

# THE RESIDENTIAL PATTERNING OF LATIN AMERICAN AND OTHER ETHNIC POPULATIONS IN METROPOLITAN MIAMI

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## INTRODUCTION

Past studies of urban ethnic residential patterns have focused mainly on European immigrant populations of our large, old, northern industrial centers. These studies have shown in general that (1) residential dissimilarity is a pervasive feature of ethnic settlement; (2) residential dissimilarity among ethnic groups, according to various indicators, denotes the social distance among groups; (3) social status differences only partly explain residential differences among ethnic groups; (4) ethnic groups most centralized in urban residential space are most recent in their immigration; and (5) with the exception of the black population, residential segregation and centralization decline with the length of time of the ethnic group's residence in the society.

Existing research has traced the residential experience of blacks (Taeuber and Taeuber 1965, Rose 1972) and of European immigrants. However, in spite of their importance in the immigration to the United States after World War II (Domínguez 1975, Grebler et al. 1970, Taeuber and Taeuber 1958), few studies have focused upon Latin Americans (Ropka 1973, Ross 1973). Thus, one of the major concerns here is to investigate the extent to which past findings on urban ethnic residential patterning hold in a much different setting (1) in which the dominant incoming groups are Latin American rather than European; (2) in which the economic base of the city is nonindustrial rather than industrial; (3) in which the region is South rather than North; and (4) in which the ideology of cultural pluralism, rather than the past emphasis on assimilation and ethnic amalgamation, could have affected, after decades of social ferment, the urban ethnic residential patterns observed. The focus is upon metropolitan Miami, with its enormous recent influx of Latin

American immigrants (Human Communications 1975, Prohías and Casal 1973, Strategy Research Corporation 1974). It is here we attempt to test propositions from past studies about urban ethnic settlement. The urban residential experience of Cubans, Mexicans, and Puerto Ricans is studied and compared to the experience of white, black, and other foreign stocks in the metropolis.

#### URBAN ETHNIC SETTLEMENT: OVERVIEW

This study of urban ethnic settlement in metropolitan Miami involves three basic ecological dimensions: centralization, segregation, and dissimilarity. Reports of past studies of European ethnic groups usually discuss residential patterning in terms of the overall process of cultural assimilation. The concept of assimilation is used to explain why newly arrived ethnic groups<sup>1</sup> settled in the highly segregated areas of the urban inner core that were being vacated by already established groups moving to peripheral residential areas as they moved up the social ladder. Presumably, the segregated, centralized, urban location of the new immigrants was caused by the combined effect of their poverty, their lack of familiarity with the dominant culture, and their exclusion by the indigenous population. Thus, centralization and segregation were seen as modes of residential adaptation by the new ethnic groups in response to the dynamics of the urban land market.

The high degree of ethnic segregation was interpreted as a reflection of the extent to which the group had not become assimilated. Lieberman (1961) showed that highly segregated groups are less likely to become citizens, to speak English, and to intermarry. The length of residence of immigrant groups is related to both their degree of segregation and the extent of their residential centralization (Cressey 1938, Ford 1950): the longer the ethnic group lives in the society the more assimilated it becomes, and the less differentiated it is from the indigenous population in social characteristics and residential patterning. While ethnic segregation frequently has been portrayed as an inner-city phenomenon, similar patterns of segregation were found in the city and fringe areas of ten metropolitan communities of the industrial North. Over a twenty-year period, changes in ethnic distributions in the suburbs were similar to the patterns of change of the same groups within the city (Lieberman 1962, p. 673).

Segregation and centralization are not independent of each other. The most segregated groups tend to be either the most or least centralized; in effect, a U-shaped curve describes the relationship. Which group is centralized or decentralized seems to be a function of the social

status of the group and the level of economic development of the society in which the city is located (Schwirian and Rico-Velasco 1971). In cities of the industrial world we would expect to find upper-status population decentralized while the lower would be centralized; in developing nations we would expect to find the opposite. This between-society difference has been explained by Mehta (1968) in terms of the accommodation of the urban land market to the differences in primary transportation modes between developed and developing societies.

Studies of ethnic residential distribution and segregation focus on the link between ethnicity and social status. Empirical attempts to answer the question of how much of the residential differentiation among ethnic groups is a function of ethnicity or of social status differences have employed either indirect standardization (Darroch and Marston 1971), or regression analysis (Guest and Weed 1976), or both (Bleda 1975). Generally the results of these studies have shown that status does seem to explain a portion, but not all, of the residential differentiation among ethnic groups. There is also some evidence that within specific ethnic populations there is marked residential differentiation by social status. In his early work, *The Ghetto* (1928), Louis Wirth alluded to social-status and residential differentiation within Chicago's Jewish population. And in a more recent systematic empirical study of the nonwhite population of Milwaukee's inner core, Edwards (1970) reported that patterns of segregation by family income level were fairly comparable to those found among whites. In what follows we report on our tests of nine propositions that summarize the findings of past studies on urban ethnic residential centralization, segregation, and dissimilarity. These propositions are:

*Centralization*

1. Ethnic groups are differentially centralized so that the most recently arrived are the most centralized, whereas those that have been present in the society for some time are decentralized.

2. When social-status differences among ethnic groups are taken into account, the differential centralization pattern does not disappear.

*Segregation*

3. The most segregated groups are either the most centralized or the most decentralized.

4. The pattern of residential segregation is such that the most segregated groups are those at the top and at the bottom of the status hierarchy.

5. Status differences among ethnic groups explain some but not all of the degree of segregation of specific groups.

6. The pattern of residential segregation among ethnic groups is similar in the city and in the metropolitan fringe.

7. Within the principal ethnic groups there is residential segregation of different social-status groups.

*Dissimilarity*

8. The pattern of residential dissimilarity among ethnic groups is similar in the city and in the metropolitan fringe.

9. Residential dissimilarity among ethnic groups is such that social-status differences explain some but not all of the residential differences.

DATA AND METHODS

The data analyzed here are from the 1970 census of population for the Miami, Florida SMSA (Dade County), and the unit of analysis is the census tract. For metropolitan Miami there are 248 tracts of which 60 are in the city proper and 188 in the fringe. The ethnic groups for this study are operationalized as the foreign stock of the various countries; that is, the foreign-born plus the native-born of foreign or mixed parentage.

1. *Centralization*. By centralization we mean the overrepresentation of a group in the urban core as compared to the distribution of the total population of the metropolitan area. Centralized groups are over-represented in the central city, whereas decentralized groups are under-represented. The measure of centralization is derived by dividing the percent of the specific group in the central city by the percent of the total metropolitan population in the central city and multiplying the quotient by 100. In this index, a value of 100 means that a specific group's distribution between city and fringe is exactly the same as that of the total metropolitan population. A value of more than 100 indicates that the specific group is more centralized than the total, whereas a value of less than 100 indicates the opposite.

2. *Segregation*. Segregation refers to the residential dissimilarity between a given group and the total remaining population. To measure residential segregation we employed the index of dissimilarity (Duncan and Duncan 1955) between a specific group's distribution across the tracts of the metropolitan area and the distribution of the remaining aggregate population across the same tracts. Thus, the formula for segregation ( $S$ ) is:  $S = \sum |X_i - Y_i| \div 2$ , where  $X$  is the proportion of the specific group's population in the tract and  $Y$  is the proportion of the total remaining population in the tract.

