

URBAN HAITIANS: DOCUMENTED/UNDOCUMENTED IN A MIXED NEIGHBORHOOD

by Judith Wingerd

SITE PROFILE

The ethnographic sample area of urban Haitian refugees is in downtown Ft. Lauderdale, Broward County, State of Florida. This is an area of mixed housing. It contains apartments in one and two-story cinderblock and stucco buildings, old wooden homes listing dangerously on their cinderblock footings, one multiunit compound fenced to suggest a camp, and several boarded-up buildings, one of which hosts constant drug deals and crack smokers. There are also four empty lots, jungled with untended overgrowth. Housing is scarred with signs of abuse: attempted entry and gunshot. Jalousies are missing panes or sport broken ones. Doors are studded with deadbolts. The overgrown lots are full of disintegrating furniture, tires, cans and garbage. Dumped appliances rot and rust in the swales. Huge dumpsters erupt with garbage and flies.

The area is entirely residential except for a ceiling business. This property includes a fleet of trucks, a tiny shop in which one employee lives, and a house the size of a pile of rubble with a cross in the middle. A six-foot chain link fence and an alert Rottweiler provide security for the business. Also, at the time of the census, a Haitian church was under construction at the south end of the sample area. Housing units on three lots had recently been razed for this purpose.

The older residents say the area was originally populated by Whites, who lived in the now decrepit, more or less shotgun style, wooden homes. As Ft. Lauderdale beach developed into a resort, Blacks moved into center city, eventually displacing resident Whites. In the early 1980's, Haitian entrants began settling in this area, initially displacing some Blacks, but Haitian residence is temporary. They are choosing to move on, farther north or east or much farther toward the northwest of town, to get away from the drugs, crime, prostitutes and inadequate housing. Haitian households occupy more than half of the housing units in this area, however the number of Haitians comprise almost 70 percent of the total population of the two census blocks. These Haitians are mostly recent entrants. Since 1980, they have come by boat from the north and northwest coasts of Haiti, specifically from the towns of Port-de-Paix, Jean Rabel, and Anse Rouge. Their area of origin is ecologically and economically ravaged by deforestation, erosion, and lack of rainfall. Some of the Haitians have achieved their residency. Most are in the limbo status of "adjustment" following their application for amnesty. The majority of the entrants are essentially illiterate, monolingual speakers of Haitian Creole, with little formal education or skills. They have found work in the service industry as maids, janitors, dishwashers, busboys, and in restaurant prep activities and, also, in construction and lawn service. The adult American Black, Jamaican, Dominican, and Barbadian residents of the sample area are also employed. They work as machine operators, truck drivers, on factory assembly lines, and in clerical positions. There are a few retirees, quite a few disabled, and several young American Black mothers with young children receiving AFDC. Only three Haitian mothers were not employed during the Alternative Enumeration. One had a new baby and two were quite

pregnant. Four Haitian grandparents who cared for assorted preschool aged children also stayed at home.

The sample area is only one and two blocks west of a major city artery, the vital bus route, and just six blocks north of the central bus station. It is also only one block north of the major drug artery of Ft. Lauderdale. Traffic on foot and in cars is constant. Very quick drug transactions occur on the north end of the street between the two sample blocks. There are always guys hanging out on the four corners of the intersection anxious to get you what you want. Some customers park and go behind the boarded up building or wander nonchalantly onto the grounds of the multi-unit compound to smoke. In the evenings, the foot traffic into this area is astounding. Men swing sweaty beer cans. Women in minis flash their gold chains, giant hoop earrings, bright lipstick, and long, glossy fingernails. The Haitian residents who occupy the rooms of this compound that front the street make a killing with this crowd, selling cigarettes and soda and beer.

All available car hoods in the parking lots of two apartment buildings in the center of the sample area serve as roost for the nightly flocks of loud young men. One apartment there, constantly changing residents, appears to be a crackhouse. There is incessant late afternoon and evening traffic in and out of this apartment. A hawk-eyed neighbor keeps watch through his sunglasses. In the mornings, the air about these apartments smells fermented.

At the same time, after work, the south end of the sample area hosts another kind of social get together. The Haitian women who live on opposite ends of a four unit apartment building bring out their tables, put them under the trees and host domino games. Haitian men who do not live in the area (who have mostly moved up and out) drive in every evening. They park their nice cars on the now destroyed yard, and, as if visiting their private club, settle noisily into their games. The young Haitian girls, who are daughters of the local residents, wait on the tables, bringing the men beer and cigarettes. The women charge for use of the tables they set up under the seagrape trees. This business is incredibly profitable, despite the verbal abuse the men dish out. An older woman keeps restaurant size pots of dinner on her stove for these customers, too.

The sample area is clearly Black, except for four White men, but ethnically, it is diverse. Haitians are 70 percent of the total population. American Blacks account for another 25 percent. The remaining 5 percent are Jamaican, Dominican (from Dominica), Barbadian, English Black, English White and American White.

