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MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY, PH.D., 1978

INTRA-URBAN RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY AND ETHNICITY: CUBAN-AMERICANS IN LANSING, MICHIGAN

By

José Luis Mesa

A DISSERTATION

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in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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ABSTRACT

INTRA-URBAN RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY AND ETHNICITY:
CUBAN-AMERICANS IN LANSING, MICHIGAN

By

José Luis Mesa

The study examines the spatial patterns of intra-urban residential mobility among Cuban-Americans in Lansing, Michigan, during the period 1963-1976, and seeks to establish whether ethnic-related factors have played a significant role in the study's population selection of residential location in the city. Urban ecological as well as behavioral principles concerned with the spatial attributes of the residential mobility and location of ethnic migrants are scrutinized. Five main propositions are made: 1) a "receptor" residential area which has functioned as a focus of residential activity for Cuban-Americans can be identified in Lansing; 2) ethnic households have gradually abandoned the receptor area, with those established in the city for the longest period more likely to have moved away from the core urban area and into suburban locations; 3) current "relocation" patterns in suburban areas reflect a clustered spatial structure, an indication that ethnic bonds continue to act as important factors in residential location selection; 4) "ethnic" channels of information have significantly influenced the selection of residential location by study households; and 5) a desire to live near relatives and "ethnic friends" has been an important element in the study sample's selection of residential locations.

The data were collected via seventy-one in-depth home interviews and analyzed through the description and comparison of sample and sample sub-groups' mobility and socio-economic characteristics. In addition, a factorial ecology of Lansing was performed to define the social areas of the city and thus develop an adequate socio-spatial context for the analysis of mobility patterns. Socio-economic variables from the United States 1970 Census of Population and Housing for Lansing census tracts were employed in the factorial ecology.

Three of the five proposed hypotheses were supported. The findings revealed that a main receptor residential area can be identified in the city and that many ethnic households who originally established their residences in the core areas have since moved to suburban locations. The commonly held notion that time is an all-important factor determining the ability of ethnic migrant households to leave reception areas and settle in suburbs, however, was not clearly supported. More meaningful relationships with current residential location were found through selected socio-economic characteristics of the households such as income, occupation and home tenure. Spatial clusterings of Cuban-American households in the suburbs were detected, an indication that intra-urban residential relocation has not occurred in a random spatial fashion. A high degree of influence of the ethnic community in the residential search experience of the households studied was recorded. Forty-three percent of all the intra-urban residential destinations were located as a result of information obtained through "Cuban friends and relatives". However, when the reasons for having selected a given residential location were examined, the "desire to be located near relatives and ethnic friends" was recorded as a primary reason for only

17 percent of the total residential selections made by the sample.

The experience of Cuban-Americans in Lansing gives general support to the residential adjustment processes described for traditional ethnic groups in urban areas. The question as to how the residential experience of the group studied may compare to that of other Cuban-American communities and other contemporary racial and ethnic minorities in United States cities is discussed in the concluding chapter.

A la memoria de

mi padre y a mi madre

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

When the time comes to give written recognition for the assistance provided by others in the course of a research project, it is often difficult to account in words for all the help and goodwill that is received. For the development of many of the ideas and concepts contained in this dissertation I am indebted to the chairman of my committee, Dr. Stanley Brunn. His readiness to openly discuss, criticize and offer suggestions at all times during the development of this study was most helpful and will always be remembered. My expression of gratitude is also immediately directed to the other members of the committee. The help provided by Dr. C. W. Minkel during the course of my doctoral program at Michigan State is much appreciated, as are his detailed review and editing of the dissertation draft. Dr. Gary Manson's suggestions relating to the organization of some key ideas in the study provided a real challenge and for this I am thankful. Many thanks are also due to Professor Sanford Farness of the College of Urban Planning and Landscape Architecture for serving on the committee and offering suggestions on the draft copy of the paper.

Particular thanks must also go to people and organizations who provided valuable input or assistance at different stages of the study. The use of the facilities of Michigan State University Computer Center with the support of the Department of Geography is acknowledged. The names of Dr. Robert N. Thomas of the Department of Geography and of

Dr. Joe T. Darden of Geography and also of the Department of Urban and Metropolitan Studies are recognized; our discussions on the subject of this study proved useful and stimulating. The graphic input of Mike Lipsey of the Center for Cartographic Research was of much assistance as well as the help of my friends Pete Kliejunas and Jim Lebeau. For typing the manuscript time and time again in what must have seemed an endless task and helping in so many ways I am indebted to Donna Foress.

I could not close the list of those who aided in the successful completion of this study without mentioning the collaboration of the many Cuban-American families and persons in the Lansing area who let me in their homes and sat through endless questioning, nearly always with the best of dispositions and kind expressions of hospitality. I can honestly state that their overall attitude and willingness to help made the field work phase of this study most pleasurable. Particular thanks go to officials of the Cuban-American Association of Lansing, who provided me with information that I could not otherwise have obtained.

All the mentioned persons and groups gave invaluable support to this research effort and I express my gratitude. Responsibility for the material presented herein, however, rests solely with the author.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS (Cont'd.)

TABLE OF CONTENTS (Cont'd.)

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF TABLES (Cont'd.)

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This study centers on the spatial patterns of the intra-urban residential mobility of Cuban-American households in Lansing, Michigan. Its primary objective is to establish whether ethnic-related factors play a significant role in the study population's selection of residential location in the city. To meet this objective, answers are sought to the questions "Where within the city have study households moved to and from?" and "Why have they moved to and from there?" In considering the above relationships, a secondary concern of this research is to determine whether the factors which generate residential mobility in this group of people are significantly different from those generating mobility in the population at large.

Intra-Urban Residential Mobility

> Changes of residence occur hundreds of times every day in every major city. The move from one dwelling to another is a basic means by which change occurs both in the daily pattern of individual activities and in the characteristics of neighborhoods throughout the city (Moore, 1972, p. 1).

The dynamics of urban life and the resulting arrangements of people and structures in cities are affected greatly by how households with different socio-economic and cultural characteristics and different life styles become positioned in urban space. A family out-growing a home, a household "fleeing" a racially or ethnically changing neighborhood,

and a person desiring to live near the place of work, near a certain school or near friends and relatives, are examples of the many reasons which may prompt a household to change its residence. The intra-urban mobility process reflects a complex amalgam of influences emanating from a combination of characteristics of the moving households, i.e., income, stage in the life cycle, life style preferences, and of the characteristics of the available urban housing, such as price and type of dwelling, neighborhood qualities and locational aspects (Simmons, 1968, 399).

As with most research problems in the social sciences, the study of urban residential moves is an interdisciplinary endeavor. Sociologists and economists, and more recently geographers and planners are increasingly devoting their skills to its study. However, the research completed to date, while substantial, it is still found wanting in several respects, as for example in the study of the spatial and social processes and patterns of racial and ethnic groups.

Geography and Intra-Urban Residential Mobility

A steadily growing body of literature has accumulated in geography in recent years on the study of intra-urban residential mobility. One important aspect of this research is focused on the behavior of individual households. Behavioral concepts and models have been developed which attempt to describe the residential mobility process centering on the household as the basic decision-making unit and as the main actor in the process. This approach draws heavily on previous concepts developed in the field of human migration and incorporates notions of migration theory as well as spatially oriented concepts developed specifically by geographers (Wolpert, 1965; Brown and Moore, 1970; Barrett, 1973).

A second trend of geographic research has been derived from the assumptions of traditional spatial models of urban structure and social area analysis and it stresses the "human-ecological" view of the city's growth and change. Greater emphasis is placed on the relationships between urban residential structure and the socio-economic and cultural characteristics of different groups, and processes of group competition are generally postulated in attempting to explain the residential structuring of the city's population (Rose, 1970, 1976; Deskins, 1972; Kenyon, 1976). It is within the bounds of this second research approach that ethnic and racial factors have been mostly considered in geographic works. Both of these research approaches as well as studies pertinent to this investigation are the subject of further discussion in Chapters II and III.

Nature of the Study

This study seeks to identify and analyze the spatial patterns of the intra-urban residential mobility of a particular group of people in a specific city. In attempting to explain the resulting spatial mobility patterns of Cuban-American households, emphasis is placed on assessing the relative importance of ethnic-related factors in determining the selection of residential location in the urban area. In the geographic literature, ethnicity has been suggested by a number of authors as a factor that can act in limiting the number of possible residential alternatives available to ethnic households. Thus, it is seen as an element which expands on the answer to the question "Where do people move?" (Moore, 1972, 35).

A considerable body of research literature has been produced concerning the experiences of different immigrant groups in North American

cities. It has been argued, however, that the spatial assimilation process undergone by ethnic minorities of the past is less relevant to present day ethnic groups which have different problems and which live in a city with different kinds of social interaction and opportunity (Simmons, 1968, 401). Since most recent intra-urban relocation studies have utilized native white groups as study populations and have based theories on their behavior, a significant research gap appears to exist in the study of the mobility of ethnic and racial minorities. This applies especially to those which are of non-European origin and ethnic extraction. An exception is Black Americans, whose interaction and residential processes are being studied increasingly (Rose, 1971, 1976; Darden, 1973; Roseman and Knight, 1975).

The data base is an important part of any study of residential moves. The type of data used in many studies has been in aggregate form from national census sources. If greater insight into the behavior patterns of individual households concerning residential moves is to be gained, it has been suggested that more studies based on in-depth household survey data be conducted (Brown and Moore, 1970, 12). This study uses such a data base.

Cuban-Americans in Lansing as a Study Population

Little research has been conducted on the residential mobility patterns of Cuban-Americans in cities of the United States. A planning report emphasizing patterns of urban mobility of a sample of Cuban-American households in Dade County, Florida, is the only study that treats specifically their residential moves (Metropolitan Dade County Planning Department, 1970).

The paucity of information on Cuban residential mobility and residential patterns may be partially explained by the relative recency of the Cuban migration to this country. Most has occurred since 1959 after a Marxist take-over of political power in Cuba set off a massive emigration.

According to the 1970 United States Census of Population, approximately 650,000 people of Cuban birth or parentage comprised the Cuban population of the United States and its territories. A figure of 750,000 was estimated for the mid-seventies by a recent source (Casal and Hernández, 1975, 25). An important characteristic of the Cubans in the United States, which directly relates to this research, is their "urban" nature. They have settled in the urban areas of the country to such an extent that a recent report indicates that 94.6 percent of those individuals reporting Cuban birth or parentage in the twenty states of the union with the largest Cuban population in 1970 resided in Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas. The largest concentrations were found in large cities such as Miami, New York, Los Angeles and Chicago (Prohías and Casal, 1973, 45).

Lansing's Cubans are an example of a relatively recent, non-English speaking, non-European ethnic group. They have become a part of the urban community after having lived and worked in the city for some time. For a variety of reasons (some were sent by national organizations working on refugee-resettling programs and others came following friends and relatives who had arrived earlier in the city), Lansing is today the home of a diverse group of Cuban-American households. The group constitutes a socially active ethnic community in the city. A fraternal organization has been in existence for almost

ten years. It publishes a monthly bulletin for members and sponsors sport activities of members in the city's recreation programs. Annual religious and recreational activities, and a folkloric dance group which performs in community-wide activities, are all elements which reflect the existence of a Cuban-American community in the Lansing area.

A total of ninety-seven Cuban-American households were identified for consideration in the survey. This includes all the married persons, male or female, in the Lansing area who were born in Cuba and who are heads of household. Other households (eleven) where the wives are Cuban but are not heads of household were excluded from consideration. Seven single households made up mostly of college students and working young adults were not included. After discounting the refusals and those households in which the interviewer was unable to locate the head, the final number of cases for the study was seventy-one. The interviews were conducted in Spanish by the author at the home of each respondent.

Lansing as a Study Site

Lansing, Michigan is the site for the present study. With a population of approximately 375,000 in 1970, the Lansing SMSA is comparable in size to other urban areas where residential mobility studies have been conducted (e.g., Cedar Rapids, Iowa, and Brisbane, Australia; see Moore, 1966, and Brown and Longbrake, 1970).

Lansing is a mid-sized northern industrial city. It has a substantial number of old as well as new residential areas in which previously developed notions about the residential processes of immigrant populations in urban areas can be tested.

Given that the present study emphasizes individual household urban mobility history, the question of the relative size of the studied Cuban community in relation to the Lansing urban setting was not considered to be of paramount importance. Obviously, the significance of ethnic-related factors in the spatial mobility of ethnic households in a community where a particular ethnic minority constitutes a large proportion of the total population will tend to be greater in absolute terms. In relative terms, however, given that ethnicity is an independent factor, its basic effect on the process of spatial mobility of a small ethnic community should reflect dimensions and characteristics which are similar in nature to those of the macro-setting. This study will help assess whether in fact the above may be the case.

CHAPTER II

CONCEPTUAL BASIS OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

> The social psychologist sees the household as acting under various kinds of stress; the economist views the move as maximizing satisfaction of a set of utilities; and the human ecologist treats it as an element in a large pattern of movement, a part of processes of growth and succession (Simmons, 1968, 399).

As with most other attempts to systematically analyze human behavior, the task faced by the social researcher when studying the process of intra-urban residential mobility is a complex one. The diversity found in types of people, events and influences which come together to produce urban residential mobility can initially overwhelm efforts to organize a study of the subject. Because of this inherent complexity, any analysis of the residential mobility process must identify a particular organizing perspective and the specific elements of the process to be scrutinized.

A Spatial Perspective

In this study, the organizing perspective for conducting an analysis of the relationship between the intra-urban residential moves of households and the question of ethnicity is spatial in nature. This means that the primary concern of this research is directed toward answering location-related questions such as "Where the move?" and "Why there?". Other questions concerning mobility such as "Why the move?"

and "How was the decision to move arrived at?" become secondary to the central focus.

Locational considerations in the process of urban mobility and residential choice are recognized as being important. In his landmark study Why Families Move, Rossi pointed out that after the housing unit characteristics of space and cost, "the next...criteria looked for in the families new dwellings were particular locations" (Rossi, 1955, 154). Lansing and Barth reported in a study of residential location and urban mobility that the main concerns of the households studied were "the character of the neighborhood and the type of housing in which they live" (Lansing and Barth, 1964, 19). Other geographers and sociologists have suggested similar notions and arrived at similar conclusions in more recent research (Boyce, 1969; Greenberg and Boswell, 1972; Michelson, 1977).

To the geographer, the application of the spatial perspective to the study of residential mobility patterns and flows comes as a natural focus for investigation. A distinctively geographic question is "Why are spatial distributions structured the way they are?", and answering this question involves reference to the mechanisms which produce the spatial distributions, namely "spatial processes" (Abler, Adams and Gould, 1973, 54 and ff.). Thus, spatial analysis in geography is concerned with both pattern, or the static characteristics of places and areas, and process, which incorporates the dynamic elements causing those characteristics.

Antecedents of the Spatial Perspective in the Study of Residential Mobility

Two clearly distinguishable research directions have been developed within the spatial perspective in the study of residential mobility, one well established and the other more recent.

Residential Mobility in the Context of Urban Ecology. Research considering locational questions in the study of urban residential patterns and processes originated in the field of sociology. The origins of this research approach can be traced to the "urban ecological" school of the University of Chicago of the 1920's and 1930's. Many of the original theoretical formulations of that trend of research came from Robert S. Park's essay on "Human Ecology" (1936). Concerning the processes that structure the different population groups in the city, he postulated the existence of an ever-present "competition" for residential space. This competition, wrote Park, brought about "invasions" of some residential areas by incoming groups in need of housing available only in those areas. In time, the process led to "succession" and "dominance" of the residential space by a new group. This new group occupied housing that "filtered-down" from the socially upward-mobile outgoing group whose members moved to another location in the city.

These formulations gave basis to the early hypotheses on urban structure that subsequently developed and included important notions about city residential structure: the "concentric zones" idea by sociologist Burgess, the "sector" model by economist Hoyt, and the "multiple-nuclei" concept by geographers Harris and Ullman. The substance of these various hypotheses has been discussed at length in the literature, and several recent sources review it in comparative detail (Berry and Horton, 1970; Bourne, 1971). A substantial amount of

research was generated in the past few decades to test the above-described theories and models, and in the case of intra-urban residential mobility some work made direct reference to the processes of urban mobility and spatial assimilation of immigrant ethnic groups (Jonassen, 1949; Kosa, 1956; Johnston, 1969).

The residential aspect of the ecological theories and models of urban patterns and processes was further developed by the proponents of a research approach known as "social area analysis." Originally developed by sociologists Shevky and Bell, this approach specified more precisely than before the way in which certain populations sorted themselves out in urban space on the basis of their socio-demographic and economic characteristics. It was based on three major conceptual constructs: "Economic Status," "Family Status" and "Ethnic Status." Through the utilization of selected variables such as occupation, family size and national origin, indices were developed which measured the studied characteristics of populations within urban census tracts. "Social areas" in the city were thus delineated and a "typology" of such areas developed based on how they ranked on the defined dimensions (Shevky and Bell, 1955, 18). The approach was initially tested with 1940 census data for the Los Angeles and San Francisco Bay regions. In both cities, the researchers were able to delimit socially different sub-regions (Shevky and Williams, 1949; Bell, 1953). Although the "validity" of the method was later confirmed by other researchers (Van Arsdal, Camilleri and Schmid, 1958), some criticism of social area analysis was raised regarding how the measures utilized presupposed the constructs to be correct. It was further argued that the researchers had failed to provide a test for the validity of those measures (Hawley

and Duncan, 1957). To meet these types of criticism, Bell made use of factor analysis to show that in both Los Angeles and San Francisco the measures used, in fact, formed a structure consistent with the basic formulations of the method (Bell, 1955).

With the advent of the machine technology necessary to process large amounts of information, the social area analysis approach was further refined with greater application of factor analysis to population-related characteristics of urban residential areas. The research of Berry and Rees (1969), Murdie (1968) and Abu-Lughod (1969) are examples of this type of work, which is often referred to as "factorial ecology." Geographers have worked extensively in the development of this approach and its spatial components.

In factorial ecology a wider set of socio-economic variables, which include the Shevky-Bell group, are used as input for detailing the characteristics of census tract populations and housing units. Factor analysis is used to isolate the fundamental patterns of variations in the data. The conceptual constructs to classify areas are hence derived from the data and not assumed a priori (Berry and Horton, 1970, 316).

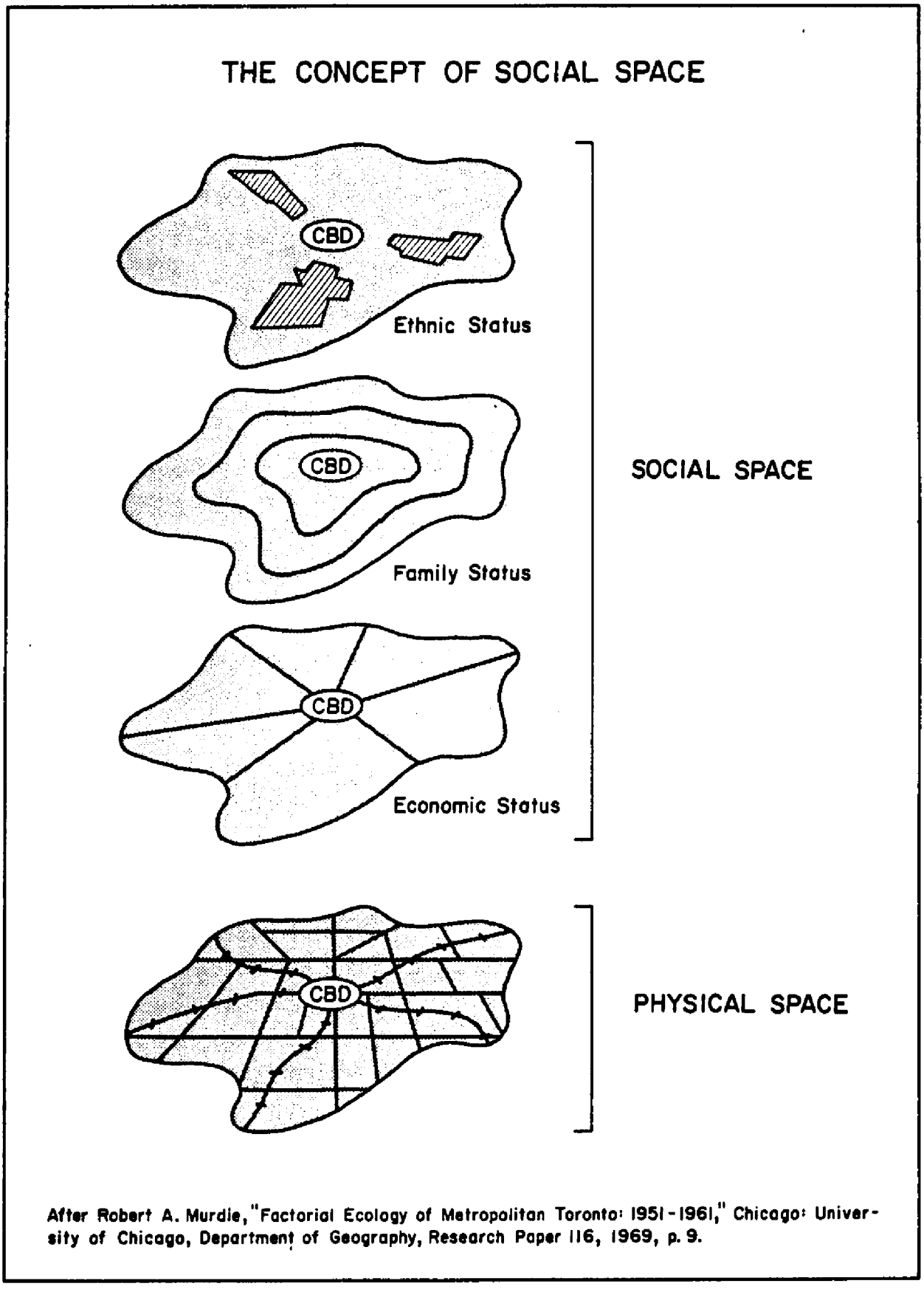
Social areas thus typified reflect a greater number of shared characteristics and hence are classified on a more comprehensive and accurate basis. Most factor-ecological studies have revealed that urban sub-populations distribute themselves spatially along characteristics which are similar to those originally identified by Shevky and Bell (Kaufman, 1961; Murdie, 1968).

