The Cultural Ground of Broward
Benchmarks
Needs, Goals, Priorities

The Coordinating Council of Broward
December 1999

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THE CULTURAL GROUND OF BROWARD
BENCHMARKS
NEEDS, GOALS, PRIORITIES

By Judith L. Wingerd, Anthropologist

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ABSTRACT

The Cultural Ground of Broward describes growth and diversity of the county's foreign-born populations over time, both demographically and qualitatively. The demographic picture is drawn from institutional data sets and enhanced by more observable indicators, such as local groceries and places of worship. Populations are variously settled throughout the county: clustered, concentrated or scattered, usually correlative with their internal socioeconomic complexity as well as proximity to and relationship with other communities. The qualitative picture entails histories of emigration, secondary migration and acculturation. In addition, "quality of life" categories were explored with community members. Perceptions, information, opinions and questions were gathered in myriad open conversations among the foreign-born populations. These took place in churches, temples and mosques, community centers, clubs, English classes, agencies, shops, outreach activities, at social functions and ethnic/cultural festivals, at regular meetings of cultural advisory boards, and with community leaders, newspaper editors and radio personnel. Ultimately, this information reveals perspectives on the livability of Broward from the eyes, expectations and hopes of the foreign-born, and subsequently, their needs, goals and priorities.

Not only do the data demonstrate stupendous growth provoked by both international as well as local events: political turmoil to war to lack of jobs to natural disasters, but, also, that long-term diversity has grown roots and is constantly refreshed by family re-unification and by the ease of international communication. Cultural/ethnic populations have grown in numbers and developed infrastructurally in Broward even since mid-decade. International events continue to influence quality of life in Broward as allowances for dual citizenship result in a substantial community that has access to a bi-national life while others are relegated to a more circumscribed existence tied to more restrictive immigration statuses. While immigrant settlement brings a sense of globalization to Broward, it also highlights simmering internal issues, such as perceptions of race turned into discrimination and xenophobic attitudes toward the foreign-born. Acculturation is experienced as intensely by the host community as by immigrants. Provision of services and quality of life are seriously impacted by the resultant miscommunication and misunderstandings. Recommendations are made toward resolution of some of this dissonance.

"Cultural ground" is meant as a qualitative exploration of the vast territory of diversity in Broward County. By its nature, it could not be comprehensive. It represents an attempt to hear from the diverse community, to gather information, some ground, on which further research and other more delimited studies could be built.

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INTRODUCTION

In the 1910 U.S. Census, the count for what would become Broward County, composed then of precincts of both Dade and Palm Beach counties, specifically, Dania, Hallandale, Ft. Lauderdale, Deerfield Beach and Pompano Beach, was 1510. By 1998, the population had increased more than a thousand-fold to slightly more than 1.5 million. Recent Census data regarding population growth in Broward from 1997 to 1998 estimated a gain of approximately 30,000, almost half of which was from direct immigration into the county, more than double the immigrant increase estimated for 1990 to 1991.[1]

Additionally, the resident population in 1910 was, for the most part, of European descent, if not European. (The Seminoles were not censused.) The Census form included questions as to place of birth, revealing the diverse ancestral origins of the American-born as well as the wide range of countries represented by European immigrants. They were preponderantly from western and northern Europe. Dania was settled by Danes, Hallandale by Halland, a Swede, also the name of a Swedish town. Additionally, the census data reveal evidence of a lesser number of immigrants from "Nassau" and "West Indies." Bahamians had entered early in the century at Coconut Grove, where they worked as fishermen. Some moved up into Broward County to work on the farmlands and/or as longshoremen at Port Everglades. Many settled permanently in Ft. Lauderdale, in the near northwest between Broward Blvd. and Sistrunk Blvd., but commuted back and forth to "the Lake:" Lake Okeechobee and the fields around Belle Glade, or to the more local farms in Deerfield Beach, Dania, Hollywood and Hallandale. They are reputed to have been "hard workers" as well as religious folk with many ministers among them. The Bahamians are credited with founding the Episcopalian (Anglican) churches in the area. Broward was very much an agricultural settlement in 1910, evidence the majority of answers for the census question as to "occupation:" "farmer." Necessary support services were also reported: "laborer," "maid," "servant," "launderer," "cook," "doctor," etc. The last of those fields which first inspired settlement, not quite yet consumed by development, today hosts Broward's remaining migrant workers, squeezed tightly up to the Palm Beach county line in northernmost Coconut Creek. The original "precincts" incorporated as cities separately and Broward County separated out of Palm Beach and Dade in 1915. The arrival of (Flagler's) Florida East Coast Railway to Broward in February, 1896, had contributed immensely to growth by making it possible to move crops to more distant markets, transport tourists and potential homeowners which, in turn, inspired the inevitable demand for development.

United States' immigration law in the first decades of the 20th century continued a tradition of unlimited receptivity to all, although the Chinese had been excluded just prior to the turn of the century in the late 1800's. (Their welcome had been dependent on the need for laborers to build the transcontinental railroad. Nonetheless, those Chinese had developed another niche for themselves before 1900, as launderers, and moved on to urban areas, such as Miami, to provide this service, and to develop inner-city groceries.) There was such an unprecedented flood of immigrants (more than 10 million) between 1906 and 1915, bringing in peoples from southern and eastern Europe as well as the inferably preferred north and west Europe, that the government passed a new law: the Immigration Act of 1924. Potent political pressure to restrict immigration of southern and eastern Europeans that included large numbers of Catholics and Jews was effected. The new Act allowed for continued unlimited immigration from the Western Hemisphere and for Europe, a total of 154,000 per year. Immigrants from the East were essentially excluded. Of the allowable limits on western European allotments, Great Britain received the majority, then Germany, then Ireland. The meager remainder were to be shared by the other western European nations.

1950 Broward County Census numbers reflect that unrestricted immigration from the first quarter of the 20th century, prior to 1924, especially in contrast with the different profiles drawn by post 1950 censuses. The total (censused) population of Broward in 1950 was 83,933. Of the 54,116 foreign-born living in Broward in

that year (naturalized and not), the largest number were immigrants from the U.S.S.R.: 8,998.[2] Second were Italians: 6,522 and third were Poles at 6,437. Canadians who had immigrated prior to 1950 numbered 4,868 while German-born were 4,613. British were 2,534, Austrians 2,071, Hungarian 1,672 and Scots 1,102. In contrast, there were no Haitian-born counted in the 1950 Census, but 535 Cuban immigrants and 284 Jamaicans were. 107 Argentinean immigrants, 74 Brazilians, 40 Guyanese, 34 Peruvians and 31 Colombians had immigrated prior to the 1950 Census. From the East, prior to 1950, and presumably prior to the 1924 exclusion of Eastern hemisphere immigrants: 353 Turkish immigrants, 105 Chinese, 61 Lebanese and 41 Asian Indians were living in Broward County. (These are only examples of an extraordinary, if not numerically huge, diversity).

Foreign-Born Census 1950	
USSR	8,998
Italian	6,522
Polish	6,437
Canadian	4,868
German	4,613
British	2,534
Austrian	2,071
Hungarian	1,672
Scottish	1,102
Haitian	0
Jamaican	284
Guyanese	40
Cuban	535
Argentinean	107
Peruvian	34
Colombian	31
Brazilian	74
Turkish	353
Lebanese	61
Asian Indian	41
Chinese	105

After World War II, there were millions of displaced persons in central Europe, as well as elsewhere. The 1924 Immigration Act did not allow the United States the flexibility to accept responsibility to resettle such refugees, but in 1948, the United States passed the Displaced Persons Act as special dispensation for the emergency need. In 1950, the new act was amended to loan funds to voluntary agencies that would help in resettlement efforts in other countries. The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 retained the quotas set in 1924 but added anti-Communist language. There were continuous add-ons for skills preferences, security clearances, even mandatory certificates of readmittance to home country should an immigrant be deported. The establishment of the United Nations Commissioner for Refugees in 1953 brought a focus to the "need for international policies and procedures."[3] The Hungarian revolution in 1956 left thousands of refugees: 38,000 were re-settled in the United States. Ultimately, in total, more than 725,000 Central European refugees entered the United States from 1948 to the early 1960's (mainly by suspension of provenance and quota limits).

American immigration policy affected the demographics of Broward. In the decade after World War II, from 1950 to 1960, Austrian, Czech, German, Greek, Hungarian, Italian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Polish, Romanian, Russian and Yugoslavian-born peoples, considered "displaced persons," settled in Broward in substantially larger numbers than they did in the following decade.

Census data indicate another shift in immigration patterns in Broward in the early 1960's. There were 535 Cuban-born counted in 1950, a number that subsequently climbed during the '60's, post-Castro: Cubans entered and overstayed on visitor and student visas. The Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1962 was effected to provide necessary services to the Cubans, who, by that time, had become known as "refugees." The label "refugee" assumed official status as a category of in-migrant, based on evidence or fear of racial, religious or political persecution that prevented a person from returning to his home country. The term also recognized the need for assistance to live.

Meanwhile, the reality of increasing numbers of displaced peoples in the world provoked significant reconsideration of the quota system stipulated by the 1924 Immigration Act. A major replacement was drawn and enacted. The Immigration Act of 1965 opened quotas to immigration from the far Eastern hemisphere. (Asian Indians credit the new law with their current presence and ability to access higher education and skilled employment in the United States.) There were new preferences for immigration of relatives of immigrant residents, and allowance for special parole conditions, declarable by the Attorney General. By 1966, Cubans were ruled eligible for permanent resident status. By 1970, 2,138 Cubans were census-estimated in Broward. The U.S. government had become more involved in resettlement of refugees, both abroad and locally. When the Vietnamese were accorded refugee status in the United States, they were re-settled, but with less liberal benefits than the Cubans had received.

By 1980, there was a total of almost 8,000 Cuban-born censused in Broward. Jamaican immigration had also increased, beginning with 284 by 1950, more than a thousand additional by 1970, close to 3500 more by 1980, for a total of 5,109. Colombian immigration climbed from 31 in 1950 to a total of 1,908 by Census 1980. Haitian immigration increased from none in 1950 to 27 by 1960, 238 more by 1970 and a jump of 1,584 by 1980 for a total of 1,849. These numbers reflect changing economic, social and political conditions elsewhere in the Caribbean Basin and were the roots of the future diversification of Broward County. Because Puerto Ricans are not, by definition, foreign-born, their numbers do not show up in these data, but they also had begun to settle in substantial numbers in Broward, in a secondary migration they began to make from New York City, where so many had first gone in the 50's. The Puerto Rican natives are some of those who most energetically assumed a leadership role to provide services for the influx of Cubans in the early '80's in Broward County. Still active in the community today, they, with the Cubans, are the founders of Hispanic Unity in Hollywood, 1982, as well as of many of the long extant county-wide Hispanic social and cultural organizations.