These populations are self segregated -- physically and psychologically -- on the basis of one obvious dimension: language and the greater cultural disaffinities that different languages can implicate. People born in the United States, the Caribbean, and England, who identify as Blacks speak English are integrated in all Black apartment buildings. Haitians who are identified as Blacks and who speak Haitian Creole occupy all-Haitian apartments. There are minor exceptions, of course, including two married and two unmarried couples - Haitian men with American Black women. Several apartment owners/managers said they would not rent to Haitians whom they consider dirty and destructive. A young Haitian couple with three little children moved into an all

Black apartment house and most of the Blacks moved out! This segregation in the sample area is strictly per building and not geographical.

The residents of the area express disaffection and disgust with their neighborhood. The Haitians counter the prejudice, the environment, by moving out, by actively seeking learning and employment opportunities. The American Blacks exude anger and resentment. They say that everything that is governmental is a lie. They retaliate by actively refusing to participate in the machinations of the system. However, these populations are not the criminal element on the street. There is private drug use in some households, but this is the exception, not the rule. This neighborhood attracts drugs and prostitutes and fosters violence because of its obvious signs of neglect: the empty lots overtaken with trash and weeds, the building boarded up for the past six years, the vacant house with a jimmyed back door where wiped out crack addicts can crash in some kind of privacy. And, on the peripheral empty lot, there is a makeshift tented campsite used off and on by the homeless.

CHOICE OF SITE

This sample area was chosen for its Haitian character and from my experience with three resident Haitian families who were participants in a Ford Foundation Child Survival/Fair Start initiative called The Haitian Perinatal Intervention Project. Haitian families in the entire ring area came into the Children's Diagnostic Center where the Ford program was housed.

The Haitians in the sample area are still only weakly acculturated. Although they have found marginal jobs in the service sector, in construction, or yard work, these Haitians are extremely isolated. They are isolated by their monolingual language status, illiteracy, lack of formal education, and rudimentary skills. They remain culturally quite Haitian.

Catholic and Baptist Haitian churches serve their Haitian congregations in Haitian Creole. These congregations have chosen not to integrate with their American counterparts. The quintessential Haitian medium, radio, has been established in south Florida. Broadcasts in Creole cover news of Haiti, of the Haitian diaspora, health and educational advice, call-ins and public service announcements. Creole broadcasts are perpetual background, as is the sound of Haitian music, available on cassette.

The Haitian way of dressing is maintained, that is, extraordinary propriety in public. Even at home, women wear dresses, not pants or shorts, but in public, both men and women are always handsomely dressed, coiffed, shod, and bejeweled. Men wear long pants, tuck in their dress shirts, and wear hard shoes. Infants and preschoolers are dressed as if they were going to church. The school aged children, in contrast, are apparently influenced by their American peers.

The Haitian homes are decorated with figurines, preferably set out on glass coffee tables and black velvet paintings expressing religious symbolism. Plastic flowers in plastic vases are mounted on the walls next to flea market clocks with painted backdrops of lagoons or mountains.

The value of family is still intense. Work supports family members in the United States and back in Haiti. A common family goal is to buy an education for the children and/or to bring children to the United States. There is a sense of the traditional "*laku*" (courtyard) family in this area. Haitian households in the same apartment building or complex tend to create fictive kin relationships. Along fictive kin lines they share traditional tasks and resources: child care, food and food preparation, transportation, and gossip. They live life outside, in the common ground, under available shade, with laughter, constant chatter, and, often, music. The Haitian households in the sample area are more nuclear than in Haiti. Haitian households are high density situations. Haitian households are constantly acquiring missing generations or extending family membership to fictive kin and/or to boarders. Adolescent daughters help rear their siblings and learn the necessary domestic tasks.

Food choice and cooking style continue to be traditional. There is no infiltration of fast food, TV dinners, or microwave cooking. Young girls are introduced to Haitian food preparation early. Everyone, including school aged children, eats Haitian.

Dominoes continues to be the game of choice for men, who absolutely exclude women. Even Haitian men who have been successful and are working in mainstream jobs, return to play hard core dominos. In sum, the sample area is as flagrantly Haitian as it is overtly dedicated to dealing drugs, although the Haitians and the drug dealers are two very separate populations that do not intersect. The resident American and English speaking Caribbean Blacks are a third group. They hang out behind the confines of their apartments and homes or stay within, curtains pulled, doors bolted.

This complex of populations and housing presents a classic case of an area considered "hard-to-enumerate" where census results would include both underenumeration and erroneous enumeration. Both types of errors were indeed registered in the 1990 Decennial Census.

METHODOLOGY

The ethnographic sample area consisted of two census blocks with slightly less than 100 housing units. The field work was designed to explore the sample area ethnographically and conduct an Alternative Enumeration (AE) to compare with the 1990 Census count. The ethnographic record was to be used in analysis and resolution of discrepancies such as non-matches between records of people or housing units in the two counts.

