

ETHNOGRAPHIC EXPLORATORY

RESEARCH REPORT #11

WHAT'S IN IT FOR ME? WHAT'S IN IT FOR YOU?

**ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH ON THE POSSIBLE UNDERCOUNT
OF HAITIANS IN MIAMI**

Final Report for Joint Statistical Agreement 88-26

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INTRODUCTION

The title of this Final Report, "What's in it for me? What's in it for you?" is a quote from one of our respondents. It reveals a fundamental skepticism and disinclination to cooperate with outsiders, especially those representing the government. As this report details below, Haitians in Miami have ample reason to resist cooperation and suspect the motives of strangers. Nevertheless, as the research also revealed, the resistance can be overcome with tact and persistence. This Final Report delineates: (1) factors that contribute to a census undercount of Haitians in the Little Haiti section of Miami, Florida and (2) methods to overcome these impediments.

We found, in short, that the Haitian population in south Florida is characterized by a profound mistrust of outsiders, especially those associated with the government, high numbers of undocumented aliens plus others who have only a very recent and highly tenuous legal status, high rates of poverty, extreme residential mobility, complicated household composition, widespread illiteracy, monolingualism in Haitian Creole or such poor English that it is non-functional, and finally significant underground economic activities. We believe all of these factors may contribute to an undercount of Haitians and make gathering other information (e.g. employment and income) extremely difficult.

We also established that these impediments can be surmounted through special, customized efforts at collecting data from this population. These techniques include establishing a reciprocal relationship and rapport with both individuals and community leaders, having amiable, flexible and persistent researchers, and understanding some of the distinctive cultural and social characteristics of the Haitian population. Although it is never

safe to generalize beyond the population of one's research, we expect that much of our findings are relevant to other populations of undocumented immigrants.

The Joint Statistical Agreement (JSA) authorizing the research became effective October 1, 1988 and the project began immediately. This Final Report is the last of four required by the JSA. The Initial Progress report was completed at the end of December 1988, an Interim Report was submitted in March 1989, and a Detailed Research Report was submitted in June 1989. The substantial findings of this detailed research report were presented orally at a conference at the U.S. Census Bureau in Suitland, Maryland on June 12, 1989. Presentations were also made to a group of Census Awareness and Products Program (CAPP) employees on June 13, 1989 and at a conference in New Orleans in December 1989 that included CAPP employees and ethnographers who will be conducting alternative enumerations for the 1990 census.

This Final Report discusses the literature on the undercount, provides a description of the Haitian population in Miami based upon previous research, and then presents the study's methodology, including the research team, sample, and fieldwork problems, after which it analyzes the data and finally draws conclusions and suggests possible solutions that would reduce the underenumeration of Haitians in Miami.

Hainer et. al.'s (1988) review of the literature on census underenumeration identified two primary factors of underenumeration: 1. mistrust and 2. household residence composition. Mistrust is rooted in the fear that enumeration places individuals at risk from welfare officials, law enforcement, or the immigration service (Valentine & Valentine 1971). Such fears lead to people deliberately evading being counted as individuals commonly do

not believe Census assurances of confidentiality. Mistrust characterizes all of the populations that have presented underenumeration problems to the Census Bureau, including both Blacks and undocumented aliens. A second cause of underenumeration is the lack of fit between peoples' actual household residence composition and the census definitions of household and residency. This problem is most common among Black households where the social organization in central cities frequently includes considerable transiency and mobility. Residence in these cases is not coterminous with "address," as large, loosely structured networks of kin and non-kin alike constitute exchange networks that share resources across numerous residences. A third problem is that of language, an issue that is most frequently encountered with Hispanics.

Brownrigg and Martin (1989) partition these general factors into five hypothesized causes of a Census undercount: 1. mobility 2. illiteracy and/or lack of fluency in English, 3. concealment to protect resources coupled with lack of trust in census confidentiality, 4. irregular housing or household composition, and 5. resistance, both active and passive, to non-community members, particularly the Government. While the thrust of this Report is ethnographic, these hypotheses direct our own analysis of the Haitian population in Miami.

THE CASE OF HAITIANS

This section reviews and summarizes knowledge of the Miami Haitian population that existed before the current research was undertaken. It discusses estimates of the number of Haitians in the Miami-Dade County area and characteristics of the two primary sub-populations: working class and middle class Haitians. Also discussed are prejudice and discrimination encountered by Haitians and concludes with a portrait of the Little Haiti neighborhood, including a brief description of the Haitian business community.

Based on self-identified ancestry from the Census long form administered to one-sixth of the population, the 1980 Census counted 92,395 Haitians in the U.S. Most who have worked in U.S. Haitian communities consider this to be an underestimate. Estimates for New York, the largest Haitian concentration in the U.S., commonly range between 200 and 450 thousand.¹ Significant Haitian migration to the U.S. began in the late 1950s as Francois, "Papa Doc," Duvalier consolidated his power through insufferable repression and violence. As Florida was just emerging from segregation, most exiles fled to the northern U.S., primarily New York, but also Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia, as well as Montreal, Canada. As with most refugee streams, the first to flee were politicians followed by other members of the elite. From the mid-1960s onward, the flow gradually broadened to include

¹See especially Buchanan 1979, 1980, 1983; Laguerre 1984; Fouron 1984; and Glick 1975. For concentrations of Haitians in other cities, see Dejean 1980; Souffrant 1974; Woldemikael 1985, 1989. For reviews of the literature on Haitians in the U.S., see Lawless 1986 and Mohl 1985. Also see, Anderson 1975; Elwell, et. al. 1977; Keeley et. al. 1978; Pie 1975, Laguerre 1979, 1980.

the educated and middle classes with those from more modest working class backgrounds coming in the late 1960s and later.

The first detected Haitian boat of refugees arrived in September 1963.² They requested political asylum. The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) rejected their claims and dispatched the boat-load back to Haiti. The second boat did not appear until 1973, and it was not until 1977 that Haitians began arriving regularly. The most dramatic immigrants were those who journeyed on overcrowded, barely seaworthy boats, some of which capsized before reaching shore. From 1977 to 1981, between 50,000 and 70,000 Haitians arrived by boat in Miami (see Table 1). Another estimated 5,000 to 10,000 came by airplane from Haiti, and a smaller number resettled in Miami after living in New York, Montreal, or some other Northern metropolitan area (Boswell 1983). Nevertheless, the 1980 Census found only 14,355 Haitians in Dade County. After the implementation in 1981 of a series of measures to repress the flow of Haitians by the Reagan Administration, the numbers of arriving Haitians declined. Frustrations with Haitian democracy in the late 1980s, however, somewhat increased the flow again.

²For a more detailed overall view on Haitian migration to Miami see Miller 1984 and Stepick 1982c and 1987.

TABLE 1
KNOWN HAITIAN MIGRATION

Year	Enter U.S.	Reside-Florida	Enter-Miami	Exclude/Deportation
71	7444			
72	5809			
73	4786			
74	3946			
75	5145			
76	6691			
77	5441			
78	6470		627	
79	6433	706	569	5912 (71-79)
80	6540	6664	NA	24,530
81	6683	2318	NA	9,505
82	8779	1198	998	134
83	8424	1293	NA	333
84	9839	NA	618	283
85	10,165	NA	NA	
86	12,666	2657	1983	
87	14,819	4960	1617	

Source: I.N.S. Statistical Office, Washington, D.C.

NA indicates data not available

Reside-Florida indicates the number of Haitian permanent immigrants into the U.S. who indicated they would be living in the state of Florida.

Enter-Miami indicates the number of Haitian permanent immigrants into the U.S. who entered through the port of Miami.

Exclude/Deportation indicates the number of Haitians whom the U.S. government was trying to return to Haiti through either exclusion or deportation legal proceedings

The figures in Table 1 include only those Haitians known to the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). Even of the Haitians known to INS, the figures do not include any who may have come on a temporary visa, such as a student or tourist, and subsequently decided to remain in the U.S. without attempting to adjust his or her visa status. Equally important, they ignore all of those who entered the U.S. undetected. Some now estimate 90,000 Haitians in Dade County alone (Dibble 1990). We estimate that there are between 90 and 100 thousand Haitians in Florida of whom between 50 and 60 percent live in the Greater Miami or Dade County area.³

RECENT HAITIAN IMMIGRANTS

The common public perception of Haitians in Miami is that they are boat people, illiterate, unskilled, rural peasants. This stereotype is wrong in almost all ways. First, not all recent Haitian immigrants who came directly to Miami from Haiti are boat people. A 1983-4 survey revealed that 20 percent arrived by airplane, reflecting a generally higher socio-economic background than the stereotype (see Stepick and Portes 1986; Stepick 1984a).⁴ This does not even include the earlier immigrants from the 1960s, who have subsequently resettled in Miami (see the Haitian middle class section below). Even the arriving Haitians who did come by boat were much like immigrants from other countries,

³*This estimate is based upon extrapolations from random sample surveys of Haitians (BSRI 1982; Stepick and Portes 1986) and estimates from the Dade County Planning Department and Espenshade (1987).*

⁴*methods for this research are described in Appendix Two. There are also numerous other short reports based on secondary data including Bogre 1979, Boswell 1982, Walsh 1979.*

slightly better off than their compatriots left behind. The refugees tend to be semi-skilled, to have some education, and to have lived in urban areas in Haiti. Yet, because Haiti is the least developed nation in the western hemisphere, to be semi-skilled and have some education and urban experience still leaves one at a disadvantage in the U.S. The refugees had completed only an average of 4-6 years of formal education prior to arrival and less than 5 percent had graduated from high school (see Table 2). Although extremely low by U.S. standards, these levels of education still are higher than those of the Haitian adult population, 80 percent of which is estimated to be illiterate.

While recent Haitian immigrants have better background characteristics than the common stereotypes, their economic conditions are still worse than other contemporary immigrants, both legal and undocumented, to the U.S. In 1983, the employment situation of Haitians in South Florida was most discouraging. Sixty-seven percent were jobless, almost all of them involuntarily. Practically no one had become self-employed (a common route for economic progress among immigrants) and only 2 percent held white-collar or professional jobs, although 21 percent had attained this occupational level in Haiti. Among those who had found some sort of employment, median earnings were \$520 per month or approximately \$3.09 per hour. Less than three percent owned their homes, while 30 percent lived in shared rented quarters.

Two years later in a follow-up survey of the same sample, the situation had improved considerably. Joblessness dropped by half to 33 percent and involuntary unemployment by almost two-thirds to 24 percent. Almost one-tenth (9.1 percent) had become self-employed during this period, most running small businesses from their homes. Median earnings

increased to \$680 per month and the proportion receiving food stamps or other welfare support dropped below 25 percent. The number of homeowners doubled and those living in shared rented rooms dropped by ten percent.

Despite these gains, the employment situation of Haitian refugees is still heavily disadvantaged in comparison with the rest of the South Florida labor force as well as the pre-1980 U.S. Haitian population. For example, 1985-86 unemployment in this sample is triple the figure among the Miami economically active population and double that reported by the Census for Haitians nationwide in 1980. Another indicator of this precarious economic situation is that the average hourly wage is only \$3.96 among Haitian refugees who found some form of paid employment and that 11 percent receive less than the legal minimum.

During the two year lapse between interviews, the number in white collar (sales and clerical) occupations increased rapidly to 13 percent of the gainfully employed. However, the most typical jobs in which Haitian refugees were found in 1985-86 were basically the same as two years earlier: kitchen helpers (8 percent), maids (12 percent), janitors (9 percent), gardeners (6 percent), and seamstresses (9 percent). Their places of employment were overwhelmingly apparel and furniture factories, restaurants, and hotels where they were hired to perform the most menial tasks.

In contrast with other recent groups and, in particular Cubans in Miami, Haitian refugees are seldom employed by their compatriots. Less than 1 percent of the Haitian respondents were employed by other Haitians in 1983; two years later, the figure remained unchanged.