3. *Dissimilarity*. Residential dissimilarity measures the pattern of differentiation between specific *pairs* of ethnic groups. The index of dissimilarity is used to measure residential dissimilarity between pairs

of groups. The formula is the same as that for the index of segregation, except that  $X$  and  $Y$  now refer to the specific ethnic groups being compared. The larger the index, the more dissimilarity exists between the two groups. If their distributional patterns were exactly the same, the index would be zero. If there were no overlap in their residential distributions, the index would be 100. The index value indicates what percentage of one of the groups would have to be redistributed to make its distribution exactly the same as that of the other group.<sup>2</sup>

## FINDINGS

### *Centralization*

*Latin American Foreign Stock* / Are the Latin American foreign stock groups most centralized? As shown in column 4 of table 1, the two most centralized foreign stock populations in metropolitan Miami are the Cubans and the Puerto Ricans. Cubans are more than twice as centralized as the general population. Whereas 26 percent of the total metropolitan population lived in the central city, more than 56 percent of the Cubans did so, for a centralization index of 213; the black's centralization index was 152 (61 points higher than for the white population); and the Puerto Ricans were third in observed centralization, with an index of 145. All of the other European and Canadian categories were decentralized, especially the Russians, Austrians, and Poles.

A comparison of the centralization of Cubans and Puerto Ricans and other populations reveals the hypothesized pattern, often noted in previous urban research (Cressey 1938, Ford 1950, Kantrowitz 1969): those immigrants most recently arrived in the metropolis are the most centralized. The Mexicans, however, are only slightly more centralized (82) than such foreign stock groups as the Irish (80), Swedish (80) and Czechs (80). Moreover, their centralization is less than expected by education, income, and occupation. In a later part of this report we elaborate on the differences among the Mexican and Cuban and Puerto Rican populations that explain the deviation of the Mexicans from the expected pattern.

*Centralization and Social Status* / In support of the second proposition, the differences in the degrees of centralization of the Cuban, Puerto Rican, and other groups cannot be explained through their variations in socioeconomic status. The observed pattern of centralization persists even after educational, income, and occupational status differences among the ethnic populations are controlled by indirect standardiza-

TABLE 1 Observed Indexes of Centralization for Ethnic Groups in Metropolitan Miami and Indexes Predicted on the Basis of the Socioeconomic Composition of the Ethnic Groups, 1970

Population	Number in Metro-		Observed Centralization	Centralization Predicted by		
	politan Area	Percent in City		Educa-tion	Income	Occupation
Total	1,267,792	26.43	100	100	100	100
<i>Race</i>						
White	1,071,662	23.92	91	99	99	98
Black	189,666	40.15	152	111	117	118
<i>Latin American</i>						
<i>Foreign Stock</i>						
Mexico	2,535	21.74	82	107	104	106
Cuba	217,892	56.38	213	109	108	147
Puerto Rico	17,425	38.22	145	110	113	111
<i>Other Foreign Stock</i>						
United Kingdom	18,809	17.50	66	95	98	93
Ireland	6,520	21.24	80	95	109	94
Sweden	3,409	23.70	80	94	94	92
Germany	19,491	18.01	68	99	100	94
Poland	23,995	12.54	47	104	100	89
Czechoslovakia	3,357	21.27	80	102	100	94
Austria	15,984	11.04	42	100	100	87
Hungary	9,176	19.24	73	109	101	91
USSR	56,095	8.60	33	100	98	84
Italy	21,238	17.19	65	103	99	96
Canada	19,475	17.85	68	75	96	93

The data in this table and the following are from: U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1970 Census of Population and Housing. Census Tracts, Miami, Fla. Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area.

tion.<sup>3</sup> As shown in table 1, the status composition of the Cubans would lead us to expect their centralization value to run between 108 (for income level) and 147 (for occupation) if these statuses were the only factors operating in their residential location. However, the observed index of 213 indicates that they are much more centralized than their status level would lead us to expect. In effect, between 51 to 69 percent of the observed centralization score for Cubans is achieved by the values generated by the Cuban status composition. The blacks and the Puerto Ricans are also more centralized than one would expect on the basis of their status. Conversely, the European ethnics are much more decentral-

ized than one would expect. For example, we would expect the Russians to have indices ranging from 84 to 100, but the actual value is only 33. Similarly, we would expect those from the United Kingdom to have a centralization value of between 93 and 98, but the value is actually 66.

A second approach to viewing the effect of status on the centralization pattern is through simple correlation and regression. If social status is the key factor that accounts for variations in centralization between ethnic groups, then the coefficient of determination ( $r^2$ ) between status level of the ethnic groups and their centralization should be high. If other factors are operating, then the  $r^2$  should be low or moderate. To measure the status of each ethnic group we calculated the percentage of employed persons in professional and managerial occupations. This percentage varied from a low of 11 for the Puerto Ricans to a high of 39 for Russians. The linear regression of observed centralization ( $Y$ ) on occupational status level ( $X$ ) is:  $Y = 197.76 - 4.21X$ . The negative slope indicated that the higher the status, the lower the degree of centralization. The  $r^2$  for the relationship is .53, indicating a moderate tendency for centralization to decline as status increases. (It should be pointed out that in fitting a second degree polynomial to the relationship we found no significant increment in variance explained ( $r^2$ .) Thus, as in previous studies on the effects of social status on urban residential patternings (Myers 1950, Bell 1955, Duncan and Duncan 1955), in the Miami context status differences explain some variation in centralization, but there are other factors at work, unmeasured by us, which determine the extent to which groups congregate in the city or the fringe.

### *Segregation*

*Segregation and Centralization* / Are the most segregated groups the most centralized and decentralized in the metropolis? Column 2 of table 2 shows the segregation values for the various groups in the metropolis; they show considerable variation. The segregation scores may be interpreted as the percentage of the ethnic group that would have to change place of residence for the group's distribution to be the same as that of the remaining population. Cubans, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, blacks, Poles, Czechs, Austrians, Hungarians, and Russians are highly segregated in the total metropolitan area; the least segregated are groups from the United Kingdom, Canada, and Germany.