Although there are many factors that would impede an accurate census in the sample area, only some were testable in the circumstances and time frame of the AE. Although significant, mailing and distribution of census forms and the effect of crime on both mailed forms and enumerators were not observable, testable factors. Poverty, a characteristic of undercounted populations, may be more a correlation than a cause. Because the sample area was generally poor, this characteristic could not be isolated from others.

Testable hypothesized causes of underenumeration in the sample area were:

1. Lack of competence in English and/or illiteracy
2. Unusual household composition
3. Questionable legal status
4. Distrust of government / attitude of concealment / resistance
5. Unusual housing without proper addresses
6. High rates of mobility.

Five of these hypotheses were stated in Martin and Brownrigg (1989); #3 -- questionable legal status-- had to be added because of the special nature of the resident Haitian population.

Lack of competence in English and/or illiteracy

The Haitian population of Broward County is largely "working class." This term is used to encompass many characteristics, including minimal or no formal education, "third world" employment skills, poverty, monolingual and/or inadequate competence in oral English, and illiteracy. Without literacy skills, the census form would not even be particularly recognizable, much less would recipients be able to fill it out by themselves. Face-to-face enumeration in English would be fraught with mis-communication and error.

Determining English competence and illiteracy or degree of literacy was straightforward. Communication with most Haitians in the sample area was next to impossible if not speaking Creole. The inevitable reciprocal relationships that evolved during the six week AE were mostly based on the Haitians maneuvering me into a role as their broker for language, literacy and culture. Favors involved filling out paperwork, writing letters, making phone calls, helping to straighten out finances, filling out school applications for the lunch program, completing applications for Medicaid, translating in doctors' offices or the hospital or Public Health, and explaining TV newscasts. The effect of serving as their cultural broker was quantifiable. After getting to know people, I created individual data profiles that included years of formal education, exposure to and competence in English, ESL class attendance, and writing skills.

Unusual household composition

These refugee Haitian households were densely packed and fluid on the periphery of some nuclear core. Households could include

1. Weekday or weekend residents
2. Boarders who are in a self-described limbo, looking for a mate with whom to establish their own residence,
3. Fellow villagers (fictive kin) who are temporary while saving to set up their own households,
4. Family and others on visitors' visas (*pase li pase* / "just passing through") and
5. The recently arrived undocumented.

During the Alternative Enumeration, it emerged that these categories were not mutually exclusive. Many Haitians whom I predicted the census enumeration strategies would miss regarded themselves as not in their proper place.

Questionable legal status

Undocumented aliens fear discovery and deportation. They do not necessarily believe statements of confidentiality or that the Census Bureau and the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) are not cooperating. In March, 1990, the INS, after years of not raiding for illegals in Broward County, staged two raids on a flea market popular with the Haitians and a Haitian open market only three blocks from the sample area. Haitians told me that people were afraid and would throw away the census forms, even those who held a temporary permit after having applied for amnesty. But, this did not turn out to be the case. One Haitian woman in the sample area included her undocumented daughter on a mail return. Other Haitians told me they were undocumented, after they came to regard me as someone who was helpful, not harmful.

Distrust of government: attitude of resistance and concealment

The Haitian refugee population has good reason to distrust the American government. The 1980 Interdiction agreement between Haiti and the United States has thwarted the efforts of many "to find a better life" in the United States. Many have lived through times of INS raids and times of no work permits. Pleas for asylum have gone disbelieved. The Haitians are treated with a prejudice based on skin color that is absent in Haiti. They felt the stigma of association with AIDS. In the United States, they were even banned by the FDA from donating blood.

Haitians are enterprising. They are survivors. In Haiti, despite impossible conditions, they maintain lots of hustles. This tradition is part of their culture. They have brought it to the United States. Their unlicensed operations and under-the-table businesses are not considered legal by the U.S. government. The Haitians have reason to conceal income generated for such "illegal" activities and would not include it in estimates of earnings. Some women would conceal income or the existence of supportive mates in order to qualify for WIC, Medicaid, and food stamps.

In getting to know people during an ethnographic stretch of time, the topic of income generating activities comes up almost inevitably, along with the opportunities to witness the nightly domino games. Depending on the relationships achieved, this information is readily available.

Unusual housing without proper addresses

Most of the housing was straightforward: standard apartment buildings and simple houses, although some obscured housing units did not have their own addresses. One big house was carved into five separate units. From the outside, this feat appears unlikely. People came and went to some housing units entered through doors without numbers. The separateness of the housing units could be observed from the trash generated and myriad odors about them. Some units hidden behind fences and other buildings were not obvious from the street. It took me a while to gain access to these units, even to realize that they were there at all, and longer to recognize their mail box situation of sharing with a more major unit.

High rates of mobility

The mobility rate of Haitians entrants in south Florida is relatively high. Those who have been here for some years tend to have settled down and constitute nuclear core

households. Even settled households are extremely fluid, bringing children from Haiti to join family permanently, hosting various "*pase li pase*" visa-holding family, and putting up neighbors and boarders. The Haitians are always aiming to improve their situation, to escape the environment of drugs and crime, and, as their families grow, to achieve the HRS standard of one bedroom per child. So they move towards their ultimate goal of a house of their own. Besides the additions to households, there are occasional subtractions, as whole households or individuals within a household return to Haiti for weeks and months at a time, to be with family, get cures, or do some business-- once their residency status in the United States is secure.

