The Miami Ethnic Archipelago[1]

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It's an exurb of New York and a suburb of Havana. It's the only place in the United States where one must look north to find The South. It's a city which contains more nationalities that the average American has never heard of than most other major American cities. It's an archipelago of ethnic groups representing islands from Manhattan to Aruba, from Cuba to Trinidad. It's an archipelago of ethnic groups from the urban island of Mexico City to the urban island of Panama City, from the urban island of Caracas to the urban island of Valparaiso. And, as in other American cities, Asians are a growing minority. All of this is grafted upon a landscape which was originally that of the native American. And this grafting via immigration was mostly responsible for much of the 18.6% growth of Dade's population in the 1980s. In 1980, Dade contained 407,000 persons of Cuban ancestry, 171,000 English, 131,000 German, 125,000 Irish, 116,000 "other Hispanic," 57,000 Italians, 49,000 Poles, 47,000 French, 44,000 Russians, and 11,000 Hungarians. By the late 1980s, the religious breakdown included 38% Hispanic Catholics, 9% non-Hispanic Catholics, 11% Jews, and 42% Protestants and others. All of this caused Tom Morganthau (1988) to conclude that Miami has experienced "the most abrupt demographic upheaval of any city on the North American continent. In fact, no metropolitan area in the US has a larger percentage of foreign-born residents. Miami leads all other major US metropolitan areas with 49%

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of its population being Hispanic. With 21% Black population, Miami is among the top 10 metropolitan areas. The 11% Jewish is among the highest for any US metropolitan area; the 22% Jewish in the three-county South Florida area (Dade, Broward, and Palm Beach) is the highest in the country.

And it's all put together in a way that is uniquely Sunbelt, uniquely a function of the role of Miami as the gateway to Latin America, and uniquely Miami. There are Hispanic neighborhoods, and Black neighborhoods, and Jewish neighborhoods. There's a Little Havana and a Little Managua and a Little Haiti. And on the radio air waves, an "Anglo" cannot find six AM English language radio stations for the six buttons on the average car radio. But one can find talk shows in Spanish and in Creole and music shows oriented toward Jewish Miami and toward Caribbean Miami.

Like an archipelago, these groups often form islands and island groups within the Miami metropolitan area. For although many organizations exist whose goal is to promote community harmony, each ethnic group is often an island onto itself. These ethnic groups are not just residentially segregated in geographic space, they are segregated in social space and in economic space and political space as well. And they meet, often on tenuous terms, in certain common spaces like shopping centers and work places and schools.

For some groups, their ties to elsewhere are often stronger than their ties to the greater Miami community. Even for people who have lived in Miami for ten or twenty years, "home" is in Havana or New York or Philadelphia. Almost every New York Met and New York Yankee game can be heard on South Florida radio stations. New York is often $99 and three to four hours away. But New York can also be found at South Florida shopping malls which are now replete with stores (Macy's and Bloomingdale's and Loehmann's and countless others) that have followed their northern clientele to the Sunbelt. Any many Cubans still harbor hopes of returning to a free Cuba; many from Central America may return to their troubled lands when they settle down. Home is elsewhere to the point that in the Hispanic community, candidates at the municipal

level campaign on the extent of their anti-communist fervor. Political ads about Jewish candidates will tout or question their commitment to the Jewish community or their stance on Israel.

It is as if each island or island group is occupying the same ocean, is separated from the other islands in its ocean by great expanses of water, ' and is often more closely tied to and concerned with events in other oceans than with interacting with other islands in its own ocean.

And like many archipelagos, intra-island strife exists. Groups which "outsiders" view as homogenous have their own internal differences. "Hispanics" include Cubans, Nicaraguans, Puerto Ricans, Central Americans, and others. "Blacks" include the American born, Bahamians, Jamaicans, and other. Jews include those with eastern European heritage (Ashkenazic) and Cuban and other Spanish heritage (Sephardic) and are also "divided" along lines based upon levels of religiosity.

