

NORTH CAROLINA COMMUNITIES IN TRANSITION: AN OVERVIEW OF HISPANIC IN-MIGRATION

Karen D. Johnson-Webb

and James H. Johnson

Introduction

Our nation is in the midst of a dramatic demographic transformation. It is characterized by radical changes in the size, composition, and distribution of the United States population. Owing to continued high rates of immigration—both documented and undocumented—and high rates of natural increase among both the recently arrived immigrants and the native, non-Hispanic Black populations, the Bureau of Census now predicts that the U.S. population will continue to grow well into the 21st Century, reaching 350-400 million by the year 2050 (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1995).

Karen Johnson-Webb is a PhD student at the Department of Geography, UNC-Chapel Hill, and James Johnson is a Professor of Geography and Sociology with an appointment to the Kenan-Flagler School of Business, UNC-Chapel Hill

Over the next five decades, according to Bureau of Census projections, the non-Hispanic Black population will increase by 94%, the Asian and Pacific Islander population by 412%, the Native American population by 109%, and the Hispanic population by 238%. By contrast, the non-Hispanic White population, largely due to low rates of natural population increase, is projected to increase by only 29% over the next 50 years. As a consequence of these disparities in growth, people of color—

Asians, Blacks and Hispanics—are projected to surpass non-Hispanic Whites to become, numerically, the “majority” population of the U.S. by the mid-point of the next century. The new “minority-majority” will radically transform the complexion of U.S. society. We refer to this unfolding demographic transition as the “browning of America” (Johnson, Farrell and Guinn, 1997).

North Carolina, with its mild climate, relatively low cost of living, strong employment growth poles (especially in the I-85 corridor communities), and a host of other social and cultural amenities, has attracted a diverse group of “newcomers” in recent years (Foust and Mallory, 1993). The newcomers include non-Hispanic Whites from all regions of the country; non-Hispanic Blacks—both first time movers and return migrants—who are entering the state mainly from cities in the Northeast and Midwest; and a host of other non-White ethnic minority groups who are either interstate or international migrants (Cromartie and Stack, 1989; Johnson and Grant, 1997). The impact of these newcomers on the size and composition of North Carolina’s population can be seen in Table 1, which highlights total, non-Hispanic White, non-Hispanic Black, Hispanic and Asian population change for the 1980-1995 period.

The ‘browning of America’ will result in rendering the non-Hispanic White population a minority in the country by mid-21st Century

Absolute Change					
Year	Total	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic
1980	5881766	4457507	1319054	23084	56039
1990	6628637	5011248	1455340	50395	69020
1995*	7179473	5284383	1682999	82334	105333
Percent Change					
Year	Total	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic
1980-90	12.7%	12.4%	10.3%	118.0%	25.7%
1990-95*	8.3%	5.4%	15.6%	57.0%	37.3%
1980-95*	22.1%	18.5%	27.6%	256.0%	88.0%

Table1: North Carolina population change, 1980-1995.
Sources: U.S. Bureau of Census, 1980, 1990; *CACI Marketing, 1996, projected figures.

In general, over the past 15 years, North Carolina's non-Hispanic Black, Hispanic, and Asian populations have grown more rapidly than its total and non-Hispanic White populations. Between 1980 and 1995, the state's total population increased from 5.8 million to 7.1 million, or by 22%; the non-Hispanic White population increased from 4.4 million to 5.2 million, or by 19%; the non-Hispanic Black population increased from 1.3 million to 1.6 million, or by 28%; the Asian population grew from 23,000 to 82,000, or by 256%; and the Hispanic population grew from 56,000 to 105,000, or by 88%. Of the 1.2 million people added to the state's population during this period, non-White ethnic minority groups—that is Blacks, Asians and Hispanics—accounted for 36% of the total.

Previous research has focused primarily on the influx of non-Hispanic Whites and non-Hispanic Blacks into North Carolina (Cromartie and Stack, 1989; Johnson and Roseman, 1990; Johnson and Grant, 1997; Newbold, 1997). Little systematic attention has been devoted to the influx of Asians or Hispanics into the state. In this study, we begin to fill this void in the existing literature on North Carolina's changing demography and population geography. We focus here on the growing presence of Hispanics in the state.

Five questions guide our exploratory analysis of the Hispanic influx into North Carolina. Where are they settling? Where are they coming from? Who are they? What kinds of jobs are they finding? How are long term residents of North Carolina responding to the recent influx of Hispanics?

To answer these questions, we utilize data from the 1990 Public Use Microdata Sample (PUMS), a machine readable data file which provides a wide array of demographic information for 1% and 5% samples of the U.S. population. The PUMS file is ideal for migration and immigration research because it contains information on the place of birth of all individuals, on the origin and destination of all recent movers, and on the social and economic characteristics of all members of destination households.

We extracted data from the 1990 PUMS 5% sample on Hispanics residing in North Carolina in 1990, and their place of origin in 1985. The sample included those who classified themselves in one of the specific Hispanic origin categories listed in the census questionnaire—"Mexican," "Central American," "South American," "Domi-nican," "Puerto Rican," or "Cuban"—as well as those who indicated that they were of "other Spanish/Hispanic": those who came from Spain, or those who identified themselves generally as Spanish, Spanish-American, Hispanic, Hispanic, Latino, and so on (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1993).

In attempting to answer our fifth research question, we also utilized data from the 1996 spring Carolina Poll, which contained four questions designed to assess public attitudes about the influx of Hispanics and Northerners into the state. The poll is jointly sponsored by the School of Journalism and Mass Communications, and the Institute for Research in the Social Sciences at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

*In this research
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North Carolina*

Critical Background and Research Context

Over the past 15 years, the US Hispanic population has grown rapidly—in both absolute and relative terms—far outpacing total U.S. population growth

