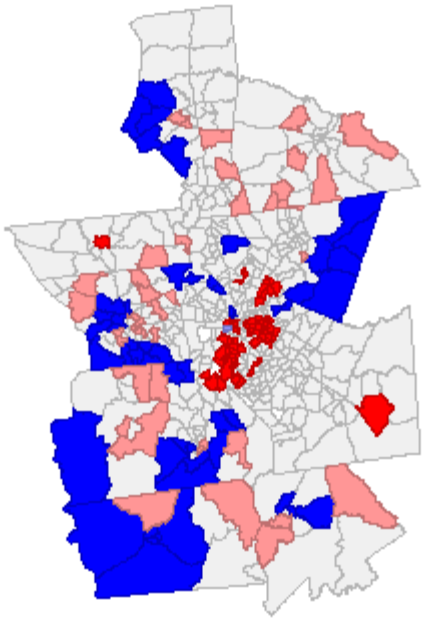
Birmingham (MSA) LISA's Clustering- 2000



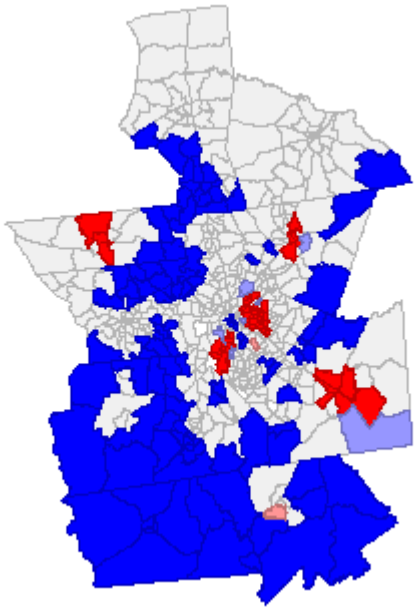
Birmingham (MSA) Latino Clusters - 2016



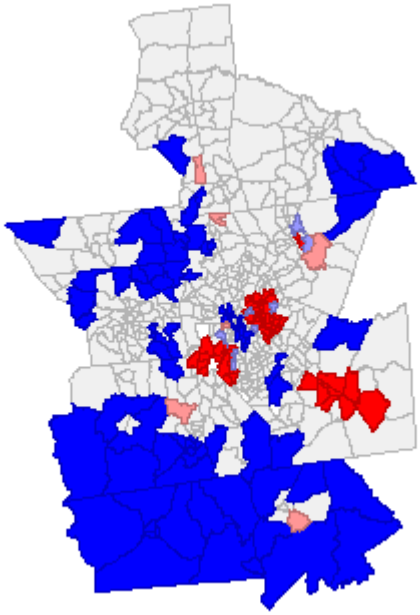
Charlotte (MSA) Latino Clusters - 1990



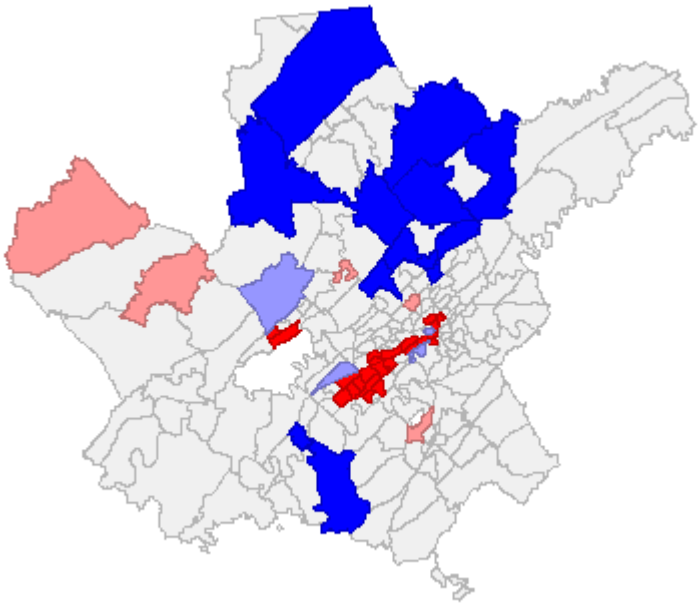
Charlotte (MSA) Latino Clusters - 2000



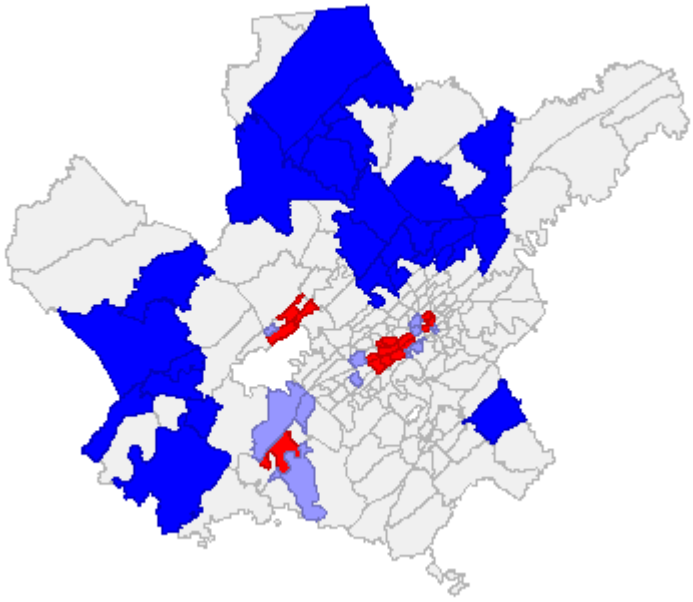
Charlotte (MSA) Latino Clusters- 2016



Knoxville (MSA) Latino Clusters - <u>1990</u>



Knoxville (MSA) Latino Clusters - <u>2000</u>



Knoxville (MSA) LISA's Clustering- <u>2016</u>