

Globalization to a Latin Beat: The Miami Growth Machine

By JAN NIJMAN

ABSTRACT: Miami's globalization is accompanied by a restructuring of the city's political economy and the emergence of a powerful growth machine. After the shock caused by massive Latino immigration wore off, the old business elite combined forces with the new Hispanic (Cuban) elite and capitalized on Miami's international economic opportunities. Miami's experience illustrates the materialist imperatives of globalization and its unplanned social consequences. The benefits of economic growth are not equally distributed, and there are notable discrepancies along ethnic lines. The growth machine generates local narratives that emphasize the values of multiculturalism, but Miami's civic society has become fragmented and fragile. As an extreme example of a globalized city, Miami offers a glimpse of the fate of urban civilization in the global era.

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THE local government of Dade County, in which Miami is located, has a special maintenance squad to “clean up dead chickens, goats and other items found each morning on the grounds of the County Courthouse. The remains are the product of rituals performed by relatives and friends of some Caribbean born defendants in need of a little extra help with their legal problems,” usually regarding immigration. Such sacrifices are said to be quite common in parts of the city where recent immigrants are concentrated.¹

Arguably, Miami is the most foreign of any large metropolitan area in the United States. Its exotic qualities often invoke images of glamour and splendor, but at times there is also a sense of alienation from mainstream America. This city² is above all a showcase of the forces of globalization, and of the complexity of those forces. Miami defies most conventional thinking about cities and urban development in the United States. This is true not only with regard to its unique ethnic relations (the topic of most studies of Miami) but also with regard to the city’s political economy, which has thus far received very little attention.

Twice in a recent six-month period, the national edition of the *New York Times* was accompanied by a special advertising supplement for Miami.³ The covers of these glossy magazines feature photographs of slick real es-

tate developers who are the main financiers of this expensive advertising blitz. The purpose is to lure affluent northerners to Miami: “It’s time for New York and the rest of America to discover what international visitors already know.”⁴ It is indeed hard to think of another city the size of Miami that can market itself as a foreign city inside the United States.

Due to its Latin American connections, Miami has grown impressively, both economically and demographically, and many observers would argue that Miami as a city has prospered accordingly. As we shall see, Miami’s internationalization also facilitated the emergence of a peculiar kind of socioeconomic and political establishment and a forceful growth machine. Miami’s designation as the “capital of the Americas” has proven a powerful sales pitch to the rest of the world as well as locally.

The purpose of this article is to get to some of the fundamental undercurrents that were instrumental in the re-creation of this city. It links the process of globalization to internal machinations by Miami’s business elites, but it also focuses on the socioeconomic and political consequences of globalization and on the role of Miami’s civic culture.

It is by no means easy to go beyond the well-known stereotypes of this city. The lack of transparency of Miami’s inner workings is reflected in Joel Garreau’s characterization of Miami as the “intrigue capital of the hemisphere”: “Secrecy punctuated by tall tales envelops aspect after aspect of Miami. A reporter attempting to

1. “In Miami, Sacrifices Are Extralegal Help,” *New York Times*, 10 Apr. 1995.

2. This article focuses on Miami’s metropolitan area. The terms “city” and “metropolitan area” are used interchangeably.

3. *New York Times*, 15 Dec. 1995; *ibid.*, 2 June 1996.

4. *New York Times*, advertising supp., 15 Dec. 1995, p. 43.

get at a description of the internal workings of the place is tempted to throw up his hands."⁵ Garreau attributes this lack of transparency to sensitivities surrounding Cuba politics and Miami's role as a haven for debased political groups in Central America, as well as to the importance of the drug trade and immense amounts of illegal money circulating in Miami.

Many cities have highly internationalized landscapes while they are not considered primary world-cities.⁶ Miami fits this description, along with cities such as Amsterdam, Rio de Janeiro, and Milan. But Miami is an extreme case. According to some measures, such as immigration, Miami is the most internationalized metropolitan area in the country. The effects of globalization on Miami have been massive, and unprecedented in urban America.