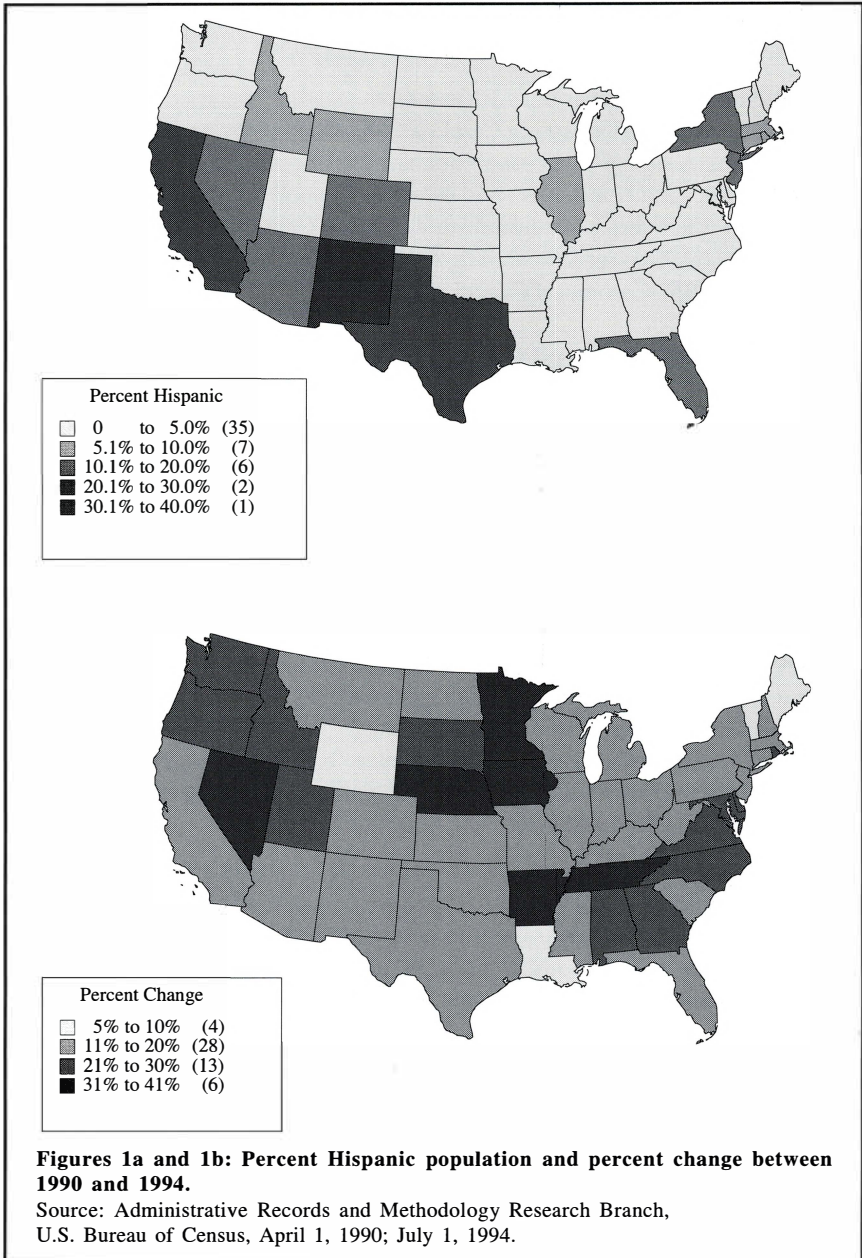
During the 1980s, the Hispanic population increased by more than one half—from 14.6 million to 22.3 million. During the early 1990s, the Hispanic population grew by 28%, reaching 27 million in 1994. By comparison, the total U.S. population increased by only 6% between 1990 and 1994.

Past research indicates that Hispanics have become an increasingly metropolitan population since W.W.II (Bean and Tienda, 1987). Frey (1993b) has pointed out that the Hispanic population began moving to U.S. metropolitan areas at approximately the same time that the percentage of the U.S. population living in urban areas was declining. As a consequence, by 1980, the various Hispanic groups had a higher percentage of their population living in large metropolitan areas than its non-Hispanic White counterparts did.

Today, one in ten Americans are Hispanic and over 30% of the U.S. Hispanic population is foreign-born. Research shows that much of the Hispanic population growth in U.S. metropolitan areas is driven by immigration from abroad and Hispanic immigrants are more highly concentrated in large metropolitan areas than native born Hispanics (Bean and Tienda, 1987; Frey, 1993a; 1993b).

Post-1990 U.S. Bureau of the Census population estimates show that in the states in the West and Southwest, Hispanics comprise very high proportions of the population (Figure 1a). The states containing the traditional port of entry communities (CA, TX, NY, FL) stand out as well as those that border Mexico. However, Figure 1b, which shows 1990-1994 percent change in Hispanic population by state, depicts a very different distribution. The states with the highest rates of change during this period are found in the Upper Midwest, in the South-

east, and in the Pacific Northwest. Nevada also experienced a very high percent change in its Hispanic population during this period. The rate of Hispanic population change for North Carolina between 1990-1994 was estimated to be 25% (US Department of Commerce, 1990; 1994).



Little research has been devoted to the Hispanic population redistribution trends within the U.S., especially to states like North Carolina, which traditionally have not been magnets of Hispanic population growth (Johnson and Roseman, 1990; Barringer, 1993; Frey et al, 1995; Newbold, 1977).

Analysis and Findings

North Carolina's Hispanic population has grown dramatically since 1980, and especially within the last 5-6 years. Like Hispanics nationally, the Hispanic population of North Carolina increased at a rate that was double the rate of total population growth and more than double the rate of non-Hispanic White and non-Hispanic Black population growth (Table 1).

More specifically, North Carolina's Hispanic population increased by 20,687 between 1980 and 1990, from 56,039 to 76,726. Between 1990 and 1995, the Hispanic population increased to 105,325, a net increase of 36,309 (CACI Marketing Systems, Inc., 1995). More recent estimates place the state's Hispanic population at 300,000 (Howard, 1996a).

Where have Hispanics Settled?

Figures 2 and 3 depict the evolving settlement patterns of the state's Hispanic population over the last 15 years. These maps reveal an increasing Hispanic presence or concentration in Cumberland and Onslow Counties and along the I-85 corridor in the counties comprising the Research Triangle (Wake, Durham, Orange and Chatham), the Piedmont Triad (Guilford and Forsyth), and the Charlotte MSA (Mecklenburg, Cabarrus and Gaston). The enumerated Hispanic population, as these figures show, is relatively sparse in the extreme western part of the state and in the northern coastal areas.

