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Latinos in the South: Community, Family, and Identity

José Tránsito Ayala Rodriguez
University of Arkansas, Fayetteville

Latinos in the South: Community, Family, and Identity

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_____
Xavier Medina Vidal, Ph.D.
Thesis Chair

_____   _____
Najja K. Baptist, Ph.D.   Patrick Stewart, Ph.D.
Committee Member   Committee Member

Abstract

As Latinos have migrated at high rates to the U.S. South in the late 20th and early 21st centuries, the region has become known as a "new immigrant destination" and the "Nuevo South" yet political science research documenting the dynamics of Latino identity in the Nuevo South has been scarce. In this thesis I seek to understand the roles of Latino panethnic, U.S. (American) and Southern identity on factors informing the development of Latino community building. I use the 2016 Blair Center Poll to test social identity and family intimacy theories through a quantitative analysis of the effects of attachment to Latino/Hispanic panethnic, American, and Southern identity on Southern Latinos' attitudes toward family intimacy and community voluntarism. I find that (1) Southern and non-Southern Latinos are similar in terms of linking their panethnic and American identity attachments to these factors of Latino community building, and that (2) Southern identity attachment plays an extraordinary role in shaping Southern Latinos' positive attitudes toward community volunteerism.

Acknowledgements

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Dedication

While studying and writing this thesis I was never without my loved ones who passed away while I was trekking along in this journey. Para mis abuelas y abuelos quienes realizaron las jornadas para el norte y de regreso y quienes jamás volveré a ver pero los conservo en mis recuerdos y en mi alma para siempre. Y para mi primo Jesús Ayala quien me ha acompañado en mis sueños desde que inicié mis estudios de posgrado, ¡te extraño primo! No puedo olvidar a mis padres y a mis hermanos quienes cambiaron la trayectoria de mi vida para bien cuando yo era demasiado joven para saberlo.

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Preface

The United States is a country of immigrants, and throughout generations immigrants have constructed communities with new identities that continue to be woven into the fabric of this country's democracy. The growing demographic presence of Latinos in the U.S. South has taken off in the late 20th Century. As this growth continues to occur, although Latinos in the South leisurely grasping their setting and history, let's learn about the history, the sociology, and the politics we have done in this region. Although many other regions in the United States are fields of Latino identity development, the New South or "Nuevo South" is considered to be a new immigrant destination for Latinos, and if this is the case, then Latinos are an important asset to this region.

Upon reflecting on the many influences on my identity as a first generation Mexican American, I realized many aspects of my life are affected by the South, its culture, and the political environment in which I have learned about politics and society. I noticed many Latinos in Northwest Arkansas, my home, also live similar Southern Latino experiences and transnational experiences as I do.

For transnational Latino migrants to the South, such as members of my own family and me, the booming of the labor market and the frameworks of family networks are what attract them to the region. What links Latinos and this new immigrant destination challenges the notion of their own identity and those of the communities of the South. This study examines Southern Latinos' identities and the role that they play in shaping the present and the future of Latino incorporation into the U.S. South. This study is important for those with an interest in understanding how Latinos contribute to policy and societal changes in the U.S. South and how the Latino community, their identities, and their families are shaped by their experiences in the South. Above all, there are

many Nuevo Southern Latinos living meaningful, yet too often invisible lives and I hope this research reaches them.

Introduction: Southern Latinos

In the mid and late 20th century Latinos had been migrating to the southern states of the U.S. for a myriad of interest across the spectrum of opportunity. This new immigrant destination in the academic field has also been called the "New Nuevo South", and as there is a new destination there are new identities within the political and societal arena in this region. An important contribution of why Latinos in the south are changing demographics and perhaps constructing a new identity consist of a variety political interests and societal roles of the south. This research of southern Latinos will be measured among community, family, and identity.

Latinos and the south of the U.S. are linked to this study in regard to a new immigrant destination and due to the insufficient literature of Latinos in the south in comparison to Latinos in external regions. Perla Guerrero's literature is some of the few research that target the region, her book, "The Nuevo South" focuses in the region of Arkansas and how new immigrants of Asian and Latino descendants change the demographics of this region in regard to its historic existing notions of race-making in the area (Guerrero 2017). In this study, I investigate distinct factors that contribute to the opportunities Latinos favor in a new destination, instead of the traditional destination such as Southwest, Midwest, or Northeast. In comparison to traditional destinations, southern states reflect on behalf of globalization and labor opportunities which relate heavily to the important demographics of the south. Based on this study and the geography of the southern states, it will be excluding the states of Texas and Florida because both states contribute heavily to the large and historical presence of Latinos in these distinct regions of the south.

The demographics used in the study reflect among Latinos in the south challenged among community building and new immigrant destinations. In this study, I focus on community, family, and identity for the purpose of investigating how Latinos in the south are similar or distinct to other

Latinos in other regions, and more so, if Latinos have a southern identity in comparison to populations living internally in the south. I use family in the sense of a new immigrant destination because a large portion of Latino family oriented migrated to the U.S. south post-IRCA amnesty in the 1980's (Weise 2003, Guerrero 2017). Historically, only men were accustomed to migrating during the Bracero's Program in the 1940's but eventually there was a change where families and social networks became attracted to the south, in relation to various opportunities available and the traditional immigrant destinations.