The consequences of globalization are not necessarily all good or all bad. To be sure, it is difficult to pass a comprehensive value judgment on the consequences of globalization (consequences for whom?). In addition, Miami's postmodern appearance allows a variety of interpretations of the true character of this city. It is possible, nonetheless, to discuss some of the implications of globalization in more or less objective terms, especially with regard to the restructuring of Miami's establishment and

the ways in which it embraced the alleged virtues of globalization.

MIAMI AS CAPITAL OF THE CARIBBEAN

In about forty years, not a long time in the life span of cities, Miami transformed from a quiet resort town at the periphery of the United States to a dynamic metropolis in the center of a growing economic region comprising North and South America and the Caribbean. Between 1960 and 1990, the population of Dade County more than doubled, to approximately 2 million people, and the urban economy grew accordingly. By 1996, Dade County's economy was worth \$56 billion, exceeding the gross national product of Colombia, one of its main trading partners.⁷

Miami's transformation and growth are based on the convergence of two developments: the arrival of very large numbers of Latin American immigrants and the globalization of the world economy. The latter facilitated the intensification of finance and trade flows across political borders, allowing for the emergence of international economic regions, such as the one in which Miami plays a prominent part. Massive immigration, in turn, gave Miami a definitive advantage in terms of human resources and as a node in the globalizing world economy.

In 1960, on the eve of Miami's transformation, Latins made up 5 percent of the metropolitan populace.

7. Metro Dade, *Hispanics in Dade County, 1990* (Miami, FL: Office of Latin Affairs, Metropolitan Dade County Planning Department, 1994); "Dade's Economy Eclipses Output of Some Nations," *Miami Herald*, 16 June 1996.

5. Joel Garreau, *The Nine Nations of America* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1981), p. 174.

6. For an elaborate argument about the command function of so-called world cities, see Saskia Sassen, *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991).

Today, they represent more than half of the city's 2 million people, and approximately 66 percent of all Latins are Cuban. Just as spectacular was the drop in the share of the Anglos (or, more accurately, non-Hispanic whites), from 80 to about 30 percent. The proportion of non-Hispanic blacks increased slightly, to around 20 percent. According to the 1990 census, almost half of Miami's population was born abroad, and over 60 percent speak a language in addition to English at home.

Local parlance has it that "had it not been for the Cubans, Miami would have been a dead duck."⁸ Miami's rise to prominence is often attributed to its becoming a multicultural city. The presence of large numbers of relatively skilled and educated bilingual Latinos makes Miami an attractive location for companies that do business in Latin America. Hence, the influx of immigrants was accompanied by a rapid internationalization of Miami's economy.

By now, Miami handles more than a third of all U.S. trade with Latin America and over half of all U.S. trade with the Caribbean and Central America. Trade continues to increase rapidly, and recent years have witnessed the fastest rates of growth ever.⁹ Of 352 multinational companies with offices in Miami, 70 percent were established after 1980, and the number of new establishments has

continued to grow over time.¹⁰ Miami has become the third foreign banking center in the United States (after New York and Los Angeles) in terms of the number of foreign banking offices.¹¹

Thus Miami has become the main gateway to Latin America and the Caribbean, out-competing cities such as Houston, Los Angeles, New York, and New Orleans. A recent acknowledgment of Miami's impressive economic achievements came with a book by Harvard professor Rosabeth Moss Kantor entitled *World Class*, which identified Miami as the prime example of a world-class trading city in the United States.¹² Kantor attributes Miami's success to the city's "cultural connections," namely, the presence of binational communities. It is also the product, however, of the deliberate growth strategies of Miami's business elite. The next section focuses on the ways in which the city's establishment capitalized on the opportunities of globalization.

THE MIAMI GROWTH MACHINE

Miami's economic transformation did not just come about by chance, at least not entirely. Against the backdrop of the broader historical currents mentioned previously, its economic development is the product of

10. Beacon Council, *Miami's Multinational Business Community* (Miami: Beacon Council, 1994).

11. Jan Nijman, "Breaking the Rules: Miami in the Urban Hierarchy," *Urban Geography*, 17:5-22 (1996).

12. Rosabeth Moss Kantor, *World Class: Thriving Locally in the Global Economy* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995).

