

# Hispanic Segregation Patterns in Metropolitan Miami

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To a casual observer it might appear that metropolitan Miami is a typical Sun Belt urban complex.<sup>1</sup> Historically, its mild winter climate has generated a tourist-dominated economy. As a post-automobile-era metropolis, Miami's central business district is somewhat small and its suburbs have undergone massive expansion. In addition, Miami's ethnic mix is similar to that of many southwestern cities, its population being comprised of large percentages of non-Latin whites, Jews, blacks, and Hispanics.

Still, closer analysis reveals that Miami is significantly different from other Sun Belt cities. The Hispanic component dominates its population more than with most other United States cities. According to the 1980 Census of Population, only eight Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas had higher proportions of their populations being Hispanic, when compared to Miami's 35.7%.<sup>2</sup>

Even more significant is that the Hispanic domination of Dade County's population is recent in origin (Mohl, 1984, pp. 15-21). For instance, in 1950 only 1.3% (6,200 persons) of Dade's population was born in Latin America (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1952, p. 7). However, by 1990 the Hispanic population had grown to approximately 916,000, 47.5% of Dade residents, an increase of almost 12 percentage points over what it

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<sup>1</sup>In this paper "Miami," "Metropolitan Miami," "Greater Miami," and the "Miami Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area" all refer to Dade County; the "City of Miami" refers to the central city which is legally defined as one of Dade County's twenty-six separate municipalities.

<sup>2</sup>The eight SMSAs whose populations were more heavily Hispanic in 1980 were: (1) Laredo, Texas (92%), (2) McAllen-Pharr-Edinburg, Texas (81%), (3) Brownsville-Harlingen-San Benito, Texas (77%), (4) El Paso, Texas (62%), (5) Las Cruces, New Mexico (52%), (6) Corpus Christi, Texas (48%), (7) San Antonio, Texas (45%), and Albuquerque, New Mexico (36%).

was as recently as 1980.<sup>3</sup> Blacks currently are about 22% of the county's population. Non-Latin whites account for the remaining 32%; approximately 11% is Jewish (Sheskin, 1990A, p. 1). No other large American city has undergone such drastic proportional changes in its ethnic composition in such a short period.

The purpose of this paper is to investigate the ethnic and racial residential segregation patterns that have emerged in metropolitan Miami, with an emphasis on Hispanics and the position they have occupied in this residential differentiation process. Segregation is important because it plays a significant role in shaping an ethnic group's opportunities for housing, education, shopping, and employment. The literature dealing with segregation in Miami will be surveyed, followed by discussion of the results of an empirical analysis of the levels of segregation in Dade County.

### *Literature review*

Almost all the literature on segregation dealing with metropolitan Miami has compared the residential patterns of blacks and Hispanics with those of whites and non-Latin whites. For instance, it has been found that although it might appear that blacks are well-dispersed throughout Dade County because they are not concentrated in a single core area, as they are in many northern and western cities, that this is at least partially an illusion. Instead, they are concentrated in several well-defined communities (Figure 1). These areas contain close to 70% of Dade's

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<sup>3</sup>The estimates of Hispanics in Dade County were obtained from Mr. Oliver Kerr (Director of Research, Metropolitan Dade County Planning Department) during a phone conversation on September 5, 1989.

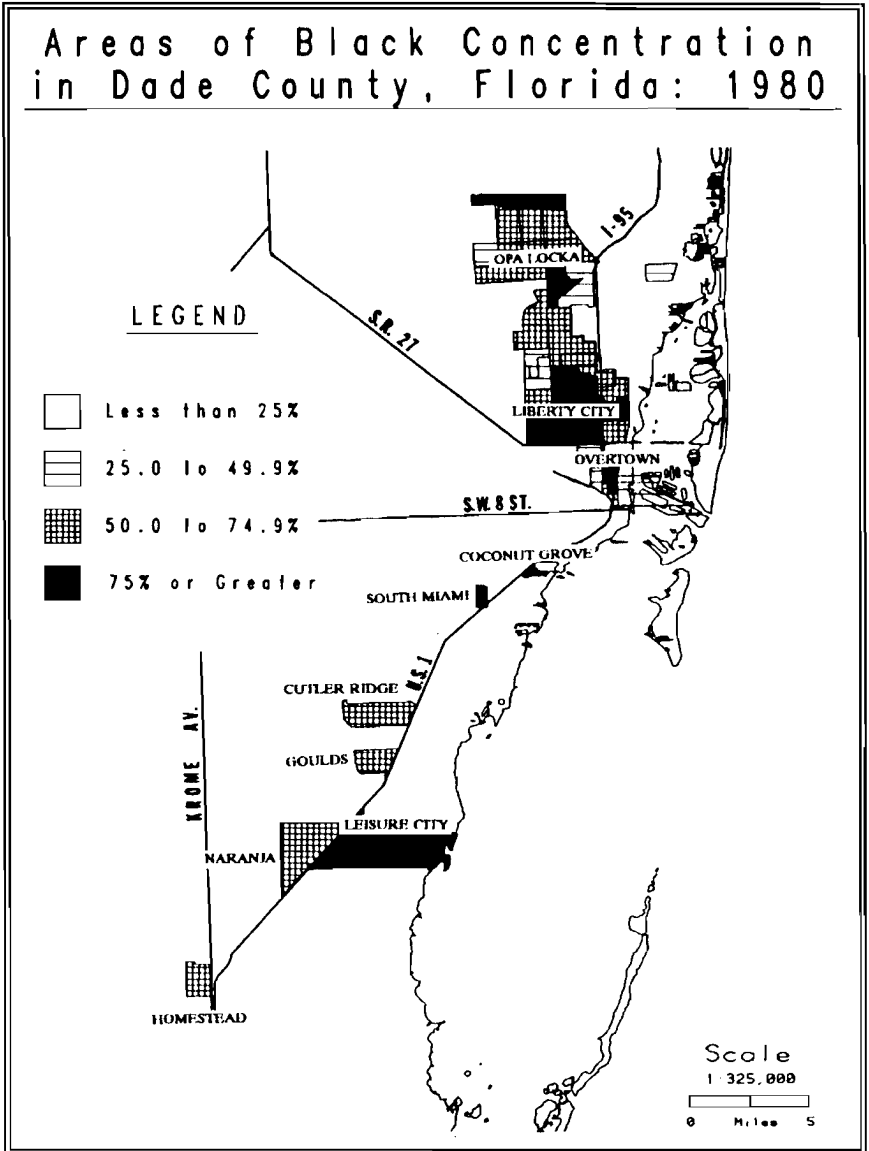


Figure 1.

black population.<sup>4</sup> Not only are there relatively few blacks outside these areas, but there are few whites or Hispanics in these communities. Dudas and Longbrake (1971) found that in 1970 about 86% of Dade County's black population would have had to be redistributed for it to have exhibited the same distribution as that of the county's white population. This level of segregation has remained stable over the past several decades, since the comparable 1950 and 1960 figures were 84% and 88%, respectively. The authors claim that, besides overt discrimination and white-flight succession, two factors were responsible for the continued high level of black segregation. First, public housing projects designed to aid the poor were found only in black areas. They suggest that locating some housing projects in white areas would have hastened residential integration by attracting low-income blacks to live in them. Second, the development of suburban communities specifically designed for blacks, such as Richmond Heights, deterred integration by absorbing many middle-income blacks who otherwise might have settled in white or Hispanic neighborhoods (Dudas and Longbrake, 1971, pp. 157-168). As in black ghettos of other cities, Miami's areas of black concentration tend to expand by a contagious diffusion process, by which the territory closest to them is exposed to black in-movement, followed by either white or Hispanic succession (Winsberg, 1983, p. 310).