Many challenges that immigrants face vary on behalf of the distance where their journey begins, and in the case of Latinos in the south and this study, the data being used does not mention immigrants in regard of their status in the U.S.; however, I consider using literature that does portray document, undocumented, and mixed status families. Along the challenges of new immigrant destinations are those of community building in the south. The former confederate states and its historical background on slavery and its racist rhetoric of Jim Crow and Juan Crow Laws have defined the regions presence and its contemporary settings. Paul Ortiz describes these laws as "backed up law enforcement and paramilitary organizations like the Klu Klux Klan, stood like flaming sentinels against Black and Brown progress" (Ortiz 2018). Community building around this atmosphere and its laws have been challenging for many underrepresented and underserved communities and in reference to new immigrant destinations, resources are limited.

Community building in the south began by many Latino/Hispanic workers first but more so in the sense of social and family networks that spread the word of the new immigrant destinations (Guerrero 2017). For the community and Latinos in the south, I am interested in finding various resources that construct the identities of the region and more so how Latinos feel about belonging and how leadership seems to be portrayed in these communities for newcomers.

The U.S. census has been a useful asset to the contribution of Latinos in the south because in regard to the literature I use follows a foundation of the geography and populations converge to the U.S. census. The mission of the U.S. census is to serve as the nation's leading provider with quality data about its people and economy, the contribution of serving populations that as of Latinos racial and ethnic backgrounds interestingly differs in the discourse in society.

Many organizations and government institutions provide assistance to communities on ideals of community building. One example of organizations helping Latinos in the south have been Mexican consulates. The specific locations of these organizations across the United States are crucial to acknowledge their presence in the populations they serve. The historical presence of Mexican Consulates in the U.S. territory traces back to the 1800's. A correlation of the U.S. census, community organizations, and Mexican consulates data are useful for finding social identities that desire to increase the well-being of people in communities (Balderrama 1982). The Mexican Consulates have established interest in its population but also protect them from injustices like it has in the increase of Mexican workers in the southern states as they did during the Bracero era (Weise 2008). Community building in the south has been a challenging construct for interests among communities with new immigrant destinations. An important factor to community building is that of volunteerism by which is defined as caring for others and having the desire to increase the well-being in relation to altruism (Haski-Levanthal 2009). However, migrant civil societies have migrant-led membership organizations and public institutions that involve collective actors and non-governmental (NGOs) such as those that Xóchitl Bada mentions for Mexican Hometown Associations (HTA's) in "Accountability Across Border" (2019). Mexican hometown Associations are highly used by immigrants but also on behalf of building communities and engaging transnational communities that engage in their interests (Bloemraad and Ramakrishnan

2008). A new turn to follow is finding community-based organizations that value similar missions or ideals of new immigrant organizations in the south, this can be a comparison to that of Mexican consulates but in regard of their services there is a high link of interest.

The literature pieces I analyze show that a majority of the population are of Mexican descent in the south, and for future studies I hope to revisit research among other ancestral Latinos groups that reference their own southern experience. The data I use however, contributes to all ancestral Latinos living across the U.S. south region. In addition, according to the 2010 U.S. census, Mexicans are still considered as the most populous among Latinos (Motel and Patten 2012). It will be interesting to follow what the results of the 2020 census rearranges much of the future data to analyze for a more robust contribution to the south.

Finding social identities can be difficult, especially in a new immigrant destination that conflicts with Latinos heterogeneous demographics that differ among distinct generations, gender,ethnic and racial backgrounds. In this study I take an approach on Latino immigrants, in this study by gradually seeking a distinctiveness in comparison to other internal and external groups of the U.S. south. A smooth approach for seeking an identity with robust results is by measuring them in a group identity or content that finds a collective identity (Abdelat, Herrera, Johnston, and McDermott 2009). Since I have mentioned the complexity within the heterogeneity of Latino identities, there are certain factors that link Latinos, by naming a few are the language and other as transnational identities (Medina Vidal 2017). In this study I focus on Latinos in the sunbelt because of their interest across the spectrum of opportunity, and in the late 20th century, jobs in the region mostly relied on poultry, construction, and agricultural fields. Again, I leave out Texas and Florida because of the large population and presence of Latinos but also because these

two states have grown in a distinct path of southern experience in these new immigrant destinations.

It is important to take into consideration that despite globalization and a new immigrant destination, the former confederate states historically have oppressed underrepresented groups; however, their contribution to the construction of the U.S. global economic impact and Civil Rights are salient on behalf of the fabric of U.S. history. Latinos and immigrants in the south are changing this region's policies and interests within this society.

The rest of this article analyzes two theories that relate to Latinos in the south within family, community, and identity. The two theories are the social identity theory and the family intimacy theory. I use both theories relatively from scholarly research that combine with a new immigrant destination such as the south and guides how crucial identities in the south are among its residents and its changing demographics. I later give a brief discussion on why southern Latino's identities matter in a region's context and how Latino identities change among other factors that relate to family, community, and identity. Lastly, I analyze the variables by using the 2016 Blair Center poll data to better comprehend how Latinos in the south identify in a new immigrant destination.