TABLE 2
MIAMI'S RECENT HAITIAN IMMIGRANTS, BUSINESSMEN
AND U.S. HAITIANS

	Miami's Recent Haitian Immigrants ¹		Miami Haitian Businessmen ²	U.S. Haitians ³
	1983-84	'85-86		
Percent Who Arrived by Airplane	14.0			
Percent Jailed by INS at Arrival	34.6			
Average Years in the U.S.	4.5	6.5	12.5	17.9
Percent Completed High School	4.8		72.6	64.4
Percent Who Speak English	17.8	23.2	100.0	66.5
Percent Unemployed	67.0	33.0	0.0	13.3
Percent Self-Employed ⁴	.1	9.1	100.	
Mean Yearly Earnings ⁵	\$5,521	\$7,404	\$14,000	\$13,243
<u>Ethnicity of Neighbors:</u>				
Percent Haitian	64.8	66.5		
Percent American Black	20.6	17.5		
Percent Anglo/Latin Other	14.6	16.0		

1. Based upon survey data collected by methods described in Stepick and Dutton Stepick 1990. See Stepick and Portes 1986, Portes and Stepick 1985, and Portes, Stepick and Truelove 1986, for further discussion of the results.
2. Based upon survey data collected in a 1985 survey of Haitian businesses in Miami's Little Haiti area. See Stepick 1984b.
3. Foreign born, arrived between 1970 and 1980 as reported in U.S. Bureau of the Census, Detailed Population Characteristics, United States Summary, Series PC80-1-D1-A, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, March 1984. Table 255.
4. Employed respondents only.
5. Wage-earners only. Figure for Miami Haitian Businessmen is estimated upon the basis of the firm's reported sales and expenses.

THE HAITIAN MIDDLE CLASS

In spite of the image of Miami Haitians being "boat people," the Haitian community is quite diverse with a significant middle class. As the Haitian community grew in Miami, especially during the late 1970s and early 1980s, it attracted other Haitians who had settled earlier in cities, such as New York, Boston, Chicago, and Montreal. This group of Haitians was composed of virtually all legal immigrants from the 1960s. Those who were adults when they left Haiti in the 1960s generally state that they bypassed Miami then because of the legacy of southern segregation. Most Haitians who have moved to Miami from more northern cities claim that anti-Haitian prejudice is greater in Miami, although anti-black prejudice, i.e. racism, may be no different.

These Haitians are thoroughly familiar with American culture. While Haitian Creole is their native language and virtually all are also fluent in French, they know English well and many describe themselves as Haitian Americans, rather than simply Haitians. Those under forty received a significant portion of their education, frequently including college, in the U.S. or Canada. They are best described loosely as a middle class. Internally they are quite diverse including everything from secretaries to psychiatrists, reflecting that some are middle class by U.S. standards and others lie in between the U.S. middle class and the recently immigrated working class Haitians described in the previous section. Significant numbers of middle class Haitians work in the public sector where the public schools have made a concerted effort to recruit Haitian educators. Most social service agencies also have at least one Haitian who, among his/her regular duties, provides translation services. Most visible are Haitian businessmen concentrated in the Little Haiti neighborhood (discussed

in a separate section below). Haitian business owners are clearly middle class. In 1985, they had been in the U.S. an average of over 12 years and more than 70 percent had completed high school, compared to less than 5 percent for the more recent arrivals (see Table 2 and the section on Haitian Businesses).⁵

Residentially, the Haitian middle class is dispersed throughout the county and middle class families do not necessarily live in predominantly Black neighborhoods. It's impossible to know how many middle class Haitians Miami has, but a rough estimate would be 15-20,000.

Among this Haitian middle class in Miami are "invisible Haitians," those who do not proclaim a Haitian identity. They live outside Little Haiti, and usually outside of Black neighborhoods, speak good English, and may be light-skinned enough to pass for whites to North Americans. They submerge their Haitian identity because of the intense and widespread anti-Haitian prejudice in South Florida. If they do admit that they are Haitians, they carefully distinguish themselves from the "boat people," who are presumably lower class, less educated, and the basis for south Florida's anti-Haitian prejudice. They may, while admitting to be Haitian, deny speaking Creole, claiming to speak only French. In middle and upper class households in Haiti it is common for parents to speak to their children in French. But children still learn Creole from servants, on the playground, and even from

⁵*This survey of Haitian businesses is the only current data set of Haitian middle class members in Miami. Although it is not representative of the entire middle class (since it obviously excludes most professionals and anyone not operating a business in the Little Haiti area), it nevertheless provides some indication of the differences between Miami's middle and working class Haitians.*

their parents when they are more relaxed. French becomes the polite, formal, and prestigious language and Creole the intimate, informal one. Nevertheless, Haitians afraid of discrimination may claim to speak only French and not Creole.

In short, Miami has a group of Haitians which can loosely be described as middle class. Compared to the working class Haitians characterized in the previous section, these middle class Haitians migrated earlier to the U.S., have more education (much in the U.S.), have at least semi-skilled and frequently professional occupations and higher incomes, are literate and speak English well, are more likely to live in racially and ethnically integrated neighborhoods, and are generally familiar with American culture. Because of all these differences from the more recently arrived working class Haitians, they are less likely to be underenumerated. Nevertheless, because of anti-Haitian prejudice and discrimination (delineated in the next section), they still may not identify their Haitian background. Thus, there is a likelihood that they will be enumerated, but mis-identified.

PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION

During the period of greatest influx at the end of the 1970s, a hysterical scare swept through south Florida that tuberculosis was endemic among Haitians and was likely to spread through the general population. Those businesses most likely to employ low skilled Haitians, hotels and restaurants, were the most concerned that their employees might harbor a communicable disease. The fear proved unfounded and the hysteria gradually subsided. But the damage had been done. Many Haitians lost their jobs and negative stereotypes and fears of Haitians became firmly embedded in the general south Florida population. A few

years later the scenario repeated itself. The Centers for Disease Control (CDC) marked Haitians as one of the at-risk groups for AIDS. The general populace, and especially employers of Haitians again, reacted with fear. The CDC subsequently removed Haitians from the list of at-risk groups and research indicated that AIDS was probably first introduced to Haiti from the U.S., rather than the reverse. Yet, again in 1990 the Food and Drug Administration (FDA), citing the possibility of AIDS, decided not to accept blood donated by Haitians.

Recent Haitian immigrants have translated their negative experiences into perceptions of discrimination. Haitians believe all major ethnic groups in South Florida discriminate against them. Moreover, these perceptions seem to be on the rise. In the 1983-4 survey, 62 percent of recent immigrants believed that Anglo-Americans discriminate against Haitians and 67 percent reported that Anglos regard themselves as superior (N=499) (see Stepick and Portes 1986); two years later, the figures had increased to 67 and 94 percent, respectively (N=211).⁶ Hence, by the 1985-6 survey, almost all recent Haitian immigrants perceived at least some form of Anglo discrimination, despite the much lower number who admitted to having suffered directly one or more such experiences (18 percent) (see Portes and Stepick 1987). Things are not much better with respect to other groups. American blacks were reported to discriminate against Haitians by 53 percent in 1985, the

⁶As described in Appendix Two, this was a longitudinal study, so that the 211 of the second survey were also part of the first survey. Statistical analysis (including difference of means, crosstabs, and logistic regression) revealed that the two samples differed significantly only in age with the second sample being slightly older than the first.

number increasing by almost twenty points (to 72 percent) in 1986. In the later year, a still higher proportion (77 percent) indicated that Cubans also discriminate against Haitians. In short, contrary to the predictions of assimilation theory (e.g. Gordon 1964), the longer Haitians are in the U.S. (at least over this short time frame of less than a decade), the more socially distant they feel from other residents and thus the less likely they are to cooperate with the U.S. Census.

Negative stereotypes have affected everyone, including middle class Haitians who cover up their Haitian heritage. Nevertheless, the anti-Haitian prejudice has the greatest effect on the more recently arrived, working classes concentrated in the Little Haiti area of Miami who are also most likely to have or have had an undocumented immigration status and consequent difficulty with government authorities.

The U.S. government has helped produce these conditions by subjecting Haitians in Florida to a relentless policy designed to discourage Haitians' coming to the U.S. and to encourage the return to Haiti of those who do make it to the U.S.⁷ On numerous occasions the U.S. federal courts have impeded this policy as implemented by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and the Department of Justice by finding the policy illegal and discriminatory, and demanding the suspension of exclusion proceedings against Haitians.

The Haitians' efforts to remain in the U.S. were also assisted by the coincidental arrival of the 1980 Mariel Cuban refugees. In the first days of the Mariel Cuban boatlift

⁷See Miller 1984, Zucker 1983, Loescher and Scanlan 1984, and Stepick 1982a and 1982b for discussions of the U.S. government's actions towards Haitian boat people. Also see, Colbert 1980, Gollobin 1979, Jean-Bart 1983, Kurzban 1980, 1983, Powers 1976, Ryan 1982, Schey 1981, Walsh 1980, and Wortham 1980.

the U.S. government attempted to admit the Mariel Cubans as political refugees, in spite of many Mariel Cubans' statements that they were coming to the U.S. for economic reasons. The transparent and politically insupportable inconsistencies between the early policy towards Mariel Cubans and the efforts to repatriate Haitians because they were allegedly economic refugees produced a temporary status for approximately 25,000 Haitians: Cuban-Haitian Entrant. Haitians throughout the 1980s have consistently had the lowest asylum approval rate of any national group (See Haiti Insight, vol. 1, nos. 1-4). In 1981, the Reagan administration started incarcerating newly arrived Haitians, who entered the U.S. Of the recently arrived Haitians surveyed in 1983, more than 1/3 had been imprisoned upon arrival for an average of 33 weeks each (See Stepick and Portes 1986, Table 3: 335). The public outcry against what some referred to as concentration camps was tremendous and the federal courts ordered the release of about 2,000 Haitians pending adjudication of their claims for political asylum.⁸

Many in the U.S., including government officials, simply treated all Haitians as if they were illegals, even though the majority had a claim to remain legally within the U.S.

⁸*Many of those detained became profoundly depressed and a few attempted suicide. The numbers detained soon more than doubled the capacity of Krome, a detention center outside Miami, and the refugees were sent to various detention centers throughout the U.S. and in Puerto Rico. Detainees filed a class action suit in federal court claiming discriminatory treatment. The court eventually found for the Haitians, although on narrow procedural grounds. See Jean v. Nelson. 711 F. 2d 1455, 1983, p. 1489 and Jean v. Nelson 727 F. 2d. 957, 1984. Incidentally, virtually all were denied asylum status, but were subsequently included in the legalization provisions of the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA). See PL 99-603 or 5 U.S.C. §553 (1986). Haitians are still detained at the Krome Center, which has become a political rallying point for the Haitian community.*

The INS frequently attempted to deport those who still qualified for rights to hearings; and, state agencies often denied benefits to those who qualified for them (see *Jean v. Nelson* 1984). In the late 1980s, when the Immigration and Reform Control Act of 1986 was being implemented, Haitians also had the highest rejection rate of applications for amnesty under provisions for farmworkers.⁹

LITTLE HAITI, THE NEIGHBORHOOD

The vast majority of Haitians in Miami, and especially the recent immigrants, live in Little Haiti, which lies about 3 miles north of Miami's downtown and encompasses a rectangular area approximately 50 by 10 city blocks. This is an area which for three decades has been experiencing demographic changes. During the decade of the 1980's the rate of transition accelerated as this large "neighborhood" became the focus of Haitian settlement in Miami.

⁹Haitians may qualify for legalization of their immigration status under the IRCA (PL 99-603) in any of three ways: 1. Section 202: a special provision for those designated as Cuban and Haitian Entrants. 2. Section 201: the general provisions of amnesty applying to any alien who was illegal as of January 1, 1982 and has resided continuously in the U.S. since then. 3. Section 210: a special provision for those who have recently engaged in farm work in the U.S. "Cuban-Haitian Entrant," (provision 2 above, Section 202) was created by President Carter in 1980 and applied to any Cuban or Haitian in the U.S. who did not otherwise have a legal immigration status and was known to the INS. President Carter promised that the Congress would subsequently adjust the Entrants' status to a permanent immigration status. Cubans subsequently could adjust after one year under the 1966 Cuban Adjustment Act. Haitians had to wait until the 1986 IRCA law where the status applies to any Haitian known to INS before January 1, 1982.