The Hispanic Island Group

Hispanics represent the largest and fastest-growing island group in the archipelago. In 1960, only 5% of Dade's population was Hispanic. This percentage grew to 23% in 1970 because of the influx of refugees from Cuba; to 36% in 1980 (581,000); and to 49% (953,000 persons) by 1990, an increase of 64% (372,000).

Concentrating on the 1980-1990 period (Table 1), note that 215,000 Hispanics migrated into Dade County from other parts of the United States, while 102,000 migrated out, for a net domestic migration of 113,000. The fact that 215,000 Hispanics migrated into Dade County from other parts of the United States is consistent with conventional wisdom that has held that, in spite of US government efforts to settle refugees in various parts of the United States, many return to Dade County. Yet, the fact that 102,000 migrated out of the County may be indicative of their assimilation in American society and rising socioeconomic status. In addition, 224,000 Hispanics moved into Dade County from foreign countries, about the same as the 215,000 who moved in from other parts of the United States. Finally, note that the Hispanic

population was increased by 110,000 births during the decade and was diminished by 70,000 deaths, for a natural increase of 40,000.

And as the Hispanic population has grown, it has also diversified. While the original influx of Cubans in the early 1960's was an upper and middle class population escaping from a Communist regime, the 125,000 "Marielitos" who arrived in 1980 were, for the most part, considerably poorer and included significant numbers of Black Cubans and a minority of persons of questionable backgrounds (criminals, the mentally insane, etc.). Black Cubans are residentially segregated from White Cubans and, when the Marielitos arrived in 1980, the existing Cuban community reacted with mixed emotions. And Black Cubans do not show much affinity with American Blacks, sharing only skin color and little else. Thus, when asked about race in the 1980 Census, of the 69,000 Dade Countians who classified themselves in the "Other races" column, 90% were Hispanic.

And while half the Cuban American population lives in Miami, the growth of the Hispanic population in recent years has also been sparked by refugees from Central America, the Caribbean, and South America, such that, by 1990, only 59% of Hispanics were Cubans. This percentage was 70% in 1980 and 75% in 1970. (Note, as shown below, however, that nationwide, Cubans are only 5% of the Hispanic population.)

After the 564,000 Cubans, the second largest Hispanic group (74,000) (8% of Hispanics) is the Nicaraguans, whose numbers have increased significantly since the 1980 assassination of long-time dictator Anastasio Somoza. This group shows some geographical concentration in the west Dade municipality of Sweetwater. And there are also 73,000 Puerto Ricans (8% of Hispanics) (who are spatially concentrated in the Wynwood neighborhood), 54,000 Colombians (6% of Hispanics) and 23,000 Mexicans (2% of Hispanics). Another 165,000 come from a variety of Latin American countries including Honduras, El Salvador, Costa Rica, Panama, Guatemala, Venezuela, and Peru. All these groups have contributed to the ethnic diversity of the Hispanic island group. Each group has its own traditions and in some cases, the groups bring

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along with them some interesting melding of traditions; hence there are Peruvian Chinese Restaurants, Cuban Chinese restaurants, and Jewish book stores that sell Hebrew books with Spanish translations.

Thus, the Hispanic group is perhaps the most nebulous "island grouping" in the archipelago. As noted in a column in the *Miami Herald*:

> "Hispanic" ethnic solidarity is fragile because it is a political creation rather than one based on the real experiences of the groups so labeled. The differences far exceed the similarities, and they encompass not only differences in national origin, but in length of residence in the United States and in the history that brought each group here (Portes, 1990).

The Hispanic population is, particularly compared with Blacks, relatively well integrated into Dade County. Excepting the mostly Black areas, Hispanics are found throughout the metropolitan area. Nevertheless, two areas contain significantly greater concentrations of Hispanics: 1) the Little Havana area, centered on SW 8th Street (Tamiami Trail—US 41), within the city of Miami, and 2) the city of Hialeah. The City of Miami is more than 63% Hispanic; Hialeah is 88% Hispanic.