Another population that was already substantial by 1950, at 4,868, was Canadian. Their numbers steadily increased, but really boomed in the '70's as they escaped what they perceived to be the Cuban invasion of Miami-Dade County, its beaches and its socio-politics. They moved into Hallandale from North Dade where they bought property: condominiums, mobile homes, apartments and motels, and continued the process up into Hollywood. Canadians were counted at 14,644 in the 1980 Census. They have continued to migrate northward up the County, along the beach, but also out to north and west Broward, and more recently into the Lauderdale Lakes and Sunrise areas, where affordable property has become available.

The resettlement efforts for Vietnamese political refugees were also underway in Broward by 1970, when the Census cites 14 living in the County. By 1980, this was 307, slowly but surely growing roots.

The Refugee Act of 1980, inspired by the Cuban-Haitian entrants at the time of the Mariel boatlift, caused further refinement of the definition of refugee. The newly established Office of Refugee Resettlement, in the Department of Health and Human Services, delineated detailed resettlement and assistance policies. Broward was seriously affected by the influx of refugees and its new responsibilities to provide services: health care, English classes, job placement, education, housing, to the entrants.

The flow of refugees and immigrants into Broward through the 80's included yet new faces: Romanians fleeing communism, via refugee camps in Hungary, were resettled in Hollywood as there was already a small, earlier established, Romanian community there. Central Americans (Hondurans, Nicaraguans, Salvadorans, Guatemalans) escaping the stew of political uprisings and wars of the 80's, in which the United States was implicated or involved, began to appear in south Florida, with secondary migration from Miami-Dade to Broward. Haitians, escaping political oppression and its effects, continued to aim for South Florida. Secondary migration of Haitians had begun from Montreal and New York City, as well, and was on-going out of Miami-Dade County. In the mid-late 80's, Russian Jews, considered religious refugees, also were resettled into southern Broward County, channeled through the Hebrew Immigration Aide Society to Jewish Family Services. An allowance for "family reunification" is scheduled to end in 2000. An earlier wave of Jewish refugees that first settled in New York City starting in 1969-70, had already slowly migrated south to south Florida.

A large contingent of "unauthorized" (without duly granted immigration status) peoples remained in South Florida, and elsewhere, in the 1980's. In 1986, the United States Legislature passed the Immigration Reform and Control Act, more commonly known as IRCA, with the purpose of providing an opportunity for the undocumented who had been living in the U.S. to adjust status under the auspices of an amnesty. This act was paired with new sanctions on employers who might continue to hire "unqualified" (undocumented) peoples. These were efforts to stem the flow of unauthorized immigration. The amnesty was amended to include the "special agricultural workers," (SAWs), who had been working "in U.S. agriculture for at least ninety days between May 1985 and May 1986."[4] These efforts resulted in the ultimate legalization of 2.9 million legally employable people. Later, the Immigration Act of 1990 offered amnesty to legally unqualified family members of those who had been granted amnesty. After three years, those who had received amnesty were eligible for residence; after five, for citizenship.

These Acts seriously affected the demographics of South Broward: anyone who passed by the temporary INS office at Andrews and SW 6th St. in Ft. Lauderdale during that time would remember the endless line of applicants wrapped around the block in the hot sun, day after day. And these Acts have not deterred those who are so determined to seek a better life for themselves and their families, that they try repeatedly to enter the country. Denial of benefits does not hinder the flow: the real drive is to participate in the economic opportunities promised by the aura of the United States. People want to work to support their families. Even the most recent immigration legislation, passed in 1996, basically denying access to any benefits and promising strict enforcement of sponsor responsibilities, does not curtail the drive to get to the United States. There continues to be the possibility of work in the United States, while there is not in so many countries with dwindling economies. The news, three years since passage of the severe Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigration Responsibility Act of 1996 and the Personal Responsibility and Work Reconciliation Act of 1996, continues to report attempts at undocumented entry.

Also by the end of the 80's, there was already a strong Brazilian presence in Broward - which was not captured in the 1990 census. Censused at 76 by 1950, only 302 by 1980 and an undercounted 2,494 by 1990, another picture was suggested by other indicators. By 1990, there were several locally published newspapers and magazines as well as at least twenty Brazilian newspapers from Brazil available to the community, small bakeries and food stores, small shops full of Brazilian music and weekly updates of Brazilian news and soap operas on video, money exchanges and several large, popular restaurants with typical Brazilian entertainment but that also

served as social centers for the community in lieu of the more traditional church centers, all of these obvious on Atlantic Blvd. toward Rt. 1 in Pompano Beach and up into Deerfield Beach. Many Brazilians had taken the opportunity presented by a change in government in 1989 to come to the United States, seeking both education and work, although there was prior emigration inspired by serious inflation. Visitor and student visas were popular means of initial access.

The Colombian presence had also greatly increased through the '80's, censused at 9,938 in 1990, up from 1908 in 1980, a reflection of the unpredictable state of the nation, a concern for protection of life and resources. Peruvians continued to increase in number in Broward as well: 3,579 in 1990 from 489 in 1980: both border warfare as well as the internal political situation are cited as causes to have emigrated. Venezuelan numbers in Broward were also growing: 1,601 by 1990. Those with resources to protect were coming to South Florida. The current decade also has seen a substantial increase in Venezuelans in Broward due to the impending and now installed change of government but continued uncertainty as to the policies and direction of the country.

Communities that had been seeded so long ago in Broward County were substantial by 1990. According to Census estimates, there were 198,224 "foreign-born persons," out of a total 1,255,488 in Broward in 1990. As a response to the growing need for evaluation and placement, crossing a tacit threshold of numbers of foreign-born in the school system, the Broward County School Board opened its Multicultural Education Department August 23, 1989, registering the foreign-born and testing for language competence in a separate facility. (Throughout the 1980's, newspaper reports had documented the dilemma of placing and teaching non-English speaking immigrant and refugee children, many of whom had never been to school at all.) Numbers were not insignificant: in the school year 1989-90, 4,054 students were registered representing 92 countries and 41 languages. At that time, the total student body was 149,096. For the school year 1998-99, as of December 1998, the numbers were 27,060 foreign-born students representing 166 countries and 59 languages in a student body of 231,429.

Indicators of Population Size, Location and Growth

The 1990 Census data were considered an undercount at the time, but that dearth was multiplied by the tremendous demographic change that occurred to Broward following Hurricane Andrew in August of 1992. Thousands of "refugees" from south Miami-Dade County, whose properties were devastated and/or who chose not to remain and rebuild, made the exodus to southwest and western Broward County, which inspired such a building boom and infusion of diversity, that the Broward County of 1999 reflects less a demographic evolution than a demographic invasion.

Because the 2000 Census numbers will not be available immediately and the more detailed long-form information relating to composition of the population: provenance, ancestry, language, socioeconomic status, education, etc., will be available even later, in the face of ongoing, growing and changing needs for service, infrastructure and policy planning in Broward, it is useful to collect and consider all sources of relevant demographic information in order to know as much as possible about the county's residents.

As part of the quality of life research, an attempt has been made to suggest the size and growth vectors as well as describe the whereabouts of foreign-born populations/communities on the basis of an assortment of inferred, imperfect indicators. These are Census, School Board K-12 and Adult/Community student registrations, Broward Community College registrations, Department of Children and Family numbers of "Legal Aliens Receiving Assistance in Broward County;" numbers and locations of ethnic groceries, churches/congregations, available foreign and locally published ethnic newspapers/newsletters/ magazines, radio programs, television shows/stations/cable/satellite, availability of ethnic videos and cassettes; ethnic businesses catering primarily to

their own resident population such as money exchanges, shipping services, travel agencies, clothes stores, professional services; community based organizations; cultural clubs and organizations, ethnic political clubs; cultural and multi-cultural advisory boards and councils to governmental agencies in the county.

The limitations of Census data have already been mentioned: for "foreign-born" populations, these are basically estimates, based on sampling. Sample achieved numbers are not absolutes, but rather estimates with some latitude on either side. Additionally, both censusing and sampling foreign-born, foreign language speaking residents require extra cultural and linguistic sensitivity. Foreign-born are considered "hard-to-enumerate," at least by traditional methodologies.

The School Board data are strictly "foreign-born," therefore not indicative of the possible extent of ethnicity in the county, which would include, at least, children born of the foreign-born. In many cases, the "foreign-born" numbers are tip-of-the-iceberg indicators. For instance, Hispanic foreign-born are about 4% of the total student population in the public schools in 1998-99, but 16% self-identify as "Hispanic" ("ethnicity") on enrollment paperwork.

Broward County School Board foreign-born data were made available per school, not by traffic analysis zone ("TAZ"s are geographical units of grouped home addresses, smaller than census tracts). Voluntary busing and distant magnet enrollment complicate use of foreign-born numbers per school as indication of populations' distribution throughout the county. Nonetheless, the school board data generally affirm and are affirmed by other indicators of geographic distribution.

Broward Community College registrations since 1989 basically demonstrate increasing numbers of foreign-born students per year, but not whether or not permanent residents of Broward, although that is the general impression, nor their visa status. Their increase does tend to parallel that of the specific foreign-born populations in the county. Undocumented/out-of-status foreign-born are not eligible to enroll in the community college.

Department of Children and Family "legal alien" data count foreign-born clients of the county, grouped by zip code. The data do not reveal which service or benefit clients receive. Unfortunately, many clients appear to use post office boxes as their legal address, so are left out of the zip-code sort, which otherwise is a reasonable suggestion of geographical distribution of populations or subsets of them. Consequently, the picture is drawn but the numbers represent an undercount. Nor could socio-economic status be fairly inferred from these data.

There are other sources of data, but not so revealing as hoped. Several sources have traditionally utilized "white," "black," "other," or also "Hispanic," as categories, schema which are not helpful for revealing "foreign-born." The Broward County Sheriff's data include an "Immigration Summary Report" that lists arrests of foreign-born, with specific country-of-origin, and whether felony or misdemeanor, sex, white/black/other, and age. It is not possible to tell if they are all residents of Broward, nor if there are duplications, nor conviction rate. It would be easy to misinterpret this kind of data.

The Medical Examiner's Office uses "white/black/Hispanic" under its "race" code on official reports. Short abstracts per deceased contain more detail, some of which refer to origin, ancestry, language.

All of the above sources would be worthwhile indicators, over time, of both diversity and its growth in the county, with some more attention paid to capturing more detailed information.