To the east, towards Biscayne Bay is a narrow residential strip that remains primarily Anglo, some of it gentrified and one part a walled enclave containing the residences of some of Miami's most economically and politically powerful individuals. The border between this residential area and Little Haiti is a wide commercial lined boulevard and parallel railroad tracks. To the west lies Liberty City, Miami's largest Black community. In between, in what is now Little Haiti, is one of Miami's oldest neighborhoods, the northern part having emerged before the turn of the century and the southern section comprising Miami's first affluent suburb in the early 1920s.

Until the 1960s, the area was primarily Anglo and blue collar with accompanying business and commercial development. In the 1960s, Cubans began to settle there at the same time that Black Americans moved east from Liberty City. In 1970, 38.2 percent of the area's population was non-Hispanic white, 29.8 percent black and 31.1 percent Hispanic. According to the 1980 census, 14.7 percent was non-Hispanic white, 68.1 percent black, and 10 percent Hispanic. The City of Miami estimated that approximately 11,500 Haitian refugees settled in the area after the 1980 enumeration.¹⁰ The racial and ethnic changes lowered relative real estate values¹¹, and made the area affordable to the Haitian refugees. In 1982 a city and county financed study revealed that Haitians constituted about 40 percent of the neighborhood's population (BSRI 1982).

¹⁰*Most of the data in this section on the neighborhood come from City of Miami (1985). What is commonly referred to as Little Haiti is defined by the City of Miami as Edison/Little River.*

¹¹*Nominal real estate prices rose throughout the 1970s in Miami, but the rate of increase was lower in Little Haiti than for other areas of the city.*

In 1970, the mean family income in the area was \$7,411. In 1980, it had risen to \$12,599, an increase of 70 percent. Nevertheless, the 1980 mean was 28.5 percent, or \$5,020, below the citywide mean. In 1980, 31.2 percent of the area's population and 32.3 percent of its families were below the poverty level, an increase in both cases over 1970. The number of female-headed households also increased between 1970 and 1980, from 5.3 percent to 13.5 percent of the households in the area.¹²

The number of owner-occupied housing units decreased in the area by 11.4 percent between 1970 and 1980. While the vacancy rate decreased from 4.1 percent to 3.1 percent during the decade, the number of overcrowded housing units rose 102.3 percent. In one area, once grand houses constructed in the 1920s and 1930s have been subdivided into multi-family units. The percentage of renter-occupied housing units lacking complete plumbing facilities also rose by 16.4 percent.

Between 1970 and 1980 business activity in the area declined. Because of the evolution of the suburban shopping mall many once thriving small retail establishments in the area simply closed or relocated. The changing ethnic and racial composition of the neighborhood and the disinvestment associated with "white flight" also contributed to producing vacant storefronts and warehouses.

However, in the mid-1980s the Immigration and Naturalization Service moved its offices from downtown Miami to the northeastern edge of the neighborhood. The City of

¹²*This may appear to contradict the figure in Table 2 of less than 10 percent of recent immigrants being self-employed. The contradiction is resolved, however, when one realizes most of these businesses are run not by recent immigrants, but instead by the earlier-arriving middle class migrants.*

Miami also attempted to reinvigorate the area by investing in the "Design Plaza" at the southern edge of the neighborhood. The Design Plaza is an area approximately 4 blocks by 3 blocks that contains primarily wholesale outlets for interior designers. The City of Miami extensively invested in the Design Plaza's infrastructure, including street resurfacing, curb and gutter installation, and street lighting. The general area's image suffered tremendously from the nearby four major riots during the decade in Liberty City and Overtown. In the late 1980s, to protect the investment, the businesses, and their well-to-do customers, the city increased police patrols in the Design Plaza. Nevertheless, because of the general area's negative image, many businesses migrated out of the Design Plaza to Broward and Palm Beach counties, just north of Miami and Dade County.

HAITIAN BUSINESSES

The Haitian business community has made the most significant contributions to the neighborhood's revitalization. The first Haitian businesses in Miami opened in downtown Miami in 1974 before there was a focused Haitian neighborhood.¹³ The business community grew slowly at first with only one or two new businesses opening up each year. First, there was a record shop, then a beauty salon, dry cleaners, automobile repair, a restaurant, and a grocery store. In 1976 there were probably less than 10 Haitian businesses in Miami.

¹³*Stepick 1984b provides a description of the Miami Haitian business community.*

In the late 1970s, Haitian businesses followed the newly arrived Haitian immigrants who were residentially concentrating in the Edison-Little River area. By the early 1980s, the Haitian market had increased sufficiently for many small entrepreneurs to serve its needs. New Haitian businesses opened up in the area and Haitian businesses that were outside this area relocated to it. By the mid 1980s, on some blocks in the area it appeared as if virtually every business was Haitian, sporting brightly painted walls and murals. The Haitian business community also developed a public presence organizing both the Haitian Task Force and the Haitian American Chamber of Commerce. The Chamber of Commerce organized seminars in managing small businesses. The City of Miami Commission funded the Haitian Task Force to establish an economic development office. The Haitian Task Force used this seed money to obtain funding from the Ford Foundation for a revolving loan fund for businesses in the area.

While Haitian businesses are constantly increasing and add distinctive character to the neighborhood, they still remain the minority even in Little Haiti. Over 60 percent of the businesses surveyed in 1985 were owned and operated by non-Haitians. Neither did many Haitians (2 percent) manage stores in the neighborhood not owned by Haitians. Moreover, there are still storefronts with old and peeling exteriors, vacant lots with trash and weeds, and streets without sidewalks which force strollers onto the roadway.

In short, the neighborhood is relatively black and poor. This description of the Little Haiti neighborhood confirms the individual level data in the previous section that indicated Haitians are poor. These data further indicates that the neighborhood is declining, the housing stock deteriorating, and living conditions are overcrowded. According to the City

of Miami, the neighborhood "needs include rigorous code enforcement, including zoning, building/housing and environmental codes; vocational and other jobs programs; and child day care and nutrition programs." (City of Miami 1985:7).

In summary, the above review of knowledge of Haitians in Miami before this research reveals two significantly different sub-populations: 1. a middle class of primarily long term immigrants who are literate, know English well and are dispersed throughout the county; and, 2. more recent immigrants who are primarily working class, severely stigmatized, and persecuted by the INS. This second group has a high unemployment rates and low average income, is relatively lowly educated and illiterate, and has experienced notable prejudice and discrimination. They are also socially highly isolated and extraordinarily distrustful of any outsiders, especially government representatives.

METHODOLOGY

THE RESEARCH TEAM

This research was conducted in the Little Haiti neighborhood of Miami with a sample of recent, primarily working class immigrants. The research team consisted of Dr. Alex Stepick and Carol Dutton Stepick as co-investigators and four Haitian research assistants: Flaure Copee, Laura Copee, Jocelyn David, and Guylene Michel.

Critical to the success of our research has been the support of Haitian community organizations. Since we would be visibly tramping the streets and the Haitian gossip network is ubiquitous, we needed to dispel any images of working either for the Haitian government or the U.S. INS. For each project, including the ethnographic research for the

Census Bureau, we had meetings with the leaders of each Haitian organization, explained the purposes of the research, emphasizing how it would help the Haitian community, and asked for their support. We received it from everyone. For earlier survey work, some of the Haitian radio programs also offered to announce the survey and request everyone's cooperation. We felt this unnecessary for this work since we would be working with much smaller samples. Also, whenever research results were released to the media, we were careful to warn community leaders of the upcoming release and brief them as to the contents of the press release.¹⁴

¹⁴Our ethnographic research for this project was preceded by nearly a decade of research and Haitian community involvement by Dr. Alex Stepick and Carol Dutton Stepick. Dr. Stepick began working with Haitians when he was a Congressional Fellow from 1979-80 where he worked on Haitian issues for a member of the Congressional Black Caucus. In the process, he personally met and worked with many of the U.S. Haitian community's political leaders and became identified as someone "on their side." In 1981, he moved to Florida International University in Miami to continue research on Haitian immigrants and refugees. Stepick became recognized by the media and the larger community as an "expert" on Haitian refugees. He also became involved in one way or another with every Haitian organization in Miami, serving as an expert witness for Haitians applying for asylum, helping a Haitian organization concerned with community development conduct a survey of neighborhood businesses, and serving on the Board of Directors of the primary Haitian social service agency. When he commenced in-depth study of the adaptation of Haitian immigrants, community leaders were unfailingly helpful. Carol Dutton Stepick has worked for community development agencies both in Haiti and among Haitians in south Florida. Both have lived in Little Haiti and conducted three random sample household surveys sponsored by NSF and NIMH (briefly described in Appendix 2). Our ethnographic research for this project was preceded by nearly a decade of research and Haitian community involvement by Dr. Alex Stepick and Carol Dutton Stepick. Dr. Stepick began working with Haitians when he was a Congressional Fellow from 1979-80 where he worked on Haitian issues for a member of the Congressional Black Caucus. In the process, he personally met and worked with many of the U.S. Haitian community's political leaders and became identified as someone "on their side." In

The previous surveys conducted by Stepick and Dutton Stepick established a core of trained tri-lingual, Haitian interviewers.¹⁵ Drawing upon this pool, we hired four Haitian assistants. Our previous experiences in hiring survey interviewers are relevant to the Census Bureau's efforts to enumerate Haitians and we discuss them in Appendix 3. The researchers used for this ethnographic fieldwork were the best of those who previously had been interviewers. They were three women in their mid-twenties who had come to the U.S. in 1980 and one man in his early thirties who had settled in Miami in 1984 after commuting back and forth for several years. One has a master's degree, one a professional degree and two have associate of arts degrees.

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¹⁵Most Haitians who have been educated both in Haiti and in the U.S. speak English, French, and Haitian Creole. A significant number also speak Spanish.

Two training sessions were conducted in which the goals and methods of the project were outlined. The assistants pretested the protocol and subsequent minor modifications were introduced. Discussion guidelines were developed to help the assistants to probe for household composition, migrant history and economic activities.

THE SAMPLE

Previous research had revealed much about the Haitian community's socioeconomic background and adaptation experiences, but little was known about household and residence structure, one of the hypothesized factors in underenumeration. Therefore, the design called for selecting a sample of residential blocks in the Little Haiti section of Miami, Florida that would assure representativeness of a broad range of residential styles: single family dwellings, apartment complexes, boarding houses, and group living arrangements. Using Census maps, experience from previous field work, and discussions with community members, four blocks were selected from which the sample was drawn.

The assistants then began canvassing the houses on the selected blocks. Two blocks had an apparent majority of Haitians, another had Haitians concentrated in one apartment complex, and the fourth was a partial block containing public housing. We conducted an independent count that focused on two of the complete blocks we did, both with a majority of Haitians, although one is a relatively small but still representative block.

On three blocks, assistants made contact with every household. On the fourth and partially sampled block they worked in a multi-building public housing complex and systematically made contact with every household of each building they visited. If any

Haitians resided in a household, a preliminary count of the household was solicited and received. The respondent's willingness and suitability for follow-up intensive ethnographic research was assessed with the supervisors. Initial discussions lasted between 20 and 45 minutes.

In total, 114 Haitian households were discovered out of 162 occupied households contacted on four different blocks. Of those 114 households, 43 were selected and agreed to participate in in-depth follow-up discussions in their homes.¹⁶ First contact was made in October of 1988, while final visits were conducted in May and June of 1989.

As the first round of discussion was being completed, we began selecting the sample for intensive ethnographic research. The two most important criteria were representativeness of household composition and the respondents' willingness to cooperate with the research. A series of two or three (sometimes four) intensive discussions were then conducted with a smaller sample of 43 households to solicit information on the issues of household composition, migration history and plans, employment patterns (including non-wage and informal sector employment), and income and resource distribution within the household.