The basic conceptual formulations of social area analysis are contained in Rees' work (1970). In this framework, the household is

assigned a position in "social space," a given portion of urban space defined through a conceptual matrix of social meaning based on economic, social status and life-cycle variables, such as income, occupation and family size. This is matched by the position of a dwelling in "housing space," defined by price and design characteristics of the unit. In this manner, the household becomes a part of a given "community space" or community of like-households in urban residential space. With reference to residential location, it is then postulated that the household will select "physical space," or actual location in the city, from a range of determined "communities." The final selection of a specific location is dependent upon operating constraints related to neighborhood or accessibility characteristics. According to Rees:

> An orderly social geography results as like individuals make like choices in response to regularities in the operation of the land and housing markets and the collaboration of similar individuals who act to exclude dissimilar people from their neighborhood or to restrict minority groups to particular areas. The autonomous suburb is the prime example of the process of exclusion and the ghetto the most glaring illustration of the process of exclusion (Rees, 1970, 313).

To summarize, the basic conceptual constructs of ecological and social area analysis can be viewed as formulated from a perspective which stresses the constraints a household must face in moving about in urban space, whether these constraints are of an economic, sociocultural or institutional nature. In Figure 1, the concept of social space, basic to social area analysis is portrayed and it is shown, in a generalized fashion, how social characteristics are spatially arranged regarding the population of a city. The patterns depicted bring to mind



After Robert A. Murdie, "Factorial Ecology of Metropolitan Toronto: 1951-1961," Chicago: University of Chicago, Department of Geography, Research Paper 116, 1969, p. 9.

Figure 1

the formulation of the "classical" models of urban structure mentioned earlier.

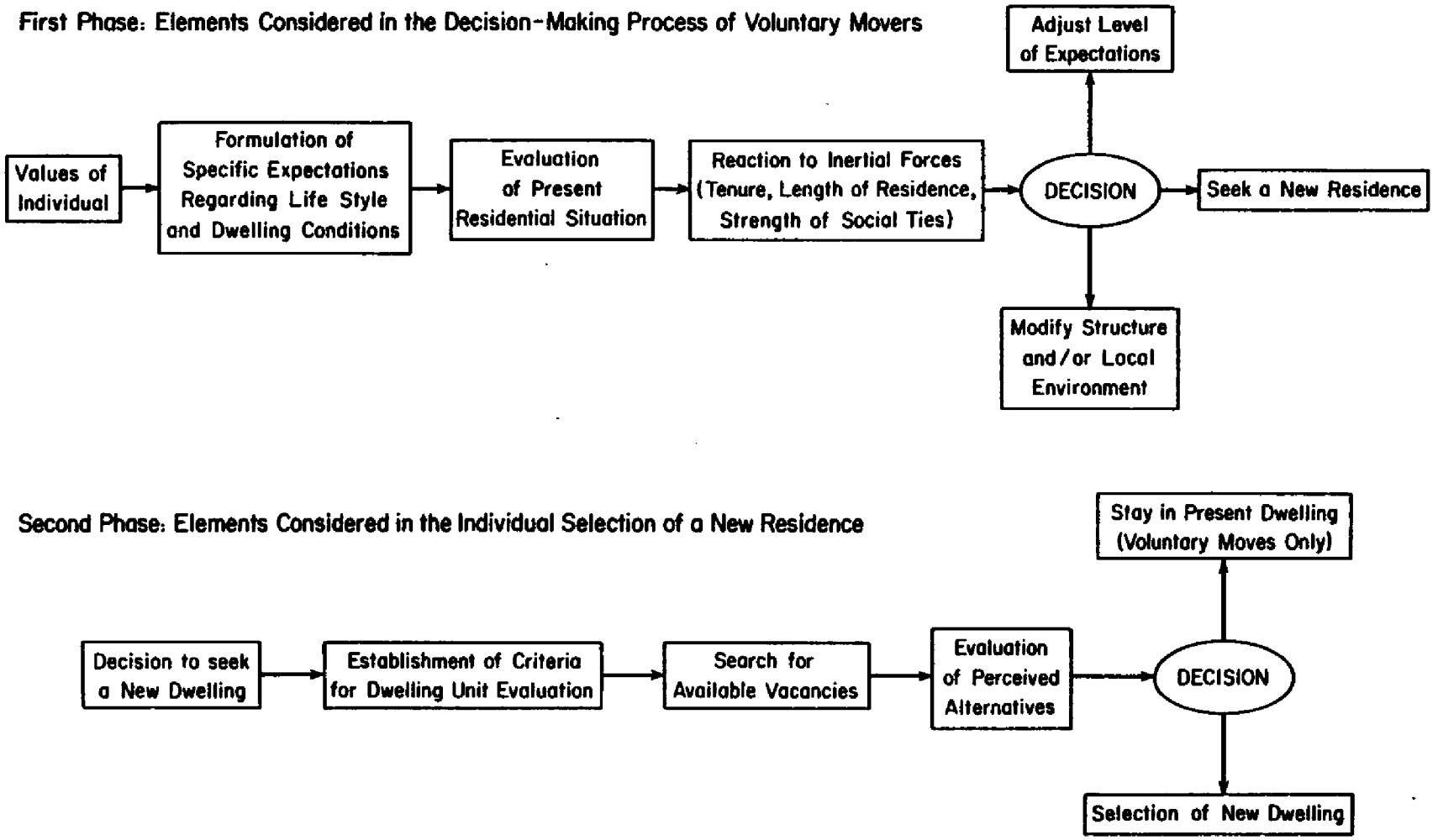
The Behavioral Approach. Within the spatial perspective, a major alternative approach in the study of intra-urban residential mobility has recently developed. It focuses on the residential decision-making process of individual households. This approach, which can be viewed as a "preference-oriented" model, stresses the significance of space in relation to mental images of the urban environment that are acquired by members of individual households. The expression "behavioral approach" is used to characterize this research and geographers have made significant contributions to the study of intra-urban residential mobility using this perspective, among them Brown and Moore (1970), Brown and Longbrake (1970), and Brown and Holmes (1971). The concepts contained within this research perspective have been derived from previous research in the field of psychology and notions basic to existing theories on human migration (Barrett, 1973, 4).

A spatial-behavioral model of the residential location decision has been proposed by Brown and Moore in which mobility is viewed in the context of migration theory, and "push" and "pull" factors in individual residential environments are assessed. The model consists of two phases: 1) the decision to seek a new residence, and 2) the relocation decision (Brown and Moore, 1970). Moore later developed "flow charts" of these two phases of the household mobility process. These are presented in Figure 2.

As Brown and Moore explain, entering the first decision phase does not commit a household to go full cycle in the process. After evaluating their present residential situation, individuals may or

Figure 2

DECISION-MAKING IN RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY

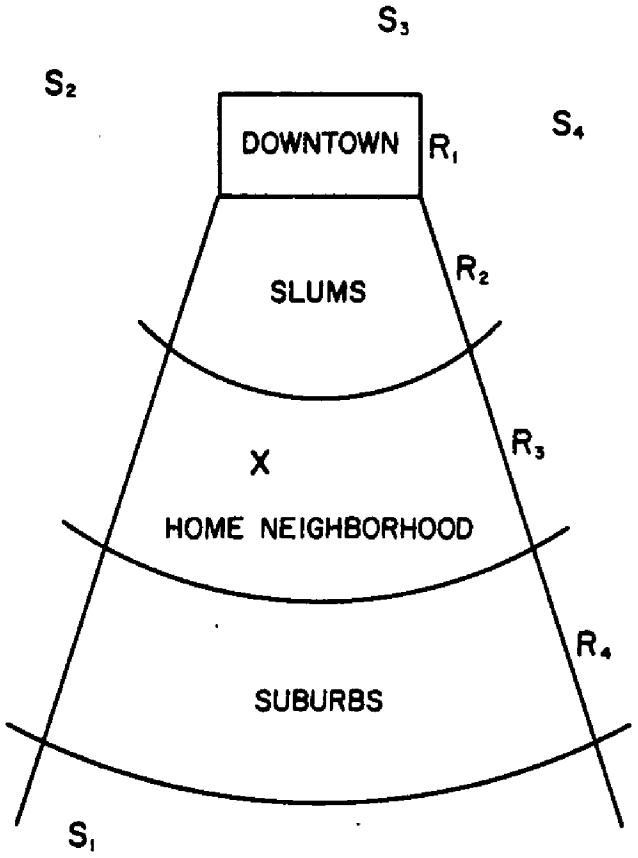


After Eric Moore, *Residential Mobility in the City*, Association of American Geographers, Commission on College Geography, Washington, D.C., 1972, pp. 5 and 13.

may not decide to seek a new dwelling. Furthermore, some may choose not to move even after examining alternative locations. This element is referred to as the "mover-stayer" framework (Brown and Moore, 1970, 12). A group of sociologists who recently proposed a similar model have added an additional preliminary phase which they labeled "the decision to consider moving," but little basic difference exists between their model of individual mobility and that of Brown and Moore (Speare, Goldstein and Frey, 1975). Neither model directly addresses the issue of "where" the individual will move in the city.

A concept basic to individual mobility models is that of "place utility," previously defined by Wolpert as "the net composite of utilities which are derived from the individual's integration at some position in space" (Wolpert, 1965, 162). Other major concepts proposed by Brown and Moore are "search behavior" and "awareness space." "Search behavior" is the action taken by a potential mover to become familiar with possible alternative locations. This search is conditioned by the "awareness space" of the prospective migrant, encompassing those locations within the total urban space about which he has knowledge (Brown and Moore, 1970, 8). This concept of "awareness space," of particular importance from a spatial point of view, was discussed at length by Adams in 1969 with specific reference to intra-urban residential mobility. An illustration of some specifics of Adams' discussion is presented in Figure 3. The graph is a good representation of a notion basic to behavioral models of mobility. An important spatial notion is advanced by Adams when he indicates that the intra-urban movements of city residents depend on "limited" mental maps or mental images. He suggests, for instance, that people's

AN INDIVIDUAL'S AWARENESS SPACE



How a Midwestern central city resident perceives his urban area. Sharp images exist for R_1, the downtown, and its location with respect to the resident's home, X; for R_2, the gray area encountered moving from X to downtown which Mr. X considers a slum; for R_4, the home neighborhood; and for R_3, the ring of newer suburbs further out from X. Image sharpness is not the same thing as accuracy; it has to do with information, true or false, about a place together with attitudes and impressions of it. Places in sectors S_2, S_3, and S_4 are only vaguely known, although attitudes may be strongly positive or negative toward them.

After John S. Adams, "Directional Bias in Intra-Urban Mobility," *Economic Geography*, 45, p. 305.

Figure 3

image of desired residential areas is restricted to those locations with which they are familiar. In most cases such locations include "a wedge-shaped image of the city which is sharply in focus for places close to home and other parts of the home sector and blurry or blank for distant places such as the other side of town" (Adams, 1969, 323).

According to the postulates of individual models, the mobility process begins when the utilities of a given place of residence are no longer acceptable to the household. Alternate locations are then sought and the physical location of the new residence, if the family chooses to move, will be determined by the nature of the search process. This process is in turn a function of the relative familiarity of the household with points and paths in urban space (Barrett, 1973, 5).

Summary

In discussion of the ecological and behavioral approaches, it becomes evident that, even though both were developed within a spatial perspective, they contain somewhat dissimilar conceptual foundations. For the behavioralists "perceived" space is the focus, while for the ecologists "social" space is the key. Berry commented in 1970 that these two approaches to the study of residential processes "are yet to be merged into a holistic framework that will make clear the linkages between the social, structural and locational spaces of the city." He suggests that a framework for such a synthetic effort can be provided by a geographic interpretation of social area (factor) analysis (Berry and Horton, 1970, 314).

A recent pioneering work in the field of social geography may well contain some of the essentials needed to merge the two perspectives. Indicating that "spatial behavior cannot be understood apart

from its social context," these authors have brought together social and behavioral-oriented concepts which they proposed are needed to understand "how social and geographic systems of identity operate together" (Jakle, Brunn and Roseman, 1976, 2 and ff.). The task of studying residential mobility from an integrated spatial point of view thus falls squarely within the field of social geography which is concerned "with a community's social and geographic structure and the decision-making processes that govern its growth" (Jakle, Brunn and Roseman, 1976, 2). A preliminary model presented in this treatise describes the process of spatial assimilation of ethnic households in the city, a notion which relates directly to the subject of this study. Thus, it appears that the development of a comprehensive conceptual social and spatial framework remains a challenge to geographers and other social scientists seeking to provide a comprehensive explanation of the intra-urban residential process and the larger questions of urban growth and change.

CHAPTER III

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In this chapter a review is made of research in geography which has dealt with ethnicity as a principal question in the study of residential mobility and location. Selected related works in other fields are also reviewed.

Ethnic Factors in Residential Mobility and Location

In geography, the consideration of ethnic factors in studies on or related to residential mobility and location has been emphasized by several authors studying the concentrations and movements of immigrant populations and minority groups in urban areas.

In reporting on the historical evolution of residential location patterns of immigrants in American cities during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Ward (1968, 1971) describes a process of spatial assimilation which closely conforms to Park's early formulations regarding the structuring and change of urban residential areas. He also illustrates how the processes of invasion and succession began to develop in several large American urban areas, resulting from the residential needs of the different incoming groups. A study of the historical residential patterns of the Dutch in Kalamazoo, Michigan, by Wheeler and Jakle (1969) explores in detail the different stages of residential clustering and dispersion undergone by members of that nationality in their experience of acculturation and adjustment in the

city. Their conclusions support conventional studies on the assimilation of European ethnic minorities in American cities, which describe the traditional communities having a core or reception area usually near the center of the city where much of the assimilation took place. With the passing of time, the successful immigrant moved out, socially and spatially, either individually or with his countrymen (Jonassen, 1949; Kosa, 1956; Lieberson, 1963).

A recent study by Gad, Peddie and Punter (1973) discusses the residential location and mobility of a selected sample of Italian and Jewish households in Toronto, Canada. Behavioral concepts such as "residential search" and "awareness space" are examined to determine if differences in "spatial preferences" exist between the two groups. Their results suggest a tendency for both groups to perpetuate the existence of respective "ethnic" sectors because of the nature of each group's residential search space which in turn appears related to the space characteristics of the communities' social activities. The writers also observe that Jews and Italians migrated away from reception areas in close residential proximity to one another during the past several decades but that today "they seem to separate in the outer suburbs" (Gad, Peddie and Punter, 1973, 179). The social and economic characteristics of the households within the sample studied are only lightly discussed and no effort is made to relate them to the spatial and behavioral patterns analyzed in the article.

Other geographic studies have been conducted on the residential patterns of European minorities, many of them as theses prepared by graduate students. Jakle (1973) has compiled a bibliography which provides a comprehensive listing of the geographic and other spatially-

oriented literature on forty-six different ethnic and racial minorities in North America. It includes many items on the urban residential question. Of particular significance in this compilation are the many studies dealing with the residential patterns of Blacks in American cities. Over two hundred such studies are cited. Many of these discuss the origins and development of Black ghettoes, such as Taeuber and Taeuber, 1965; Spear, 1967; Rose, 1964, 1966, 1970; others deal more directly with questions related to residential mobility and segregation, i.e., Deskins, 1972; Darden, 1973; Rose, 1976. Historically, the residential patterns of Blacks have shown a sustained tendency for spatial clustering which implies that little residential assimilation has occurred. Despite recent trends toward Black suburbanization, the patterns of segregation appear to persist. Rose (1976) has argued that the current Black movement to suburbia represents a present-day extension of the "ghettoization" processes of the past.

On the basis of all the above-mentioned geographic studies, Moore has observed that the mechanisms of invasion and succession have been well identified. More critical analysis, he indicates, is needed of the factors which regulate the spatial and temporal magnitude of these processes (Moore, 1972, 36).

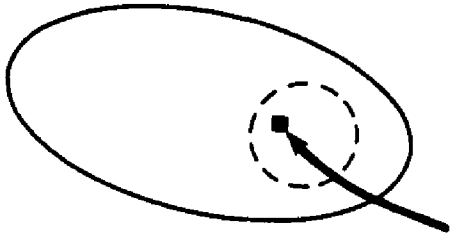
An "individual-oriented" model of the spatial assimilation of ethnic households, which addresses in part Moore's concern, has been recently proposed (Jakle, Brunn and Roseman, 1976). A hypothetical situation centering on individual rather than aggregate spatial behavior shows ethnic households at different levels of assimilation. The focus is on the interaction of the household at places of residence and work and on other activities such as shopping and recreation:

> The individual is only gradually assimilated by the number and variety of contacts with various spaces within a city. Should the person find work outside an ethnic area where he or she resides, over time the location of other activities and interactions may also occur there. The final stage will represent almost complete separation from the ethnic area of original residence (Jakle, Brunn and Roseman, 1976, 161).

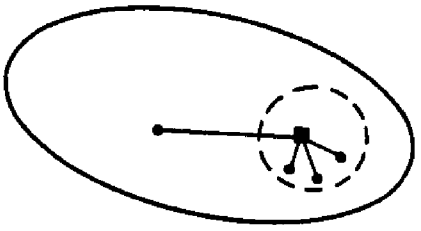
An important point stressed in the proposed hypothetical model is that residential moves, and the resulting spatial expression of these moves, are likely to be associated with the social assimilation process. That is, variables such as rising incomes and changing cultural values are important. However, "no given individual is expected to follow the steps exactly" (Jakle, Brunn and Roseman, 1976, 162). In Figure 4, the model is graphically presented.

Such a model would clearly need much testing and possibly further specificity. The proposed "stages" follow an apparently logical sequence, but little evidence has accumulated at the household level to permit much further substantiation of the phases described. For instance, Simmons points out that in the case of recent European immigrants, "many have avoided the "ghetto" stage entirely" (Simmons, 1968, 401). Also, as suggested for Blacks, the residential patterns of some present-day racial and ethnic minorities show a tendency toward permanency which suggests that the spatial assimilation process may not always have a "final" stage. Some of these shortcomings are discussed by proponents of the cited model. In any case, the notions offered by Jakle, Brunn and Roseman provide a new and insightful perspective on a long-standing and still largely unclear research question.