8. The words of one local observer in Alejandro Portes and Alex Stepick, *City on the Edge: The Transformation of Miami* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), p. 144.

9. Beacon Council, *Miami Business Profile 1995-1996* (Miami: Beacon Council, 1996).

the machinations of its establishment. In their thesis on the "city as growth machine," Logan and Molotch point out that "the incessant lobbying, manipulating, and cajoling can deliver the critical resources from which great cities are made."¹³

The *New York Times* advertising supplements for Miami mentioned in the introduction of this article are illustrative of the particular character of Miami's aggressive and self-confident growth strategies. Most important of all, the growth machine has been a major force in the generation of a discourse that places Miami at the cutting edge of doing business internationally or even globally.

Tourism is still a major source of income, but it is increasingly aimed at international markets, especially Latin America and Europe. Besides tourism, international trade and real estate have become leading sectors of the Miami economy. All growth is welcomed, but the city is primarily promoted on the basis of its virtues as an international place. Miami's designation as the capital of Latin America, the Americas, and the Caribbean has been in vogue since the late 1970s and early 1980s.

The exceptional strength of Miami's growth machine derives from two factors. First, while other cities may have competing elites with different and conflicting growth strategies, in Miami there is an exceptionally strong consensus. This has to do with the city's celebrated location, which has proven an irresistible

temptation to indulge in geographical determinism. Thus it is "obvious" to everyone that Miami should play a prominent role in the Americas because of its geographical position. The city is marketed and promoted as a natural winner in the era of global economic competition.

To the north, the city is promoted as a subtropical and exotic place with great access to Latin American markets: perfect for the location of companies with sales to and marketing oriented toward Latin America, as well as for real estate investments (a second home on what is called the American riviera). To the south, the city is sold as a haven of stability and opportunity, with one of the city's greatest assets being the combination of Latin culture with U.S. location. Southern investors have been particularly attracted to Miami's discrete and secure private banking opportunities and to its real estate. The city's growing trade business has proven attractive to northerners and southerners alike.

A second explanation for the strength of Miami's growth machine is the materialist culture that prevails in this city, something that catches the eye of many visitors. This materialist culture, in turn, is mainly the product of migration. The bulk of Miami's many immigrants came here in order to advance themselves economically. This is also true for the Cuban community, which was driven to prove Castro wrong by building their own economic success story. At the same time, many of the native whites in this city who chose to stay, did so predominantly for economic motives, and despite becoming a mi-

13. John R. Logan and Harvey L. Molotch, *Urban Fortunes: The Political Economy of Place* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), p. 293.

nority. In addition, to the extent that materialist culture replaces civic culture, it implies the absence of social constraints on the growth machine when it threatens to sacrifice public interests for private materialist gains. I shall return to this issue shortly.

The biggest local newspaper, the *Miami Herald*, neatly fulfills the role carved out for local news media in the urban growth machine:

The newspaper has no ax to grind except the one that holds the community elite together: growth. This disinterest in the specific form of growth, but avid commitment to development generally, enables the newspaper to achieve a statesman-like position in the community. . . . The publisher or editor is often the arbiter of internal growth machine bickering, restraining the short-term profiteers in the interest of more stable, long-term, and properly planned growth.¹⁴

In the early days of Miami's transformation, with stability gone and the future uncertain, the newspaper often took a critical stand against the massive influx of Hispanics. This changed with the unfolding of the city's promise as an international trading center and as the new urban growth machine got on track. Since the mid-1980s, the *Miami Herald*, complete with an independent Spanish edition, has been a strong advocate of multiculturalism and visibly the most important force in the forging of a stable community in this city, emphasizing the link between growth goals and better lives for Miami residents.

A good illustration of just how far the *Miami Herald* has come was a

headline on the front page on 14 June 1996 that exclaimed, "Vanishing Spanish." The article deplored the fact that only a small percentage of graduating high school students in metropolitan Miami are fully fluent in Spanish and that most second-generation Hispanic immigrants speak an imperfect sort of "home Spanish." This was described as an alarming trend since it erodes Miami's advantage as a bilingual community and diminishes its economic competitiveness.

