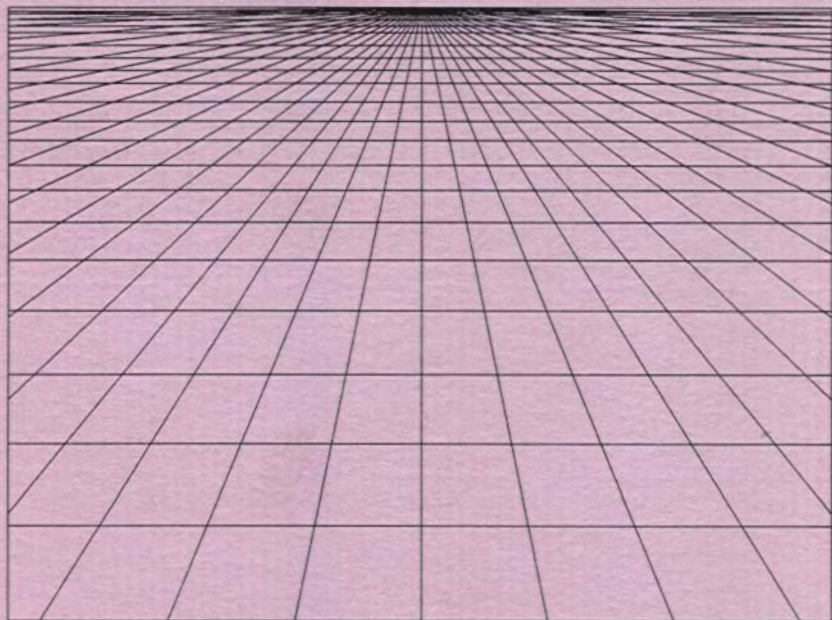


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From the Editor

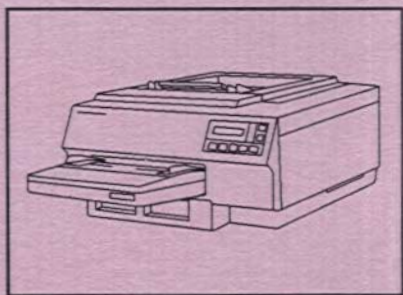


The Florida Geographer is the official publication of the Florida Society of Geographers and is distributed free to members of the Society. It is a state-wide journal, with coverage of geographical topics relating to the state.

Manuscripts should deal with some social science or physical geography aspect or include Florida as an important component of a larger study.

Manuscripts are solicited from all who feel they have research worthy of dissemination. For stylistic requirements, see the articles in the present number, but authors should not be dissuaded from submitting articles for review because of format considerations.

It is expected that authors will submit the final copy of the paper on an IBM-compatible diskette (3.5" or 5.25") in either double or high density format. WordPerfect files are preferred; if not, please save files in ASCII (DOS text file) format.



This issue of the journal was desktop published using Wordperfect 5.1 and Facelift for Wordperfect on a LaserJet 4 printer.

Ira M. Sheskin
University of Miami

Editor, *The Florida Geographer*



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Florida's Small Isolated Communities

David Lee

Northern Arizona University

According to the 1990 U.S. census, Florida has a population of 12,937,926. Three-quarters of that population, 9,639,615, reside in 754 "places," ranging in population from 635,230 in Jacksonville city (remainder) to 10 in the community of Orchid. The mean population of these communities is 12,768; the median population (4,875) is much smaller than the mean, reflecting the significant impact of the large urban communities on the mean value.

The large urban areas account for most of the state's total population; The seven largest counties, all urban, account for 55% of the total population. These large urban areas concentrate people into massive expanses of contiguous residential districts. Separated from these urban concentrations by only a few miles are satellite communities which are closely related—functionally and spatially—to the cities. For example, Tampa and St. Petersburg each has more than 200,000 residents. Nearby are 21 places with populations in the 10,000 to 100,000 range, and another 37 places of less than 10,000.

Farther removed from the urban concentrations are smaller regional centers. According to central place theory, confirmed empirically as well, there are regional centers serving predominantly agricultural areas. For example, between the major urban clusters of Orlando and Tampa/St. Petersburg, there are five towns in the 10,000 to 20,000 population bracket, and one, Lakeland, with 70,576. The population in these lower-order communities is more isolated than that of the urban centers, but still, the variety of goods and services available to such populations is fairly substantial.

Finally, at the other end of the spatial separation spectrum are the lowest-order places, small and removed from larger urban centers. According to central place theory, these small places all should be separated an equal distance from each other or from larger centers. Most of Florida's small communities (below the median population) conform in a general sense to this rule; by the criteria developed below, 342 do. However, Florida is not a homogeneous plane, and Christaller-like

hexagons are weakly developed in some areas. Thirty-two small Florida communities are separated from their nearest neighbors by a distance which implies that functional interaction is limited and that the selection of goods and services is restricted. It is with these tiny isolated communities that this paper is concerned.

Data

The U.S. census provides population numbers by race and age for places (1990 Census of Population and Housing, Places). Additionally, latitude and longitude designations are provided. Using this information, a great circle program was used to find the distance in statute miles between places. It is recognized, of course, that places are usually separated by more than the great circle distance because roads rarely conform to great circle azimuths. Nevertheless, the road distances are not available for analysis, and the great circle distances suffice as a surrogate.

The set of census places is not identical by any means with named communities which one might find on a road map. Close inspection of most any road map of the state will reveal a myriad of names and dots suggesting that communities exist at these points on the ground. That these places should be omitted from the census is beyond the scope of this paper; I only suggest that the map makers may, like cartographers of the Age of Discovery, place towns of questionable authenticity in otherwise empty spaces. The cartographer, like nature itself, abhors a vacuum.

A place is identified by this paper as isolated if it had its nearest neighboring community 10 or more miles away. Ten miles was chosen as an arbitrary measure of isolation, the implication being that communities closer than 10 miles can easily interact with each other via motor vehicles and even by foot. One might, for example, reasonably drive 10 miles for a loaf of bread or bottle of milk, but would think twice should distances be much greater. Distances beyond 10 miles sharply curtail the types of functional interactions which are routine among places found close together.

The first iteration of this project revealed 30 communities which met the defining criteria of being separated from nearest other community by 10 or more miles and being less than the median population of 4,875. A second iteration was done to accommodate another phenomenon of isolation. In two cases, two or three nearby small towns were found themselves to be isolated from other communities by 10 or more miles. I reasoned that these tiny sister communities function as a single isolated place, and therefore would meet the qualifying criteria, if their total population did not exceed 4,875. Two groups of places thus qualified, Bristol-Blountstown in the Panhandle west of Tallahassee, and Micanopy-McIntosh-Reddich south of Gainesville. This brought the total of isolated communities to 32 (Table 1; Figure 1).

Analysis

Most of the small, isolated communities are in the northern part of the state in the 35 counties north of Levy County (approximately 29° North Latitude) (Figure 1). As a group, these counties have a much lower population than the counties south of that parallel (2,412,258 to 10,525,668), and a much lower population density (102 persons per square mile to 346). This sparsity can be seen easily on population density maps (Fernald 1981, 81).

Of the five places south of Levy County, three (Islandia, North Key Largo, and Lawton) are in the Florida Keys, and owe their isolation to their island locations. Islandia is not connected to the mainland so its thirteen residents boat to the mainland. The other two are connected to their neighbors via U.S. 1. All are predominantly white communities whose economy is based on the tourism and retirement industries.

As for the northern isolated places, three apparent sets of communities seem to present groupings. One group consists of places near Gainesville, predominantly in and around the counties of Gilchrist, Dixie, and Levy. The population density of these three counties is 21 persons per square mile, well below that of the state and about a quarter that of the northern counties as a group (1990 Census of Population and Housing, Counties). These counties are low-lying, largely swampy regions (Fernald 1981, 163). The major north-south routes are farther inland,

Table 1
Demographic Characteristics of Isolated Places

Place	Total Pop	Whites	Black (% Black)	Pop > 18 (% Pop > 18)
Altha	497	489	0 (0%)	349 (70.2%)
Bell	267	266	0 (0%)	178 (66.7%)
Branford	670	590	74 (11.0%)	496 (74.0%)
Bristol -Blountstown	3341	2393	911 (27.3%)	2338 (70.0%)
Carrabelle	1200	1090	96 (8.0%)	906 (75.5%)
Cedar Key	668	661	0 (0%)	533 (79.8%)
Cross City	2041	1522	502 (24.6%)	1478 (72.4%)
Ebro	255	199	13 (5.1%)	183 (71.8%)
Everglades City	321	320	0 (0%)	246 (76.6%)
Fort White	268	168	96 (35.8%)	172 (64.2%)
Freeport	843	785	18 (2.1%)	635 (75.3%)
Greenville	950	333	613 (64.5%)	646 (68.0%)
Hawthorne	1305	606	698 (53.5%)	901 (69.0%)
Hilliard	1751	1394	351 (20.0%)	1181 (67.5%)
Horseshoe Beach	252	250	0 (0%)	168 (66.7%)
Interlachen	1160	1031	86 (7.4%)	837 (72.2%)
Islandia	13	12	1 (7.7%)	11 (84.6%)
Jasper	2099	1162	926 (44.1%)	1454 (69.3%)
Jennings	712	332	347 (48.7%)	452 (63.5%)