A study using the 1973-1974 "Social Register for Cubans" compared the distributions of upper- and middle-class Cubans in Miami, San Juan

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<sup>4</sup>The percentage concentration of blacks in these ten areas has declined steadily since 1960. In 1960, 96% of all Dade's blacks lived in these areas; in 1970 and 1980 the comparable figures were 93% and 71%, respectively. Oliver Kerr, *Profile of the Black Population* (Miami: Metropolitan Dade County Planning Department, Research Division, 1984), 144-147; Harold M. Rose, "Metropolitan Miami's Changing Negro Population, 1950-1960," *Economic Geography*, 40 (1964), 221-238; David B. Longbrake and Woodrow W. Nichols, Jr., *Sunshine and Shadows in Metropolitan Miami* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Ballinger Publishing Company, 1976), 47-49, and Harold M. Rose, "Blacks and Cubans in Metropolitan Miami's Changing Economy," *Urban Geography*, 10 (1989) 464-486.

(Puerto Rico), and New York City. The purpose was to determine the degree to which Milton Gordon's concept of "ethclass" applied to Cubans. This idea suggests that people choose residential locations based on both ethnic affiliation and socioeconomic conditions. The study hypothesized that upper- and middle-class Cubans would tend to locate in upper-middle income neighborhoods dominated by Cubans. While this was so for San Juan where 70% of the Social Register Cubans resided in such areas, it was not the situation in Miami and New York City. For Miami, only 17% lived in upper-middle class Cuban neighborhoods. On the other hand, 34% resided in non-upper-class Cuban areas. Thus, 51% chose to live in some type of Cuban neighborhood, while 49% lived in non-Cuban areas. In New York City, 79% of Social Register Cubans resided outside Cuban neighborhoods, with most living in upper-middle class areas. Therefore, in San Juan the ethclass dimension appeared to prevail. In Miami, ethnicity appeared to be more important than economic status; whereas in New York City socioeconomic class seemed most important. The study explains these differences as follows. In San Juan, the Cuban population is more homogeneous, with a disproportionately large share from the upper and middle classes. In Miami, there is a large Cuban population, but most Cubans have middle-incomes and prefer to live in Cuban-dominated neighborhoods, despite economic status. New York City does not have any neighborhoods that are strongly dominated by Cubans.<sup>5</sup> As a result, it is difficult for wealthy Cubans to find a place to live that is both wealthy and predominantly Cuban. So, many choose to live in well-to-do neighborhoods where other middle- or high-income non-Cubans reside (Cooney and Contreras, 1978, pp. 33-49).

Another study of Dade County used 1970 census data to compare Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans both with each other and with

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<sup>5</sup>There is a large Cuban-American settlement adjacent to New York City in New Jersey on the western side of the Hudson River, in the vicinity of Union City and West New York. Although technically outside New York City, it is part of its metropolitan area. In fact, this settlement is second only to Miami as a concentration of US Cubans.

other racial and ethnic groups (Aguirre, Schwirian, and La Greca, 1980, pp. 35-63). It found that Cubans were the most heavily concentrated group in the City of Miami (the central city of the SMSA), with blacks and Puerto Ricans ranking second and third. When comparing each group's segregation from the rest of the population, it found that blacks were the most segregated, Hispanics were moderately segregated, and persons of European stock were the least segregated. Among Hispanics, Cubans were the most segregated, followed closely by Mexicans. Puerto Ricans were the least segregated. Another finding was that socioeconomic status explains only part of the variability in segregation patterns, as also noted by Cooney and Contreras (1978). Furthermore, the study notes a high correlation between segregation patterns in the central city and the metropolitan fringe. That is, those groups most segregated in the central city tend also to be the ones most segregated in the suburbs. However, Puerto Ricans were more highly segregated within the central city from the non-Latin ethnic classes than were either Cubans or Mexicans. But, in the suburbs, Mexicans were the most segregated. The authors concluded that, despite elements of enforced constraint in housing choice, a greater influence in metropolitan Miami's segregation patterns is ethnic self-selectivity, especially among Cubans. In this regard, the authors draw a parallel between Cubans and the Europeans who immigrated to the United States earlier in this century.

Winsberg (1979) examined the residential patterns associated with Cuban immigration into Dade County. He found that, contrary to common belief, a small Cuban population resided primarily in Little Havana as early as 1950—prior to the Castro Revolution in 1959. In fact, in 1960, 70% of the county's Cubans lived within a three-mile radius of Miami's central business district. By 1970, this percentage had declined to only 28%, indicative of a widespread diffusion of Hispanics into suburban locations. Compared to the ethnic expansion that typified U.S. cities between 1880 and 1914, Miami's Latin expansion between 1960 and 1970 occurred more rapidly and diffused more widely. The economic success of Miami's Hispanics, as well as their rapid growth, promoted this dispersal. Their residential expansion has been much less tied to the contagious diffusion process described earlier in the Dudas and

Longbrake study for blacks. Latin growth has frequently occurred in areas far removed from those areas in which Hispanics are already heavily concentrated. In 1950, Dade's Latins were well integrated with other populations, such as non-Latin whites and Jews. By 1970, however, clearly Hispanics were taking over former non-Latin white and Jewish neighborhoods through a process of invasion and succession. Between 1960 and 1970 non-Latin whites in the areas of Hispanic concentration declined by over 111,000. Consequently, the level of segregation between Latins and non-Latin whites increased significantly during this period. In 1950, 31% of Hispanics would have had to be redistributed to exhibit the same residential patterns as Anglos. This figure rose to 44% in 1960 and to 52% in 1970. Winsberg concludes that, because of the large growth of metropolitan Miami's Latin population, its various racial and ethnic groups appear to be polarized. As evidence, he presents indices of segregation for Latins, Jews, and Anglos that have steadily increased between 1950 and 1970 (Winsberg, 1979, pp. 403-418).

Winsberg (1983) updated his earlier study using 1980 census data. He found a slight decrease in the degree of segregation between blacks and Hispanics during the seventies. In 1970, 86% of the blacks would have needed to be redistributed to exhibit the same residential patterns as Latins, whereas in 1980 the proportion declined to 81%. The segregation index between non-Hispanic whites and blacks also dropped from 87% to 80%. When non-Latin whites were compared to Hispanics there was almost no change, the indices for 1970 and 1980 being 52% and 53%, respectively. His conclusions were: (1) the large growth of both blacks and Hispanics during the seventies continued to fuel segregation through the processes of invasion and succession discussed in his 1979 paper; (2) Hispanics have competed more successfully than blacks for housing space because of the Hispanics' ability to improve their economic status; and (3) Dade County will remain highly segregated in the future, particularly if large-scale Latin immigration continues to South Florida (Winsberg, 1983, pp. 305-314).

In 1989, the *Miami Herald* published results of a study conducted by its research staff dealing with ethnic segregation in Dade County using 1988 voter registration rolls. It found that seven of every ten blacks live in neighborhoods that are at least two-thirds black, about three in five

non-Latin whites reside where two-thirds of their neighbors are Anglo, and nearly half the Hispanics live in areas that are two-thirds Hispanic. The Hispanics have expanded primarily in westerly and southerly directions throughout the county, as they have become less segregated from whites. Blacks have been dispersing at a much slower rate, as they remain concentrated in the ten black communities mentioned above (Grant and Doig, 1989, p. B1).

### ***Empirical Analysis of Segregation Patterns in Miami***

This section updates and expands upon some findings of the study conducted by Aguirre et al. (1980) and the two investigations by Winsberg (1979, 1983) of the racial and Hispanic ethnic segregation patterns in metropolitan Miami, using 1980 census data at the scale of census tracts. The following six questions are addressed:

1. To what degrees are the various Hispanic and racial components of Dade County concentrated in its central cities of Miami and Hialeah?
2. What are the patterns of segregation when the residential distributions of individual Hispanic nationality components are compared to those of metropolitan Miami's various racial classes?
3. Are the Hispanic nationality components segregated from each other? If so, which are most highly segregated?
4. To what degree are the three Hispanic racial components segregated from the various racial classes of metropolitan Miami?
5. To what extent are the three Hispanic racial components segregated from each other?
6. Are there notable levels of segregation between the Hispanic racial classes and the Hispanic nationality groups?