Each discussion was taped and lasted between one and three hours. Following the discussion, the assistant listened to the tape and completed the discussion protocol form adding comments and notes concerning contextual information such as the conditions of the

¹⁶We were careful to assure that among the 43, as many differing household compositions as found would be represented (See Table 3 in the section Household Structure). During the nine months of fieldwork for this research, four households moved out of the 43 with whom we had intensive discussions.

house, other individuals present during the discussion and the reliability of the information provided. Subsequently, the supervisors reviewed the discussion with the assistant, asked for clarification, and defined issues for more questions and probing for the next visit to the respondent.

A final visit was made to all the Haitian households originally contacted. During these visits a final count of the household was made, along with a few last clarifications, and participants were reassured about the confidentiality of all that they had revealed.

The in-depth sessions with the 43 households selected from the 114 initial discussions, yielded such rich data on income and expenses that we decided to pursue these discussions rather than obtain a sub-sample of discussions from English classes (as was originally envisioned in the proposal). In addition to economic information, we gathered extensive data on residence histories and family profiles (both in the U.S. and Haiti). We found it useful, in spite of the significant time investment, to have one of our Haitian research assistants transcribe and translate the tapes of the intensive discussions into English. These transcriptions facilitate analysis of the complicated coping strategies utilized by these Haitian immigrants.

DATA RESULTS AND INTERPRETATION

This section presents and interprets the results of this research project in terms of the hypotheses delineated by Brownrigg and Martin (1989) and described in the Introduction to this Report. We have also added a short discussion on residential concentration. The material is organized in the sequence in which we encountered particular problems and the associated hypotheses: 1. geographical concentration; 2. resistance; 3. literacy and the appropriate language; 4. irregular housing and residential styles; 5. mobility; and 6. concealment.

GEOGRAPHICAL CONCENTRATION

Within the Little Haiti area of Miami, the concentration of Haitians varies dramatically at the block level. Some blocks may have only one or two Haitian households, while others may have as high as 80 percent Haitian households. We suspect that no block is 100 percent Haitian nor any 100 percent non-Haitian. A 1982 survey estimated that 40 percent of the neighborhood was Haitian (BSRI 1982). The overall percentage was probably higher by the late 1980s, but it clearly varies considerably by block.

The primary implication for underenumeration of relatively sparse concentration is that any special methods or techniques for the Haitian population cannot be perfectly directed geographically. They will most likely touch non-Haitians also in the neighborhood. Given the anti-Haitian prejudice and discrimination in Miami, specifically targeting Haitians may have a backlash among their non-Haitian neighbors.

RESISTANCE

The most significant problem in attempting to enumerate Haitians, and for any distrusting group -- especially undocumented persons-- is gaining access. The first obstacle in gaining access and overcoming resistance was the Haitian cultural conception of knocking on someone's door. In Haiti, knocking on doors is not typically done, except perhaps by those who come to take one away to prison. In rural areas, one traditionally stands at the edge of the house lot and politely shouts a standard greeting such as, "Honor and respect." In urban areas, if one has a car, he or she stays in it and honks the horn. If on foot, the person rattles the fence or gate or throws pebbles at the window. Thus, simply getting people to answer a knock on the door could require special patience. All of our assistants are Haitians themselves and thus were familiar with the culturally appropriate ways of approaching households.

Neighborhood residents sometimes warned a researcher that a particular neighbor was considered crazy or might act violently. Researchers always went ahead, made contact, and completed the preliminary discussion. We discovered many people clearly experiencing extreme stress, but no one was violent or abusive. Drug and alcohol abuse were, fortunately, not typical.

Once the door was answered, the greatest difficulty remained. We had to again overcome Haitians' mistrust of strangers. Not only the potential respondent, but also neighbors, friends, and relatives distrusted the researchers. How did they know we were not from INS or some other government agency? How could we convince them that we were trustworthy? In many cases respondents "played around" with researchers trying to

determine if the researcher could be trusted not to expose to authorities when the respondent had arrived in the U.S. and thus the respondent's most likely illegal status.

In previous survey research, protocol for the protection of human subjects, required by the sponsoring institution, called for an introductory paragraph that explained the purposes of the research, promised confidentiality, and expressly disavowed any relationship to the INS. While we were proud of our paragraph's pithy phrasing, none of the research assistants used it. They found their own spontaneous natural explanation worked far better. On a few occasions the researcher had to work for 15 to 20 minutes to obtain the respondent's cooperation. In one particularly difficult case, after the researcher had unsuccessfully tried all the standard approved explanations, she finally proclaimed in exasperation, "Look, I am doing this work to make money to pay my way through school. If you don't cooperate, I won't get paid and if I don't get paid I will have to drop out of school. So, please answer the questions for my sake." The respondent then gladly agreed to cooperate.

Also in previous survey research, on some occasions potential respondents expressed an apparent face to face congeniality that was a de facto refusal. Sometimes a woman would say to a male interviewer that she would have to get her husband's permission and would the interviewer please come back. Or, the respondent was just on his or her way to work. About half the time when the interviewer did go back, the person would be there. Sometimes after three or four return visits the potential respondent still was not available.

Establishing a base of reciprocity and consequent trust with the individual respondents was essential. For our previous survey work, we had prepared a hand-out for respondents that listed all the major organizations providing services specifically for Haitians. This handout was updated for this research and included information on occupational training, English instruction, emergency food and housing assistance, legal aid, assistance for entrepreneurs, and health services. On numerous occasions we found respondents in dire need of assistance. The information sheet was greatly appreciated and a few times we actively intervened to obtain assistance. Three separate cases involved people who were being evicted at the time the assistants knocked on the door. One assistant found three young children in the care of their eight year old sister. The mother was in the hospital and there had been no adult in the house for at least four days. There were many cases of assistants explaining how to enroll children in elementary school and where to go for job counselling or legal assistance.

Because having an undocumented status has been hypothesized as a cause of resistance, in this research we sought to estimate the proportion of residents who are undocumented immigrants. We did not, however, ask directly for an individual's immigration status. A few people volunteered that they were undocumented, but our estimate is based primarily on indirect evidence: if individuals pointedly avoided any reference to immigration status, did mention coming by boat or having been detained by INS, or complained about how difficult life is without "papers." Based upon this indirect approach, we estimate that at least 10 percent of the population is presently totally undocumented and thus actively avoids any interaction with any unknown outsider. About

20,000 Haitians in Florida have applied for legalization under provisions of IRCA. In our ethnographic sample about 50 percent are awaiting regularization of their legal status under IRCA. Many of these still have only a tenuous claim, especially farmworkers, and thus remain reluctant to interact with outsiders. Another 40 percent already have a legal immigration status, but they, too, are distrustful often because a member of their household has no legal status or they anticipate bringing a relative in who will be illegal.¹⁷

In short, resistance among Haitians is severe. It can be active in terms of directly refusing to cooperate, but it is more likely to be indirect, to appear as passive resistance, such as not answering the door or providing excuses for putting off cooperation. Having native Haitian assistants and using flexible ethnographic techniques, we think, helps overcome this resistance.

Because of previous research in the area and some residents' familiarity with the researchers, word went out in these blocks that it was safe to cooperate. We thus succeeded in contacting every household in our sample blocks. In other words, we had a 0 percent no contact rate.¹⁸ Nevertheless, we still had about 9.8 percent refusals and another 11.6 percent *de facto* or indirect refusals through lack of cooperation or bald lying, such as giving completely wrong names, ages, and other background data. In the later in-depth interviews those few who had lied admitted their previous lies and, we think, told the truth.

¹⁷*Fjellman and Gladwin (1984) discuss Haitian strategies for other family members immigrating to the U.S.*

¹⁸*In comparison, in one of our earlier random sample surveys, we were less successful in gaining access: in slightly over 10 percent of the cases, we made no contact, i.e. households where interviewers believed a Haitian lived, but they never succeeded in contacting anyone in the house.*

Once the respondent agreed to talk with the researcher, things flowed well. Indeed, responses were usually given emphatically and sometimes almost cathartically, as if at last here was someone from outside the family, speaking Creole, to whom strongly felt opinions and feelings could be imparted, and that person cared enough to even record the answers.

LITERACY AND APPROPRIATE LANGUAGE

All of our research has been conducted in Haitian Creole. We found no one who preferred to speak in English and only one of our respondents used any English phrases at all during our intensive discussions. Our previous research indicated that over 50 percent of recent Haitian immigrants are illiterate and less than 20 percent speak, let alone read, English competently (Stepick and Portes 1986; Portes and Stepick 1987).

Because of this lack of English literacy combined with the Haitians' fear of the government, we believe that Haitians are unlikely to respond to the mailed forms for the 1990 Census. Numerous respondents indicated that any mail that looks official, they discard immediately. Any mail that is not addressed to them individually is also jettisoned promptly. If an approach is made directly, person-to-person at the house, they are likely to respond only if the person speaks Haitian Creole and has sufficient training and skills to overcome Haitians' mistrust and suspicion of strangers.

HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION

After gaining access and overcoming resistance, the primary problem in obtaining an accurate enumeration of Haitians is complex household composition. In the independent count of one block, five Haitian households were nuclear families. Virtually every other household was a distinct type. In this research, we identified at least 13 types among the 114 households with whom we held preliminary discussions:

TABLE 3
HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION

adult couple without children	13.0%
nuclear family with children	15.9%
nuclear family plus extended family	10.1%
nuclear family plus renters	1.4%
single male or female	8.7%
unrelated adults	5.8%
single mother with children	14.4%
single mother with children and extended family	7.2%
single mother with children, extended family, and renters	8.7%
single mother with children and adult friends or renters	5.8%
single mother with children and boyfriend	10.1%
single mother with children, boyfriend, and extended family, friends, or renters	1.4%
single male with extended family and renters	2.8%

This diversity created tremendous problems in trying to code relationships for the independent count. The coding scheme, in attempting to reduce the complexity to a manageable list of categories, eliminates much of the relevant and valuable information for Haitian households. The person who pays the rent may not be related by real or fictive kin

ties to any members of the house, but the other household members may be related to each other. For example, the other household members may be brothers or a married couple with children, but only friends to the titular household head, i.e. the person who originally occupied the house and who pays the rent.

Moreover, hidden among these various types are polygamous relationships in which someone, usually a man, will have a consensual union with more than one person, i.e. a man would be polygynous. The Census may unknowingly count him more than once, i.e. in each household, once, or not at all. Many times in interviewing a woman, a man would be about the house, sleeping or eating, while the woman would claim that no man lived there asserting, "Oh, he's just visiting." Only directed probing on repeated visits revealed whatever liaison apparently single women respondents might have.

Monique,¹⁹ a 29 year old woman with two children (an 8 year old boy and a 2 year old girl), provides an example. The research assistant first spoke with Monique outside her apartment as she returned from the grocery store about 5 p.m. Monique agreed to cooperate and said that the assistant could have a seat while Monique began cooking because she was in a hurry to cook something for "the man" who would be home around 5:30. In listing who lived in the house, Monique mentioned only herself and her two children and stated that the man did not live there. When the assistant returned a second time, Monique claimed that the children's father does not provide her with any help and that she had not seen him for a year. When the assistant returned a third time, Monique admitted that the children's father was the one she was cooking for the first time, gives her

¹⁹All proper names used in the text are pseudonyms.

\$100 a month to contribute to the rent, and that he comes by every day, but he does not sleep overnight.

Huguette provides another example. She is a 30 year old woman from northwestern Haiti who arrived in Miami in July of 1981. She has a brother in Miami, but claims that when she arrived a man she met, Jean Robert, was the only one who "helped" her. Jean Robert is also from northwestern Haiti, although not the same village as Huguette and they did not know each other before meeting in Miami. Jean Robert lived with Huguette until September 1987 and fathered two sons, one in 1982 and another in 1984, by Huguette. He is now married to another Haitian woman in Miami. He still sporadically provides support for his sons, works in the same factory as Huguette and sometimes visits Huguette. Huguette's brother and his wife have also come from Haiti on numerous occasions to visit her. In the original discussion, Huguette claimed that Jean Robert was a household member, but in the subsequent more in-depth discussions she revealed that he had not "really" lived there in the preceding two years.