Table 1
Demographic Characteristics of Isolated Places

Place	Total Pop	Whites	Black (% Black)	Pop > 18 (% Pop > 18)
Layton	183	177	2 (1.1%)	155 (84.7%)
Mexico Beach	992	978	7 (0.7%)	831 (83.8%)
Micanopy- McIntosh- Reddich	1577	1085	476 (30.9%)	1208 (76.6%)
Molino	1207	909	280 (23.2%)	849 (70.3%)
Monticello	2573	1245	1322(51.4%)	1850 (71.9%)
Moore Haven	1432	978	281 (19.6%)	998 (69.7%)
N. Key Largo	1490	1444	41 (2.8%)	1399 (93.9%)
Otter Creek	136	115	21 (15.4%)	111 (81.6%)
Port St Joe	4044	2542	1480 (36.6%)	3008 (74.4%)
St Marks	307	292	10 (3.3%)	229 (74.6%)
Wewahitchka	1779	1600	171 (9.6%)	1286 (72.3%)
White Springs	704	373	325 (46.2%)	437 (62.1%)
Williston	2179	1719	407 (18.7%)	1633 (74.9%)
Total	37216	27060	9555	27158
Mean	1163	845	299	849
%		72.71%	25.67%	73.37%

Florida's Isolated Communities

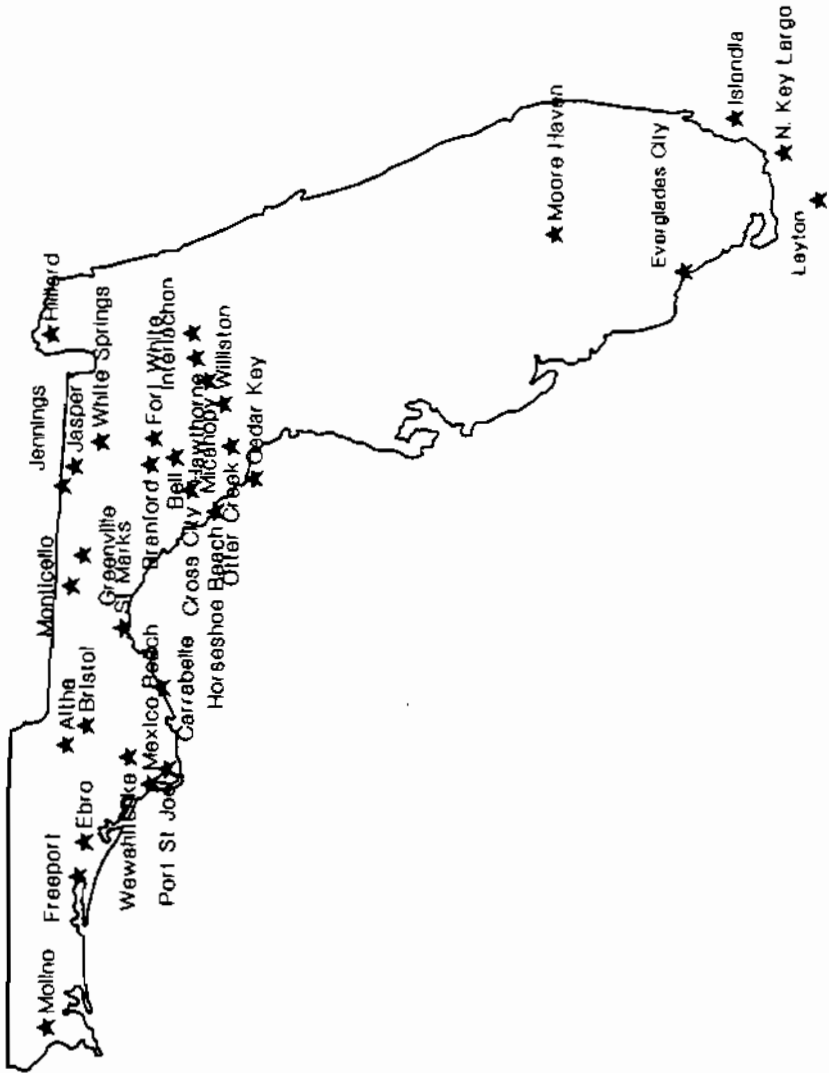


Figure 1

*Note: Bristol refers to the sister community of Bristol-Blountstown
Micanopy refers to Micanopy-McIntosh-Reddich*

and the coast itself is quite isolated. Horseshoe Beach and Cedar Key in this region are on the coast at the end of roads where no coastal routes have been constructed. (Cedar Key's isolation has been noted previously: Fillman-Richards and Richards 1978; Schaleman 1985.)

Another grouping of small, isolated places is found in Florida's Panhandle in several counties, which also collectively have a population density well below the state average. Two tiers of places are noted, those on the coast, such as Carrabelle and Port St. Joe, and those farther inland, mainly south of Interstate 10. A third concentration of isolated places is along the Georgia border in the largely agricultural land of Hamilton and Jefferson Counties.

Degrees of Isolation

Further analysis of the 32 isolated communities revealed interesting features. For each isolated community, the distances to the nearest 10 other communities were summed (Table 2, Column 1). The most isolated community by this measure was Carrabelle, which lies an aggregate of 337 miles from its 10 nearest neighbors, or an average of 33.7 miles. This great spatial isolation is only explained in part by the fact that the town is on the Gulf of Mexico and half its potential hinterland is usurped by the sea. Some other coastal communities are similarly isolated, for example Horseshoe Beach, Cedar Key, and Everglades City. However, other coastal towns, such as North Key Largo and Mexico Beach, were not greatly isolated by this measure. A t-test of the 32 communities, classified as coastal or non-coastal, revealed no statistical differences between the two sets in terms of miles to nearest neighbors. Likewise, testing the 32 places, classified north or south of Levy County, revealed that north-vs.-south differentiation produced no significant difference in terms of aggregate miles to the 10 nearby neighbors.

Population of Nearby Places

Isolation is not merely a matter of distance, however. A community which is, for example, fifteen miles from a metropolis is much less isolated than one which is fifteen miles from a tiny hamlet. Therefore the

Table 2
Measures of Isolation

Place (County)	Aggregate Miles¹	Aggregate Population²	Miles from 10,000 Persons³
Altha (Calhoun)	146.34	18143	80.66
Bell (Gilchrist)	170.49	16868	101.07
Branford (Lafayette)	212.95	28737	74.10
Bristol-Blountstown (Calhoun)	224.78	25715	87.41
Carrabelle (Franklin)	336.75	16217	207.64
Cedar Key (Levy)	277.57	12921	214.82
Cross City (Dixie)	231.33	7851	294.64
Ebro (Washington)	185.86	32588	57.03
Everglades (Collier)	317.44	112216	28.29
Freeport (Walton)	200.52	41164	48.71
Fort White (Columbia)	171.75	25035	68.60
Greenville (Madison)	303.66	149176	20.36
Hawthorne (Alachua)	167.67	95673	17.53
Hilliard (Nassau)	270.88	686893	3.94
Horseshoe Beach (Dixie)	311.69	8989	346.75
Interlachen (Putnam)	184.75	18342	100.72
Islandia (Dade)	150.66	105724	14.25
Jasper (Hamilton)	254.09	27467	92.51
Jennings (Hamilton)	289.10	29134	99.23
Layton (Monroe)	290.55	42444	68.45
Mexico Beach (Bay)	188.86	79268	23.83

Table 2
Measures of Isolation

Place (County)	Aggregate Miles¹	Aggregate Population²	Miles from 10,000 Persons³
Micanopy-McIntosh-Reddich (Alachua/Marrion)	144.56	142788	10.12
Molino (Escambia)	162.01	108947	14.87
Moore Haven (Glades)	230.53	46659	49.41
Monticello (Jefferson)	316.53	142465	22.22
North Key Largo (Monroe)	147.70	88700	16.65
Otter Creek (Levy)	190.69	12311	154.89
Port St Joe (Gulf)	258.62	42178	61.32
St Marks (Wakulla)	294.06	149724	19.64
Wewahitchka (Gulf)	237.91	43605	54.56
White Springs (Hamilton)	215.39	27595	78.05
Williston City (Levy)	177.06	134043	13.21
Mean	226.96	78737	79.55
¹ Aggregate great circle miles from indicated place to 10 nearest places ² Aggregate population of 10 places nearest to indicated place ³ miles between indicted place and 10 nearest places per 10,000 population of 10 nearest places [Col 1/(Col 2/10,000)]			

aggregate population of the 10 nearest communities was calculated (Table 2, Column 2). Sometimes, towns which were quite isolated in terms of distances were found nestled comfortably within large communities. Hilliard, for example, virtually a suburb of Jacksonville, has more than half a million people living in its 10 nearest towns. At the other extreme, the people of Cross City and Horseshoe Beach, both in Dixie

County, find that their 10 nearest communities contain few people, 7,851 and 8,989 respectively. No statistically significant differences could be shown when the places were tested according to region (north vs.south) or coastal location.

