'Unrooting' the American Dream: Exiling the Ethnospace in the urban fractality of Miami

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1   ON 'CITY FORM'

What causes the origins of City Form? Is there a particular process, which occurs early since the beginning of their formation, when cities incorporate a certain 'code of growth', depicting specific characteristics, which – similar to a what a particular genome does within biological ADN genetic sequences – remains as part of the urban fabric growth patterns, throughout extended periods of time? Can certain populations affect this code, either following it or enhancing it? Can a city be destined to grow unavoidably following a certain pattern, then be impacted be specific modes of living, eventually creating a new type of hybrid, city form?

In the course of this paper I will try answering these questions, using the city of Miami in the United States as a model for analysis in the field of contemporary urban growth, emphasizing on the multicultural qualities of its population, the modes of living these populations create, and how these modes interact with socio-political and economical/environmental processes dictating new patterns of cities and how they might become less or more sustainable. The question of city growth is nowadays a challenge to the sustainability of the planet, in the sense of their occupation of the land and the consumption of energy and production of waste cities represent. In the other hand, social and cultural tensions represent a omnipresent contemporary urban condition, given as direct consequences of international migration and mobility into major urban centres, and regarding the adaptation local and new migrant urban populations must suffer, both to one other, and to the new environment, the one encountered by arriving migrants and the one being created by the transformations occurring from such pattern of mobility.

2   THE FOUNTAIN OF YOUTH: HISTORY OF MIAMI AS A CITY

Miami is – considered by statistical urban age standards – a young city, one of the fastest growing in the United States - considered one of the 20 cities with most foreign immigration population component, in the world[1] However its origins are anything but urban. When Ponce de León leaded the Spaniard expedition in 1531, which encountered the southernmost tip of the Florida Peninsula (then thought to be an island); he and his crew encountered a pristine, natural yet hostile environment 'city un-able': Nothing that would entice establishing a new settlement, among swam-like lowlands infested by mosquitoes, and other non- friendly-to-human species such as alligators, besides other animal inhabitants of this otherwise natural paradise. Beyond its un-attractive appeal to establish a new city, that environment estimulated the imagination of explorers, in search of urban myths such as that of the 'Fountain of Youth'[2]"La Florida" was the name given to the newly-found land/Peninsula, where a more suitable place to establish a new city was found further North following its coast. There the city of St. Augustine – the oldest in the United States - was founded by *Pedro de Avilés* in 1565[3] The southern tip of the Florida peninsula remained unexplored and un-urbanized until well into the 19th Century. The existence of more attractive and adequate land posts, where new cities within relative maritime proximity, and situated

between the Atlantic Ocean, the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico (among the Gulf Stream current) were established - serving as very convenient harbours for Spaniard *Galeones* trading routes into the new Colonial domains of the Americas (i.e. Havana, Santo Domingo) - caused urban settlements in the future Biscayne Bay to remain marginal, and new settlings were established more towards the South, in the island of *Cayo Hueso* (presently Key West), in physical proximity to the more important island of Cuba. It wasn't until 1885 when Henry Flager, a Northerner industrial tycoon from New York, undertook the enterprise of building a Railway Line that reached all the way from St. Augustine, to the fishing enclave of Key West, the Southern-most tip of the United States even today, and the bucolic refuge of history and tradition that included the passage of Ernest Hemmingway and Tennessee Williams. Flager saw the potential of the southern portion of the Florida Peninsula, as a land to establish new urban settlements destined to become attractive retreat seasonal posts, away from the cold winters prevailing in the Northern urban centres of the United States. For this purpose however, the natural environment had to suffer the transformation only then new engineering technologies allowed human settlers to undertake over the so-far unconquered territory: The land was drenched and dried-up along the coast, and a new array of artificial islands for the first time in urban history in the Americas; and only paralleled to the Dutch construction of Polders, reconfigured the coastline, and modelled the future urban enclaves of Miami and the island of Miami Beach enclosing Biscayne Bay, in what it would be considered one of the most popular Winter-seasonal destinations in the country at the turn of the 20th Century. Having secured the vital communication and supply line of the Railway coming from the North, the city of Miami was incorporated in 1896.[4]