The changed stand by the *Miami Herald* was ideological in its manifestations, but it was driven by the reconstitution of Miami's growth machine. In Miami, as Portes and Stepick put it, "bilingualism pays, monolingualism does not."¹⁵

THE RESTRUCTURING OF MIAMI'S ESTABLISHMENT

One common ingredient of the widely accepted narrative about Miami's transformation is the white flight from Dade County to the north, in response to the city's Latinization. White out-migration and Hispanic in-migration, in combination with the internationalization of the urban economy, had a notable impact on Miami's establishment and political economy. In Miami, more than in any city of comparable size, recent immigrants have been extremely upwardly mobile, and many have joined the city's ruling classes.

The Latinization of Miami makes a great story. Indeed, Miami's transformation into a foreign city has proven such an excitable and intriguing

14. *Ibid.*, p. 307.

15. Portes and Stepick, *City on the Edge*, p. 174.

ing theme that the continuing dominance of non-Hispanic whites has been pushed into the background. It is, however, one of the most interesting aspects of Miami's transformation, in that it exposes the flexible strength of the growth machine.

Considering the monumental changes in this city and the widely perceived threats to its social order, the native whites who stayed behind formed a rather selective crowd. Many of them were businesspeople, and many held key positions in the urban political economy. Even if the Latin so-called invasion was at first judged negatively, in due course many of the native whites acquired a sense of opportunity and a belief that Miami had great potential in terms of international growth. The growing power of Hispanics has only partially eroded the position of the older establishment of Miami. "Anglo hegemony" may have come to an end by 1980,¹⁶ but non-Hispanic whites continued to be the major force in Miami's political and economic hierarchies.

Despite their growing importance on the political scene, Miami's Hispanics are still underrepresented in local government. Of 27 municipalities in Dade County, only 5 have a majority of Hispanics in their elected offices. Of the 6 largest municipalities (Miami, Hialeah, Miami Beach, North Miami, Coral Gables, and North Miami Beach), only Hialeah has a majority of elected Hispanics.¹⁷ Altogether, there are more than twice

as many non-Hispanic whites as Hispanics in the elected offices of the county's local governments. Things look a bit better at the county level: of the 17 elected offices in the government of Dade County, 7 are held by Hispanics (all but 1 of whom are Cuban).

Interestingly, it is beyond the local government that Cubans are overrepresented: of all the Dade County representatives at the federal and state level, an overwhelming majority are Hispanic (14 of 25), all of them Cuban. This is a reflection of the concerns of Cuban Americans with issues regarding Cuba and Cuban refugees, which are mainly decided at the state and federal level. This suggests that the politicization of the Cuban American community applied especially to issues beyond the locale. The high visibility of Cuban American representation at the state and federal levels has probably contributed to perceptions of the rapidly growing political clout of Cuban Americans, but it is too easily assumed that this applies to the local level as well.

In economic terms, the continued dominance of non-Hispanic whites is unquestionable. From a listing of the 100 most powerful people in South Florida by a reputable local business journal in 1994, it can be learned that

Metropolitan Miami shows a striking pattern of political segregation in the sense that few local governments are ethnically mixed (the overarching metro government and the municipalities of Miami and South Miami are the best examples of ethnically mixed governments). Most municipalities have very large majorities of non-Hispanic whites, Hispanics, or blacks, respectively. These findings are based on data provided by the Dade County Department of Elections, 18 Apr. 1996.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

17. Elected offices include the mayor, vice-mayor, commissioners or council members, clerk, manager, attorney, and chief of police.

21 of them were Hispanics and 4 were African Americans. The other 75 were non-Hispanic whites.¹⁸ The same pattern applies to other indices, such as the 25 most highly paid executives, of whom only 2 were Hispanic. Of the top executives of the 50 largest employers in South Florida, 9 were Hispanic and they were predominantly with governmental, public, or semi-public institutions.¹⁹

While these figures are obviously high compared to other cities in the United States, they are low in view of the composition of Miami's population, in which Hispanics are the absolute majority and Cubans are the largest single ethnic group. It is especially revealing that these figures are surprisingly low to most local observers: they conflict with pervasive local discourses on Miami as a Latin city.