The ethnographic component of the AE, a six week window on the neighborhood, collected data revealing range and extent of mobility in the sample area in order to assess the potential impact of mobility on an accurate census count.

FIELD WORK

The AE was conducted from June 1 to July 15, 1990, with periodic return visits because of the relationships developed during the ethnographic period. Resolution fieldwork was completed in March 1991.

I worked alone, in Haitian Creole with the Haitians and in English with other sample area residents, starting at the three already established points of contact, made during a prior job, where people were familiar with my face.

It was not difficult to approach Haitian households: if home, their doors are usually open, inquisitive and friendly children play in the yards and the adults are unabashedly curious about a white American speaking Creole. It was very easy to get involved with them. They wanted me to read, write, phone, translate, accompany them to service institutions, explain prescriptions, explain laws. They encouraged me to contact the pastor of the church under construction about starting English classes for the neighborhood. They invited me to preschool graduations, birthday parties, showed me how to cook some Haitian meals, shared confidences and became very protective of me, wanting me to leave my car by their units and "check in" with them. Three women took my phone number and would call if they had not seen me for a few days.

I explored the entire neighborhood on foot, behind buildings for the unusual units, and to find the reclusive, and to get inside every unit possible. I had a great deal of difficulty getting to know the American Black population. I did not want to knock on closed doors; that seemed too impatient a tactic for ethnography. But, I did resort to this when "hanging out" failed to flush out the unobserved. Sometimes I would stumble on a group of Black men bantering among themselves at tables and chairs set up behind buildings. They would verbally "test" me: I had to participate in order to earn the right to observe. The few men I was able to talk with at length were inevitably older, ultimately quite candid and vouched for me with others. ("She's okay.") American Black women were not at all predictable; some were extraordinarily spontaneous, others totally closed. A Jamaican handyman/gardener who worked in the sample area but lived on the other side of a peripheral street also became protective and helpful and introduced me, with his stamp of approval, to some residents.

At the beginning, although I stated my purpose, the Haitians were just always happy to see me, to talk with me, ask me another favor, ask me questions, press me to become their English teacher. It was easy to sit with them and observe other units and ask questions about them. I eventually made an interview guide, for demographic information, and actually brought it to them, and sat with them discussing all the points. They would crowd about, trying to read the topics, my writing, ask what words meant. It is during this more formal looking operation - paper on a clipboard - that several people told me that they/their children were undocumented.

The American Blacks were reluctant to answer questions from a piece of paper I was holding, so I filled theirs out from notes recorded daily and kept chronologically in a word processor.

DATA ANALYSIS AND DEMOGRAPHICS

The AE of census blocks 62 and 10, reconstructed for Census Day, 1990, revealed 86 total housing units and one church under construction. There were 53 units in block 62 and 33 in block 10, the latter having sacrificed housing units for the promise of a church and parking lot. There were 150 Haitians, 54 American Blacks, and 13 "other." Haitian households consisted of many more children per adult than did those of the resident American Blacks and others and were more densely packed into their housing units.

1990 Decennial Census

According to initial census data, there were seventeen mail return responses, out of 69 occupied housing units, in the sample area. Households self-reporting were:

Haitian - 11 out of 37

American Black - 2 out of 22, but one was from a resident who had moved out of the sample area in February

American white - 3 out of 3

Jamaican (-American) - 1 out of 3

Many of the Haitian households told me that they had not received a census form and asked how they could get one. The request line did not speak Creole.

Because of the apparent disinclination of the American Blacks to participate in the census, and because illiterate Haitians may not have recognized the mailed census form, especially because it would not have had their name on it, it is virtually impossible to know how many residents actually received the census form. It is provocative that returns tended to originate at the rate of only one per building/per central address, whether a 10 unit apartment building or a 3 unit one. Two American White mail responses came from single resident buildings. The third American White mail response came from a 5 unit apartment building but this building was also represented by mail response from an ex-resident American Black. The one resident American Black mail response came from a 10 unit apartment building. There was one Haitian mail return from a 10 unit building, one from each of three separate 3 unit apartments, one from an 8 unit apartment, one from one-half of a duplex, two from 2 shotgun houses but none from another close by. A Haitian duplex received the mailed census

form, according to one member who said that a literate child was asked to fill it out. There is no record of this census form on the match data. There is one Jamaican-American mail response, from a single unit. On the other hand, to dispute the implication of these data, one 4 unit Haitian apartment building is represented by three mail responses. And, several obviously unique addresses as well as the two multi-unit situations did not respond by mail.

At the end of June 1990, residents began to report having been censused the previous evening by an enumerator. The Haitians were ecstatic: the enumerator was a Haitian woman. The Blacks were not quite so expressive but had apparently cooperated. They said a two-man team, two American Blacks, had been scouring the neighborhood together.