And the Hispanic island groups have made an indelible impression on Miami, one that has irretrievably changed the area not only socially, but politically and economically. By 1982, Miami had more Hispanic-owned businesses (about 25,000) than any other US city save Los Angeles and had higher gross receipts from Hispanic businesses than any other US city. It has changed the area as it is perceived from the rest of the nation, for Miami is now known for its Hispanic population. And the landscape reflects this influence in terms of architecture, street signs, and foods. According to *South Florida* magazine:

> Miami is the only city in the United States where a man could be born, grow up, get married, get a job and become a millionaire, all in Spanish.

Table 1 Components of Population Change Dade County 1980-1990				
	Blacks	**Hispanics**	**Non-His-panic Whites**	**Total**
1980 Census	282,000	581,000	775,945	1,626,000
+ Births	95,000	110,000	78,075	280,000
- Deaths	25,000	70,000	79,425	173,000
Natural Increase	70,000	40,000	-1,350	107,000
Domestic				
+ Immigration	38,000	215,000	250,795	500,000
- Emigration	75,000	102,000	415,655	590,000
Net Migration	37,000	113,000	-164,860	-90,000
Foreign				
+ Immigration	90,000	224,000	710	310,000
- Emigration	2,000	5,000	9,105	16,000
Net Migration	88,000	219,000	8395	294,000
Total Net Migration	51,000	332,000	-173,255	204,000
Total Change	121,000	372,000	-173,255	311,000
1990 Census	403,000	953,000	601,340	1,937,000
Percent	20.8%	49.2%	31.0%	100.0%
Source: Oliver Kerr, Dade County Planning Department				

Many Hispanics have only limited abilities in English. In the 1980 Census, 33% of Hispanics indicated that they *could* speak English well or very well. 29% could not speak English *at all*. 45% indicated that they could not speak English *at all* or *not well* and 97% did not speak English at home. In 1990, of those who spoke Spanish at home, 56% did not speak English "very well." This has led to significant "back-lash" against Hispanics as well as "white flight" to Broward and Palm Beach Counties to the north. But the bilingual abilities, the business experience, and the cultural milieu that have accompanied the immigra-tion of the Hispanic population has played a major role in the develop-ment of tourism, international trade, finance, and banking. Thus, by the early 1980's, Miami was second only to New York as a center of international banking (Mohl, 1982).

It should also be noted that Hispanics in Dade County are unlike the Mexicans and Puerto Ricans that constitute most of the Hispanic population of the United States (Table 2). Cubans are older than other Hispanics because of their relatively low fertility. Many more households contain married couples than is the case for Puerto Ricans. Cubans also have much higher levels of income and education, and, consequently, much lower levels of unemployment and much lower percentages of families below the poverty level.

Thus, the Hispanic population is a middle-class entrepreneurial group that, because of its preference for the Spanish language, has developed its own "enclave" economy. Retail outlets exist in which customers must speak Spanish to interact with the sales help. Thus, Anglos and Blacks must speak Spanish to be hired. This further isolates the three communi-ties.

Table 2 Hispanic Demographic Comparison			
	Cubans	Mexicans	Puerto Ricans
Median Age	38.7	23.9	24.9
% Married Couples	78.1%	74.4%	51.6%
Median Family Income	$27,294	$19,968	$15,185
Years of Education	12.4	10.8	12.0
Unemployment Rate	3.1%	9.8%	9.2%
% Professional (Males)	23.7%	10.3%	15.1%
% Families Below Poverty Level	13.8%	25.5%	37.9%
% of US Hispanic Population	5%	62%	13%
Source: US Census Bureau (March, 1988). *The Hispanic Population in the United States.*			

The Black Island Group

Miami has the dubious distinction of being one of only two American cities to experience a race riot since the late 1960s. And, unlike most other US cities, Blacks in Dade County include "American Blacks," Black Cubans, Haitians, Bahamians, and Jamaicans and other Caribbean islanders. Tensions among these different groups are strained and Dunn notes that, while physical confrontations between native Blacks and Haitians are over, considerable tension still exists between the groups (Yeaney and Castro, 1990).