Ch. 1 Identity of Latinos in the Region: Family, Community, and Identity

In the late 20th and early 21st Century, the U.S. federal government and many U.S. states have passed stringent legislation targeting immigrant communities, following the tragedy in New York City on September 11, 2001 (Rodríguez 2008). A rise of some of the most salient policies targeting Latino immigrants began 1990's in California with Proposition 187 that denied all public benefits and education to undocumented population in the state (Smith and Taraillo 1995). Across the nation, many undocumented and immigrant families of mixed citizenship status fear deportations and family separations.

Though Southern culture is often portrayed positively for its hospitality and religious values, it can also trigger negative feelings among members of ethnoracial minority groups attributed to the explicitly unwelcoming laws and policies that predominate in the South (Mallenkopf and Pastor 2016; Guerrero 2017). Bryant Keith analyzes this Southern hospitality in the same context that Tara McPherson uses "looking for new ways of self-portraying as a Southerner in regard to its oppression and racial connections to the region" (Alexander 2012, 78). In regard, the U.S. Southern hospitality and stringent immigrant policies targeting Latinos are at hand with the social constructions of the Southern Latino immigrants.

Other restrictive legislation targeting immigrant communities is the adoption of 287(g) program, which provides states and local governments a means to better cooperate with enforcing federal immigration policy. Creek and Yoder analyze several factors of what causes the adoption of 287(g) programs in local and state policies, along the same visualization of these authors (2012). The Southern states that have adopted this policy are: Alabama, Arkansas, Texas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia (ICE 2021). In regard to Latinos and the new immigrant destinations, there need to be more resources and unity among Southern

Latinos, like those we see across Latino communities in other regions. With more unity and community building capacity, Latino communities in the Nuevo South might be better equipped to defend themselves against such laws.

Many of the conflicting barriers of this region are for Latinos to comprehend their presences among identities of Southerness/Americanes or *Latinidad/*ethnic background. In several locations across the South, the Latino presence is scattered across the region *(pocos pero muchos)*, this translates to *a little but a lot.* I refer to *pocos pero muchos* as what represents the Latino population in their localities and in Southern states. Perhaps some Latinos in the South do not identify with the region but till this day due to their first-generation identity, they identify more so with their country of origin (Blair Center Poll 2016). Much of the scholarship that acknowledges Latinos in the South are mostly found in urban locations and its populous cities, but for a more robust identity of Latinos, there needs to be research that takes under more serious consideration rural areas and other locations across the South to better comprehend and listen to community concerns and necessities. In *Transforming Citizenship*, Rocco (2014) restates that besides Latinos' demographic differences, their citizenry status excludes undocumented Latinos to perform in society. This also excludes the identity of Americanness, and if regions in the U.S. portray an identity, would they also exclude the Southerness of Latinos?

There are several policies that target immigrant groups annually and to better comprehend cognizant presence of Southern Latinos, by analyzing family, community, and identity, around these factors contribute towards the South. The mobilization of inclusion begins with representation of new immigrant destination groups even though resources are limited in comparison to Latino populations external of the South. Fraga and colleagues mention that Latinos visualized in a pan-ethnic group are much more salient than in their national origins, and as I have

commented before, collective identities are much more robust to single or individual identity (Fraga, et al. 2010; Abdelat, Herrera, Johnston, and McDermott 2009). In reference to Latinos in the South and their new immigrant destination, the population in this region of the country had been growing rapidly in the late 20th and has slowed in the 21st century and since then, state and local legislative agendas are changing the aspect of population size (Rodríguez 2012). Ricardo Ramirez in *Mobilizing Opportunities* analyzes states with large Latino populations and two Southern states he mentions I excluded due to their historical and large populations of Latinos in reference to distinct Southern identity, Texas and Florida (2013).

Cristina Beltrán along with Juana Rodriguez define *Latinidad* as "a geopolitical experience that contains complexities and contradictions from immigration (post) and (neo) colonialism, race, color, legal status, class, nation, language, and the politics of location." In relation to a new immigrant experience, this literature is applicable to the context of Latinos transnational identities (Beltrán 2010, 4; Rodríguez 2003). Therefore, are Latinos located in the Southern sunbelt states slowly creating consciousness of Southern experience related to their *Latinidad* and their Americanness? Rodolfo Álvarez analyzes the "zeitgeist" of Mexican descendants through generations that frame their identity based on the Southwest historical and colonial changes (1973). By following Álvarez analyses and this new immigrant destination, there is a similar experience occurring in the Southern states with Latinos as stated before in regard to locality and states across the South self-identity on several immigrant experiences differ.

In addition, in seeking Latino unity in the South are by having participation in civic engagement and community building. Ramírez maintains that the way through which legal permanent residents (LPRs) seek naturalization are heterogenous; however, when aggressive legislation targets the immigrant communities, we almost always see naturalization rates increase

in response (2013). In relation to population mobilization and immigration saliency, legislators tend to adopt policies targeting undocumented migrants because there may not be a significant backlash in election years (Zingher 2014). As Zingher analyzes, the saliency of immigrant communities in areas that obtain a booming population of immigrants and have a low civic engagement is most likely to find such stringent policies in the South due the new immigrant destinations. Another crucial reference is that of Ramírez mentioning the importance of transforming the status of LPRs into eligible voters and engaging their local and state politics because that is where family and community exist. The contribution of unity against these stringent legislative immigration laws is for participants in their community, and a civic engagement causes the Americanness identity to build into a Southern identity and *Latinidad*.