These data show that Hispanics are settling in two types of North Carolina communities: (1) the metropolitan or "urban crescent" communities along the I-85 corridor, where most of the state's employment growth has occurred over the last 15 years; and (2) the military complexes in Onslow County (Camp Lejeune) and Cumberland County (Ft. Bragg and Pope AFB). Together, these communities were home to almost half of the state's Hispanic population in 1995 (Table 2).

Where are Hispanics Coming From?

Figure 4 identifies those states that sent the largest numbers of Hispanic immigrants to North Carolina between 1985 and 1990. California, Texas, Florida, and New York contributed the largest number of interstate Hispanic migrants—each of these sent between 2,600 and 15,000 Hispanics to North Carolina. New Jersey, Virginia and Georgia sent the next largest numbers, between 700 and 2,600 Hispanics each. Another 12 states each sent between 200 and 700 Hispanics to North Carolina, and 8,873 moved to the state from abroad.

To further identify the specific origins of Hispanic migrants to North Carolina, we employed the concept of an in-migration field (Roseman, 1977), which is defined here as any place sending 100 or more Hispanics to any one of the five target communities which served as the primary destinations for North Carolina Hispanics between 1985 and 1990: Research Triangle; Piedmont Triad; Charlotte/Mecklenburg County; Onslow County; and Fayetteville/Ft. Bragg/ Cumberland County (Figure 5). The results are presented in Figure 6.

The largest flows, as indicated, originated in major Hispanic immigrant port-of-entry communities: New York City, Chicago, and Los Angeles. New York City sent

County	Total 1990 County Pop.	Total 1980 County Pop.	1990 County Hispanic Pop.	1980 County Hispanic Pop.	Percent Hispanic 1980	Percent of 1980 State Hispanic Pop.	Percent Hispanic 1990	Percent of 1990 State Hispanic Pop.
Durham	181835	152785	2054	1395	1%	2%	1%	3%
Forsyth	265878	243683	2102	1616	1%	3%	1%	3%
Guilford	347420	317154	2887	2202	1%	4%	1%	4%
Wake	423380	301327	5396	2262	1%	4%	1%	7%
Mecklenburg	511433	404270	6693	3767	1%	7%	1%	9%
Onslow	149838	112784	8035	4206	4%	8%	5%	10%
Cumberland	274566	247160	13298	8923	4%	16%	5%	17%

City	Total 1990 City Pop.	Total 1980 City Pop.	1990 City Hispanic Pop.	1980 City Hispanic Pop.	Percent Hispanic 1980	Percent of 1980 County Hispanic Pop.	Percent Hispanic 1990	Percent of 1990 County Hispanic Pop.
Durham	136611	100847	1610	867	1%	62%	1%	78%
Wins-Salem	143485	131895	1236	1060	1%	66%	1%	59%
Greensboro	183521	155684	1765	1201	1%	55%	1%	61%
Raleigh	207951	150255	2940	1382	1%	61%	1%	54%
Charlotte	395934	314447	5571	3418	1%	91%	1%	83%
Jacks'ville	30013	17056	1571	482	3%	11%	5%	20%
Camp Lejeune	36716	30764	3072	2198	7%	52%	8%	38%
Fayetteville	75695	59507	2381	1077	2%	12%	3%	18%
Ft. Bragg	34744	37834	3587	3495	9%	83%	10%	45%
Pope AFB	2857	NA	144	NA	NA	NA	5%	2%

Table 2: Urban concentration of NC Hispanics, 1980 and 1990.

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, 1990.

significant numbers of Hispanic migrants to four of the five communities which served as North Carolina Hispanic migration magnets between 1985 and 1990. In addition, there were also salient flows into these communities from small- to medium-sized cities in the Southwest. Brownsville and Texarkana, TX and Albuquerque, NM are examples.

One other noteworthy salient stream of interstate/interjurisdictional Hispanic migration into our targeted North Carolina communities exists. That flow or stream