This is the beginning of the development of Miami as a speculative/Real-Estate driven urban enclave. In 1928 and following the Florida land boom of the 1920s, George Edgar Merrick undertakes the development of Coral Gables, built as a 'Spanish-inspired' residential community in 'Mediterranean Revival Style', with evoking street names such as *Giralda, Granada, Andalusia*, and the sort[5]. The University of Miami was the first higher education institution in its premises, founded in 1925, and the City of Coral Gables was incorporated as such in the same year[6] This is the first so-called 'permanent' hous-

ing planned community, next to the seasonal resort town of Miami Beach, and the enclave of Coconut Grove – incorporated to Miami in the same year of 1925 – All of which were communicated by a bridge over artificial islands (which was romantically named Venetian Causeway); as well as Tree-bordered roads such as Coral Way.[7]

3 MIAMI AS A MIGRATION ENCLAVE

From the origins of Miami as Winter Resort Enclave, the city retained these characteristics and nature for a rather extended period of time. Even today, the city somewhat clings onto this identity, holding onto a sort of transient nature - more so typical of a resort - rather than allowing for the rather metropolitan, 'grounded', nature of the big urban centre that it has become. By 1928, Miami counted with a formal 'Downtown' District, including a Court House Building, the Everglades Hotel, the Olympia Theatre, and the Miami News Building, known later as the *Freedom Tower*, a particular icon for the later Cuban Immigration into the city. Beyond the original inhabitants of the area – the Miccosukee, Tequesta and Seminole aboriginal tribes – plus the White incoming seasonal population, another type of migration began to appear in the surrounding communities, particularly towards to South of the newly growing city. Mexican, Cuban and Bahamian migrants – peasants - started to arrive in the southern city of Homestead in the 1940s, attracted by the abundant labour available in the orange grove fields, and fleeing the streams of poverty in their homeland, nearby islands[8] By then Havana had become an important entertainment and economical port, where American-imported capital played an important role into the finance of the capital city, and inequality prevailed among the local population. While Havana retained the glitz, Miami longed in the midst of long humid and rainy summers, and only drier and warm winters attracted the bulk of temporary/seasonal population.

3.1 The Cuban Exodus: 1962-1980S and the Present

A crucial event will forever change the history of Miami as a city: In 1959, General Fidel Castro leaded the Cuban Revolution, which revoked then President *Fulgencio Batista* – considered a Dictator supported by the American establishment – and established the new Republic of Cuba, which will dramatically impact, not only the life of the insular country, but

also will definitely shape the development of the city that lied some 100 km. away, on the American nearby coastline, and separated from the island by the Florida strait. The Cuban Bourgeoisie – avoiding the repression and assimilation by/into the newly-installed Marxist/Socialistic government – left entire properties, businesses and land to be expropriated by the Castro government, and quickly headed for the nearby American soil. Miami not only became the preferred arrival destination for the exiled Cubans fleeing the island, but also became the centre of the orchestrated exodus, by the creation of the Cuban-American National Foundation[9], which helped and assisted entire arriving families, which were gathered and assisted in the spaces of the Freedom Tower in Downtown Miami, which became an 'impromptu' Refugee Processing Centre. For the following 15 years and into the 1970s, the influx of Cuban exiles into Miami became a daily occurrence – whether by plane of by boat[10] - until the Castro government restricted the exit of Cuban Citizens without exit Visas in 1979, making the vital air and boat lift of Cubans desiring the exile to America and to Miami an unattainable resource. The successive political crisis, between the US Government and the Cuban regime held Miami innocent hostage of the tension and restrictions of movement between the two countries for years to come, even through today. While periods of high political and military tension – such as the *Bahía de Cochinos* American Invasion to Cuba and the Cuban Nuclear Missile Crisis of 1962 – passed by, the Cuban exiled community of Miami organized itself accordingly and rapidly, creating a hosting cluster for new arrivals – which by then needed to flee the island by illegal (and deadly-dangerous) boat-crossing of the Florida Strait – and quickly integrated them into the parallel Cuban society rapidly growing in the city. Most of these first Cuban communities in Miami clustered around Southwest 8th Street ('*Calle 8*', the neighbourhood that later grew around accordingly named: '*Pequeña Habana*') In 1966, the Cuban Adjustment Act is promulgated, allowing any Cuban Citizen, who is able to literally 'step' – to land his/her feet/foot – on American soil, to be automatically received in the country legally as an exiled refugee, to receive humanitarian assistance, and to later be granted American Residence Status, eventually being able to opt for American Citizenship. This Act also served as a trigger for a continuous flow of newly Cuban arrivals, directly impacting the city with the formation of what has been called the 'Ethnic Enclave': According to Portes and Bach (1985: 239) "*In*