These culturally and linguistically appropriate enumerators counted 43 units as occupied, which, with the 17 mail returns, makes for 61 units the census considered occupied as of Census Day, 1990. The census counted 10 vacancies (and listed eleven census addresses with identification numbers for which there were no housing units in the sample area). This resulted in 71 units that were linked with AE data. The census missed 15 units altogether.

Household Misses

Of the 15 units missed, 10 were occupied on Census Day 1990, one was boarded up, four were vacant. In the 10 occupied, there were 20 people: 12 Haitian, 6 American Black, 1 English White, and 1 Jamaican.

A three member Dominican household was missed, but the unit in which it lived was not.

In addition to households within completely missed housing units, there were other household misses, namely census designated vacancies and within household individuals.

Vacancies

In block 10, four units that the census listed as vacant were occupied on April 1, 1990, according to data gathered during the AE. These households were composed of an American Black man, a Haitian man and 2 units of 3 Haitian adults each.

Within Household Misses

There were 3 American Blacks missed in this context: a neighbor reported resident of a unit census enumerated as a single household, but with minimal demographics, a disabled child living with and being reared by his aunt, although his mother lived elsewhere and an adult daughter.

One Haitian man was missed by the enumerator. He was simply not reported by his pregnant companion who feared his ability to jeopardize her access to services. A Haitian baby was not reported by the census, although her mother and grandmother were included in the census.

ERRONEOUS ENUMERATIONS

Erroneous enumerations occurred by virtue of both mail return and the face-to-face enumeration process. A few individuals and households who moved in after Census Day were counted in the 1990 Decennial. The official census lists also had both double and triple enumeration of some sample area residents.

Mail returns

There was one mail return from a unit that had been vacant for more than two months. And, an enthusiastic Haitian father included his unborn child on his census mail return.

Whole household In-movers

On Census Day 1990, there were 69 occupied units in the sample area. From that day until mid-July 1990, thirteen of the households moved out entirely. Five of these households were Haitian, six American Black and two were Haitian-Black. During the same time period, eleven households moved into vacant or post census emptied units. Five of these new households were Haitian, six American Black. Of the post census in-mover households, one Haitian household of four individuals was enumerated by the census as three individuals present on Census Day. Two American Black households of three and two individuals were respectively enumerated.

Within household In-movers

Post Census Day mobility within existing households paints a different picture. There were only two cases of individuals, both Haitian, leaving their respective households, but there were nine cases of in movement to households extant on Census Day 1990. Of these cases, only one was American Black, and a newborn, but the other eight cases were Haitian. One household was increased by the arrival, two weeks after Census Day, of four of the parents' children brought up from Haiti. Another household absorbed five non-family members who arrived from their hometown in Haiti. The remaining six cases are of single individuals, including two newborns.

Of the post census within household in-mover individuals, only the group of four Haitian children was enumerated by the enumerator as if present on Census Day. The Haitian baby which arrived post census had been listed by the father on the mail return census.

Duplicate Enumerations

1. A Jamaican man was listed in association with two different apartment numbers in an apartment house. Neither number was right, but he represents a unit and household that clearly matches with one in the AE. Surprisingly, his wife was only counted with him once.
2. Three members of a Haitian mail return household were enumerated face-to-face, at exactly the same address, but were assigned different I.D. numbers.
3. Two members of a four member enumerated household were reenumerated and given new I.D.s., at the same address.
4. A Haitian woman was properly enumerated with her household but was then listed separately as the sole resident of a nonexistent unit/address, new I.D. number.

5. Two Haitian women were enumerated as residents of a vacant house and then enumerated with new I.D. numbers next door in a somewhat unorthodox unit which was their true residence.

6. A child was enumerated twice, separate I.D., in a wrong but neighbor apartment long after her family had sent in its census form.

Triplicate Enumeration

A member of a three person Black household which had mail returned its census form was enumerated with her daughter, both with new I.D. numbers, in an apartment in which a very different family lived, completely destroying any evidence of the true household's demographics. She was also enumerated face-to-face with another I.D. assigned as resident of the apartment for which the family had sent in their census form.

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

Haitians

I proposed to do this ethnographic AE because I felt that the Haitian community would be both hard-to-enumerate and underenumerated. I knew of their alleged fear and distrust of the government but felt that the language barrier might be more insurmountable, a more intractable barrier.

After being in the community for a while, I realized that the significant category of "pase li pase" individuals, despite the longevity of their stays, might account for some earlier unpredicted within household misses.

But, it was clear from the moment I mentioned the census that the Haitians in the sample area were well informed, enthusiastic to participate and very proud if they had already filled out and returned the census form. And, those who said that they had not received the forms were not satisfied until a female Haitian enumerator had come to their doors.

The households that filled out mail returns correlate with an adult member who has been aggressive about English as a Second Language or with adolescent children in the public school system.