Blacks currently constitute about 21% (403,000) of the Dade County population, having increased from 15% in 1960 and from 17% (282,000) in 1980. Much of the recent growth has resulted from an influx of Haitians as well as Black Cubans and other Caribbean Blacks. Unlike

many other cities, there is not one, but rather many, Black areas. Unlike the Hispanic communities which are almost all middle (Miami, Hialeah) or upper income (Coral Gables, Kendall), most Blacks reside in lower (Liberty City/Brownsville, Overtown) or middle (Carol City, Richmond Heights) income communities. Thus, while considerable progress has, been made on some fronts by the Black community and a middle class has emerged, Blacks clearly lag well behind the Cuban community in economic development (Rose, 1989). As noted above, particularly during the earlier Cuban migrations, Cuban migrants to the US were ''positively selected'' from the Cuban population, that is they had considerably higher levels of education and income than was the case for the average Cuban. Second, many argue, Cuban and other Hispanic migrants have been the recipients of significant federal government aid as political refugees. Thus, Dunn (p. 10-3) argues that:

> They (Blacks) have not increased their numbers in terms of political representation except in the state legislature, have only slightly closed the income gap between themselves and other ethnic groups and remain virtually locked out of the financial boom that has hit the area. They receive no real benefit, for example, from the new Miami Arena, the expanding international banking phenomena, the increase in international trade, the Orange Bowl festivities and so forth. The result has been a growing cynicism among Blacks that they have no place in an increasingly Hispanic community.

Inner city Dade County Black communities have been hit hard by drugs, crime, and fleeing businesses. In part, these conditions led to and were further exacerbated by the 1980 acquittal of the police officers who beat insurance salesman Arthur McDuffie to death, the 1980 conviction of Black leader Johnny Jones, the 1981 indictment of Black Judge Alcee Hastings, and the killing of Nevell Johnson in an Overtown video game arcade in 1982. In each case, the Black community viewed these incidents as injustices against Blacks and/or as instances where persons were treated more harshly by the justice system because they were Black. This led to rioting in 1980 in Liberty City, Overtown, and other Black

communities and to rioting in Overtown in 1982. And again in 1989, after the shooting of a Black by a Hispanic officer (Lozano), three days of rioting in Overtown preceded the 1989 Super Bowl game in Miami. In early 1990, many feared further rioting if the Hispanic officer was acquitted (he was found guilty of manslaughter).

The geographic pattern of income in the Black community reflects the desire of Blacks, as their income rises, to move out of inner city areas to the suburbs. Thus, the middle income Black areas are almost all suburban. Some middle income Blacks remain in the inner city areas as a way to show solidarity with the Black community. Dunn concludes that:

> The Black middle and professional class is managing and may be progressing well. To be sure, most Blacks in Dade County are not poor and are no more subject to the crime and violence of the inner city than are whites or Hispanics. The removal of racial barriers in housing and in many areas of employment (especially in the public sector where an inordinate number of Blacks work), has resulted in a gradual closing of the income gap for this group if not for Blacks as a whole.

In spite of these somewhat positive comments, during the 1980's, while 50,000 Blacks moved into Dade County from other parts of the country, 72,000 left, for a net migration of minus 22,000 in the 1980s. The Black population of Dade County grew primarily because of the immigration of 90,000 from foreign countries (chiefly Haiti) and of a natural increase of 70,000.