### ***Concentration in the central cities of Miami and Hialeah***

Most studies of segregation find that the poorest people and newest immigrants of a metropolitan area are more concentrated in the central city than are the middle and upper classes. Most investigations dealing with U.S. cities report that blacks are most concentrated in central cities,



followed by Hispanics and non-Latin whites, respectively.<sup>6</sup> The studies by Winsberg and by Aguirre et al. suggest that the central city of Miami has served as a receiving area for newly-arriving immigrants from Latin America. As arrivals enter this area, they displace more affluent Hispanic and non-Latin white older residents, who either leave Dade County or move into the county's middle- and upper-class suburbs (Winsberg, 1983, p. 308 and Aguirre et al., 1980, p. 54). Boswell and Curtis (1989, pp. 83-85) note that there are two reception centers, rather than one, for Cuban arrivals (Figure 2). One is the Little Havana area in the City of Miami; the other is Hialeah.

Table 1 shows the percentages of Dade County's sub-populations that are concentrated in the Cities of Miami and Hialeah. About 21% of the county's total population lives in the City of Miami. Only 9% of non-Latin whites live here, whereas 31% of blacks and 33% of Hispanics live in this city. Blacks and Hispanics together accounted for 81% of the City of Miami's total population in 1980. Blacks are largely found in Overtown and the Liberty City-Brownsville complex; whereas most Hispanics reside in Little Havana and areas further west. Among the Hispanics, Cubans are most concentrated in the central city, followed by "Other Hispanics," Puerto Ricans, and, more distantly, by Mexicans. That Cubans and the "Other Spanish" are the most recent arrivals accounts for the finding that the total Hispanic population is somewhat more concentrated in the central city than is the black population, a result that contradicts most other studies of blacks and Hispanics. In addition, some growth of Liberty City has extended northward outside the city limits of Miami.

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<sup>6</sup>Douglas S. Massey, "Residential Segregation of Spanish Americans in United States Urbanized Areas," *Demography*, 16 (1979), pp. 553-563; Douglas S. Massey, "Hispanic Residential Segregation: A Comparison of Mexicans, Cubans, and Puerto Ricans," *Sociology and Social Research*, 65 (1981), pp. 311-322; and Douglas S. Massey and Brendan P. Mullan, "Processes of Hispanic and Black Spatial Assimilation," *American Journal of Sociology*, 89 (1989), pp. 836-873.

# Areas of Cuban Concentration in Dade County, Florida: 1980

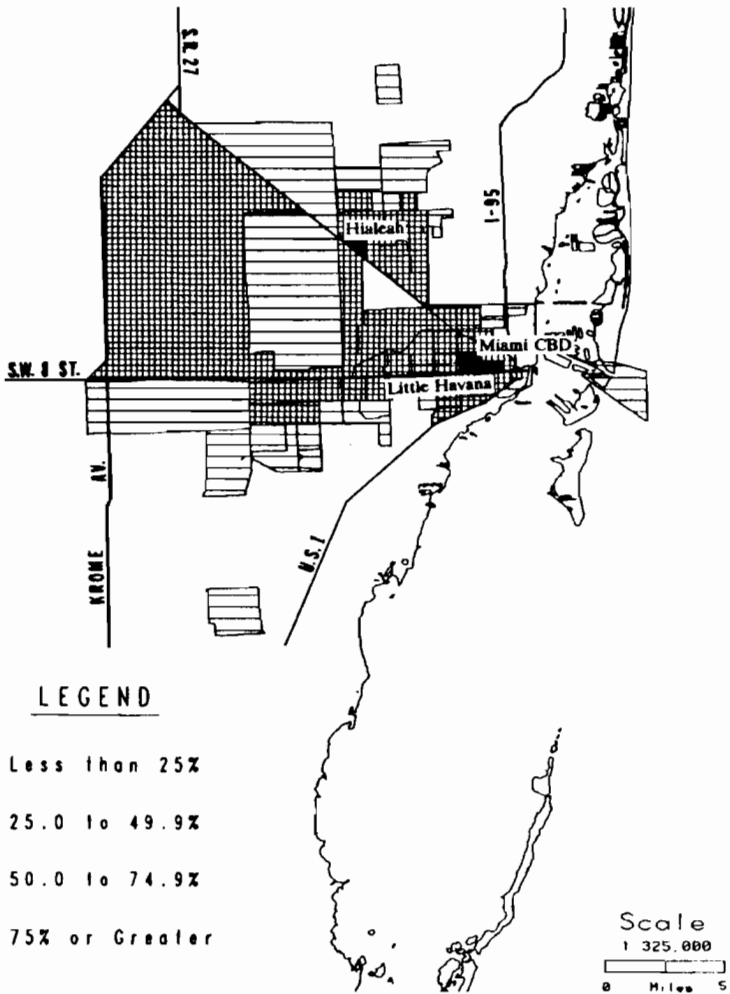


Figure 2

<b>Racial or Nationality Classes</b>	<b>Miami</b>	<b>Hialeah</b>
<b>Total Population</b>	<b>21.3%</b>	<b>8.9%</b>
Total White	18.3	10.4
Non-Latin White	8.9	4.6
Total Black	31.1	0.8
<b>Total Hispanic Nationalities</b>	<b>33.4%</b>	<b>18.6%</b>
Mexican Origin	11.3	4.0
Puerto Rican Origin	27.6	10.6
Cuban Origin	36.2	21.5
Other Hispanic Nationalities	28.4	13.0
<b>Total Hispanic Races</b>	<b>33.4%</b>	<b>18.6%</b>
Hispanic White	32.2	19.0
Hispanic Black	46.6	4.8
Other Hispanic Races	40.5	17.6
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, <i>1980 Census of Population and Housing, "Census Tracts,"</i> PHC-2-241, Miami, Florida Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1983), Table P-7.		

When the Hispanic population is divided into its racial components, it is clear that the black Hispanics are most concentrated in the City of Miami, followed closely by the "Other Hispanic Races" class. The factors of race and ethnicity make both classes more likely to settle in the central city.

Figures for the city of Hialeah also are displayed in Table 1 because, after Miami (346,865), Hialeah (145,254) is Dade County's second largest city and, as previously stated, it has become the county's other major node of Hispanic settlement. In most respects, living in Hialeah is very similar to living in Little Havana. Compared to other ethnic groups of Dade County, only Hispanics are over represented in Hialeah. About 9% of the county's population live in Hialeah, but only 5% of non-Latin whites and 1% of all blacks live here. On the other hand, 19% of persons of Spanish origin live in Hialeah, with Cubans having the highest representation at 22%. In 1980, 74% of Hialeah's population was Hispanic, with 60% being of Cuban descent.

When the figures in Table 1 for the percentage concentrations in the City of Miami are compared to those calculated by Aguirre et al. for 1970, it is obvious that the percentage of the subpopulation in the central city has declined substantially. For instance, in 1970, 26% of the county's total population was in the City of Miami. For all whites, blacks, Mexicans, Cubans, and Puerto Ricans, the respective figures were 23.4%, 40.2%, 21.7%, 56.4%, and 38.2% (Aguirre et al, 1980, p. 40). This decline in central city concentration is exactly what one would expect in a county whose population has been rapidly suburbanizing.