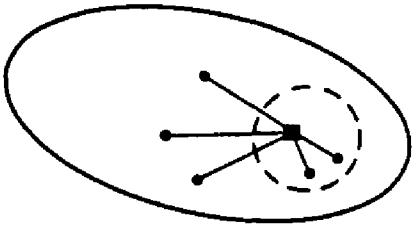
A HYPOTHETICAL SPATIAL ASSIMILATION MODEL SHOWING SPATIAL BEHAVIOR AT DIFFERING LEVELS OF ASSIMILATION



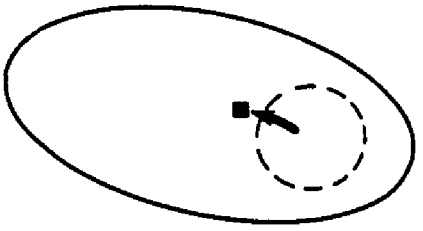
1
Migration from distant location to ethnic area



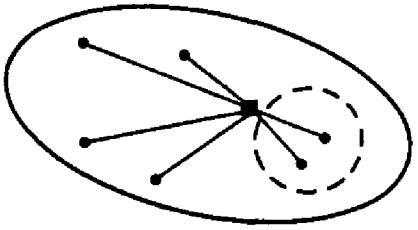
2
Work found outside ethnic area, other activities within



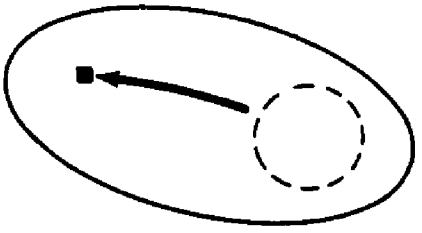
3
Additional activities established outside ethnic area



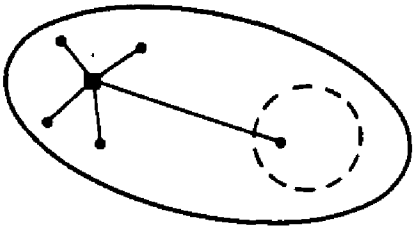
4
Move residence to fringe of ethnic area



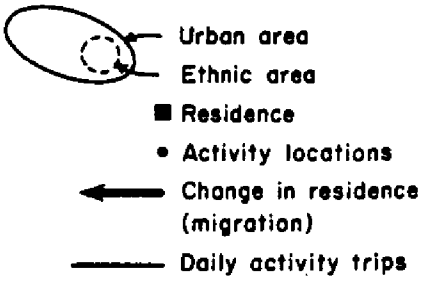
5
Most activities outside ethnic area



6
Move residence away from ethnic area



7
Little interaction with ethnic area



After J. Jakle, S. Brunn, and C. Roseman, *Human Spatial Behavior: A Social Geography*, Duxbury Press, North Scituate, Mass., 1976, p. 161.

Figure 4

Residential Location and Urban Mobility of Cuban-Americans

Works in geography and other fields which have particular reference to the residential patterns of Cuban-Americans in the United States are few. Some studies on Cubans provide a good general background on the reason and nature of their immigration to the United States (Fagan and Brody, 1968; Clark, 1971). Others deal more with adjustments which Cuban immigrants have had to make living in the United States and other general social characteristics of the immigrants (Portes, 1969; Fox, 1971; Prohías and Casal, 1973).

A review is presented here of those works which touch on the question of the residential patterns of Cuban-Americans in the United States. Included also are comments on the residential mobility and characteristics of other Spanish-speaking minorities and of Blacks, derived from comparative works which mention the structure and behavior of these groups along with those of Cubans.

As previously noted, Cuban-Americans in the United States are mostly city dwellers. Although their communities exist in many of the nation's urban areas, information on these communities is available for only a few cities. A recent and fairly comprehensive study is that of Rogg (1974). Initially prepared as a doctoral dissertation in sociology and later published in book form, the study uses data from a survey of 250 Cuban households in West New York, New Jersey. In the light of Gordon's theories on assimilation (Gordon, 1964), Rogg seeks to establish the significance of the development of a strong ethnic community as a means to adjustment and acculturation in the host society. The work documents the existence of a strong ethnic community and briefly alludes to the residential concentration of Cuban-

American households in that municipality. This concentration came about as a result of the resettlement program established by the United States government in the early sixties to help relocate Cuban immigrants from the Miami, Florida, area (Rogg, 1974, 1). The study, however, does not specifically address issues concerning the residential mobility patterns of the households studied.

A geographic work which studies the residential pattern of Cubans in Chicago, along with that of Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans, utilizes information from the United States census (Ropka, 1973). Cubans in Chicago were found to be living in fairly close residential proximity, but yet relatively separated from other Latin groups. In fact, each Latin group exhibited a marked degree of residential concentration at the census tract level, although they all shared a generally contiguous residential area. As the author points out, "they seek out similar low-cost housing" (Ropka, 1973, 173 and 183). In comparing the recently arrived Cubans with the other groups, Ropka writes:

> While the Cuban's credentials appear superior, he still has a certain mobility problem when he first arrives in the city. He must rely upon social and economic help from friends and city agencies to help him get established. Without money and having to accept low paying employment, at least at the beginning, only inexpensive housing near public transportation is acceptable. Also, and perhaps even more so due to the traumatic events surrounding their leaving Cuba, they demonstrate a desire to be close to friends and others of similar background and language (Ropka, 1973, 57-58).

In another section providing a contrasting insight and reflecting on a different stage of the social and spatial assimilation process, Ropka comments:

> One factor which may influence the settlement pattern of Cubans in the city is their propensity to move into the surrounding suburbs once they are able to make the necessary social and economic adjustments. ...If the trend toward dispersal and assimilation continues, the next census may show a weakening of their pattern, rather than a strengthening (Ropka, 1973, 158 and 159).

From the above statements, it would appear that ethnic bonds are influencing significantly the residential patterning of Cuban households in Chicago. A weakness in Ropka's findings is that no mention is made of the differences existing within Cuban households on the basis of key social and demographic indicators, such as life-cycle stage and occupation. This weakness is an inherent problem in using aggregate data from secondary sources. Still, the study provides a valid comparison of the groups and their patterns of residential location in the city. Regarding Cuban-Americans, the study suggests, but offers no survey evidence, that some households may be going through the traditional spatial (and hence social) assimilation cycle of previous ethnic minorities. It should be mentioned, however, that Ropka does not address the question of whether those Cuban-Americans moving to the suburbs may be doing so in a clustered spatial pattern, a factor which would suggest a continued influence of ethnicity on the residential mobility of the group. Also, he fails to deal with the question of whether a majority is moving out or merely a few. No mention is made in the study of Puerto Rican or Mexican-American movement to suburban areas, possibly an oversight.

Another study in geography, an unpublished semester report by Eichelberger (1973), uses data from a sample survey of sixty-five Cuban households in Cincinnati, Ohio. In that city, Cuban residential

location was a "suburban" phenomenon. The sample included mostly college-educated heads of household. After comparing the occupational profile of his group with that of Fagen and Bordy's study (1968), the writer concluded that "Cincinnati's Cuban population can be considered the very elite of the Cuban exiles in the United States" (Eichelberger, 1973, 11). In another section of the paper, it is pointed out that "the occupation, family size and the respondents' age would indicate the need and the ability to live outside of the central city" (p. 7). All of the heads of household interviewed had left Cuba before 1963. As it provides information on the residential patterns of a Cuban-American community otherwise unknown, Eichelberger's paper is of some value. However, no information on the intra-urban mobility history of the respondents is offered, so little insight is gained from the study on the nature of the residential movement of Cuban-Americans in the Cincinnati area. And, as the author himself suggests, his study group is hardly representative of Cuban populations in other urban communities of the United States.

By far the greatest concentration of Cuban-Americans in the United States is found in the Dade County-Miami area of Florida. Two geographic studies have dealt with questions related to Cuban settlement in that area. A study by Salter and Mings (1972) projects the impact of Cuban voters on future elections in the area. A map showing areas of Cuban residential concentration is presented in the article. However, the method employed to define the city's "Cuban districts" is of little value. As opposed to using United States census figures, the authors define areas of Cuban concentration on the basis of the number of Cuban Catholic families in Catholic Church parishes and the

percentage of native Spanish-speaking students in the county's school districts (Salter and Mings, 1972, 124). No discussion is included specifically on residential location and mobility questions. Longbrake and Nichols (1976) also provide information about Cuban settlement in the Miami area, but of a very general nature. A comment concerning the residential processes affecting Cuban-Americans in the Miami area indicates that "an overwhelming 97 percent of the Cubans surveyed said they had been accepted by Miamians into a life free of resentment and discrimination" (Longbrake and Nichols, 1976, 50). However, the source and nature of the "survey" and the corresponding sample population are never discussed.

A pertinent study also carried out in the Miami area, and one which deals more directly with the residential mobility of Cuban-American households, was prepared in 1970 by the Dade County Planning Department. Its basic objective was to delineate the residential mobility patterns of the various ethnic groups in the county, "to include Blacks, non-Latin Whites and Latins (mostly Cubans)" (Dade County Planning Department, 1970, 1).

Through the use of telephone directories for various years and other supplemental information, a sample of residential movers for each group was identified and the actual moves (origins and destinations) plotted on maps. The residential areas of the city were divided into socio-economic districts, much as in previous studies involving social area analysis. The Latins were found to be the group with the highest proportion of residential moves per response. The study also points out that the center of the city remained the "receptor" area for incoming Cuban residents. Moves originating

here involved a relatively short geographic distance (Dade County Planning Department, 1970, 24 and 38).

Again, the different stages of the spatial and social assimilation process of Cuban-American households are only alluded to:

> Latins have moved outward from their inner-city "Little Havana" in a stepwise manner. Generally, the first move is to the fringe areas, with moves out of these fringe areas going still further. The Latin was not generally attracted to far-out suburban areas, particularly South Dade. Also, Latins are more likely to move back toward town than are Blacks or non-Latin Whites (Dade County Planning Department, 1970, 100).

An interesting differentiation is made concerning the "origin" of Cuban households:

> The newly arriving Cuban refugee tends to locate in the poorer, more centrally located "Little Havana" area while the Latin in-migrant from the States is more likely to locate in Latin suburbia (Dade County Planning Department, 1970, 101).

In the last quotation, there is an implied reference that many Cuban-American households have moved out from the central "reception" area and re-established a clustered residential pattern in suburban sections of the city. Also, in assessing the overall spatial mobility of Latins in the city, the report indicates that Latin inter-district moves are much more scattered than for Blacks, suggesting that the urban spatial mobility of Black Americans is constrained to a larger degree than that of the Cubans (Dade County Planning Department, 1970, 40).

In summary, the scant evidence that exists on the patterns of residential location and urban mobility of Cubans in the United States points to the existence of residentially clustered communities. Also,

there appears to be some movement to suburban areas, which suggests that dispersion is likewise occurring. This dispersion does not necessarily connote "spatial assimilation", however. In the case of Dade County, the movement of Cuban-American households to some suburbs has shown a pattern characteristically permeated by ethnicity whereby suburban communities such as Hialeah and Westchester had by 1970 a Cuban-American majority in terms of residence (Mesa, unpublished research, 1974). Still, the question remains as to whether the movement of Cuban-American households to a given location in any urban area is strongly influenced by ethnicity or whether this movement reflects other preferences or constraints more closely related to the general processes of social and spatial assimilation of minority households.

Conceptual Orientation

As stated earlier, the guiding questions of this research are: "Where do people move in the city?" and "Why do they move there?" Intra-urban residential mobility is thus examined in an urban spatial context, with emphasis on residential location selection.

The role played by ethnicity in the residential mobility and location of study households becomes a fundamental question of analysis, and notions concerning spatial aspects of the "assimilation process" of ethnic households in urban areas are specifically discussed. The concept of "social space" is stressed as a guiding conceptual tool and the residential patterns of the study sample are also analyzed in the light of social and economic variables, all within the context of social area analysis. In addition, the behavioral concept of "search

behavior" is the subject of some scrutiny, as the influence of ethnicity on the observed urban mobility and residential location patterns of study households is assessed.

Hypotheses

The basic proposition underlying this study reflects a major tenet of previous social area analysis research: that the spatial patterns of the residential mobility process of urban ethnic minorities reflect the effects of the general social and cultural assimilation influences which affect all such groups arriving in the city. However, as discussed in the review of pertinent research, the specifics of how and for how long this residential process is manifested have not been clearly established. Indeed, many scholars still argue that in some cases, the "assimilation" does not really take place, spatial or otherwise.

To carry out the analysis, five principal research hypotheses are advanced. They have been derived from the ecological and behavioral concepts and research findings discussed in Chapter II and also in this chapter.

"Ecological" Hypotheses. In relation to the models developed by the proponents of the ecological models of urban residential processes (Park, 1936; Shevky and Bell, 1955; Rees, 1970), and with particular reference to the patterns and processes of ethnic migrants to urban areas (see Kosa, 1956; Berry and Horton, 1970; Jakle, Brunn and Roseman, 1976), the following propositions are made:

1. A "receptor" area for Cuban-Americans can be identified in Lansing. As a focus of residential activity for the group, the area has served both as a main receiving center and as a principal generator of intra-urban residential moves,

particularly during the early period of "settlement."

2. Households established in the city for the longest period will have moved to "suburban" locations, reflecting an aspect of the spatial assimilation process of ethnic households, i.e., abandonment of the "receptor" area with the passing of time.
3. The residential pattern of those relocated in suburban areas will reflect a "clustered" (non-random) spatial structure, an indication that ethnic bonds continue to act as important factors in residential location selection.

"Behavioral" Hypotheses. With reference to behavioral concepts of urban residential processes (Brown and Moore, 1970; Barrett, 1973, 1976), and with emphasis on the relationships between spatial mobility and ethnic characteristics of minority households (Gad, Peddie and Punter, 1973), it is hypothesized that:

1. In searching for a place to live, information obtained through "ethnic" friends and relatives will significantly influence the selection of residential location by study households.
2. The selection of residential location by sample households will be strongly influenced by a desire to live near relatives and "ethnic" friends.

CHAPTER IV

THE STUDY COMMUNITY, THE SAMPLE, AND THE STUDY AREA

The composition and character of Lansing's Cuban-American community reflect both the past history of individuals and families and the particular experience that these people have shared during the years since they migrated from the island of Cuba. Many of the early families are now permanent residents of the city, new families have been formed and some households have moved away from Lansing after living in the area for varying periods of time.

The Study Community

From information obtained from local Cuban residents, it appears that the first nucleus around which the community began to form arrived in the mid-sixties. Approximately ten to fifteen Cuban married couples came to Lansing to be re-united with their children. The youngsters, about twenty in number and all between the ages of twelve and sixteen years at the time of leaving their home country, had come to the United States without their parents in 1962. After a short stay in Florida, a national relief organization placed them at a children's home in the Lansing area. Their parents joined them later and most of the regrouped households took up residence in the city.

Another group of Cuban immigrants to the Lansing area consisted of adults and their immediate families relocated from the Miami area during

the middle and late sixties by a United States government-financed resettlement program in effect at the time. Some individuals actually requested to be sent to Michigan, after having learned of potential work opportunities in the state. Upon arrival in Lansing, these families were helped by local public welfare agencies. Also, local charitable and religious organizations, among them the Catholic Social Service and the St. Vincent de Paul Conference, provided them with material assistance and help in locating housing and employment opportunities.

A third group migrating to the area was composed of individuals, either single or in family units, who came without any official sponsorship. Most came specifically in search of work opportunities, particularly in the local automobile industry. They arrived in the Lansing are during the early seventies from cities in Florida and other states in which they had previously resided or had been relocated. Many in the latter group had relatives or friends in Lansing who initially helped them become established.

It seems that all individuals or families taking up residence in the city, regardless of when or how they came, have made use of local public relief services. By now, many have developed complete self-sufficiency although some, i.e., the elderly, the disabled and several one-parent households, still make use of public help.

The difficulties encountered in the city during the early period of settlement, as reported by heads of households during the home interviews, were many. Most relate to employment, housing, language and climatic adjustment problems. It appears that many household heads experienced severe downward occupational mobility. Professionals such

as lawyers and formerly self-employed businessmen found themselves working for some time as stockroom handymen or in janitorial services. These persons have since greatly improved their occupational status, although some claim they still are not as "well off" as they were in Cuba.

The most fortunate found early employment in the local auto industry, and numerous members of the community now work in such jobs. Many of the younger Cuban-Americans coming into the labor force and forming their own families have also found employment in the industry.

With regard to housing, the experience of the Cuban-Americans in Lansing varies widely. In general, it seems that during the early stages, local religious and relief agencies were instrumental in locating living quarters for many families, but most searched for their own after the first residence.

The Population and the Sampling Frame

Cuban-American households in the Lansing area constitute the population for this study. With slight modification (see page 39) the criteria employed to define Cuban households were similar to those used by the United States Bureau of the Census in 1970: "Persons of Cuban origin comprise individuals born in Cuba or permanently residing in that country before migrating to the United States and all other persons in families in which the head or wife report Cuban as their current or previous nationality" (U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census Tracts, Miami, Florida, 1970). For this study, a household was classified as occupied by persons of Cuban origin if the head reported Cuba as his or her place of birth or previous residence.

To identify the population, officials of the Cuban American Association of Lansing, as well as local Cubans known to the researcher were contacted. The most useful and complete source of names and addresses of Cuban families in the Tri-County Area proved to be the membership list of the Cuban-American organization. Officials of the Association also provided a list of non-member Cuban families in Lansing which they had compiled.

In addition, names were incorporated into the population roster after the home interviews were begun and "new" households identified through word-of-mouth. After approximately the first three weeks of survey field work, it became evident that the compiled list of Cuban households in Lansing was reasonably exhaustive. In questioning household heads about known Cuban families in the area, the referrals started to become repetitive.

Bureau of the Census figures were used to cross-check the completeness of the obtained listing, which totalled 124 households. For the year 1970, a total of 281 Cubans were reported as residing in the Lansing metropolitan area. If the average number of persons per household for the metropolitan area (3.2) is used to estimate the current Cuban-American population of the area, a figure of 397 persons is derived (124 households x 3.2). This estimate suggests that the identified population more than approximates the census figure. Yet, given that some years have elapsed since the census was taken, it is doubtful whether the census count is still meaningful. In all likelihood, some migration of Cuban-American households both into and out of

the Lansing area has occurred since 1970, along with births and deaths.[1]

The Sample. From a list of 124, a total of ninety-seven households were identified as constituting the total sampling frame. This figure was arrived at after eliminating names of sons and daughters over eighteen years of age living at the same address as their parents and some single college students. Also, some households headed by North American and Mexican-American males in which the wife is Cuban, were excluded from the sampling frame because of operational problems. Questions on the interview schedule requested information about the head of household while still in Cuba and about details of his or her migration to the United States. Obviously these questions did not apply in such situations. Finally, a few households were excluded because their place of residence fell outside of the study area.

Eighty-four of the ninety-seven heads of household identified in the sampling frame were contacted by telephone to arrange for the home interviews. Problems in locating people or the appropriate telephone numbers prevented contact with all ninety-seven. Among those contacted, seven refused to be interviewed and for an additional six, adequate arrangements for interviews could not be made. Thus, the number of Cuban-American households interviewed for this study totalled seventy-one. As indicated earlier, all interviews were conducted in Spanish at

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[1]The possibility of census undercount for Cubans in Lansing in 1970 may be due to language-related difficulties. This was brought up by an official of the local Cuban Association as a criticism of the reliability of that figure. A similar problem with Cubans on a national scale was reported by Prohías and Casal, a condition that, for a variety of reasons, appears common to minority populations (Prohías and Casal, 1973).

the respondents' homes. The home visits were made by the researcher between the months of March and June, 1977. A copy of the original interview schedule, along with an English version, is included as Appendix I.

Before a more in-depth analysis of the characteristics of the sample of Cuban-American households is begun, a few comments concerning sample selection are appropriate. An initial objective of this study was to interview all of the households identified in the sampling frame. One reason for this was that the home survey had to be started before a complete identification of the study population was made. As previously indicated, many names for the sampling frame were obtained from the respondents during the interviews. It would have been virtually impossible to draw a completed population list otherwise, due to the lack of appropriate sources of information. Hence, the selection process for interviewing was not systematic and some bias is likely in the sample. It is possible, for example, that some Cuban households may have been missed because they were unknown to the rest of the local Cuban-American community. Also, as explained above, a small portion of the identified population could not be interviewed. Despite these shortcomings, the sample obtained for the study is equivalent to 73 percent of the total number of households identified in the sampling frame.

Demographic and Socio-Economic Characteristics of the Sample

As reflected in the survey information collected, the Cuban-American community of Lansing is formed by a heterogeneous group of households. A useful way to describe some of the most basic characteristics of the group is to look at the composition of its family

units. In Table I, the households in the sample are grouped according to the family "stage" of individual units, or the family's current "life-cycle." A possible initial observation is to note the presence of children in over half (55 percent) of the households in the sample (Table I, Life Cycles 4 and 5). A majority appears as "mature" families in that the oldest child present is beyond the age of six years. Indeed, for the group as a whole, the mean family age (time since the family was formed) was computed to be 20.9 years, a fact that supports such contention. For families with offspring, the average number of children at home was 2.0, somewhat below the Lansing metropolitan area average of 2.4 in 1970. In 45 percent of the households there were no children as indicated in Table I (Life Cycles 1, 2 and 3).