Quality of Life: Needs, Goals, Priorities

The quality of life research gathered perceptions among various foreign-born ethnic and cultural groups currently resident in Broward County about the livability of the community. It is the product of an effort to solicit appraisals and opinions about the myriad domains in which we all participate and/or which affect us. The perceptions and opinions were not elicited by survey, nor interview, but rather by open discussion, in the communities, and what was revealed is intended to lay some groundwork on which to build culturally and linguistically informed needs assessments or surveys in order to set goals and measure positive and negative change in the future. Domains of interest began as categories of education, health and human services, but have been extended over time to include others that have to do with broader perspectives on quality of life, such as availability of jobs and transportation, and issues of public safety/crime and multi-faceted social harmony.

This research is a next step in the pursuit of understanding quality of life issues for foreign-born residents of Broward County. In a prior study referred to as a cultural assessment of the "hidden populations" of Broward County (1995), needs were explored in interviews with resident foreign-born, as well as their reported historical accounts of migration from many origins to Broward. The need categories were health, mental health, education, jobs, transportation, housing, safety/crime, recreation. Those may serve now as previous indication of qualitative baseline, mid-decade, first-take on quality of life among foreign-born resident populations in the county. The more recent conversations depict an evolution of needs that seems to relate to growth in both numbers and infrastructure (internal organization) of the many immigrant and refugee populations.

The Broward Benchmarks report of 1998, conducted by The Coordinating Council of Broward, was modeled on the Florida Gap Commission report. It is more than baseline and target formatting for community needs, but rather depicts a wide range of both quantitative measures as well as quality of life issues. The quantitative data come from state and county agencies and institutions, as well as from Census and census-type records; the quality of life domains match those of the Florida Gap Commission. A phone survey conducted in 1997 in Broward County established community sentiment in relation to those quality of life domains.

But, the resident diversity of the polled community was not captured by the survey instrument, for which reason, a more qualitative, face-to-face, discursive group approach was proposed. The methodology for this current research was to request meetings with naturally occurring groups, as in churches, clubs, English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) classes, parenting classes, cultural/multi-cultural boards, and with individuals in positions of leadership or having highly frequent contact with foreign-born clients and/or organizations, associations, clubs. Efforts of participant-observation were also made to attend gatherings, functions, outreach activities, services and festivals occurring in the tri-county cultural communities. Locally published newspapers, newsletters and the ethnic radio programs have also been provocative sources of community opinions, perceptions, understandings and needs.

The quality of life categories of interest, to match with those of the Broward Benchmarks, are: sense of neighborhood and community; social harmony - race, culture, religion; civil rights - equal opportunity, discrimination, disability; housing; safety - experiences with crime, issues of drinking and driving; personal safety; juvenile delinquency; abuse and violence; traffic accidents/experience with; immigration/status; education; health and mental health; alcohol and drug use; divorce; economy/jobs; government - understanding, participation; environment; elderly and child care/issues. It became clear in this process that spiritual, religious and moral issues and preferences were topics of great concern to everyone, and if not elicited, were offered. Also of interest were sources of trust and information.

Unfortunately, not every community could be met. People, especially regular associations of people, are extremely busy, agendas and priorities set well into the future. And, since 1995, when the prior study was

conducted, there are many more intra-group activities, formalized groups, and increasing politicization. The 1996 immigration legislation has put more pressure on many to address the issues of citizenship, security, benefits and allegiance, with emotional ramifications. And, some groups interpret a quality of life query as having to do with the poor and subsequently chose not to be associated with it. Additionally, there is clearly little and certainly no immediate return from information gathering done on respondents' own time.

It is obvious, moreover, that foreign-born populations have grown enormously even since 1995: never socio-economically monolithic or fairly perceivable as homogenous or stereotypical, the foreign-born populations clearly are not "ethnic enclaves," nor are they necessarily self-identified as communities. Each population is internally complex. No one individual necessarily represents or can speak for all. Realistically, the sample becomes impossible. Additionally, there is much more infrastructure (such as churches), internal organization, resistance against "cultural dilution," increased or more public activities affirming ethnic cohesion and/or religious/spiritual precedence, and, also, confirmation of the responsibility foreign-born have for those, family or not, in their homelands than there was five years ago. Hurricanes, volcanic eruptions, floods, on-going war, terrorism, bombings, abrogation of human rights, elections, crime, economic depression, international politics - affect how people spend their time. More and more, international events are experienced locally. In this complex environment, invitations to meet with groups were met with generous hospitality and sincere interest, or wariness and apologies for lack of time or, also, rejection. In some cases, individuals wanted only to be heard individually about their personal needs. Lastly, to request a meeting about needs seems to have provoked an expectation of immediate answers and solutions!

View a map of Broward County

BRAZILIANS

The Brazilian infiltration of Pompano is obvious, along Atlantic Blvd. toward Federal Highway, especially. And up into Deerfield Beach, along Sample Road. Coconut Creek, Coral Springs, central Ft. Lauderdale. Although, according to Census data, there were 302 Brazilian-born in Broward by 1980, the major impetus to emigrate came in 1989, when the government changed hands, the tight grip of the military was loosened and resources became more available to travel. A community already seeded around the Boston area attracted emigrants, but finding the cold climate not hospitable to the unaccustomed, Brazilians began to move down to Orlando where they could get jobs. Some settled, others moved farther south. At the same time, others came directly to south Florida, inspired by tourist visits and by the well advertised aura of the area. By 1990, they were Census estimated at 2,494 in Broward, most likely a significant undercount, due to legal status, linguistic and cultural estrangement from the system and general lack of information. In 1995, community leaders estimated population size at 20,000 to 50,000. In 1999, the estimates are 60-70,000 with an upper range of 120,000 in Broward. The Brazilian Chamber of Commerce in Miami estimated 150,000 Brazilians in South Florida as of Fall, 1998.

Although a relatively recent immigrant population, Brazilian-born students are now the fourth most numerous of foreign-born students registered in Broward County, after Haitians, Jamaicans and Colombians. In 1989, there were 204 Brazilian-born students registered, also fourth largest foreign-born student population after Haitians, Jamaicans and Colombians. By December 1998, they numbered 1,564, an increase from 1996 when they were counted at 1,001. The schools with the highest absolute numbers of Brazilian-born registrants (which implies the possibility of American-born siblings as well) were:

School	Brazilian	Foreign-born
Deerfield Beach Elementary	31	71
Deerfield Beach Middle	55	230
Deerfield Beach High	66	531
Deerfield Park Elementary	21	33
Quiet Waters Elementary (Deerfield Beach)	23	83
McNab Elementary (Pompano Beach)	16	74
Winston Park Elementary (Coconut Creek)	36	98
Coral Springs High	63	465

These data suggest a geographic concentration of Brazilian-born in northeast and north Broward that is borne out by other indicators as well.

In lesser, but still significant numbers, Brazilians students are found in the schools of Plantation, Sunrise, Oakland Park, Ft. Lauderdale, Weston, Cooper City, Dania Beach, Hollywood and Pembroke Pines.

Brazilians registering at proximate adult/community schools were also obvious at:

School	Brazilian	Total Foreign-born
Deerfield Beach Adult School	134	706
Crystal Lake Community School (Pompano)	295	1,282
Pompano Multi-Purpose Center	366	2,140
Atlantic Vocational (Coconut Creek)	195	3,208
Coral Springs Community School	107	1,252
Ft. Lauderdale Adult Center	202	2,143
Whiddon Rogers Adult Center (Ft. Lauderdale)	182	2,318
Piper Community in Sunrise	364	3,976
Tequesta Trace Community School (Weston)	70	887

Brazilian numbers were also substantial at Hallandale Adult (335 out of 3,364 foreign-born), but many of those live in Miami-Dade County.

Brazilian-born students newly registering at Broward Community College were 9 in 1989, increasing yearly to 59 new registrations in 1998.

	1989	1998
Brazilians	9	59

Immigrant Brazilian clients registered with State of Florida Department of Children and Families in Broward are so few that the data are not a reliable indicator for geographic distribution. The small clientele majority, as of 12/31/98 were in Pompano Beach-Deerfield Beach, a few in Ft. Lauderdale and a couple in Margate and way west Ft. Lauderdale.

Reinforcing the more or less northeast Broward (Pompano Beach, Deerfield Beach, Coconut Creek) concentration are two Brazilian Baptist churches (Gulfstream Baptist Association) in Pompano Beach and two Catholic churches with Portuguese masses: St. Elizabeth of Hungary in Pompano Beach and St. Paul the Apostle in Lighthouse Point. Additionally, there is a Brazilian 7th Day Adventist group in Deerfield Beach and one sharing a church with two other other-language congregations, Hispanic and Haitian Creole, in Ft. Lauderdale. The Brazilian 7th Day Adventists are planning to build their own church. There is also a Family of God Church in a strip mall in Pompano Beach. And, informants mentioned the presence of Brazilian evangelical and Pentecostal churches, mainly in the Pompano Beach-Deerfield Beach area.

There are also socio-economically higher classes living in western Broward, like Weston, often employed by Brazilian companies and sent to South Florida in that capacity. This is indicated by smaller but substantial absolute numbers in the public schools, including the adult centers, especially in Coral Springs, somewhat less in Ft. Lauderdale and Oakland Park, and less but consistently in the highly mixed school populations of Weston and Pembroke Pines.

There are several locally published Brazilian newspapers distributed throughout the United States from the Ft. Lauderdale offices of Gazeta. The only Brazilian radio station is said to be LOVE 94, but without local or international Brazilian news, rather, music. A weekly Brazilian segment airs on Channel 17, and programs

are also available on cable. There are Brazilian newspapers, videos and cassettes available at the news shops such as Central do Brasil in Pompano Beach, Hollywood and Pembroke Pines, that also sell traditional snacks, drinks, posters, toiletries, etc. In Deerfield Beach, there is a Brazilian meat market. Also, Deerfield Beach is the site of the Brazilian Language Institute, offering English as a Second Language, Portuguese and Spanish. There are Brazilian money exchanges in both Pompano Beach and Ft. Lauderdale, Brazilian notaries and attorneys in Pompano Beach and Ft. Lauderdale. The major Brazilian restaurants are in Pompano Beach and north Ft. Lauderdale. Additionally, the Brazilian Consulate, located in Coconut Grove, is highly accessible to its citizens. The current Consul General has conducted regular workshops in the community to help people with ever-changing paperwork regulations necessary for maintenance of assets and family in Brazil. Concerned about the well-being of the Broward Brazilian population, the Consulate attempted a kind of census several years ago, but with the same limited success that the United States Census experiences among the "hard-to-enumerate" populations.