The Haitians

After the so-called "American Blacks," the largest Black group is the Haitians. Haitians constituted only about 5% (14,000) of the 282,000 Blacks in Dade County in 1980. By 1990, almost one in four (95,000 of 403,000) Dade County Blacks was Haitian. Many of these people, perhaps 50-75,000 arrived between 1977 and 1981, often aboard rickety boats. Many came with relatively low skill levels and with little more

than the shirt on their back. They came with little in the way of English or Spanish language skills. They were escaping the poverty of Haiti, the poorest country in the Western hemisphere, and the right-wing dictatorship of the Duvalier government. Under Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) rules, they were not considered political refugees and, thus, became illegal aliens not entitled to the types of government support afforded Hispanic refugees from Cuba and Central America. In fact, not only were they not given any government assistance, they were interned in detention centers to await trial. Many observers would agree that the difference in treatment between Cuban and Nicaraguan refugees on the one hand and Haitian refugees on the other was because the Haitians are Black.

A good portion of the Haitian population is concentrated in an area between I95 and US1 to the north of the CBD that has become known as "Little Haiti." This section contains some of the least expensive housing stock, is surrounded by mostly Black areas, and is close to industrial districts containing the types of low-skill jobs for which Haitians can compete. Many live with numerous relatives or other unrelated persons in the same dwelling unit (Sheskin, 1986).

And it is just this competition that has contributed to the hard feelings between American Blacks and Haitians. In addition, while it may seem like Haitians overall constitute a small portion of the total population, because it is overwhelmingly (75%) male and young, much of the Haitian population is in the job market. In addition, the cost to the local community in medical care and social services has been enormous. But the Haitian immigrants are somewhat positively selected from the Haitian population: they have some education and skills and significant ambition and drive.

Outside of Little Haiti live Haitians who came in the 1960s who are considerably better integrated into the Dade County community. Their English is satisfactory, they are middle class and do not necessarily live in Black communities. Haitian business people have tried to emulate the success of the Cuban business leaders.

Because of the Immigration Reform Act of 1986, Haitians have begun to obtain permanent legal status in the United States. Fully 86% have indicated that they would come to the United States again if they had to make the choice again and about 69% indicate plans to become US citizens.

The Anglos

As mentioned above, in 1980, Dade also contained 171,000 English, 131,000 German, 125,000 Irish, 57,000 Italians, 49,000 Poles, 47,000 French, 44,000 Russians, and 11,000 Hungarians. Many of the Germans, Russians, and Poles are Jews. In fact, about one in three Dade County anglos is Jewish, a group that is covered in greater detail in the next section of this paper.

In 1960, 80% of Dade Countians were anglos (including 15% who were also Jews). This number quickly declined, with the increase in Hispanic population, to only 62% in 1970 (including 18% who were also Jews). By 1980, anglos constituted less than half (48%) of Dade's population (17% were Jews). By 1990, only about 31% were anglos. During the 1980s, the number of anglos decreased by 173,000 (22%), from 776,000 to 601,000. The number of Jewish anglos also declined by 67,000 (25%), from 269,000 to 202,000.

A number of factors have contributed to this decline. About 251,000 anglos (both Jews and non-Jews) migrated into Dade County in the 1980s from other parts of the United States, but 415,000 migrated out, for a net migration of minus 165,000. While the reasons for this outmigration are quite varied, some reasons are worth some discussion in this paper. First, many elderly who came to South Florida to retire return to the Northeast upon exhausting their financial resources, upon illness, or upon the death of a spouse. Second, as Broward and Palm Beach Counties have developed economically, many anglos have moved to these two counties directly north of Dade. Third, it is quite clear that many anglos have reacted to becoming a minority, and to the issue of language, by leaving Dade County. Broward County in 1990 is about 15% Black, 9% Hispanic, 22% Jewish, and 54% non-Jewish anglo. This contrast with Dade is significant and shows the extent to which residents of South

Florida are sorting themselves out in geographic space on an ethnic basis. Further evidence for this can be seen in data for the Catholic population: in Dade County, 80% of Catholics are Hispanic; in Broward, only 14% (Sheskin, 1986, 44). Fourth, much of the negative publicity concerning Dade County in the 1980s has had a significant impact upon potential migrants to South Florida, steering them away from Dade County. Anglos have departed Dade County as it has taken on many attributes of a large city, including ethnic strife, crime, crowding, and traffic congestion, which have made it less attractive, particularly for retirees.