Ch.2 Social Identity Theory and the Family Intimacy Theory

Social Identity theory

A valuable and substantial part of this research is investigating the Latino experience and presence in the Southern states. Between 2000 and 2014, ten of the 11 states with the highest rates of Hispanic population growth were in the South; these growth rates range from 92 percent (Virginia) to 158 percent (Alabama) (U.S. Census 2015; Pew Hispanic Research 2016). Arkansas' Hispanic population grew by 114 percent between 2000 and 2010 and by 123 percent between the 2000 and 2014 according to census estimates (Pew Hispanic Research 2016). The factors used to search are based on the dependent variables of Southern Latinos and independent variables of family, community, and identity. Social identity theory is essential for the study of constructing a southern Latino identity that reflects a geographical region and a self-categorization. Social identity theory has been used in various social science disciplines (e.g., Huddy 2001; Hurtado, Gurin, and Peng 1994); however, Huddy argues that there needs to be a theoretical approach to forward social identity theory in relation to political science based on the myriad of identities (Turner et al. 1987; Huddy 2001). A very important piece to restate is the stability of identity; based on applied surveys and political topics, these are the most salient in regard of participants (Converse & Markus, 1979; Alwin, Cohen, & Newcomb, 1990; Ethier & Deaux, 1994; Huddy 2001; Sears et al. 2003). Relatively similar in reference to stable identities is Rodolfo Álvarez analyzing Mexican descendant identities from four generations: Creation generation, Migrant generation, Mexican American generation, and the Chicano generation as identities evolve individuals.

Southern Latino immigrants are conscious of the opportunities the south offered in the 20th and 21st century; however, throughout years of Latino immigrants transitioning in this region's

demographic changes, Latinos in the sunbelt Southern states have distinctively incorporated not only their labor and presence but also the interests of participating in local and state politics. Latino immigrants seeking labor and economic opportunities, benefit the labor market interests but contradicts with the Southern region social issues or legislative agendas. Therefore, the broader Sothern domestic populations and Latino immigrants intervene with their own agency and perhaps at a broader group worrisome. (Arrival of Latinos in regions, changes the identification of certain groups)

Family Intimacy Theory

Weise's (2003) historical analysis of the Latino migrant experience in the U.S. South highlights the significance of family unification following the 1986 IRCA. My analysis frames the U.S. South as a new immigrant destination for Latinos in which family relationships and family intimacy are critical. Anthropologists studying the Mexican migrant and Mexican American experience in relation to family ties also provide useful frameworks for understanding Latinos in the new destination South. The family intimacy theory advanced by Velez-Ibañez and Greenberg (1992), analyzes the stores or "funds" of extra-curricular knowledge that are passed down within families. That is, the strategic and cultural resources of Mexican American households that interact with and often compete with what children learn in school. While their analysis highlights the contrasts between the family's intimate funds of knowledge and the education system, I focus on how these funds of knowledge are critical to understanding how Latinos in the US South adapt to and survive in an often hostile social and political environment.

Above I have cited the significance of hometown associations to Mexican migrant communities in the US recalling the significance of volunteerism to community building (Haski-Levanthal 2009) and the success of Mexican hometown associations in regions with much longer

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histories of migration and incorporation including California and the Midwest: Chicago and Detroit (Shanon Bada 2019), I argue that the US South is a region still in development in terms of its community organizations. How much is drive by large populations based on community organizations. While large community organizational capacity is, at least in part, a function of scale (organizations are borne out of the needs larger populations), the rate of recent Latino population growth in the U.S. South leads me to seek understanding of these phenomena. Thus, I seek to understand how social and political identities inform community building and volunteerism attitudes among this new population of Latinos in the US South.

Hypotheses

I argue that political and social identities developed in the context of the US South, an historically hostile environment for members of ethnoracial minority groups, are critical to understanding how individual Latinos in the South value family intimacy and community volunteerism. I have three sociopolitical identity hypotheses that I test on attitudes of both family intimacy and community volunteerism: I predict:

*Hypothesis 1 (panethnic identity): Individuals with a stronger Latino/Hispanic panethnic identity are more likely to value **[family intimacy | community volunteerism]** than individuals with a weaker Latino/Hispanic panethnic identity,*

*Hypothesis 2 (national identity): Individuals with a stronger American identity are more likely to value **[family intimacy | community volunteerism]** than individuals with a weaker American identity, and*

*Hypothesis 3 (regional identity): Southern Individuals with a stronger Southern identity are more likely to value **[family intimacy | community volunteerism]** than Southern individuals with a weaker Southern identity.*

In the following section I discuss the data used to test my theory of panethnic, national, and regional identity influencing positive feelings toward family intimacy and community volunteerism.

Next, I explain the substantive significance of these statistical findings to our understanding of North American relations and transnational political behavior among the region's people of Mexican origin.