Sense of Community and Culture

Clearly, publicly, the South Florida Brazilian population is a community when it comes to soccer matches and Carnaval. The arts of Brazil have received positively acclaimed critique in Miami-Dade County, spear-headed by Tigertail Productions. In Broward, the Hollywood Art and Culture Center has sponsored art displays and musical performances by local Brazilians, and the city has hosted samba performances and a mini-Carnaval. For five years, there have been festivities in South Florida recognizing September as Brazilian month. The community itself has well-entrenched business investments in Broward, evident in the many advertisements in Brazilian papers. There are also innumerable social get-togethers, often at the Brazilian restaurants, highlighted again in the newspapers. There is a strong sense of community among members of the fast proliferating churches, places where social as well as spiritual concerns are expressed. There is also a sense of community among the professional and more affluent classes. Quality of life is clearly an issue among the variety of communities there seems to be within the Brazilian population.

While there are many Brazilian products available in Broward: foods, especially, cultural and folklore shows staged in the restaurants, the samba and capoeira, several large restaurants, news of the home country, music and folklore, there are no community based organizations to help ease people into the larger Broward community. Additionally, the population is isolated by virtue of the language, Portuguese, which makes for a communicative community, but limits its access to the host community. Because so many Brazilians are entrepreneurial and have established or work for businesses that are totally Brazilian, whether locally or between Broward and Brazil, they have no need of English. These (certainly not all) say they are working to make money to return to Brazil. Even if not, their alleged desire is not to "claim the territory, as Cubans have done," as one said, but rather work hard in order to play hard and, with luck, return eventually to Brazil with resources to finance the good life.

Several Brazilian restaurants in north Ft. Lauderdale and Pompano (Tropicana, Brasil Brasil, Panorama) serve as social centers for the community, not just for eating and socializing, but with cultural shows: the samba, capoeira, Brazilian music. There is also a 450-member cultural club whose aim is to preserve the folklore of southern Brazil.

There may be a sense of community in Broward related to provenance. Many allude to the more São Paulo origins of those who live within the boundaries of Ft. Lauderdale. These are Brazilians from the several southern states of the country whose ancestral origins are European: Italian, German, French, Spanish, plus Japanese. Many are even said to have retained those languages over the intervening generations, plus Portuguese, of course. Those from Minas Gerais (in southern Brazil) are said to have tended to settle in the Pompano Beach -Deerfield Beach area, and are seen by some other Brazilians as having less education and preparation to live in

the United States. There are also concentrations of immigrants from Rio de Janeiro. The state of Paraíba, in the northeast of the country, recently has expressed an interest in cultivating tourism from South Florida and in setting up an office in Ft. Lauderdale.

The Brazilian consulate in Coconut Grove whose consul General, an accomplished pianist, is well known in South Florida, and who demonstrates concern for the well being of the local Brazilian population, adds to the recognition of Brazilian presence in South Florida.

Immigration

One of the first requests heard was that Brazilians want help filling out their N400's. This has become audible since passage of the 1996 Immigration Act. Dual citizenship has become available for Brazilians, with voting rights, which might ease this decision.

On the other hand, the community is said to house many undocumented: people who have overstayed tourist and educational visas. For them, their primary goal is to adjust status, to get a green card. They even risk marriage for residency, despite its many ramifications. Despite solid education and professional qualifications, the undocumented cannot be employed to do what they have been trained to do. Those who could be working in hospitals or in other professional settings, or getting higher education, are relegated to house cleaning, being companions to the elderly, or other more public entrepreneurial endeavors. And many of these are single mothers who are trying to support family back in Brazil. Many in this category are anxious to work hard, save, buy property, support their families, and eventually return to Brazil.

With adequate resources, business visas are available to the entrepreneurial, not uncommon in the community. Especially popular are import-export businesses and shipping companies with the end of getting once exorbitant (high tech/electronics) goods into Brazil.

There were many stories about INS making problems for Brazilians. The community speaks of Hispanic personnel at the Miami offices being unhelpful, ordering them to make calls to the Texas INS office to follow up on their applications or requests. Also, the community reports summary exclusions of those with business visas returning to the U.S. from Brazil. A pastor said, about treatment by the INS: “people don’t care about us.... Human Rights needs to see how Immigration treats us.” This, referring especially to young business women, with proper documents, detained without food or a place to stay. They find it totally humiliating and compare it with sexual harassment. And returned to Brazil, no way to maintain their business and home in Broward. The community is disillusioned by these stories, having believed the United States’ public stance on fair and lawful immigration processes.

There is great fear of the INS, too, in the community. Those with no longer valid documents hire lawyers who promise access to adjustment of status. The clients pay up-front but there is no resolution of their case. They are afraid to report this despite its obvious illegality. They do not know their rights but ask rhetorically about governmental quality checks on the work of immigration attorneys. The need for appropriate legal counsel is clear: recently there have been more advertisements in the Brazilian papers for services by Brazilian attorneys with American degrees. Nonetheless, a Brazilian newspaper editor said that actually the community prefers American attorneys because they believe the Americans will know the law better!

Additionally, there is fear of a communicative relationship between the IRS and the INS. Many do not send in their tax form, sacrificing withholdings, for fear of deportation. Additionally, it was said that even some Brazilians with papers who hire the undocumented withhold but do not send the monies to the U.S. government, knowing that the workers will not file for it.

Economy/Jobs

Many informants suggested that a significant proportion of the community is undocumented. If true, it is only one more barrier to appropriate employment. Both that, and lack of English, make reasonable employment extremely difficult for those who do not have financial resources and/or a network of Brazilian business connections. There are many barriers to working, the most obvious one being language. "Without English," says one, "it is almost impossible to survive" - except for those willing to labor for Brazilian companies and businesses. Highly trained people (such as nurses), documented or not, will not find comparable work without English. One woman said that the community might be described as "entrepreneurial:" it is not necessarily a cultural proclivity, but rather an acculturational one, in this setting - because of an undocumented status and/or being monolingual. She said that one "type of Brazilian here is an entrepreneur... he is into 'me,'" intending to make a lot of money and return to Brazil.

There were requests for where to find vocational education for adults, to learn employable skills that fit this environment. Well-educated women are working as housemaids and companions of the elderly. Men who are relegated to pool cleaning and construction jobs because of their legal status and cannot make enough to support the family reportedly feel (psychologically) threatened by the fact that their wives are working and may even be bringing in more money than their husbands do. Husbands continue to expect their wives to fulfill their domestic responsibilities. These stresses are causing new problems in families: heavy drinking, reports of abuse, fights, divorce.

Housing

This topic was not discussed as much as many others. During research in 1995, there were reports of crowded living conditions, especially in northeast Broward, in order to economize. More currently, there were mentions of real estate agents engaged to show homes to Brazilians who took applicants to deplorable housing in "bad" neighborhoods. Such cases were taken as evidence of a very negative stereotype Americans have of Brazilians, that they are dirty, poor and uneducated!

In the local Brazilian newspapers, there are now Brazilian real estate agents, associated with major real estate companies advertising their services. Many said that Brazilians are interested in buying property and a house. They pay taxes, have social security numbers, feel that they are "contributing to the economy" and have never had the opportunity to have a house due to the fact that mortgages are mostly unavailable to all but the wealthy in Brazil.

Education

<u>English</u>

One of the biggest needs the Brazilians have is for information and where to find it. How to find it is also an issue involving language. They say themselves that English is their biggest barrier to access and integration. Even English, though, does not guarantee access to information. There were many requests for "hotlines."

Conceding the need, it is fraught with barriers as well. The adults request more rigorous classes in the adult/community schools. There were complaints about the slowness of the pace, the fact that necessary cultural aspects of living here should be included in the English classes. They feel thwarted by their lack of the language, yet wonder how the country could continue to enforce an "English only" policy. Despite the fact that English may

be “dominant and prestigious” in the world, multilingualism is an asset, for countries as well as for individuals. The Brazilian parents’ goal is “to work and make money:” they will drop out of the English class if it is not demanding enough.

A Brazilian group has set up a language school in Deerfield Beach: Languages Institute Inc.. Organized and run by Brazilians, the school is for anyone interested in enrolling in classes for English as a Second Language, Portuguese or Spanish.

Schools

One parent asked if children whose parents are undocumented can get an education in Broward.

Parents rhetorically ask how the schools with large Brazilian student bodies cannot at least have a Portuguese speaking employee in the front office to help communicate with parents and to help the children when they first arrive: “they are so lost.” The parents are not able to read the notes teachers send home and rely on their children to translate, but they understand the dangers of this. They would like to be able to talk with the teachers of their children. They have never heard of parent-teacher associations but would welcome the opportunity to participate in such.

One of the issues that needs communication has to do with requisite vaccines. Is it possible to have these translated so that Brazilian parents will understand them in relation to the Brazilian system and their own experiences in Brazil?

In general, parents find a great difference in the curriculum of the Broward schools compared with the underlying philosophy of the Brazilian schools and that is the “insularity” of the American curriculum. They realize that knowledge of world history and current events is not valued as it was in Brazil. Some Brazilian professionals have had teachers note that Brazilian children from private schools (where upper and middle class families enroll their children) tend to be better prepared than American children. Without a proper visa, Brazilian children have no access to education beyond high school. As families place high value on education, this is calamitous.

One group of respondents very vociferous about education issues actually expressed disappointment with the “Christians and Jews (that) run Broward:” how can they allow schools to operate in such immoral conditions: violence, drugs, attention paid to sexual activities. Some said they have heard teachers say they do not care. Their questions: Do the parents have the right to sit in classes and observe? How can a community that expresses so much concern for the homeless not care also about the poor conditions and situations of the schools?

There were many comments having to do with various kinds of discrimination Brazilian parents feel their children suffer in the school system. The first is by those living in the Pompano Beach/Deerfield Beach area: they feel that the quality of the education in the public schools there is less than that for students who attend in the Coconut Creek and Coral Springs schools. Additionally, parents are very concerned with what they perceive as violence in the schools. They are afraid to speak up, even for the welfare of their children, though, because of their tenuous legal status: “a small group is afraid to swim against the stream,” they said.

Those parents who have children who are walking up to two miles very early in the morning to catch their school bus ask why. One parent said that schools said that there are just not enough buses to go around. Another parent told about registering two children he has, both the same age, for middle school in Pompano Beach. One was sent to one middle school, the other to another. He could get no explanation from school staff and he continues to spend much time driving them to separate facilities. Another father, with sons in middle and high

schools, said that they are made to feel socially unwelcome on the sports teams. How can he find out what criteria there are for being on a team? A young boy asked about playing soccer in middle school sixth grade. He said that sixth graders are not allowed to be on a team but he cannot find out why that should be.

Another Brazilian boy was concerned about discrimination with schoolmates. When they were young, he said, they were all equal, but as they become teenagers, discrimination emerges in all settings.

Health

The two factors that most impede Brazilian accommodation in Broward, language (English) and legal status, certainly affect their access to health care. Discrimination also appears to impact their ability to receive accessible, appropriate and comprehensive care.