To test the extent to which the hypothesized relation between the segregation and centralization of the ethnic population was U-shaped, with the most segregated groups being highly centralized and highly

TABLE 2 Ethnic Segregation by Area, Metropolitan Miami, 1970

Population	Total Metro- politan Area	Segregation Indexes							
		Area			By Tracts			Predicted	
		City	Fringe	Family Income Levels			By Family Income	As Percent of Observed	
			Low	Middle	High				
Black	85.66	83.98	85.35	80.95	79.05	54.53	12.08	14.10	
NWNPNP*	46.54	35.32	41.59	42.17	31.89	25.08	8.06	17.32	
<i>Latin American Foreign Stock</i>									
Mexico	57.99	49.38	60.80	61.35	50.36	62.97	6.99	12.05	
Cuba	59.01	49.94	51.76	68.76	50.96	42.00	6.17	10.46	
Puerto Rico	41.24	48.00	37.88	51.37	32.60	37.02	7.55	18.13	
<i>Other Foreign Stock</i>									
United Kingdom	27.76	31.88	24.15	35.07	21.78	20.93	1.13	4.08	
Ireland	32.77	38.47	30.37	46.43	26.10	25.09	6.57	20.05	
Sweden	38.07	38.47	38.08	46.21	35.81	28.06	4.13	10.85	
Germany	29.10	34.90	26.07	38.32	23.71	22.39	1.86	6.39	
Poland	49.70	35.19	51.70	66.85	44.33	34.94	3.36	6.76	
Czechoslovakia	40.00	47.91	37.24	54.81	34.08	34.23	5.55	13.88	
Austria	52.44	40.97	53.52	72.30	46.24	35.99	3.20	6.10	
Hungary	46.34	39.48	48.67	57.44	43.73	35.78	3.23	6.97	
USSR	65.34	45.09	67.29	81.67	62.23	46.15	6.32	9.67	
Italy	30.26	34.60	28.40	42.38	25.57	21.66	0.91	3.01	
Canada	28.13	36.63	24.63	37.68	21.08	21.27	9.33	33.17	
	$\bar{X}$	45.64	43.14	44.22	55.24	39.35	34.26		
	S	15.91	12.38	17.15	15.33	16.00	12.39		

\*Native Born Whites of Native Born Parents, Non-Puerto Rican.

decentralized, we fitted three alternative curves to the data: linear, exponential, and parabolic. Presumably, the  $r^2$  for the parabolic curve should be the highest if the third proposition is correct. The results from the curve fitting, with  $Y$  as segregation and  $X$  as centralization, are: (a) linear regression,  $r^2 = .12$ ; (b) exponential,  $r^2 = .11$ ; (c) parabolic,  $r^2 = .19$ .

Inspection of the three regressions shows some limited support for the third proposition about a U-shaped relation. The parabolic curve explains more variance in the relationship than does either the linear or the exponential curve; however, the explained variance is less than 20 percent. Inspection of the scattergram for the relationship (not shown)



indicates that it seems to hold only at the extremes of segregation. The blacks are the most segregated group, and they are the second most centralized. The most centralized are the Cubans, and they are fourth in segregation. Of the top six most segregated groups, five are among the top three most centralized or the top three most decentralized. In the middle range of the relationship there is little systematic covariation of segregation with centralization. Thus the lack of relationship in the middle ranges of the indexes pulls down the overall  $r$  even though there is a decided tendency for the most segregated groups to be either highly centralized or highly decentralized. For Latin Americans, especially for Cubans and Mexicans, residential segregation is a common aspect of urban experience.

*Segregation and Social Status* / The relation between segregation and social status stated in the fourth proposition was tested to see if, as in the case with centralization, the most segregated groups were those either high or low in the status hierarchy. We expected a parabolic curve to describe best the regression of segregation on status. Status is measured by the percentage of the groups employed in professional or managerial occupations. In fitting three curves to the data the following results were obtained: (a) linear,  $r^2 = .13$ ; (b) exponential,  $r^2 = .09$ ; (c) parabolic,  $r^2 = .55$ .

The results clearly show that the empirical form of the relationship conforms to the U-shaped curve better than to either a linear or an exponential curve. The parabolic relationship explains 55 percent of the variation in segregation. Those groups at the top and the bottom of the occupational status hierarchy tend to be the most segregated. Yet, in support of the fifth proposition (see below), the  $r^2$  value of .55 is moderate and clearly indicates that factors in addition to occupational status account for differences among the ethnic groups in their levels of segregation.

Since status is related to both centralization ( $r = .73$ ) and segregation level ( $r = .74$ ), one must wonder if the correlation between segregation and centralization ( $r = .44$ ) is not to some extent a spurious artifact of their mutual relationship to social status. We calculated the partial  $r^2$  between centralization and segregation with status controlled and found it dropped to .05 from its zero order value of .09. The data are congruent with the model that residential choice in metropolitan Miami is partially a function of occupational status for the groups. The higher their status, the less centralized and the more segregated are the groups; and the lower their status, the more centralized and the more segregated they are.

As with regression, indirect standardization also allows us to determine the extent to which status differences among the ethnic groups explain their degree of segregation. Column 8 of table 2 presents the residential segregation indexes standardized for family income (similar results in this and other instances throughout this report were found when two other status indicators, i.e., education and occupation, were used). Column 9 shows that only small amounts of the actual levels of segregation are achieved by the values predicted by the standardization. The highest is for the Canadians, and in their case the expected index is only about one-third that of the observed value. Thus, if the Canadians' residential pattern were solely a function of family income one would expect their segregation index to be about 9.3—a figure much lower than the actual value of 28.1. Among the Latin Americans the effect of family income on segregation is most marked in Puerto Ricans and is, in general, somewhat higher than for the other groups. The Irish, Swedes, and Czechs, however, showed similar patterns. In the case of the Cubans, the expected value is only about 11 percent of the actual value, and for blacks it is about 14 percent of the actual value.

A third approach for assessing the effect of status upon segregation in residential patterns is to separate the census tracts according to family income levels and calculate the segregation of the groups at each family income level. Presumably, if family income was a key factor in ethnic residential patterning, the segregation indexes within each level would be low. To examine this we trichotomized the metropolitan Miami tracts according to family income and calculated the segregation of the groups within each set of tracts. The results in columns 5, 6, and 7 of table 2 show, first, that segregation persists within each of the areas: for example, the Mexicans, Cubans, and Puerto Ricans, respectively, had segregation indices close to 61, 69, and 51 in the low family income tracts; 50, 51, and 33 in the middle income areas; and 63, 42, and 37 in the high status areas. For none of the ethnic groups is segregation reduced to zero or near zero in any of the status areas. The second notable feature of the three status-level distributions of segregation scores is the uniform ordering of the ethnic groups. That is, the groups are ranked very similarly in degree of segregation in the three status-level areas. To measure the extent of this regularity we calculated the Kendall W measure of concordance and found it to be .95. Thus, those groups most segregated in low-income areas are also the most segregated in middle- and high-income areas. Those groups least segregated in the low-income area are also least segregated in middle- and high-income areas.

The third major point to be noted for the distributions is that status

does seem to specify somewhat the segregation patterns. Ethnic groups are most segregated residentially in low-income areas and least segregated in high-income areas. With the exception of the Mexicans, who show an inordinately high segregation index in high-income areas, this is the case for Cubans as well as for all of the other groups. For instance, the indexes for the blacks are 81 for low-income areas, 79 for middle, and 55 for high; those for the population from the USSR are 82 for low, 62 for middle, and 46 for high. Although ethnic groups are segregated in all status areas, in the low-income area ethnic residential segregation is highest.