Population/Miles

A final metric was examined which combined the first two, the number of miles that communities lie from 10,000 other individuals living in the 10 nearest communities (Table 2, Column 3). Here again, Hilliard, because of its proximity to Jacksonville, is shown to be the least isolated by this measure, and Horseshoe Beach and Cross City, are the most and second most isolated communities in Florida. A t-test again showed no significant differences according to north/south region or to coastal/non-coastal location.

Comparison with Small, Non-Isolated Places

The 32 isolated places were compared with 342 places which are not isolated but are classified as "small" (below the median population of all places). Chi-square tests of these two groups of small places revealed that they are statistically demographically different from each other in terms of percentage black. Table 3 shows that the isolated places as a group have a higher percentage black than do the non-isolated small places, and the difference was statistically significant at the .001 level. Similarly, isolated small places were less likely than the non-isolated small places to have a high percentage of their population older than eighteen years. Probably the non-isolated places are more likely to be retirement centers, whereas the isolated places contain people in their working years. Again, a chi-square test showed a significant difference.

Conclusion

This preliminary study calls for further demographic and economic inputs so that a greater insight into these communities can be drawn. At the time of this writing, the complete socio-economic characteristics of the population were not available from the 1990 Census, so it is not possible to undertake a study of the income, education, and occupational levels

of the populations in the smaller communities in Florida. Similarly, it is not yet possible to compare the inventories of goods and services available in the small isolated places with those in the small non-isolated places. Do the isolated places provide more functions than their size would predict, or do the people there simply drive farther to obtain goods and services missing locally?

Field analysis, such as the type reported upon in earlier issues of *The Florida Geographer*, would likewise provide interesting sociological insights into the nature of Florida's small places (for example: Fillman-Richards and Richards 1978; Schaleman 1985; Schaleman 1984). One wonders, for example, are the people of Cross City and Horseshoe Beach really aware that they are the most isolated communities in the state. Are their lifestyles significantly different from those of people in small towns generally? What attracts them there? Maybe they are merely stuck in these places and lack the mobility to move elsewhere.

On the other hand, perhaps the inhabitants of Florida's small, isolated communities, who could document the attractions that such communities might offer, would contend that it is Miami, Tallahassee, and the other urban centers that are isolated, not they.

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Table 3
Comparisons between Small Isolated Places
and Small Non-Isolated Places

Percentage Black	Isolated Place	Non-isolated Place
< 1%	6	165
1% - 5%	4	60
5% - 10%	5	20
10% - 30%	8	58
> 30%	9	39
Total Places	32	342
Mean % Black	25.67%	10.26%
Chi Square = 18.84		
Percentage aged 18 and older	Isolated Place	Non-isolated Place
< 70%	11	53
70% - 75%	11	68
75% - 83%	6	85
83% - 89%	3	67
> 89%	1	69
Total Places	32	342
Mean % 18+	73.37%	80.20%
Chi Square = 27.89		

Mount Dora, Florida— Chautauqua in the Wilderness

Harry J. Schaleman, Jr. and Dewey M. Stowers, Jr.
University of South Florida

The Chautauqua movement, a broad program of adult continuing education, reached its zenith following the turn of the nineteenth century. Established in 1874 on Lake Chautauqua, New York, this Methodist-inspired idea spread quickly throughout the United States and later to Canada and England. Like its predecessor the lyceum movement, the program focused on scholarly discourse and intellectual stimulation in the arts and sciences. In camp-like settings, adults assembled for lectures, discussions, readings, elocutions, and musical, religious, and recreational programs. The Chautauqua movement became extremely popular, and by 1924 it was estimated that one of three people in the United States had exposure to the Chautauqua system. Spreading from its cradle of inception, the name and idea were carried nationwide to rural America as well as to the larger urban centers. Mount Dora, Florida, embraced the movement and became one of the 103 local Chautauqua sites in 1887.

Locational Characteristics

Mount Dora is in Lake County, twenty-five miles northwest of Orlando, Florida, next to the northwest border of Orange County and facing the eastern end of Lake Dora. Here the hilly terrain rises in terraces to an elevation of 184 feet above sea level, one of the highest elevations in Florida. Therefore, the generic toponym, Mount, accompanies the specific toponym, Dora, to provide the community's name, Mount Dora. Lake County comprises 1157 square miles and includes 202 square miles of fresh water lakes formed primarily from sinkholes.¹ The county has some 1400 named lakes, a chain of which connects with the Florida east coast Inland Waterway. Leesburg is the largest city in the county, with a population of 14,900 (1990 census).

¹"Florida City and County Management," 1988, *Florida County Atlas*, Tallahassee: State of Florida, pages 70-71 (Figure).

Mount Dora, embracing an area of six square miles enjoys a pleasant climate throughout the year, with an average August temperature of 82.4°F and an average January temperature of 59.7°F.² Two-thirds of the average annual 47.57 inches of precipitation occur during the summer months, due to convectional thunderstorms. These climatic factors enhance the quiet, rural setting of the Mount Dora region.

The natural site of this city is dominated by the Albany and Apopka sandy soils which range from somewhat poorly drained soils near the lake (Albany) to the more heavily drained, loamy soils (Apopka) further inland.³ Both soils are rapidly permeable and of medium acidity. Small formations of Astatula dark loam soils exist throughout the area.

Climax vegetation of this region consists primarily of pine forests which occupy 53% of the county.⁴ The understory vegetation includes creeping bluestem, Indian grass, and runner oak.

The primary economic pursuit of this region is agriculture, with citrus groves dominating the landscape. Important truck crops of the county include cabbage, carrots, celery, corn, cucumbers, lettuce, radishes, and watermelons.⁵

Mount Dora and nearby towns are served by the Southern Coast Line Railroad. However, this facility has been declining during the past three decades (Figure 1).

Historical Overview

Many visitors from northern states are drawn to this area and other similar small Florida towns with rural charm, natural setting, and moderate

² Ibid.

³ Soil Survey of Lake County, Florida, 1975, Washington, DC: United States Department of Agriculture, maps 32 and 33, pages 7 and 10.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

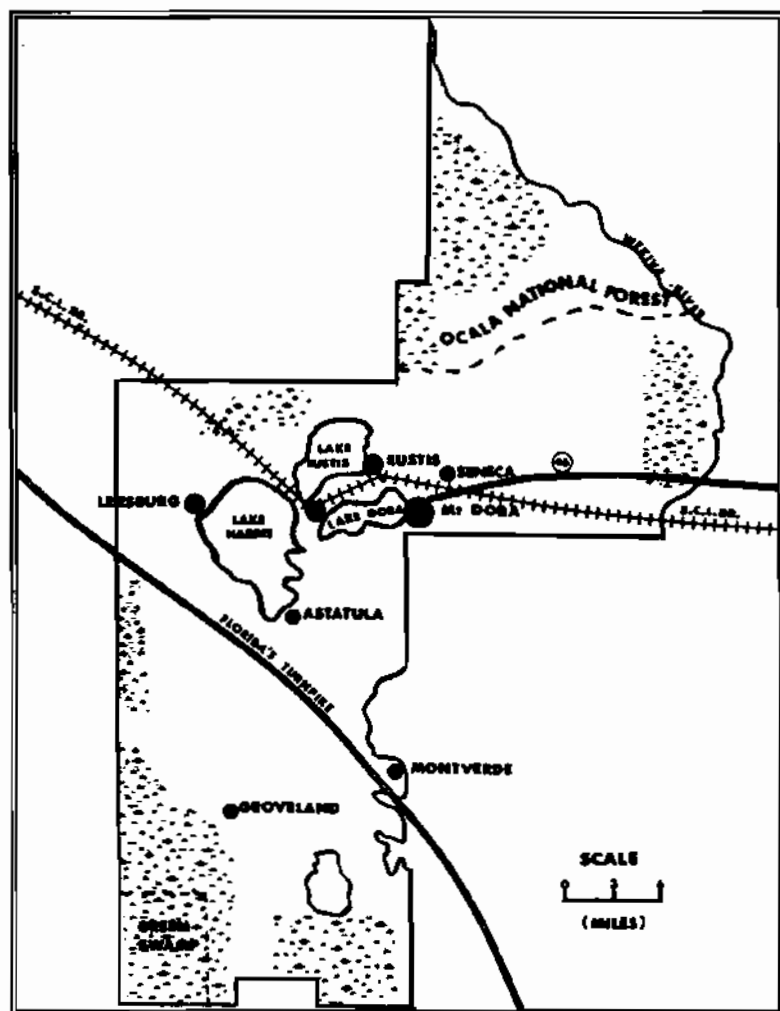


Figure 1
Mount Dora

climate. The quiet atmosphere and natural environment played important roles in establishing Mount Dora as an appropriate site for the famous Chautauqua gatherings.