The Brazilian tradition is to pay for health care. Subsequently, 'health insurance' has a kind of negative social stigma about it. Access to medical services is of much concern; all groups had questions and little understanding of their rights. Their "knowledge" was based on experiences they have had, mostly bad experiences. One woman contrasted the lack of health care in Broward with a free system in Massachusetts available for the poor who had no medical insurance or social security number. A man asked about medical help for Brazilians without insurance, unable to purchase it. And, many avoid the dentist despite needs; they cannot afford the bill. Some said that they cannot find free/low-cost pre-natal care in Broward; one young woman had found a receptive clinic. The groups asked for this kind of information: could it be printed in the local Brazilian newspapers?

Most said, at medical facilities, "you are dismissed if you don't speak English." There is no one to talk with them. Even those with proper documents do not know if and how they can apply for Medicare.

A woman who had delivered in a local hospital and is not able to pay the bill in full has been totally frustrated in her efforts to arrange a minimum payment schedule with the facility. Another who had purchased health insurance was not able to get the company to pay, hired an attorney and still is told she is responsible for the bill. Who can help?

One person expressed the need for the Brazilian community to have its own community center. Because he sees the "Number One" need as health care, he asked if it were possible, at least, to have a Portuguese-speaking doctor available to all the health centers in the county.

Mental Health

There are mental health issues as there are in any acculturative situation, certainly aggravated for those who are undocumented. They live with some fear, uncertainty and, most certainly, feelings of inadequacy. Many Brazilians cannot necessarily do what they have been educated to do or provide for their families as they want to.

Until reasonable fluency in English is achieved, it is rare to be able to work in one's field, but without appropriate documentation, this may never be possible. "Out-of-status" high school graduates can go no further with their education. For many in this situation, leaving the United States most likely means not returning. It also means leaving good friends and their shared aspirations.

Not having proper documents also may aggravate an acculturating marital relationship, as it is not

uncommon for women to be able to make more money than their husbands. Brazil, traditionally, is more patriarchal than is the United States. According to many, working wives is not all that common a phenomenon in Brazil, but in the United States, it often takes two salaries to make ends meet. That the women work may already be threatening to a man, but for her to make more money surely hurts. For her to feel more liberated and independent by this experience is not uncommon. Nonetheless, the men usually have traditional domestic expectations of their wives. Family dynamics are inevitably not as they were in Brazil. A cultural proclivity among the men to drink may lubricate conflict; domestic abuse and violence have been reported in the population. Once the local police are involved, everyone's emotions are turned upside down. Brazilians are also afraid of the police, because they do not know the laws.

Discrimination is also a frustration. Suddenly hit by the American concept of race and its concomitant history and social attributions is a threat to identity. Informants talk about Brazilian economic classes rather than racially identifiable ones and that, in fact, even racial categories are very differently defined from those operative in the United States. It really burns many Brazilians, moreover, to be mistaken as "Hispanic." There were stories of being stopped by police, spot-checked for alcohol and drugs, charged because of lack of communication; charged guilty/responsible at scenes of accidents without investigation, etc.

Alcohol/Drugs

Brazilians allegedly believe that they have a "high tolerance" for alcohol. 'Drinking and driving' is said to be culturally common, not treated so criminally by Brazilian authorities as in the United States. If stopped and so-charged, a bribe was their customary resolution of the transgression. While the bribe may actually aggravate the situation in Broward, the requisite community hours and counseling are absolutely unfathomable to Brazilians. Counselors report that they have even been offered bribes to sign for the violator's attendance. Moreover, "community hours" are something completely unheard of. Because the offense of 'drinking and driving' is only recently even more serious for the foreign-born: cause for deportation, the charge is especially culturally shocking.

There are reports of the social use of powder cocaine among the rich, especially in Miami. But, the drug-use reputation in Broward is by "the young ones," mostly single, in their early 20's who indulge in a lot of partying, and, allegedly, risky drug related and sexual behaviors.

Abuse/Violence

As mentioned above, abuse and violence are sometimes products of acculturative stresses on marriages, augmented by excessive drinking. The behaviors are most often directed toward women who find opportunities to work even liberating. Roles change and threaten once stable relationships.

Additionally, some undocumented women, no matter their professional training, are relegated to cleaning or companion jobs. They have experienced coercive tactics on the part of (older) American men to be with them, even marry them. Denied, the men threaten to report them, have them deported. The women end up being constantly harassed but know their vulnerability and are afraid to call the police for protection.

The immigrant community sees the INS detention, inspection and summary deportation of Brazilians at airport arrival with proper documents a kind of abuse of power. They even used the words "sexual harassment" as they feel that young Brazilian businesswomen are being unfairly targeted.

Divorce

Informants say the divorce rate is much higher in the Brazilian community here than in Brazil. "You meet a foreigner, it is interesting, but it doesn't work." Differences in language and customs. Additionally, it is relatively inexpensive and easy to get a divorce in Florida compared with in Brazil.

And, conflict within the couple itself who have immigrated together and acculturate in different directions may end in divorce.

Children

Children expressed puzzlement about the discrimination they feel from other students. They also resist being categorized as Hispanic. Parents are concerned for the safety of their children in the schools, which they see as violent places. They say they complain to the schools about it but never receive a response. Parents also fear the authority their children may acquire with teachers as they necessarily become middlemen for communication between their parents and their teachers.

Parents are concerned about behaviors readily visible at some of the local parks (like Tivoli): sex around the public bathrooms. Holiday Park also was cited - evidence of needles for drug use. Families want to be able to take advantage of the parks together but not for their children to see such things.

There was some concern expressed about the possibility of children beginning to get in trouble after school, when they are alone. It was customary for children in Brazil to leave school and go home to be with family. If they are alone, "you should be afraid of what they could be trying to do," said one experienced parent. Many people asked for community activities for the children.

A parent wanted to know the legal age at which a child could work.

Elderly

The very elderly are not so numerous in the local Brazilian community. Those who have emigrated, for the most part, seem to be young families, maybe young single people for education, to set up a business. But some families, once settled, do bring their parents (the grandparental generation), possibly to be in the home when the children come home, or to recapture the sense of the extended family. The result is usually that the grandparents are lonely and bored, they know no one outside the home, they are socially limited due to being monolingual - speaking only Portuguese. There are no activities that cater to this population.

Safety

Many comments about safety. Crime is certainly not unknown in Brazil. But informants characterize it as "covert," quiet, hand over the wallet and go. The perception of American crime is that "it is out of control." "It seems so random."

Again, the adults express the desire to have a safe place to go together and play games, sports, be together as families. Specifically they want to be able to use the parks and not worry about security. Their perception of the public parks is that they are not particularly safe or healthy or well-maintained.

Juvenile Delinquency

This is not mentioned other than concern for the children influenced by models of behavior in their schools and on television, their fear for children who go home alone after school and face temptations extant in the environment.

Crime, Punishment, Accidents

The transition from a system in which one could liberate himself from charges by bribing an official to a system that does not is apparently quite a culture shock to newcomers. Opportunities for a second chance through compliance with mandatory counseling and community hours are reputedly somewhat uncomfortable. That deportation could be a result of guilt in perpetration of a crime is unimaginable.

For these reasons, false arrests or accusation of guilt are horrifying. Several informants told tales of being accused of guilt, especially in various traffic accidents, just because they are Brazilian and were speaking Portuguese. A Brazilian man who had tried to assist an older woman who had fallen at a Publix was accused of assault by the police when they arrived. He was unable to defend himself. His comment: "if they don't understand you, they think you are at fault."

One pastor asked for "a Portuguese speaking public defender, information on our legal rights or just legal information. We need this information," he said.

Civil Rights/Equal Opportunity/Discrimination

Brazilians express real frustration with their supposed (or imposed) guilt in any accident or fracas. An elderly American couple backing out of a parking spot at a Publix hit a young Brazilian woman driving on the roadway. The man jumped out and accused her of getting in his way. A Brazilian whose son was attacked by a neighbor's dog asked the neighbors, Puerto Ricans, to keep their dog chained up. They in turn called the police who said that the Brazilians were harassing them. (That's the Brazilian story.) The Brazilians said they feel that Hispanic police will always give preference to Hispanic clients. And there is the case of the Brazilian man who tried to assist an older woman who had fallen in a Publix but was accused of assault by the arriving police.

The consensus of Brazilians living in the Pompano area is that they are at the bottom of the totem pole. They say that the city does not even recognize their presence. In fact, no one does. They feel that they are making a contribution to the community, yet are themselves underserved. There are no interpreters in the schools, in health or social services, and no advocates for them. They say that their children are even denigrated by other children. And people label the population "Hispanics."

Leisure Activities

The community clearly likes its soccer games, socializing in the Brazilian restaurants and being able to play together as a family, or group of families, on Saturday evenings in the parks. They say this is their tradition - picnics, volleyball, staying up late with their friends and family on Saturday nights. They feel that the parks are not safe enough for families with children and ask that at least one in the county be made secure for activities for families late into the night.

In a group discussion, one man expressed their dream: that one day they would like to stage a Brazilian "olympics" here in Broward.

Government/Participation

A pastor in Pompano Beach said, "We don't vote so we don't have a voice in Broward." Despite the fact that the community feels it is at least 50,000 strong, it cannot get the city to take an interest in them. This, despite the fact that they have gone to city meetings, tried to introduce themselves, tried to persuade a commissioner to be interested in their situation. Despite the fact that the community doesn't vote, why isn't the city interested in telling them the rules and laws, about the services? One man said that the Brazilian community clearly impacts the police department, hospitals and schools, so why isn't the city interested in them? One day, they will have the vote, why isn't anyone interested now? A pastor went to City Hall to find out about the regulations for setting up a church in Pompano and was surprised that no commissioner was interested in looking into the needs of the community.

Another asked, "How can we organize as a community with a link to municipal and county government?" And, "What can this Brazilian group offer to the larger community?"

Recently, the Brazilian community has expressed a request for help filling out the INS forms for citizenship: the N400. This is indication that they will at least be eligible to vote.

Spiritual, Religious, Moral Preferences

Brazil is traditionally a Catholic country. There are no exclusively Brazilian Catholic churches in Broward, yet, but two do offer Portuguese language masses: St Elisabeth of Hungary in Pompano Beach and St. Paul the Apostle in Lighthouse Point. There are Brazilian Pentecostal and evangelical churches or congregations in both Ft. Lauderdale and Pompano Beach/Deerfield Beach. Many of these are announced or advertised in the Brazilian newspapers. There are also Brazilian Baptist churches and Baptist churches attended by Brazilians, mainly in Pompano Beach. Also, Brazilian Seventh Day Adventists in Deerfield Beach and Ft. Lauderdale. A Brazilian Family of God Church in Pompano. Those visited during this research clearly have many functions. They are cohesive social groups. One church group regularly feeds the poor, of any background. Despite a perception of unequal access at Daily Bread Food Bank, they are not giving up, and are working on establishing their own food bank for the homeless and hungry. Those churches that meet in facilities belonging to another congregation are all collecting funds toward building their own church. (Currently, it is very common to see church marquees listing up to four different language services: the Brazilians usually share billing with Haitian and Hispanic.)