The Haitian enumerator was obviously aware of the "pase li pase" phenomenon and successfully enumerated every single one I predicted the census would miss, except for one in a housing unit labeled as "vacant" by the census, and another in a whole housing unit/household miss.

Illegal status turned out not to be a factor in nonenumeration. A mother listed her undocumented child on a mail return; new arrivals told me that they had no papers; many of the Haitian residents had only "temporary status" due to application for amnesia. They are very anxious about their legal limbo, but in the sample area, this was not a factor inhibiting cooperation with the census.

One Haitian woman concealed knowledge of her mate. They have a very unreliable relationship and she worries about supporting herself and her children.

The majority of the Haitian population not counted lived in unusual or irregular housing which was omitted on census records:

1. a house with one address and one mailbox despite having been carved into five separate units,
2. two units not obvious --hidden behind a 6-foot wooden fence, the front door the face of an apparent single-family residence which sported a "For Rent" sign,
3. a separate studio apartment in a strip apartment with four doors but only two mailboxes by doors marked 1 and 2,
4. an apartment in a two story apartment house, but whose front door was right at the edge of the balcony and opened to the edge rather than in the safer direction and whose number was covered by many layers of paint.

Not unrelated to unusual housing is inaccessible housing, called "vacant" by the census:

1. a single member Haitian housing unit / household. The occupant was gone all day and half the night at two jobs and the owner of the building kept a "For-Rent" sign at the front.
2. the two units of a duplex surrounded by a six-foot wooden fence. The gates are constantly padlocked. Six people were missed.

American Blacks

The non-Haitian element in the sample area was, as it turned out, more difficult to enumerate. Their attitude was quite unenthusiastic, if not resistant. Evidence the dearth of mail returns. After getting to know some of these residents myself, I realized that they were consciously not participating in the census. Again, I would have predicted that all would have been missed, until they told me about the census team of two Black male enumerators. It is obvious that the enumerators had some difficulty getting complete cooperation, that they had to rely on second party information in some cases and made several "last resort" listings.

But, most of their housing units were enumerated, even if resident demographics were incomplete. Only four units in which American Blacks lived were completely missed, two because they were irregular, no address mailbox and not obvious from the street. The other two omitted units are in a standard apartment building which has nonstandard numbering. This building also experienced double and triple enumerations. In the evenings, the building is the scene of drug and alcohol use, with many nonresidents milling in the parking lot, a poorly lit and obstructive situation for enumerators.

One unit which the AE found to have been occupied on Census Day, the census listed as vacant. There was no mail return. According to next door neighbors and the trustworthy Jamaican gardener across the street, the house had one owner/occupant. These witnesses offered details of his late night escapades. I believed he existed.

The census listed two units on a "last resort" basis as occupied by people of "Black race" yet were vacant, according to my own coincidental observations at census time, while preparing a few residents for the April area visit. The census enumerations are particularly suspicious because the residents listed on the matched data sets are only coded for race, not for sex or age. They could scarcely have been observed, judging by the singular categorization their race, (Black), nor were details apparently solicited from neighbors who would have been able to offer sex and age data.

The census enumerated an American Black household completely where I was able to achieve only an approximation of residents. Enumerators had been to the house before me; a relative of the residents effectively denied me access, based on her knowledge of completed enumeration.

For three American Black housing units whose residents I did not see until very late in the field work period, neighbor Haitians told me who lived there, offering explicit details about the residents' inferred lives. A single member household of one of the units did confront me on her bicycle one day, asked me many questions, including my name, but refused hers. According to the match data, she was not cooperative at all with the census. She and the members of the other two units are listed as "P," by virtue of a proxy respondent, with no other demographics.

In another apartment house, the enumerators were much more successful than I with two households. In both, the enumerators had spoken with them just before I came around and they were unwilling to believe I had a different function. For one unit, I was able, at least, to establish the number of people resident and their approximate ages. I saw them all, face-to-face. The other unit was upstairs in an apartment which always seemed to be full of women and children. When I finally went upstairs, I was followed by a teen-aged boy brandishing a lead pipe threateningly toward me. A young girl in the apartment whom I had seen previously persuaded him to desist. I left and over the following weekend the residents of this apartment had a shoot out with the residents of the apartment below them. The next time I came by, there were eviction notices posted on the bullet pocked doors. For this apartment, I had to rely on a neighbor's observations, but they did not match the census enumerated data. The census data had been collected face-to-face on a long form. The enumerators' account seemed more credible, as they had gained access.

One apartment house with four units occupied by American Blacks was problematic for both census enumerators and me. The resident owner/manager was covering up a couple of scandals which would have taken me much more time to unearth and understand. His tenants indulged in the standard acceptable banter with him, but dropped reeking hints when he was absent. I was unsure about the rules of this game and was hesitant to ask the tenants for confirmation of my suspicions when such confidences obviously were going to require new forms of reciprocity.

