Extended Abstract

The Demographic Components of Growth and Diversity in New Hispanic Destinations

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Introduction

The spatial dispersion of Hispanics to new destinations is among the most important but least anticipated U.S. population shifts over the past 30 years. Much of the attention has focused on Hispanic migration patterns and more recently on the large second-order effects of Hispanic fertility. But recent changes in the racial and ethnic composition of America's new destinations also reflect shifting patterns of migration and natural change among America's *non-Hispanic* populations, including native-born whites. In rural new destinations, for example, the influx of Hispanics has slowed long-term population declines caused by the chronic net out-migration of young adults of reproductive age. In some large and declining urban cores, the influx of Hispanics has similarly offset declines associated with population aging and suburbanization, both among non-Hispanic whites and blacks. In many areas, Hispanic population growth – both from migration and fertility – provide a demographic counterweight to incipient depopulation.

The overall objective of this paper is to delineate the underlying demographic processes that account for changes in both the *absolute* and *relative* size of the Hispanic population nationally, as well as in established gateways and new destinations. Specifically, we decompose changes over the 1990-to-2010 period in the racial and ethnic composition into four demographic components: (1) Hispanic net migration, (2) Hispanic natural increase; (3) non-Hispanic net migration; and (4) non-Hispanic natural decrease. Our goals are accomplished using annual county data on births and deaths from the U.S. Vital Registration System, together with newly-available county net migration estimates for 2000-2010, which will be merged with previous estimates from the 1990s.

We have four specific objectives. First, to underscore America's growing racial and ethnic diversity, we document rapid changes in Hispanic population across all U.S. counties over the 1990-to-2010 period. Second, we track changes in Hispanic and non-Hispanic net migration and natural increase/decrease in both established gateways and

new destinations, where observed changes in racial and ethnic composition have been most dramatic. Third, we use methods of demographic decomposition to disaggregate population change in the Hispanic population into each of the aforementioned demographic components of population change. Fourth, we examine these trends in spatial context by grouping counties based on size, functional type, and spatial proximity to urban cores.

Our approach allows us to address the question of whether rising ethnic diversity is primarily due to Hispanic patterns of fertility and migration or, instead, to non-Hispanic (largely white) diminishing natural increase (or outright natural decrease) and net outmigration of non-Hispanics. The four demographic components of change are likely to play out differently across geographic space. For example, we expect that the demographic processes in previously declining (and aging) areas of the agricultural Midwest will be different from booming areas that have attracted diverse populations (e.g., suburban counties). Here, we will provide results for different counties distinguished by geography and functional specialization, using the USDA's typology of nonmetropolitan counties and categorizing counties by size and proximity to the urban core. Our working hypothesis is that growing diversity in new and established Hispanic destinations reflects uneven racial and ethnic patterns of net migration and natural increase.

Our demographic accounting framework provides an empirical baseline for understanding changing patterns of racial and ethnic redistribution. It highlights the specific demographic mechanisms underlying America's new diversity, especially in areas experiencing rapid Hispanic growth. Recently-released Census Bureau projections indicate that the United States will become a majority-minority country by 2043 if current patterns of fertility, mortality, and immigration continue. Our study emphasizes instead that the racial and ethnic transformation of American society will unfold differently over geographic space, and that the demographic mechanisms producing diversity vary greatly from place to place. Unlike most previous studies, we attend to the large role of white and other non-Hispanic population change in accounting for county-to-county shifts in ethnic diversity over the past two decades.

Background

Growing racial diversity is product of demographic changes in *both* majority and minority population. Indeed, the demographic processes involved in the *numerical growth* of the Hispanic population over a fixed time period includes both net migration and natural increase. Net migration is simply the number of Hispanics moving into an area minus the number moving out during the time period. Natural increase of Hispanics refers to differences between births and deaths. Johnson and Lichter (2008) showed that Hispanics accounted for over half of the entire U.S. population gain between 2000 and 2008s and that most of this gain was due to natural increase rather than immigration. Changes in the *relative concentration* or percentage of Hispanics is more complex, involving not only Hispanic net migration and natural increase, but also the offsetting or reinforcing effects of net migration and natural increase (or increasingly

natural decrease) of non-Hispanics (including whites, blacks, and other groups). In contrast to the Hispanic net migration component, net in-migration of the non-Hispanics will by definition decrease the percentage of Hispanics, whereas net outmigration will increase this percentage. Similarly, natural increase of non-Hispanics during a given interval will diminish percentage of the local population that is Hispanic. Alternatively, natural decrease of non-Hispanics, which increasingly characterizes much of rural America (Johnson 2012), increases the relative share of the Hispanic population.