*City and Metropolitan Fringe* / Columns 3 and 4 of table 2 show the pattern of residential segregation among the groups in the city and metropolitan fringe. The figures support the sixth proposition that groups highly segregated in the city are also highly segregated in the fringe, and vice versa. The  $r$  between the two sets of segregation scores is .76. Comparison of the indexes shows that some groups are more segregated in the city than they are in the fringe—Germans, Czechs, etc.—whereas others are more segregated in the fringe than in the city—Poles, Austrians, Russians, etc. Some are segregated about equally in both places—Cubans, blacks, Swedes. Thus no general statement can be made concerning the relative magnitude of segregation of all the groups in the city versus the fringe; nevertheless, there is a decided tendency for the relative positions of the groups to be similar in both areas. In the city, the Latin Americans are second only to the blacks in their levels of segregation; among European groups the Russians, Czechs, Austrians, Hungarians, Irish, and Swedes are highly segregated. In the fringe, Cubans and Mexicans are also highly segregated, as are the blacks, Poles, Austrians, and Russians.

*Segregation within Ethnic Groups* / Does residential segregation of different social status categories exist within major ethnic groups in the metropolis? Are the most segregated within the groups those at the extremes of the status hierarchy? Table 3 shows that among black families, the six most residentially segregated income groups are either in the top three or bottom three income categories. These indexes are for all black families living in tracts with 400 or more blacks. The values for the Cubans also lend support for the seventh proposition. The  $r^2$  between status level and degree of segregation among Cubans is .46. Of the six income categories at the extremes of the distribution (the three highest and three lowest), four have the highest segregation scores.

TABLE 3 Residential Segregation by Family Income within Ethnic Groups and Areas

Family Income Category	Indexes of Segregation		
	Blacks	Cubans	La Sagüesera
Less than 1,000	17.63	19.25	12.37
1,000–1,999	23.73	31.48	16.50
2,000–2,999	21.31	17.78	5.16
3,000–3,999	16.74	20.39	11.71
4,000–4,999	11.95	18.61	12.50
5,000–5,999	11.67	14.06	8.33
6,000–6,999	11.86	11.73	10.14
7,000–7,999	12.10	11.27	6.97
8,000–8,999	17.36	13.67	8.70
9,000–9,999	19.19	15.58	8.30
10,000 and over	23.89	22.58	14.99
r <sup>2</sup> for U-Curve	.60	.46	.24
Number of Tracts	55	52	8
Number of Families	38,572	44,945	14,263

These scores were calculated for the Spanish population in those tracts in the metropolis containing 400 or more Spanish speakers, of whom at least three-quarters were Cuban.

To analyze residential segregation among Cubans, we studied “La Sagüesera,” the geographic center of Latin American, and especially Cuban, community life in metropolitan Miami. La Sagüesera, often called Little Havana, is the oldest Cuban enclave in the central city; the area where more than 100,000 Cubans resided during the early 1960s; and the center of a statewide ethnic population concentration accounting for 48.8 percent of all Cuban ethnics residing in the United States in 1970. Cubans in the city of Miami and in the neighboring municipality of Hialeah accounted for 56 and 17 percent, respectively, of all Cubans residing in the Miami SMSA in 1970. In turn, Cubans in La Sagüesera represented 37 percent of the total Cuban population of the city of Miami.

La Sagüesera, designated as a priority area by the Metropolitan Dade County Community Improvement Program, is located between Northwest Seventh Street and Southwest Twenty-second Street and between West Twenty-seventh Avenue and Miami Avenue in the center of downtown Miami. By common practice of the local administrative agencies, the area is identified by 1970 census tracts 36.02, 52, 53, 54.01, 54.02, 64, 66, and 67.02. In spite of dispersion toward the west and northwest of the metropolis, especially in the Hialeah-Miami Springs

districts and in the Edison district (Salter and Mings 1972), Cubans accounted for 65 percent of the total population of La Sagüesera and 86 percent of the Spanish-speaking residents in 1970. In this area, the segregation indexes for the population living in the area show limited support for the proposition. The  $r^2$  for the parabolic relationship is .24. Three of the top and bottom income groups are among the most segregated. We suspect that the correlation for La Sagüesera is less than the other two because it is a low-income area and does not have a wide range of family incomes, whereas the other two correlations are for population spread across a full range of status areas. Yet, as expected, we did find within the core Cuban community a tendency for status groups to be residentially segregated.

The combined effect of high degrees of residential centralization and segregation of the Cubans in the metropolis and their middle-class origins is reflected in their vigorous institutional life in the city of Miami. In La Sagüesera, the immigrant ambiance is widely observable on such streets as Flagler, Southwest Eighth, Northwest Seventh; on Twelfth, Seventeenth, and Twenty-second Avenues; in and around such places as the Church of San Juan Bosco and "El Parque de las Palomas" (Biscayne Bay Park); and in Cuban parks, restaurants, movie houses, banks, night clubs, coffee houses, bookstores, clinics, bakeries, funeral homes, associations, and many other businesses. Unlike the ethnic enclaves earlier in this century in New York, for instance, this area of Cuban concentration is much larger and culturally homogeneous. Collectively these people, organizations, and activities have conferred on this physical area a unique quality; the area is the center of Cuban culture and society in the United States. Here the intensity of immigrant life is matched only, perhaps, by that of the European immigrants described by the Chicago sociologists of the 1920s. The process of intragroup residential segregation among Cubans as they become increasingly different socially, economically, and politically (Cooney and Contreras 1978, Diaz 1970), will be among the most important objects of future research.

### *Dissimilarity*

In this section attention is shifted from the patterns of total segregation of the ethnic groups to the residential differences between pairs of ethnic groups. What is the residential dissimilarity of ethnic populations? Is it, as the eighth proposition suggests, the same in city and fringe? To what extent can social status differences account for it?

*City and Metropolitan Fringe* / To test proposition eight, the consistency in the residential dissimilarity patterns of the groups in the city and fringe exhibited in table 4 was tested. The covariation between the indexes in table 4 for the two parts of the metropolis was high, with an  $r^2$  of .77. Thus, in support of proposition eight, it appears that the ethnic groups most similar in residence in the city are also the most similar in the fringe and vice versa.

In the city, Puerto Ricans showed higher indexes of residential dissimilarity with the non-Latin American foreign stock groups than the Mexicans and Cubans. The Latin groups had their highest scores with Russians, Czechs, and blacks (Farley 1969). In the metropolitan fringe, however, Mexicans showed higher dissimilarity indexes with non-Latin groups than did the Cubans and Puerto Ricans. The three groups were most dissimilar residentially to the Poles, Austrians, Hungarians, Russians, and blacks. In terms of the dissimilarity scores of the Latin groups, in the city Mexicans were most dissimilar to the Puerto Ricans (61). Moreover, in the fringe, their residential dissimilarity to both groups increased, especially to the Cubans (71). Indeed, as shown in table 5, the residential dissimilarity in the metropolis of Cubans and Puerto Ricans with Mexicans is 64 and 65, respectively, higher than the Cuban and Puerto Ricans scores with Canadians, Italians, Czechs, Germans,

TABLE 4 *Indexes of Dissimilarity between Metropolitan Miami Ethnic Groups for the City (above Diagonal) and the Metropolitan Fringe (below Diagonal), 1970*

<i>Ethnic Group</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1 United Kingdom		25	25	21	28	45	34
2 Ireland	28		32	25	39	52	42
3 Sweden	37	38		31	37	46	44
4 Germany	22	29	41		29	43	30
5 Poland	46	51	61	40		43	27
6 Czechoslovakia	36	39	47	36	48		44
7 Austria	49	54	63	43	15	50	
8 Hungary	44	49	57	38	21	46	20
9 USSR	59	63	72	53	17	59	15
10 Italy	30	30	35	29	51	35	52
11 Canada	24	28	34	24	52	37	54
12 Mexico	62	66	66	65	80	71	82
13 Cuba	53	52	58	54	71	57	71
14 Puerto Rico	48	50	53	49	72	54	73
15 Blacks	87	87	85	86	94	89	94
16 NWNPNP	23	30	33	26	55	38	58

Swedes, Irish, and British. This finding, as well as the high segregation but low centralization of Mexicans in Dade County, will be interpreted below.