The Black enumerators were forced to make a "last resort" assessment of one apartment and a superficial count of the other apartment. The latter was erroneous enumeration of an in-mover, according to the response I received at the door of the same unit, the same approximate time. In the case of the former apartment (last resort), the resident was stabbed through the brain; no neighbor or tenant is talking. The true residence status as of April 1, 1990, is still moot.

Others

There were three American White men in the sample area, each a single person household who filled out and returned his census form. So did a Jamaican-American couple. A Black Englishman was counted by the two manned Black enumerating team. A Jamaican couple were enumerated by the enumerating team who did not get their address correct. The male partner of the couple was enumerated twice.

A Dominican household was omitted although their housing unit was not. Enumerators instead listed two members of a Black American household in this unit, residents of another housing unit who had already been counted by virtue of their mailed census form. One member of this Black family was, additionally, enumerated a third time.

Another Jamaican man was missed, the sole member of a whole household/housing unit miss, due to unusual housing. A single person household White Englishman was also omitted, the victim of unusual, unlisted housing.

Again, it is unusual (census-omitted) and difficult of access housing (census-vacant) which lead to omission of individuals and units, for all resident populations in this sample area.

ERRONEOUS ENUMERATIONS

Situational errors

The counting of post April 1, 1990 in-movers by face-to-face enumerators is related to mobility and to the nonreturn of mail forms. But, since not all post census in-movers were enumerated in the sample area, there may be various causes: enumerators' failure to ask about dates of residency, to verify them, respondents' inability to understand or to remember dates with certainty.

Multiple enumerations

The one triple and several double enumerations might be inevitable, considering the spirit of cooperation and degree of alertness of residents, alertness of enumerators and numbers of enumerators in the neighborhood. The enumeration process was not observed.

CONCLUSION

Hypotheses regarding predicted undercount in the mixed sample area of Creole speaking Haitians and English-speaking American and Caribbean Blacks and four Whites were tested in a match of an alternative ethnographic enumeration with the census enumeration. Predicted misses, based on expected disjuncture of populations with nonstandard characteristics vis-a-vis traditional census methodology, were largely

unrealized because the local census strategy was sensitive to many of the obstacles and had planned accordingly.

Census Methodology

A Haitian man named Jacques Mazurin, well known to the south Florida Haitian community as singer, community worker and Haitian TV anchor, out of Miami, was appointed by the U.S. Census Bureau to be its delegate to the Haitians of south Florida. His purpose was to dispel the Haitians' fear of deportation and the lack of trust regarding census promises of confidentiality.

In addition, in Broward County, a small group of interested Haitians, summoned by an office of the County called Immigration Support Services, organized themselves to reach out to their community, to publicize the census in Creole, to get on radio and Haitian TV (they had one early Sunday morning panel show about the census), to print pamphlets in Creole and distribute them to churches, to provide help in filling out forms at centers. Three Haitian churches offered space for this service. This group, which called itself The Haitian Committee for Census Awareness in Broward County felt that the biggest hindrance to a good count of Haitians was the Haitian lack of confidence in the governmental promises, in this case, of confidentiality. The group reminded their audience that there was a \$100 fine for not cooperating.

There was a great hullabaloo at the Broward district offices about hiring minority enumerators, especially Spanish and Creole-speaking. A late ruling allowed resident aliens to be hired as enumerators, so long as they were fluent in English and literate, of course, but the general feeling among applicants was that citizens received first preference. The census asked local agencies to recruit bilingual volunteers to help Haitians fill out forms. Bi- and tri-lingual Haitians said they felt insulted to be asked by the census to do for free what enumerators do for pay.

A Haitian man on the Haitian Committee for Census Awareness did tell me that he knew of three Haitians hired in north Broward County, two in the office, one sent out to enumerate.

Census vis-a-vis the hypotheses

1. Languages other than English and Illiteracy: The Haitian population had been primed by their own community, in their own language, to participate, to fill out the forms themselves or take them to a center and have someone help. This strategy was obviously effective. The census very wisely sent a Haitian woman, speaking Haitian Creole, to enumerate those who had not sent in a mail return. She was not only warmly accepted, she was anxiously anticipated.
2. Unusual household composition: No one was missed for this reason alone. The Haitian enumerator's sensitivity to Haitian cultural categories of residence enabled her to capture suspect individuals. Despite unusual household composition, some members were counted even having moved into the area after Census Day, 1990.
3. Questionable legal status: The Haitian Committee for Census Awareness and the census' delegate to south Florida's Haitian community were apparently successful, in

the sample area at least, at dispelling the fear of deportation should one cooperate with the census.

4. Distrust of government and concealment: Except for one woman protecting her resources by denying the existence of male support, the Haitians in the sample area disprove this stereotypical notion about their community. They may not have cooperated fully in questions concerning income, but they did not avoid the census in order to protect illicit income generating activities. There actually seemed to be more distrust of government on the part of the American Black population. Demographics for these residents are not complete on match data, even including sex and age. Most of the American Black population expressed total disbelief in promises of more funds flowing into the community should the community cooperate with the census.