A comparatively high average age for Cuban-American heads of household can also be inferred from the information on the table. The "mature" families and the "head 35 to 64; no children present" categories (Life Cycles 5 and 2) make up two-thirds of the total sample, giving support to such contention. Further evidence is found in that another 13 percent of the families are in the "elderly" category (Life Cycle 3). The computed mean age of 48.3 years for the total sample is also supportive of the stated notion. The finding is in agreement with previous research on Cubans in Dade County, Florida, conducted in 1967, where it was found that older persons (45 and above) were over-represented among Cuban refugees (Prohías and Casal, 1973).

In terms of occupational structure, Lansing's Cubans are shown in Table II to be mostly blue-collar workers. Some managerial and professional individuals are also found in the group. Figures from

TABLE I

LIFE-CYCLE STAGE
CUBAN-AMERICAN HOUSEHOLDS IN
LANSING (1977)
(N=71)

Life Cycle Stage	Percent of Total Households in Sample
Life Cycle 1: Head less than age 35; no children present	1
Life Cycle 2: Head 35 to 64; no children present	31
Life Cycle 3: Head 65 or over; no children present	13
Life Cycle 4: Head any age; oldest child less than 6	11
Life Cycle 5: Head any age; oldest child 6 to 18	44
TOTAL	100

Sources: Data from Study Survey. Life Cycle Categories from Southeast Michigan, A Background Paper: Regional Forecasts, Southeast Michigan Council of Governments (SEMCOG), Detroit, June 1977, (mimeo).

TABLE II

OCCUPATIONS OF CUBAN-AMERICANS
IN LANSING (1977) AND
WEST NEW YORK, N.J. (1968)
(In Percent of Total N)

Occupation	West New York (N=348)	Lansing (N=71)
Managerial and Professional	4.8	18.0
Clerical and Sales	10.8	10.0
Skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled	67.6	41.0
Other	5.6	1.0
Unemployed*	4.4	29.0

*Retired and/or disabled heads of household (N=11) are included in the percentage given for Lansing.

Sources: Study Survey and E. Rogg's The Assimilation of Cuban Exiles, Aberdeen Press, New York, 1974, p. 177.

Rogg's 1974 study (data collected in 1968) are given for comparative purposes. The high rate of unemployment indicated for the Lansing sample reflects mostly the status of disabled and retired persons and also of several one-parent households.

The mean number of years of schooling for the group was computed at 11.4, one under the metropolitan area average of 12.4 years. Information gathered on income characteristics gives a median household income for the sample of approximately $13,500 annually. This figure compares favorably with the United States Cuban average of $9,300 and with the Lansing metropolitan area average of $11,312, both for 1970. Obviously, in judging these income differences, the level of inflation accrued since 1970 must be considered.

Data on household length of residence in the Lansing area show an average period of 8.8 years for the group of households (to December, 1976). When the same figure is computed only for heads, it increases to 10.2 years, a reflection of the fact that some persons lived in the city before forming a family. Eighty-two percent of the heads of household reported a Cuban-born spouse, which indicates that some degree of intermarriage has taken place. Half of all households in the sample were recorded as buying the homes in which they were living.

A typical Cuban-American head of household, as suggested by the preceding information on the group's profile, would likely have the following characteristics: age between 44 and 54 years, married (spouse present), living in a family composed of four members (two children), residence in Lansing for ten years or less, having completed eleven years of schooling, engaged in a blue-collar occupation,

and yearly family median income of $13,500. Clearly, such a generalized profile does not do justice to the many variations found within the total sample. In fact, these variations provide a basis for further analysis on the subject of the present study.

The Study Area

Any description and analysis of a given set of social characteristics of a population in space necessitates the delimitation of a formal "study area." For this research, the study area is shown in Figure 5. The residential location of Cuban-American households is also portrayed, and criteria used to delimit the study area are based largely on the residential location patterns. To provide an answer to the study question "Where within the city have Cuban-American households moved to and from?", the above approach was deemed appropriate.

Other factors related to the nature of the study area give support to such selection. The defined portion of urban space included most of Lansing's urbanized area and in 1970 contained 45 percent of the total SMSA population. A few suburban land tracts adjacent to the central city are also included, shown at the western and southern edges in Figure 5. In this manner, both highly urban and also suburban areas became a part of the analysis to follow.

Delimiting the study area solely on the basis of specific territorial-political jurisdictions would have been of little utility. Urban residential processes more often than not transcend the constraints of municipal boundaries, particularly in metropolitan areas. Thus, and as a result of the criteria employed, territories administered

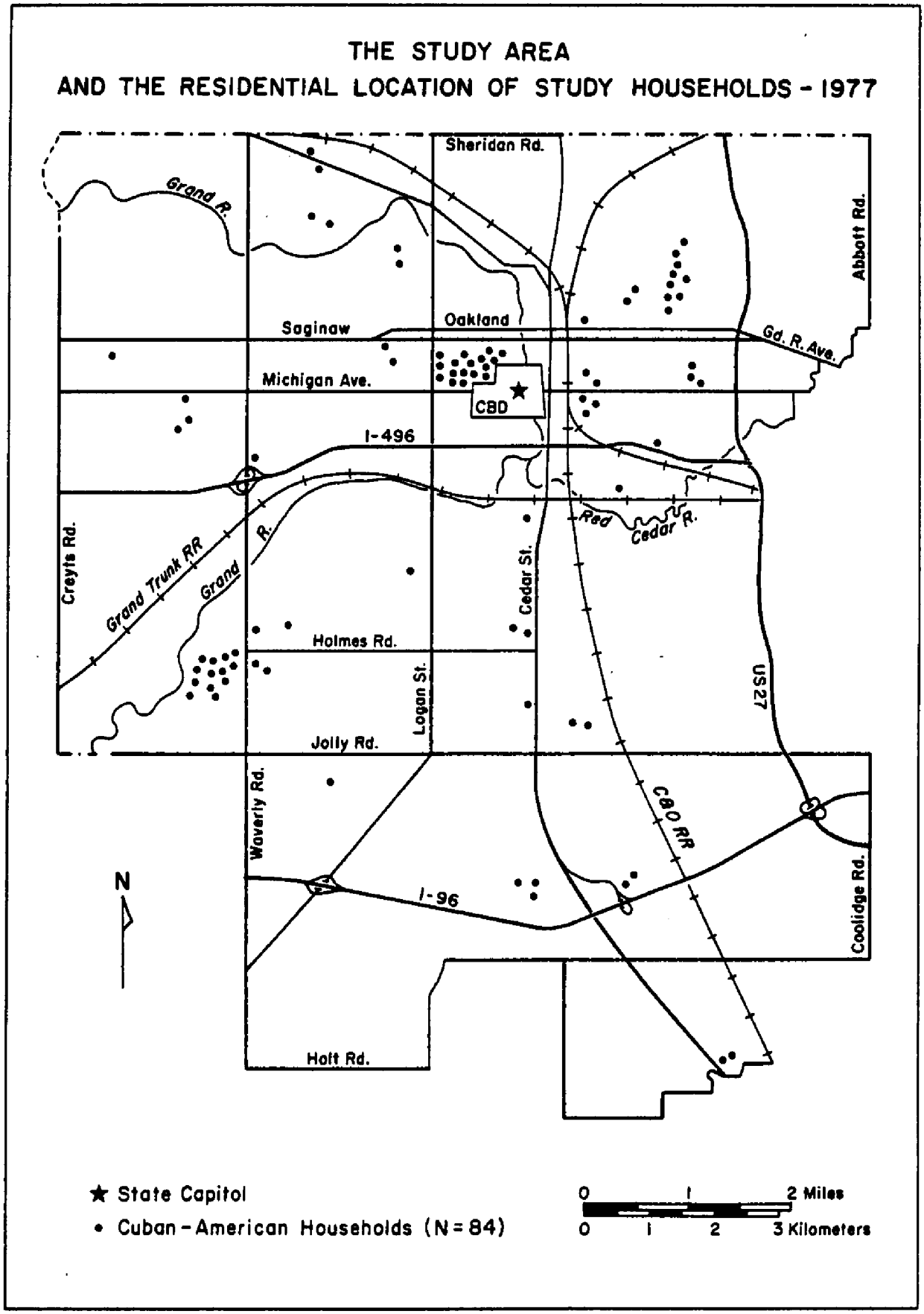
THE STUDY AREA
AND THE RESIDENTIAL LOCATION OF STUDY HOUSEHOLDS - 1977
Sheridan Rd.
Grand R.
Abbott Rd.
Saginaw
Oakland
Gd. R. Ave.
Michigan Ave.
CBD
I-496
Red Cedar R.
Creyts Rd.
Grand Trunk RR
Grand R.
Cedar St.
Holmes Rd.
Logan St.
US27
Jolly Rd.
Waverly Rd.
CSO RR
N
I-96
Coolidge Rd.
Holt Rd.
★ State Capitol
• Cuban-American Households (N=84)
0 1 2 Miles
0 1 2 3 Kilometers

Figure 5

by various of the many municipal entities of the metropolitan region are contained within the study area, as shown in Figure 6a. Almost the entire area of the city of Lansing, most of the lands administered by Lansing Township, and portions of both Delta and Delhi townships are a part of it. The East Lansing and Meridian Township lands to the east of the urban area are almost totally excluded, except for a relatively small land tract located in the former. In Figure 6b, the setting of the study area in the context of the 1970 Lansing SMSA is outlined.

Figure 7 portrays the official land divisions recognized by the United States Bureau of the Census as urban census tracts. Fifty such tracts are contained within the study area. For this research, the tracts constitute the spatial units upon which the social area analysis of Lansing, and the discussion of the residential patterns of Cuban-American households within the city, are based. For semantic purposes, the above-defined study space will from this point on be referred to as "study area", "the city" or "Lansing." The use of these terms throughout the remainder of the text reflects an identical areal meaning.

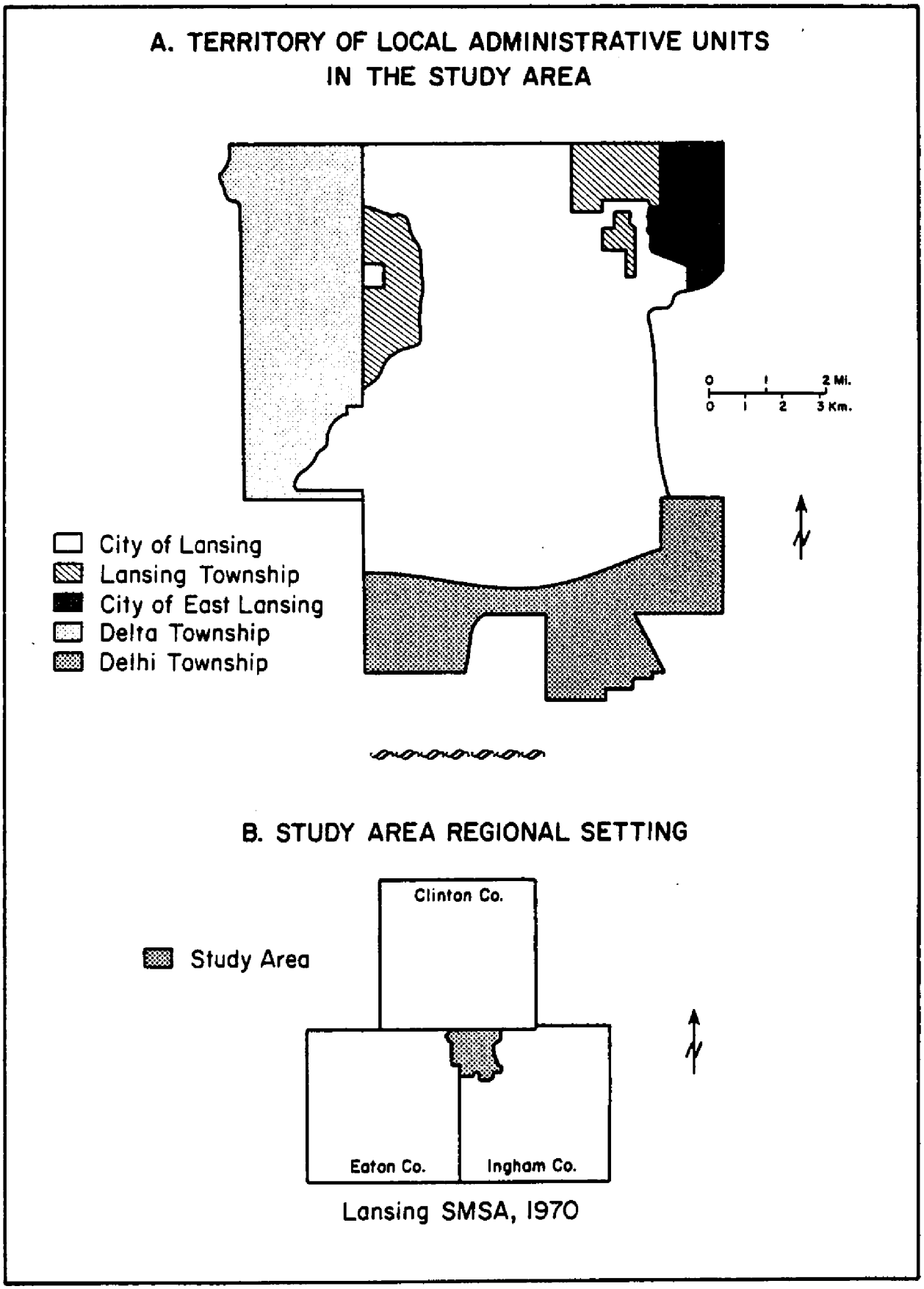
A. TERRITORY OF LOCAL ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS IN THE STUDY AREA
0 1 2 Mi.
0 1 2 3 Km.
City of Lansing
Lansing Township
City of East Lansing
Delta Township
Delhi Township
B. STUDY AREA REGIONAL SETTING
Study Area
Clinton Co.
Eaton Co.
Ingham Co.
Lansing SMSA, 1970

Figure 6

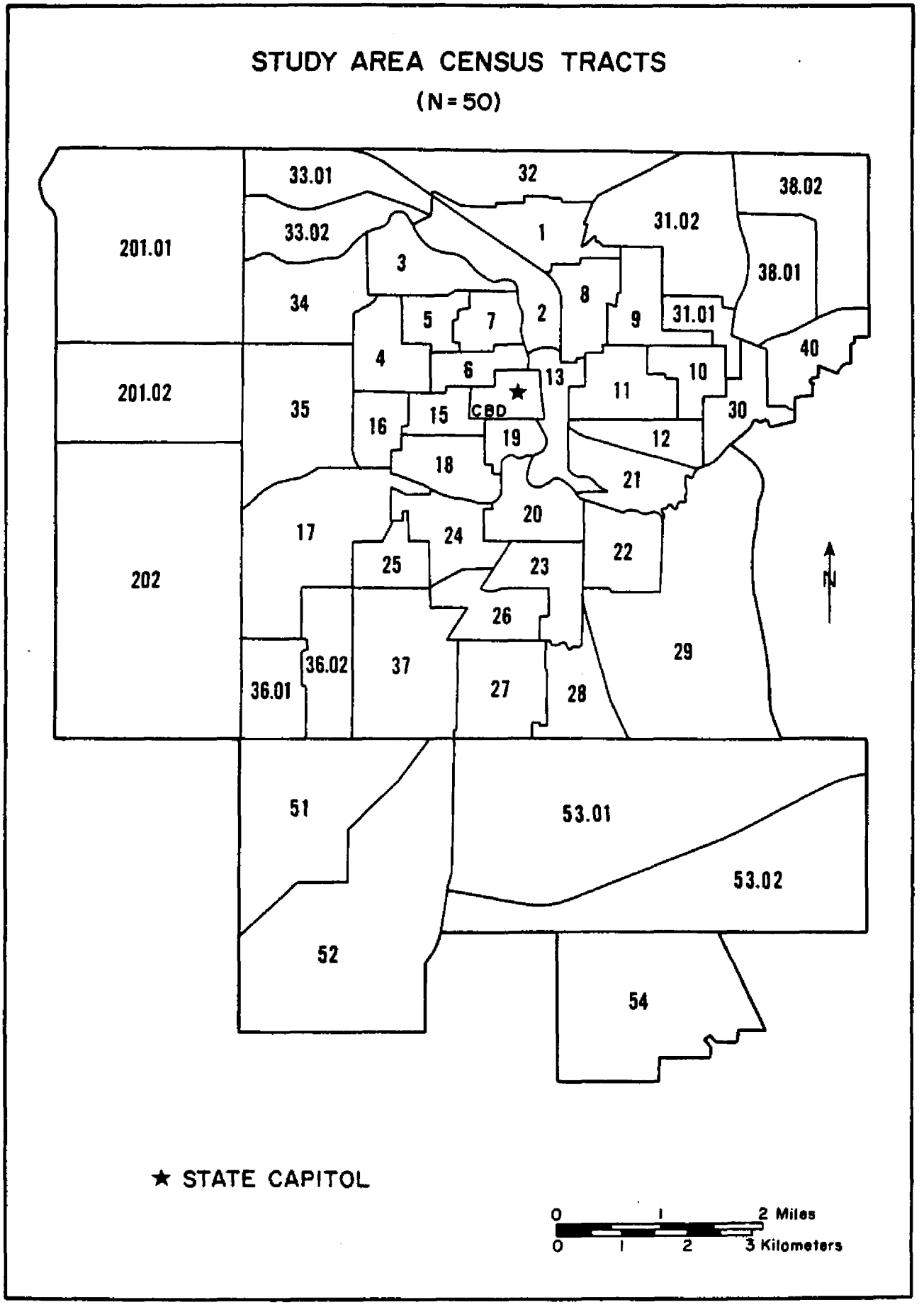
STUDY AREA CENSUS TRACTS
(N=50)
33.01
32
38.02
33.02
1
31.02
201.01
3
38.01
34
8
5
7
2
9
31.01
40
4
6
13
10
201.02
35
CBD
11
30
16
15
19
12
18
21
17
20
24
22
25
23
202
N
26
29
36.02
37
36.01
27
28
51
53.01
53.02
52
54
★ STATE CAPITOL
0 1 2 Miles
0 1 2 3 Kilometers

Figure 7

CHAPTER V

LANSING'S SOCIAL AREAS AND THE LOCATION OF CUBAN-AMERICAN HOUSEHOLDS

In attempting to outline a city's social areas, a first task of the researcher is to select the criteria on which to base his areal classification scheme. One or more pertinent characteristics must be identified and the necessary information collected for the city under study. After analyzing the data gathered, the needed classification of areal subunits can be made.

Delimiting the Social Areas of Lansing

Seventeen characteristics or "variables" were utilized in this study for classifying Lansing's census tracts into distinct social areas. The variables chosen are listed in Appendix II. Most were selected after examining previous social area analyses (Shevky and Bell, 1955; Berry and Rees, 1969), and a few were specifically chosen for this study (see Appendix II).

A subsequent step involved the conduct of a factorial ecology analysis. All the information used for the analysis was obtained from the Census Tracts volume for the Lansing SMSA, 1970 (see bibliography). Determination of the factorial ecology of the city included the following steps:

1. A Factor Analysis on the chosen variables.
2. A Hierarchical Grouping of census tracts into "social areas"

using tract factor scores, and

3. A Discriminant Analysis of the selected tract groupings as a statistical check on the possibility of misclassification of individual tracts into inappropriate groups.[1]

Factor Analysis. Four principal patterns (Factors) were revealed by the data (for a detailed discussion of factor analysis terminology and applications see Rummel, 1967). The four major factors accounted for 81 percent of the statistical variation contained in the processed information. The patterns of relationships identified were similar to those described by Shevky and Bell (1955). Table III presents selected results from the factor analysis conducted. In addition to the values shown in the table, other high variable "loadings" (over $\pm$ .5) on the various factors were registered in the analysis. Complete information on high variable-loadings is presented in Appendix III.

After an examination of the grouping of specific variables on each uncovered pattern, the four principal factors were labeled with descriptive names similar to those used in previous studies. For example, Factor I clearly represents the "Economic Status" dimension defined by Shevky and Bell. The high-loading variables suggest a relationship between a set of characteristics which are descriptive of key socio-economic conditions (Table III and Appendix III). Factor IV reflects the "Ethnic Status" patterns and indicates a

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[1]All of the automated analysis routines used in the factorial ecology of Lansing--Factor Analysis (FACTORS), Hierarchical Grouping (CONGROUP) and Discriminant Analysis (DISCR) were available at the time of this study through the Computer Institute for Social Science Research (CISRR) at Michigan State University. Except for CONGROUP, they are also available at Michigan State University through the SPSS system (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences).