### *Segregation of hispanic nationalities*

This section compares the residential patterns of the four Spanish-origin nationalities, to the racial classes of Dade County and to each other (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1983, Table P-7). The index of segregation used is the index of dissimilarity.<sup>7</sup> This statistic expresses the percentage of either of two populations, whose percentage distributions are being compared on a census tract scale, that must be redistributed for both to have identical residential distributions. The possible values range from

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<sup>7</sup>The index of dissimilarity has been calculated according to the following formula:

$$I.D. = \{\Sigma (X_i - Y_i)\}/2$$

Where: I.D. = index of dissimilarity.  $X_i$  = the % of the first population in the  $i$ th census tract.  $Y_i$  = the % of the second population in the  $i$ th tract.

0% to 100%. Following the suggestion of Kantrowitz (1973, pp. 14-15), indices of 70% or above will be considered "high" and those below 30% will be considered "low"; "moderate" levels will range between 30% and 70%. Differences between indices that are less than 5 percentage points will be regarded as unimportant (Kantrowitz, 1973, pp. 14-15). While there is some debate on the pros and cons of using this measure, it is employed here to facilitate comparisons with previous studies of ethnic and racial segregation.<sup>8</sup>

The figures in the upper half of Table 2 are the indices of dissimilarity for comparing the residential distributions of the Hispanic nationality classes with Dade County's two major racial components. For comparison, the index for the distribution of all blacks and all whites is 80.9%, and the index for all blacks with non-Latin whites is 83.9%. A study of the twenty-nine largest cities in the United States found that, based on data for 1970, the average index of dissimilarity comparing whites to blacks was 83.1 (Massey, 1979, p. 556), almost identical with the Miami figure.

Two generalizations can be made about the upper half of Table 2. First, the degree of segregation for each of the four Spanish nationalities is higher relative to blacks than to whites in Dade County; the levels of the indices for Cubans and the Other Spanish with respect to blacks are high, while the levels for Mexicans and Puerto Ricans are in the moderate range. Miami is not atypical when compared to most other cities of the United States. For instance, a study of ten urban areas in the U.S.

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<sup>8</sup>Henry S. Shryock, Jacob S. Siegel, and Associates, *The Methods and Materials of Demography*. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, Bureau of the Census, 1971), pp. 232-233; Otis D. Duncan and Beverly Duncan, "A Methodological Analysis of Segregation Indexes," *American Journal of Sociology*, 20 (1955), pp. 210-217; and Karl E. Taeuber and Alma F. Taeuber, "A Practitioner's Perspective on the Index of Dissimilarity," *American Sociological Review*, 42 (1976), pp. 884-889.

**Table 2**

**Indices of Dissimilarity Comparing Dade County's Hispanic Nationalities with Non-Hispanic Racial Groups and Comparing Hispanic Nationalities with Each Other (1980)**

<b>Racial or Nationality Classes</b>	<b>Hispanic Nationalities</b>			
<b>Non-Hispanic Racial Classes</b>	<b>Mexican</b>	<b>Puerto Rican</b>	<b>Cuban</b>	<b>Other Hispanic Nationalities</b>
Non-Latin White	49.0	37.2	60.0	25.8
Non-Latin Blacks	69.9	60.3	86.3	75.8
Averages	59.4	48.8	73.2	50.8
<b>Hispanic Nationalities</b>	<b>Mexican</b>	<b>Puerto Rican</b>	<b>Cuban</b>	<b>Other Hispanic Nationalities</b>
Mexican Origin		51.3	66.9	58.0
Puerto Rican Origin	51.3		46.7	30.6
Cuban Origin	66.9	46.7		32.0
Other Hispanic Origin	58.0	30.6	32.0	
Averages	58.7	42.9	48.5	40.2

reported that average indices for comparing blacks with Mexicans, Cubans, and Puerto Ricans were 85.1%, 88.0%, and 78.0% (Massey, 1981, p. 314). The levels of segregation of the four Hispanic nationalities from non-Latin whites are all in the moderate or low ranges. The same study of ten cities found average indices for comparing non-Latin whites to Mexicans, Cubans, and Puerto Ricans to be 63.6%, 71.3%, and 69.1%. Thus, the Miami levels of segregation for non-Latin whites were significantly below these levels. Clearly, in Miami, Hispanics are much less segregated from whites than from blacks. They

also are less segregated from whites than are blacks. For example, one study determined that the census tracts in 1980 that contained a combined 90% of Dade County's black population comprised only about 11% of the area's non-Latin whites. In contrast, the tracts that contained 90% of the county's Hispanics comprised about 47% of the non-Latin white population (Kerr, 1984, pp. 28-29). Massey's studies (1979, 1981, and 1984) document a similar finding for other U.S. cities.

The second generalization that can be made is that Cubans are more segregated from both of Dade's racial components than are the other three Hispanic nationalities. On average, Mexicans rank second, with Puerto Ricans and the Other Spanish exhibiting the lowest average indices. These are reasonable findings because it is easier for Cubans to live in their own enclaves, due to their large numbers and recency of arrival. In addition, it is logical that Mexicans would be more highly segregated than either Puerto Ricans or the Other Spanish, since a large percentage of Mexicans live in the southern part of Dade County (near Homestead and Florida City), where many are employed in agricultural enterprises (Aguirre et al, 1980, pp. 51-52). Some studies of other cities have found that Puerto Ricans are more segregated than Mexicans from non-Latin whites and less segregated than both Cubans and Mexicans from blacks (Guest and Weed, 1976, pp. 1088-1111 and Massey, 1981, p. 314). The reason for this finding is that Puerto Ricans in these other cities are generally poor and many are dark-skinned. On the other hand, Puerto Ricans who live in Florida are very similar to the state's Cuban population in terms of socioeconomic achievement, although for the entire United States Puerto Ricans are much poorer than Cubans (Boswell and Rivero, 1986, pp. 60-63 and Boswell and Rivero, 1984, pp. 47-53). Therefore, in Florida, Puerto Ricans are more successful in competing for residential space than they are, for instance, in New York City, where they are more similar in socioeconomic terms to blacks than to whites (Kantrowitz, 1973, p. 29).

The lower half of Table 2 indicates the levels of segregation among the four Spanish nationality groups. Given their common language, religion, and Spanish cultural roots, it might seem reasonable to expect segregation levels among the four nationality classes to be low. But the

numbers in Table 2 and the patterns shown in Figures 2, 3, 4, and 5 clearly show that this is not so. All the indices fall in the moderate range. The highest value is 66.9%, suggesting that close to two-thirds of the Mexicans or Cubans would need to be redistributed for their residential distributions to be identical. The lowest index, 30.6%, compares the distributions of Puerto Ricans and Other Hispanics. In terms of averages, Mexicans are the most segregated, with a mean index of almost 60%. Cubans occupy an in-between position, with a mean index of almost 50%. Puerto Ricans and the Other Hispanics are characterized by the least segregation, with indices approaching 40%. Massey's research on ten American cities found that the average index of segregation between Mexicans and Cubans was 74%, similar to the value of 67% for Miami shown in Table 2. When he compared Mexicans and Puerto Ricans the average index was 66%, notably higher than the value of 51% for Miami. Finally, when Massey investigated Cubans and Puerto Ricans he found an index of 72%, much higher than the figure of 47% in Table 2 (Massey, 1981, p. 36). Conway, Bigby, and Swann (1986, p. 36) (based on 1980 data for New York City) report an index of 54.8% when the residential patterns of Cubans and Puerto Ricans are compared. It may be concluded that, although there is a moderate degree of segregation among the Spanish nationalities in metropolitan Miami, the levels of this segregation are generally lower than in most other U.S. cities. Furthermore, the levels of dissimilarity are always lower than when each nationality is compared to blacks. When compared to non-Latin whites, however, the results vary. Sometimes the Spanish nationality classes are more segregated from each other than from Anglos, and sometimes the reverse is true.

### *Segregation of hispanic racial classes*

Table 3 examines the fourth and fifth questions referred to above. No other published studies could be found comparing the segregation patterns of all Hispanics by their racial characteristics, although several have investigated the residential patterns of black Puerto Ricans (Kantrowitz, 1969, pp. 685-695 and Jackson, 1981, pp. 117-120).