Middens containing fragments of clay pottery, shell beads, broken arrowheads, and charred remains of aboriginal campfires suggest that Indians inhabited the area of Mount Dora as early as 500 years ago.⁶ Identified by the Spanish explorers in the 16th century as the Timucua tribe, the Indians survived through hunting and gathering activities as well as fishing and farming. European trade items found in burial mounds and campsites throughout the central lake region of Florida suggest exchange between the two peoples. Soon after the arrival of the Europeans, the Timucua became extinct. Despite occasional passage through the area of small groups of Indians (later referred to loosely as the Seminoles) from Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina en route further south, the area remained relatively unoccupied.

In this setting in 1846, Dora Ann Drawdy and her husband established a homestead about two miles south of the lake, later thought to be named in her honor by government surveyor James A. Gould whom she befriended.⁷ In appreciation for camping privileges and hospitality on the Drawdy property, it is said that Gould placed the name Lake Dora on his map of 1848. Confirming details are lacking, as all Orange County records were destroyed in a fire in 1869.⁸ Lake County, the contemporary location, was created later in 1887 out of parts of Orange and Sumter Counties.⁹

Ironically, Dora Drawdy for whom the lake and, later, the community were named never officially lived in Mount Dora. She and her husband arrived from Augusta, Georgia, and built a pine log cabin to the south on the eastern shore of what today is called Lake Beauclair. Here the

⁶ Sleight, Frederick W., "Mount Dora's Prehistoric Past," Introduction to R. J. Longstreet, *The Story of Mount Dora, Florida*, Mount Dora: Mount Dora Historical Society, 1960, page v.

⁷ *Ibid.*, page 20.

⁸ *Ibid.*, page 2.

⁹ Chapter 3771, No. 91, "An Act to Create and Establish the County of Lake from Portions of Sumter and Orange Counties," approved by the Governor, May 27, 1887.

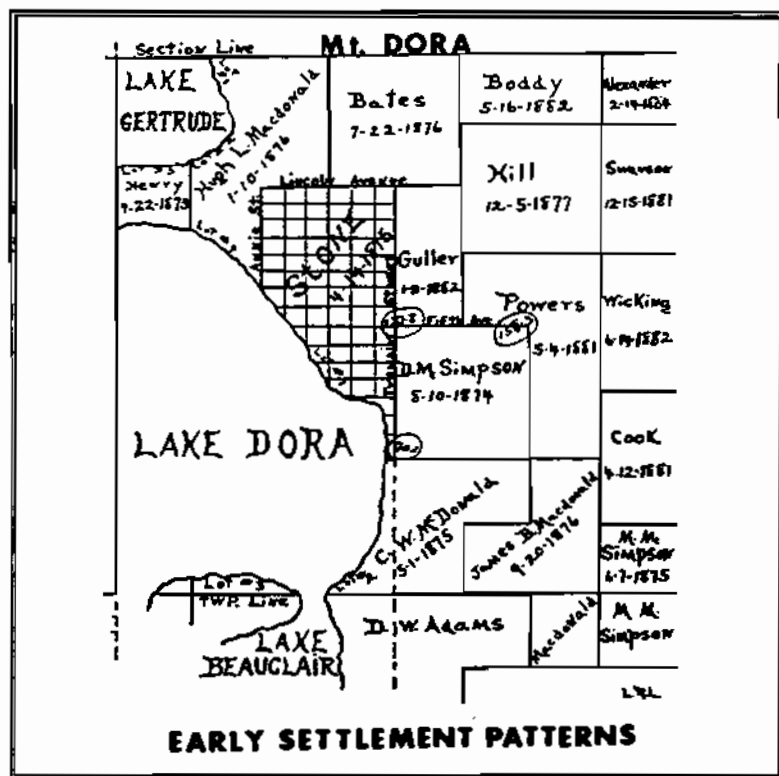


Figure 2
Mount Dora

Drawdys raised their six children. Fearing isolation and danger from deserters and runaway slaves when her husband James joined the Confederate Army, Dora moved to the small settlement of Seneca some ten miles to the northeast, where she died in 1883; her body is buried in the Umatilla cemetery.¹⁰

David M. Simpson, son of the owner of a large Florida plantation, along with his wife and two children, were the first homesteaders in what is

¹⁰ Longstreet, op. cit., pages 20, 21.

today Mount Dora (Figure 2).¹¹ On a 160-acre plot of forested high ground facing the eastern rim of the lake, Simpson built a log cabin in 1874. Like many early homesteaders, he is memorialized with a street named in his honor. Unfortunately for Simpson, oversight and error by the surveyors, combined with changing water levels of the lake resulted in the valuable lakeside section of his property which is today downtown Mount Dora, passing into the hands of Annie Stone. Annie's father, Clark W. McDonald, purchased additional lakeside real estate further south and adjacent to that of his daughter. Thus the second homestead family, in concert with David M. Simpson controlled the heart of what is now Mount Dora.

Who named the settlement Mount Dora and when it was named are unclear. Whether the community was "founded" or just evolved from scattered homesteads is also a matter of conjecture. If the former, who were the "founders"? Besides homesteaders and squatters already in the area, entrepreneurs and promoters, such as John A. Macdonald from Eustis, and surveyors, such as John W. Weeks (later U. S. Secretary of War), along with others arrived and platted streets and lots for the new community. The question of "founders" is, therefore, a moot one, as dozens of families lay claim to that honor.

In 1880, local settlers petitioned the U. S. government for a post office. Ross C. Tremain was appointed the first postmaster, and the settlement assumed the name of ROYELLOU (with at least six spelling variations thereof) after Tremain's three children: Roy, Ella, and Louis.¹² Conflicting stories from diaries of local residents and early publications render it impossible to establish specific details about who changed the name to Mount Dora and when this was done. The winter of 1882-1883 is the best estimate for the use of the new name, according to available records.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Morris, Allen, *Florida Place Names*, n.d., Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, page 105. Interview with Louis Clayton Tremain, June 1990.

By the end of 1883, no more than an estimated 50 families lived in Mount Dora.¹³ More than a century later, the population is nearly 12,000. Dr. C. R. Gilbert, an Ohioan who purchased land from salesman and promoter John A. Macdonald, noted in his diary in December 1882 that "this is the most lovely spot I have ever beheld. I predict for Mount Dora a PROSPEROUS future." In many ways the prophecy has come true.

The 1880's were a decade of "firsts" for the Mount Dora community. The first school, a small log cabin, was established in 1882 with sixteen-year-old Edith Gates as teacher.¹⁴ Methodist and Congregational churches were organized with services held in local homes and the new school building.¹⁵ Four years later, in 1886 a school for Negroes was established.¹⁶ In the next year (1887), Mount Dora's first newspaper, the *Mount Dora Voice* was published, a copy of which is on display in the Royellou Museum, a structure whose original function was that of city jail.

John Philip Donnelly, a bachelor from Pittsburgh, married Annie Stone after the desertion of her husband William, thereby merging his 160 acres with her valuable lakefront property. Writing a column in the Spring of 1886 in the *Mount Dora Voice*, Donnelly described the community of more than 250 residents as having "two general stores, one drug store, a carriage factory, three hotels, and two churches." As a harbinger for future progress, he announced plans for a "broad gauge railroad" and "the Congregational National Chautauqua Assembly . . . which will bring 5,000 to 10,000 people each winter."¹⁷ The first

¹³ Longstreet, op. cit., "List of Residents 1882-83," page 26.

¹⁴ Minutes of Orange County Board of Public Instruction, September 17, 1881.

¹⁵ Longstreet, op. cit., page 36.

¹⁶ Minutes of Orange County Board of Public Instruction, December 6, 1886.

¹⁷ Donnelly, John P. *Mount Dora Voice*, April 23, 1886.

railroad service through Mount Dora was in 1887, providing prestige and status for the community.

Chautauqua Period

In the same year, just thirteen years after the nation's first Chautauqua assembly was established in New York by Bishop John H. Vincent, the South Florida Chautauqua convened and provided similar annual educational assemblies centering on religious and cultural themes.¹⁸

Two years later, ten acres of prime lakeside real estate bordering the north shore of Lake Dora was deeded to the "Congregational State Association" for the new Chautauqua project by Dr. W. P. Henry, one of the early homesteaders, in exchange for lifetime passes for him and his wife.¹⁹ As described atop the one sheet program for the inaugural session, "the grounds are beautifully located between Lakes Dora and Gertrude and on the Sanford and Eustis division of the Jacksonville-Tampa and Key West road. Two regular trains pass over this road each way—extra trains will be run if needed. Passengers, by either rail or boat, will be taken directly to the grounds. Excursion tickets at half rates. A dining hall and dormitory has been erected, and tents may be rented during the season."²⁰ The first session was held in a great tent with the new auditorium and hotel built in 1888. It was in this complex that noted lecturers, writers, musicians, and scholars participated during the early years.

Mrs. O. W. Sadler, Sr., wife of an early settler, was active in the Chautauqua sessions and in addition to her own readings and participation produced at least two entertainment extravaganzas. In 1895 she orchestrated and directed a "Sham Battle of the Blue and the Gray." All

¹⁸ Longstreet, *op. cit.*, page 111.

¹⁹ 1889 Program, *The Florida Chautauqua*, Orange County Deed Book 37, December 7, 1885, page 97.