TABLE III

FACTORIAL ECOLOGY OF LANSING:
SELECTED RESULTS OF
THE FACTOR ANALYSIS

	Variables with Highest Positive Loadings for Each Factor		Percent of Variance Accounted for by the Factor
Factor I "Economic Status"	Income	(.92)	38
	Housing Value	(.85)	
	Years of Education	(.74)	
Factor II "Family Status-Working Women"	Working Women	(.54)	21
	Professional Workers	(.54)	
	Years of Education	(.51)	
Factor III "Family Status-Older Persons"	Older Persons	(.68)	13
	Persons in Same House Five Years or Longer	(.64)	
Factor IV "Ethnic Status"	Black Population	(.75)	9
	Spanish-speaking Population (negative loading)	(-.63)	
		TOTAL	81

Note: For more complete information on the details and results of the factor analysis see Appendices II and III.

statistical relationship between the "ethnic" variables used (percent Black and percent Spanish-speaking population), an inverse one in this case.

Factors II and III contain the "Family Status" characteristics. But, in the case of this analysis, these did not group in a single dimension. In Factor II, for instance, "percent of working women" (a family status-type variable as used by Shevky and Bell) is found positively related to "percent professional workers" and "years of education," two variables that reflect "economic status" characteristics. Also, in Factor III, another family status variable, "percent of older persons," loads positively on the Factor with "percent of people in the same house for five years or longer," a mobility variable which was selected specifically for this study.

If the relationship between the two family status variables mentioned ("working women" and "older persons") is examined, it is found that they are not intercorrelated to any meaningful degree (.07 coefficient). This fact helps to explain why two different factors emerged instead of one. It may well be that the "Family Status" pattern is the most complex to identify of those proposed by Shevky and Bell, or that different and/or more variables need to be used to uncover its full dimension. Exploring such an issue, however, goes beyond the scope of this study. Thus, for the purposes of this research, Factors II and III were considered separately and labeled "Family Status-Working Women" and "Family Status-Older Persons", respectively.

As is normally the case with this type of analysis, the relative "strength" of the patterns uncovered decreases after the first defined

factor. This is clearly shown in Table III, where the percentage of the statistical variation accounted for by each of the identified dimensions indicates such decrease. This is an inherent quality in the mechanics of this technique and a full discussion of its implications is, again, not pertinent here.

As indicated, the first four factors uncovered account for 81 percent of the total variance. Other factors subsequently identified in the analysis reflect much "weaker" patterns (3.5 percent of the variance and below, Factors V through XVII). Therefore, only the first four were included in the remaining steps of the factorial ecology analysis.

Hierarchical Grouping. The "factor scores" of each of the fifty census tracts on the included factors were used as input data to group the tract into social area categories. "Factor scores are the scores for each case on the identified Factors" (Rummel, 1967, 469). Thus, tracts "loading high" on the same factor or factors, that is, scoring similar high positive or high negative individual values on a given pattern, were grouped in the same category. The use of an automated statistical procedure facilitated the task at hand. The program, known as CONGROUP (see footnote page 50), scales all observations on the basis of the statistical "distance" between them. The researcher then selects "cut-off" points for including the cases into whatever number of groups he chooses. Next, a test on the statistical accuracy of the chosen groupings is possible through the use of a third and final analysis routine which completes the factorial ecology.

Discriminant Analysis. The technique of discriminant analysis allows for checking on the possibility of having allocated individual

units (tracts) into inappropriate groups. An automated analysis program, it also uses factor scores as input data.

Of fifty census tracts grouped into four types of social areas, eight units were reclassified by the program. That is, they were reassigned to groups different from those originally assigned by the researcher. The remaining forty-two tracts maintained their original group assignment.

In all instances, the reclassified units were "borderline" cases. This means that their membership in any given group was not entirely "clear-cut." Because of this fact, and after an examination of individual factor scores and other supplemental information, three of these units were placed back into their original groups. The five remaining tracts were reassigned as suggested in the analysis.

The Social Areas of Lansing

The four groupings of census tracts delimiting the social areas of the city are portrayed in Figure 8. For identification purposes, these areas were labeled as follows:

1. "Inner City". An area including a set of tracts forming an almost circular spatial pattern around the Central Business District (CBD) tract (Shown on map shaded with the darkest pattern).
2. "Central Outer Ring". Formed by a group of tracts immediately adjacent to and generally around the edges of the "Inner City".
3. "Suburbs - North and Southwest". Composed of a cluster of tracts in the northern and south-southwestern portions of the study area.

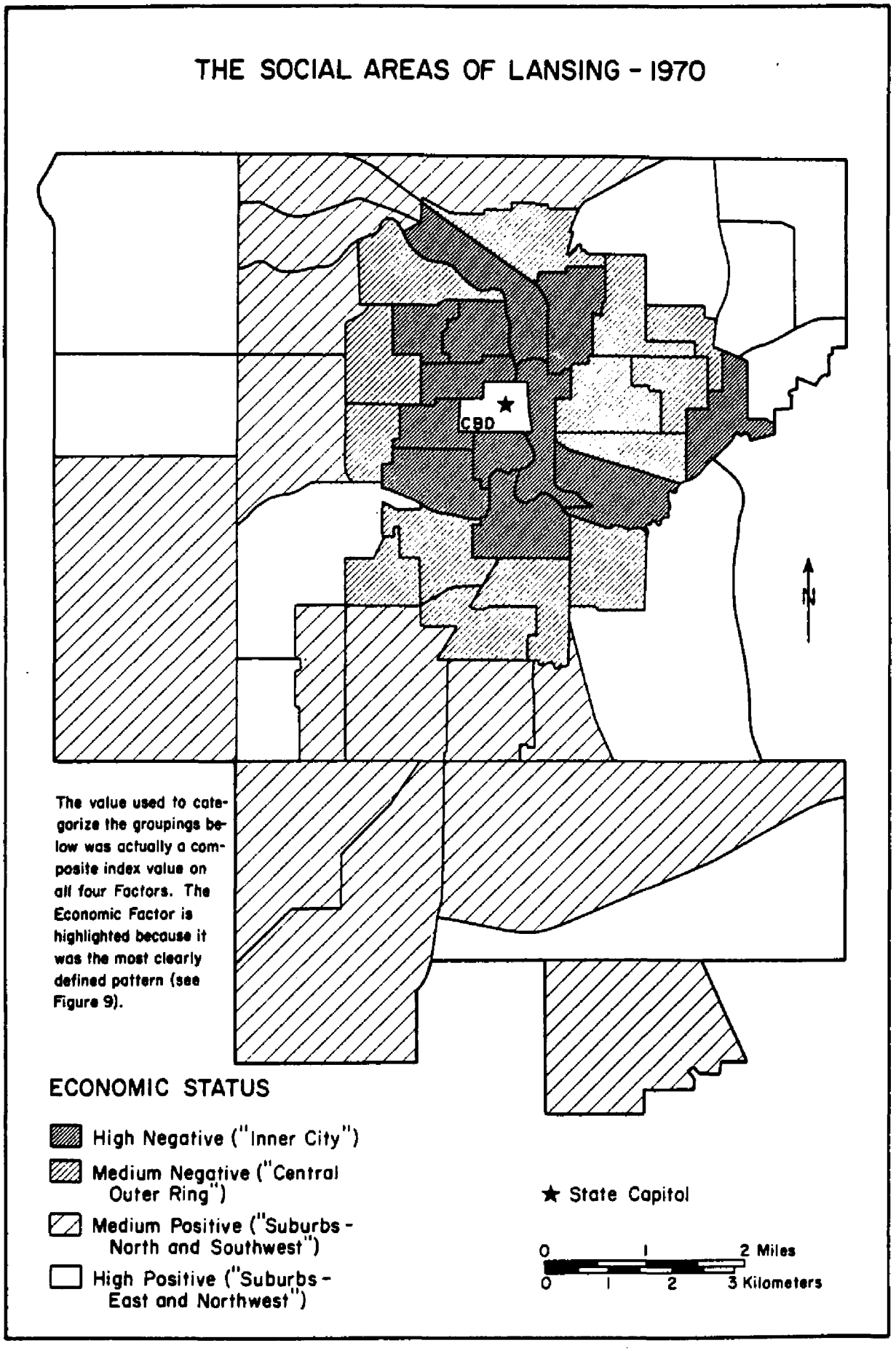
THE SOCIAL AREAS OF LANSING - 1970
CBD
N
The value used to categorize the groupings below was actually a composite index value on all four Factors. The Economic Factor is highlighted because it was the most clearly defined pattern (see Figure 9).
ECONOMIC STATUS
High Negative ("Inner City")
Medium Negative ("Central Outer Ring")
Medium Positive ("Suburbs - North and Southwest")
High Positive ("Suburbs - East and Northwest")
★ State Capitol
0 1 2 Miles
0 1 2 3 Kilometers

Figure 8

4. "Suburbs - East and Northwest". Tracts located mostly on the eastern portions of the city, with two units in the northwest and two in a southwesterly direction.

In assessing the socio-economic characteristics of the different social areas, a not unexpected finding was soon noted. The "Inner City" area tracts posted the highest-negative values on the composite index of socio-economic status used for the analysis, especially on the "Economic Status" Factor. In other words, "Inner City" tracts were grouped mainly because their factor scores on Factor I were high-negative, i.e., it was in 1970 an area of low average household income, low average educational attainment and low average values of the owner-occupied housing stock. Factor score patterns on the remaining Factors were not as clearly defined, as indicated in Figure 9.

The other three social areas are shown to gradually increase their socio-economic ranking as their spatial distance from the CBD increases. A negative ranking is also registered for "Central Outer Ring", although not as extreme as that indicated for the "Inner City". As expected, suburban areas score highest on the positive side of the socio-economic scale (Figures 8 and 9).

The relative importance of the "Economic Status" dimension in the classification of social areas in Lansing is worth noting. In Figure 9, the relationship between the four social areas of the city and the factors identified in the analysis is summarized. On the basis of the included characteristics for Lansing, "Economic Status" is the one pattern that most clearly defines the socio-economic progression of urban social areas in spatial terms. Still, the "Family Status" and "Ethnic Status" patterns are obviously present in the data. It is also

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE IDENTIFIED FACTORS AND THE SOCIAL AREAS OF LANSING

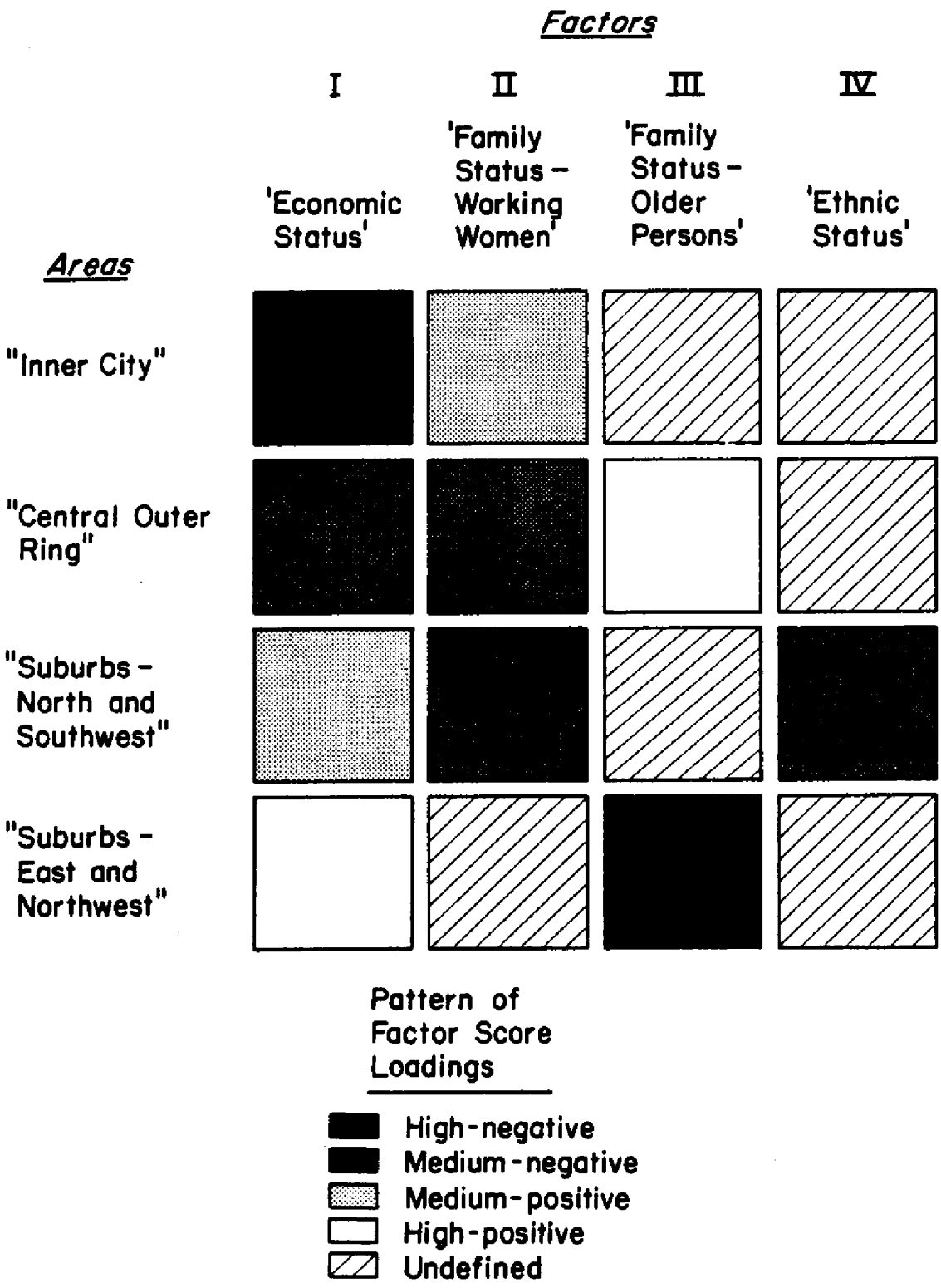

Figure 9

worth noting that the spatial patterns of social areas uncovered for Lansing offer support to the traditional models of urban structure discussed in Chapter II. Both "concentric ring" and "sector" patterns can be detected in Lansing's social areas map. If anything, the results obtained in the social area analysis conducted for this study underscore the complexity of the relationship between urban physical space on the one hand and the demographic, and socio-economic characteristics of urban populations on the other.

Lansing's Social Space and the Location of Cuban-American Households

In describing the current location of study households in the social space of Lansing, a comment is needed concerning the use of 1970 census data for characterizing the area of the city in social terms. It is reasonable to expect that some social change occurred in the urban area in the seven years since the census was taken. In essence then, the "match up" attempted here between current (1977) study households location and existing socio-spatial realities suffers from a "time-gap" problem. However, because of the type of data needed for conducting the social area analysis, this difficulty cannot be avoided.

For this study, an effort was made to employ more recent census tract information than that of the 1970 census. Such data were located, but they were in a format which could not be used. Operational problems of study area definition were too serious to overcome. The data in question were prepared by R. L. Polk and Company in a series entitled Profiles of Change. The reports are assembled by the Urban Statistical Division of the firm, using updated information obtained from surveys conducted during intercensal periods. For the city of Lansing (legal

city) the reports exist for a period as recent as 1973-1974. Since Polk and Company's research includes a city map for 1973-1974 depicting a summary ranking of area census tracts on a variety of social and economic characteristics, that map was compared with the results obtained in this study using 1970 census data. To the extent that areal comparison was possible, the level of agreement between the two sets of "social areas" was found to be generally satisfactory, with discrepancies occurring mostly in regard to "borderline" tracts. The method used by Polk and Company involves a less sophisticated technique which uses a composite index of absolute ordinal rankings on selected socio-economic variables (R. L. Polk and Company, 1974).

Current Social Space of Study Households. For determining the type of residential social space currently occupied by Cuban-Americans in Lansing, a super-imposition of graphic information was made. Household location data from Figure 5 (page 46) were transferred onto the social area scheme presented in Figure 8 (page 56). The results are depicted in Figure 10. The breakdown of the number of households by urban social area is given in Table IV.

The spatial distribution of study households over the city's social areas leads to several initial observations. First, Cuban-Americans live in all of the city's social areas. Keeping in mind the limited extent of the urban area defined for this study, it is still of importance to note such distribution. Second, the number of study households by social areas appears fairly evenly distributed (Table IV), with perhaps a slight over-representation in "Suburbs - North and Southwest" and an opposite pattern for "Suburbs - East and Northwest". The distribution of households by major "subareas" shows

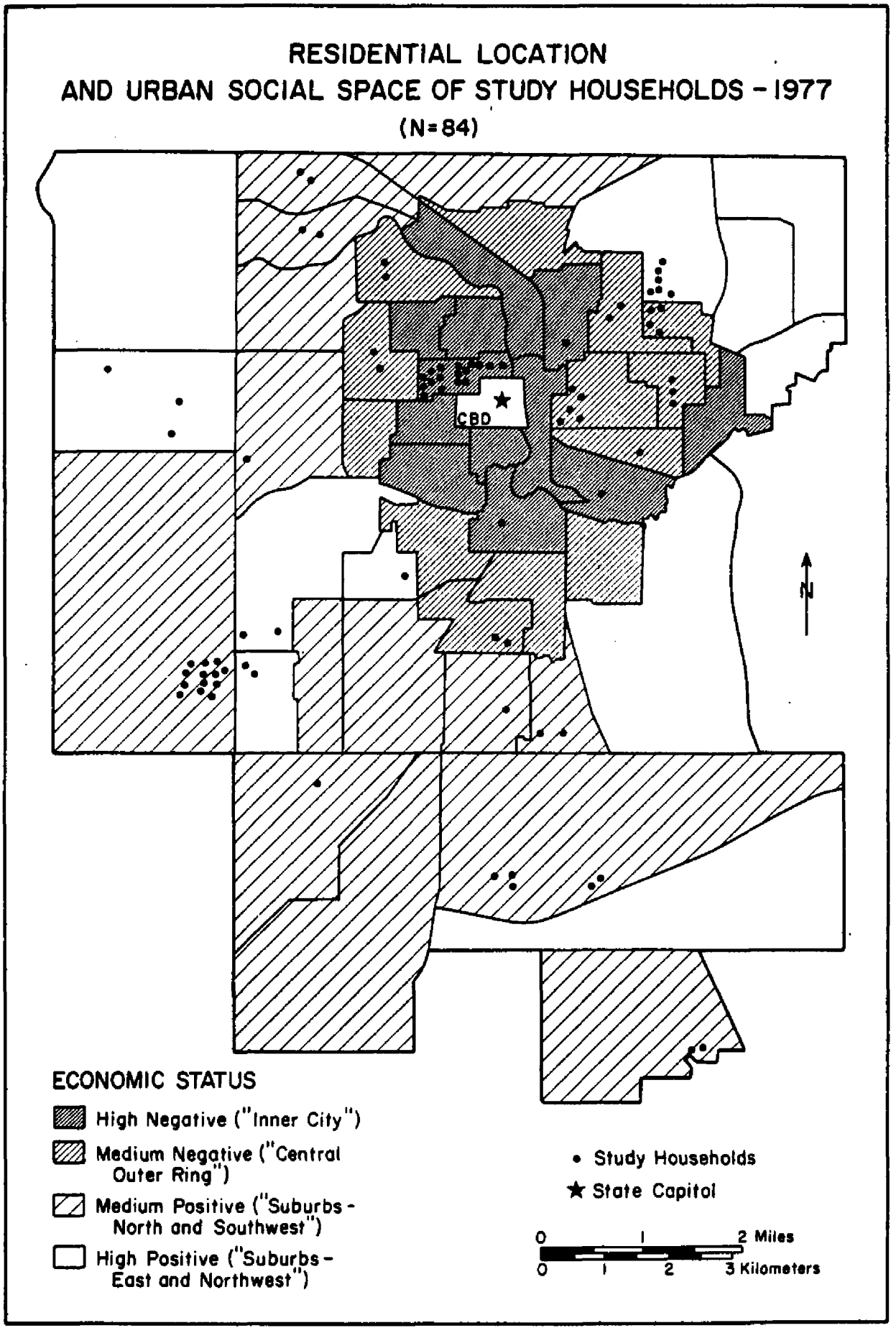
RESIDENTIAL LOCATION
AND URBAN SOCIAL SPACE OF STUDY HOUSEHOLDS - 1977
(N=84)
CBD
N
ECONOMIC STATUS
High Negative ("Inner City")
Medium Negative ("Central Outer Ring")
Medium Positive ("Suburbs - North and Southwest")
High Positive ("Suburbs - East and Northwest")
Study Households
State Capitol
0 1 2 Miles
0 1 2 3 Kilometers

Figure 10

TABLE IV

SOCIAL SPACE OF STUDY HOUSEHOLDS
(N=84)

Social Area	Number of Households	Percent of Total N	By Major "Sub-Area"
"Inner City"	20	23.8	"Central Areas" 48.8%
"Central Outer Ring"	21	25.0	
"Suburbs - North and Southwest"	29	34.5	"Suburbs" 51.2%
"Suburbs - East and Northwest"	14	16.7	
TOTALS	84	100.0	

Source: Study Survey and Study Analysis.

an almost exact split, with 48.8 percent of the study households located in "Central Areas" and 51.2 percent in "Suburbs" (Table IV). Third, the general residential pattern of study households reflects elements of both clustering and dispersion over the space of the city. Clusters of households in relatively close residential proximity can be identified for three specific census tracts: Tract 6 in the "Inner City" (seventeen households), Tract 202 in the "Suburbs - North and Southwest" (thirteen households) and Tract 31.02 in the "Suburbs - East and Northwest" (six households).[1] Slightly more than one-third of the study households resided in these three tracts. The remaining fifty-four were found in twenty-one of the additional forty-seven tracts located within the study area.