Data: Survey of Southern Latinos' Evaluations of Family, Community, and Identity

To examine the effects of identity on family and community values, I use a survey data set designed to study the social-cultural influences on political values, including the attitudes and orientations of Latinos in the U.S. South. The 2016 Blair Center Poll (Diane D. Blair Center of Southern Politics and Society, 2016) is a national survey fielded immediately following the November 2016 presidential elections. It includes oversamples of Whites, Blacks, and Latinos living in the states of the former Confederate South. My study uses the national sample of 1,021 Latino survey respondents, including 519 Latino respondents residing in the U.S. South. The Internet-based survey was conducted in both English and in Spanish and respondents took an average of 20 minutes to complete the survey.

Dependent Variables

The key dependent variables of interest to my study, Latinos' evaluations of family intimacy and volunteerism, are coded from responses to the survey questions:

"How important is being close with your family?" And

"How important is volunteering in your community?"

The responses are coded as 0 if "not at all important" or "somewhat important" and as 1 if "important" or "very important" according to respondents' answers. Ninety-one percent of

respondents reported being close with one's family (family intimacy) as important or very important and 51 percent of respondents reported volunteering in ones' community (volunteerism) as important or very important.

Independent Variables

Above I hypothesize that the strength of attachment to the political identities (panethnic, southern, and American) play a significant role in predicting Latinos' evaluations of family intimacy and volunteerism. I operationalize the independent variables Latino/Hispanic identity, American identity, and Southern identity from the survey item asking:

"In general, how strongly do you think of yourself as a Hispanic/Latino?",

"In general, how strongly do you think of yourself as an American?",

and for respondents residing in states of the U.S. South

"In general, how strongly do you think of yourself as a Southerner?"

The responses are coded as 0 = "not at all", 1 = "not strongly", 2 = "neutral", 3 = "strongly", and 4 = "very strongly." Figure 1 illustrates the distributions of the strength of panethnic, American, and Southern identities.

Strength of Panethnic, American, and Regional Identities among Latinos in the U.S.
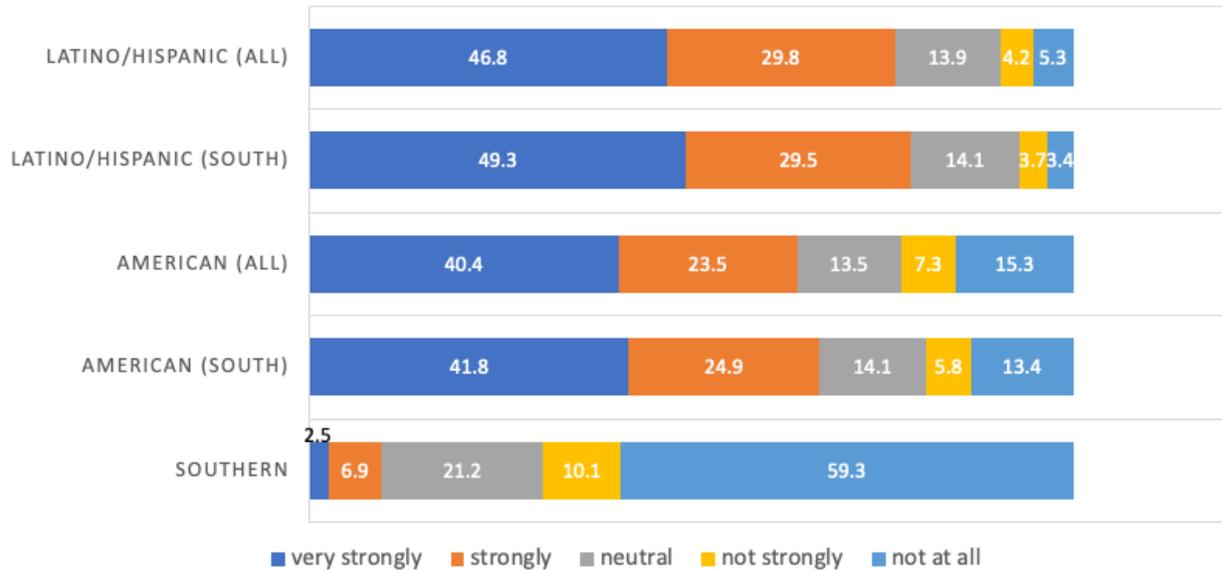(percent)

	very strongly	strongly	neutral	not strongly	not at all
LATINO/HISPANIC (ALL)	46.8	29.8	13.9	4.2	5.3
LATINO/HISPANIC (SOUTH)	49.3	29.5	14.1	3.7	3.4
AMERICAN (ALL)	40.4	23.5	13.5	7.3	15.3
AMERICAN (SOUTH)	41.8	24.9	14.1	5.8	13.4
SOUTHERN	2.5	6.9	21.2	10.1	59.3

Figure 1. Source: 2016 Blair Center Poll. Latino subsample: National n=1,021. Southern n=519

Control Variables

To control for other possible effects and explanations of Latinos' assessment of the importance of family intimacy and volunteerism I include several variables in the statistical tests performed. To control for the explanations I propose, I control for Latinos' self-reported experiences with discrimination and perception of attention paid to race and racial issues. Because I argue Latinos in the U.S. South develop their social identities within the context of a geography with a deep history of racial discrimination, institutionalized in slavery and Jim Crow laws, it is critical to control for these factors. This is consistent with research demonstrating how the lived experiences with discrimination among Latinos in the U.S. South, especially in the new immigrant destinations or "Nuevo South", are significantly different from those elsewhere in the U.S. (Guerrero 2017).