²⁰ 1887 Program, *The Florida Chautauqua*, First Annual Session at Mount Dora, April 5-14, 1887.

of the Yankee and Confederate veterans donned their uniforms, picked up their rifles, deployed themselves in the wooded lakeside area, and reenacted a chapter from the American Civil War. True to history, the Union prevailed. The following year, 1896, Mrs. Sadler staged a production entitled "The Nations," an assemblage of women wearing native ethnic and national costumes—a precursor to the family of nations concept that followed later.²¹

Annual meetings continued until 1906, when fire destroyed the facilities; and Mount Dora's brief flirtation as a "font of cultural greatness" came to a close. The list of lecturers on the program appeared less impressive in the later years. No figures for attendance are available for any of the assemblies. Support from the local community ensured its success, although out-of-town visitors are known to have stayed in hotels as far away from the campgrounds as Tangerine, Tavares, and Eustis.²²

Post Chautauqua Period

At least a dozen late nineteenth century structures remain. Most have been remodeled, enlarged, refurbished, or modified from their initial appearance and/or function. Two are conspicuous landmarks, and are on the National Register of Historic Places: namely, the popular Lakeside Inn (1883) and the Donnelly House (1893). The former is often cited as one of the nation's charming historic inns (Smithsonian Society's Top 50). The two story, three unit frame structure, occupying a knoll at the foot of Alexander Street, provides a sweeping vista to Lake Dora. The Donnelly House, built by John P. Donnelly for his bride Annie Stone, on the main street that today bears his name, has been handsomely refurbished and since 1930 has been the Masonic Temple Lodge. Another noted structure is the Community Congregational Church (1887), oldest church building still standing, also located on Donnelly Street. The old Guller House, built in the 1880's, after extensive

²¹ Longstreet, op. cit., page 124; also plates xx, xxxviii.

²² 1887 Program, op. cit.

remodelling in 1920 and again in 1963, is today the City Hall of Mount Dora.

Following the end of the Chautauqua series, Mount Dora attained incorporated status in 1910 with a population officially registered at 371.²³ Still lacking paved streets, sidewalks, street lights, and a water system, the community was physically undistinguished in the early years of the 20th century. Shortly after that, by the 1920's, the necessary amenities arrived: telephones, electricity, oil-sand roads, a new school, waterworks, an ice plant, a fire brigade, etc. A Commercial Club, forerunner of the Chamber of Commerce was established in 1918-1919. Eager to expand and enhance the reputation of Mount Dora, the Commercial Club published an information booklet and "posted" Mount Dora signs all the way to and from Washington, D.C.²⁴

The citrus industry flourished off and on in the early years of Mount Dora. From a modest start, orange groves soon became big business. "It is probable that every homesteader planted a few orange trees about his home. When the 'Yankees' started coming to Mount Dora in the eighties, certainly one of their ambitions was to become citrus growers.²⁵ A series of big freezes during the winters of 1885-1886, 1894-1895, and 1898-1899 (lows respectively of 20°F, 15°F and 17°F), and cold weather severely damaged the groves and depressed the economy of the Mount Dora community. Many abandoned their hopes, plans, and homes, leaving the area in some instances with but a few personal possessions. It was more than a half century later before a freeze of this magnitude returned to the area.²⁶

²³ U. S. Census, 1910. Chronological History of Mount Dora, Mount Dora: Chamber of Commerce, Inc.

²⁴ White, R. N., Mount Dora Information Booklet, August 10, 1920.

²⁵ Longstreet, op. cit., page 46.

²⁶ Ibid., pages 46-58.

Conclusion

Mount Dora's first half century set the tone for the community of today. Proud of its past, the city is perhaps one of Florida's best kept secrets. The charm and ambience of this quaint New England-style city of some 7,196 (1990 census) captivates visitor and resident alike. The accent is on culture and education as in the city's formative years. Home of the oldest art league in Florida, Mount Dora today has the Mount Dora Art League and the Ice House Theater, a troupe performing for more than forty years on a year-round repertoire. Festivals such as the Art Festival held each February attract some 150,000 visitors to view the works of 300 artists. Other annual events include the Antique Boat Festival, the Antique Auto Tour, the Crafts Fair, etc. Just outside Mount Dora is one of the largest flea markets in the state. Acclaimed the "Antique Flea Market Capital of Florida," such shops abound within and on the outskirts of this central Florida community.²⁷

Home of the state's oldest inland waterway yacht club, the Mount Dora Yacht Club, the city is water and sports oriented. The annual Bicycle Festival with more than 1,000 cyclists participating, the Dora Invitational golf tournament, the Sailing Regatta, and many fishing contests help to provide a setting amid lakes, mild climate, and Victorian homes that recall a more relaxed turn of the century atmosphere. The shaded streets lined with moss-draped oaks, interspersed with palm trees further accent the quaint New England atmosphere. True to its early heritage and the foresight of its founders, Mount Dora reflects its cultural past. The Chautauqua vision prevails today in spirit and memory.

²⁷ Mount Dora Chamber of Commerce, Inc.

Economic Development in Tampa Bay through the "Unifying Language" of Sports

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Introduction

Increasing attention by social geographers has focused on the role of ideology in the social production of space (Gregory, 1978; Harvey, 1985; Soja, 1989). If ideology has a role to play, perhaps it is best described as representing a filter or lens through which ideas are mediated in the course of human activity. Following Hodder (1984) and Isaac (1987), we can regard ideology as more than a simple twisting of knowledge; indeed, ideology serves as a resource that can be drawn upon to influence the meaning of human activity. The result is that a body of knowledge can be wielded much as any other resource, in turn giving some persons more or less power to influence the social production of space.

Despite the critical attention given by geographers, there has been no widespread agreement regarding how to study the effects of ideology, let alone how to interpret them. One avenue which may prove promising is to focus on an ideology that has surfaced to define values and meanings within the popular culture of America, and which in turn is intertwined in the construction of local geographies. A prime candidate for this focus is the ideology of sports (Sage, 1990). Following Lipsyte (1975), we can treat sports as a "unifying language" in American popular culture, one which resonates across many dimensions of American society, touching a broad spectrum of the population. It becomes spatially manifest when it enters the discourse used to promote economic development of

¹The author would like to thank David Hodge, Barney Warf, and an anonymous reviewer for their comments on earlier versions of this paper; the valuable assistance of Bill Adams and James Wysong is also acknowledged.

localities, its language being drawn upon as a resource to lend weight to arguments for investing in sports culture.

Sports-led economic development has increasingly become an issue confronted by localities experiencing growing pains (Abbott, 1987; Logan and Molotch, 1987). In city after city, calculating a way to profit from sports and turn those profits into economic growth for localities has generated a growth industry of its own (Davis, 1990; Wendel, 1988). The ideology that sports represents appears as a theme in public debates and private decision-making over land use management, fiscal policy, and long-range economic planning whenever a local government considers investing in or subsidizing the culture of sports. In some instances, the decision to invest in a built environment for sports may be hailed as a cornerstone that will lead a city to regional or national prominence. Building arenas, granting tax concessions to franchises, developing infrastructure to support athletic facilities, and making other commitments to sports culture each cost money. Yet it is often claimed that these are instrumental to bringing long-term benefits to a community, benefits which are both tangible and intangible. This paper explores how this claim has influenced the cultural landscape of Florida.

The fast-growing urban areas of Florida are not the only landscapes that show the effects of sports ideology. They do typify those places in the United States, however, where the social production of space clearly is the product of ideologies that guide economic development. Significantly, the ideology of sports has played a leading role in that development, both in Florida and elsewhere. This paper proceeds by expanding on the theme of sports as an ideology that has emerged to become a "unifying language" within the popular culture of America, and goes on to discuss how this ideology has played into issues of economic development in Florida's Tampa Bay area.

Ideology in American Sports Culture

The literature of American popular culture has identified competitive sports as a leading expression of cultural values and representation of the American spirit (for example, see Eitzen and Sage, 1986; Lipsyte, 1975; Sage, 1990). Sports is also recognized as contributing significantly to the

national economy; Sports inc. magazine calculated the "gross national sports product" for 1987 as \$50.2 billion, or approximately one percent of the nation's GNP. That is more money than the annual expenditure on oil and coal in the United States (Hofmann and Greenberg, 1989). With that much capital in circulation, sports is not only an important part of the nation's economy, but can be promoted as important for the American way of life, as well.

Despite this prominence, or perhaps because of it, one common theme in the popular culture literature has identified a myth about sports in America (Izenberg, 1977). This myth intricately invokes an ideological language and way of thinking that pervades popular culture. It creates a belief that, as Robert Lipsyte puts it, through sports

rich and poor, black and white, educated and unskilled,
we will all find a unifying language. The melting pot
may be a myth, but we will all come together in the
ball park (Lipsyte, 1975: ix).