Another reason the role of native whites in Miami's establishment is underrated lies in the behind-the-scenes politics that form a standard ingredient of city growth machines.²⁰ An intriguing illustration in the case of Miami is the existence of the so-called Non-Group; the name of this group would have won the approval of political scientists Bachrach and Baratz, who coined the term "non-

decision-making."²¹ Despite the fact that this group consists of the most influential businesspeople in Miami, not many locals have ever heard of it. The group, whose core is said to be made up of native whites, was formed by Alvah Chapman, Jr., the former chairman of Knight Ridder. In the local news media, Chapman has been referred to as "the linchpin in the Miami Business Machine."

Of course, native whites are not alone in their quest to promote this city. Power may not be distributed equally among Miami's ethnic groups, but the different elites share a preference for growth strategies that emphasize Miami as a growing international metropolis. To the Hispanic elites, one of the appealing aspects of the portrayal of Miami as a Latin city is that it highlights their own crucial role in Miami's rise to prominence. It is also essential to Miami's marketing image in South America, where the city is viewed with admiration and pride and as a testament to Latin ambition and creativity. However, even if the business elites favor Miami's internationalization, not all of the city's residents enjoy the benefits equally.

ECONOMIC INTERNATIONALIZATION AND SOCIAL POLARIZATION

A city's absolute economic growth does not necessarily benefit all its residents. Logan and Molotch point

21. The concept of non-decision-making reflects that the most important decisions are made outside of the formal political process. See Peter Bachrach and Morton Baratz, "Two Faces of Power," *American Political Science Review*, 56:947-52 (1962).

18. "Who's Who: 100 People Who Make Things Happen in South Florida," supp., *South Florida Business Journal*, 29 Apr. 1994.

19. "The Book of Lists," supp., *South Florida Business Journal*, 22 Dec. 1995.

20. Over thirty years ago, Murray Edelman introduced the distinction between symbolic and real politics. The former is the politics that is played out on the front pages of the local newspapers. The latter is the kind that takes place in back rooms and on golf courses, less visible yet more important. See Murray Edelman, *The Symbolic Uses of Politics* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1964).

out that "just as new jobs may not change the aggregate rate of employment . . . they may also have little effect on unemployed individuals in a given place."²² In Miami, the Latin success story overshadows the lot of many less fortunate Hispanics who face a daily struggle in this economically polarized city. More pertinently, in the case of Miami, the twining of growth and internationalization has resulted in social polarization with an important ethnic dimension. Miami's growth strategies tend to deprive Miami's blacks (natives and immigrants, such as Haitians) of equal opportunities in sharing the benefits of growth.

Miami's blacks have found themselves on the sidelines of the city's transformation and without an important role in Miami's growth machine. Growth has occurred mostly in the international sectors of the urban economy, and blacks are not well positioned to benefit from this. For example, black family incomes in 1990 were only 80 percent of Hispanic family incomes. In the same year, 27 percent of black families lived under the official poverty line, as compared to 16 percent of Hispanic families. The unemployment rate in 1990 for blacks was 13 percent, and it was 8 percent for Hispanics. Importantly, in contrast to Hispanics, blacks are also strongly underrepresented in terms of employment in the producer services sector, which has a strong international orientation and is one of Miami's fastest-growing sectors.²³

22. Logan and Molotch, *Urban Fortunes*, p. 322.

23. Jan Nijman, "Class, Ethnicity, and the Economic Internationalization of Miami," in *Social Polarization in Post-Industrial Me-*