*Dissimilarity and Social Status* / To assess the effect of status upon the aggregate pattern of dissimilarity (Hatt 1945a, 1945b) and to test proposition nine, we took two approaches: the first was a regression analysis of residential dissimilarity on income dissimilarity; the second was based upon indirect standardization. The two approaches when considered simultaneously provide mixed evidence of the status effect. Table 5 shows the dissimilarity indexes for residence (above the diagonal) and for income (below the diagonal). The *r* for the linear correlation between the two is .52, thereby suggesting a moderate relationship between social distance as indicated by income and residential distance. The more alike the groups are in income, the more similar are their residential distributions.<sup>4</sup>

The indexes of residential dissimilarity standardized by income are in parentheses in table 5. The predicted dissimilarity values are much smaller than the actual values. For example, the Cuban-Russian index (11) is only about 13 percent of the actual value (79); the Cuban-Puerto Rican predicted index is only about 6 percent of the observed

									<i>Segregation</i>	
8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	City	Fringe
28	34	24	18	48	42	52	84	19	32	24
36	42	29	28	48	45	51	84	28	38	30
33	47	31	27	51	42	51	86	26	38	38
27	32	18	20	43	43	49	84	21	35	26
33	27	31	31	46	35	55	87	26	35	52
43	44	37	45	55	52	65	88	40	48	37
30	21	30	35	51	44	58	88	31	41	54
	35	27	27	49	39	56	87	30	39	49
25		32	37	54	46	62	91	32	45	67
48	63		21	47	38	52	87	20	35	28
48	65	63		49	42	53	87	21	37	25
80	88	53	63		45	61	92	45	49	61
68	78	33	53	71		54	89	35	50	52
69	82	44	45	64	42		74	47	48	38
94	96	86	85	80	90	80		83	84	85
52	69	28	22	59	49	39	85		35	42



TABLE 5 *Indexes of Dissimilarity between Metropolitan Miami Ethnic Groups on Residence (above Diagonal) and Family Income (below Diagonal) 1970. Indexes of Residential Dissimilarity Predicted by Family Income Composition Are in Parentheses*

<i>Ethnic Group</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1 United Kingdom		28(7)	35(4)	22(2)	43(3)	38(6)	47(3)	42(3)
2 Ireland	26		37(10)	29(6)	49(6)	41(4)	52(7)	47(5)
3 Sweden	13	31		39(4)	58(5)	47(8)	61(4)	52(5)
4 Germany	5	26	14		39(2)	38(6)	42(2)	36(2)
5 Poland	9	26	16	6		49(6)	16(1)	24(2)
6 Czechoslovakia	10	25	11	13	14		61(6)	46(5)
7 Austria	10	25	13	7	5	13		24(2)
8 Hungary	9	28	14	8	7	12	7	
9 USSR	13	27	18	10	6	16	6	9
10 Italy	3	25	14	5	10	10	10	9
11 Canada	8	27	14	10	13	11	15	14
12 Mexico	11	24	23	12	13	15	16	12
13 Cuba	18	19	22	16	18	14	19	18
14 Puerto Rico	23	20	26	19	19	19	20	23
15 Blacks	29	20	33	26	25	26	26	27
16 NWNPNP	9	33	12	13	17	14	17	17

one; the Canadian-Irish standardized index is about 23 percent of the actual one. However, there still is a moderate relationship between observed residential dissimilarity and that predicted by income. The *r* for the relationship is .44. Thus, while the deltas predicted by income standardization are lower than those observed, there still is a moderate relationship between the observed pattern of residential dissimilarity and that expected on the basis of the income composition of the ethnic group. In terms of proposition nine it seems that status differences between pairs of ethnic groups are associated moderately with differences in their residential distributions.

The unexplained variance must be attributed to factors other than social status differences. Most important among these are self-selectivity and exclusion. Self-selectivity refers to the extent to which ethnic persons voluntarily seek each other out and consciously settle near one another. Exclusion refers to the limitation on residential choice by the operation of the land market. Partly based upon prejudice and social distance, exclusion forces ethnic group members to live in selected areas of the community. Most segregation studies have been unable to disentangle the relative effects of self-selection and exclusion. To do such a study for metropolitan Miami, however valuable it would be, would



ETHNIC POPULATIONS IN METROPOLITAN MIAMI

9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	Segregation Index
57(5)	29(1)	23(9)	59(7)	58(6)	52(8)	86(11)	23(4)	28
61(11)	30(6)	28(13)	62(7)	57(4)	52(4)	86(5)	30(11)	33
70(4)	35(4)	33(10)	63(10)	59(9)	53(11)	85(14)	34(3)	38
52(5)	27(2)	24(9)	61(7)	58(6)	51(8)	86(11)	26(5)	29
19(5)	48(3)	48(10)	75(8)	70(6)	69(8)	92(10)	51(6)	50
60(10)	36(5)	39(12)	68(7)	60(4)	56(5)	89(8)	40(9)	40
17(5)	49(3)	51(10)	78(8)	71(6)	71(8)	93(11)	54(5)	52
30(6)	44(3)	44(10)	74(7)	64(5)	65(7)	92(9)	50(7)	46
	60(6)	62(10)	84(12)	79(11)	80(12)	96(15)	65(5)	65
14		26(9)	65(7)	55(5)	48(7)	87(10)	27(5)	30
17	9		60(14)	58(13)	50(14)	86(17)	22(10)	28
16	10	11		64(5)	65(6)	83(8)	57(10)	60
22	15	17	14		49(3)	89(6)	57(9)	59
22	20	24	18	8		77(4)	46(12)	41
27	27	31	22	17	9		86(15)	86
21	11	7	18	23	30	37		46

involve a much different research design than the one used here and greater resources than are normally available. The results of such an analysis would be most helpful in understanding the process of ethnic adjustment and assimilation; it is hoped that such studies will be undertaken in the future.

*The Mexicans*

The Mexicans are relatively decentralized (82), more so than expected by their education (107), income (104), and occupation (106). In this they differ markedly from the Cubans and Puerto Ricans. Almost as much as the blacks, they are highly segregated throughout the metropolitan area, even in high-income areas. The residential dissimilarity of the Mexicans with the Cubans and the Puerto Ricans is quite high and it increases in the fringe of the county, where the Mexicans are also more dissimilar residentially from the non-Latin American groups. It must be emphasized, however, that the decentralization of the Mexicans occurs towards the extreme southwest quadrant of Dade County: Kendall and vicinity, the southwest area, and Homestead, account for .46 of the total Mexican foreign stock in the metropolis. The corresponding proportions for Cu-

bans (.059) and Puerto Ricans (.137) are minor in contrast. Of course, it is the unique pattern of residential congregation in the extreme southwest region that explains the high dissimilarity and segregation coefficients alluded to earlier.