This "unifying language" is embroiled in creating an infrastructure for perpetuating sports culture by blending together elements of religious ceremony and cultural identity with patriotism and even nationalism to instill a reverence for the winner-take-all achievements of athletes (Izenberg, 1977; Novak, 1988). It is an ideology which Lipsyte insists has been used to create an infrastructure of what he calls "Sports-World." Lipsyte describes this as a sweaty Oz you'll never find in a geography book, but since the end of the Civil War it has been promoted and sold to us like Rancho real estate, an ultimate sanctuary, a university for the body, a community for the spirit, a place to hide that glows with that time of innocence when we believed that rules and boundaries were honored, that good triumphed over evil, and that the loose ends of experience could be caught and bound and delivered in an explanation as final and as comforting as a goodnight kiss (Lipsyte, 1975: x).

It is this promotion and sale of sports culture—by industry, by the military, by government, and especially by the media—that allows the ideology of sports to penetrate deeply into popular culture. Through this "unifying language," the ideology of sports becomes woven into the

very fabric of an American way of life, giving a boost to the creation of local geographies as a resource for economic development.

Local Boosterism and Sports Promotion

‘We play ball with business.’

—on the cover of a promotional brochure from Arlington, TX

In recent decades, students of urban studies have called attention to a re-emergence of local area boosterism. (Abbott, 1987; Bernard and Rice, 1983; Burd, 1977). Perhaps this is nowhere more evident than in the boom towns of Florida and other Sun Belt states. John Logan and Harvey Molotch set the tone in their book, *Urban Fortunes*, expressing the conventional view that

professional sports [are a] clear asset to localities for the strong image they present and tourist traffic they attract (Logan and Molotch, 1987: 79).

Here we see the two strongest arguments often used to defend sports-led economic development: its image-building for a locality and its potential to increase local area tourism.

Image-building provides visibility to the outside world for a locality, and can in turn stimulate added investments in the local area by injecting new capital from outside the region. As Logan and Molotch (1987) suggest, the presence of high-visibility sports is thought to confer this image on a locality. Simultaneously, the image-building potential of sports is thought to promote renewed confidence among local capital interests and encourage them to maintain or increase investments in the locality.

The upshot is the creation of a local infrastructure and built environment geared to the promotion of sports. All the while, the sports venues and related fanfare attract tourists, generating an important contribution to a locality's economy. What many tourists come to see is the sports palace—the lavish new arena or stadium. Others come as avid fans of particular teams. Still others come simply because the sports myth tells them that they must make the pilgrimage, join with others in the cultural

event, and see first-hand the spectacle of big-time sports. When they come, they bring money and spend it in the local area.

From the perspective of the sports ideology, sports-led economic development is an unqualified success. This can be seen in the language used by proponents of sports-led economic development. However, success is neither unqualified, nor is it guaranteed. What level of impact for a local economy actually results from investments made in sports infrastructure and revenues generated from sports-related tourism varies considerably (Baade and Dye, 1990), but it is thought by many to be sufficient to entice local governments and private commercial interests to organize their efforts for its promotion. During the past decade the sports ideology became bureaucratically institutionalized when a number of local and state governments undertook the creation of public sports commissions. Following the lead of Indianapolis, at least four localities in Florida established local sports commissions: the Jacksonville Sports Development Authority, The Sports Council, a division of the Miami Chamber of Commerce, The Greater Orlando Sports Organizing Committee, and in the Tampa Bay area, the Pinellas Sports Authority (Wendel, 1988). Efforts by sports commissions usually are of two principal kinds: to lure a major-league team to the local area, or to host major annual or occasional events. Football's Super Bowl epitomizes the major annual event; it was estimated to generate a direct positive impact of \$100 million to the local economy when Tampa hosted the silver anniversary game in 1991. It is that size of a prize that can mask doubts and trigger a mind-set which causes local area boosters to adopt the sports ideology.

Despite any other social functions that sports has for a locality, "sustaining the growth ideology is clearly one of them" (Logan and Molotch, 1987: 81). In short, boosterism mentality takes the myth of sports—that American values are drawn together in the ballpark—and uses it as a resource to promote a place. The resource is meant to be an asset for advertising that creates a positive image and expands tourist activity (Fleming and Roth, 1991). However, these assets are propped up by the ideology of sports, one which provides the "unifying language" that Lipsyte addressed. It is a language that is well-represented in the

literature used by boosters to promote their localities and in news media coverage of local development initiatives. To see this, we can turn to the Tampa Bay metropolitan area where sports has played a major role in recent development issues.

Sports-Led Development in the Tampa Bay Area

“A major-league baseball team is one of the greatest blessings any city can have.”

—Rick Dodge, Assistant City Manager, City of St. Petersburg
(quoted in Christopoulos, 1989: 7)

Within Florida, the call for sports-led economic development in recent years has approached the level of sensationalism. Perhaps nowhere is this more evident than in the Tampa Bay metropolitan area. There are two key image-producers in the region's sports world: Tampa Stadium and the NFL's Tampa Bay Buccaneers. Tampa Stadium has been the site of two Super Bowls, including the 25th anniversary game in January, 1991. The State of Florida became a leading player in the development process by using the “unifying language” of sports to promote that Super Bowl when it issued a specialty license plate which prominently featured the Super Bowl logo. The tourism bureau for nearby St. Petersburg-Pinellas County used a national advertising campaign which stressed the area's proximity to “The Game,” although it was played across the Bay in Tampa.

But the lure of attracting a Major League Baseball team was the principal (and elusive) goal for Florida's sports-minded cities (Henderson, 1990). Separate factions in Miami, Orlando, St. Petersburg and Tampa (joining ten other cities across the United States and Canada) actively vied for one of two National League expansion teams that were slated to be awarded in 1991.² Civic leaders recognized that the competition was tough:

² Miami and Denver ultimately were awarded the two franchises.

"There's never before been a build-up of intensity like this . . . There's an invisible frenzy going on out there."

—Rick Dodge, Assistant City Manager, City of St. Petersburg (as quoted in *St. Petersburg Times*, 1989).

The City of St. Petersburg made perhaps the boldest move of all, passing a bond issue to construct a domed stadium specifically designed to meet the needs of baseball. Initially representing a \$62 million public investment, it has yet to attract a team. Nonetheless, the City's investment assured residents of St. Petersburg that it would remain among the leading contenders for a Major League team.³

Local area news coverage fueled booster efforts by maintaining a running commentary on strategies for sports-led economic development. The following excerpt from the *St. Petersburg Times* typifies the public discussion that ensued:

"In St. Petersburg, they expressed their faith with a gamble . . . and christened their stadium the Florida Suncoast Dome. Critics called it other names. The Doom Dome. The Old Folks Dome. The Tractor Pull Cultural Center . . . Then the Chicago White Sox came to town . . . [and] the snickers about St. Petersburg and its big-league ambitions subsided" (Olinger, 1988: 58).

That was in 1988 when it looked as if the White Sox really would make the move. Negotiations between City officials and owners of the club nearly secured a long-term occupant for the Suncoast Dome. Team owners contended that the existing stadium in Chicago, Comiskey Park,

³ Subsequent to acceptance of this paper for publication, the City of St. Petersburg and local boosters repeatedly made (unsuccessful) attempts to woo the Seattle Mariners to the Suncoast Dome during 1992. Just prior to the publication of this paper, the San Francisco Giants, who had earlier announced a move to St. Petersburg, subject to the approval of baseball, were purchased by a San Francisco group, and baseball voted to keep the Giants in San Francisco.

was obsolete. They demanded modifications in the design of Suncoast Dome, already under construction, as a condition for moving to Florida. The State of Florida agreed to help St. Petersburg by providing some funds in an effort to configure the stadium to the requirements of the White Sox. A simultaneous lobby effort was underway in the State of Illinois, however, where boosters for Chicago eventually succeeded in securing state funding to replace aging Comiskey Park with a new ballpark on the southside of Chicago, which opened early in 1991. The resulting setback for local boosters left St. Petersburg with a domed stadium, but without a tenant for baseball.

Another example in which the "unifying language" of sports has led local area development is found in the bidding war among places for baseball's Spring Training. Currently, eighteen teams locate their training camps in Florida during the off-season (Figure 1). A study for the Florida State Department of Commerce found that Spring Training produced a total impact on the State's economy of \$294.5 million for 1985, averaging \$16.4 million in direct and indirect spending for each team, principally in the form of tourism (Davidson-Peterson Associates, 1987). When local area boosters see such figures, they interpret them to mean that having a Spring Training camp can be worth \$16 million for their local economy. The eagerness of cities to lure teams from sites in Arizona or California, or from sites elsewhere in Florida, contributed to a bidding war for teams and the development of new stadiums and their related facilities across Florida during the 1980s. As reported in the *St. Petersburg Times*:

"The bidding isn't limited to big cities. Small towns, some nonexistent towns that are no more than gleams in developers' eyes, are making pitches for teams" (Lowitt, 1988: 1C).