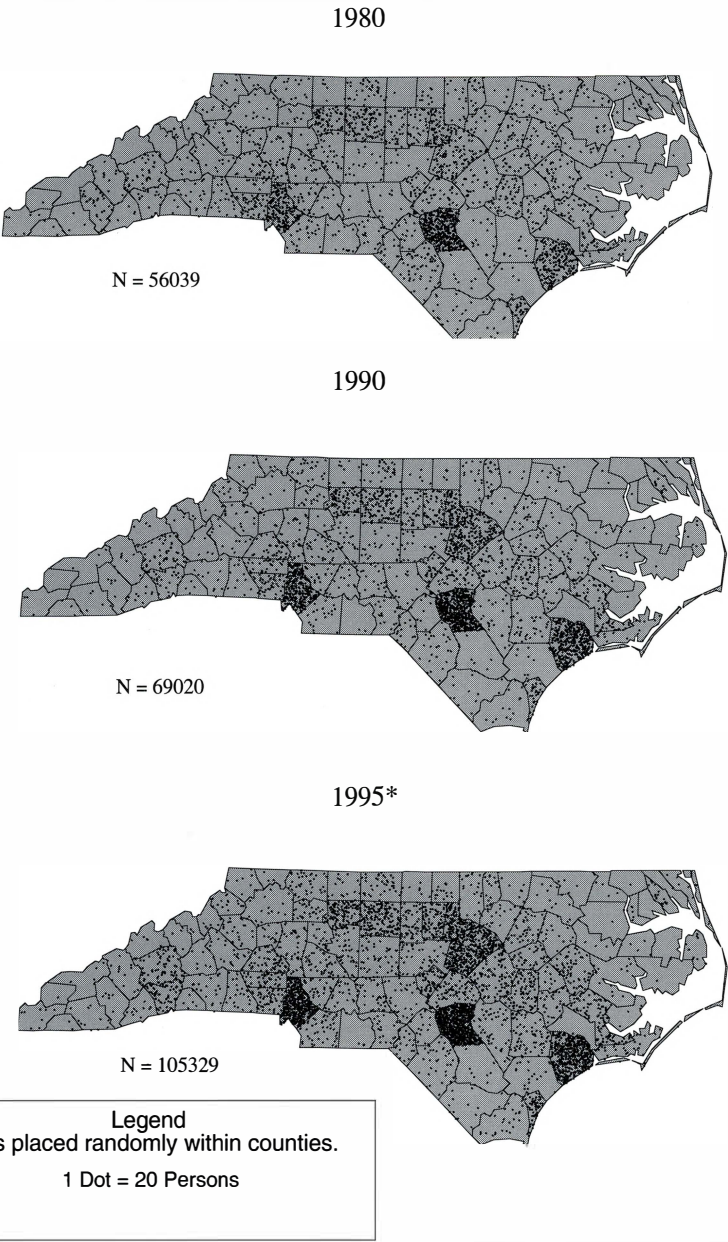
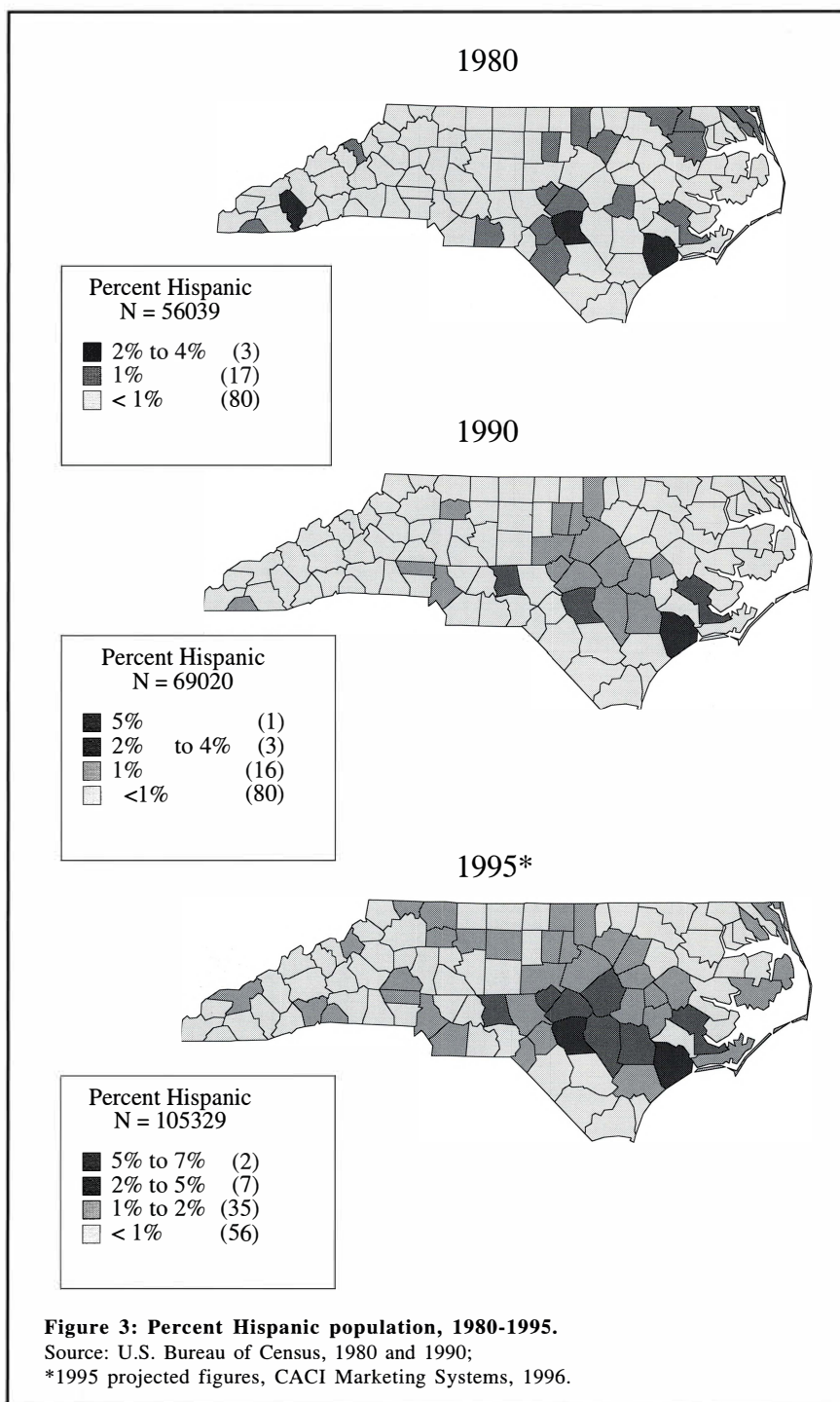
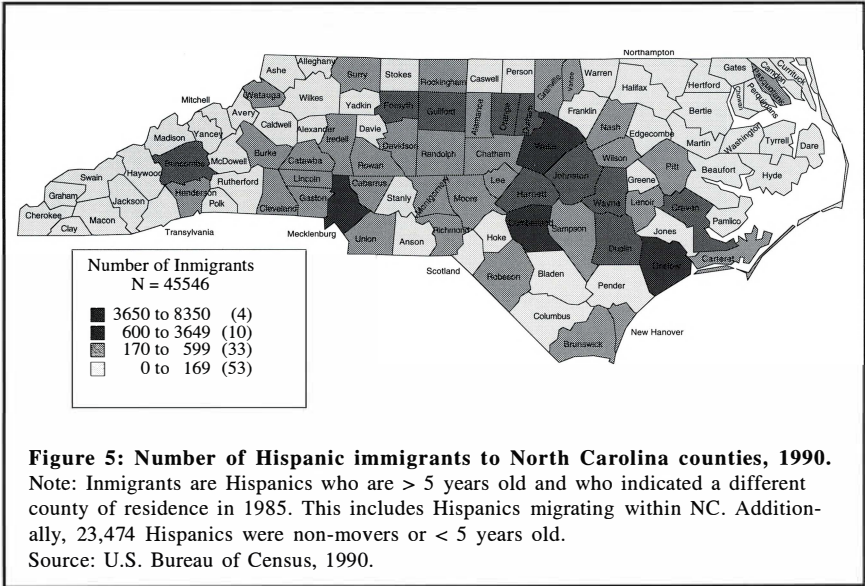
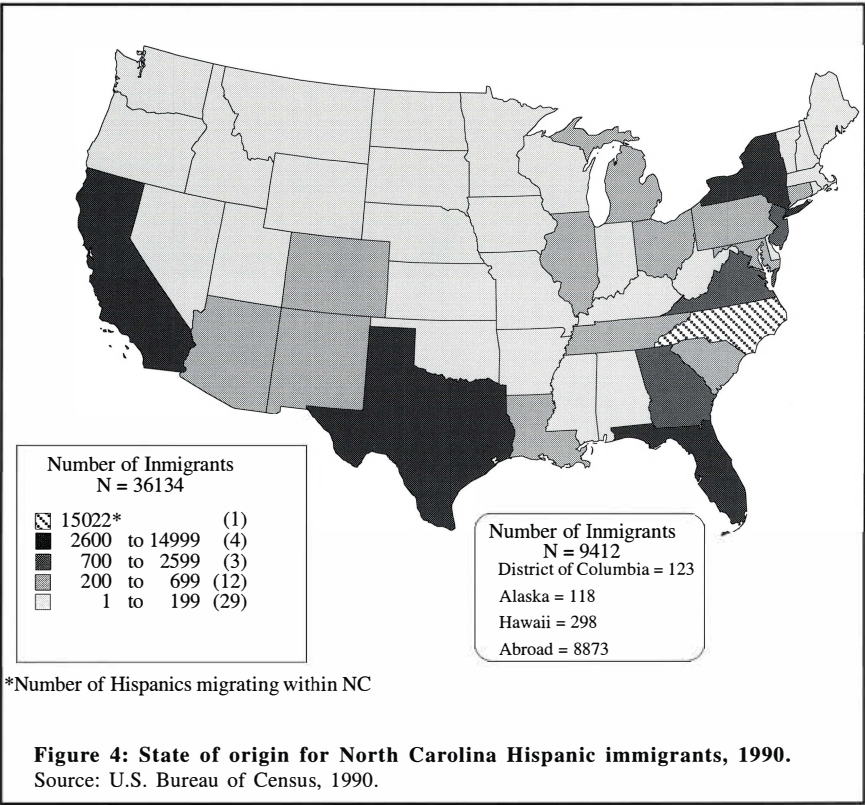