Immigration and emigration from foreign countries have not played an important role in the decline of the anglo population. About 9,100 anglos moved out of Dade to foreign countries in the 1980s; about 700 migrated into Dade County, for a net outmigration of about 8,400.

For rates of natural increase, the Black population grew by 70,000 in the 1980s and the Hispanic population grew by 40,000. but the anglo population shows 78,000 births and 79,000 deaths. This lack of natural increase is no doubt because one-third of the anglos are Jewish. Jews not only tend to have smaller family sizes than non-Jews, but in Dade County in 1982, 44% of Jews were age 65 and over (Sheskin, 1982). Thus, anglos have declined in Dade County due to both net outmigration and a natural decrease in the population.

The Jews

In an episode of *All in the Family*, Archie Bunker, in referring to a Jewish acquaintance who had left New York, was asked where this acquaintance had moved. His answer was revealing: "The Hebe left for the Land of His People—Miami Beach!" Before Dade County became known for its Hispanic and Haitian minorities, Miami, and particularly Miami Beach, was known nationwide for its Jewish population. And although the Jewish population of Dade County itself has declined significantly in recent years, the Jewish population of the three-county South Florida area (at least 650,000 in Dade, Broward, and Palm Beach Counties) is now the second or third largest concentration of Jews in the country. And the influence of this population, which now constitutes

about 17% of the South Florida population (the largest percentage of any major US metropolitan area), is felt significantly in the cultural, political, and economic arenas. In addition, the 650,000 Jews in South Florida now constitute almost 11% of American Jews and the South Florida Jewish community is beginning to play a more significant role in the American Jewish community. (Singer, 1989, p.233).

Most of the growth in Jewish population in South Florida has occurred at the expense of the Northeastern part of the country. In 1960, more than 75% of American Jews lived in five states (NY, CA, PA, NJ, IL); 46% lived in New York alone. Florida was home to less than 200,000 of the 5.5 million American Jews. By 1992, New York's Jewish population declined to "only" 32% of America's Jews. Also, by 1987, six states contained 76% of American Jews (NY, CA, FL, NJ, PA, MA), but two of these were Sunbelt states, with 721,000 of the 5.9 million American Jews living in Florida. The Cuban migrations of the early 1960's contained many "Jubans," or Jews who had lived in Cuba. Today, many South/Central American Jews may be found among recent immigrants from this hemisphere, and Hispanic Jews probably make up about 10,000 persons (Sheskin, 1992).

The Jewish population in Dade County increased from 15% (140,000) in 1960 to 17% (230,000) in 1970. By 1975, 290,000 Jews lived in Dade and Jews made up 19% of Dade's population. Since then, the number of Jews has declined to 202,000 (11%) in 1990. This decline in the Jewish population in Dade County is due, for the most part, to mortality rather than outmigration. If we examine the 1982-1989 period, more than half the decline in the Jewish population has occurred in South Beach (Miami Beach, south of Dade Boulevard) alone. The Jewish population on The Beaches has declined precipitously, from 82,000 to 58,000. Given that the median age of the Jewish population in The Beaches in 1982 was 67 and that 42% of households contained a widow, it is not surprising to find a significant decline in this population over the following seven years.

Most of the growth in the Jewish population of Broward and Palm Beach lies in the clear preference of new Jewish migrants to the South Florida

area to select these counties, a preference reflecting to some extent the fact that the two more northern counties offered lower cost housing and an overall lower cost of living. Also, sometime in the 1970's, Broward and Palm Beach Counties reached a "threshold" number of Jews and a chain migration process developed. In such a process, potential migrants, from the Northeast visit friends and/or relatives in their South Florida homes. They soon migrate to South Florida, with their friends/relatives helping in their adaptation to their new environment.