By the end of 1989, the effect of this bidding war had hit the Tampa Bay area. Previously, four teams had their training camps in the metropolitan area (an additional five teams were located in adjacent counties). Although Pinellas County retained three teams (St. Louis Cardinals and Philadelphia Phillies, each in St. Petersburg; Toronto Blue Jays in Dunedin), Hillsborough County experienced a spatial shift when Tampa

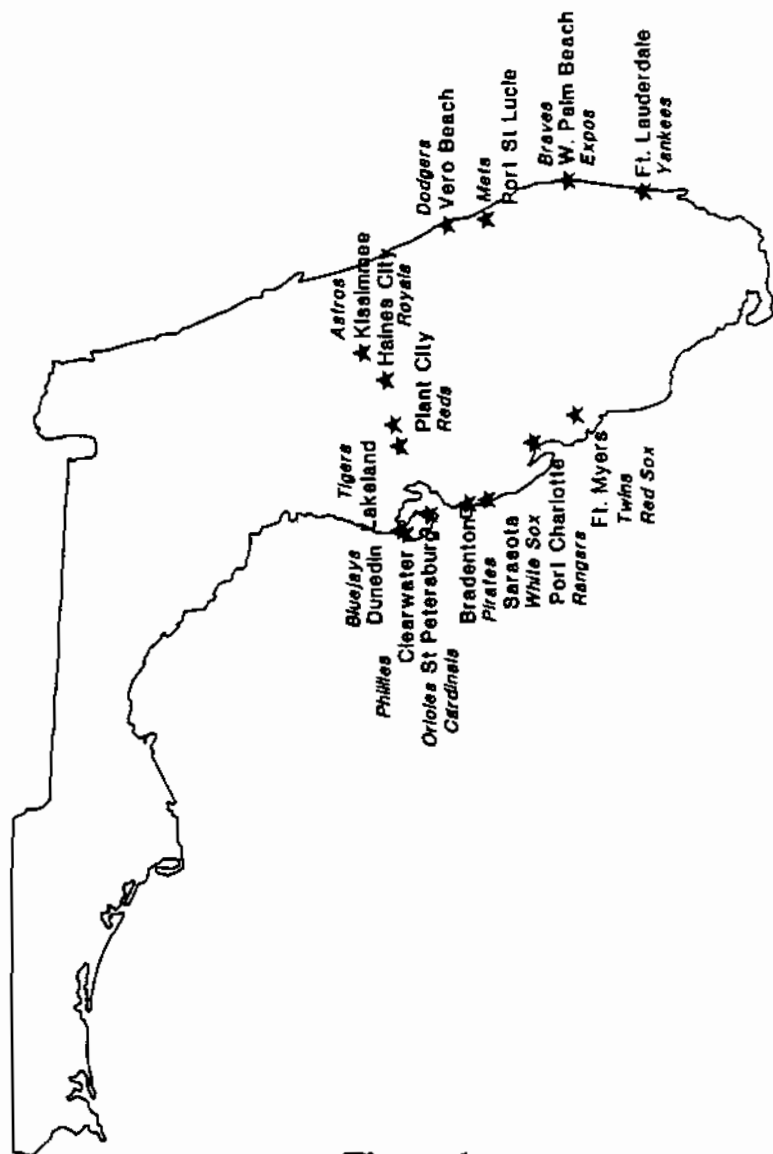


Figure 1

1992 Baseball Spring Training Sites

lost the Cincinnati Reds to tiny Plant City. Meanwhile, the fate of the Blue Jays remained uncertain amid speculation that they, too, would relocate elsewhere, neighboring Citrus County succeeded in making its pitch to lure the Cleveland Indians from their Spring Training camp in Arizona (White, 1990).⁴

But the fact remained that St. Petersburg and Tampa were without a major-league franchise to augment the area's NFL team, and that fact loomed large in the public debate over projections for the area's economy at year's end in 1990 (Roush, 1991). For decades, the leadership of the two cities maintained a civic rivalry that has been linked with an inability to achieve region-wide goals (Eflin and Wysong, 1989). The unwillingness of the two sides to come together to promote what many people in the area felt was a common goal was cited as a factor in the failure of St. Petersburg to lure the White Sox from Chicago in 1988 (Melone, 1990). In the aftermath of that debacle, a step toward unity was initiated when promoters from each side of the Bay joined forces in an effort to bring major-league baseball to the Tampa Bay area (*Tampa Tribune*, 1989, and Balter and Judd, 1991).

Throughout 1990, however, the rivalry was renewed, as promoters from the two cities undertook separate efforts to secure yet another sports team for the area—this time a professional hockey franchise. The National Hockey League had announced that two cities in North America would be selected for expansion teams that would begin play in 1992. Four other cities (Anaheim and Miami in the United States, Hamilton and Ottawa in Canada) undertook campaigns to secure one of the teams; of these, only Ottawa succeeded. Despite the presence of its newly completed stadium (by then reportedly worth \$130 million, double its original price tag) and willingness by city officials to provide financial backing, efforts by the City of St. Petersburg were unsuccessful. The Tampa faction, despite having no arena at its disposal and lacking public

⁴ The Cleveland Indians were to move to Homestead in south Dade County for Spring training in 1993, although at the time of this writing their move was delayed by Hurricane Andrew. (editor)

funding, successfully mounted its campaign to win a franchise. This included a promise by promoters (led by a group of Japanese investors) to build a new \$90 million ice arena by Tampa Stadium. Area boosters greeted the news by emphasizing "the economic and emotional lift the franchise award gives this community" (*Tampa Tribune*, 1990).

Award of the new franchise was announced on December 6, 1990, amid the nation's build-up toward war with Iraq. In reviewing the exclamatory headlines on the front page of the *Tampa Tribune* on the following day, it is revealing to note that while Saddam Hussein received a larger typeface, hockey got top billing. Across the Bay, and despite St. Petersburg's continued series of failed attempts to fill their domed stadium, the news that professional hockey would be coming to Tampa Bay made banner headlines in *The St. Petersburg Times* on a par with Hussein's antics. The front page that morning was dominated by hockey, including a photo of Tampa Mayor Sandy Freedman waving a hockey stick in front of City Hall. Playing on a familiar expression, and mixing sports with power and economics, the headlines read "The Puck Stops Here!" It wasn't baseball, but boosters in the Tampa Bay area felt they had something to cheer about. The sports ideology clearly was a resource at their disposal.

Conclusions

What conclusions can be drawn from this view of sports ideology and the promotion of local area growth in Tampa Bay? First, economic development issues clearly can be guided through sports ideology. Economists and political scientists generally differ in their assessments of these tangible benefits for local areas (Abbott, 1987; Baade and Dye, 1988, 1990; Ragas, et.al., 1987). What is important for our present consideration, however, is the intangible character of benefits that arise from the sports ideology: the extent to which the big-league image is appealed to in the rhetoric and ideology used by persons who influence local area development. To evaluate this, two questions must be asked: Do local leaders believe that the presence of sports will generate a big-league image for their locality and translate into positive economic growth? Can they convince the local public to believe the same way, and

thereby rally behind their efforts? In the case of Tampa Bay, an affirmative answer must be given for both questions.

The Tampa-St. Petersburg metropolitan area is one among many urban localities nationwide that are undergoing rapid economic growth and whose leaders plainly seek to promote it. While the emphasis here was on economic development that draws on sports ideology as a resource for economic growth, a similar analysis could focus on direct and indirect impacts of other forms of built-space projects and their related cultures. In so doing, it should be possible to determine if there exists a "unifying language" or ideology that serves as a resource for boosters to draw upon when they promote other expressions of popular culture on the landscape; convention centers, festival markets, performing arts centers, and high-tech transit systems come to mind. Such studies may permit geographers to evaluate claims that similar high-focus development projects help develop a local economy by creating intangible benefits, including a positive image about a locality. Furthermore, such an empirical focus should aid social geographers who are seeking interpretations for the role played by ideology in the social production of space.

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The Miami Ethnic Archipelago¹

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Hispanic Island Group

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Table 1
Components of Population Change
Dade County 1980-1990

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

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

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

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

Table 2
Hispanic Demographic Comparison

	Cubans	Mexicans	Puerto Ricans
Median Age	38.7	23.9	24.9
% Married Couples	78.1%	74.4%	51.6%
Median Family Income	\$27,294	\$19,968	\$15,185
Years of Education	12.4	10.8	12.0
Unemployment Rate	3.1%	9.8%	9.2%
% Professional (Males)	23.7%	10.3%	15.1%
% Families Below Poverty Level	13.8%	25.5%	37.9%
% of US Hispanic Population	5%	62%	13%

Source: US Census Bureau (March, 1988). *The Hispanic Population in the United States*.

The Black Island Group

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Haitians

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Anglos

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Jews

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Jubans

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

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

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

The Asian Americans

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

Conclusions

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

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

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

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Book Reviews

Kevin M. McCarthy, *Florida Lighthouses* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1990).

Reviewed by Robert B. Beachboard, Plantation, Florida.

This book is a collection of 31 historical sketches each of which is complemented by a color painting and a map with directions. It encourages first hand observation of 30 of the subjects. These are permanent structures, some of which are inactive, and others of which are under the Lighthouse Automation and Modernization Program of the United States Coast Guard (LAMP) and are unmanned for the most part. The St. Johns Lightship may be moved back to Jacksonville as a museum. Removed structures are discussed in the context of one of the 30.