The regression of blacks in Miami's development is rarely addressed explicitly in public debates, except by blacks themselves. To be sure, matters of poverty, crime, and homelessness are at the center of attention of the symbolic politics that cover the front pages of the local newspapers. But it is typical of the "underclass" discourse in many American cities in that it negates the role of race or ethnicity.²⁴ Part of the problem has to do with ideological predispositions of American society at large, but the negation of racial inequality, disharmony, and tension also flows from the logic of the growth machine. Apart from immediate destructive effects on the material environment, internal racial conflict has the potential to derail the growth machine as it damages the city's image and deters foreign investors. Thus structural conflict must be avoided, and, if it persists, it must be downplayed in rhetoric.²⁵

Crime is a case in point. Miami's notoriously high crime rates can at least in part be attributed to social polarization, which tends to foster both opportunity (seen in the haves) and motive (on the part of have-nots).

tropolises, ed. J. O'Loughlin and J. Friedrichs (Chicago: Gruyter, 1996).

24. Norman Fainstein, "Race, Class, and Segregation: Discourses About African Americans," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 17 (1993), reprinted in *Readings in Urban Theory*, ed. S. Fainstein and S. Campbell (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1996), pp. 216-45.

25. Miami has had its share of ethnic conflict. In 1980, Miami witnessed the worst race riots in the history of the United States since the Civil War (in terms of death and material damage), to be superseded only by the Los Angeles riots of 1992.

But while the local news media cover local violent crimes ad nauseum, these are never discussed in terms of race or ethnicity. This leads to remarkably contradictory situations. For example, when tourists are handed maps by car rental agencies showing areas that are unsafe and should be avoided, it will never be explicated that these are black areas. Acknowledgment of a structural race problem runs the risk of exposing structural deficiencies in the way our society is organized, and thus jeopardizes its legitimacy.

Local discourse seldom questions the material effects of Miami's growth strategies on the black population. Instead, it celebrates the virtues of multiculturalism and emphasizes civic pride in the city's international achievements. But to speak convincingly of a single civic community in Miami requires some imagination and not only because of the special position of blacks. One of the tasks of the elite in the urban growth machine that has proven particularly difficult in the case of Miami is to generate and sustain "the place patriotism of the masses."²⁶

MIAMI AS A GLOBAL PLACE:
ETHNICITY AND THE
COLOR OF MONEY

In her description of Miami as a world-class trading center, Kantor acknowledged the city's problems in terms of the lack of social cohesiveness and the immaturity of its body politic. This is indeed an issue that threatens the long-term success of

26. Logan and Molotch, *Urban Fortunes*, p. 299.

Miami's international growth machine, but it is reductionist to view social problems solely in terms of the threat they pose to continued economic growth.²⁷

Miami's internationalization has an immediate effect on the social order and everyday lives of people in this city. This goes beyond the uneven distribution of the material benefits of international growth and resulting economic polarization. It is about social capital, rather than money, and about use values rather than exchange values.

Generally, the globalization of ethnic relations has a profound impact on local inter- and intragroup relations. With increased mobility, for many the nature of international migration has changed from a one-way and permanent settlement in a new destination to a much more flexible existence in two places simultaneously. Sociologist Alejandro Portes refers to these migrants as "global villagers," who give rise to "transnational communities."²⁸ Today's migrants are often capable of maintaining strong ties to the community of origin. While such communities continue to associate with their mother country, a large number of their members may be located in clusters around the world. Examples include San Francisco's Chinatown, Toronto's Greek community, and Miami's Little Haiti.

27. Another example of this reductionist approach to social problems in cities is Neal R. Peirce, *Citistates: How Urban America Can Prosper in a Competitive World* (Washington, DC: Seven Locks Press, 1993).

28. Alejandro Portes, "Global Villagers: The Rise of Transnational Communities," *American Prospect*, pp. 74-77 (Mar.-Apr. 1996).

But if communities are no longer necessarily place bound, what are the implications for urban areas with diverse population groups? According to Néstor Rodríguez, "Binational existence affects intergroup relations in immigrant settlement areas by reinforcing the immigrants' internal social and cultural infrastructure, reducing dependency on mainstream social resources."²⁹ Clearly, the implication is that immigrant groups, if they are sufficiently large, cohesive, and mobile, are less likely to assimilate into the existing urban mainstream.