the [Ethnic] enclave, Cuban education contribute[d] to occupational gains very early in the resettlement experience, with the magnitude of that advantage increasing over time. Enclave workers also benefit initially from their work experience in Cuba and, subsequently, from additional un-acquired education."[11]

The theory of the '*Ethnic Enclave*' applies of the initial development of the Cuban Community settled in Miami. Not only the settlement in terms of living occurred within the hosting neighbourhood/area; but also the means of economical activity, labour - and also leisure - developed and prevailed within the physical limits of such urban areas, minimizing displacement, simplifying urban movement, and facilitating the adaptation of newly arrivals onto the hosting community/economy and neighbourhood. Not only the growing businesses in those neighbourhoods where started by Cuban exiles, but also the newly arrived migrants were quickly hired and incorporated into the local economy, by being recruited by the same businesses, in a sort of 'exile solidarity', which contributed to a cohesive sense of community, neighbourhood, city and urban liveable *cityspace*. The theory of the '*Ethnic Enclave*' is crucial for the elaboration of this paper, as it contributes to sustain my later elaboration on how grassroots development exercised by ethnic migrant urban communities contributes to a sustainable development of the urban fabric, and later onto the healthy and balanced economy and growth of the city as a hole.[12]

3.2 The Latin American Kaleidoscope: 1990S-2000S

By the 1990s, the fabric of the city had expanded toward the West and away from the shores, creating row of newly built suburban housing that prompted the expansion of the initial ethnic enclave onto a pattern of sprawl (i.e. Kendall, South Miami, Miami Lakes); and allowed for further populating the city from the streams of immigration coming now not only from Cuba, but from the entirety of countries in Latin America as a whole. The Cuban establishment continued to progress rapidly, not only occupying ample political spheres in the city (the first Miami-Dade County elected Cuban-American Mayor – Alex Penelas - took office in 1996); but also creating a strong economic presence, keeping a continuously assured growing population (thanks to family re-unification US Immigration Policies – Relatives being granted entry Visas, which were allowed to leave by

the Cuban government); and establishing a powerful (up until today) anti-Castro political Lobby with strong arms that reach even the corridors of Washington. Politically speaking, the Cuban population of Miami has tremendous voting power and a very audible voice. Culturally speaking, they have colonized the territory of the city, have spread the Spanish Language, and have impregnated the city culture with their food, costumes, flavour and idiosyncrasy.

In the other hand, political instability in South America – in countries such as Chile (during the Pinochet regime); Argentina (during the Videla dictatorship) – and in Central America (El Salvador, Nicaragua, as well as Panama, etc.); added to economical turmoil in Brazil, Mexico and Argentina in the 1990s, crime and guerrilla in Colombia and Peru during same period, poverty in Ecuador; and more recently during the last few years political uncertainty in Venezuela; have prompted successive waves of Latin American immigration, which have conquered their exile destination both illegally but also and primarily legally - through working Visas Sponsorships and Investors Visas Schemes – in order to establish themselves in Miami in their own right just as Cubans have, making nowadays Miami a kaleidoscope of the Americas, hosting the most varied Latin American immigrant population in the United States. The accents of dozens of Latin American countries populate the atmosphere of the city, and citizens of all of these countries are found at all levels of the city society, economy, education, and social life. Every twelve minutes, a Latin American Immigrant arrives to Miami through Miami International Aiport (MIA); with an Immigrant Visa in his/her hands and with the intention of settling in the city.[13]