Sources of Information, Trust

This is one of the biggest issues: where/how to get reliable information. The community needs information in Portuguese or access to interpreters. They want to know the laws, how to access health care, insurance, what their legal and civil rights are, how to participate in school meetings, community government meetings, how to address instances of being taken advantage of by attorneys and employers, how to become credible as a community and find access to participate in the larger community.

Trends

Parents fret about the fact that their children are becoming "passive bilinguals." That they might speak Portuguese, but are not literate in it and prefer to use English in all domains. They are becoming quite Americanized.

The emergence of churches, just in the last five years, indicates real roots in Broward. The request of

the pastors as to how to achieve a voice at their local city commission and at the level of the county commission, how to have a credible voice in the school system, are all evidence of desire to participate, to integrate into the larger community.

There is interest in proving numbers by virtue of the 2000 Census, an understanding of the credibility the community can gain by cooperating with this effort. Also, the request for help with the N400's, interest in citizenship, interest in voting, suggests a vision of a more participatory role in Broward.

HAITIANS

In the 1950 Census, no Haitians were counted in Broward County. But, 27 was the estimate in the 1960 Census. These numbers are surely just the beginning of the egregious undercount of the population, a population which is so densely concentrated over blocks and blocks in Ft. Lauderdale, Pompano Beach and into Deerfield Beach and scattered everywhere else throughout the county, and which so audibly fills so many schools, from pre-K through adult/community classrooms, contributes so much physical labor to maintenance of county infrastructure, social services and the tourist industry and, despite continued injustices, ever expresses reverence for life and faith in innumerable churches throughout Broward. As with most foreign-born populations, the full socioeconomic range is represented, but those with the least resources to escape the lack of opportunity in Haiti aimed for the closest American landfall, south Florida. The situation continues. Numbers seeking refuge and opportunity were rising in the beginning of the year, 1999, while news of socio-/politico-/economic conditions in Haiti suggest no reversal of discouraging trends.

By 1970, Census reported 238 more Haitians living in Broward. Over the preceding decade, NYC had already witnessed and settled a massive inflow of Haitians. Paris, Montreal and NYC had become the major centers of the fast growing diaspora, especially for those with resources to travel that far, find work and pursue higher education. But, in the early 70's, there was both secondary migration from NYC to Miami and boatloads leaving Haiti for the promise of America. Throughout the '70's, Little Haiti (in Miami) grew, mushrooming from eastside downtown northward up Biscayne, NE 2nd Ave. and Miami Ave. Its very presence became an aspiration for others on the island. At the same time, Haitians were also moving into Broward County, up from Miami-Dade County and in by boat, as well. Reverend Jacques Dumourney began a Haitian ministry at Pompano Beach First Baptist Church in 1976 that separated out due to language, started an adjunct in Delray Beach and outreached to Lantana. Soon afterward, Reverend Paul Honore began Haitian Bethel Baptist in Ft. Lauderdale. The churches multiplied.

According to the Miami Herald,[5] by 1976, the Broward County School board was providing bilingual education with no federal funding for at least 1,000 non-English speaking students and had obvious need for English as a Second Language classes for adults. The Census had counted only 1,849 Haitians in 1980. By January, 1981, after the Cuban-Haitian deluge, Tom Findlay of the Broward HRS estimated that 23,000 Haitians were then living in Broward.[6] The 1990 Census count of Haitians was 18,510 (place of birth of foreign-born), while ancestry was 23,221. Local community estimated at least 20-40,000 at the time. Without culturally and linguistically appropriate outreach information about and methodology to conduct the Census, coupled with the community's fear of the INS and the discrimination they continued to experience, it is not realistic to expect that these numbers represent the size of the community at the time of the 1990 Census.

"Radio Haiti Amerique Internationale," 980 AM, conducted a survey in 1998, to count the number of foreign-born Haitians in tri-county south Florida. Just foreign-born, not their American born offspring. The tally was 300,000.

Haitians were tightly packing downtown Ft. Lauderdale and Pompano Beach by the mid-80's. When the School Board inaugurated its Multicultural Department in 1989, for assessment and placement of the foreign-born/other language speakers, Haitian-born students were the most numerous, at 481, followed closely by Jamaicans, Colombians and Brazilians. (Cubans were only 27).

The original nuclei of settlement have remained, but spawned much larger communities. In addition, the self-stated Haitian trajectory aims north and west in the county, matched with improving socioeconomic status. Nonetheless, the original areas of concentration thrive. Schools in the areas are booming with Haitian students.

There is also high correlation in residential distributions and school registrations of Bahamian born with Haitian born students. As Creole speaking students outnumber the Haitian-born of all foreign-born students, it is reasonably inferable that many of the Bahamian-born are of Haitian parents. Their numbers add greatly to the total Haitian-born numbers of the student body. By school year 1998-99, Haitian numbers were still the highest for foreign-born students, at 4,060, substantially augmented by a good percentage of the 1,328 "Bahamians."

For the 1998-99 school year, using registrations as of 12/98, those schools with greatest absolute numbers of Haitian-born were:

School	Haitian	Foreign-born
Deerfield Beach High School	276	531
Ely High School (Pompano Beach)	251	544
Whiddon Adult Center (Ft. Lauderdale)	247	345
Ft. Lauderdale High	240	476
Boyd Anderson (Lauderdale Lakes)	180	831
Northeast High School (Oakland Park)	108	360
Dillard High School (northwest Ft. Lauderdale)	106	358
Coconut Creek High School	108	498
Sunrise Middle (northeast Ft. Lauderdale)	97	295

and Haitians were almost the only foreign-born at these elementary schools in Ft. Lauderdale:

School	Haitian	Foreign-born	Creole-speaking Foreign-born
Thurgood Marshall	87	132	110
North Fork Elementary	16	39	22
North Side Elementary	100	176	152
Walker Elementary	16	44	33

(The greater number of Creole-speaking foreign-born than Haitian-born students suggests substantial numbers of Bahamian-born Haitian students in the central Ft. Lauderdale area.)

In lesser numbers and percentages, Haitian-born students were enrolled in Hollywood, Hallandale Beach and Miramar schools and at Pines Middle in Pembroke Pines, and schools in southwest Ft. Lauderdale, Wilton Manors, Lauderhill, N. Lauderdale, Sunrise, Plantation, Margate and Coral Springs.

Foreign-born student registrations for Adult/Community school year 1997-98 amounted to 39,986 out of a total 96,994 enrollment. The total Haitian-born count was approximately 8,000. Registration data reveal Haitians attending classes closest to home - preponderantly in Ft. Lauderdale, Pompano Beach and Deerfield Beach, Coral Springs, Margate, but also traveling to attend vocational schools in very high numbers, specifically at:

School	Haitian	Foreign-born
Atlantic Vocational (Coconut Creek)	649	3,208
Sheridan Vocational (Hollywood)	956	5,505
McFatter (Davie)	476	3,242

Haitian adult students were registered in Ft. Lauderdale at:

School	Haitian	Foreign-born
Old Dillard Community School	369	457
Dillard Community School	481	672
Parkway Community School	265	705
Whiddon Rogers Education Center	555	2,318
Ft. Lauderdale Adult Center	1,120	2,143

In Pompano Beach, Haitian adults were registered at:

School	Haitian	Foreign-born
Pompano Multi-purpose Center	743	2,140
Crystal Lake Community School	604	1,282

Also, Haitian adults students were at:

School	Haitian	Foreign-born
Deerfield Beach Adult/Community School	327	706
Coral Springs Community School	196	1,252
Margate Community School	203	689

Haitian adult registration numbers were far fewer in south county community schools and were overwhelmed by the totals of Hispanic adult students.

Broward Community College Haitian enrollments have grown since data were formally kept for foreign-born. Haitian-born students have consistently been second in numbers after Jamaican-born students. And they have increased steadily: 80 in Fall 1989 to 224 in Fall of 1998.

	1989	1998
Haitian	80	224

Bolstering the geographic impression of population distribution related to schools attended (an imperfect indicator) is the distribution of churches. Divine Mercy Catholic Church in Ft. Lauderdale is exclusively Creole-speaking, as is St. Joseph's in Pompano Beach. Both of these are in original areas of Haitian settlement in Broward County. There is also a Creole mass conducted at St. Bartholomew in Miramar. Of the 108 member churches belonging to the Gulfstream Baptist Association in Broward, 37 are Haitian. Of those, 17 are in Ft.

Lauderdale, five in Pompano Beach, three are in Lauderhill, two each in Sunrise, Margate and N. Lauderdale, and one each in Hollywood, Dania Beach, Miramar, Oakland Park, Deerfield Beach and Tamarac. There are Methodist Haitian churches in both Hallandale Beach and Pompano Beach. And many independent ones, as well.

There is further evidence of geographic distribution in State of Florida Department of Children and Families "legal aliens receiving assistance" data as of 12/31/98. Tabulated by zip codes, they describe serious demographic concentration (or need). It is impossible to know from these data what are the specific needs or the numbers of total ethnic clientele. American-born client numbers are so enormous that numbers of foreign-born clients pale in comparison. Haitian-born numbers are highest (200-300) in northwest Ft. Lauderdale/unincorporated, (100-200 per zip code) in Pompano Beach and up toward Deerfield Beach, Lauderhill, close-in Ft. Lauderdale and east Miramar. Between 50 and 100 clients are located in each of Coral Springs, North Lauderdale and northeast Ft. Lauderdale, 10 to 50 in each of west Pompano Beach, Coconut Creek, Margate, Tamarac, N. Lauderhill, Sunrise, Plantation, central Miramar, East and West Hollywood and Dania Beach.

Sense of Community and Culture

One radio station, when asked about a sense of community, said, "The radio is the community!" The most popular media for the S. Florida Haitian population is definitely the radio. Perhaps because a substantial number of the population never had the chance to go to school (which was taught in French), and were basically prevented from learning to read and write, and the language they speak solely an oral one, with no government approved orthography until 1981, when so many of those who now live in S. Florida had already fled the island, communication continues to be primarily oral. There are two stations which broadcast almost the majority of their programing to the Haitian population: news, information, call-ins, special topics and advice with speakers from outside the community, many Haitian advertisements. These are 1320 AM, WLQY, and 980 AM, Radio Haiti Amerique Internationale. WLRN 91.3 FM only recently moved from a half-hour morning program of Haitian news plus information and advice for parents of children in the S. Florida school system, to a fifteen minute spot in the evening, often including a list of job openings.