To account for the observed residential location patterns of the study population, a number of questions relate directly to the objectives of this study: (1) What has been the spatial nature of the mobility process which has brought about the current residential location structure? (2) What are some of the social and temporal constraints which may help explain such mobility and residential location?, and (3) What is the role of ethnicity in accounting for the spatial nature of the observed intra-urban mobility process? Answers to these and other questions are discussed in the following chapter.

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[1] For census tracts identification numbers see Figure 7, page 49.

CHAPTER VI

RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY OF CUBAN-AMERICAN HOUSEHOLDS AND THE ROLE OF ETHNICITY

To answer fully the two research questions posed at the beginning of this study, "Where do people move in the city?" and "Why do they move there?", pertinent characteristics of the residential location and intra-urban mobility of Cuban-Americans are examined in this chapter. Also, the role that ethnic factors have played in the resulting residential patterns of study households is assessed.

Residential Mobility of Cuban-Americans in Lansing

The data collected for this study indicate that the average residential mobility rate for Cuban-American households in Lansing is higher than the known average rate for households in the general population of the United States. Whereas most families in the country move once every five years (Moore, 1972), the overall rate computed for households in this study indicates a residential move every 3.3 years.[1] This relatively high mobility rate for Cuban-Americans is supported by similar findings in Dade County, Florida (Dade County Planning Department, 1970), and does not come unexpectedly. Given the adjustment they

[1]Not all households had lived in the city during the entire study period (1963-1976), so computing the group's mobility rate involved adjusting for individual differences. By dividing the time a given household lived in Lansing by the number of residential moves made by that household, an average "length of residence in one place" for the households was obtained. The rate of 3.3 years was the mean figure obtained after adding all the individual averages.

have had to make in settling in a previously unknown environment, it seems reasonable to expect that their residential mobility as a group would be higher than "normal." Within the sample, however, individual mobility rates were found to vary greatly, with average periods of residence in Lansing ranging from two months (in a newly formed family) to 10.8 years (an elderly couple owning their own home).

With regard to the number of residential moves, a total of 225 were recorded for the sample between 1963-1976.[2] The number of moves per household ranged from a high of eleven to a low of one, partially reflecting individual differences in length of residence in the city. The overall mean frequency of moves was slightly more than three per household (3.1).

A "Receptor" Area[3]

The urban ecological notion stating that the initial residential experiences of ethnic households newly arrived in a city will occur in a "receiving" or "core" area (Park, 1936; Kosa, 1956; Lieberson, 1963) was examined in this study. It was hypothesized that a "receptor" residential area for Cuban-Americans could be identified in Lansing and that such an area functioned as a residential core for the group, acting as "receiving" center and as a principal "generator" of intra-urban residential moves.

The evidence gathered documents that the central portions of

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[2]This total includes the original move to Lansing from other cities. The recorded total of intra-urban moves was 154 (225 minus 71).

[3]The remaining discussion in this chapter has been ordered with reference to the hypotheses advanced in Chapter III (pages 33 and 34).

Lansing have been the principal areas of residence of Cuban-Americans, particularly during the initial stage of settlement. Almost 89 percent of the households interviewed reported having established their first residence in Lansing's central areas ("Inner City" and "Central Outer Ring"). The information in Table V clearly indicates this fact and highlights the special role of the innermost portion of the city as an initial destination. Only a few households established their first home in the suburbs.

Areas within "Inner City" also have functioned as a focal point of intra-urban moves. In Figure 11, a composite drawing of 107 between tracts residential moves (70 percent of all intra-urban moves recorded is presented.[4] The densest "node" of origins and destinations of moves is shown in the figure for Tract 6 in "Inner City".[5] Locations within this tract were principal receptors and generators of moves of Cuban-American households, as Table VI also indicates.

A few other tracts in the central areas are shown in Table VI as having functioned as receptors and generators of moves (Tracts 7 and 11), but not to the extent of Tract 6. A suburban tract, Tract 202, located in the southwestern portion of the study area, stands out as having "received" a relatively high proportion of household moves, second only to Tract 6. The origin and destination of the remaining moves not accounted for in Table VI, are scattered throughout thirty-two of the remaining census tracts in the study area. As can be

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[4]On the map the origins and destinations of moves were plotted from and to "tract centroids", i.e., the vertices of the portrayed census tract surfaces.

[5]In addition to between-tracts moves, more than half of the recorded within-tract moves took place into or out of this particular tract.

TABLE V

LOCATION OF "FIRST RESIDENCE"
OF STUDY HOUSEHOLDS
(N=71)*

Social Area	Number of Households	Percent of Total N	By Major "Sub-Area"
"Inner City"	42	59.1	"Central Areas" 88.7%
"Central Outer Ring"	21	29.6	
"Suburbs - North and Southwest"	6	8.5	"Suburbs" 11.3%
"Suburbs - East and Northwest"	2	2.8	
TOTALS	71	100.0	

*Includes interviewed households only.

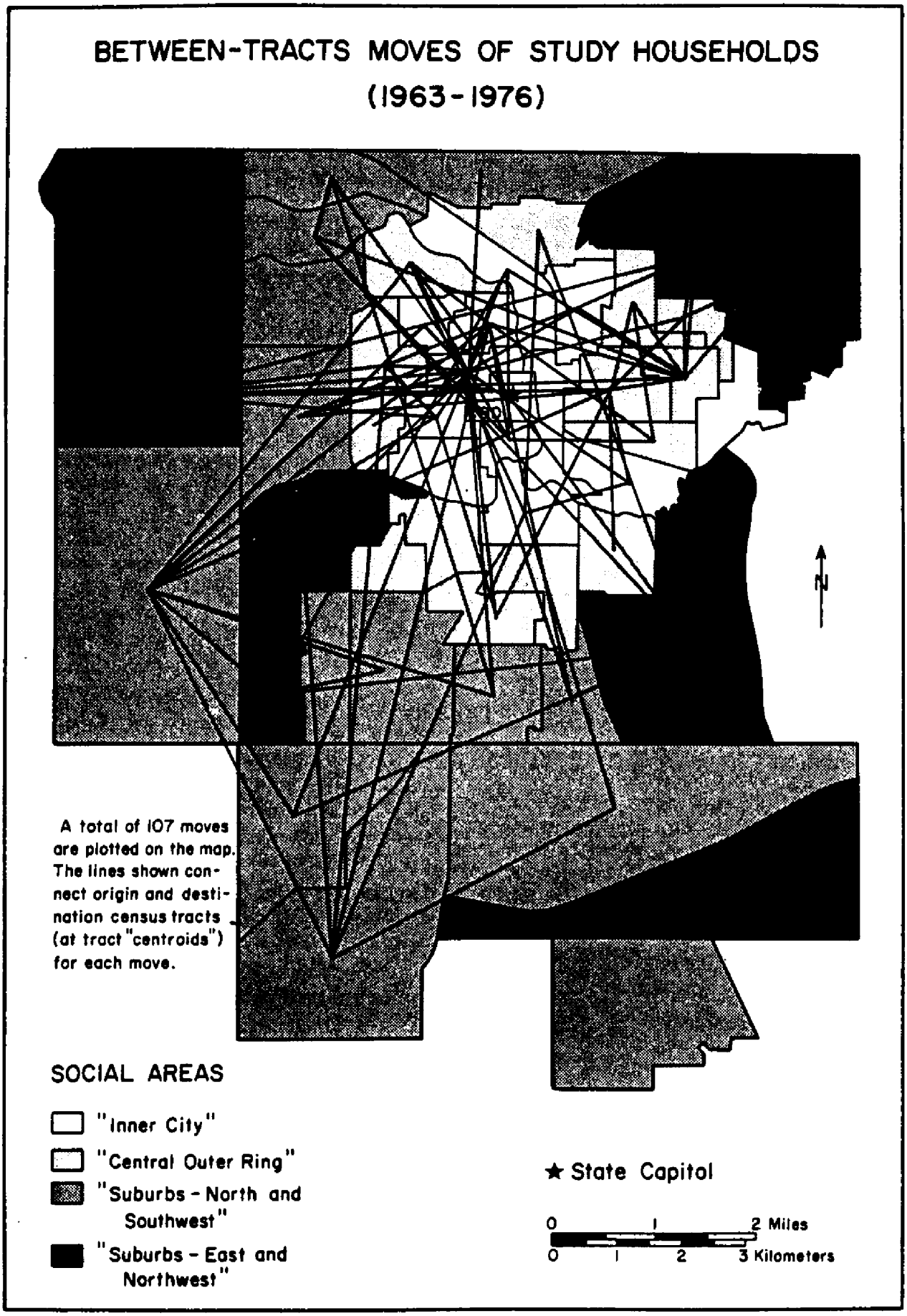
BETWEEN-TRACTS MOVES OF STUDY HOUSEHOLDS
(1963-1976)
A total of 107 moves are plotted on the map. The lines shown connect origin and destination census tracts (at tract "centroids") for each move.
N
SOCIAL AREAS
"Inner City"
"Central Outer Ring"
"Suburbs - North and Southwest"
"Suburbs - East and Northwest"
★ State Capitol
0 1 2 Miles
0 1 2 3 Kilometers

Figure 11

TABLE VI

TRACTS RECORDING THE
HIGHEST FREQUENCIES
OF CUBAN-AMERICAN RESIDENTIAL
MOVES: 1963-1976

Tract No.		Intra-Urban Moves "Generated" (Percent of Total) N=151	Intra-Urban Moves "Received" (Percent of Total) N=146
6	("Inner City")	27.8	23.3
7	("Inner City")	6.1	1.4
11	("Central Outer Ring")	6.0	4.1
202	("Suburbs - North and Southwest")	6.0	14.3
TOTALS		45.9	43.1

Note: Both between-tracts and within-tract moves are included in the above computations. Original moves to Lansing were excluded.

observed in Figure 11, a small portion of the movement took place in and out of suburban tracts.

The evidence indicates that a "receptor" area has existed for most of the Cuban-Americans settling in Lansing, particularly within the residential space contained within census tract number 6. It has functioned not only as a primary reception area but also as principal origin and destination area for about one-fourth of all the intra-urban moves made by study households.

Spatial Assimilation

Another urban-ecological proposition examined in this study states that ethnic migrants move gradually away from receptor urban areas to "higher status" residential environments as they improve socio-economically over time (Park, 1936; Jonassen, 1949; Ford, 1950). In spatial terms, the net effect of such movement is thought to be a continual decline in the concentration of ethnic households in the core area, a reflection of the general social assimilation process the particular group is experiencing. Moreover, whether members of the group will move out and become dispersed in the total residential space of the city or there is merely a "relocation" of the ethnic core in another part of the urban area is said to be dependent on whether assimilation occurs as a group process or on an individual basis (Simmons, 1968).

For Cuban-Americans in Lansing, it was hypothesized that those households established in the city for the longest period would currently occupy residential locations away from receptor areas, as opposed to those arriving or establishing their households later. Further, it was expected that the residential environments of those

"moving out" would reflect the relative socio-economic improvement which should have occurred through time. Operationally, the quality of Lansing's residential environments was defined on the basis of the city's social area scheme presented in Chapter V. In that analysis suburban areas were shown to have the higher socio-economic status attributes within the city. The socio-economic level of households was measured in terms of the current occupational status of heads, the levels of household income, and home tenure status.

In examining the notion of "spatial assimilation" in the context of the Cuban-American experience in Lansing and given the relative recency of Cuban-American settlement in the city, it was proposed that the spatial patterns of residential location in "new" settlement areas would tend to maintain a "cluster" effect similar to that found in receptor areas. It was expected that ethnic households would tend to remain relatively "close" in spatial terms given the relatively short period that had elapsed since the first families began arriving in the city.[6]

Some Variables of Residential Location. Substantial residential movement of Cuban-American households to suburban areas has occurred, a fact clearly documented in Table VII. As expected, a majority of the moves recorded for the study period took place within the central areas of the city. Still, almost 44 percent of all intra-urban moves had suburban destinations. Opposite to central areas, the suburbs recorded a greater proportion of "destinations" than "origins" during

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[6]Gad, Peddie and Punter (1973) reported that Italian and Jewish groups in Toronto tended to remain residentially clustered several decades after their arrival in that city, even though they "relocated" their respective residential "core" areas several times.

TABLE VII

SOCIAL AREA
ORIGINS AND DESTINATIONS
OF CUBAN-AMERICAN
INTRA-URBAN MOVES: 1963-1976*
(IN PERCENT OF TOTAL N)

Social Area	Origins (N=151)		Destinations (N=146)	
"Inner City"	43.7	72.8	32.2	56.1
"Central Outer Ring"	29.1		23.9	
"Suburbs - North and Southwest"	19.2	27.2	29.5	43.9
"Suburbs - East and Northwest"	8.0		14.4	

*Includes both between tracts and within tract moves.

the study period, a fact indicating an overall tendency toward suburban residence reflected in the mobility patterns of the study sample.

The pattern uncovered in the data did not support the hypothesized relationship between length of residence and residential location, i.e., the longer a household has lived in the city the greater the likelihood it will currently reside in suburban areas (and vice-versa). Such association was found to be virtually non-existent (Table VIII), suggesting that the two variables may be acting independently from each other. However, the current social area location of study households shows a significant relationship with the occupation and income characteristics of study households, as indicated in Tables IX and X. From the information in Table IX it is seen that a majority of both "blue-collar" and "white-collar" Cuban households currently lives in suburban locations. Proportionately, the white-collar group seems to have made the "suburban transition" to a greater extent than the group in blue-collar occupations. Most households in the "unemployed" category are shown to be living in the central areas indicating that with such a labor status it is unlikely that a household will "move-out" of reception areas.[7]

Similar patterns are shown in the relationship between income and current residential location (Table X). Most of the "low income" households live in the city's central areas and those in the "high income" category tend to be in suburban locations. Those in the defined "middle-income" bracket ($12,000 to $15,000 annually) are split almost

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[7]Three of the six unemployed heads of households residing in suburban locations live in government-subsidized rental housing.

TABLE VIII

CURRENT SOCIAL AREA
LOCATION AND LENGTH OF
RESIDENCE IN LANSING
(N=71)

Social Area	Length of Residence		Totals
	8.8 years or less*	Over 8.8 years	
Central Areas	16	19	35
Suburbs	18	18	36
Totals	34	37	71

Chi-square statistic = 0.12 (Not significant)

*8.8 years was the mean average length of residence in the city for the total sample.

TABLE IX

CURRENT SOCIAL AREA
LOCATION AND
OCCUPATION
(N=71)

Social Area	Occupation*			Totals
	Unemployed**	Blue Collar	White Collar	
Central Areas	15	13	7	35
Suburbs	6	17	13	36
Totals	21	30	20	71

Chi-square statistic = 5.62: significant at .10 level.

*Occupation categories generalized from those shown in Table II, p. 43.

**Includes retired heads of households.

TABLE X

CURRENT SOCIAL AREA LOCATION
AND HOUSEHOLD INCOME
(N=71)

Social Area	Household Income*			Totals
	Low Income	Middle Income	High Income	
Central Areas	15	11	9	35
Suburbs	5	10	21	36
Totals	20	21	30	71

Chi-square statistic = 9.27: significant at 0.01 level.

*Income categories were as follows: under $12,000 annually: "Low Income"; $12,000 to $15,000: "Middle Income"; over $15,000: "High Income". The median 1977 household income for the group was about $13,500 annually.

equally in their current social area location.

Another socio-economic variable exhibiting a high degree of association with residential location is home tenure (Table XI). Most of the home-owners in the study sample purchased their current residences within the suburban tracts of the study area. In contrast, those renting their current dwelling in the suburbs are a minority when compared with the number of tenant households located in the city's central areas.

Owners and Renters. Given the degree of association between the home tenure variable and current household location, and in an effort to further assess the spatial nature of the residential movement of sample households during the latest "stage" of their mobility, the last move of current owners and renters in the sample was plotted on maps. These destinations of owners and renters are portrayed in Figures 12 and 13. A spatial "bias" to the suburbs is clearly suggested by the pattern of moves made by the owners. In contrast, the recent moves of the renters have a less scattered spatial pattern. Thus, the central portions of the city remain important as sources of housing for households which rent their living places. Of all the most recent moves made by renters, two-thirds took place within the central areas of the city (Table XI). A large portion of these moves (12 of 19) occurred into, out of, or within Tract 6.

Temporal Aspects of the Move to the Suburbs. A further step in the analysis of residential patterns of Cuban-Americans involved the temporal sequence of residential moves made by study households. The purpose was to discover if the residential "transition" of those who moved to the suburbs from central areas occurred at a specific point

TABLE XI

SOCIAL AREA DESTINATION
OF LAST RESIDENTIAL MOVES:
OWNERS VS RENTERS
(N=63)*

Social Area Destination	Home Tenure		Totals
	Renters	Owners	
Central Areas	19	8	27
Suburbs	11	25	36
Totals	30	33	63

Chi-square statistic = 9.8: significant at the .005 level.

*Eight of the households in the sample were not included in this computation because they did not report any intra-urban moves.