4   MIAMI FABRIC: URBAN MORPHOLOGY

4.1 Metropolarity/Fractality

Ed W. Soja uses the example of Los Angeles – the most ethnically-diverse city in the United States – as a the new type of '*Post-Metropolis*', the city after the city, based on what he has denominated immigration 'polarity', and furthermore added to the fractal nature of the urban fabric[14] When superimposing Soja's model over Miami, same patterns seem to appear, however different - in the sense of the extremes numbers regarding National identities, as they present themselves in Los Angeles. According to Soja, Los Angeles gives residence to the biggest number of

nationalities and ethnic origins in a single city in the US. In Miami the fractal nature of the urban fabric is not as extreme, but rather fluid, as the number of represented ethnic groups in the population sample are not as many. Miami's ethnic identity is more harmonious and cohesive as that of Los Angeles. While in this first continents 'collide' so to speak in terms of neighbouring ethnic identities sharing the same *cityspace* (i.e. Far East Asian, Latino, Pacific Islander, Middle East); in Miami National identities seem to organize themselves in a more cohesive manner, almost reproducing the same continental/geographical organization, as they do exist in the map given by real geopolitical boundaries (i.e. Colombians next to Venezuelans, and to Brazilians, next to Argentines, and to Chileans, etc.)[15]

4.2 'Verinselung'

According to Regina Bittner, a 'Cultural Scientist'[16] from the Bauhaus Dessau Foundation in Germany and who dedicates to the study of contemporary urban conditions from the Cultural Studies perspective; contemporary urban landscapes have the tendency of becoming hyper-specialized – due to their nature in programming, population, and modes of living/working/functioning. That produces what she denominates the phenomenon of urban '*Verinselung*' ('formation of 'islands')[17], from the strict sense of morphology, functioning and development. In the case of Miami, the '*Verinselung*' of the urban fabric occurs through the agglomeration of certain immigrant populations by and around certain clusters of commercial activity and historical ethnic tradition (i.e. Hialeah)[18]; creating 'immigration corridors' along certain important thoroughfares. The initial 'Ethnic enclave' - which developed in Miami with the first waves of Cuban immigration - has evolved into a sense of 'dispersed island-making' urbanism, in the way Hispanic communities distribute themselves around the city.

4.3 From non-urban, to exo-urban, to suburban and to urban:

Miami has followed a pattern of growth somewhat distinctive from other North American Cities. It has evolved from post/village, to resort, to city, to suburban, to Metropolis. The continuous growth of the city directly responds to the permanent influx of immigration and the way they establish themselves in the city. In that sense, Miami can be name a 'Hosting

Metropolis', historically speaking, as it has provided a Winter Holiday heaven, a Senior-Citizens retreat refuge, an analogue/parallel Cuban society/establishment, a high-end class South American émigrés landmark, and an alternative life choice for thousands of immigrants from all countries of the Americas. Is the future of Miami tied up to the phenomenon of immigration, just as its past has been? It is the thesis of this paper that this is the case. Miami is the perfect urban representation of the *Ethnospace*.

5   MIAMI IDENTITY:

5.1 Hybridism and outsourcing

Miami has historically adopted a number of elements in regards to its urban and architectural identity. This has allow for a model of outsourced elements, which have shaped its cityspace:

5.1.1 Architecture. During the 1920s and in the midst of the height of Miami Beach as a Resort town, Art Deco – an architectural style originated in France and the in the United States, with great popularity in already big cities at the time such as New York and Chicago[19] – made its entry into the architectural scene of the city. After flourishing in the pre-war era, joined the Ted Lapidus-leaded 'Tropical Modernism' of the 1950s, decayed during the drug-infested times of the 1980s and flourished again in the 1990s to be part of the tourist-driven identity of Miami Beach that can be found today.