Also, there are at least three locally available newspapers in French: Haiti en Marche, Haiti Observateur and Haiti Progres with news mainly of Haiti. Haitian news in the Haitian community is very closely followed. A new newspaper, called The Caribbean Chronicle, published in Broward, has a largely Haitian staff and offers news and information to the Caribbean community in English. It takes ads from the local community.

The reality of community is moot. A young Haitian businesswoman said that "the well-off (Haitians) more often than not don't want to be Haitian, or known to be Haitian. They don't want to live near the poor. This attitude affects the whole community negatively. They really segregate themselves ... except there are those cases where the elite businessmen take advantage of the community."

But a strong sense of community and culture does reside within the many churches, services conducted and hymns sung in Creole, life events celebrated and mourned together. Culture as lived is present in the neighborhoods, the on-going gossip and stories, the extraordinary hospitality of the home, traditional cuisine, the sense of proper public self-presentation, respect for and use of herbal and root remedies. There is still the very tight feeling of family, responsibility of all members for the health, well-being and reputation of the family, including those in Haiti. And, importantly, the drive to have everyone together. When asked why they have come, people inevitably respond: cheche lavi - to make a living, which always includes support for the whole family.

The Haitian community of S. Florida is really a tri-county community - the reach of the radio programs,

with Miami its capital and, as implied above, it is socio-economically stratified, a mirror of Haitian society. The nucleus of the tumultuous history of this community could be the Haitian Refugee Center, originally in downtown Miami, but longer on NE 54th St., an institution through which so many local Haitians and/or their relatives have passed. Demonstrations about both local conditions and situations as well as the changing political regimes in Haiti, as well as celebrations and festivals have marched and danced in this core area of Little Haiti.

On NE 62nd St. is Notre Dame Catholic Church, and the Pierre Toussaint Catholic Center, institutions that reached out to assist settlement and delivery of services since the very beginning. Today, the Church is like a lighthouse to the population; the Center offers English classes, native language literacy and pre-school/child care. St. Joseph's in Pompano Beach is associated with the Center, which relies on never guaranteed grants for job development, English, child care and after-school tutoring. Needs explode way beyond the ability of Church services to meet them.

At Toussaint Louverture Elementary school in Little Haiti (NE 59th St.), the adult evening school offers all levels of English and beginning literacy. Additionally, there are several community based organizations whose services rely mostly on local funding: county institutions and community foundations. These CBO's are located mainly along NE 2nd Ave. from about 36th St. to 85th St., the spine of Little Haiti.

Another sense of community is traditional culture: the music, traditional instruments, folk and spiritual dance/performance, painting and crafts. The performance arts tend to be staged in Miami. There is more and more awareness of Haitian artists recently: with the rise of Wyclef Jean (the Fugees), who has also used his profits to create foundations for both Haiti and for all children, growing artistic infrastructure in Little Haiti and the Design Center with Haitian studios housing painters, the continued development of performing troupes such as Boukman Esperyans. "Sacred Arts of Haitian Vodou," a traveling exhibition put together by the Fowler Museum of Cultural History at UCLA, was displayed at the Center for Fine Arts in Miami in 1998. In Ft. Lauderdale, a Haitian art show and sale was held for several weeks at Art Serve, complete with live and video explanations and demonstrations of traditional instruments (drums) and music, multi-theme traditional to modern paintings, sophisticated carvings and beaded vodou flags.

In Broward, there have been many attempts to establish community based organizations in the Haitian community. Broward County's Department of Children and Family Services is essentially the unique county facility for refugee services, which, in turn works with the public schools, public health, State of Florida Department of Children and Families, Job Development, etc., to help settle refugees self-sufficiently into the county. But, this only serves refugees, and funding is limited in time and amount. The immigrant community, despite its intelligentsia, doctors and growing middle class, is still so overwhelmingly lacking in skills for a post-industrial society, that many basic needs are still not met. Community based organizations are theoretically best able to address these needs but have not had great staying power or thrown a wide net. In the past few years, though, this picture seems to be changing. As partnerships have been mandated in service funding, Haitian organizations are more usefully involved in networked services. This helps to reinforce not only a sense of community, but a community threaded into the larger community.

Those Haitian agencies currently active in providing culturally focused and sensitive services, education and outreach in Broward are: HOPE (Haitian Outreach Partnership for Empowerment), Minority Development and Empowerment Inc. (MDEI), Haitian-American Community Foundation (HACOF), Caribbean American Foundation for Economic Empowerment (CAFEE), Cultural Health Exchange/Latin Americans United, Inc., Catholic Charities at the Haitian Catholic Center and at St. Joseph's Catholic Church, a branch of the Human Services Division of the Pierre Toussaint Haitian Catholic Center, Inc. in Miami. All are located in Ft. Lauderdale, except for St. Joseph's and Cultural Health Exchange in Pompano Beach. CAFFEE is in both North Miami and Ft. Lauderdale. The Haitian American Community Council, Inc., long rooted in Delray Beach, but

whose efforts encompass Belle Glade, does maintain communication and the possibility of collaboration with the Haitian agencies in both Broward and Miami-Dade agencies. Although Minority Development and Empowerment has a recently established "hotline," there is also one in Miami-Dade, "Haitian Support Inc.," with an '800' number for Haitians with problems they just cannot resolve, especially emotional ones. Haitian Support has a working relationship with Women in Distress in Ft. Lauderdale.

Immigration

There was awareness of Haitian presence in Broward prior to 1980, but apparently not formally addressed until the Cuban-Haitian entrants in 1980 virtually forced public, media and federal attention to their needs. Lutheran Ministries of Florida, a VOLAG ("voluntary agency"), was involved in helping Haitian refugees re-settle in Broward County. These "volunteers" say that one of the most difficult tasks was to find work for the refugees. Although working facilitates language learning, language was also an awesome barrier to employment. Ministry that had accepted this responsibility report that once the word got around that restaurants were hiring the Haitians, many were able to be employed.

Concomitantly, housing was also a "terrible problem." Locating and affording housing was dependent on income, but was also affected by the prejudice that opposed the refugees' movement into Broward. Now, the "volunteers" say that this has lessened. As Haitians worked and got better housing, they are also reported to have helped each other. Nonetheless, the process of settlement is an on-going one.

Haitians represent almost all the possible immigrant statuses from undocumented to citizen: "resident alien," "entrant," "refugee," "asylee," "visitor." Those who continue to be in greatest jeopardy are monolingual in Haitian Creole and illiterate. Even learning job-related English in the context of work is not sufficient for the infinite paperwork demands of the American society. Those who are not literate really are at the mercy of anyone who would take advantage. And, their situation is a set-up for being taken advantage of - by attorneys, landlords, bosses, even citizenship classes, where too many have paid their fees and then been given a worthless certificate. There are even cases reported of attorneys charging $3,000 to secure a person's work permit.

Nonetheless, the 1996 Immigration Act pressed many into trying harder for citizenship. As the stories mount about cuts in benefits, they also become ones of desperation, situations not at all conducive to taking time to go to English classes that are not sensitive to the need to teach literacy to illiterate adults. Now, "a lot of people are suffering," a young businesswoman said, "they cannot get health care, they wait to go to the hospital emergency room, where they already have a big bill. They are afraid to go, so have resorted to the old remedies, teas....." There are some people who might even fly back to Haiti for health care.

Many young families are now without food stamps. Additionally, the group that entered via Guantanamo have had trouble maintaining viable work permits while they have been waiting out the inevitable logjams in the new Haitian Immigration Fairness Act. Evictions for non-payment/inability to pay rent add to the issues that must be addressed before taking the time to adjust status. It seems most of the young families have outstanding bills at the hospitals, especially for births. Their status becomes more and more one of just surviving, not the "better life" they risked their lives to seek. They say: "We had to come because of the problems, but now we have even more problems."

For those who qualify to adjust status based on provisions of the Haitian Immigration Fairness Act, there are more problems. No one knows the number of those eligible in Broward. Their time line is short, only until March 2000, to request and receive required documentation from Haiti, in addition to locating available, reliable legal counsel. Failure to comply completely with the stipulations of the Act will expose their out-of-status situation.

On-going interdiction on the sea is perceived as one of the many versions of discrimination that Haitians suffer. They see other nationals brought safely to shore, detained briefly and released, while their own countrymen are returned summarily, or detained at Krome and usually sent back to Haiti.

Economy/Jobs

The major goal is cheche lavi - "seek life," or 'make a living.' The lack of formal education, English and "first world skills" make family-sustaining work a distant possibility. Nonetheless, men tend to find hard labor jobs: construction, janitorial, field work, road work, bussing/washing dishes, "landscaping," maintenance employment, that do not require sophisticated literacy or communicative skills. The women they live with feel that the men, so employed, are taken advantage of and suffer the inequities of discrimination, despite the drive, dedication and pride the men have about working. The men are "so anxious to make a good life," the women say, they work in the worst conditions, in the hot sun, overtime. Garbage collection: the community's perception is: "Americans don't do this kind of work: they leave it for the refugees and immigrants." Moreover, the women (in Pompano Beach) think that Haitian men are paid less than men of other nationalities, specifically Brazilians, Mexicans and Guatemalans. They say that Haitians are paid less than other nationalities on the garbage trucks. "If the Brazilians make ten dollars an hour, the Haitians are only making six dollars an hour." They also do not receive good health care, according to the women. The women say that Cuban bosses make sure that their Mexican and Guatemalan workers are paid well. But, if you are Haitian, "no one talks for you." (There are no advocates.) Additionally, the women say that BFI gives "black Americans jobs before Haitians." The women say they see Haitian men freshly arrived from Haiti immediately start working so hard, with such dedication. It is what they have always wanted: to work. The men are so anxious to work, that even just off the boats, "even sick with TB, they will work several jobs, never stopping." A man who is a long term janitor at a large, prestigious hotel on the beach, told a story of a work site related injury that the hotel would not help with. Additionally, the facility requires that he buy his meal at their cafeteria and be docked a half hour pay to eat it. So he chooses not to eat at all during his shift.

Women have their share of work related misery, too. Maids in hotels and fitness centers, assembly factories, the infamous shrimp factory, non-stop work. They say there is no health insurance. If they are hurt, they are let go. They say that they are required to punch in and out just to stop for lunch. They say they are even required to buy their meal, working at McDonald's.

There were many pleas for "justice," for a "a fair salary for Haitians everywhere."

There also is obviously a dearth of information as to how to get job/training related information. There were many requests from women about where they should go for child care training and certification. Older men who can no longer do janitorial work would like to learn other skills, like how to make furniture. Where can they go? Are there vocational classes available in Creole?