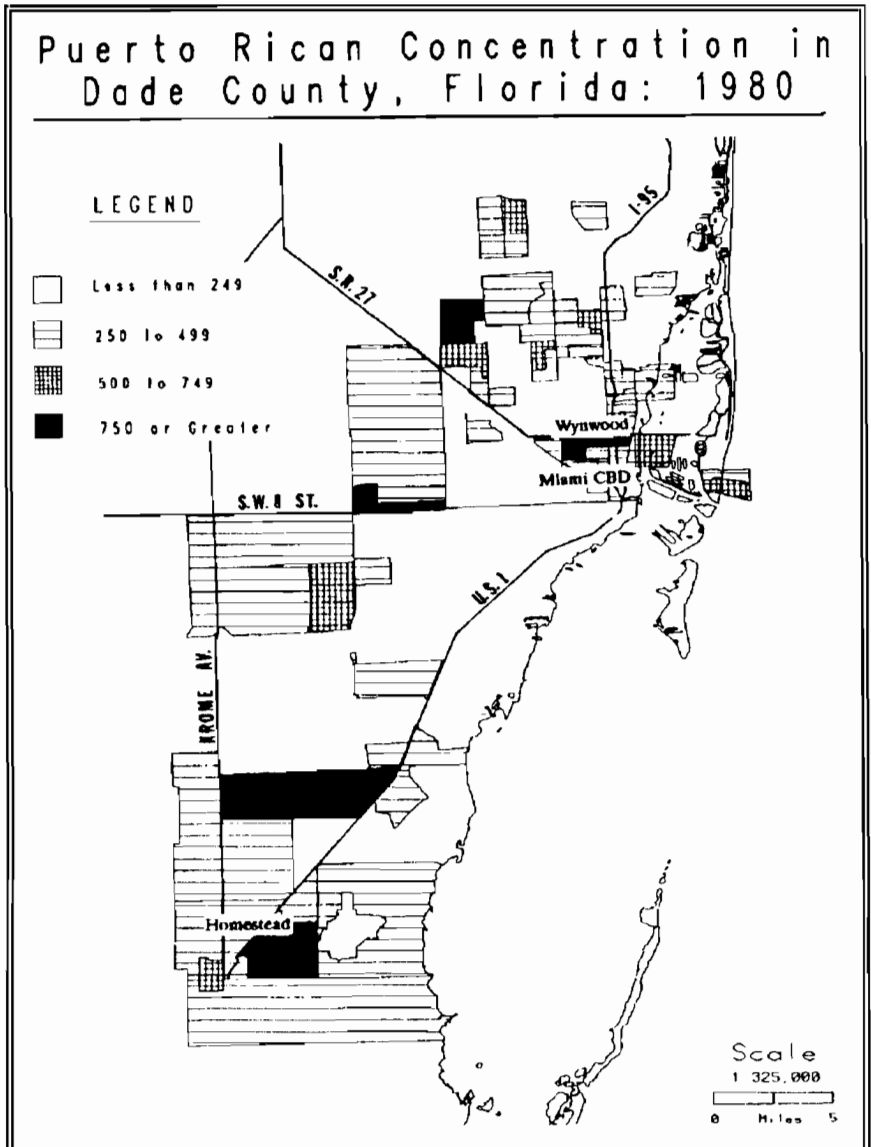


Figure 3.

Areas of Mexican Concentration  
in Dade County, Florida: 1980

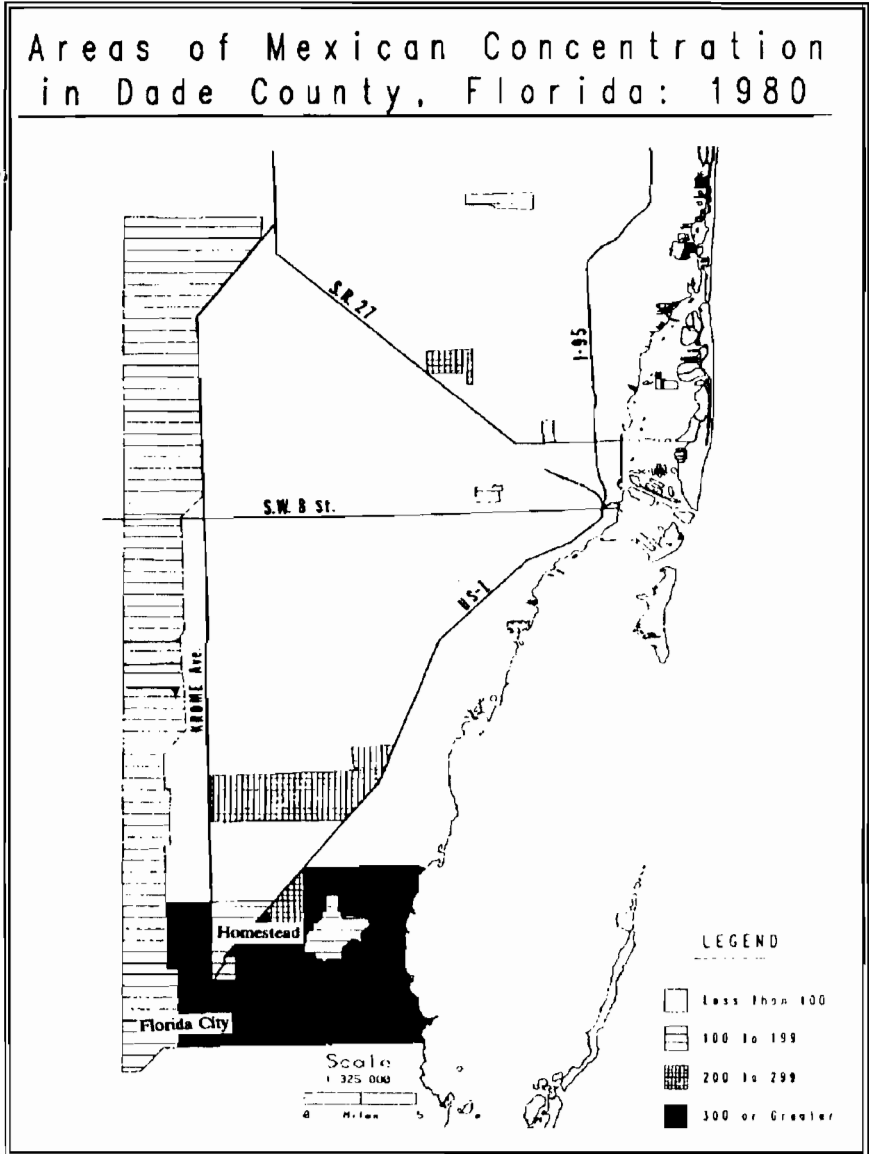


Figure 4.