5.1.2 Real-Estate. The abundance of free-flowing capital prompted the boom of construction in the 1980s, becoming particularly specialized in the construction of luxurious residence condominiums, which followed the architectural typology of beachfront resorts. This attracted a lot of investing (and also money-laundering) from wealthy South Americans, which eventually establish themselves seasonally at second-residence apartments, later ending by establishing themselves permanently in the city. Wealthy communities, such as the island of Key Biscayne, North Miami Beach, and the Northern city of *Aventura*, developed mainly during this period.[20]

5.1.3 Speculation. The excess of demand and the availability of cheap credit, prompted a second wave of construction boom, which delimited the city in this two segments:

1. An available waterfront (Ocean and Bay Shores) featuring a Luxury-type, part- time living (second residence, time share-based, etc.) fast-grown condominium skyline, and which has been the feature of developers and high-profile local as well as international Star-Design labeled Architectural Firms,

2. A hinterland (sprawl-focused) inland territory, housing the majority of the local (permanent) population, much similar to many American suburban landscapes, west of I-95 and extending as far as the Everglades National Park.[21]

In the web of this gridded fractal tissue, same Real-Estate tools that in the past have allowed for construction-boom in the shores, have created for recent migrants the opportunity to realize the 'American Dream', towards the ownership of a single-family house, and thus establishing large (from the urban scale point of view – yet not very visible) ethnic enclaves, visually diluted through the suburban morphology.[22]

PART II: THE ETHNOCITY AND THE ETHNOSPACE

1 ETHNOCITY:

1.1 Physical Geography: Multicultural enclaves and their modes of living

The previously described patterns of city growth, real-estate speculation and influx of migration into the city have created the base of the 'ethnic enclave', as it has been referred to in the course of this paper. The way immigration has situated strategically among the sprawl tissue of the Miami is what the definition of '*Ethnospace*' – as announced in this paper – is most concerned about. The strip along SW 8th Street, commonly known as 'Little Havana', corresponds more to the definition of the 'tourist' enclave, in terms of commerce and visual identity. 'Little Havana' is only an idea of a linear strip identified with a certain 'Cuban' identity. Even though it worked initially as a hosting community for the Cuban influx, today is depressed in property value and not participant of the dynamics new migrant communities input in the development of the city.

1.1.1 Enclaves by national origin: The following cities/communities in the sprawl tissue of Miami, which are considered as distinctive of a certain na-

tional origin and I will include in this paper are: Hialeah (Cuban); Kendall (Colombian); Doral (Venezuela); Sweetwater (Nicaraguan); Aventura (Argentinean, Brazilian); and Weston (Venezuelan)

1.1.1.1 Hialeah: Is a city in Miami-Dade County, Florida. As of the 2000 census, the city population was 226,419. As of 2006, the population estimate by the U. S. Census Bureau had the city's population reduced to 209,971, making it the sixth largest city in the state. Hialeah is part of the Miami metropolitan area and the Greater South Florida metropolitan area. The city's name is most commonly attributed to Muskogee origin, '*Haiyakpo*' (prairie) and '*hili*' (pretty) combining in "Hialeah" to mean "pretty prairie". Alternatively, the word is of Seminole origin meaning "Upland Prairie". The city is located upon a large prairie between Biscayne Bay and the Everglades. It has the second highest percentage of **Cuban** and Cuban American residents of any city in the US. Hialeah is also the densest American city not to feature a skyscraper.[23]