As with any reliable study of Latino political behavior, I also control for nativity (0 = immigrant, 1 = U.S.-born), Catholic identification (0=non-Catholic, 1=Catholic), Mexican ancestry/origin (0=non-Mexican, 1=Mexican), and Spanish-language interview/survey (0=English, 1=Spanish), which is a measure of cultural assimilation. Finally, I control gender (0=male, 1=female), employment status (0=not working, 1=working), marital status (1=married…6=never married), political ideology (1=liberal, 2=moderate, 3=conservative), Democratic Party identification (0=not Democrat, 1=Democrat), age (18-92), socioeconomic class (1=lower class, 2=working class, 3=middle class, 4=upper class), and level of education (No formal…doctoral/professional degree). The descriptive statistics for all variables used in the quantitative analysis are reported in Appendix A.

Statistical tests

To test my hypotheses of the effects of Latino, American, and Southern identity attachment on Latinos' attitudes about family intimacy and community volunteerism, I use logistic regression estimates. I first test for the independent effects of identity attachment on family intimacy in two models, which I present in Table 1. The full model, model A, is estimated using the full Latino sample of the 2016 Blair Center Poll (n=1,021). The second model, model B, is estimated using the sample of 519 Latinos residing in the South. In the first model I find a statistically significant effect of Latino/Hispanic identity (p<.01) and American identity (p<.01) on Latinos' evaluations of the importance of family intimacy, when controlling for other factors. The model reveals that female gender (p<.01) and Spanish-language dominance (p<.05) are also positively associated with assessment of the importance of family intimacy. In the second model estimating effects of the same set of predictors on family intimacy assessment among Southern Latinos, Latino/Hispanic identity (p<.01) and American identity (p<.05) are also positively associated with

the dependent variable, thus supporting H1. Yet, I find no significant effect of attachment to Southern identity and the importance of family intimacy-identification. Thus, I must fail to reject the null hypothesis of a relationship between Southern identity attachment and assessment of family intimacy importance. Among the other factors I control for, female gender (p<.01) and Mexican origin (p<.01) are positively associated with attitudes about family intimacy, while Catholic identification (p<.01) is negatively associated.

Figure 2 illustrates the marginal effects of Latino identity and American identity on Southern Latinos' feelings about the importance of family intimacy when holding all other variables constant at their mean values. Here, I observe that Southern Latinos with very strong Latino panethnic identity are 41-percent more likely to agree that it is important to be close with one's family than are Southern Latinos with no Latino panethnic identity. Regarding the independent marginal effect of American identity on attitudes toward family intimacy, Southern Latinos with very strong Latino panethnic identity are 10-percent more likely to agree with this measure of the importance of family intimacy than those with no Latino panethnic identity.

Table 1.