Figure 2: Distribution of total state Hispanic population, 1980-1995.
Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, 1980 and 1990;
*1995 projected figures, CACI Marketing Systems, 1996.





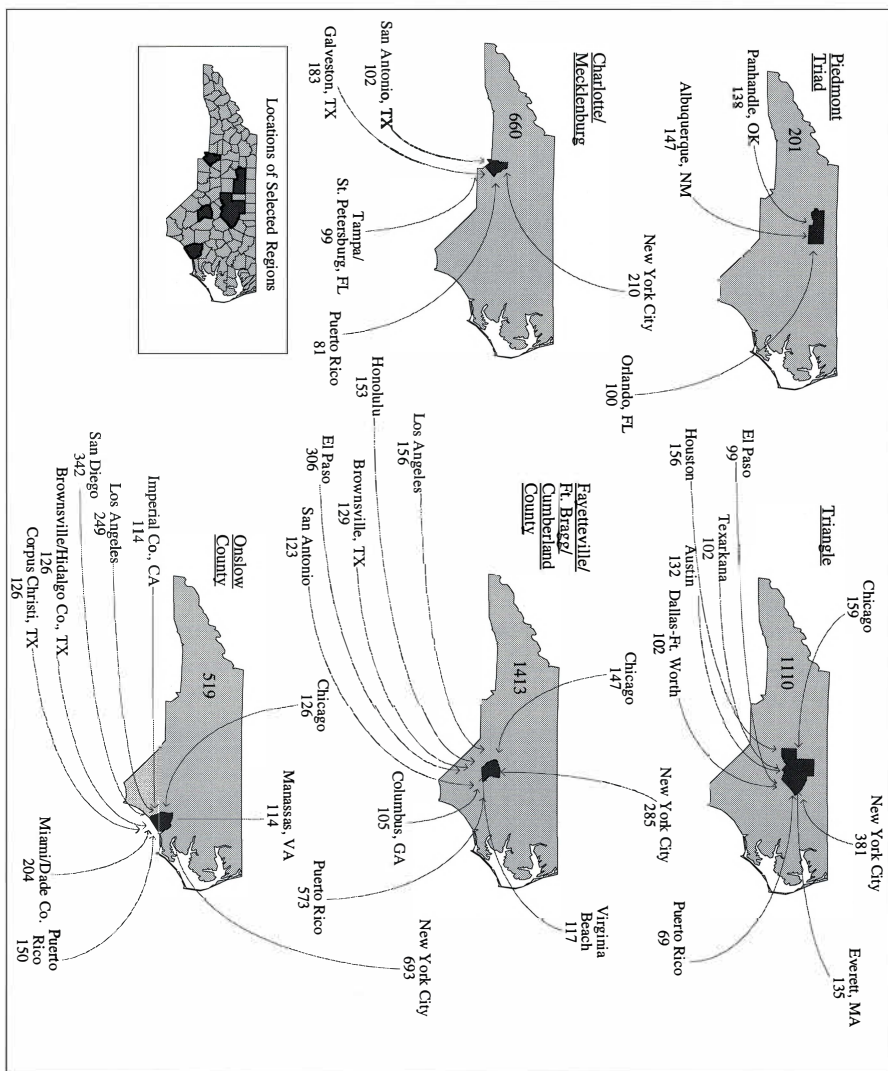


Figure 6: Specific origins of Hispanic migrants to North Carolina.
Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, 1990.

is from Puerto Rico, which is official U.S. territory. Between 1985 and 1990, 150 Hispanics from Puerto Rico settled in Onslow County and 573 settled in Cumberland County.

With respect to Hispanic immigration from abroad, we are unable to identify the specific points of origin, but we do know that there were salient international flows into the Triangle area (1,110 Hispanics from abroad) and into the Fayetteville/Ft. Bragg/ Cumberland County (1,413 Hispanics from abroad) area between 1985 and 1990.

We should note here that these data are consistent with the findings of earlier studies, which revealed that Hispanics, not unlike their non-Hispanic White and non-Hispanic Black counterparts, are moving down the urban hierarchy to small- and medium-sized urban centers. What our research adds is that some of these small- and medium-sized Hispanic migration magnets have a distinct character—in the case of North Carolina destinations, several are military towns.

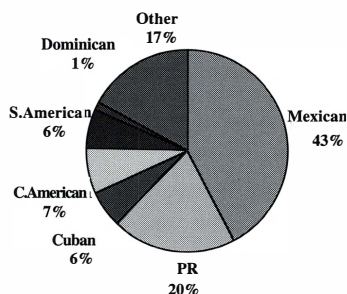
Who are the Hispanics?