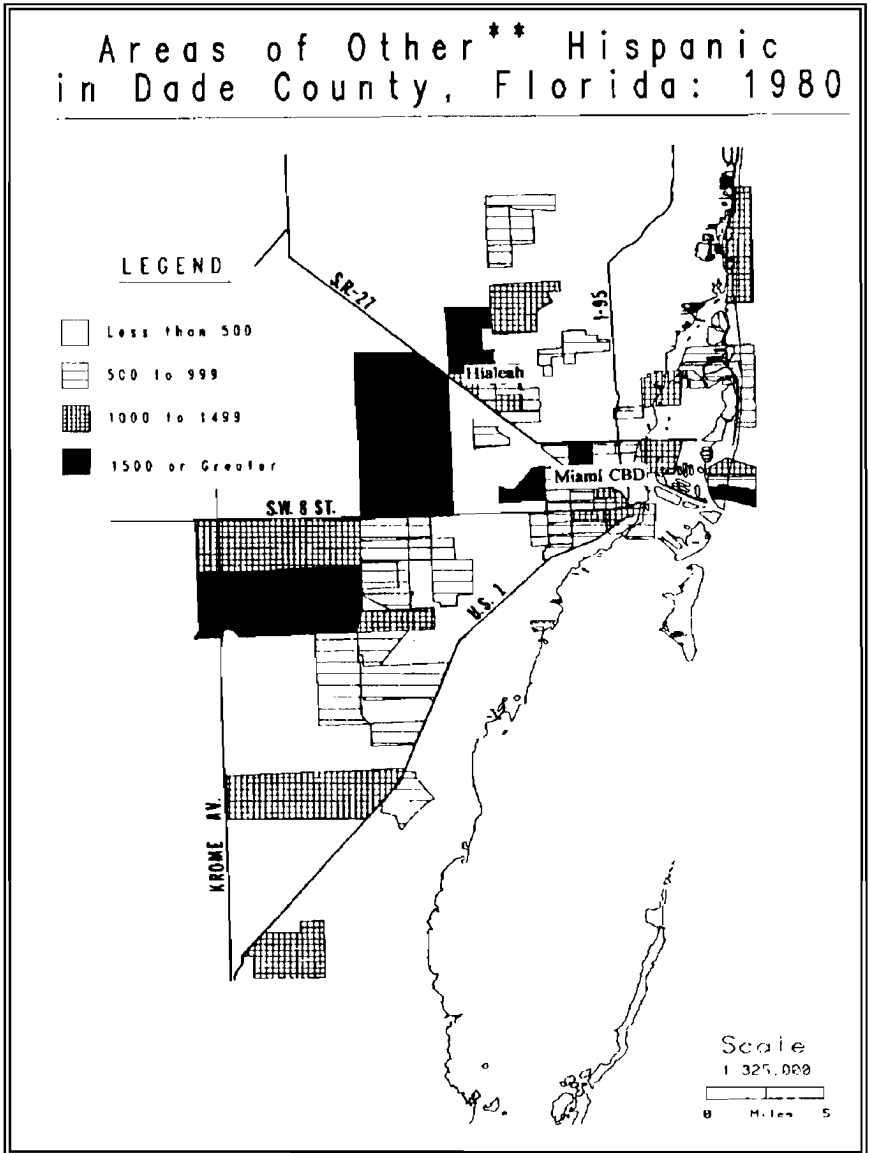


Figure 5. \*\*Other means not of Cuban, Puerto Rican, or Mexican descent.

*A priori* reasoning suggests that black Hispanics would be the most segregated from non-Latin whites and the least segregated from blacks. Conversely, Hispanic whites should be least segregated from non-Latin whites and most segregated from blacks. It is also reasonable to hypothesize that the Other Spanish Races category will occupy intermediate levels of segregation from both blacks and whites. The results displayed in the upper third of Table 3 corroborate these expectations so closely that the averages of the indices of dissimilarity for each racial class (line three) are similar. It appears that the Hispanic reaction to Dade County's racial differences is comparable to that of non-Latin blacks and whites.

The indices in the middle third of Table 3 and the patterns in Figures 6, 7, and 8 reveal four important points about the degrees of segregation between the three Hispanic racial classes. First, all the indices are in the moderate range, meaning that there is a significant amount of segregation within the Spanish racial categories. These segregation patterns are logical. For instance, black Hispanics are more segregated from white Hispanics than they are from the Other Spanish Races; and white Hispanics are less segregated from the Other Spanish Races than from black Hispanics.

The second point is that, although there are significant differences among the Hispanic racial classes, these differences are considerably less than when the Hispanic racial classes are compared to the non-Hispanic racial classes for all Dade County. For example, when Hispanic whites are compared to Dade's black population, the segregation index is 79%. But, when Hispanic whites are compared to Hispanic blacks, the index is only 59%. While this latter figure is moderate, it is 20 points lower than 79%. When Hispanic whites are compared to Other Spanish Races, the index is 38%. Yet, when non-Latin whites for the county are compared to the Other Hispanic Races, the value is 61%, 23 points higher. The inescapable conclusion is that ethnic affiliation among Hispanics partially, but not totally, compensates for racial differences in residential patterns in greater Miami.

The third point is that the patterns displayed in Figure 6, 7, and 8 exhibit a moderate tendency for the Other Spanish Races to be located in areas between the main concentrations of black and white Hispanics. In other

<b>Table 3</b>			
<b>Indices of Dissimilarity Comparing Dade County's Hispanic Racial Classes with Non-Hispanic Racial Classes, Hispanic Racial Classes, and Hispanic Nationalities (1980)</b>			
<b>Racial Classes</b>	<b>Hispanic Racial Classes</b>		
<b>Non-Latin Racial Classes</b>	<b>White Hispanic</b>	<b>Black Hispanics</b>	<b>Other Hispanic Races</b>
Non-Latin White	46.3	70.0	60.7
Non-Latin Blacks	79.2	39.5	72.5
Averages	62.8	54.8	66.6
<b>Hispanic Racial Classes</b>			
White Hispanics	N.A.	58.8	37.8
Black Hispanics	58.8	N.A.	46.2
Other Hispanic Races	37.8	46.2	N.A.
Averages	48.3	52.5	42.0
<b>Hispanic Nationalities</b>			
Mexican Origin	61.2	59.3	58.0
Puerto Rican Origin	40.0	39.2	73.7
Cuban Origin	10.6	63.5	38.2
Other Hispanic Origins	22.7	51.4	35.9
Averages for All Hispanic Nationalities	33.6	53.4	51.4

# Hispanic White Concentration in Dade County, Florida: 1980

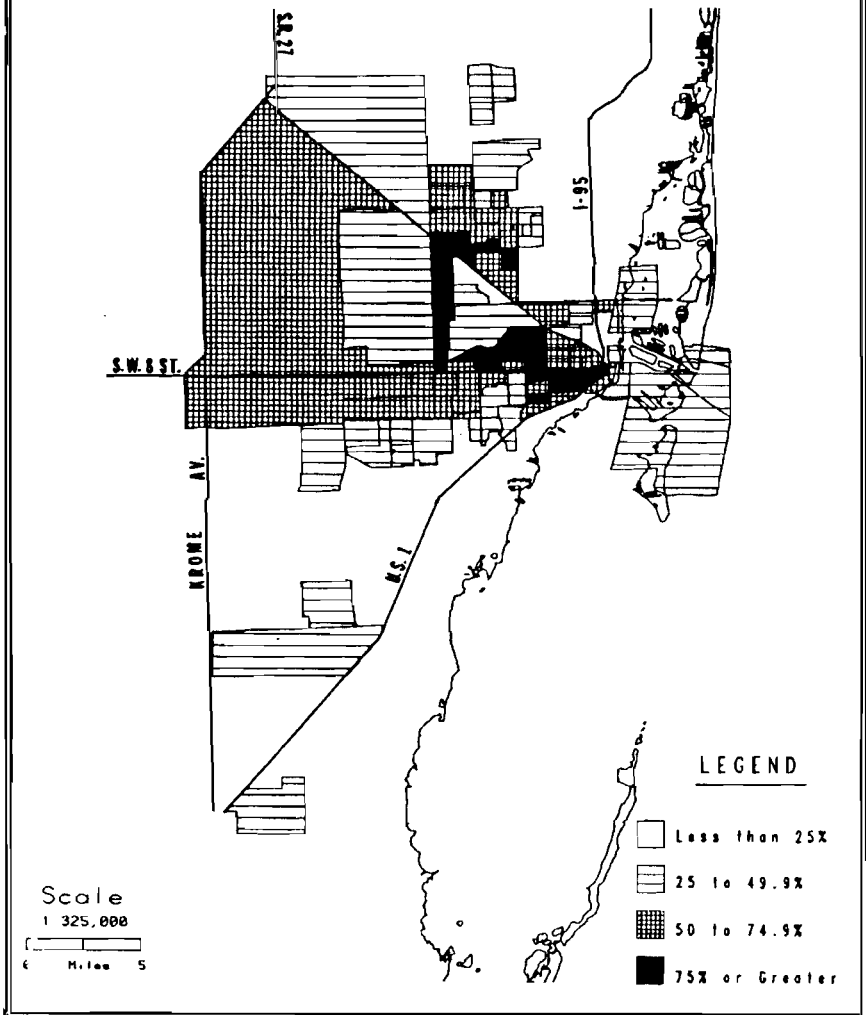


Figure 6.