The presence of Mexicans in Florida is a recent phenomenon. Indeed, by 1960 the Mexican foreign stock population was a mere 3,928, and of these 1,080 resided in Dade County. The corresponding figures ten years later were 11,047 and 2,535.<sup>5</sup> Their increased presence in the state coincides with the intensification of the use of Mexican migrant labor in Florida agriculture. Florida crops such as beans, tomatoes, potatoes, and celery began after the 1920s as the swamp and muck lands of Southeast Florida were drained and brought into production (McWilliams 1942, pp. 168ff). Nevertheless, the early migrant labor used in the state was mostly from the rural South—blacks and poor Southerners, and included few Mexicans (Shotwell 1961, pp. 29–30; see also Gamio 1969, Thompson 1956, Busey 1953).

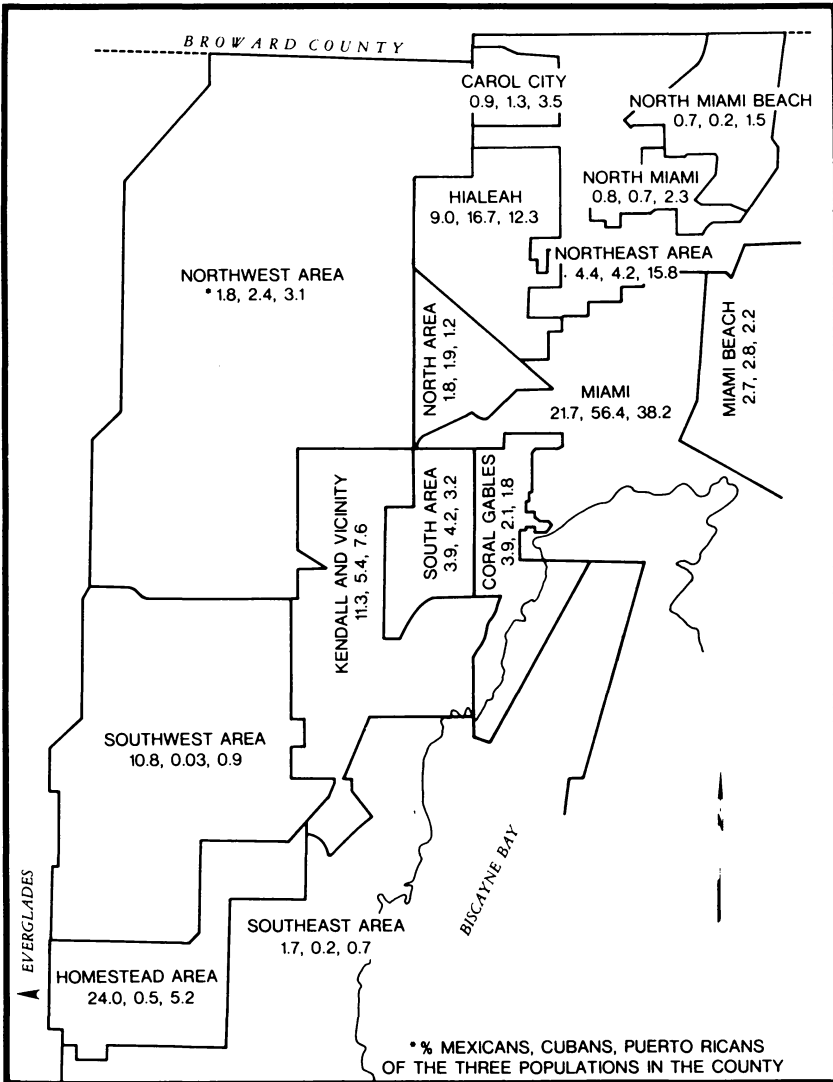
The relative unimportance of Mexican migrant labor in Florida continued until immediately after WWII (the President's Commission 1951, pp. 40–41). This began to change in the 1950s, however, as Mexican Americans ventured into Florida as a result of the stiff competition they experienced for agricultural work in the Southwest from illegal Mexican foreign-born migrants (wetbacks) who worked for very low wages (Shotwell 1961, pp. 30–33). Coles and Hugel (1969, p. 18) calculated that by the late 1960s they made up about half of the state's agricultural workers.

It is not surprising then that Mexicans congregated by 1969 in the southwest part of metropolitan Miami near the Everglades, for it is here that agriculture has traditionally flourished. Homestead, close to 37 miles south of Miami, is well known for its beans, potatoes, and tomatoes, winter crops (McWilliams 1942). The ecological patterning of the Mexicans in Dade County reflects the influence of their agricultural origins. By way of contrast, very few Cubans and Puerto Ricans work in agriculture and would not reside near the agricultural areas of the county even if they lived in the fringe.

The segregation of the Mexicans and their separation from Cubans and Puerto Ricans at the time of the 1970 census is explained by their link to agriculture. Probably as agricultural mechanization decreases the demand for labor and county suburbanization raises the price of land in the fringe, Mexicans will tend to join blacks, Cubans, and Puerto Ricans in the central city. We ought to expect that concern for intergroup relations in metropolitan Miami will increase in the coming years as these groups learn to live together.

ETHNIC POPULATIONS IN METROPOLITAN MIAMI

Percentage Distributions of Mexicans, Cubans, and Puerto Ricans in Dade County, Florida, 1970



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1970 Census Tracts. Final Report. Miami, Fla. SMSA. Areas represent unincorporated tracts in the county; all other subdivisions are municipalities. The bases of the percentages are 2535, 217892, and 17425, respectively.

DISCUSSION

We have studied the residential patterning of ethnic groups in a context much different from those of past studies, and our findings about the residential structure of the groups in metropolitan Miami generally correspond to the results of those studies. Cubans and Puerto Ricans are more centralized than the groups of longer residential duration; likewise, the black population of the metropolitan area is highly centralized, more so than one would expect on the basis of the blacks' status composition. In addition to the groups' differential centralization, patterns of residential segregation and dissimilarity are essentially the same in both the city and the fringe areas. Segregation and dissimilarity indexes seem to be to some extent a function of the groups' status composition; however, other variables evidently enter into residential distribution differences. Included among such variables are all those factors that involve self-selectivity and enforced constraint in housing choice.

Identification of the role of enforced constraint involves a detailed and lengthy analysis of the Miami urban land market requiring resources beyond those of this study. Although no conclusions can be drawn, on the basis of our experience with Miami's Latin population, our impression is that while there are elements of enforced constraint in housing choice, a greater influence is ethnic self-selectivity, particularly in the case of the Cubans. These exiles have had to seek among themselves, much in the same manner as the Europeans of sixty years ago, the social networks and institutional supports so necessary for the transition into American society.