From the 1990 PUMS data, we were able to develop a socio-economic and demographic profile of North Carolina Hispanics (Figure 7a). In terms of ethnic origins, Hispanics of Mexican descent constituted the largest group — 43% of the total. Puerto Ricans made up the second largest group, accounting for 20% of total Hispanic immigration. The influx consisted of smaller percentages of Cubans, Central Americans, South Americans, Dominicans and the “Other” category of Hispanics. Geographically speaking, Puerto Ricans appeared to be over-represented in the military towns.

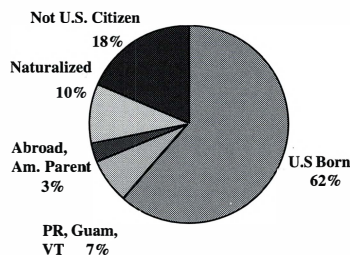
Nearly two thirds of North Carolina Hispanics were born in the U.S., Puerto Rico, or some other U.S. territory (Figure 7b). Ten percent were naturalized citizens. Only 16% were not U.S. citizens. Onslow County and the Piedmont Triad had the highest proportions of Hispanics who were born in the U.S. (74.8% and 64.1%, respectively). Charlotte/Mecklenburg and the Triangle had the greatest concentrations of Hispanics who were not U.S. citizens at the time the 1990 Census was taken (25.3% and 27.2%, respectively).

As is typical of most migrants, irrespective of whether they are interstate or international movers, a majority of the Hispanic migrants to North Carolina are young (Figure 8a). Over half are between

7a. Ethnicity



7b. Citizenship



Figures 7a and 7b: Socio-economic and demographic profile of North Carolina's Hispanics.

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, 1990.

the ages of 18 and 35. Undoubtedly due to their active involvement in the military, the highest concentration of Hispanics in this age range can be found in the Onslow County and the Fayetteville/Ft. Bragg/Cumberland County areas.

With respect to gender, males slightly outnumber females, which is usually the case in migration (Figure 8b). Males constituted 56% of North Carolina Hispanics. However the proportions of males did vary significantly among the primary destination communities. Not surprisingly, males dominated the flow into Onslow County—one of North Carolina's military installations—while the flow into Charlotte/Mecklenburg was more balanced (51.5% were male).

In terms of years of school completed, North Carolina Hispanics (43% of whom had less than a high school diploma) are generally less well-educated than the state's population as a whole (33% with less than a high school diploma) (Figure 8c). However, the Hispanics who settled in the Triangle area are generally better educated than the statewide Hispanic population. One quarter of the Hispanics settling in the Triangle area had completed college. The highest percentage of those with a high school diploma or some college settled in Onslow County and the Fayetteville/Ft. Bragg/Cumberland County areas.

With regard to marital status, North Carolina Hispanics were either married (41.2%) or never married (48.8%). Among those who were married, 36% reported that their spouse was present in the home at the time the Census was taken.

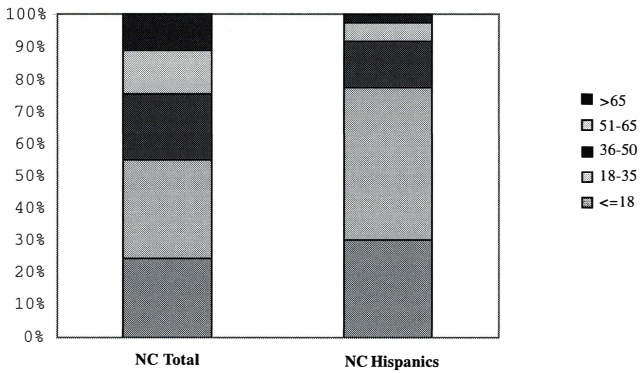
In short, most of the Hispanics who resided in North Carolina in 1990 were of Mexican or Puerto Rican ancestry. Most were U.S. born or naturalized U.S. citizens. They tended to be young and married or young and never married. While collectively their education levels were below the state-wide average, in selected regions, they ranked high on the education dimension, especially in the Triangle area.

What Kinds of Jobs are the Hispanics Getting?

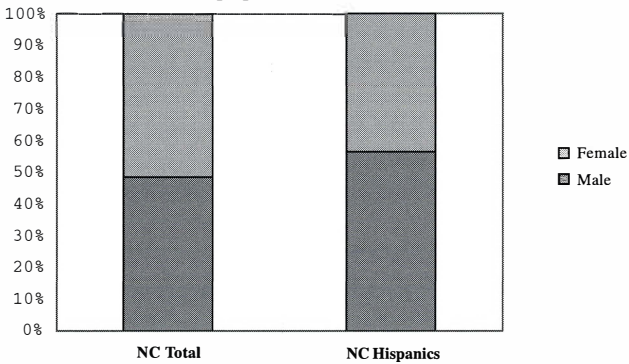
Most of what we know about Hispanic employment patterns in North Carolina (outside of agricultural work) comes from studies of specific industries (e.g. poultry and hog processing) or of local communities that have experienced a significant influx of Hispanics in recent years, like Siler City in Chatham County and Charlotte in Mecklenburg County (Griffith, 1993; Levin et al, 1995; United Way, 1995). However, no systematic efforts have been undertaken to assess the overall employment impacts of Hispanic in-migration to North Carolina.

In an effort to address this issue, we created an employment profile of the Hispanic population of North Carolina using occupational data from the 1990 PUMS. While these data are a bit dated, they are, nevertheless, the best and most reliable source of information on the statewide employment impacts of North Carolina's Hispanic population.

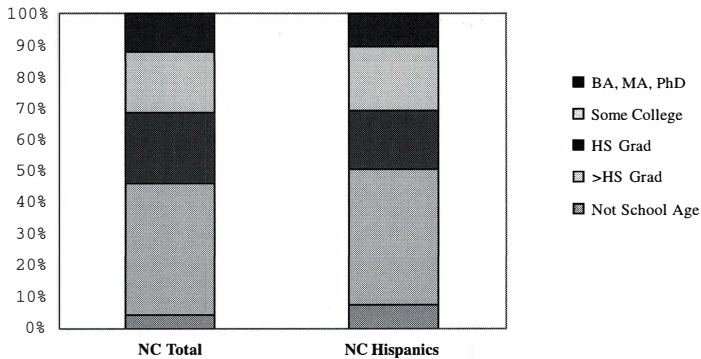
8a: Age distribution.