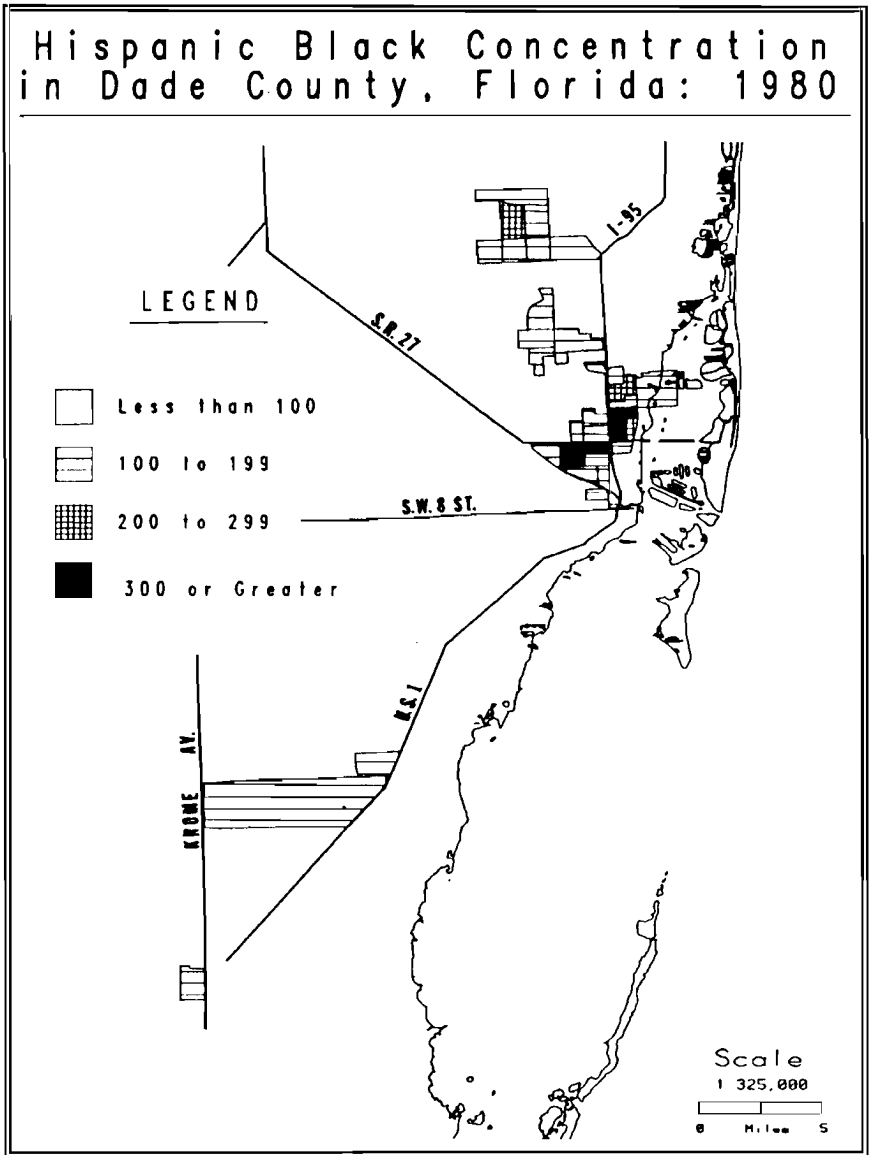






Figure 7.

# Other Hispanics\* (By Race) in Dade County, Florida: 1980

## LEGEND

-  Less than 500
-  500 to 999
-  1000 to 1499
-  1500 or Greater

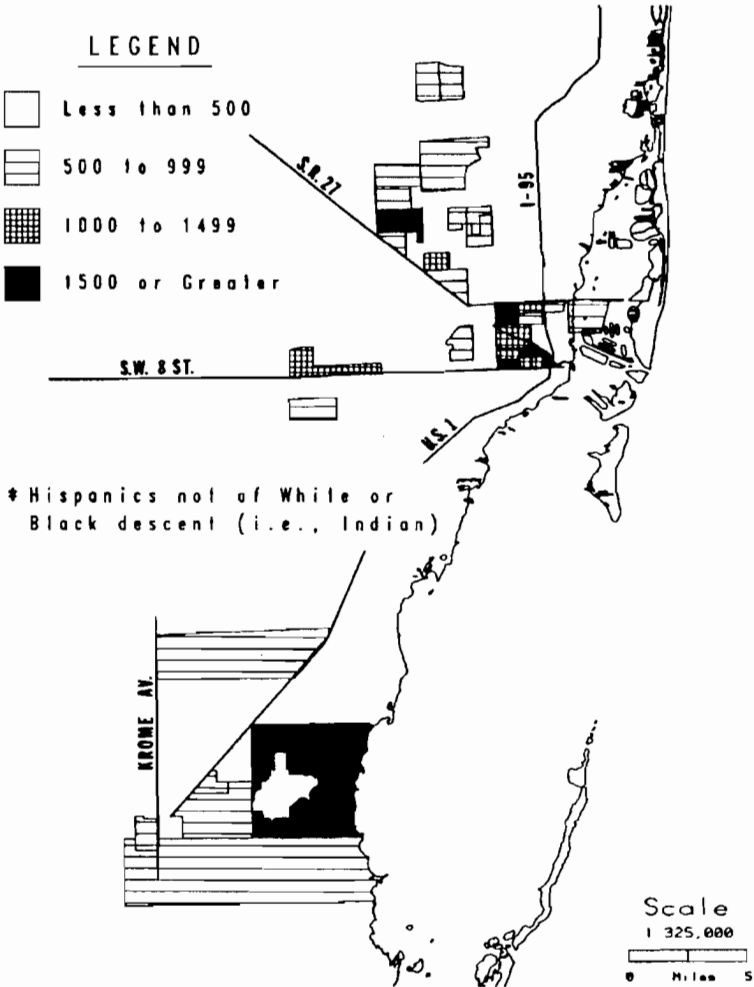


Figure 8.



words, the Other Spanish appear to exhibit a tendency to occupy transitional zones between the other two Hispanic racial classes.

The fourth point is that Spanish blacks are less segregated from Dade's non-Latin black population (I.D. = 39.5%) than they are from its Spanish white residents (I.D. = 58.8%). The patterns displayed in Figure 4 clearly show that Spanish blacks tend to be most concentrated in the north central sector of Dade County, corresponding with local black neighborhoods such as Liberty City, Brownsville, and Opa Locka. They are also found in transitional areas between white Hispanic and black neighborhoods, such as the eastern side of Hialeah and in Allapatta. Jackson, in his study of Puerto Ricans in New York City, has reported similar findings. He suggests that "Puerto Ricans are being 'pulled apart' spatially, with their darker-skinned members residing more with blacks than with other Puerto Ricans or with non-Hispanic whites (Jackson, 1981, p. 120)." Metropolitan Miami's Hispanics appear to be exhibiting similar residential behavior.