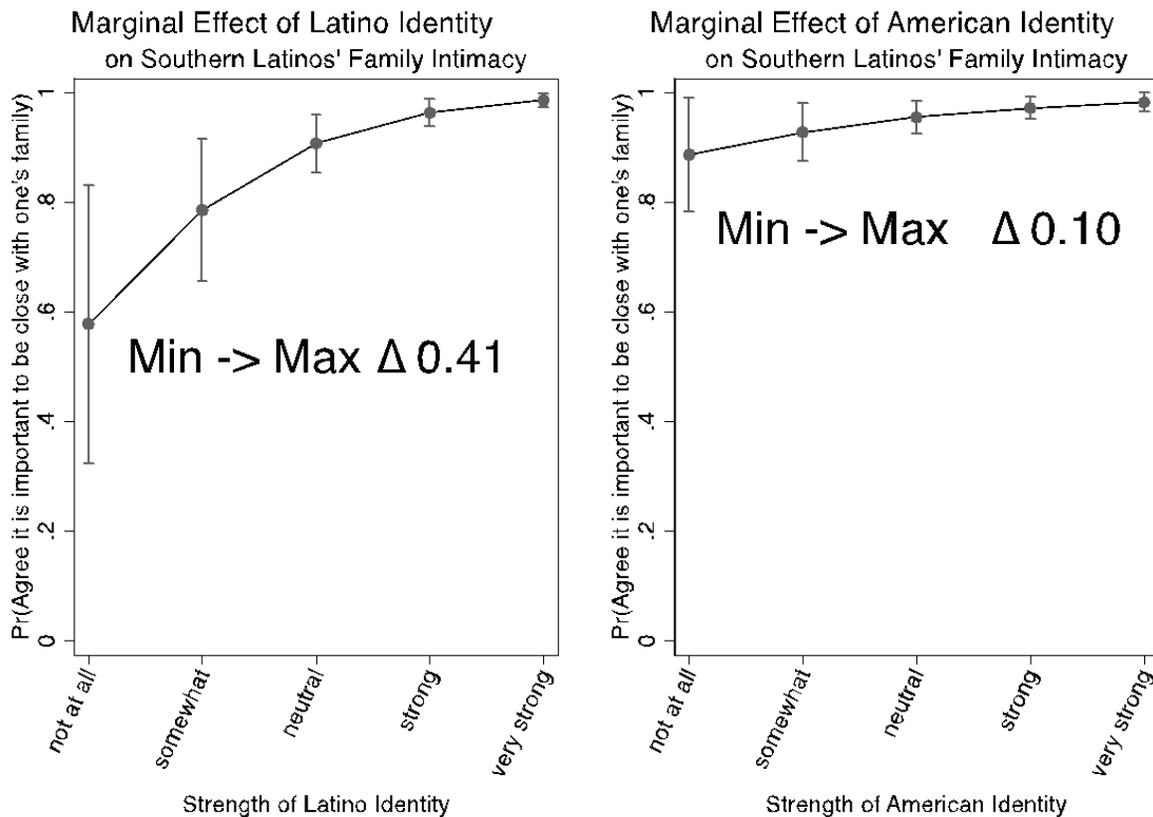|	(a) U.S. Latinos	(b) Southern Latinos
Logistic Regression Estimates of Family Intimacy Among Latinos		
Latino/Hispanic identity	0.314** (0.095)	0.984** (0.196)
American identity	0.305** (0.092)	0.497* (0.194)
Southern identity		-0.212 (0.208)
Experiences with discrimination	0.119 (0.150)	-0.076 (0.282)
Perception of attention paid to race/racial issues	-0.190 (0.153)	-0.279 (0.324)
Female	1.360** (0.264)	1.697** (0.559)
U.S.- born	-0.449 (0.339)	-0.422 (0.573)
Spanish speaker	0.669* (0.328)	0.215 (0.532)
Catholic	0.169 (0.239)	-1.347* (0.550)
Citizen	-0.430 (0.411)	-0.853 (0.792)
Mexican origin	-0.029 (0.240)	1.390** (0.519)
Employed	0.048 (0.259)	-0.878 (0.625)
Married	-0.054 (0.068)	-0.068 (0.131)
Ideology	0.294 (0.170)	-0.070 (0.332)
Democrat	0.066 (0.262)	-0.289 (0.563)
Age	0.015 (0.009)	0.015 (0.018)
Self-identified socioeconomic status	-0.017 (0.163)	0.305 (0.292)
Education	0.072 (0.0510)	0.065 (0.093)
Constant	-1.049 (1.014)	-1.121 (1.871)
N	1,021	519
Pseudo R^2 | chi^2	0.162 | 109.6	0.313 | 72.15
Standard errors in parentheses * p<.05, ** p<.01		

Figure 2. Marginal Effects of Identities on Attitudes About the Importance of Family Intimacy among Southern Latinos (2016

In the second part of my analysis, I run statistical tests of the relationships between attachment to panethnic, American, and Southern identity on the Latinos' attitudes about community volunteerism. In Table 2 I report the results of the full Latino sample model (model A) and the model estimates for the Southern Latino sample (model B). In neither model A nor model B do I find support for my hypotheses of positive relationships between Latino panethnic identity and American identity on attitudes about community volunteerism, Yet, I do find evidence of a relationship between attachment to Southern identity and importance of community volunteerism among Southern Latinos. This relationship is positive and statistically significant at p<.05. The magnitude of this relationship is reported in Figure 3, illustrating the marginal effect

of Southern identity on Southern Latinos' volunteerism. Here, I observe that Southern Latinos with a very strong Southern identity are 20 percent more likely to agree that it is important to volunteer in one's community than Southern Latinos reporting no Southern identity attachment.

In Table 3, I report the effects of the covariates with a statistically significant effect on family intimacy and community volunteerism. Here, I note that Latinas in the South are more likely than Latinos to report high family intimacy importance (6 percent) and community volunteerism (16 percent). Finally, Catholic Latinos are 4 percent *less* likely to report high importance to family intimacy, and Mexicans are 5 percent *more* likely to report high importance to family intimacy.

Table 2.