Although the underlying demographic processes responsible for the numerical and relative growth are quite varied across counties, previous studies have focused almost entirely on one or another of these components. For example, much of the recent research literature links the growth of the Hispanic population to the significant immigration gains of the last several decades, especially in new and established destinations. The important role of fertility and natural increase in the growth of the Hispanic population has only recently been recognized (Johnson and Lichter 2008). To our knowledge, however, studies of the demographic contribution of white (or non-Hispanic) net migration and natural increase to the growth of and spatial variation in the relative share of the population that is Hispanic has been overlooked entirely. This is surprising, especially in light of below replacement fertility among whites and population aging which elevates currents rates of mortality. Indeed, chronic white net outmigration, especially of young people of reproductive age, has undoubtedly contributed to rising white natural decrease in some areas.

Preliminary Analysis

Preliminary analysis illustrates the potential of our empirical approach. The first chart (below) distinguishes between growing and declining counties in the 2000s. These analyses show that most growing counties (n =1,394) experienced increases in both the non-Hispanic white and minority populations over the past decade. Still, 599 counties (roughly 1 in every 6) grew only because the minority population grew. Or, stated differently, these counties would have experienced depopulation in the absence of minority growth. Clearly, minority growth is offsetting white population depopulation.

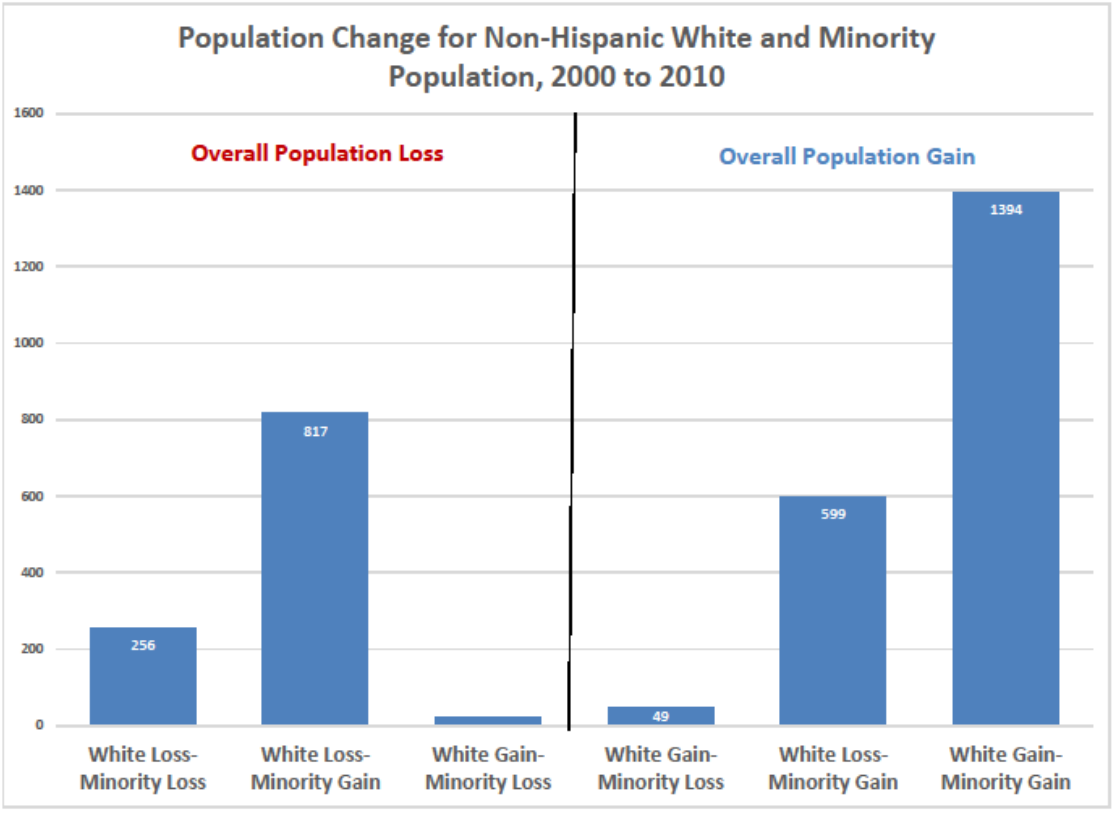
For declining counties, the role of minority population may be even larger. Among counties that lost population overall, the modal pattern was one of minority growth but white decline. Minority growth has clearly provided a demographic lifeline in many counties facing white loss.