### *Segregation of hispanic racial and nationality classes*

The indices in the lower third of Table 3 provide answers for the sixth question in this analysis, which asked if there were notable levels of segregation between the Hispanic racial classes and the Spanish nationality groups. The averages reveal that white Hispanics have the lowest mean segregation. Black Hispanics and Other Hispanic Races exhibit averages that are very similar to each other and are almost 20 percentage points higher than that of the Hispanic whites. These averages, however, mask important detailed differences. The individual indices for all three Spanish racial classes exhibit values in all three category levels (low, medium, and high). Mexicans are the most highly segregated from the Hispanic whites, and Cubans are the least segregated from this class. On the other hand, Cubans are most segregated from black Hispanics and Puerto Ricans are least segregated from this subpopulation of Hispanics. It is possible that these differences are at least partly related to the fact that Puerto Ricans on the United States mainland have a larger share of their constituency comprised of non-whites than is the case with Cuban-Americans. Unfortunately, data

to test this notion are not available in the published 1980 census materials.

### ***Conclusions***

Miami has experienced a dramatic change in its ethnic composition over the past 30 years as it has evolved from a fairly typical southern Sun Belt city into a major center of Hispanic settlement. The Hispanization of the population during this period has produced major changes in the landscape, economy, culture, and politics of Dade County (Mohl, July 1982, pp. 8-10 and Mohl, April 1982, p. 10). It also has promoted increased competition among its various ethnic groups for residential space. This study has described the segregation patterns that have resulted from this competition.

It was determined that Cubans are most concentrated in the central cities of Miami and Hialeah, due to their recency of arrival in the United States. Mexican-Americans are concentrated in the southern part of Dade County, where they can more easily find agricultural jobs. Both Puerto Ricans and the Other Hispanics exhibit a more dispersed pattern with no single major concentration.<sup>9</sup>

When the residential patterns of the Hispanic nationality components were compared to metropolitan Miami's racial classes, the study noted

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<sup>9</sup>Since the enumeration of the 1980 census, large numbers of Nicaraguans have immigrated to Dade County. Because many have arrived illegally, there is no authoritative count of their numbers. However, most estimates range from 82,000 to 150,000 for 1989. By the middle 1980s a concentration of Nicaraguans has become noticeable in the municipality of Sweetwater, just north of Tamiami Trail in western Dade County. This area is now beginning to be referred to as "Little Managua." Christopher Marquis, "Nicaraguan Exiles Changed Miami's Face," *The Miami Herald*, July 16, 1989, p. A1. The Metro Dade Planning Department estimated that there were about 101,000 Nicaraguans in Dade County in 1990, but most experts believe that this figure is on the low side (Oliver Kerr, Research Division, Metro Dade Planning Department, personal conversation on December 10, 1990).

that the Spanish nationalities were much more highly segregated from blacks than they were from non-Latin whites. Despite certain cultural similarities, it also found that the four Hispanic nationalities were moderately segregated from each other. Mexicans were the most segregated, followed by Cubans.

The Spanish racial components were segregated from Dade County's racial subpopulations as expected. For example, black Hispanics were more segregated from non-Latin whites than they were from the county's black population. There was a moderate amount of segregation between the three Hispanic racial classes, but this was less than when the residential patterns of Spanish racial groups were compared to those of metropolitan Miami's non-Hispanic racial classes. This finding is significant because it suggests that ethnic affiliation only partly compensates for racial differences. It was observed that there is a moderate tendency for the Other Spanish Races to be located in transitional zones between black and white Hispanics and for black Hispanics to be less segregated from the county's black population than from white Hispanics.

Finally, this study had determined that moderate degrees of segregation exist between Hispanic racial classes and the four Spanish nationalities. As expected, black Hispanics are most segregated and white Hispanics are least segregated. It was hypothesized that the racial composition of each Hispanic nationality group affected its degree of segregation from the various Spanish racial classes. Thus, Miami's Cubans were more strongly segregated from black Hispanics and less segregated from Spanish whites than were Puerto Ricans because the Puerto Ricans contain a larger component of blacks in their population.

Clearly, historian Raymond Mohl is correct when he states that “. . . ethnicity is alive and well in Miami.” (Mohl, November 1985, p. 30 and Mohl, April 1985, p. 10) On a more general level, sociologist and urban planner Nathan Kantrowitz has argued that ethnic segregation (as a manifestation of slow assimilation) does not quickly disappear in most American cities (Kantrowitz, 1981, pp. 117-120). Winsberg predicts that segregation among blacks, Jews, Hispanics, and non-Latin whites will not only persist but probably will increase in metropolitan Miami.

On the other hand, Jaffe, Cullen, and Boswell found that Cuban-Americans, who account for approximately 66% (Sheskin, 1990B, p. 5) of Dade County's Hispanic population, appear to be as rapidly acculturating demographically to American characteristics as any other non-English-speaking immigrant group in U.S. history. They base this claim on the fact that certain characteristics of the Cubans are rapidly evolving toward American norms (Jaffe et al., 1980, pp. 245-278). Boswell and Rivero reached identical conclusions in a more recent study using the 1980 census (Boswell and Rivero, 1987, pp. 61-63).

It is important to recognize that acculturation and assimilation are different concepts. Assimilation implies that the melting pot thesis will prevail, whereby Hispanics would become indistinguishable from the rest of American society. Acculturation suggests that one culture borrows certain attributes from another, but does not necessarily lose its distinctiveness. The latter idea allows for the possibility of cultural pluralism. Certainly, Miami today is more a pluralistic society than a melting pot. Whether Dade's Cubans and other Latin components will "melt" soon depends on a couple of factors. Perhaps the most important of these is whether large-scale immigration from Latin America continues. If it does, it will provide an infusion of new arrivals that will begin the assimilation process again. The second factor is whether the Cuban-American population continues to concentrate in South Florida.<sup>10</sup> Obviously, such continued geographic concentration will slow the rate of assimilation. The tradeoff is that it will ease the adjustment processes for the more recently-arrived migrants and many elderly Cuban-Americans who may never fully assimilate.

The first large-scale wave of Cubans did not begin arriving in Miami until 30 years ago, and most of these arrivals thought their stay in the

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<sup>10</sup>Since the late 1960s there has been a return flow of Cubans, who formerly lived elsewhere in the United States, to the Miami metropolitan area. This, in addition to immigration, is one of the reasons that Florida's share of the Cuban-American population increased from 46 percent in 1970 to almost 60 percent in 1980 (Boswell and Curtis, 1984, pp. 66-67 and Boswell and Curtis, 1991, p. 141).

United States would be temporary. Not until the middle-to-late 1960s did the majority realize that they were in the United States to stay. Therefore, for all practical purposes, the assimilation process for the earliest arriving Cubans did not begin until sometime between 1965 and 1970. Of course, for many other Hispanics now in Miami, it started even more recently. In fact, the approximately 100,000 Mariel refugees who have settled in Dade County since 1980, and most of the Nicaraguans, have been in the United States for only about a decade. It should not be surprising, then, that ethnicity is "alive and well in Miami." This fact, however, does not mean that Hispanics will never become assimilated because most evidence suggests otherwise. Historian Walter Kamphoefner is probably correct in hypothesizing that Miami's Hispanics can be expected to follow closely the acculturation and assimilation patterns experienced by most earlier waves of European immigrants to the United States (Kamphoefner, 1985, p. 9), although it should be emphasized that this process occurred over several generations. What is more, these European groups have not completely disappeared as distinct ethnic populations. For instance, Italian-speaking neighborhoods remain in several northeastern cities, and German-speaking communities still exist in parts of the Midwest and northern Great Plains states. The most important point is that segregated residential patterns are likely to continue to exist in metropolitan Miami into the future, while immigration from Latin America and in-migration of Hispanics from the rest of the U.S. continue to be directed toward South Florida. Housing segregation is an inescapable consequence of ethnic differentiation in the United States when a large, recently arrived, immigrant group is involved, as it is in Miami with Hispanics.

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