1.1.1.2 Kendall: Is a census-designated place and an unincorporated suburban Miami community in Miami-Dade County, Florida. As of the 2000 census, the area had a total population of 75,226.While the defined boundaries of the community have been labelled Kendall by the US Census Bureau, locals often included western communities, such as The Hammocks, Country Walk, The Crossings, Kendale Lakes, Kendall West, and Three Lakes, as part of Kendall. The Kendall area is also home to one of the largest **Colombian** American populations in the State of Florida. Over 11,000 Colombians live in the area, mostly concentrated in the western fringes (West of the Florida Turnpike), in the census-designated places of The Hammocks, Country Walk, The Crossings, Kendale Lakes, Kendall West and Three Lakes, where they make up over 60 percent of the population in certain neighbourhoods (West Kendall, Royal Palms on 134th Ave. and The Hammocks).[24]

1.1.1.3 Doral: Is a city located in north-central Miami-Dade County, Florida. It is west of Miami International Airport, and considered a suburb of Miami. The City of Doral takes its name from the famous golf and spa resort located within its municipal boundaries. The Doral Golf Resort & Spa was originally built by Doris and Alfred Kaskel, who coined the word "Doral" by combining their two first names. The City of Doral was incorporated along with Miami Gardens

in 2003. As of the 2000 census, the population was 20,438. According to 2008 U.S. Census estimates, the city had a population of 39,011 making it one of the fastest growing cities in Miami-Dade County. For a city of its size, Doral has a large number of shops, financial institutions and businesses, especially importers and exporters, primarily because of its proximity to the Miami International Airport. Doral is the most Venezuelan city in the United States, at 8.22% Venezuelan.[25]

1.1.1.4 Sweetwater: is a suburban city in Miami-Dade County, Florida. The population was 14,226 at the 2000 census. As of 2004, the population recorded by the U.S. Census Bureau is 13,992. Sweetwater is home to the largest concentration of **Nicaraguans** and Nicaraguan Americans in the U.S., as a result it is locally known as '*Little Managua*'.[26]

1.1.1.5 Aventura: Is a planned, suburban city located in Northeast Miami-Dade County, Florida. The city name is from the Spanish word for 'adventure', and was named *Aventura* after one of the developers of the original group of condominiums in the area remarked to the others: "*What an adventure this is going to be*." The name predates the well-known Shopping Mall (Aventura Mall), built near the condominium developments. According to the U.S. Census estimates of 2007, the city had a population of 29,475. Aventura is known for its substantial **Jewish** population, many of whom come from the US Northeast (New York, New Jersey, etc.) Besides American Jews, Aventura also has experienced a significant influx of Hispanic/Latin American Jews (especially **Argentine Jews, Cuban Jews,** and **Venezuelan Jews**) **Brazilian Jews, French Jews, Russian Jews, Portuguese Jews, German Jews, Canadian Jews** and **Israelis** also residing in the city. As of 2000, Aventura also has the highest percentage of **Brazilian** residents in the US, with 1.9% of the US populace.[27]

1.1.1.6 Weston: Is a city located in Broward County, Florida. Established as a city in 1996, much of the community was developed by Arvida/JMB Realty and is located near the western developmental boundary of Broward County. As of 2006, the city had a total population of 65,793. Weston is part of the South Florida metropolitan area, which is home to 5,463,857 people. An 800-year old Tequesta Indian burial mound is located in the city. In 2006, *Money Magazine* ranked Weston 20th in America in the 'Big-

gest Earners' category. It was also ranked as the city with largest job growth in Florida and 18th largest in the nation. *Business Week* ranked Weston as one of the 'best affordable suburbs' in the United States in November 2006. Due to it being a fully planned community, local realtors often state that "*everything is located exactly where it should be.*"[28]

2 ETHNOSPACE:

2.1 Cultural Geography:

2.1.1 Language: 'Naming' the City. City by Signage

The most visible characteristic of the so-called '*Ethnospace*' is the proliferation of signage aesthetically configuring the city as an array of multi-cultural signs, displaying different languages and cultural iconography to the city user. Mostly viewed from the automobile, this doubles as a sort of 'tagging' system, where signage denotes a specific area and/or particular national origin community.