A satisfactory explanation of the conditions, characteristics, and consequences of Cuban population concentration in La Sagüesera, and in the city of Miami more generally, awaits future investigation. La Sagüesera—and the city of Miami—represent a transitional residential phase for many Cubans who eventually move to other parts of the metropolis and the nation. Obviously, a great deal of study, involving detailed life histories, is needed to clarify the effects of family ties, the availability of cultural institutions, and other factors on how Cubans decide to stay in or leave these areas, and the similarities and differences between La Sagüesera and predominantly working-class Cuban suburbs in the metropolis like Carol City. Equally important is the clarification of the function of Cuban-owned small businesses flourishing in La Sagüesera in the operation and continuation of the ethnic community.

Apparently the process of self-selectivity is not random throughout the ethnic group. Contrary to prevailing myths surrounding the Cuban "success story" in the United States (Perez 1976), Cubans resid-

ing in La Sagüesera are different from other Cubans in the United States on a number of important dimensions: they are markedly older and less educated, and have lower incomes<sup>6</sup> and occupational attainments (Metro Dade County Planning Department 1971; Community Improvement Program 1972a, 1973; Prohías and Casal 1974; Hernandez 1974);<sup>7</sup> probably they differ also in their acculturation to the larger society and in a host of other sociopsychological dimensions.

Important also as a topic of investigation should be the study of Cuban-black group relations. Nicholas and Prohías (1973) documented blatant discriminatory housing practices against black Cubans in Miami's Cuban areas, if contrasted to white, black, and mixed tracts. We have shown how in relation to the very high metropolitan centralization of Cubans and blacks, their residential dissimilarity in the city is inordinately high. Indeed, the population of La Sagüesera, in the city's central district, included less than 1 percent of blacks in 1970. The racial ideology and practice of Cubans in Miami is affected by the local social and cultural milieu as well as by their past experiences in Cuba, for the majority of Cuban exiles perceive blacks in Cuba as supporting the revolutionary government (Aguirre 1976). Obviously this is a topic that merits more study than it is receiving at present.

Miami is rapidly becoming America's Cuban city and the largest Latin American population center outside of the Western states.<sup>8</sup> We hope this analysis of the 1970 census tract data will provide a benchmark against which future changing residential patterns may be analyzed. It is hoped that the censuses of 1980 and 1990 will aid in testing longitudinal propositions about assimilation and residential movement of the community's ethnic populations. So far, the findings suggest that similar processes and patterns that formerly characterized the European ethnics' urban experience are also coming to characterize our newly arriving Latin Caribbean immigrants.

#### NOTES

1. The term "ethnic group" is used throughout this study to designate cultural groups with varying degrees of social solidarity. No physical or racial characteristics are necessarily implied by us in using this term.
2. The index of centralization is a fairly straightforward measure and has been used successfully in many studies. It is a general index and focuses only upon the city-fringe dichotomy of population distribution. There are many alternative patterns of population distribution *within* the city that could result in the same index value as long as the city and fringe components were the same. Few alternative indexes (Schwirian and Rico-Velasco 1971) exist, but they seem to yield results consistent with those from the index we used. An alternative approach has been suggested by Edmonston (1975) but the mathematical and statistical properties are yet to be worked out. By the use of the index we employ here those researchers interested may compare directly the Miami

distributions of the various status categories with those reported for other cities (Schwirian 1977, Schnore and Winsborough 1972).

Greater methodological concern has been expressed of late with the index of dissimilarity and segregation we employ. The delta has become the principal index of segregation used since the publication of the Duncan and Duncan (1955) paper. The index has been used by the Taeubers (1965) to study black-white residential segregation; by Lieberman (1963), Bleda (1978), and Kantrowitz (1969) to study ethnic group segregation; and by Collison (1960), Uyeki (1964), and Schwirian and Rico-Velasco (1971) to study social status group segregation. Recent papers by Massey (1978), Cortese, Falk, and Cohen (1976), and Winship (1977) have pointed to various methodological issues and potential problems in the use of delta. However, the greatest concern and potential problems seem to be with comparisons *between* cities in which the sizes and relative proportions of the groups compared across the cities differ. For intracommunity comparisons, delta seems to be a generally valid and reliable index; hence, we anticipate no major problems with our use of delta here. The relationship of delta to other indexes of segregation has been ably discussed by the Taeubers (1965). When the census figures for 1980 become available and the corresponding indexes for segregation are calculated and compared to those we have computed for 1970, such comparisons must take into account the methodological issues raised if the sizes of the groups change in relationship to each other.

3. In the standardization analysis we obtained the expected number of each ethnic group in the city on the basis of the group's status composition (Schwirian and LaGrecia 1974, Bleda 1975). For example, using education to obtain the expected number of Cubans in the city, we took each category of educational attainment and multiplied the number of cases by the percent living in the city of the corresponding category of the total population. The resulting number of Cubans with that education level would be the number we would expect to be living in the city if the pattern for Cubans was identical to that of the total population. For each category of educational attainment a predicted number is likewise obtained. The numbers are then summed for all the categories. The sum is converted into a percentage of all Cubans expected to be living in the city and divided by the comparable percentage for the total population. The resulting value is the centralization index predicted on the basis of the ethnic group's status composition alone. The resulting expected indexes of centralization are presented in table 1. Readers interested in this common procedure will find it sufficiently described in the sources listed above and in Berry (1972).
4. A similar regression analysis was made of residential dissimilarity on occupational dissimilarity. The  $r$  for the linear correlation between the two is .76, indicating an even stronger relationship than the one with income.
5. As an approximation of this Cuban and Mexican presence we have the decennial figures of the U.S. Censuses (see table). Land use patterns for Dade County and subareas during 1960-70 show the prevalence of agriculture in subareas where Mexicans resided (information available from Aguirre upon request).

ETHNIC POPULATIONS IN METROPOLITAN MIAMI

Year	State of Florida Foreign– Born White		Dade County Foreign– Born White	
	Mexicans	Cubans	Mexicans	Cubans
1970	11047*	252520*	2535*	217892*
1960	3228*		1080*	
1950	431			
1940	247	4607	52†	1318**
1930	215	6291	7	266
1920	158	6613		19††
1910	116	8887	1	3
1900	84	6744		
1890	99			
1880	44	2170		
1870	41	1150		
1860	1			

\*Foreign Stock

†Miami Metropolitan District

\*\*Persons born in Cuba and in other West Indies

††City of Miami

Sources: U.S. Census of Population, 1910. Vol. II. *Population, Reports by State*, pp. 321–22; U.S. Census of Population, 1920. Vol. III. *Composition and Characteristics of the Population, by States*, p. 197; U.S. Census of Population, 1930. Vol. III, Part 1; *Reports by States*, pp. 402, 423; U.S. Census of Population, 1940. Vol. II. *Characteristics of the Population, Part II*, pp. 33, 168; U.S. Census of Population, 1950. Vol. II. *Characteristics of the Population, Part 10, Florida*, pp. 10–39; U.S. Census of Population, 1960. Vol. 1. *Characteristics of the Population, Part II, Florida*, pp. 11–268; U.S. Census of Population, 1970. Vol. 1. *Characteristics of the Population, Florida, Section II*, pp. 605–7; U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1970 *Census of Population and Housing. Census Tracts. Miami, Fla. SMSA*.