5. Unusual housing: This was the major source of undercount in the sample area. Omitted units were mostly irregular, unexpected, without addresses, without their own mailboxes. Not all were missed; the Haitian enumerator listed several such units and their households. Reasons that standard address and regular housing units were missed may have to do with enumerator performance, affected by particular features of the sample area context.

6. High rates of mobility: This hypothesis turns out to be predictive of enumeration error rather than undercount. Some people who moved into the area after April 1, 1990 were enumerated during the summer face-to-face enumeration. Some people who considered themselves temporary were enumerated. There was mobility in six of the totally missed units, too, so this hypothesis was not even able to be tested with all available data in the sample area.

Implications for Census Methodology

Based on the evidence of enumeration in this difficult to enumerate sample area, there are several strategies which were and would be effective in achieving a more accurate count:

1. Target publicity to the specific fears and concerns of specific populations and communities, utilizing spokesmen esteemed by and media preferred by those populations,
2. Recruit ethnically and linguistically matched and sensitive enumerators to conduct the more personalistic census,
3. Schedule a shorter hiatus between mail return and face-to-face enumeration to reduce the number of erroneous enumerations,
4. and an effort to ferret out unlisted addresses, pre-census housing units or "reward" enumerators for discovering them while enumerating their assigned housing units.

The irony of the Haitian community's efforts to publicize and encourage participation in the census, and of the excellent enumeration accomplished by the Haitian enumerator in the sample area, is that the Haitian population was not censused as Haitian, but

rather as Black. Only a family of five Haitians, that returned their census long form, is census identified as Haitian in the sample area. Some Haitians inferably chose not to identify with a racial category. They chose an "O" for "other" or did not respond to the category at all ("9"). There were no ethnic options on the short form relevant to their origins. This is also the case for the Barbadian, Jamaican, Dominican and English elements of the sample area's population.

Subsequently, the extraordinary cultural and linguistic complexity of this population in just two blocks is completely obscured. It is a tremendous loss to the community as a whole, but easily remediable: there should be an option for everyone to write his ethnicity, not just for a few preselected ethnic groupings.

REFERENCES CITED

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1989 Proposed study plan for Ethnographic Evaluation of the Behavioral Causes of Undercount. Background paper prepared for the Census Advisory Committee of the American Statistical Association and the Census Advisory Committee on Population Statistics at the Joint Advisory Committee Meeting, April 13-14, Alexandria, Virginia..

Information: This is the final report of research supported under Joint Statistical Agreement (JSA) 90-10 between the United States Bureau of the Census and the Community Service Council of Broward County, Inc. (Florida) Dated March 1992, this was issued as Report # 7 in the Ethnographic Evaluation of the 1990 Decennial Census series and on April 30, 1993 as PREM #224.

The views, opinions, and findings contained in this report are those of the author and should not be construed as an official Bureau of the Census position, policy or decision, unless so designated by other official documentation. This is a public document and may not be copyrighted. Please cite as:

Wingerd, Judith. (1992) Urban Haitians: documented / undocumented in a mixed neighborhood. Ethnographic Evaluation of the 1990 Decennial Census Report #7.

Disclaimer: This is the final report for one of the 29 independent Joint Statistical Agreement projects which conducted an ethnographic evaluation of the behavioral causes of undercount. All 29 studies followed common methodological guidelines. This report is based on an analysis of the results of a match between the author(s)' Alternative Enumeration to data from the 1990 Decennial Census forms for the same site. Each ethnographic site contained about 100 housing units. Information was compiled from census forms that were recovered through October 10, 1990. The data on which this report is based should be considered preliminary for several reasons: Between October 10, 1990 and December 31, 1990, additional census forms may have been added to or deleted from the official enumeration of the site as a result of coverage improvement operations, local review, or other late census operations. Differences between October 10, 1990 and final census results as reported on the Unedited Detail File were incorporated in later analyzes of data from this site. The consistency of the authors' coding of data has not been fully verified. Hypothesis tests and other analyzes are original to the author. Therefore, the quantitative results contained in this final JSA report may differ from later reports issued by Census Bureau Staff referring to the same site.

The exact location of the area studied and the names of persons and addresses enumerated by the independent researchers and in the 1990 Decennial Census are Census confidential and cannot be revealed until the year 2062. The researchers who participated in this study were Special Sworn Employees (SSE) or staff of the Census Bureau.

Technical Representative's note: Judy Wingerd's site was one of sites overlapped with the 1990 Post Enumeration Survey (P.E.S.) on a triple-blind basis. Neither the researchers conducting the Alternative Enumerations, nor the Census enumerators, nor the P.E.S. interviewers were informed this experiment would take place to preserve the independence of each enumeration. The housing units' addresses and households were triple linked and individual census reports were in triple matched. Some results of the triple linking and matching are discussed in Hamid and Brownrigg, posted on the SRD Internet site.

For more information, contact Leslie A. Brownrigg in Statistical Research Division of the Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C. 20033, (301) 457-4995 or by email to ***Leslie.A.Brownrigg @ ccmil.census.gov***