The United States has a long and well-known history of immigration and population diversity. Hyphenated Americanism is a typical feature of that history: urban populations in the United States comprise Irish Americans, African Americans, Arab Americans, Chinese Americans, and so forth. As a rule, however, assimilation would occur, and, insofar as ethnic designations continued to be used, they were little more than folkloric window dressing.

In a city like Miami, however, positioned at the cutting edge of globalization, even hyphenated Americanism seems to be ruled out. Cuban Americans (most are naturalized) are known as Cubans, Nicaraguans are referred to as Nicaraguans, and so on. Presumably, there is little American about many people in this city. A good illustration of Rodríguez's point

29. Néstor P. Rodríguez, "The Real 'New World Order': The Globalization of Racial and Ethnic Relations in the Late Twentieth Century," in *The Bubbling Cauldron: Race, Ethnicity, and the Urban Crisis*, ed. M. P. Smith and J. R. Feagin (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), p. 215.

about the lack of assimilation with regard to Miami's Cubans is a statement by Carlos Arboleya, one of the city's foremost Cuban businessmen: "Never in the history of the United States has there been such a number of immigrants concentrated in one specific area with an economic and social infrastructure that does not need the regular infrastructure of the place they live."³⁰

Rodríguez pointed out that, "unless a common purpose binds them [the different ethnic groups in the same urban area] together, tribal hostilities will drive them apart."³¹ As we have seen, Miami's different ethnic elites do indeed share a common purpose in terms of preferred economic growth strategies. But even if the elites share the same interests in the city's growth strategies, the large majorities of the respective ethnic groups remain largely segregated. This is true for blacks, as discussed earlier, but also for native whites and various Hispanic populations. Seen from this angle, Miami is at the forefront of the "disuniting of America."³²

Money can function to bridge those gaps to some extent or to render one's ethnic identity partially irrelevant. But this solution applies only to the wealthy. Thus rich Hispanics and non-Hispanics live side by side in the affluent neighborhoods of Key Bis-

30. Pamela Varley, *Language and the Melting Pot: Florida's 1988 "Official English" Referendum*, Case #C-16-90-990 (Cambridge: MA: Harvard University, John F. Kennedy School of Government, 1990), p. 9.

31. Rodríguez, "The Real 'New World Order,'" p. 216.

32. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Disuniting of America* (New York: Norton, 1992).

cayne or Coral Gables, whereas many other Hispanics and blacks inhabit the more segregated areas of Hialeah (Hispanic) or Liberty City (black). Class overshadows ethnicity only in the upper echelons.

GLOBALIZATION AND CIVIC SOCIETY

The lack of community or unity in Miami affects the daily lives of many inhabitants of this city. It is striking how many people claim that they are here only temporarily, even if they have no firm future plans to relocate. Many live their lives within the confines of their own group—if they have one. Confronted with the city's transitory character, few seem intent on investing in their social environment. Newcomers to this city tend to experience Miami's social climate as cold and have difficulty in forging a social network that extends beyond their own ethnic group. At a different level, this lack of sociability and social control is reflected in the exceedingly large number of gated residential communities in Miami (reminiscent of some Latin American cities with their highly stratified social structure) and thriving security businesses.

The relative weakness of the social contract in this city, and the lack of a solid civic culture that spans all ethnic groups, may well play a part in the city's high crime rates.³³ Miami

33. The contrasting cases of Miami and Tokyo suggest a relationship between cultural diversity, civic culture, and crime. See Jan Nijman, "Wereldsteden in het proces van mondialisering," *Amsterdams sociologisch tijdschrift*, 22:206-24 (1995).

acquired its notorious reputation for crime in the early 1980s. The *New York Times* of 23 December 1980 reported on its front page that crime had gone "berserk" in Miami, allegedly exceeding the crime rates in places like Los Angeles and New York.³⁴ In 1981, a *Time* magazine article depicted the city of Miami as a "paradise lost." In a ten-page cover story, it presented an extremely bleak and harsh picture of life in South Florida.³⁵ It suggested that the social costs of Miami's rapid growth and extraordinary development had been too high. Besides the direct problems caused by high immigration and ethnic tensions, the deteriorating image of Miami was closely linked to an impressive increase in crime.