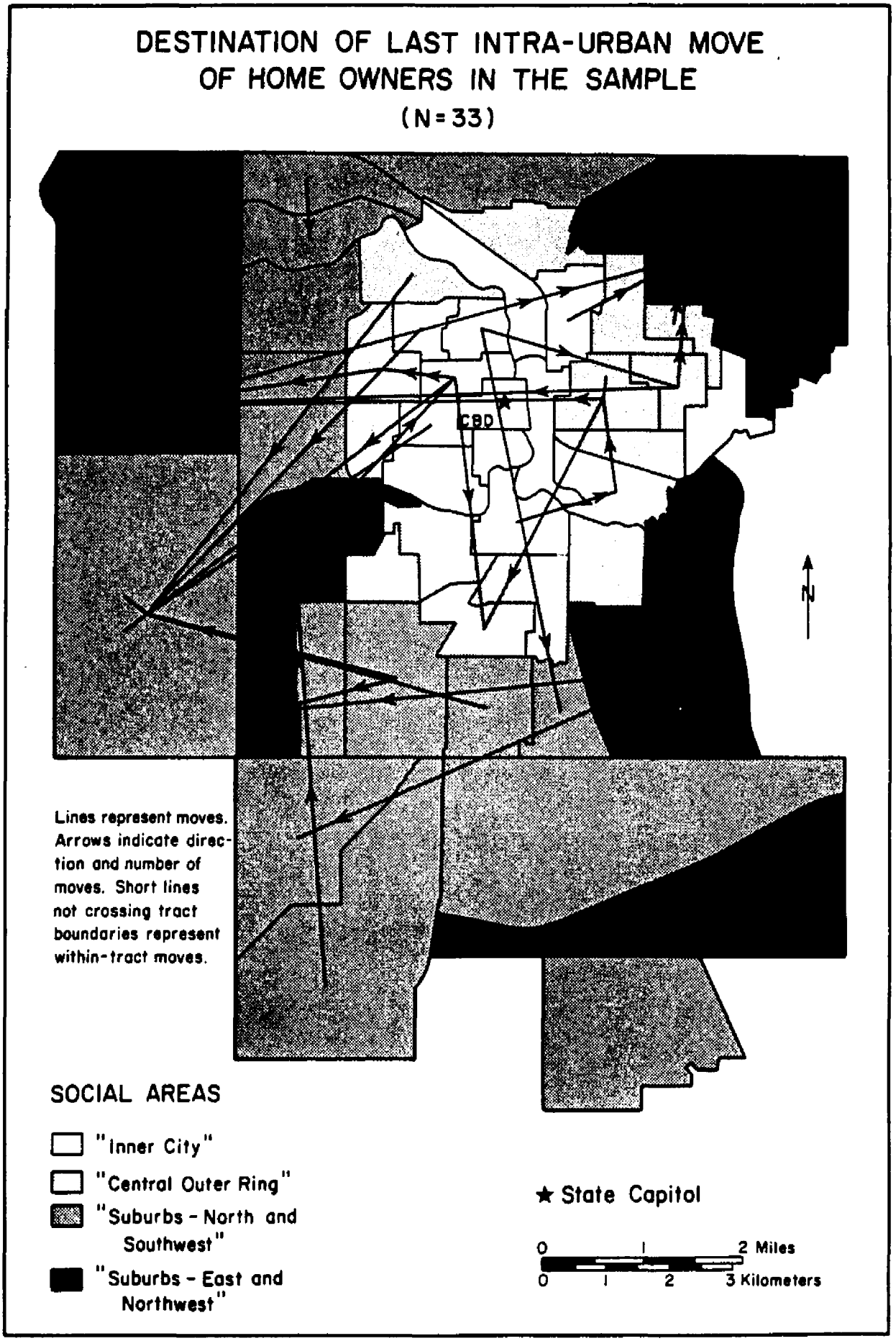
DESTINATION OF LAST INTRA-URBAN MOVE
OF HOME OWNERS IN THE SAMPLE
(N=33)
CBD
N
Lines represent moves. Arrows indicate direction and number of moves. Short lines not crossing tract boundaries represent within-tract moves.
SOCIAL AREAS
"Inner City"
"Central Outer Ring"
"Suburbs - North and Southwest"
"Suburbs - East and Northwest"
★ State Capitol
0 1 2 Miles
0 1 2 3 Kilometers

Figure 12

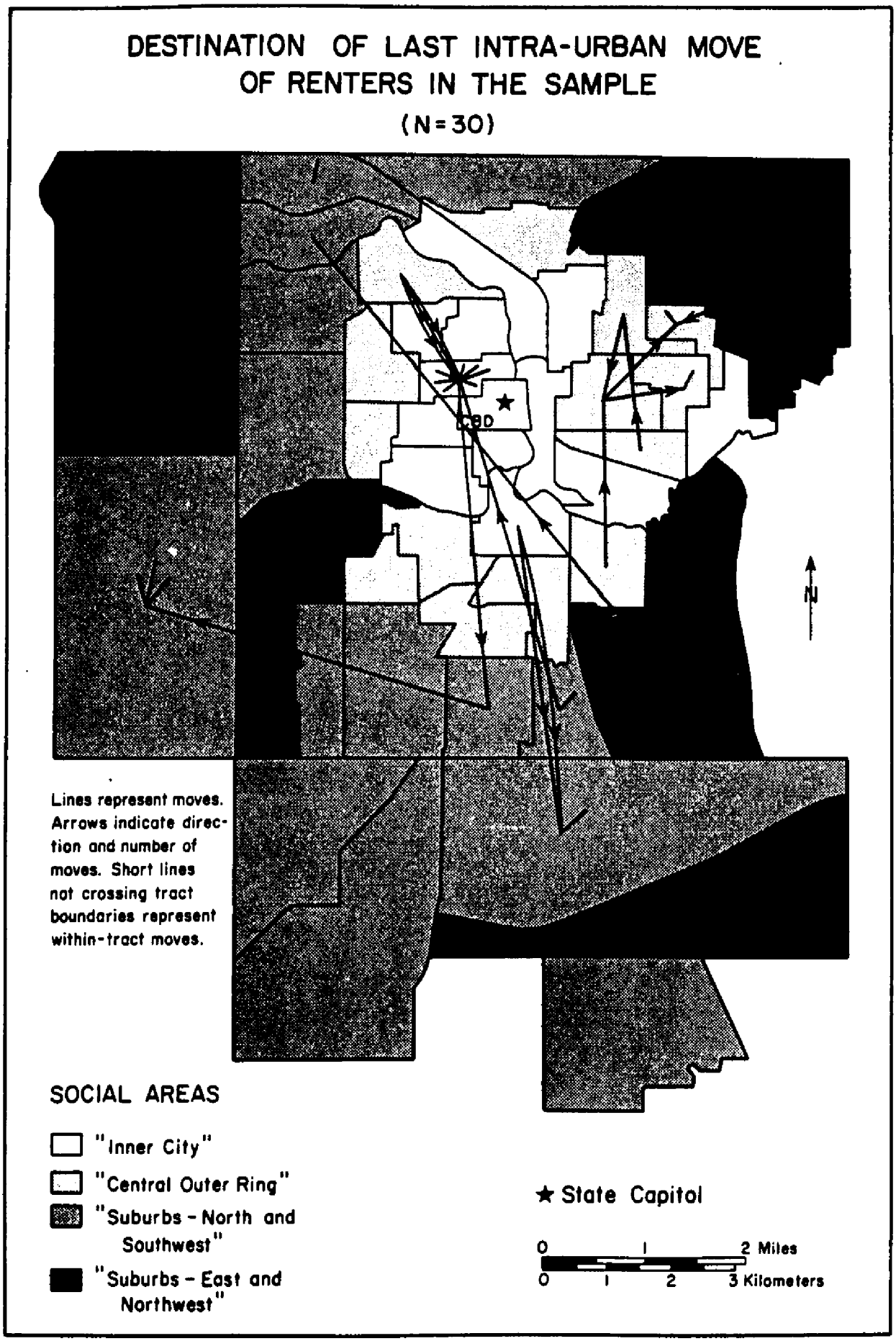
DESTINATION OF LAST INTRA-URBAN MOVE
OF RENTERS IN THE SAMPLE
(N=30)
CBD
N
Lines represent moves. Arrows indicate direction and number of moves. Short lines not crossing tract boundaries represent within-tract moves.
SOCIAL AREAS
"Inner City"
"Central Outer Ring"
"Suburbs - North and Southwest"
"Suburbs - East and Northwest"
★ State Capitol
0 1 2 Miles
0 1 2 3 Kilometers

Figure 13

in the household's mobility history. In the absence of previous empirical findings on this question, the notion that the move to the suburbs would occur at random, and not at any particular point in the sequence, was proposed. Information on the relative position of the move to the suburbs within the sequence of all the moves made by individual sample households is presented in Table XII. Data are shown only for current suburban home-owners who previously lived in the central areas of the city (30 percent of the total sample).[8]

For almost half of the sampled households (ten of twenty-one), the "second" intra-urban move was the first one with a suburban destination. This indicates that the households moved only once within the central areas of the city before moving to a suburban location. For a smaller group (seven of twenty-one) the "first" intra-urban move was suburban. Initial suburban moves recorded later than the "second" family move occurred for only three of the households in the sub-group. It is also noted from the table that most current suburban owners (fourteen of twenty-one) purchased a home for their initial suburban move, while one-third made the original move to suburban areas as renters.

The patterns discovered on the relative position of the "move to the suburbs" in the sequence of all household moves give an indication that, at least for the families in the "owners" sub-group, the stage of spatial assimilation which involves leaving the reception area and establishing a suburban residence did not include many moves within

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[8]Households in the sample in the category of "current suburban-renters" numbered eleven (Table XI). Of these only four had previously lived in the "receptor" area, too few to carry out a meaningful scrutiny similar to that presented for owners.

TABLE XII

THE MOVE FROM THE
RECEPTION AREA TO THE SUBURBS:
CURRENT SUBURBAN HOMEOWNERS
(N=21)*

	Sequence of Intra-Urban Moves			
Household	First	Second	Third	Fourth
1		0**		
2	0			
3		0		
4		0		
5	0			
6		R***		
7		0		
8	R			
9	0			
10		0		
11			0	
12		R		
13		0		
14	R			
15	R			
16		R		
17		R		
18		0		
19	0			
20			0	
21				0

*Excludes suburban owners never living in central areas (N=4).
**0 = Initial move to suburbs made to occupy a purchased home.
***R = Initial move to suburbs made to a rental unit.

the central city before the suburban "transition" occurred. The median time period for these current suburban homeowners to make such a move after they first settled in the city was 4.1 years. However, the period varied individually between nine months and eleven years.

Ethnic Households and Residential Proximity. As discussed by some writers (Kosa, 1956; Simmons, 1968; Darden, 1976; Rose, 1977) the net "movement to the suburbs" by a group of ethnic and minority households does not necessarily indicate the degree to which "spatial assimilation" may be taking place.[9] If ethnic households leaving the central areas "re-settle" together in a suburban location, the resulting situation may be viewed as one where residential "segregation" persists and little spatial assimilation occurs. If, on the other hand, the moving households become randomly dispersed in suburban areas, a case for a greater degree of spatial assimilation may be made.

The evidence on current residential location patterns of Cuban-Americans in Lansing indicates both clustering and dispersion of households in urban space. In Chapter V (page 63) it was noted that two suburban tracts are among the three study area tracts currently containing the largest number of Cuban-American residences. To gain insight into the possible reasons behind the observed clustered patterns, the occupational characteristics of the households living in Tracts 6, 31.02 and 202 were analyzed and compared with the social area character of the tracts. The relationship is shown in Table XIII.

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[9]In theory, complete residential assimilation of a minority group exists when individual members are randomly located in urban residential space. The notion of whether a minority group is spatially segregated (or assimilated) has been empirically tested by numerous authors using aggregate census data (see for instance Darden, 1973, 1976; Grebler, et al., 1970).

TABLE XIII

THE THREE TRACTS SHOWING
RESIDENTIAL CLUSTERING IN 1977:
SOCIAL AREA LOCATION AND
HOUSEHOLD OCCUPATIONAL STATUS
(N=29)

Tract -- Social Area Location	Occupational Status			Totals
	Unemployed	Blue Collar	White Collar	
6 -- "Inner City"	7	3	3	13
202 -- "Suburbs - North and Southwest"	1	8	2	11
31.02 -- "Suburbs - East and Northwest"	0	1	4	5
Totals	8	12	9	29

Although the relationship was not checked statistically because of the low frequencies in some cells in the table, an analysis of the recorded frequencies clearly indicates a degree of "matching" between the occupational status of the clustered households and the social area character of the included census tracts. This evidence suggests that the reasons for the clustering effect go beyond ethnic considerations. For example, most of those living in Tract 202, a "medium economic-status" suburban tract (see Figures 7 and 8), have blue-collar occupations. Tract 31.02, a "high economic-status" suburban tract, has mostly white-collar employment. In contrast, Tract 6 in the "Inner City" includes a disproportionate number of "unemployed" households.

These findings offer some insight into the nature of the "spatial assimilation" undergone by Cuban-Americans in Lansing. First, residential clustering has occurred in the movement of some study households to suburban areas, indicating that the selection of suburban residential location has not occurred entirely in a random fashion. Second, such clustering has not involved a singular spatial pattern of group relocation to a specific "reception" suburb but, rather, appears to be partially a function of the occupational status of study households. Sub-groups with higher occupational status tend to be found residentially clustered in corresponding types of suburbs (and vice-versa).[10] Third, households at the lower end of the occupational scale have tended to remain in the central areas. Residential clustering of these households was also observed.

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[10]However, tendencies found in matching occupational status and social area character for the "dispersed" group of study households, those living in tracts other than 6, 31.02 and 202 (N=42), were not as clearly defined.

Locating a Place to Live: The Influence of Ethnicity

Theories on the processes of assimilation and acculturation of ethnic migrants emphasize the importance of the role played by urban ethnic communities in "cushioning" the impact of the adjustments that new migrant households must make when arriving in the city. Newcomers receive support from those already established in the city and, in time, they in turn may offer support to other group members in need. As a result of this process, group solidarity develops and tends to be more strongly manifested during the early stages of settlement. The network of ethnic relationships is thus viewed as having a considerable effect on the activities and interaction of individual ethnic households (Jonassen, 1949; Gordon, 1964; Gans, 1967). In her study on the assimilation of Cuban-Americans in West New York, Rogg (1974) indeed found that the social life of the households in the study sample was permeated by ethnicity, in that many of the social activities of individual families (e.g., visiting, recreation, religious events) took place mainly within the ethnic community.

In assessing the role of ethnicity in residential mobility and location, a hypothesis was developed for this study which reflects the above research formulations and findings: in the search for places to live, information obtained through friends and relatives will significantly influence the selection of residential location by study households.

The residential experience of Cuban-Americans in Lansing clearly reflects the effect of the network of primary relationships that has traditionally characterized the social interaction of newly formed urban ethnic communities. Data on the channels of information which

study households used in locating residential places in Lansing are presented in Table XIV. Information sources for all of the recorded moves in the survey are shown in the computations.

The high degree of influence of "Cuban friends and relatives" in the residential search experience of sample households is readily observed. For 43 percent of all moves recorded in the survey, residential destinations were located as a result of information obtained in such a manner. Other sources had some importance in the home-locating process, but none did to the extent of this category. Real estate offices and newspapers are shown as sources of primary housing "leads" for 17 percent of all the moves effected, with the self-search category (e.g., walking, driving by) accounting for another 15 percent. Church-related groups or individuals and government housing agencies are also of some importance. Non-Cuban friends and relatives comprise the least important information source.

Greater insight is gained if the same elements of the home-search process of Cuban-Americans are examined in a "temporal" frame of reference. Data showing information sources used for locating the "first" and the "last" places of residence are presented in Table XV. Several observations can be made: 1) the "Cuban relatives and friends" factor, even though it remained the most significant source of information for both stages, dropped considerably in importance as a primary source of housing information for the most recent move; 2) use of the household's own resources as well as the use of conventional sources of housing availability information (realtors, newspapers) registered a relatively high increase; 3) the role of church-related agencies or persons has disappeared entirely, while government housing agencies have become

TABLE XIV

SOURCES OF INFORMATION
USED BY STUDY HOUSEHOLDS
FOR LOCATING LIVING
PLACES: ALL MOVES
(N=225)*

	Category	Percent of Total
1.	Cuban friends or relatives	43.1
2.	Realtors and newspapers	17.0
3.	Self Search (walking or driving)	15.6
4.	Church-related agency or persons	9.2
5.	Government Housing Agencies	7.8
6.	Non-Cuban friends and relatives	7.3
		100.0

*Includes move to original residential place in Lansing.

TABLE XV

SOURCES OF INFORMATION USED
FOR LOCATING THE "FIRST" AND
"LAST" (CURRENT) RESIDENCE

Source of Information	"First" Residence % of Total (N=63)*	"Last" Residence % of Total (N=63)*	Percent Change
1. Cuban Friends or Relatives	50.7	31.7	-19.0
2. Realtors and Newspapers	11.2	20.6	+ 9.5
3. Self Search (Walking, driving)	14.3	23.8	+ 9.5
4. Church-related agency or person	15.8	0.0	-15.8
5. Government Housing Agency	3.2	14.4	+11.2
6. Non-Cuban Friends or Relatives	4.8	9.5	+ 4.7

*Eight of the households in the sample were not included in this computation because they did not report any intra-urban moves.

more important as sources of housing information; and 4) the number of study households tapping non-Cuban friends and relatives for information on living places registered some increase.

From these results, it is clear that although the ethnic community's network of social relationships (i.e., Cuban relatives and friends) remains an important information source for housing "leads", its proportional significance has eroded considerably. Study households appear to have become more self-sufficient in locating and selecting residential places with longer periods of residence in the Lansing area.

Despite an increased use of the household's own resources in finding housing, reliance on conventional media sources (newspapers, realtors) remains limited. Only 20 percent of the most recent residential places were located by study households using such media, a reflection perhaps that many are still unable or unwilling to tap it. "Non-conventional" sources (categories 1, 3, 5 and 6 in Table XII) provided primary information for locating close to 80 percent of the current homes.

If the channels of housing information used by study households are analyzed in the light of current patterns of residential location, further insight is obtained into the relative significance of ethnicity in the mobility of Cuban-Americans. In searching for their current residential places, study households presently living in the central areas of Lansing made greater use of "ethnic" information channels than suburban households, as data in Table XVI indicate. Those currently residing in the suburbs relied less on their Cuban friends and relatives and more on real estate agencies and newspapers to find their present

TABLE XVI

CENTRAL AREAS VS SUBURBAN HOUSEHOLDS:
SOURCES OF INFORMATION USED FOR
LOCATING CURRENT RESIDENCE
(IN PERCENT OF N)

	Source of Information	Central Areas Households (N=20)	Suburban Households (N=34)
1.	Cuban Friends or Relatives	41.3	23.5
2.	Realtors and Newspapers	10.4	35.4
3.	Self Search (Walking, Driving)	20.7	20.6
4.	Government Housing Agency	13.8	11.7
5.	Non-Cuban Friends or Relatives	13.8	8.8
		100.0	100.0

homes. The differences recorded for the two groups in the use of the remaining information sources (self-search, government agencies and non-Cuban friends and relatives) are relatively minor.

The Desire to Live Near Relatives and Friends. The data collected on "reasons for selecting a given dwelling" were examined to assess the extent to which selection of residential places reflected a desire in study households to locate their homes in close proximity to one another. Along with the reasoning employed in the previous hypothesis (p. 86), it was proposed that the desire to live near friends and relatives would significantly influence the selection of residential location of study households.

For only 17 percent of all the residential moves recorded in the survey was the "desire to live near relatives and friends" mentioned as the principal reason for selecting a given residence. As often occurs in surveys where respondents are asked open-ended questions as to the "why" of a particular event, the subjects offered a wide variety of responses as main reasons for selecting a home or apartment.

Data presented in Table XVII indicate clearly that the primary concerns of Cuban-Americans in selecting a home are similar to those of other groups (see Barrett, 1973, p. 100). When the principal reasons for having chosen the current place of residence are examined, dwelling space, price, and neighborhood quality were found to predominate. Other reasons appear in the data but they reflect lesser overall importance. Households selecting a residence because of a desire to be near other Cuban-Americans (relatives and friends) were found for both residential stages ("first" and "last"). Still, they were rather few, particularly since it is reported that "ethnic" information channels

TABLE XVII

FIRST REASONS GIVEN
FOR SELECTING "FIRST"
AND "LAST" (CURRENT) PLACE
OF RESIDENCE (N=63)

	Reason	"First" Residence (Percent of Total N)	"Last" Residence (Percent of Total N)	Percent Change
1.	Needed a place	58.7	1.6	-57.1
2.	To be near relatives and friends	11.1	6.3	- 4.8
3.	Price	11.1	23.8	+12.7
4.	Space	6.3	25.4	+19.1
5.	Good area	4.7	20.6	+15.9
6.	Near work	3.2	3.2	0.0
7.	Furnished	3.2	*	- 3.2
8.	Good Condition	1.7	6.4	+ 4.7
9.	Privacy	*	4.7	+ 4.7
10.	Schools	*	4.8	+ 4.8
11.	General Accessibility	*	3.2	+ 3.2
		100.0	100.0	

*Reason not mentioned.

constituted an important element in the search for places to live (see Tables XIV and XV).

The changing nature of the residential selection process of Cuban-Americans in Lansing is also apparent from Table XVI. As expected, the reasons given for moving to the "first" residence in the city reflected a basic and obvious concern of study households at that initial phase: they needed a place to live. The trend to a more "normal" situation shown in the figures for more recent times is likely a reflection of both a general improvement in the economic status of the group and of increased familiarity with the residential characteristics of the urban area that comes with the passing of time.

If the reasons given by heads of household for selecting a place to live are scrutinized on the basis of current residential location, further patterns are uncovered in the data. For instance, 44 percent of the heads of suburban Cuban-American households mentioned the space characteristics of the dwelling as the principal reason for selecting their current homes as compared with only 20 percent of those presently residing in central areas (Table XVIII). In addition, the data show that for central city households the desire to locate their homes near relatives and Cuban friends was relatively more important than for suburban families. Other reasons such as price and quality of the residential area were mentioned as important by both groups, although no major differences were recorded for these. Accessibility-related responses were mostly offered by central area heads of household.

TABLE XVIII

CENTRAL AREAS VS SUBURBAN HOUSEHOLDS:
FIRST REASONS GIVEN FOR SELECTING
CURRENT RESIDENCE
(IN PERCENT OF N)

	Reason	Central Areas Households (N=29)	Suburban Households (N=34
1.	To be near relatives and friends	17.2	3.0
2.	Price	20.7	26.5
3.	Space	20.7	44.1
4.	Good Area	13.8	14.7
5.	Near Work	7.0	2.9
6.	Good Condition	10.3	*
7.	Schools	*	5.9
8.	General Accessibility	10.3	2.9
		100.0	100.0

*Reason not mentioned.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study has been to examine the spatial patterns of intra-urban residential mobility among Cuban-Americans in Lansing, Michigan. The group represents one of the many urban Cuban-American communities in the United States for whom this country became a new homeland within the past two decades.

