cities. In a short time, however, Latino men, and then Latina women, came directly from nearly all states in Mexico and from many Central and South American countries, giving Nashville’s Latino population more class and nationality heterogeneity than has been documented in studies of the rural South or in broader studies of transnationalism. Although increased border policing after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, had an impact on immigrant lives in Nashville as it did in other locales, post-9/11 border anxieties and politics stopped neither the flow nor the settlement of Latino immigrants in this city in the heart of the Volunteer State.
Understandings of southeast Nashville in the 2000s rested on two widely accepted ideas. First, as this director of a nonprofit community organization implied, south or southeast Nashville, despite its size and heterogeneity, was frequently “lumped together” as “Antioch,” a name more accurately describing the southern part of southeast Nashville and carrying a distinctly negative image in the city (figure 3.1). Although there were obvious differences within southeast Nashville (such as small, older neighborhoods toward the north and large, newer subdivisions in the south), its representation in public discourse as a generalized Antioch in-
remained nostalgic Woodbine for many long-term residents. Marcela and Octavio, a Mexican couple who moved to Nashville in 2000 and bought a house in Woodbine in 2003, captured both images in their description of Woodbine. For Octavio, Woodbine was “a poorer area . . . where all the immigrants are—at least, where all the immigrants start.” Marcela added that many people said to her, “‘Oh dear, I used to live in Woodbine,’ or, ‘My parents . . . and it’s nice.’ But now . . . ,” her voice trailing off to mimic people’s acknowledgment that Woodbine had become Little Mexico and thus hard to define and accept. Finally, Octavio quipped, “They know it for the food. . . . Mostly, they see it as about car dealers and a lot of Mexi-
In this way, Woodbine in the new millennium was home to Latino immigrants, to memories of times past, and to a cultural diversity that could be consumed. Recalled nostalgically by long-term residents as the place where they started out in the city, it was now seen as problematic for serving the same role for Latino immigrants.

The effects of this transition from white to brown and from elderly to young were obvious across Flatrock, especially in the emergence of Hispanic churches, a trend documented in Atlanta as well (Odem 2004, 2009). In the 2000s, many Flatrock churches faced dwindling numbers.
international image, which later refugee groups from Somalia and elsewhere helped to maintain.29

As Woodbine became Nashville’s “Little Mexico” and Glencliff High School became the city’s “United Nations” in the 2000s, its streets remained caught between Flatrock new and old. Flatrock in the new millennium was home to elderly white widows living beside Guatemalan households, retired empty-nesters with RVs in the driveway across the street from extended Mexican families with cars around the house. Nolensville Road

Figure 3.4 Percentage Hispanic by Census Tract, 2000 Census

Source: Author’s compilation based on Summary File 1, 2000 U.S. Census.
catered to a Latino, especially Mexican, clientele, leading some residents and political representatives to claim that Latino immigrants had saved the area’s business district. Some of its long-standing businesses, however, also anchored memories of Flatrock for many long-term residents. As the demographic distance between an elderly white population and a younger Latino population solidified into cultural differences in Flatrock, the two groups began to articulate what Caroline Brettell and Faith Nibbs (2011, 6), in a study of a similar suburb near Dallas, describe as “quite different pri-
Figure 7.1 Southeast Nashville Neighborhoods

Source: Author's compilation produced by Thor Ritz and Joe Stoll.
Note: As with any attempt to map collective definitions or meanings of a place, these neighborhood boundaries are approximate and often contested. Flatrock, for example, is generally understood to encompass the three smaller neighborhoods of Woodbine, Radnor, and Glencliff, but its official southern boundary is mapped in different ways by different residents. Cane Ridge’s border is seen as fixed by most residents associated with its creation in 2006. Antioch, however, is typically understood to encompass nearly all territory in southeast Nashville, although some residents link it to the smaller community actually named Antioch.

neighborhoods that grew around a rail yard in the 1930s and 1940s and thrived through the late 1970s, and Glencliff was a middle-class, white neighborhood on Nashville’s suburban, if not rural, edge after World War II. In the late 1990s, Flatrock experienced residential turnover as elderly white residents were replaced or joined by immigrant families, who helped
home to growing numbers of Latino and African American residents. Latino participants in this study may have described their immediate neighbors as white. Across southeast Nashville itself, however, a more diverse picture emerged in the 2000s.

The racial dynamics in these areas were not fully addressed in this book, partly because much of the Latino population growth in southeast Nashville occurred west of census tracts with large and growing black populations and was separated from these areas by an interstate. Another reason, however, was how and where this study was conducted. In the three small neighborhoods that formed Flatrock—Glencliff, Radnor, and Woodbine—
and in the parts of Antioch where many Latino immigrants have settled, at the scale of individual subdivisions and apartment complexes, Latino immigrants seem to be living near and interacting primarily with white residents, at least according to their own telling. At the scale of the census tract, though, there is some spatial overlap between Latino immigrants and African American residents in neighborhoods, as there is in some schools. Accessing these sites of overlap and examining interactions between the two groups would have required a different methodological design that might have first identified where Latino and African American residents were interacting, or at least sharing social spaces, and then worked from these sites.