The year 1980 was unusually violent, but in subsequent years Miami has not been able to rid itself of its image as a high-crime city. According to statistics of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Miami ranked first in total crime among the nation's 79 large metropolitan areas in 1992 and 1993. It also ranked first in violent crime.³⁶ Miami acquired particular notoriety for the murders of tourists after a string of eight killings in a span of nine months ending in Sep-

34. "Crime Termed 'Berserk' in Miami: Refugees and Drugs Blamed in Part," *New York Times*, 23 Dec. 1980.

35. "Trouble in Paradise: South Florida Is Hit by a Hurricane of Crime, Drugs and Refugees," *Time*, 23 Nov. 1981, pp. 22-32. Besides rising crime rates, the article was inspired by the Mariel boatlift, the race riots, and the influx of Haitian refugees, all of which converged in 1980.

36. Department of Justice, *Crime in the United States*, Uniform Crime Reports (Washington, DC: Department of Justice, 1994).

tember 1993.³⁷ It was at this juncture that the aforementioned maps were distributed by car rental agencies.

Materialism, as I indicated earlier, sometimes seems to function to compensate for Miami's social poverty. This penchant for materialism, in turn, implies that Miami lacks the social constraints on growth found in most other cities. Potentially corrective forces in defense of a collective civic culture and in opposition to the forces of growth are weak. The often-referred-to relationship between globalism and localism, in the sense of place-rooted reactionary movements against the perceived threats of globalization,³⁸ is virtually absent because so few of Miami's inhabitants are in fact rooted in this city. There are minimal constraints on the growth machine.

Ironically, the narratives generated by the growth machine emphasize the multicultural values of globalization, rather than the monetary rewards. The *Miami Herald*, again, can be seen to play a crucial role in the mobilization of these cultural motivations. The editorial columns show how the paper fits the role attributed to it by Logan and Molotch, constantly underscoring the reasons for civic pride in Miami's international achievements and holding Miami up as a shining example of multiculturalism to the rest of the nation.³⁹

37. "Tourist Is Killed in Florida Despite Taking Precautions," *New York Times*, 9 Sept. 1993.

38. See Zdravko Mlinar, ed., *Globalization and Territorial Identities* (Aldershot: Avebury, 1992).

39. Multiculturalism is a typical product of white Western culture, which reduces its vi-

In a recent book, the Chinese American geographer Yi-Fu Tuan debates the importance to most human beings—even cosmopolites—of both the enlightenment of the "cosmos" and the comfort of the "hearth."⁴⁰ In its benign form, the hearth represents the trusted and familiar environment of the home, where there is a collective attachment to place and a sense of belonging. The cosmos, on the other hand, is the scale of worldliness, diversity, individual freedom, and rationality.

There is no question that, apart from economic gains, globalization brings a world of excitement, cultural enrichment, and broadening horizons. To the cosmopolites among us, Miami is an ultimately interesting city, a laboratory of urban change in the global era. But it is also the scene of the expansion of the cosmos and the fraying of the hearth. If cities are synonymous with civilization, Miami provides us with a glimpse of the fate of civilization in the global era.

What is at stake in Miami and other globalized cities is a social order and civility that do not come naturally, as in the environment of the traditional hearth. In a place like Miami, they have to be rationalized by enlightened cosmopolites. Tuan describes the ideal as follows: "Bonding based on propinquity and kinship is natural to us. By contrast, kindness to strangers who may not reciprocate and civility in impersonal transactions

ability in a setting where Western whites are a minority. In Miami, blacks and Hispanics rarely use the word.

40. Yi-Fu Tuan, *Cosmos and Hearth: A Cosmopolite's Viewpoint* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996).

are a watermark achievement of civilization."⁴¹ Herein lies a challenge of

immense proportions to metropolitan Miami and other cities at the forefront of globalization: the making of the city into a cosmopolitan hearth.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 40.