This chain migration process had, of course, worked to favor Dade County as a destination for years. But, by 1970, low-rise retirement complexes were being developed in Broward and Palm Beach Counties, retirement complexes that looked more suburban—more like the life style these second-generation Jews had left behind in the Northeast—a lifestyle that combined somewhat familiar housing styles with a country club atmosphere that their middle class background demanded. In contrast, much retirement into Dade County in the 1950's and 1960's was of first-generation Americans, of somewhat lower socio-economic status, who were used to living in high rises and moved into such in Miami Beach and North Dade.

The Jubans

When kids on Miami Beach in the late 1950's were asked by their parents about the newly-arrived students from Cuba, they were told that while some had strange names like Rodriguez and Lopez, others had regular "American" names like Schwartz and Goldberg! Jews from Cuba, who number perhaps as many as 10,000 in 1992, are derived from two sources. The first are the Sephardic Cuban Jews who have origins in Spain and came over as part of the original settlement of Cuba by the Spanish. The second group, the Ashkenazic Cuban Jews, came to Cuba just before or during World War II to escape Nazi persecution. They went to Cuba awaiting entry to the United States. These two groups were distinct communities in Cuba who did not always enjoy the best relationships. While such differences have subsided some since settlement in the US, remnants of this relationship are still extant. While many Cuban Jews are well integrated into the Miami Jewish community, most

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live in Miami Beach and North Miami Beach, where they maintain several Jewish organizations distinct from the larger Jewish community.

Joining the Jubans in recent years has been Jews from all over Central and South America and the Caribbean. As governments change in Latin America, many Jews have felt uncomfortable and have migrated either to Israel or the United States. Because of the existing Hispanic milieu, many have selected Dade County.

The Asian Americans

Asian Americans are the fastest growing minority in the United States (Gardner, Robey, and Smith, 1985). In South Florida, this is a diverse amalgamation of Chinese, Filipinos, Thais, Pakistanis, Indians, Vietnamese, Japanese, Koreans, Burmese and other groups. A 1990 estimate appearing in the *Miami Herald* (February 5, 1990) put the number of Asians in Dade, Broward, and Palm Beach County at about 80,000. The 1990 US Census reports about 26,000 persons of Asian race in Dade County. In 1990, a newspaper entitled *The International Asian-American* began publishing with separate pages for each Asian ethnic group. As of this writing, very little data on this group are available.

Conclusions

Miami has changed ethnically in recent years to a greater extent than any other American city. Most importantly, Miami society has become more and more "ethnically aware." From elections in which votes are determined ethnically, to the routing of Metrorail, to economic boycotts designed to force change, issue after issue in Dade County is decided along ethnic lines or with a consciousness of ethnic sensibilities. This paper has described the changes in the ethnic composition of Dade County over the past few decades with an emphasis on the components of demographic changes in the 1980s. Two findings about the 1980s bear repetition. First, more blacks departed Dade County to other US locations than moved into Dade from other US locations. Thus, blacks appear to be participating to some extent in what has been called "white flight," although the reasons for their leaving may be different from the reasons whites leave. Second, while the data confirm the conventional

wisdom which indicates that many Hispanics from other part of the United States move to Dade County because of its Hispanic milieu, there is also a significant movement of Hispanics out of Dade County to other US states.

Much of the ethnic composition of Dade County in 1990 is related to its geographic location with respect to Latin America and the Caribbean. Given the fact that geographic location cannot change, it is likely that Miami's ethnic composition will continue to change as more Hispanics and others from points south attempt to immigrate to Miami. The future of the city depends upon these groups learning to interact in a fashion that is to the benefit of all.

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