Past Research on Hispanic Settlement Patterns

In the past decade, three concurrent trends contributed not only to Hispanic population growth in nonmetro areas outside the Southwest, but also to more permanent Hispanic settlement generally. First, labor market saturation and weak economies in traditional urban destinations, such as Los Angeles, encouraged Hispanics to seek work in nontraditional areas (Fennelly and Leitner, 2002; Suro and Singer, 2002). Second, increased U.S. border enforcement at certain popular crossing points effectively dispersed a well-established migration of international labor out along the entire border, directing migrants[3] to new U.S. destinations (Durand et al., 2000). Third, employment availability and corporate recruitment helped steer both domestic and foreign migration to new nonmetro destinations (Johnson-Webb, 2002; Krissman, 2000).

Recent border enforcement policies have increased the likelihood that labor migrants to metro and nonmetro counties settle permanently in the United States. In past decades, nonmetro Hispanic migrants worked primarily in agriculture and stayed for relatively short periods. Less stringent border enforcement policies permitted migrants to enter the United States during times of peak labor demand through a *de facto* guest worker program that provided a flexible supply of labor and allowed migrants to return to their families for a significant portion of each year. Short stays in the United States meant that migrants' families were more likely to remain in their countries of origin. Increased border enforcement in the early 1990s raised the financial expense of migration and paradoxically made return migration more difficult. Consequently, many migrants now extend their stays and either bring or send for family members, increasing the likelihood of permanent settlement (Massey et al., 2002).

Stable employment also fosters permanent settlement. While the majority of workers in agricultural crop production are Hispanic, their movement into other industrial sectors is likely to yield higher wages and greater job stability (Kandel, 2002; Martin and Martin, 1994). Hispanic population growth throughout the nonmetro United States—especially in the South and Midwest—reflects a growing presence in industries that require low-skill workers. These include meat processing (Broadway, 1994; Gouveia and Stull, 1995; Grey, 1995; Guthey, 2001; Kandel and Parrado, forthcoming), carpet manufacturing (Engstrom, 2001; Hernández-León and Zúñiga, 2000), oil extraction (Donato et al., 2001), timber harvesting (McDaniel and Casanova, 2003), construction (Stepick et al., 1994), and fish processing (Broadway, 1995; Griffith, 1995).

Hispanics face the broader issues of economic mobility and social integration once they are more permanently settled (General Accounting Office, 1998; Salamon, 2003). Demographic characteristics, such as age, gender, and household structure, and earnings-related characteristics, such as education and English language skills, become increasingly important (Kandel, 2003). Personal outcomes are often closely related to time spent in the United States, with more years typically translating into greater employment mobility, higher economic standing, increased English language compe-

[3] In this report, we use the term "migrant" to represent Hispanics who have arrived recently in the United States. As such, migrants may include immigrants who possess legal documentation to visit, work, or live in the United States, as well as undocumented migrants who do not.

tence, and other benefits (Neidert and Farley, 1985). For example, more time in the United States increases language proficiency, which makes individuals more attractive to prospective employers and affords them greater opportunity to find employment outside of their immediate social networks and local labor markets (Borjas, 1999; Chiswick and Miller, 1995; Phillips and Massey, 1999).

Demographic and earnings-related characteristics are key determinants of socioeconomic integration through their influence on residential settlement patterns. Higher median income, fewer female-headed households, lower high school dropout rates, and other socioeconomic factors have been shown to contribute to lower neighborhood segregation in metro settings (Allen and Turner, 1996; Haverluk, 1998; Massey, 1990). Hence, to the extent Hispanics can earn living wages and increase their economic mobility, they are more likely to integrate spatially.

In turn, residential proximity of Hispanics to relatively more affluent non-Hispanic Whites influences incorporation by providing exposure to higher levels of public services and economic, social, and cultural resources that function as public goods (Farley and Allen, 1987; Massey et al., 1987b, 1991; Schneider and Logan, 1982). It is widely acknowledged that neighborhoods, towns, and cities control resources, such as schooling, health care, and other public services in ways that generally benefit their own residents. These same residents also accrue intangible benefits from their neighborhoods, such as access to useful information, social and professional networks, and increased personal safety (Coleman, 1988; Granovetter, 1973; Portes, 1998). Numerous studies of residential segregation in urban settings demonstrate significant disadvantages accruing to minority groups residing in concentrated and isolated enclaves and ghettos, and to their children who attend different schools from non-Hispanic Whites (Anderson and Massey, 2001; Kozol, 1991; Massey and Denton, 1993; Wilson, 1987).

Available analysis of nonmetro residential separation offers mixed findings. Those who examine residential patterns between Blacks and Whites find that, in recent decades, Whites are increasingly settling outside of nonmetro towns and cities, thereby accelerating minority population concentration in towns and cities (Cromartie and Beale, 1996; Lichter et al., 1986; Lichter and Heaton, 1986). Analysis of Hispanic settlement patterns in nonmetro counties in Texas suggests that population growth disrupts established structural relationships and roles that inhibit an egalitarian distribution of resources, including the allocation of housing (Hwang and Murdock, 1983; Murdock et al., 1994).

On a much broader geographic scale, Frey and his colleagues have argued that natives have responded to recent influxes of immigrants by migrating out of large metro areas and into nonmetro areas (Frey, 1995, 1996; Frey and Liaw, 1998a, 1998b). Empirical tests at the State and regional levels support Frey's "demographic balkanization" thesis in California (Allensworth and Rochín, 1998; Clark, 1998), but refute it in metropolitan areas throughout the country (Card and DiNardo, 2000; Wright et al., 1997). While such metro settlement patterns within national regions extend beyond the geographic scope of this analysis, Frey's results suggest that rural

residential separation may occur as non-Hispanic Whites move to counties and areas less populated by new migrants (Frey, 1998).

This report contributes to the literature on rural residential separation and segregation, using the latest available Census data to examine settlement patterns at multiple geographic units of analysis. We create a typology of county types that highlights settlement patterns in new and rapidly growing rural Hispanic destinations. Our report surveys and contrasts demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of Hispanics living in these different counties and analyzes changing residential patterns between Hispanics and non-Hispanic Whites in rural and small-town America over the past decade. We examine factors affecting Hispanic population growth and dispersion in rural areas, socioeconomic characteristics of Hispanics associated with recent settlement patterns, and the relationship between new settlement patterns and residential separation. Finally, we discuss some consequences of these changing Hispanic geographic and spatial patterns for rural residents and their communities. This report therefore represents the first national survey emphasizing nonmetro Hispanic residential settlement and separation.