8b: Percent male and female population.



8c: Level of education.



Figures 8a, 8b, and 8c: Demographic characteristics.

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, 1990.

For the purposes of this research, we grouped Hispanic occupations, as defined by the U.S. Bureau of Census (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1993), into the following categories:

- Primary Activities include agriculture, forestry and fisheries;
- Transformative Activities include manufacturing and construction;
- Distributive Services include transportation, communication, whole sale and retail trade;
- Producer Services include finance, insurance, real estate (FIRE) and business services;
- Personal Services include entertainment, repairs, eating and drinking;
- Social Services include medical, education and government;
- Active Military includes active status in a branch of the U.S. military.

Figure 9 shows the distribution of Hispanic employment across our typology of occupations for the statewide Hispanic workforce, for those Hispanics who resided in the two military communities, and for those Hispanics who resided in the I-85 corridor communities. For the sake of comparison, we also include in the figure, the state distribution of total employment in North Carolina across our typology of occupations. Several important findings are apparent in these data.

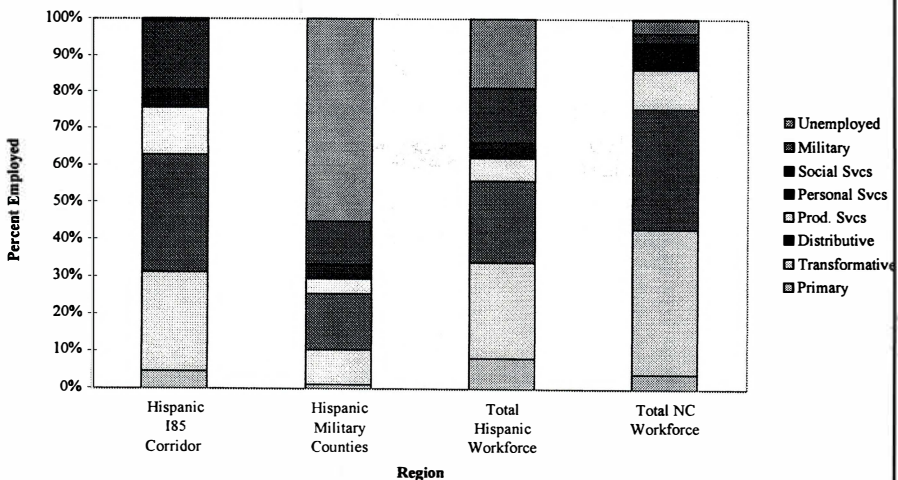


Figure 9: Employment concentration by region.

First, contrary to the popular or stereotypical views of Hispanic workers, they are widely dispersed throughout the North Carolina economy. Using the statewide distribution of occupations as a bench-mark, North Carolina Hispanics are over-represented in what are typically considered to be low-wage occupations— primary activities and personal services— as they are in other communities outside in North Carolina which have a substantial Hispanic presence. But unlike many other such communities, they are also over-represented in social services and the military, occupations that pay better wages. In addition, although they are under-represented by statewide standards, there is substantial representation or presence of Hispanics in transformative activities, especially construction, where the wages are fairly high— reportedly as high as \$22.00 per hour for a journeyman stonemason and 65% of this wage for an apprentice.

Contrary to the stereotypical view Hispanics are well dispersed throughout the state's economy

The occupational distributions in the communities that served as Hispanic migration magnets between 1985 and 1990, which have been combined into two groups for the ease of presentation here, show a radically different pattern between these two settings— that is, the military communities and the I-85 corridor communities. In the military communities, Hispanics are grossly over-represented in the military service occupations and under-represented in all other occupational categories. In the I-85 corridor communities, as Figure 9 shows, Hispanics are over-represented in social services and are either at parity or only slightly under-represented in the other occupational categories. Thus, the typical image of a seasonal migrant farm worker or gardener no longer applies to the North Carolina Hispanic population. They are distributed throughout the North Carolina economy— in both high-wage and low-wage occupations.

How are Long-Term Residents of North Carolina Responding to the Recent Influx of Hispanics Into the State?

We know that considerable tensions and conflict over jobs, housing, schools and other goods and services have accompanied the influx of Hispanic newcomers into port-of-entry communities (Oliver and Johnson, 1984; Johnson and Farrell, 1993; Johnson, Farrell and Guinn, 1997). Anecdotal evidence and media accounts exist which suggest these same types of tensions and conflicts may be arising here in North Carolina, as the state's Hispanic population grows and expands.

In an effort to systematically gauge public attitudes toward Hispanic newcomers, we analyzed data from the 1996 spring Carolina Poll, which posed, among others, the following four questions to a sample of 655 North Carolinians:

1. How comfortable are you with the influx of Hispanics into the state?
2. How would your neighbors feel about Hispanics moving into your neighborhood?
3. How comfortable are you around people who are not speaking English?

4. How comfortable are you with the influx of Northerners into the state?

Table 3 summarizes the answers to these questions for all respondents and cross-tabulates responses with selected socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the survey respondents.

Category	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	Category	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Total Sample	42%	67%	55%	26%	Race				
Age					Black	38%	54% [@]	51%	23%
<35 years	41%	70%	56%	31%	White	44%	69%	57%	26%
≥35 years	42%	66%	55%	24%	Other	26%	55%	44%	27%
HS Grad					Gender				
yes	35%	64%	50%	22%	Male	44%	70%	59%	29%
no	49% [@]	71%	59% [*]	28% ^{**}	Female	40% ^{***}	65%	52%	24%
Yrs. Educ.					Metropol.				
<12 years	49%	69%	55%	29%	Metro	39% [@]	66%	55%	26%
≥12 years	41%	67%	55%	24% ^{***}	Nonmetro	45%	69%	55%	27%
Marital Stat.					Region				
Married	44%	68%	58%	29%	Coastal	35% [@]	65% [@]	46%	30%
Not Married	37%	65%	50%	21%	Piedmont	45%	66%	33%	22%
Polit. Affil.					Mountain	37%	67%	42%	37%
Democrat	43%	67%	46%	50%	Reg. to vote				
Republican	45%	69%	66%	32%	Yes	42%	65%	56% ^{***}	27%
Indep./Other	40%	68%	53% [@]	40%	No	40%	76%	52%	24%
Employment					Res/16yrs				
Full-time	44% [@]	70%	41% [@]	27% [@]	NC	49% [@]	70% ^{**}	58% [*]	30% ^{***}
Part-time	29%	71%	50%	35%	Other	26%	59%	47%	13%
Unemployed	60%	60%	33%	13%	Southern				
Other	39%	63%	42%	16%	Yes	46% [*]	68% [@]	58% [*]	28% ^{**}
					No	28%	62%	46%	17%