Somewhat similarly, sometimes a male respondent would indicate that his spouse was living in Haiti or that they were separated from each other. A few moments later, he would say he was living with his spouse. The apparent contradiction usually meant that the respondent had two spouses, usually one in Haiti and the other in south Florida, but sometimes both would be in south Florida.

Such ambiguities were not limited to sexual liaisons. Relatives and friends who live elsewhere in Florida, usually in Broward or Palm Beach counties, frequently visit on weekends or for longer periods of time when out of work. On numerous occasions, extra

people would be present during an interview and acting as if they lived in the house -- sleeping, taking and eating things out of the refrigerator, washing dishes. The respondent would usually claim that the person was just visiting and it would take considerable discussion to reveal how long this "visiting" lasted.

What Haitians label as "temporary" living arrangements may indeed be quite lasting, frequently as long as 3 months and perhaps longer than 6 months. These household members may be extended family members, but they can also be fictive kin (e.g. godchild) or friends from the same village back in Haiti. For example, one household had their eight year old nephew living with them. The child had been living with his mother in the Bahamas, but the Bahamian government deported the mother to Haiti, leaving the child stranded in the Bahamas. Friends arranged for the child to come and stay with his aunt and uncle in Miami. Even more commonly, children of Haitian households are often divided between Miami and Haiti. They typically visit during the summer: those in the U.S. may go back to Haiti or those in Haiti may come to the U.S. When they make these visits, no one is certain what will happen at the end of the summer. Adult relatives also frequently visit from Haiti and defer their departure for years.

70.5 percent of the respondents had been helped by earlier arrivals and another 14.7 percent had helped later arrivals by giving them a place to stay for an indefinite time. Such residence relationships are most often thought of as visitors, who will be on their way when they get on their feet financially, unless the interviewer specifically probes for them.

Claire, a 43 year old female, and Claudel, a 34 year old male, provide a particularly interesting example. Claire and Claudel have been living together since early 1983, having

lived during this time in four different locations in the Little Haiti area. They have had no children together, but each has children living in Haiti and each sends money to support them. Claire has completed immigration application forms to bring her three children and Claudel wants to wait until his 9 year old son finishes elementary school before bringing him to the U.S. The father of Claire's children recently came from Haiti to Miami and stayed with Claire and Claudel for the few weeks that he was in town. There are also seven other people who regularly visit from Haiti and stay for indeterminate periods. Three are distant cousins and the others appear to be simply friends or friends of the cousins.

Single men may band together to rent a room within a boarding house while only one of them claims to actually live there. For those who have a legal immigration status in the U.S., there is also considerable movement back and forth between Miami and Haiti. People may in fact be best defined as residents of both locations, but it is impossible to predict how they will define their residency. Some will say Miami; some Haiti.

For example, one household we examined had three adult males, all with different last names. Two of them, however, claimed to be brothers, while the third was a friend. Pierre and Rene were friends back in their home village of St. Louis du Nord in Haiti. Pierre, one of the brothers, came to Miami first, living in the beginning with a cousin who fed him. After he obtained a job, he rented a room in a house where he stayed from 1980 to 1984. Rene came to the U.S. in 1987 and lived for three months in a rented room, after which he and Pierre lived together for three years. Then, Rene's brother came to the U.S. and moved in with the two of them. The three were too much for the space and moved to a larger apartment where they lived for about a year. A few months after Rene lost his job,

he and his brother moved out. Pierre then found a new roommate. During the period that all three lived together, Rene's brother often traveled between Miami and the Haitian port of Port-de-Paix, trading goods between the two places and usually staying away about two to three weeks. Rene's wife still lives in Haiti and Rene returns home about once a year for a longer visit with her. His mother-in-law sometimes comes from Haiti to visit Miami and stops over briefly in his Miami home.

The apparent complexity of this household is increased by Haitians' mistrust of outsiders. A cousin of Rene and his brother live in an apartment at the rear of this same building. On the first visit, Rene's brother was visiting with his cousin in the cousin's apartment. Rene's brother lied to the research assistant on her first visit, claiming that his name was Tibor and that he lived with his cousin. His falsehood was only discovered when the assistant was conducting the in-depth discussion with Rene and in response to a knock on the door, Rene shouted, "Come on in, Exalus." In walked the supposed Tibor, who expressed shock at seeing the assistant there and then broke into laughter. He then claimed that a "bunch of people" had been asking him questions lately and he felt it was safer to lie to her. He then added, "After I lied to you I realized that I should not have...I then somewhat understood what you were doing...But I was caught up in my lie." His brother, Rene, and the roommate, Pierre, were both convulsed by laughter at Exalus having been caught in his lie.

The ethnographic research has revealed that poverty and the constant movement of people between Haiti and Miami have produced household compositions that are extraordinarily flexible, constantly changing with household members having an exceptional

variety of relationships to the household head.²⁰ Capturing these relationships in a coding scheme is correspondingly unusually difficult. Decisions must be made, for example, as to who should be defined as the household head when a family may be renting space from a single male unrelated to them. Using the person who pays the rent as the one for defining relationships will frequently erase relationships within the household. Similarly, many unrelated couples live together with an assortment of other people: children of their own, children from previous marriages, relatives' children, other relatives, and other unrelated individuals. Men not uncommonly may move between the households of different women.

MOBILITY

Residential mobility is so high that it could easily complicate any kind of follow-up interviews, such as in the Census periodic sample surveys or in the planned 1990 alternative enumerations. For example, in the ethnographic work nearly 70 percent of the respondents moved at least once every two years with 13 percent moving more than once a year since 1980 or their arrival in Miami. Frequently, we have talked with people who say they are moving this week or the next.

For example, Kenol first lived with his uncle when he came to Miami. His childhood sweetheart remained in Haiti until 1983. When she first arrived she lived with her sister for

²⁰*While Haitian households in Haiti are flexible compared to the North American ideal standard nuclear family, it appears as if the context of Miami significantly increases flexibility and the variety of household structures (cf. Herskovitz 1971; Leyburn 1941).*

one month before she and Kenol were married. They then lived together with some family members for about five months before they began searching for more privacy. They stayed in their first apartment only two and one-half months, moving out because it was too small. Their next apartment proved to be adequate and they lived there for about five years before we interviewed them. During this time they had two children. Also during this time, Kenol's brother, who is now married himself, lived with them for two years. A second brother had been living with them for just a couple of months when we met them. Another five people from their village in Haiti, but not relatives, each stayed with them upon arriving in Miami. Kenol and his wife offered them a room, food, some clothing, and, if they could afford it at the time, a few dollars. As soon as possible, the visitors moved out, but how long they remained with Kenol and his family varied. On some occasions during our discussions with them, Kenol and his wife referred to both brothers as if they were still household members and at other times they ignored them as if they had never lived in the household.

Another example is provided by Ednor, Gregory, and Jean. When the assistant first visited the house, only Ednor was home. He indicated that he had just come from Haiti and was not presently working. He claimed that he was a boarder and that he knew nothing about the apartment's main tenant, Gregory. The assistant returned three times during the week, but never encountered Gregory. Ednor, however, became more relaxed and open with the assistant and gradually provided more information. He first went to New York, where he stayed three days before coming to Miami. When he arrived in Miami, he went to his brother's where he lived for one year. Then he moved in with his sister for just a month after which he moved back in with his brother who himself had moved to another

location. He then found his own apartment that he first shared with Gregory, but during the time of our repeated discussions with Ednor, Gregory moved out and Jean, who works with Ednor, moved in.

Alexandre provides an example of both polygyny and high mobility prompted by economics. His wife lives in Haiti. When he arrived from Haiti in 1985 he lived in an apartment where he stayed for about 18 months, moving out because his work became unstable and he could not afford what he felt was a high rent. He then lived in a smaller apartment for five months, leaving it after being fired from his job. His cousin then took him in, but Alexandre claimed that his cousin made life miserable for him. He left less than a month later and joined the migrant agricultural labor stream working primarily in Georgia from March to October, 1987. After this, he returned to Miami and lived for four months in a neighborhood that he felt was dangerous. He then moved into a duplex with his girlfriend. After 18 months he and his girlfriend separated and he lived alone for a few months before he moved in with his new girlfriend, Vierge. Five other people now live with Alexandre and Vierge in a three bedroom house: Alexandre and Vierge, Vierge's 26 year old son and his girlfriend, two brothers unrelated to Alexandre or Vierge who rent one bedroom, and Vierge's four year old adopted daughter.

Elazy and her two infants have moved frequently, primarily for economic reasons. Lucene, the father of the two children, does not live in the household, although he visits frequently and covers most of the apartment expenses, including rent and utilities. Elazy came from Haiti in 1984 and has worked for only one month since arriving. She receives \$150 a month in Food Stamps and \$100 a month for one child (and nothing for the other).

She claims that it is particularly difficult for her to find work because she is completely undocumented. Between her arrival in 1984 and our discussions with her in early 1989, she had lived in five different places. Two of the places she shared with her brother. They left the first one because it was too expensive. The others were described as being too small and one had a landlord who did not get along well with Elazy.

As with complex household composition, poverty and the constant movement of people between Haiti and Miami have produced high mobility. While this contributes to the problems of enumeration, it most significantly affects longitudinal work since such a high proportion of households are likely to move even in a short time span.

CONCEALMENT

Research with Black Americans and Puerto Ricans has indicated that concealment is motivated primarily by concerns that extra individuals and income may disqualify households from receiving welfare benefits (Valentine & Valentine 1971; Harwood 1970 in Hainer et. al., 1988). Undocumented aliens fear deportation (Vigil 1987, Garcia 1987, all in Hainer et. al., 1988). Relatively few Haitians receive welfare benefits (see Stepick and Portes 1986), but many Haitians do fear deportation. Even Haitians who have a legal and permanent immigration status are likely to conceal employment and income data. Their motivations are partly a result of their general mistrust of outsiders, but also many of the economic activities they engage in are "informal," i.e. unregistered businesses that pay no taxes.

We were especially interested in employment, income, and expenditure data because previous research had produced a paradoxical portrait of Haitians. On the one hand, unemployment rates were extraordinarily high and income levels remarkably low. On the other hand, welfare rates were also low. According to the data we and others had gathered previously, many Haitians did not earn enough to feed and house themselves. How do Haitians survive? We suspected that concealment was part of the issue: Haitians must be engaging in activities that they did not report. We further suspected that social mechanisms operated within the community that allowed people to survive in spite of low incomes. This section reports data, gathered in this project, on informal work and economic relationships within households.

Obtaining reliable and valid employment data on Haitians may not be possible through "conventional" survey methods, but it may be feasible using ethnographic methods as described in this Report. In the ethnographic research and in the first random sample survey, more than 50 percent of the Haitian population claimed to be unemployed, when in fact many were engaged in temporary, part-time, or informal sector economic activities. In this research at least 15 percent of the population was engaged in small scale informal sector economic activities that they themselves do not label as "work" or "employment." These range from sewing a dress now and then for a few dollars to an informal bus transportation operation that generates as much as a thousand dollars a week. Nearly every other block in Little Haiti also has an illegal home restaurant.

Even those who are "unemployed" may be working for room and food either for relatives or non-family members in the household. This is especially true among new arrivals

who are job-hunting and/or trying to learn English. Women in particular will do child care and cook.

Part of the reason these employment activities are not reported is again Haitians' mistrust. But more fundamental is a conceptual difference in the seemingly straightforward question: "Are you working?" Marie Maude, a 46 year old female who lives with her cousin replied, "No, I am not working." Probing revealed more complex economic activities. Since her 1982 arrival in the U.S. she has engaged in unskilled agricultural work in southern Dade county, at the fringe of the greater Miami urban area. She works six days a week the entire season from November to May, going to the fields at about six in the morning and returning at about six in the evening. For picking an average of sixteen buckets a day of whatever crop she earns about \$40 a day. Before the season finishes she begins looking for other work. When we talked with her she had temporary, part-time evening work as a custodian at the Miami Arena. When working there, her hours were usually from 11 p.m. until 4 a.m. In the one month that the Arena employed her she worked four days one week and two to three days the other weeks. In spite of all this work, she still said that she was not working.