2.1.2 Traditions and Event-driven Urbanity:

Popular street Festivals such as 'Calle 8' Street Fest (March), and the Caribbean Carnival Parade (February), denote an important presence of ethnicity in the city. These events promote a street life occupation of the city space, and a link between different communities to learn from each other in an urban setting.

2.1.3 Foreclosure Crisis and Family spatial reunification. Immigration Resilience

The most recent and current financial crisis has created tremendous upheaval in the midst of migrant communities in Miami, and the Mortgage crunch has propelled Miami-Dade County to be the third most-affected city in foreclosures rates in the nation. Throughout the years of more available housing purchase credit, the typical arrangement for families of immigrant extraction (i.e. Cuban, Nicaraguan, Colombian); was to acquire property massively in series, sometimes on the same street, or very nearby each other, within a particular city/neighborhood. In this sense the family spatial structure was maintained due to the proximity of the dwellings, allowing for a sense of community and/or family ethnic enclave. The consequences of the foreclosing crisis has

been the re- appropriation on the part of the Bank of selected properties from the individual ownerships composing the family housing structure, as they go unpaid in their mortgages, due to the increasing unemployment and/or the business economical decline. Progressively and as the houses/properties are lost to the Bank expropriation one by one, the family moves around onto the next houses/properties still being saved from foreclosure, and progressively the family structure gets reduced to one house/dwelling (as the last resource of keeping an active roof over), while the density at one dwelling and overcrowding increases.[29]

In this sense, the suburb communities become authentic 'ghost towns' with entire streets devoid of inhabitants, while only one or two houses become the hosting spaces of the entire former family spatial structure in the neighborhood. It is in this particular case, that the 'American Dream' of numerous migrants arriving in Miami into the center of a hosting familiar structure, and in search of a better life prospect; has been '*unrooted*' - sort of speak - from their original hosting spatial structure, which was allowed and nurtured in the past by the easier access to property and cheap mortgage credit.

2.2 Definition of *Ethnospace*:

In regards to the phenomenon previously described, it is defined as '**Ethnospace**' that space of the city, that gets modified, altered and intervened by the presence and movement of urban extra-national migrants, whether is the colonization or appropriation of the urban space, or the 'ex-appropriation' of dwelling space and 'ethnic enclave' communities, due to economical, social and cultural forces. The **Ethnospace** is a primary force that transforms the city in very dynamic ways, where mobility extrapolates in new territories determined by ethnicity and the banal hosts intangible connections beyond geographies as they have been traditionally understood, leading to a city shaped by Multiculturalism: "*This extreme congruence puts us to the test, it is not solely, as we might claim, a temporary event, but a cultural and political advent that poses to us, outside the ecological question of limits, the no less important dromological question of residual proximities.*"[30]

Cities are in constant state of flux, and not only socio-economical factors determining the dynamics of their space are impacted by the flow in transnational migration they are target destination to; but also altering demographics by the flux of immigration are changing the visual identity of the city: Visual communication through signage, the appearance of ethnic-oriented commerce and business activities are the most evident traces of **Ethnospace**[31], a space of transnational dynamic and fluid occupancy; with the capacity of changing the urban landscape in short spans of time. The occupation and appropriation of urban residual sub- spaces, and the over-density created by time-shared spaces of dwelling and over-crowed housing are concealed characteristic of the **Ethnospace** in the city.

PART IV: CONCLUSION: 'FUTURECASTING':

3 MIAMI AS POLY-ETHNIC/ MULTICULTURAL 'ETHNOCITY':

Edgar Morin, a French Philosopher and Theorist, announced the concept of 'Futurecasting': "*Possible scenarios of the future are usually centered on the idea forecasting, the identifying of patterns of a probable future based on associations, analogies and extrapolations of present events. Futurecasting, on the other hand, is more about expressing proposals about a desirable future, and is at the basis of every innovation. It can propose an action that justifies the desirability of a certain future...[...]...or it can delineate the way to achieve that future. In other words, it is anticipation translated into a strategy.*"[32]

In the case of Miami as a representative of '*Ethnospace*' Urban Tissue, the *futurecasting* of the city as a developing Poly-ethnic Metropolis is translated through the resilience of the Immigration influx into the city, in re-creating the urban tissue despite the financial and Mortgage crunch, to slowly re-configure the urbanity of the ethnic enclave in unexpected ways that will subvert traditional developers' suburbia. What are the expected features of such development? One can only hope that the traditional alienating nature in which suburban environments live, will be transformed through a community grass-roots movement.