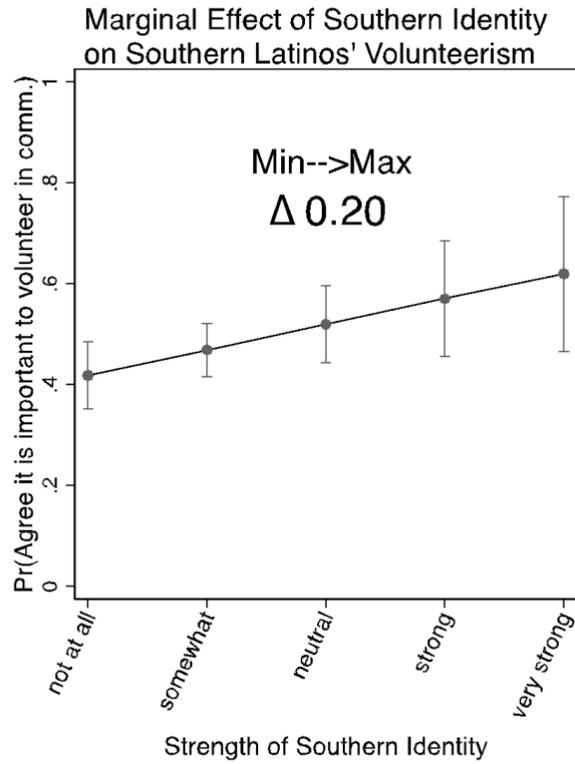|	(a) U.S. Latinos	(b) Southern Latinos
Logistic Regression Estimates of Community Volunteerism Among Latinos		
Latino/Hispanic identity	0.085 (0.062)	0.147 (0.112)
American identity	0.085 (0.053)	0.146 (0.095)
Southern identity		0.204* (0.101)
Experiences with discrimination	0.248** (0.090)	0.136 (0.146)
Perception of attention paid to race/racial issues	-0.181* (0.087)	-0.284 (0.147)
Female	0.400** (0.138)	0.650** (0.239)
U.S.- born	-0.449* (0.186)	-0.439 (0.303)
Spanish speaker	0.264 (0.180)	0.150 (0.287)
Catholic	-0.001(0.142)	-0.341 (0.255)
Citizen	0.120 (0.198)	0.043 (0.348)
Mexican origin	0.035 (0.143)	0.033 (0.256)
Employed	-0.304* (0.146)	0.180 (0.258)
Married	-0.027 (0.039)	0.004 (0.065)
Ideology	0.173 (0.092)	0.127 (0.155)
Democrat	-0.089 (0.151)	-0.099 (0.264)
Age	-0.008 (0.005)	-0.004 (0.008)
Self-identified socioeconomic status	0.154 (0.098)	0.041 (0.155)
Education	-0.014 (0.027)	-0.018 (0.045)
Constant	-0.416 (0.580)	-0.800 (0.976)
N	1,021	519
Pseudo R^2	chi^2	0.045	63.69	0.052	27.16
Standard errors in parentheses * p<.05, ** p<.01		

Figure 3.

Table 3.

Marginal Effects of Covariates the Importance of Family Intimacy and Volunteerism among Southern Latinos [MIN-to-MAX Δ]		
	Family Intimacy	*Volunteerism*
Female	Δ 0.06**	Δ 0.16**
Catholic	Δ − 0.04*	
Mexican origin	Δ 0.05**	
* p<.05, ** p<.01		

Discussion and Implication

In seeking to find a distinct identity under a lens of family and community-volunteerism among Latinos in the south are crucial for this population's regional and consciousness aspect. As I have mentioned before the distinct local and state governments across the region have passed harsh legislative policies that target immigrant population which. These policies leave in them in limbo with family separations and community presence, especially who are undocumented or of mixed immigrant statues.

By using data from the 2016 Blair Center, I use the logistic regression estimates on family intimacy among Latino's in the south and non-south, the results on both American identity and Latino/Hispanic identity are significant on family intimacy among Latino's in the south and non-south. In reference to the significant results on behalf of family intimacy among Latinos does not vary in region, it is salient in a larger identity. Many of the literature I used indicates the significance throughout two regions in the U.S., Velez-Ibañez and Greenberg (1995) and those who locate in the south (Weise 2003) and (Guerrero 2017).

The logistic regression estimates on community volunteerism among Latinos in the south and non-south are salient regarding various factors. In contrast to family intimacy, Latinos in the south and non-south are only significant on southern identity. Latinos that live in the south and identify as southerner are more likely to volunteer and engage in their community. Ramírez (2013) mentioned where Latinos are more politically important and as I have commented in it varies in geography; however, in reference to the south and aggressive policies targeting Latino immigrants our results correlates on behalf southern Latinos engage in their community by volunteering.

As a new immigrant destination, the south is currently changing its demographics at the state and local levels; therefore, as this will keep occurring but at a slower pace Latinos in the

south are changing the arena of policy and society. The 2020 census should give us a better understanding of how Latinos populations across the south are engaging with their communities, family, and identities.

Conclusion

Seeking for a southern identity in Latinos is perhaps a complex identity to seek for due to its geography, its history, and its salient policies aggressively targeting immigrants and underrepresented groups. A good portion of my literature is dependent on sociology, history, anthropology scholars, yet there is still a lot we do not know about political scientist understanding Latinos in the south's phenomenon community and family. In addition to get a more robust perspective of the Latino community is by using a qualitative method approach that consists of the population's voices and their own experiences in the south in a contemporary setting.

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Appendix
Descriptive statistics, n=1,021 Latinos
Blair Center Poll (2016)

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Family intimacy	.91	.28	0	1
Volunteerism	.51	.50	0	1
Latino/Hispanic ID	3.09	1.12	0	4
American ID	2.67	1.45	0	4
Southern ID (n=519)	.83	1.13	0	4
Exper. w/ discrimination	.73	.77	0	3
Attn. paid to race	1.94	.79	1	3
Female	.51	.50	0	1
U.S.- born	.44	.50	0	1
Spanish	.50	.50	0	1
Catholic	.63	.48	0	1
Citizen	.72	.45	0	1
Mexican origin	.56	.50	0	1
Employment status	.61	.49	0	1
Marital status	2.48	1.88	1	6
Political ideology	1.89	.80	1	3
Democratic party ID	.64	.48	0	1
Age	45.47	16.22	18	92
Socioeconomic class	2.22	.72	1	4
Level of education	9.08	2.93	1 No formal educ.	14 Prof./Doctorate