The only condition that elicits a "yes" in response to the question "Are you working" is when the individual has a full time, permanent position. If he or she works less than 40 hours a week, they respond, "No, I am not working." If they have only a temporary position, such as working in the agricultural fields, they respond, "No." If they are self-employed, usually in small scale commerce, they reply "No." All of these situations, which most in the U.S. would consider "work" and "working," Haitians do not consider as "working" or jobs. To elicit the data on informal economic activities, i.e. whether or not one was working for

money at all, we had to explicitly instruct assistants to probe for whether the respondent worked part time, temporarily, or was self-employed and then follow this with more probing of particular informal activities and ask if the respondent or anyone in the household engaged in any of these.

This probing revealed that most Haitians engaged in informal sector work have low incomes, generally below the poverty line (see Table 4).²¹ Most self-employed informal entrepreneurs drift back and forth between working for someone else in a secondary or informal sector job and their own informal activity. Generally, they do not leave a wage labor job voluntarily in favor of their own business. Rather, informal businesses provide supplements, not substitutes, to wage labor. They become full time informal sector entrepreneurs usually when they have no choice, when they lose or cannot obtain wage labor employment.

Jean-Robert and Jeanine have exploited a number of income earning opportunities. When they first came to the U.S. in 1985 they worked in the agricultural fields. Jeanine later worked in a hat factory at \$4.00 an hour. The work, however, was strenuous as she had to stand on her feet all day. She later found a job stuffing shoulder pads and decorative cushions for \$3.50 an hour. But this job was unsteady with periods of up to six months of no work. At the time we spoke with her, she had gone four weeks without working. Jean-Robert had been a mechanic in Haiti and he supplemented agricultural work with the informal repair of Haitians' cars in his front yard. He considered things good when he fixed

²¹*This contrasts with recent descriptions of many informal sector workers in the Third World. See Portes, Castells, and Benton 1989.*

two to three cars a week. While we were in the middle of our research, some friends of Jean-Robert in New York suggested that he could find more work in New York and he promptly left. He found work there and had been there for a month when we last talked with Jeanine. She said that he is thinking of returning to Miami because "he does not like New York."

Ednor, mentioned in the section on residential mobility, also reflects the complexity of the Haitian informal sector and its links to Haitians in Haiti. Ednor works full-time for a subsidiary of Florida Power and Light. Occasionally, he does some photographic work at weddings, baptisms, and birthday parties. His most recent was a set of 15 pictures for a lady from his church for which he earned \$60. His equipment is worth about \$1,500 and he still owes \$210 on it. The store owner where he bought it, rather than demanding a fixed payment schedule, has allowed him to pay as much and as frequently as he can. Ednor hopes to open a photographic school in Haiti and has been taking courses in the local community college's photography curriculum. His mother sells food products, particularly rice and beans, in the Port-au-Prince market in Haiti. Ednor had wanted to send her a few sacks of beans and rice, but his brother, Willy, advised him that shipping goods was unsafe and that simply sending money would be better. Willy, who also lives in Miami, owns a public transportation business in Port-au-Prince that consists of two vans leased to drivers. The brothers' father has overseen that business since he lost his wage labor job after the factory he was working in closed. Another brother runs a welding business that works on the vans, along with other jobs. Willy and Ednor bought tools in the U.S. for their brother. A sister has been engaged in small scale importing and exporting between Haiti and the

Dominican Republic. Ednor and Willy have provided some subsidy to this business, too, and now their sister has applied to come to the U.S. so that she can carry on a similar business here.

TABLE 4
ESTIMATED INCOME AMONG INFORMALLY SELF-EMPLOYED HAITIANS*

	Monthly	Yearly
Dressmakers & Tailors	65 - 200	2,500 - 9,000
Construction	150 - 400	4,000 - 10,000
Automobile Repair	85 - 500	6,000 - 12,500
Transportation	40 - 100	4,000 - 12,500
Beauty and Barber	30 - 500	6,000 - 12,500
Petty Commerce	50 - 200	2,500 - 6,000
Restaurants	200 - 600	4,000 - 8,000

*Estimates of monthly income refer only to the particular informal sector activity. Estimates of yearly income, however, refer to the individuals' total income including other employment or receipt of government benefits.

Source: ethnographic research by the authors. The number of cases for monthly and yearly estimates varies for each informal activity because of the differing quality of information provided by informants.

When Haitians do engage in informal economic activities in Miami, the most common activities are dressmaking and tailoring, petty commerce, food preparation, child care, transportation, and the provision of semi-skilled services such as construction work, automobile repair, and electronic repair.

Those who earn money as dressmakers or tailors in the U.S. were also dressmakers and tailors in Haiti. They serve a virtually exclusive Haitian market. As in many Third World countries, the sewing trades flourish because of the relatively high expense of ready made clothes and low cost of labor. In the U.S., they persist partially because of cultural tradition, a preference for tailor made clothes, but also because the labor provided by these dressmakers and tailors in the informal sector remains cheap. In Little Haiti, a custom made woman's dress may be had for less than \$15.00. Children's clothes go for less than \$10.00. Correspondingly, dressmakers' and tailors' earnings are low. The highest yearly income reported was \$9,130. Most earn closer to \$2,500, which they supplement by part time, temporary work in the formal sector or through sharing within the household (see Table 4).

Even more common than sewing, at least for women, is petty commerce. In Haiti, it often seems as if every woman is a market woman. In both rural and urban areas, women frequently use small amounts of capital, sometimes \$2 or less, and engage in small scale commerce, sometimes walking miles transporting their few goods from producer to consumer to earn a profit of less than \$1. In Little Haiti, the tradition continues. Women frequently use a small amount of capital, \$15-\$50, to become petty merchants. Make-shift stands appear on corners and empty lots, a few during the week, many more on the

weekends. Women also go door to door. More than anything, the preferred form of petty commerce is to go to a local flea market where they may rent an entire stall for \$20 per weekend or sublet part of a stall for five or ten dollars.

Another common informal activity among women, food preparation, is invisible to non-Haitians, but well known within the Haitian community. Women turn their home kitchens into restaurant kitchens and the back yard or perhaps the living room into a dining room. A high proportion of the single men in Little Haiti either do not know how or do not wish to do their own cooking. They rely almost exclusively upon restaurant food. The informal sector restaurants usually charge about \$3.00 for a meal, about \$1-\$2 less than the Haitian formal sector restaurants. Women who run these restaurants estimate they make about \$500 a month or about \$6,000 a year.

A final important female informal activity is child care. While walking the streets of Little Haiti, one frequently encounters houses spilling over with children. They are not, as some presume, large overflowing families living in objectionably crowded conditions. Rather, the children are likely to be in informal day care. The earnings of most working Haitians are too low to afford state sanctioned commercial day care, and public facilities do not even approach community needs. Many women have stepped into the breach and offer low cost day care. Most of their clients earn no more than the minimum wage. Many do day work in agriculture and average even less than the minimum wage. Day care fees accordingly are rock bottom, varying between \$1.50 and \$5 per day per child.

Men are less likely to engage in informal self-employment than women. For those who are so engaged, their activities are again petty businesses in which they worked in Haiti and which in Miami produce low incomes and are directed at the Haitian market.

The most visible male activity is transportation. Jean, mentioned above in the discussion on residential mobility, provides an example. While Jean has a full-time job working for a subsidiary of Florida Power and Light cutting trees, on his off days he uses his own car as an informal taxi. The day before one of our discussions with him he, for example, drove someone to the motor vehicle office for \$10. The cabs are usually older American cars, which individuals purchase used for between \$500-\$1,500. They cruise primarily around the grocery stores which serve Little Haiti. On weekdays there may be four or five drivers waiting patiently outside the stores' exits hoping to transport someone with their groceries for \$3-4. On weekends, the number of gypsy cabs waiting at grocery stores swells dramatically. The week-round drivers make around \$100 a week. The week-end drivers earn about \$40.

Vans and old school buses which transport people between cities and between Miami and the agricultural fields are the other form of informal transportation. The vans are usually much newer and in better condition than the gypsy cabs, as they must be for the longer trips they make. They require an investment of at least a few thousand dollars and some are brand new costing over \$10,000. The second-hand school buses require a smaller initial investment, but have higher maintenance costs. Regardless, the investment is well worth the cost. They have a captive market. There are no alternative forms of transportation easily accessible to the Haitians. A few growers provide buses to the fields,

but not all. There is commercial bus service between Miami and the agricultural communities in Florida, but it is highly inconvenient. The vans are constantly in use. Trips to the agricultural fields bring only \$4-5 per person, but the work is steady and the vans usually run full. The real money, however, is on the weekends when the vans go between Miami and the agricultural towns such as Belle Glade, an hour and a half drive away. For this trip, the vans can charge up to \$25 per person. The van operators can easily earn \$250 a week and \$12,000 a year.

A slightly less visible but more common male activity is the provision of semi-skilled services, such as in construction, auto mechanics, and electronic repair. Individuals involved in these activities also have had previous experience and training in these trades in Haiti before coming to the U.S. Just like the dressmakers and tailors, many have worked in firms, usually at low wages. They begin by setting up a small business on the side while still working for wages. They devote their full attention to the business usually when they lose their job. Some voluntarily quit their outside jobs viewing their business as potentially more lucrative than their wage labor job. But most try to hold onto their jobs and only become full time businessmen when they are laid off.

Haitians are also increasingly becoming homeowners in Little Haiti. Frequently, they take advantage of the housing shortage for Haitians by becoming landlords and illegally remodeling single family homes into rooming houses or apartments. The tasks of remodeling are undertaken by informal Haitian construction workers who earn close to the minimum wage.

In sum, previous data on Haitians decidedly underestimates Haitian employment and income because of both Haitians' different definitions of the concept "working," and because of their efforts to conceal informal employment and income. The ethnographic research revealed a more realistic picture of the employment and income levels of Haitians. Nevertheless, Haitians still have low incomes and analysis of expenditure patterns within households is necessary to understand how they survive.

We have gathered detailed data on all household expenses including rent, utilities, food, laundry, child care, medical care, transportation, and debts and loans, and how those expenses are distributed among household members. And finally, we have gathered precise information on amount and frequency of remittances sent back to Haiti.

As the following transcription reveals, many respondents were reluctant to reveal personal economic details:

F= research assistant; R= first respondent; R2= second respondent

- F. Do you each have your own...for example your own checking account separately or together?
- R. We don't do things separately.
- F. You have it together. You have a savings or a checking?
- R. Savings.
- F. Only savings? Not checking? About how much money do you have...you may not tell me the exact figure. About how much do you have?
- R. I don't know.

- F. Somebody has to know.
- R. Who knows?
- F. Who deposits?
- R. If I don't know, he doesn't know either.
- F. Well, Jean, if that's the way you want it..... You don't want to tell me, and you just said that you don't know.
- R2. She is asking you how much money you have in the bank?
- F. Jean told me that she doesn't know.
- R2. They send a statement.
- R. You know about thethe little.....
- F. The booklets.
- R2. When I deposit money in the bank, I don't write how much I deposit...
- F. But, when they send you the statements for your own records, you know.
- R2. They haven't sent anything for this month.
- F. They haven't sent anything, but you know about how much you are supposed to have. Because if they make a mistake, if they change something in the computer, then you won't know.
- R2. We will know.
- F. Well, that means that you know about how much you have.
- R2. They will write us and let us know.
- F. No. No. You don't understand what I am saying. If you don't know how much you have, when you get it (statement), you will not know how much is "missing"
- R2. I understand what you are saying.

- F. You understand what I am saying. You know...don't tell me that...if you don't want to tell me. It isn't possible, because even if a person had five cents, he knows.
- R2. Well, I just don't know exactly.
- F. You don't know? \$10,000. \$1,000. \$100. \$10. \$5. That is what I mean when I said about. You may not want to tell me...you may not want to trust me, to tell me the exact amount. Some people would not mind. But if you.....tell me approximately so that I could put something.
- R.Give her an approximate.
- R2. Because we had expenses. You understand. When you take away from your money you don't know exactly.
- F. You are supposed to know.
- R. Put \$1,000.....
- F. OK. That is what I was referring to when I said approximately. OK. \$1,000. All right. That money, you said that you have a savings, not a checking?
- R. Yes.