The historical nature of the subjects is emphasized by noting that at present electronic navigation and sophisticated cartography have greatly reduced the importance of the lights for commercial shipping. Currently the tall lights are regarded as navigation aids along with lighted buoys, piles, and skeleton structures. On page 100 an industrial smokestack with strobe lights is mentioned. Almost all of the light stations were constructed in the nineteenth century. They harken back to a time of wilderness when darkness, winds, reefs, and shoals posed a constant threat to shipping and caused a vast number of boats to become wrecked. A lighthouse on Anastasia Island at the entrance to St. Augustine was commissioned by the United States in 1824. It collapsed in 1880. The United States lightship *Aurora Borealis* began serving Pensacola in 1823. In 1825, the first United States lighthouse on Florida's Gulf coast was lit at the entrance to Pensacola Bay. In 1851, an investigator found that the 40 foot structure, 40 feet above sea level, was little better than a harbor light, and a taller tower was subsequently constructed. The Cape Florida Lighthouse at 65 feet was first commissioned in 1825. At 95 feet it is

still active. A 65 foot lighthouse at Key West was also commissioned in 1825. The Hurricane of 1846 destroyed it.

Starting with these four locations in the mid-1820's, the system was expanded with the intention of creating a chain of beacons along the Atlantic traffic lanes and an encouragement to commercial navigation in general in both the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic. The St. Johns Light Station was commissioned in 1954.

Due to their strategic locations, the light stations also have a role in political uprisings. The Cape Florida Lighthouse was besieged by Seminoles in 1836. In 1837 Indians attacked a Carysfort Reef lightship party. Many lights were deactivated by supporters of the Confederacy. An exception was the Dry Tortugas Lighthouse near the United States Fort Jefferson which included the Garden Key Lighthouse. During World War II, some lights were diminished in intensity to deter attacks. The author notes on page 31 that during one period German submarines sank 24 Allied ships in waters off the Cape Canaveral Lighthouse. On page 63 use of an offshore shoal lighthouse is mentioned in connection with smuggling control, and a general problem with vandals is described.

The use of a bibliography or notes would improve the authority of the work. Also, the use of specific road directions, opening times, and telephone numbers are details that are perhaps more appropriate in a series of editions. Basically though Professor McCarthy's study is concise and readable.

R.J. Livingston, editor, 1991, *Rivers of Florida*, Ecological Studies 83, Springer-Verlag, New York, 289 pp., 55 illustrations, ISBN 0-387-97363-X, ISBN 3-540-97363-X.

Reviewed by Joann Mossa, University of Florida

Rivers of Florida is an edited book originating from a conference held in Tallahassee in 1987 concerning ecological relationships and current conditions of the major river systems in Florida. Indeed, these issues are highly relevant in that river systems in Florida are physically and biologically diversified and have been highly modified because of population pressures and rapid growth in development. The book is largely qualitative and is intended primarily for ecologists rather than geomorphologists or hydrologists, but could be useful for other scientists conducting interdisciplinary studies of rivers.

The book contains thirteen chapters which include an introduction and conclusion. In the first several chapters, the physical and biological setting are characterized. Topics including the physical environment, tidal rivers, the vegetational mosaic, and riverine fishes are addressed. In "Florida Rivers: The Physical Environment" by Clewell, basic landforms of river floodplains and channels and their relevance to Florida are discussed. In "Tidal Rivers of Florida" by McPherson and Hammett some aspects of tidal rivers are summarized including their unique processes and distinctive reaches, their distribution in Florida, and their geometric and hydraulic complexity. "Florida Rivers: The Vegetational Mosaic" by Clewell relates vegetation types to environmental conditions and characterizes the dominant species of ten major vegetation assemblages. "Riverine Fishes of Florida" by Bass overviews the statewide fisheries monitoring program in 12 rivers. Some results of the monitoring are tabulated with summary statistics of relationships to habitat type and species composition and diversity.

The next seven chapters are divided geographically, with some chapters emphasizing biological characteristics and dynamic changes and others accentuating physical attributes. "The Oklawaha River System" by Livingston discusses controversial human alterations, ecological relationships, and restoration of the system. The extensive modification

of this system for construction of the now de-authorized Cross Florida Barge Canal and Rodman Reservoir is characterized as a major and costly mistake. "The St. John's River System" by DeMort provides a broad overview of various physical and biological factors in this dominantly tidal river basin. Much of the chapter is supported extensively with summary statistics. "The Everglades" by Kushlan is also a largely descriptive account of the natural watershed characteristics of a complex wetland ecosystem and its biological functioning, anthropogenic impacts such as canalization and reclamation, and recommendations for resource management.

"The Lower Peace River and Horse Creek: Flow and Water Quality Characteristics, 1976-1986" by Fraser assesses changes in water quantity as well as water quality of 16 constituents at six stations in the Peace River basin. This chapter provides the most sophisticated statistical treatment of data in the book with many graphs and tables. "West-Coastal Rivers of Peninsular Florida" by Estevez, Dixon, and Flannery summarizes surface and groundwater quality, and biology of rivers in this region. "The Apalachicola Experience: Environmental Effects of Physical Modifications for Navigation Purposes" by Leitman, Ager, and Mesing documents the extensive structural modifications of the rivers and concludes that the environmental effects, especially fishery impacts and flow modifications have been significant. "Ecology of the Choctawhatchee River System" by Livingston and six others examines water quality and biological investigations over a 12-month period emphasizing the distribution of habitats and organisms in a largely natural system. Geographical coverage includes most major rivers in the state, although several sizeable rivers are missed. Chapters are topically inconsistent because of the varied experience and research of the authors. The book does little to amend lack of information on hydrology and geomorphology of rivers as surmised by Tanner in the Physical Environment chapter: "Most Florida rivers have not been studied in any detail and the data on channel characteristics, water flow, and sediment transport are very sparse." The scientific content of the book is also varied, as some chapters have extensive data and others none. The format is also inconsistent as many chapters lack abstracts or conclusions. Of note for

geographers, however, is that each chapter with a geographic focus has one or more maps.

While it is stressed in the introduction and final chapter that much scientific work on the rivers of Florida remains to be done, the editor and contributors should be acknowledged for their efforts toward this goal. Other than the *Water Resources Atlas of Florida* (1984) and the *Ecosystems of Florida* (1990) chapter on Rivers and Springs by Nordlie, not much summarized information on the unique and varied rivers in Florida exists. Because much of the literature cited in this book is obscure and unpublished, and the book is published in a format which most librarians would purchase, the text will likely be valuable to researchers wanting to know of existing studies. It should be viewed there before you decide if it is worth the cost for your personal library.

References

Fernald, E.A., and Patton, D.J., eds., 1984, *Water Resources Atlas of Florida*, Tallahassee: Florida State University, Tallahassee, 291 pp.

Nordlie, F.G., 1990, Rivers and springs, pp. 392-425, in Myers, R.L., and Ewel, J.J., eds., *Ecosystems of Florida*, University of Central Florida Press, Orlando, 765 pp.

Special Offer for FSG Members

*South Florida:
The Winds of Change*

Thomas D. Boswell, Editor

Published for the 1991 Annual Meeting of the Association
of American Geographers in Miami

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Geography) to the Department of Geography, University
of Miami, Coral Gables, Florida 33124.**

To the readers of *The Florida Geographer*,

With this issue, I end my five-year term as Editor and turn over the reigns to Dr. Martin Kenzer of Florida Atlantic University. New manuscripts should be sent to Martin at the College of Liberal Arts, Florida Atlantic University, 2912 College Avenue, Davie, FL 33314.

I have enjoyed my five years in this position and am proud of the development of the journal over the half decade. For the past four years, there has been a continuous flow of manuscripts and I would like to thank all of the authors and reviewers for their assistance in making this journal a success. Dr. David Lee of Florida Atlantic University set the standards for a quality state journal for a decade before I took over and I hope that I managed to continue those standards.

During my five years, the support of the Society and of the Department of Geography and College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Miami has resulted in a number of changes in the journal and its distribution. First, the journal was moved from a letter-quality printer to a desktop publishing system that provides us the quality of typesetting without the cost. Second, monies were made available so that the journal could be perfect bound instead of stapled. Third, all members of the Florida Geographic Alliance who enroll in a special program now receive the journal, increasing the circulation by about 100. Fourth, all of the back issues were sent at no charge to about 40 libraries around the State with a letter requesting that they subscribe. This procedure helped to fulfill the Society's role of disseminating geographic information and at the same time generated a significant number of new institutional subscriptions.

It is with regret that I give up the editorship, but I have every confidence that Martin will continue to improve the publication.

Ira M. Sheskin
Editor, *The Florida Geographer*

THE FLORIDA

GEOGRAPHER



The Florida Society of Geographers was chartered in 1964 as a non-profit organization for the purpose of furthering professionalism in geography through application of geographic techniques in all areas of education, government, and business in Florida.

The Society supports these objectives by promoting acquaintance and discussion among its members and with scholars and practitioners in related fields by stimulating research and field investigation, by encouraging publication of scholarly studies, and by performing services to aid the advancement of its members and the field of geography in Florida.

The Society holds meetings once a year, usually in February. At this meeting, papers are presented and matters of mutual concern are discussed. Meetings move geographically to different parts of the state and always include field trips to allow participants to gain first hand knowledge through field experience.

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