6. A number of comparisons demonstrate the point: 41% of La Sagüesera’s population was 55 years old and older in 1970; the corresponding percentage for the total Cuban population in the country was 18.9 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1972). Wenk (1968) found that 62% of the adult respondents in his national sample of 200 Cuban families were high school graduates or its equivalent in Cuba (*bachillerato*); Gibboney (1967) found that 82% of his sample of Cubans in Baltimore, Washington, D.C., Maryland, Virginia, and Columbus, Ohio were high school graduates and 70% had professional training. The median family income of all Cuban families in the U.S. as of March 1972 was \$11,296, compared to \$12,436 for the total national population—21% of the Cuban families had incomes ranging from \$15,000 to \$25,000 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1972). 21% of Gibboney’s Northeast Cuban sample had annual gross family income in excess of \$13,000.

Selected Characteristics of La Sagüesera

La Sagüesera's Census Tracts	Cubans as % of Population of Tract	Cubans as % of Total Spanish Population of Tract	Median School Year Completed	% of Pop. High School Graduates	% of Pop. Not High School Grad. Attending High School	Median Income	% of Pop. below Poverty Level
36.02	63.8	85.6	8.6	30.7	23.2	5522	24.2
52.00	71.6	88.1	9.1	37.2	26.0	5924	21.6
53.00	77.8	88.9	8.3	28.1	26.8	5927	22.8
54.01	85.6	85.6	9.0	35.9	16.0	7356	16.1
54.02	67.3	88.5	9.0	38.6	20.2	6235	20.6
64.00	87.2	87.2	10.7	44.2	20.1	6803	15.1
66.00	59.5	79.8	11.4	48.2	20.3	7221	14.7
67.02	72.8	72.8	12.2	55.0	9.9	8337	12.4
Miami SMSA	17.2	72.8	12.1	51.9	15.7	9245	10.9

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1970 *Census Tracts. Final Report. Miami, Fla., SMSA. Table P-2.*

7. Cuban Occupations in Miami: 1966 and 1970

Occupation	Miami SMSA 1970 Census <sup>1</sup>	La Sagüesera 1970 Census <sup>1</sup>	Dade County <sup>4</sup> 1966
Technical, Managers, and Professionals	14.1%	9.49%	12.7%
Clerical and Sales	23.8	20.54	27.3
Skilled Labor	14.5 <sup>2</sup> 3.5 <sup>3</sup>	12.9 <sup>2</sup> 3.6 <sup>3</sup>	17.3
Unskilled Labor	43.8	53.7	32.3

<sup>1</sup>U.S. Dept. of Commerce, *Census Tracts*, Final Report PH (1)-129, Table P-8.

<sup>2</sup>Craftmen, foremen, and kindred workers.

<sup>3</sup>Transport operatives.

<sup>4</sup>University of Miami, Center for Advanced International Studies, Research Institute for Cuba and the Caribbean. *The Cuban Immigration 1959-1966 and Its Impact on Miami, Dade County, Florida* (HEW Contract: WA-66-05), Coral Gables, Florida, 10 July 1967.

8. Businesses in La Sagüesera—as everywhere else in South Florida—are to a considerable extent dependent on tourism and on financial and commercial transactions with Latin America and the Caribbean area. By 1980, employment in Dade County associated with these international transactions is estimated to be 22 percent of total employment in the county (Luytjes 1975), and by all accounts Miami competes successfully with Houston and New Orleans as a center of international trade (Birger 1977).

Industrial employment, while less important as a source of income, has grown during the last decade, employing 15 percent of all workers in the county in 1970: more than 75,000 persons and 2,200 manufacturing firms (Community Improvement Program 1972b). Most manufacturing plants are located in the northwest, north of



20th Street and south of 183rd Street, along railroad lines and other transportation links in Hialeah, Lemon City, 20th Street, and Silver Bluff. The highest density of industrial use in the county is along East 12th Avenue, in Hialeah.

Cubans, while present in every stratum of the occupational system, are concentrated in certain areas: 85 percent (16,500) of the garment industry's workers are Cubans; hotels are almost entirely Cuban staffed; and Cubans account for 35 percent of all workers in the construction industry. Cubans have entered health, banking, and the fishing industries in large numbers, as well as created whole new local industries—cigar making, for instance. Over 7,000 of the businesses in Dade County are owned by Cubans, who operate the majority of service stations and private schools in the area (Arboleya) as well as close to three hundred restaurants (Pendás 1972).

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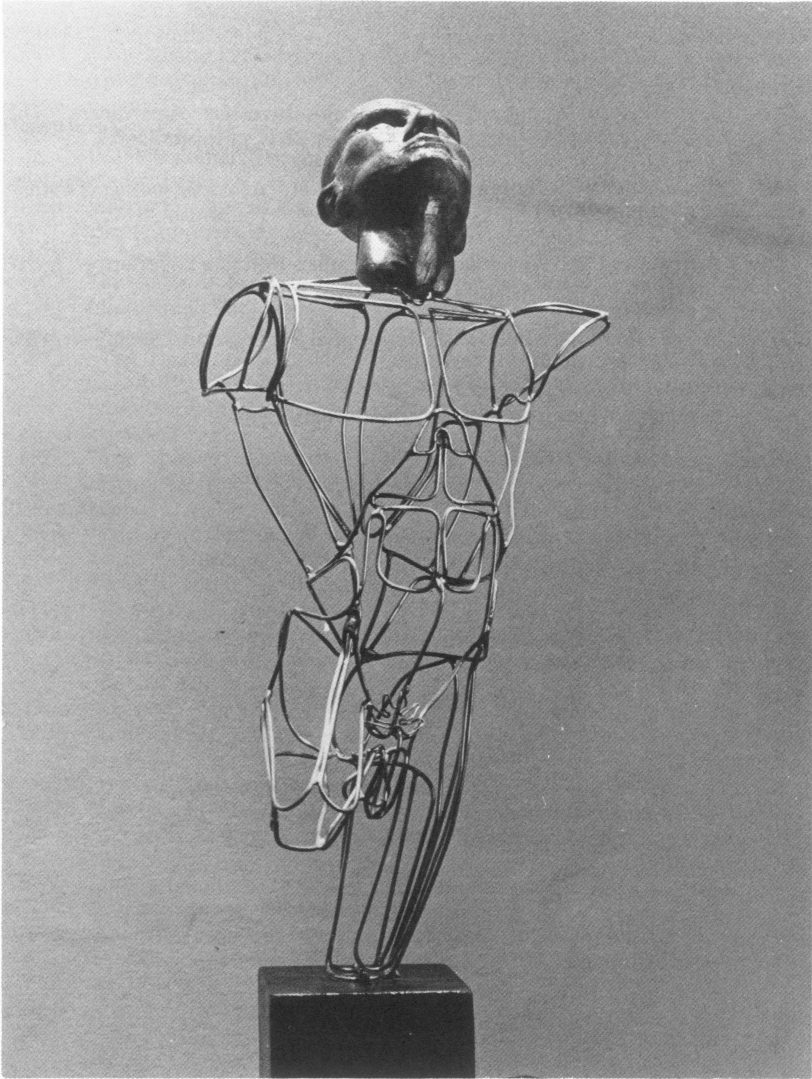
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*Sculpture* by Carlos Alves de Lima (Argentina)