We have found that respondents may sincerely not know how much they spend. Only one respondent, a 20 year U.S. resident, had a checking account. In households with more than one income-earner, each is usually responsible for a particular expense or set of expenses. One person pays the rent. Someone else the utilities and perhaps someone else buys the food. There is no general accounting to even up expenditures among the various household members. People may be aware and mentally try to make things more or less equal, but they do not do so explicitly. Thus, the accuracy and reliability of elicited data on expenditures varies according to who the respondent is.

One statement that is generally accurate, however, is that income is almost always less than or barely equal to expenses. Less than 10 percent have any kind of savings. Of those, one person out of 43 had savings over \$1,200; and the other 3 had savings between \$500-\$600. Everyone else just makes it, or frequently doesn't make it, from week to week and month to month.

Kenol and Micana provide an example of a family that after our first in-depth discussion with them did not appear to be making it. The data in Table 5 indicate a monthly shortfall of \$100 after subtracting from their combined earned incomes all the expenses they indicated. Subsequent discussion revealed that they also received \$170 a month in rent from Kenol's brother and that some of the expenses had been over-estimated. After these adjustments, the family could save an estimated \$70-\$100 a month, if there were no medical expenses.

TABLE 5
TYPICAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME & EXPENSES

Income per month:	Kenol	\$ 770
	Micana	<u>600</u>
	Total	<u>\$1370</u>
Expenses per month:	Rent	-400
	Phone	-100
	Electricity	- 60
	Car Payment	-240
	Groceries @ \$100/week	-400
	Child care for 1 @ \$70/week	<u>-280</u>
	Cash Remaining After Expenses	<u>-100</u>

In short, the ethnographic research on informal employment and expenditure patterns within households reveals that Haitians barely earn enough to cover expenses. Informal employment and sharing of income and expenses without strict accounting are necessary for many.

CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS

To summarize our data overall, we found evidence to support all of Brownrigg and Martin's hypotheses: 1. Haitians are resistant to providing information to outsiders, especially those from the government; 2. Haitians have low literacy rates and many do not speak English well; 3. Haitian residential styles seldom coincide with Census categories; 4. Haitians are extraordinarily mobile; and 5. they are likely to conceal income and expenditure data. We further discovered that the geographic concentration of Haitians varies substantially at the block level.

Many of the problems we have discovered and briefly outlined are not only difficult, but perhaps impossible to surmount absolutely. Nevertheless, there are some things that can help significantly. We have organized our suggestions into those concerning: administration, interviewers, interview content, and outreach.

ADMINISTRATION

Flexibility is essential. We had to adapt to Haitian cultural notions of knocking on doors. We returned to particular households three, four and even five times trying to find someone home, or to convince them to cooperate and to probe. We explained our purposes in multiple ways, using the style and content that seemed to best fit the particular respondent. Sometimes we emphasized the potential benefits to the Haitian community that accurate information might provide. Other times, assistants pleaded for a personal favor, indicating that they needed cooperation since the work was paying their way through college. As a form of reciprocity, we provided needed community support information to respondents.

Persistence is indispensable. We insisted on probing for all individuals in a household and what relationships they might have for each other. Similarly, we queried repeatedly on informal employment and income.

INTERVIEWERS

Interviewers must be of Haitian descent, native speakers of Haitian Creole, and they must be dedicated, persistent, and specially trained. Since virtually all Haitians are Black by U.S. racial categories, then having Haitian interviewers implies that they will be Black interviewers. Both males and females can be good interviewers. Middle class Haitians can be excellent interviewers, but they must be screened and be observed through role playing since some are condescending towards working class or rural Haitians. For those interested

in greater detail, Appendix 3 discusses our experiences in the selection and training of interviewers for random sample survey research.

INTERVIEW CONTENT

Written materials and interviewing must be done in Haitian Creole. Written materials in English are likely to be discarded. Moreover, few Haitians speak English well enough to conduct a reliable interview. Haitian Creole is the first language of all Haitians. Using another language not only poses problems of accuracy, but also establishes a barrier of mistrust.

Household composition should be recorded so as to reflect the true relationships within the household, not simply the relationship to whoever owns or rents the dwelling. In a significant number of cases, household members are related to each other, but not to the person in whose name the house is rented. Ignoring this information would seriously distort the household's and the overall community's social relationships.

Probing and follow-up questions must be used to determine household members employment status and activities. Because of distrust and widespread informal employment Haitians are very likely to conceal information concerning employment. Interviewers must specifically ask if an individual is engaged in any **part-time, temporary, or self-employment**. This should be further probed by asking if the individual is or has recently engaged in any of a list of specific, common informal occupations, such as childcare, sewing, unlicensed taxi operation, car repair or household maintenance.

OUTREACH

Specifically target recent Haitian immigrants. We caution that not all Haitians are alike. In particular, the Haitian middle class is less likely to be resistant. It is also residentially dispersed and does not live in the Little Haiti neighborhood. Underenumeration is far less likely among this sub-population. Finally, because of some middle-class Haitians efforts to hide their Haitian heritage, outreach efforts to them could arouse resentment and distrust that would not be present otherwise.

Stress that it is safe to participate in the U.S. Census. Responses will be anonymous.

Indicate that Haitians have a moral duty to comply since the Census is mandated in the U.S. Constitution. References to the U.S. Constitutional imperative are particularly compelling for Haitians now as Haiti struggles for its own democracy.

Emphasize that there are benefits to the Haitian community in helping the Census.

Care obviously must be taken to avoid references to immediate, personal benefits and government aid. Rather the message should dwell on combatting the stigma Haitians confront because of ignorance of them. And, the Bureau, if willing, may make allusions to political representation, funding for schools, public housing, parks, and streets that may be dependent upon the enumeration by the Census.

Radio is more important than television or any written materials. Our research indicates that while Haitians watch US television, very few watch local news or pay much attention to Public Service Announcements (PSAs) in English. They are not plugged into regular English information dissemination networks. The message must come through peculiarly Haitian media. The most consequential of these are Haitian radio programs. Over 100

hours a week of Haitian radio programming is now broadcast in south Florida, although there is no solely Haitian station. Public Service Announcements in Creole on these programs would be the single most important outreach measure.

Churches and the high schools are the most important social institutions. Many more Haitians attend church much more frequently than established Americans or other new immigrant groups. And, the church pastor or priest is a revered member of the community. The teacher, too, is a traditionally respected individual and in large numbers of Haitian households the high school students are the only literate or English competent members.

There is one Haitian newspaper printed in Miami and more in New York. Because of illiteracy, their audience is much smaller than the radio, but they are still worthwhile. The New York newspapers, usually written in French,²² may be read more in south Florida than the Miami one.

It would also be worthwhile to place Creole language posters in the major shopping areas and in all the community organizations.

To summarize, Haitians, as a largely underground, undocumented population, do not provide easy access because of high mistrust, have complicated household compositions, and are unlikely to provide reliable or valid income and expenditure data. To address these problems training is paramount and outreach should be through the Haitian radio stations

²²*If a Haitian adult immigrant learned to read in Haiti, he learned French, the official and higher prestige language of Haiti. If the person learned to read as an adult in either Haiti or the U.S., he most likely learned to read Haitian Creole and not French.*

and carry a message to alleviate fears and allude to the needs and benefits of cooperating. We emphasize that our access to this community and consequent success in both ethnographic and survey research rests upon ten years of previous fieldwork. Resistance and concealment in the Miami Haitian community are so extreme that we are convinced that we could not have done this ethnographic work if we had not already worked in the Haitian community. Avoiding underenumeration requires a similar commitment of time and resources.

APPENDIX ONE

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APPENDIX TWO

PREVIOUS SURVEYS OF HAITIANS IN SOUTH FLORIDA

We have conducted five surveys examining the adaptation of recently arrived Haitian immigrants: 1. one of Haitian Entrants (Stepick 1982d), 2. another of refugees released under Federal court order from Krome detention center in 1982 (Stepick 1984b), 3. a longitudinal study of Haitians who arrived in the U.S. after 1980 and were living in south Florida with two surveys, one in 1983-84 and 4. the second in 1985-6; 5. in 1987 another survey was done with a new sample of Haitians who arrived after 1980 and were living in south Florida. The longitudinal study and the last survey all had multistage random samples. They were conducted, with funding from NSF and NIMH and joint sponsorship from Johns Hopkins University and Florida International University.

The first random sample survey in 1983-84 consisted of 500 Haitians distributed across three sub-samples from Florida's three major Haitian population concentrations: 300 in Miami's Little Haiti, the largest area of Haitian concentration in Florida; 95 in Fort Lauderdale, the second largest area of urban concentration; and 104 in Belle Glade, the largest rural population concentration. The questionnaire consisted of approximately 250 items focusing on background variables, first experiences in the U.S., and early experiences of socioeconomic adaptation. In the Fall of 1985 and early 1986 a follow-up, longitudinal survey was administered to the same random sample. Because of pragmatic problems, the follow-up sample consisted only of those in the Miami and Fort Lauderdale sub-samples of the first survey, eliminating those from the Belle Glade sub-sample. The follow-up

questionnaire contained approximately 150 items focusing on experiences and adaptation since the first survey. The last random sample survey was conducted in early 1987 with an entirely new random sample of 500 in Miami's Little Haiti area. The questionnaire had approximately 250 items and concentrated on background variables and mental health.

Alex Stepick was a co-investigator for the first two surveys, while Carol Dutton-Stepick was field supervisor for the second and third. Alejandro Portes, Department of Sociology, Johns Hopkins University was principal investigator of the three random sample surveys and William Eaton, Department of Mental Hygiene, Johns Hopkins University, was co-investigator for the last random sample survey. Each of these surveys was conducted in conjunction with virtually identical surveys of Mariel Cubans in Miami, i.e. Cubans who came in 1980 to Miami via the Cuban port of Mariel. Juan Clark, Sociology Department, Miami-Dade Community College, was a co-investigator and field supervisor for all three surveys of Mariel Cubans.

APPENDIX THREE

SELECTING AND TRAINING INTERVIEWERS

Staffing for a survey of underground aliens is considerably different from staffing for a survey of U.S. citizens. Although we did not hire interviewers for this work, we did do so for the surveys discussed in Appendix 2. Survey interviewers perform essentially the same tasks as enumerators. We have, therefore, included this appendix to provide suggestions on selecting and training interviewers for working with non-English speaking undocumented aliens.

All of our survey work has been done with solely Haitian respondents and exclusively in Haitian Creole. In the 1990 alternative enumeration we will be enumerating non-Haitian households also, including Hispanics and Black Americans. After the alternative enumeration, we might be able to provide more information on using Haitian assistants on blocks with mixed populations.

For surveying Haitians, and we believe other undocumented immigrants, interviewers must have peculiar characteristics. They must be multilingual, especially sociable, and have flexible schedules. They must be multilingual because training and frequently the recording of information is in English, but interviewing is almost always better done in the respondent's native language. They must be especially sociable because of the resistance of undocumented aliens to providing information. Interviewing will be successful only if the

schedules because most undocumented aliens work long hours and are commonly available only late at night or on Sunday.

The interviewers we hired were all high school graduates with some college training, usually obtained in the Miami area. (For example, two of the 16 interviewers who worked on the third survey had master level degrees and two others had bachelor level degrees.) The interviewers were in their middle or late twenties, except for three or four from each survey cohort who were in their mid-thirties. They were more or less evenly divided between males and females. None was earning a salary high enough to be classified as middle income by U.S. standards even though several had full time jobs.

One of the first goals of training should be to generate project loyalty among the interviewers. We did this partially by establishing the intent of the research, especially the potential application of the data to policy decisions for allocation of funds to community services. That the Cuban community constantly overshadows the Haitian community both in terms of the former's economic success and in the amount of federal funding allocated to Cuban Entrants is a political reality that required acknowledgement among this group of upwardly mobile Haitians. Interviewers were motivated by realizing that this survey could lead to a partial correction to past inequities. We also emphasized the professionalism of our own endeavor. We explicitly acknowledged the interviewers' ability to appreciate the concept of objective scientific research in the context of adding to a general understanding of immigrants' adaptation to the U.S.