ENDNOTES

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15   Montserrat Guibernau and John Rex eds., *The Ethnicity Reader: Nationalism, Multiculturalism and Migration*, 2nd Edition, (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2010), 279.
16   *Kulturshäftlerin* (from the German: Kunst – 'Culture' – and *Shäftlerin* – [female] 'Scientist') Regina Bittner is Academic Director at the Bauhaus Dessau Foundation in Dessau, Germany. Her key research subjects are Urban Anthropology, Ethnographic research on Urban Culture in Event Society and Cultural History. She is Coordinator and Principal Advisor for the *Bauhaus Kolleg*, a Research Residence Program at the Bauhaus Dessau Foundation in Dessau.
17   From the German Inseln ('Island') *Verinselung* ('capacity to make islands') = *Insularity* (www.websters-online-dictionary.org/translation/German/Verinselung)
18   Jesse O. Mc Kee ed., *Ethnicity in contemporary America: a geographical appraisal,* (New York, NY: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000), 173.
19   Bill Marshall, ed., *France and the Americas: culture, politics, and history: a multidisciplinary encyclopedia*, v. 1, Transatlantic relations series. (*Paris: ABC-CLIO, 2000).

20   Guibernau and Rex, 279.

21   Bruce E. Babbit, *Cities in the wilderness: a new vision of land use in America*, (Washington, DC: Island Press, 2005), 14.

22   Donald Joseph Bogue, Eduardo E. Arriaga, Douglas L. Anderton, and George W. Rumsey, *Readings in Population Research Methodology: Environment and economy*, v. 8, "The Readings in Population Research Methodology*," (*Chicago: United Nations Population Fund by Social Development Center, 1993), 512.

23   Allan Carpenter and Carl Provorse, ed., *Facts about the cities*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1992), 128-129, 134.

24   Laura Mars-Proietti, ed., *The Comparative Guide to American Suburbs*, (Toronto: Grey House Publishing, 2007), 513, 520, 539.

25   Ibid., 538, 541, 543.

26   Guillermo J. Grenier and Alex Stepick, eds., *Miami now!: immigration, ethnicity, and social change,* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 1992), 163.

27   Marcia Jo Zerivitz, *Jews of Greater Miami*, (San Francisco, CA: Arcadia Publishing, 2009), 8, 65, 122.

28   Bert Sperling and Peter Sander, eds., *Best Places to Raise Your Family: The Top 100 Affordable Communities in the U.S*., Ranked and Rated Series: Rated Series, (Oxford, UK: John Wiley and Sons, 2006).

29   "City's affordable housing in crisis," in *House of Lies: Miami Crisis*, *Miami Herald*, June 3, 2007.

30   Paul Virilio, *Negative Horizon,* trans. Michael Degener, (London/New York: Continuum 2005), (Original in French: Paul Virilio, *L'Horizon negatif*, (Paris: Galilée, 2005), 77.

31   The concept of Ethnospace has been announced as part of an in-progress PhD dissertation: "'*Fractal City' or New Babylon? Urban geographies of multiculturalism and the 'Ethnospace' cross-line between Miami and Barcelona,*" at the Departament of Urban Geography, *Facultat de Filosofia i Lletres of Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona* (UAB).

32   Rodrigo Viseu Cardoso, "*Three Tenses of Reality: A Complex Approach to Large-Scale Urban Phenomena,*" Master Thesis, Metropolis Post Graduate Program of Architecture and Urban Culture, (Centre de Culture Contemporànea de Barcelona and Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya, Barcelona, 2009), 49.