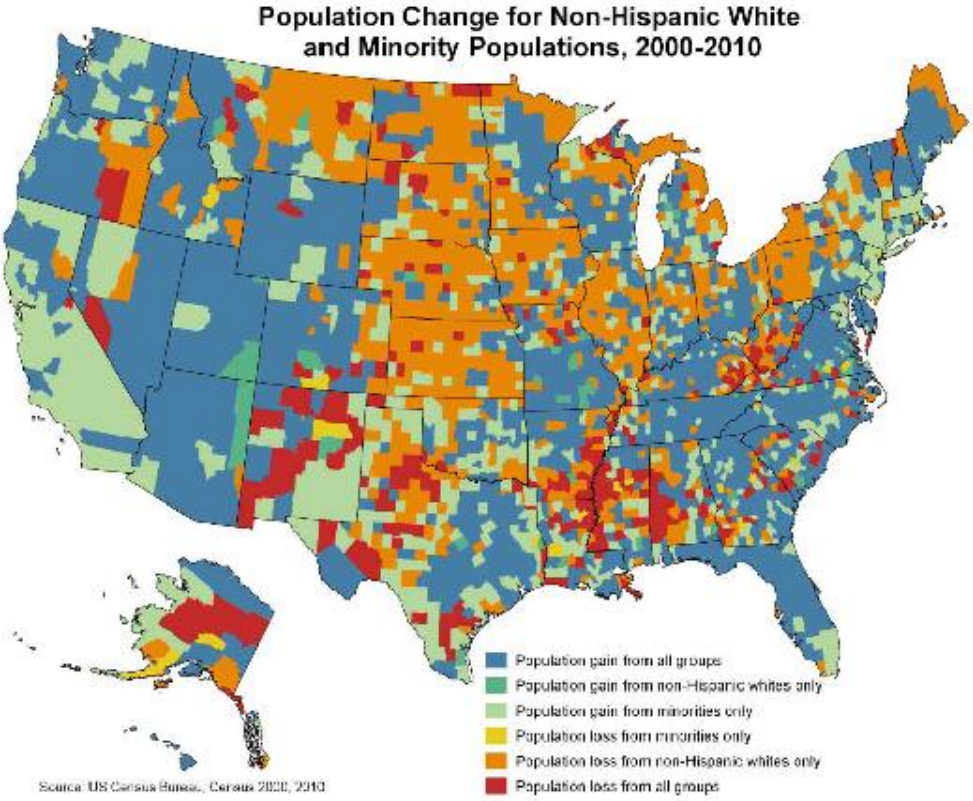
The map (below) illustrates the geographic distribution of white and non-white patterns across the United States. Large swatches of the upper Great Plains and Great Lakes areas experienced white depopulation. In many cases white depopulation was of such magnitude that minority growth was insufficient to offset population loss. In contrast, in parts of the Northeast and Northwest growth from minority populations more than offset white decline.

Prior research documents the substantial role that Hispanics have played in fueling the growth of the U.S. population in the last decade. Clearly, the recent diaspora of Hispanics have occurred in tandem with overall patterns of decline of the white population. The rise in Latino communities (or the Latino share) reflects patterns of net migration and natural increase among *both* Hispanics and the non-Hispanic population.

Conclusion

Our analysis will provide detailed quantitative evidence on the contribution of each of the demographic processes to differential growth in the percentage of Hispanics across all U.S. counties, including established Hispanic gateways and new destinations. In particular, the results highlight the demographic implications of emergent white depopulation for America's impeding racial transformation over the next generation or two. They also uncover the growing implications of "white flight," as indicated by the acceleration of net out-migration of non-Hispanics in some new and established destinations over the study period.




Population Change for Non-Hispanic White and Minority Populations, 2000-2010
Population gain from all groups
Population gain from non-Hispanic whites only
Population gain from minorities only
Population loss from minorities only
Population loss from non-Hispanic whites only
Population loss from all groups
Source: US Census Bureau, Census 2000, 2010