For people from many cultures, including Haiti, interviewers' misunderstandings and weaknesses must be addressed indirectly. Haitians consider as offensive and insulting the

American style of direct personal questioning. In the best cases, interviewers ignore direct questions. In the worst cases, they verbally attack. No interviewer he have employed ever admitted or volunteered that they did not understand a survey question. For example, one interviewer reversed the numerical codes we had for judging a respondent's English to Creole translation. We reviewed the mistake with the interviewer and when asked, he indicated he understood. On the next batch of surveys he repeated the same error.

Role playing, which interviewers usually enjoy and do well, provides an opportunity to judge an individual's ability to read Creole and their comprehension of the questions in both Creole and English. For some it may be their first attempt to read Creole. Others who may be good at asking questions might reveal a need to practice listening to and recording the response. Role playing gives an opportunity to test the interviewers' skills, judge their weaknesses, and give special attention to individuals who needed it.

Another issue of critical importance is the nature of the relationship between the interviewers and their supervisors. In our first survey, we had intended to establish an "American style," relatively egalitarian relationship, hoping to encourage independence and initiative. We discovered that these Haitians preferred a more hierarchical relationship towards their "boss," the supervisor. Haitians often have a notably deferential attitude towards authority and a strikingly argumentative attitude towards equals. The supervisor outlined the verification process, which would involve both the supervisor and a Haitian assistant. We had been warned that in a previous survey of Little Haiti completed by a private consulting firm, some interviewers had allegedly engaged in "curb-stoning," standing on a street corner or sitting in a restaurant and filling out the questionnaires themselves.

In our training we repeatedly emphasized that a supervisor would double-check every survey and any interviewer cheating would be immediately fired. The supervisor and her assistant did indeed personally go to the homes of at least five respondents of each interviewer and about 20 percent of all respondents. We found no interviewers who made up survey information. During the training the potential interviewers all politely listened to our rigorous distinctions between them and us. They were saving their energies for the next topic, payment of interviewers.

Above all else, the issue of payment of interviewers can take, by our standards, an inordinate amount of training time. They, for example, may inquire whether the basic rate could be raised, or whether they could get bonuses for respondents who were particularly difficult. Some interviewers may argue passionately for readjustment of the payment schedule. It is best to simply present the pay scale as dictated by an absolutely unalterable budget. Bonuses should be paid at the discretion of the supervisor and be based on quantity as well as quality of work, which can be augmented by post-interview notes and discussions. This gentle hierarchical approach avoids later disruption of other aspects of the training, reduces the time spent discussing pay schedules, and results in excellent relations between the supervisor and interviewers, and revealing descriptions of interview settings and obstacles.

Interviewers must also be aware that the context of meaning in the interview setting is different for Haitians than it is usually for North Americans. Haitians are not accustomed to sitting for an hour or more in a one-sided conversation with a stranger. Respondents commonly want to expand the discussion beyond the immediate research interests,

particularly to Haitian politics. Male respondents, in particular, may require an explicit declaration of an interviewer's politics. In one case, we had a respondent demand, "Which one of the (at the time, nearly 60) Haitian presidential candidates did the interviewer support?" Therein followed a lengthy, seemingly irrelevant, but reciprocal discussion of Haitian politics. Apparently feeling that he had gained something from the discussion, the respondent then agreed to further discussion on the topics that interested us. In another case, the respondent told the interviewer that he had better obtain the stamp of approval of the Miami community's leading Haitian political spokesman. Assured that we had already obtained it, the respondent consented to talk to us. When assistants reported these cases to us, we became particularly nervous about those involving political discussions. But to our surprise and good fortune the interaction proved to be ritualistic, a way to establish the legitimacy of a social interaction.

The crowded conditions of most Haitian households also make it frequently impossible to exclude other family members or friends from sitting in on our discussions. In fact, they rarely make it possible to talk with just the respondent. In one case, for the entire discussion of over an hour, every 3 or 4 minutes the respondent's wife would call in from the kitchen, "You shouldn't be doing that. You shouldn't talk to her. You can't trust people. She lied to you. Don't talk to her." Fortunately for us, the respondent ignored his spouse's protestations. While extreme, this case is not an uncommon experience. We often found eligible, cooperative respondents with a family member who harassed the assistant throughout the interview. Less frequently we encountered an uncooperative respondent

whose spouse (or someone else in the household) would goad the potential respondent into cooperation.

APPENDIX FOUR

DISCUSSION PROTOCOL INSTRUCTIONS

Part One -- Independent Count

A General Reminder: Remember that from the Count we will be selecting a variety of household types for you to go back to for in-depth discussions. Obviously, it is important that you begin to establish trust and rapport with this very first encounter. Because you will be helping to select the sub-sample for in-depth discussions take care to be especially observant, even though the first discussion will be fairly brief.

Address: In addition to the street address, describe the dwelling. For example: rents a room in the back of the house or little apartment attached to the garage of the house or apartment in a six-apartment building. If there is more than one single family in a dwelling, for example, someone renting a room in a boarding house, determine if they are sharing bathroom and kitchen with anyone else. The reason for this detailed description is that we are trying to figure out a functional definition of household for the census. A Haitian household is composed differently than a typical American one, especially because of low income and adjustment to numerous new living conditions in the U.S.

A. Listing residents: Start with the respondent, that is the person who has agreed to do the discussion with you. **For the respondent find out if he or she has ever participated in a Census before, either in the US, Haiti, Canada, or any other nation. There is presently no place on the Questionnaire to record this. So put it by the listing of the respondent's name and Mark either no, US, H, C, or Other.** The following are the census guidelines for the kinds of people who should be listed:

- Family members living here including babies still in the hospital.
- Relatives living here.
- Lodgers or boarders living here.
- Other persons living here.
- College students who stay here while attending college even if their parents live elsewhere.
- Persons, who usually live here but are temporarily away including children in boarding school.

- Persons with a home elsewhere but who stay here most of the week while working.

After you have listed all the people who fall into these categories, put a star by the name of the last person on the list and begin to probe for any others who might also be considered members of the household either full-time or part-time. Examples would be a grandmother who resides with the family part of the year and resides at her own home in Haiti for the other part of the year, or a cousin who visits every year from Haiti during school vacation, or a godchild or former neighbor in Haiti who has lived in the house while looking for their own place or while they were unemployed or having other trouble. List anyone not living there at the time of the discussion whom the respondent feels is a part of the household. Make margin notes about why these persons are part of the household. This is a very important part of the listing section of the project, because knowing what to probe for is what the census needs to learn in order to do an accurate count.

- B. and C. **Gender and Age:** As you list the name of the person also determine their sex and be as accurate about their age as possible. If a person's age is not known exactly, then get an approximate age, for example - "between 65 and 70 or about 50."
- D. **Relationship:** In this column indicate the relationship of the person to the respondent. If the person listed is not related to the respondent then probe to determine if the person listed is related to anyone else in the household. Some people will be friends, boarders or even friends of friends. An important category usually overlooked in American culture is the godparent/godchild relationship. Taking a careful look at how the people living in a dwelling are related to each other (or not related) will provide us with important information when we attempt to make some definitions of "Haitian households in the U.S."
- E. **Employment Status:** When listing people indicate "wi" or "non" depending on whether or not they are working. Remember to probe for part-time, under-the-counter, temporary and informal work as well as full-time, permanent employment. In other words, any work that earns the person money or room or board. Also be cautious not to overlook students, who may have little or part-time jobs. **FOR EVERY PERSON WHO IS WORKING FILL OUT A SEPARATE EMPLOYMENT LINE FOR EACH "JOB" THAT PERSON HAS.**

A general note on ending: The household you have just been at will either be selected as part of a sub-sample for in-depth discussions or will be revisited two more times for very brief discussions to determine if the household composition has changed after 4-5 months and after 8-9 months.

Original Discussion Number _____

PART TWO
INTENSIVE DISCUSSION PROTOCOL
Center for Labor Research and Study
Sociology and Anthropology Department
Florida International University
1988-89

R E S E A R C H
ASSISTANT _____

DATE _____

ADDRESS _____

Include description that would help locate the apartment or house, such as "small house at the back of the lot behind a large house."

Time of day: _____

Length of Discussion: _____

This discussion is open-ended. There are not any boxes to check and only one form to fill in. On the following pages are the general questions you are to ask. You are to develop them as **fully as possible**. Get as much information as you can about these general areas. **All these discussions are to be tape recorded.** After you finish the discussion, go home and listen to the tape and then write up the answers to these questions.

I. Household Composition History

We want a history of the household, that is all the people around or closely related to the respondent/head of the household. We want to know everyone who lived with the household head in the past five years, when each person moved in or out. What city or country they lived in both before and after living with the respondent/head of household. Why did each person move in.

Make a list of people based upon your first discussion. Double-check this list with the respondent before beginning to be sure you know who is living in the household now. For people missed the first time, make sure you get their age, sex and relationship to the head of the household.

Begin with: When did you first move into this household? Where did you live before you lived in this house?

Go through each person presently in the household **AND** people who lived in the household before, but have since moved out. For people who are not presently in the household, obtain their age, sex, and relationship to the household head (or someone else in household, if not related to head of household) and determine if they contributed to the household income.

Finish with: Who are you (or the household) planning on bringing into the household? When? Why? What are they waiting for?

Explanation of terms on the Household Structure Form:

b. "Location" means where is (or was) the household. If in Miami try to get the address, or at least what part of Miami it is in. If it is outside of Miami, just get the city, such as Miragoane, Haiti or Montreal, Canada or West Palm Beach, Florida.

c. For "In/Out" you are to indicate the dates that they moved into and out of the particular household. You do not need the exact date, but get at least the year and if possible the month.

d. For "why" try to determine why the person changed household, such as they could not pay the rent and had to move or they finally could afford a better house or they got a visa to come to the US or whatever.

e. for "Comments" put anything else that seems interesting or important.

I. Income and Expense Distribution

A. Income

First, double-check where everyone in the household is employed?
Do people share bathrooms, kitchens?

Does everyone who is working contribute Money to the household?

If someone does not contribute money, do they contribute something else, such as their labor cleaning up, to the household? If yes, be specific who and what and how much is contributed.

Does anyone **not** living in the household contribute money to the household, for example child support, a lover, WIC, Food Stamps, AFDC. **AT THE END OF THE DISCUSSION, COME BACK TO THIS QUESTION AND TRY TO FIND OUT HOW MUCH MONEY EACH PERSON MAKES OR CONTRIBUTES.**

B. Expenses

For all the below, people can answer that one person pays the bill, but everyone contributes an equal share or unequal shares. If so, find out how it is decided how much people contribute. For example, is it an equal share for everyone or equal shares only for those working or are there unequal shares. If there are unequal shares, what are they and why are they unequal?

Be as concrete as possible on who pays for what and how much it costs.

Who pays the rent or the mortgage? (Also try to determine in whose name is the rent or mortgage.)

Who pays the utilities? (In whose name are the utilities?)

How is food bought and shared?

If someone is sick, how is the doctor or clinic paid?

How about big expenses, such as furniture, tv, cars, appliances? (Be especially specific here. Ask about any that have been bought in the past year and how they specifically were paid for and if they are shared or not. Also, try to find out where they buy or bought their big items and how they paid for them, i.e. cash or with time payments [so much a month]).

Now, remittances to Haiti. Who sends money? When and how often? To whom? Is it to someone who once lived in the household and/or has plans to live in the household? And, how much is sent? How is it sent?

How do people keep their money? Do they have a savings or checking account? Where do they cash checks, such as payroll checks?

Household Structure Form

Name (And, if not on the first survey: Ages, Sex, Relationship to respondent)	Name	Name
--	------	------

1.a.Location

b. In

c. Out

d. Why

e. Comments

2.a.Location

b. In

c. Out

d. Why

e. Comments

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