In a theoretical sense, the study examined urban-ecological as well as behavioral principles concerned with the spatial attributes of the residential mobility and location of ethnic migrants. To test these principles, survey information was collected via in-depth home interviews. Analysis of the survey data involved description of various sample characteristics and comparison of sample sub-groups on selected socio-economic attributes. Non-parametric tests were applied to check statistically the examined relationships. To provide a socio-spatial frame of reference from which the mobility characteristics of the households could be properly analyzed, a factorial ecology of Lansing was performed employing socio-economic data from the United States 1970 Census of Population.

Summary of Findings

The patterns of intra-urban residential mobility and location described for the Cuban-American community of Lansing are supportive of two basic notions advanced in previous social area analysis research:

1. Urban ethnic households enter a residential adjustment process upon their arrival in the city which is clearly affected by the socio-economic characteristics of the family units involved, and
2. The influence of the ethnic community on the residential mobility and location of ethnic households is strong during the intial stages of urban residence and gradually decreases with the passing of time.

Other more practical findings were also derived from this research. For example, in agreement with many previous studies (Lieberson, 1963; Spear, 1964; Ward, 1968), the central areas of the city functioned as a residential "reception" center for the arriving migrant households. Furthermore, the results show that within the study period (1963-1977), many of the households in the sample moved away from the central areas and into "better" (i.e., suburban) residential environments.

In the context of this study, the evidence did not clearly support the commonly held notion that time is an all-important factor in determining the ability of migrant households to leave reception areas and settle in suburbs. More meaningful relationships with residential location were found through an examination of selected socio-economic characteristics of the households studied, which included income, occupation and home tenure. Ethnic family units in the higher occupational and income brackets moved out of the original reception areas and into the suburbs to a greater extent than those with lower socio-economic status. This finding is in agreement with recent formulations concerning the relationships between mobility and the social geography of cities. The principle that the aggregate mobility of urban

households results in an orderly spatial patterning of the city's social groups, as households with like characteristics occupy similar "social spaces" is largely supported (Rees, 1968; see Chapter II of this text). And, as is true with the general population of urban areas, home-ownership was a more predominant condition among Cuban-American households currently located in suburban areas than for those residing in the central city (Beyer, 1960; Berry and Murdie, 1965).

The results of the study are in partial concordance with the model proposed by Jakle, Brunn and Roseman (1976) concerning the spatial assimilation of ethnic households (see Chapter III and Figure 4). Although the specific "steps" described in that model were not directly tested, support was found for the authors' thesis that the gradual abandonment of the reception area by ethnic households depends largely on the relative levels of social interaction of the migrants with the host society. In residential terms, many study households were found to have made the spatial "transition" hypothesized in the model. An increase was clearly registered in their interaction with host society housing information sources and away from "ethnic" channels, as reflected in the analyzed residential search patterns. For those who left the reception areas, the transition took a short time (a median period of four years). Also, it involved few previous residential moves within the central areas of the city.

The evidence on the relative degree of "spatial assimilation" undergone by Cuban-Americans in Lansing is less conclusive. Both clustering and dispersion of study households have occurred within the social space of the city. The reasons for this variance are not entirely clear, although the clustering of a group of households in

selected urban tracts was found related to occupational status. The overall spatial pattern, however, was definitely not random, an indication that at the time of this study the group was not "spatially assimilated" in a strict and total sense.

The research reveals that ethnic factors have played an important role in the residential mobility and location of Cuban-Americans in Lansing, much as they have for previous migrant groups to urban areas (Kosa, 1956; Gans, 1967; Gad, Peddie and Punter, 1973). The network of primary relationships of the Cuban-American community functioned as the primary information source for individual ethnic households in their search for housing. The relative importance of that network has decreased considerably in the more recent stages of the group's residence in the city. The ethnic community played a greater role in recent residential decisions of those remaining in the central city than in those of households currently in the suburbs.

Implied in findings on the changing nature of the housing search patterns of the group is some support for behavioral concepts that relate to the spatial characteristics of mobility. The increased reliance of study households on their self-search abilities (driving by, walking) in the quest for residential places, suggests that the "awareness space" of Cuban-Americans in Lansing has increasingly become an important factor both in their mobility and location decisions.

Summary Comments

Two major questions formed the basis for this research, viz., "Where the mobility?" and "Why there?". There are many other questions and aspects which would have to enter into a comprehensive discussion of intra-urban residential mobility. Of significance would be an

assessment of the relative importance of the many characteristics of the housing market that affect and determine mobility patterns. Also, life-cycle and life-style variables would have to be more extensively considered as factors that may help explain the residential mobility of Cuban-Americans.

The patterns of intra-urban residential mobility of Cuban-Americans in Lansing were found to conform generally with those of other ethnic groups previously migrating to the city. A difference is that a majority of these Cuban-American households seem to have evolved rather quickly to a level of socio-economic improvement which normally might take much longer, if it took place at all. In the course of home interviews and in analyzing the survey data, it became obvious that many of these newly-arrived migrants have made visible gains in the process of economic adaptation to a new environment.

That similar conditions may exist with other Cuban-American communities in the United States was suggested by the studies on Cuban-Americans reviewed in Chapter III. While emphasizing different conceptual approaches and analytical methods, these findings indicate that the general economic adjustment of Cuban-Americans has progressed at a relatively rapid pace. In agreement with the results of this study, Cuban-American residential movement to the suburbs in other cities was suggested by Ropka (1973) and Eichelberger (1973) and recorded and analyzed in a planning report (Dade County Planning Department, 1970).

Even though suburban movement is taking place, it should be pointed out that many Cuban-American households in the United States currently reside in central cities. This was evident for Lansing and

has been documented for other cities, i.e., Chicago and Miami. As was found in Lansing and is likely true elsewhere, households living in central cities include the most socio-economically deprived segments of the ethnic population. Specific areas of the "Little Havana" sector in the central areas of Miami come to mind in this regard, where the disproportionate presence of such groups, e.g., the unemployed and the elderly, was documented by a recent study on the Cuban-American minority of the United States (Prohías and Casal, 1973). This concentration of disadvantaged groups in central cities is a condition which appears characteristic of the residential location patterns of practically all urban population sub-groups, including other ethnic and racial minorities such as Blacks, Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans. With the latter groups, however, the relative proportions of their populations living in central city areas, and the persistence over time of these types of central city concentrations, seem to reflect a lesser tendency to become "spatially assimilated" than that appearing to be the norm for Cuban-Americans. A likely explanation for this phenomenon which has been offered is that the migration of Cubans to the United States has been largely political and has included a large group of highly skilled middle-class migrants fleeing a Marxist revolution. Portes (1969) and Rogg (1974) offer evidence that the relative socio-economic "success" of Cuban-Americans in the United States can be explained largely in terms of the middle-class orientation and background of most migrants. On the other hand, the works of Cox (1971) and Wong (1974) indicate that sizable numbers of lower-class Cubans, mostly urban but some rural, have been part of the exodus to the United States.

It is apparent from the findings of this and previous studies that much research is still needed on the background and adaptation characteristics of Cuban-American individuals and communities in United States cities. The residential patterns and processes of Cubans, along with those of other new groups of immigrants such as Vietnamese and other contemporary and not-so-recent racial and ethnic minorities, i.e., Blacks, Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans, provide a subject of continued interest to social scientists and policy makers. We need to know more about the mechanics and the relative dimensions of the residential location and movement patterns of the different minority and social sub-groups in the city, and to monitor the changes which may be occurring in these patterns. The degree to which these urban residential patterns and processes are or become "social problems" is essentially a function of our ability to fully understand their nature and our willingness to facilitate the implementation of appropriate social policies on the basis of such understanding.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

ENCUESTA

PROYECTO MOVILIDAD RESIDENCIAL

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

Número ____ Sector ____

1. ¿En qué fecha llegó usted a los Estados Unidos?

   Mes _____ Año _____

2. ¿En qué fecha llegó usted a Lansing?

   Mes _____ Año _____

3. ¿Podría indicar las razones principales por las que vino a vivir a Lansing?

   _____

4. ¿Cuánto tiempo lleva de formada esta familia?

   Años _____ Meses _____

5. ¿Vivió usted en Lansing antes de formar esta familia?

   Sí _____ No _____

6. (En caso afirmativo) - ¿Cuánto tiempo?

   Años _____ Meses _____

7. ¿En qué fecha se mudó esta familiar a la presente residencia?

   Mes _____ Años _____

8. Usted es: Inquilino ____ Está comprando la casa _____

A continuación agradecería si pudiera dar respuesta a varias preguntas en relación a cómo localizó esta residencia en que vive ahora:

9. ¿Cómo supo de esta casa? _____

10. ¿Estaba buscando en cualquier parte de la ciudad o en alguna zona específica?

    _____

11. (Si en una zona específica) - ¿Dónde? _____

12. ¿Por qué esa zona? _____

13. ¿Al buscar casa, ¿estaba evadiendo a propósito alguna zona específica de la ciudad? Sí _____ No _____

14. (En caso afirmativo) ¿Cuál? _____

15. ¿Por qué evitaba esa zona? _____

16. ¿Podría indicar algunas de las razones que le convencieron a mudarse aquí?

_____

17. Antes de mudarse aquí, ¿estaba usted familiarizado con esta zona?

Sí _____ No _____

18. ¿Con esta calle? Sí _____ No _____

19. (En caso afirmativo) - ¿De qué manera se familiarizó con esta zona?

_____

20. ¿Con esta calle? _____

En las siguientes preguntas se le pide por favor que recuerde sobre los lugares en que previamente a residido esta familia en Lansing.

21. Primeramente, ¿en cuántos lugares ha vivido ésta familia aquí en Lansing? (incluyendo actual residencia) _____

22. ¿En los Estados Unidos? _____

Ahora, comenzando por el primer lugar en que vivió esta familia en Lansing:

23. ¿En qué año se mudó para esa casa? _____ Mes? _____

24. ¿Recuerda la dirección? (Más o menos) _____

25. ¿Cómo supo de esa casa? _____

26. Razones por las que se mudó a ésa casa: _____

_____

27. Era: Inquilino _____ Dueño _____

28. ¿Por cuánto tiempo vivió allí? Años _____ Meses _____

29. ¿Cuántas personas vivían en ese hogar? _____

30. Razones por las que se mudó de esa casa: _____

_____

Segunda residencia:

31. ¿En qué año se mudó para esa casa? _____

32. ¿Recuerda la dirección? (Más o menos) _____

33. ¿Cómo supo de esa casa? _____

34. Razones por las que se mudó a ésa casa: _____

_____

35. Era: Inquilino _____ Dueño _____

36. ¿Por cuánto tiempo vivió allí? Años _____ Meses _____

37. ¿Cuántas personas vivían en ese hogar? _____

38. Razones por las que se mudó de esa casa: _____

_____

Tercera residencia:

39. ¿En qué año se mudó para esa casa? _____

40. ¿Recuerda la dirección? (Más o menos) _____

41. ¿Cómo supo de esa casa? _____

42. Razones por las que se mudó a esa casa: _____

_____

43. Era: Inquilino _____ Dueño _____

44. ¿Por cuánto tiempo vivió allí? Años _____ Meses _____

45. ¿Cuántas personas vivían en ese hogar? _____

46. Razones por las que se mudó de esa casa: _____

_____

Cuarta residencia:

47. ¿En qué año se mudó para esa casa? _____

48. ¿Recuerda la dirección? (Más o menos) _____

49. ¿Cómo supo de esa casa? _____

50. Razones por las que se mudó a esa casa: _____

_____

51. Era: Inquilino _____ Dueño _____

52. ¿Por cuánto tiempo vivió allí? Años _____ Meses _____

53. ¿Cuántas personas vivían en ese hogar? _____

54. Razones por las que se mudó de esa casa: _____

_____

Y ahora unas últimas preguntas para completar la encuesta.

55. Número de personas que viven en las casa: _____

56. Número de niños menores de 18 años: _____

57. Edad de los niños _____

58. Edad del cabeza de familia _____

59. Ocupación actual del cabeza de familia _____

¿En Cuba? _____

60. ¿Es alguno de los cónyuges de este hogar de origen no-cubano?

Sí _____ No _____

(En caso afirmativo) - Esposo _____ Esposa _____

Origen o nacionalidad _____

61. ¿Tiene planes esta familia de quedarse permanentemente en Lansing o piensan irse a otro lugar?

Planes de irse _____ Quedarse _____ No sabe _____

62. Ultimo grado escolar completado por el cabeza de familia

_____

(Para las preguntas en la última página utilizar la hoja con el cuadro de ingresos. El entrevistado ha de marcarla por sí mismo si así lo desea.)

63. Ingreso <u>anual</u> del cabeza de familia: (Haga una marca)

_____ Menos de $3,000
_____ 3,000 - 5,999
_____ 6,000 - 8,999
_____ 9,000 - 11,999
_____ 12,000 - 14,999
_____ 15,000 - 24,999
_____ Más de 25,000

64. Ingreso <u>anual</u> conjunto de todo el hogar:

_____ Menos de $3,000
_____ 3,000 - 5,999
_____ 6,000 - 8,999
_____ 9,000 - 11,999
_____ 12,000 - 14,999
_____ 15,000 - 24,999
_____ Más de 25,000

MUCHISIMAS GRACIAS

AGRADECEMOS SU COOPERACION

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY EAST LANSING • MICHIGAN • 48824

ENCUESTA

PROYECTO "MOVILIDAD RESIDENCIAL"

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

Estimado Jefe (a) de familia:

El Departamento de Geografía de Michigan State University está llevando a cabo un estudio de la vivienda en la zona metropolitana de Lansing. Uno de los objectivos del proyecto es el de obtener información sobre las familias cubanas que residen en la cuidad.

El formulario de preguntas que a continuación se relacionan se ha preparado con este fin. Por este medio queremos solicitar su colaboración para llenar este cuestionario.

Las preguntas las ha de contestar el jefe de familia o en su defecto el cónyugue presente en el momento de la entrevista. La información obtenida sera únicamente utilizada con fines académicos, para establecer características y condiciones de vivienda de las personas de habla hispana que residen en la communidad.

Muchas gracias por su cooperación.

Atentamente,

Dr. Stanley Brunn
Mr. José L. Mesa

Project Coordinators

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

I.D. No. _____

TRACT _____

Residential Mobility Survey

Michigan State University

1. When did you arrive from Cuba? Month _____ Year _____
2. When did you move to Lansing? Month _____ Year _____
3. What were the main reasons you came to live in Lansing?

_____

4. How long ago was this household formed? _____ Years _____ Months
5. Did you live in Lansing before forming this family? Yes __ No __
6. (If answer to #5 is Yes)

   For how long? Years _____ Months _____
7. When did you move to this (present) address? Month ____ Year ___
8. Do you own? _____ Rent? _____

Concerning your most recent search for a place to live.....

9. How did you learn about the availability of this house?

_____

10. Were you looking in a specific part of town? _____

    anywhere in town? _____
11. If a specific part of town: Where? _____
12. Why there? _____

13. Were you avoiding on purpose looking in a specific part of town?

Yes _____ No _____

14. If yes: Where? _____

15. Why that part of town? _____

16. Why did you decide to move into this house? _____

17. Before you moved here, were you familiar with this area?

Yes _____ No _____

18. With this street? Yes _____ No _____

19. If yes: How had you become familiar with this area? _____

_____

20. With this street? _____

In the following questions you are asked to recall the places in which you have previously lived here in Lansing:

21. First, how many residences has this family occupied in Lansing (including this residence)?

_____

22. In the United States? (excluding Lansing) _____

In chronological order, starting with the dwelling occupied when first arrived in city:

First Residence

23. In what year did you move there? _____

24. What was the address (or the name of the streets on the nearest corner)?

_____

25. How did you find out about this place? _____

26. Reasons for selecting that residence: _____

_____

27. Rented? _____ Owned? _____

28. How long did you live there? Years _____ Months _____

29. How many persons lived in that residence? _____

30. Why did you move out? _____

Second Residence

31. In what year did you move there? _____

32. What was the address (or the name of the streets on the nearest corner)?

_____

33. How did you find out about this place? _____

34. Reasons for selecting that residence: _____

_____

35. Rented? _____ Owned? _____

36. How long did you live there? Years _____ Months _____

37. How many persons lived in that residence? _____

38. Why did you move out? _____

Third Residence

39. In what year did you move there? _____

40. What was the address (or the name of the streets on the nearest corner)?

_____

41. How did you find out about this place? _____

42. Reasons for selecting that residence: _____

_____

43. Rented? _____ Owned? _____

44. How long did you live there? Years _____ Months _____

45. How many persons lived in that residence? _____

46. Why did you move out? _____

Fourth Residence

47. In what year did you move there? _____

48. What was the address (or the name of the streets on the nearest corner)?

_____

49. How did you find out about this place? _____

50. Reasons for selecting that residence: _____

_____

51. Rented? _____ Owned? _____

52. How long did you live there? Years _____ Months _____

53. How many persons lived in that residence? _____

54. Why did you move out? _____

55. Number of people in household _____

56. Number of children under 18 _____

57. Age of children _____

58. Age of head of household _____

59. Occupation of head of household:

In Lansing _____

In Cuba _____

60. Are any of the spouses in this family of non-Cuban origin? _____

(If yes) Husband _____ Wife _____

61. Does this family have plans to stay in Lansing permanently or will it move to a different city or state?

Plans to Leave _____ Stay _____ Don't Know _____

62. Last grade of schooling completed by the head of this household:

_____

(For the remaining questions use the income categories on the last page. The respondent may fill in the answers personally if he/she so wishes.)

63. Annual income of the head of the household (Make a mark in the proper category)

_____ Under $3,000

_____ 3,000 to 5,999

_____ 6,000 to 8,999

_____ 9,000 to 11,999

_____ 12,000 to 14,999

_____ 15,000 to 24,999

_____ 25,000 and Over

64. Annual total household income:

_____ Under $3,000

_____ 3,000 to 5,999

_____ 6,000 to 8,999

_____ 9,000 to 11,999

_____ 12,000 to 14,999

_____ 15,000 to 24,999

_____ 25,000 and Over

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR

YOUR COOPERATION.

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY EAST LANSING · MICHIGAN · 48824

SURVEY

RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY PROJECT

Michigan State University

Dear Head of Household:

The Department of Geography of Michigan State University is conducting a study dealing with housing patterns in the Lansing Metropolitan Area. An objective of the project is to obtain information about the Cuban families that live in the city.

The interview schedule that will be used to ask you some questions has been prepared to this end. By means of this letter we request your collaboration to help us fill this questionnaire.

The questions should be answered by the head of the household or the spouse present at the time of the interview. The information obtained will be used strictly for academic purposes, to establish housing conditions and characteristics of the Spanish-Speaking people of this community.

Many thanks for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Dr. Stanley Brunn
Mr. José L. Mesa

Project Coordinators

APPENDIX II

List of Variables Included in the Factor Analysis of Study Area Census Tracts.

	Variable	Label
1.	Median number of school years completed	SCHOOL
2.	Median household income	INCOME
3.	Median value of owner occupied housing	VALHOU
4.	Average number of persons per household	PEPHLD
5.	Percent of the housing units that are owner occupied	OWNER
6.	Percent single-family units	SNGFAM
7.	Percent unemployed	UNEMP
8.	Females 16 years and over in labor force as a percent of total tract labor force	WKWOMN
9.	Percent Black population	BLACKS
*10.	Percent persons of Spanish language	SPANSH
*11.	Percent persons in the same house five years or longer	SAMHOU
12.	Percent housing units built between 1960 and 1970	RECHOU
13.	Percent professional workers	PRFWKS
14.	Percent service workers	SVCWKS
15.	Percent population 65 years old and over	OLDPRS
16.	Percent families with children under 18 years of age	CHILDR
*17.	Percent population under 18 years in families with female head	FEMHED

*An asterisk denotes those variables specifically selected for this study as opposed to those included after reviewing previous works on social area analysis.

APPENDIX III

Variables Loading on the Four Principal Factors with Values Over ± .5

Factor	Variable Label*	Loading
I. "Economic Status"	INCOME	.92
	VALHOU	.85
	SCHOOL	.74
	RECHOU	.68
	PRFWKS	.68
	OWNER	.55
	PEPHLD	.52
	FEMHED	-.81
	SVCWKS	-.71
	UNEMP	-.70
	OLDPRS	-.54
	SPANSH	-.50
	(BLACKS)	(-.42)**
II. "Family Status-Working Women"	WKWOMN	.54
	PRFWKS	.54
	SCHOOL	.51
	SNGFAM	-.82
	OWNER	-.75
	PEPHLD	-.68
	SAMHOU	-.66
III. "Family Status-Older Persons"	OLDPRS	.68
	SAMHOU	.64
	CHILDR	-.64
	RECHOU	-.61
IV. "Ethnic Status"	BLACKS	.75
	(UNEMP)	(.46)**
	SPANSH	-.63

*For key to variable labels see Appendix II

**Pertinent variables not quite reaching a ± .5 value