Category	Attitude toward Latino Influx (1)	Neighbor's Attitude about Latino Influx (2)	Attitude about Non-English Speaking (3)	Attitude about Northerners Influx (4)
Mountain Registered to Vote	37%	67%	42%	37%
Yes	42%	65%	56% ^{***}	27%
No	40%	76%	52%	24%
State of residence at age 16				
North Carolina	49% ^{****}	70% ^{**}	58% [*]	30% ^{***}
Other	26%	59%	47%	13%
Southern				
Yes	46% [*]	68% ^{****}	58% [*]	28% ^{**}
No	28%	62%	46%	17%

(1)Is Respondent comfortable with the influx of Hispanics into the state?

(2)How would Respondent's neighbors feel about Hispanics moving into neighborhood?

(3)Is Respondent comfortable around people who are not speaking English?

(4)Is Respondent comfortable with the influx of Northerners into the state?

Percentages show the proportion of persons in each indicator group that had negative responses to the questions (e.g.% of those <35 years were uncomfortable).

Significance of Fisher's Exact Test:

- * < .05
- ** < .01
- *** < .001
- **** < .000

Table 3: Results of survey gauging public attitudes towards Hispanics.

Source: Carolina Poll, Spring, 1992, Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

In general, North Carolinians harbor negative feelings about the influx of Hispanics into the state. Nearly half said they were uncomfortable with the increasing presence of Hispanics, 67% said they thought their neighbors would not approve of Hispanics moving into their neighborhood, and over half (55%) said they do not feel comfortable around people who do not speak English. Such sentiments were not expressed at such high levels, however, against Northerners. Only 26% of the respondents said the influx of Northerners made them uncomfortable.

As Table 3 shows, North Carolinians who have no high school diploma are significantly more negative than their more educated counterparts in their responses to the influx of Hispanics. In comparison to North Carolinians who live in the state's metropolitan areas, those who live in nonmetropolitan areas are also more negative about the Hispanic influx. Those who consider themselves to be Southerners and those who lived in the state at age 16, compared to the new comers to the region, harbor significantly more negative attitudes about Hispanics and Northerners. However, the levels of opposition to the influx of Northerners are not as high as the levels of concern about the influx of Hispanics.

Responses vary significantly by region; however, the pattern is not clear cut across responses. Those living in the Coastal region appear more negative about non-English speaking. Those who live in the Mountain (western part of the state) region feel their neighbors would be uncomfortable with Hispanic neighbors. Those in the Piedmont are more uncomfortable with the Hispanic influx.

Those who are unemployed expressed significantly more negative attitudes toward the Hispanic influx into North Carolina than their employed counterparts. When questioned about how their neighbors would feel about Hispanics moving into their neighborhoods, whites expressed more negative attitudes than Blacks did. Those who are registered to vote have significantly more negative attitudes toward non-English speaking, than those who are not registered to vote. Males have significantly more negative attitudes toward the Hispanic influx than females. Among the survey respondents, Republicans harbored more negative feelings about non-English speaking than did Democrats or Independents.

If you are white, male, rural and/ or Republican you are apt to have more negative views about the Hispanic influx

These responses and attitudes do not bode well for North Carolina Hispanics. As we have shown above, nearly one-half of North Carolina Hispanics live within the migration magnet communities. The I-85 Corridor communities lie within the Piedmont Region of North Carolina. Significantly negative attitudes were expressed by residents of this region. Nonmetropolitan respondents had more negative attitudes toward Hispanics than did metropolitan respondents. This may be fortunate for a majority of the Hispanics included in this study, who are concentrated in metropolitan areas within North Carolina (Table 2). The fact that unemployed North Carolinians are so negative about Hispanic influx suggests that ethnic tensions surrounding the labor market may be festering in North Carolina.

The range of groups that expressed negative feelings about Hispanics is very broad. What is alarming about this is how openly these views were expressed. Respondents tend to temper their responses when similar questions are posed about Blacks, in order, in all probability, to avoid appearing racist (Stocking, 1996b). Apparently these concerns are not present when discussing immigrants and, in this case, Hispanics.

Conclusions

We have shown that North Carolina Hispanics have settled in defined geographical areas within the state. They come to the state from mostly port-of entry communities and U.S. metropolitan communities, although some have entered the state from small- and medium-sized urban areas.

Because they arrive with a diverse set of skills and experiences, Hispanics can be found in a wide array of occupations in the North Carolina economy. In addition to filling low-wage occupations, we find that Hispanic newcomers to North Carolina are also making their way into other better-paid occupations, such as social services and the construction industry.

We also evaluated North Carolinians' attitudes toward the massive and dynamic Hispanic influx. Tensions and conflicts seem to be building among long term residents of the state. Locally, newspapers are reporting similar attitudes and tensions. Future research should address media reports of job competition between non-Hispanic blacks and Hispanics (Stocking, 1996a; Stocking, 1996c). Also reported in the media are images of over-utilized social and public services and the strain on housing in many communities due to the influx of Hispanics (Stocking, 1996d; Howard, 1996b). Anecdotal evidence exists that employers are bringing workers in from the Mexican border.

Future research should focus on whether Hispanics are primarily recruited from elsewhere or are leaving agriculture for manufacturing and service jobs.

Further research should also seek to answer the questions: Are North Carolina Hispanics being recruited to come here and work or are they settling out of agricultural work and moving into industrial and service sector jobs? How do North Carolina employers make their hiring decisions? How do North Carolina employers gain access to information about prospective Hispanic

employees? What influences their hiring decisions? How do they recruit their hires? These are the types of questions we will investigate in our future research on the increasing diversity of North Carolina's population.

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