The executive director at the Pierre Toussaint Catholic Center that also enables services at St. Joseph's in Pompano, says, "Employment is most important," absolutely top priority in newcomers' ability to fit into the machinations of living in this environment. Employment makes it possible to be self-sufficient and to achieve related goals: have shelter, food, support a family, get education and provide for the family's education. It also contributes, importantly, to self-respect and a sense of belonging to the larger society. The work ethic of Haitians is so highly valued that the true meaning of the word malad ("sick") is 'unable to work.'

Housing

Many request access to kay leta, government housing, because of mounting medical bills, the inability to afford child care in order to go to work, the high cost of housing that is so hot with no air conditioning and the difficulty women with little formal education and little English have in finding work. Many are now facing eviction. They are quite thwarted in dreams to get ahead as they would work, if they could find work, but when they do, too often they cannot afford day care for their children. They suggest that the local schools have day care available. With women working, everyone would benefit.

The young businesswoman said that housing is terribly expensive. It used to be more reasonable, even as recently as five years ago. One wants to have his family in a "nice" (safe) neighborhood, but few can afford it. For those of scarce means, the goal of a good neighborhood seems quite remote.

Education

Formal education is so highly valued in Haitian culture, yet so few had the opportunity. Any description of current conditions in Haiti continues to say that more than 80% of the population never had a chance to attend school. Traditionally, schools were conducted in French, the prestige language of the elite, of the educated. This, in addition to the cost, put education out of the reach of the majority. The teaching style was also traditionally rote memorization.

If anyone could be sent to school in the rural and poorer areas, it would be the boys. But, even these could not survive the rigorous curriculum without learning French. Young girls from the poorer families rarely had a chance to go to school. Their primary duties were domestic: to help their mothers with housework and cooking and to help rear their younger siblings. Such women, now mothers in this acculturating environment, are unable to help their children with their homework, talk with their teachers or negotiate the school functions. They rarely have the time to go to adult schools themselves. When they do enroll, they are often discouraged by the lack of sensitivity to their need for literacy skills in addition to English as a Second Language instruction.

When the Haitians first began to enter the school system, the culture's respect for the institution and teachers was reflected in their dress - their best. Because so many were placed age-appropriately, they suffered not just for language ability, but also for being instantly behind with no experience in school, no knowledge of the routine, and from serious discrimination directed against them. Everyone knows that "dirty Haitian" became the worst of epithets.

Children became interpreters between their parents and teachers/school, a role which upset traditional family roles, conferring authority on children who were traditionally to be "seen but not heard." The extended family hierarchy traditionally respected the grandparental generation as the wisest, with the most experience. One's parents were second in wisdom.

There are many impediments for many Haitian students to achieve in the South Florida school systems. Especially for those living in poorer areas of the county. They have suffered incredible discrimination, been made to bear the brunt of historically accrued stigma: association with "voodoo," disease (especially TB and AIDS), poverty, lack of education. Poverty has forced many students to take part-time jobs, a solution with the potential for both positive and negative ramifications. And, lack of authorized immigrant status interferes with the ability of many to go for higher education after graduating from high school. Immigrant status and changing laws threaten the integrity of some families.

The racism that continues to be an aspect of the social environment of south Florida pervades the schools

as well. Within the block of people that the Census would categorize as "Black" or "African-American," Haitian children are subject to prejudices embedded in the system and in their school-aged "peer group." The most caustic kinds of labels are pinned on Haitian youth who are forced to struggle with who they are and who they should be. The Haitian parental generation claims that American blacks say "this is our country," so they feel rejected by them as well. At the same time, it is not uncommon to hear Haitians say that they threw off the whites almost two centuries ago, with the implication that they feel some sense of historical superiority to the African-Americans. Meanwhile, their children may be being seduced by an inner-city youth ethic or culture that requires conformity, so they would be accepted by the greater body of youth. Or, they are forced to fend for themselves/protect themselves. An effort is being made to address this issue currently by Minority Development and Empowerment. They are facilitating conversations in the community on this topic among the affected youth.

Vocational

This is a great need. The Florida Association for Voluntary Agencies for Caribbean Action, first formed by Governor Bob Graham, involved in assessing needs as well as offering information and cooperative endeavors, has long recognized the need for all kinds of job development in Haiti. The Association coordinates what "technical assistance" can be matched with the state of needs. A separate effort, to build "Haiti Tech," has been on-going among a group of South Florida visionaries and philanthropists with the intention of opening by Fall of 1999 in Haiti.

Clearly, vocational education has not been adequately available in the Haitian educational system. Those who have mechanical skills, such as engine repair, or can make shoes, embroider, tailor or heal by traditional methods, tend to have learned their skills by a kind of apprenticeship they requested of a master, or were chosen to have passed on to them by a recognized family specialist.

Subsequently, many Haitians who have immigrated to South Florida have neither the academic nor the vocational skills requisite for a post-industrial environment. Their need is for both, often for literacy, and for English. Perhaps they might be able to find work more immediately if they were taught in Creole and vocational English. The Haitians are very practical: work comes first. Despite self-taught skills, experience and aptitude, they may short change their futures by not being able to access available training: for lack of information, lack of transportation, and alienation from the larger system. Typically, also, they do not have the resources to linger in classes. They need to be working immediately.

The dearth of linguistic skills is a terrific barrier to participation and integration in the local economy. "Linguistic" meaning not just English per se, but, also, literacy, and how they are crucial aspects of culturally appropriate job knowledge and behavior. An intermeshed curriculum would satisfy skills needs for successful acculturation. Provision for continued language/skills education at work sites would benefit employees, employers and the community.

Health

There is clearly the full socioeconomic range of Haitians living in Broward. But, the community is bottom-heavy: the illiterate, not-formally educated and poor are predominant. Their knowledge is considered "third world," their experiences and expectations in Haiti where they were relatively oppressed shape their ability to integrate into a "first world" economy and society. This plays out most strikingly in the domain of health and medicine. Superficial exposure to western medicine does not assure learning or ability to follow through. Understanding is not just a matter of translation, but needs conceptual interpretation.

Health is a crucial quality of life issue. Haitians have great respect for doctors and western medicines,

although they may continue to make use of behaviors and remedies so culturally customary that they are not even conscious of the interplay with western medicine. They need physiological and health/illness education as much as they need to see a doctor when they are sick. Complicating this is the need for literacy, which is essential for both access to and understanding of health maintenance and care, and especially crucial for parents who are responsible for the well-being of their children, as well as for themselves.

The issues are much more than the community itself will state, although Haitian doctors must know the huge gaps in concept, knowledge, practice and follow-through. Just the taking of a family health history is incredibly problematic - due not just to language and misleading cognates, but to such radically different worlds of knowledge, perception and interpretation. Such a simple matter as giving a client a printed diet plan to follow is thwarted not just by language and literacy, but by culturally ingrained food preferences, eating schedules, understanding of measurements and preferred cooking styles.

About health issues, though, Haitians interviewed for the quality of life study offer several categories of need: access, fairness, work-related injuries, discrimination, stigma. They feel that because they have no advocates, even though their work should have health protection for them, they do not get it - especially for those who work in labor which does not require English competence nor substantial communication with supervisors. Additionally, injuries are said to be common cause for dismissal from work as the employee necessarily requires recuperation time. There are so many cases of permanent injury, subsequent loss of work, and no access even to therapy.

Although there are low-cost clinics available through the hospital districts, communication is still a lethal barrier. Additionally, Haitian clients feel that they experience discrimination in clinics as they are so often left until last, despite arriving early. Although non-English speakers are requested to bring a translator with them, at this socioeconomic level, who do they know who is adequately bi-lingual? It is not that common for anyone, but especially a person working at minimum wage, to be able to take a few hours or afternoon off to go translate for a friend or relative, especially at short notice.

Overhearing a conversation between two Haitian men about access to a district clinic: front desk personnel are not often helpful, they said. There is never a bi-lingual person posted there or available. If you are even five minutes late for your appointment, even if you were caught in traffic, or taking a child to school, despite the fact that the clinic itself may be running late, you may not get seen. Their conclusion was that, if you are Haitian, even if you are on time, even if you have your clinic card, there is no guarantee of access.

Another problem with the clinic (at Broward General) is the difficulty in getting "the blue (clinic) card" renewed. The process is never straightforward and efficient. Clients' perception is that they are just not welcome.

In these conversations, there were many requests for information: can they have a doctor who speaks Creole? Can you transfer from a public health clinic to the district clinics? How can they find affordable dental and eye care?

At the opening of a new senior center for Haitian elderly in Ft. Lauderdale, a Haitian doctor spoke of the need for preventive care in the community and for screenings: pap smears, mammograms, prostate blood tests. The community is also at high risk for diabetes and high blood pressure. One speaker asked about needs the elderly experience and a woman yelled out, "transportation," transportation to the senior center itself, as well as to the various available clinics. This is also clearly a relevant need for the senior clients who are seen at the Elderly Interest Fund's Medivan. Although the Medivan is a mobile service, parking centrally in various communities of the County, referrals for clients for lab work and to see specialists necessitate their traveling less locally. Because the families are so often minimum wage earning, not able to take a day off to transport and

translate, referral appointments cannot always be met.

The young businesswoman cited above sees havoc in the wake of the 1996 Immigration Act. Haitians who once could get health care are no longer eligible. The result is that they wait until the situation becomes an emergency, at which point, they start accruing huge bills which they cannot ever get even with, so are ashamed to present for the next "emergency," and often just resort to their home remedies.

One of the Haitian radio leaders talked about being invited by the United Way to participate in community wide vaccination efforts. He appreciates the opportunity to be included in this project and sees the radio as a significant source of information and encouragement to the community about inoculations. He sees the radio as a credible platform for health education.

On the topic of inoculations, the Medivan offers the flu shot when they are made available by the Broward County Public Health Department and Memorial Health Care System on an annual basis. One woman refused. When asked why, she said she had had one several years ago. She thought the protection lasted forever.

Observing in clinics, it is clear that Haitian clientele respect the doctors, the profession, the facility. They come so well-dressed. But they rarely ask for results, readings, even clarification on dispensed medicines, unless given the chance. That chance is by virtue of clinicians who speak their language and are receptive to the client. One can only infer that the Haitians' prior experience with institutional medicine was rather impersonal and non-explanatory.

It is clear that the community needs information about the relationship of foods and specific illnesses as well as the relationship between physical and social behaviors and illnesses. There needs to be concerted, culturally challenging outreach about risky behaviors, responsibility and serious disease.

Mental Health

A recent Herald article about mental health care for "ethnic" seniors referred to the relevance and comfort of cultural understanding on the part of professionals speaking their own language, as well. Clearly, the overlay of western mental health services, therapies and medicine on peoples of other traditions may not only be useless, but even traumatizing. It is important to know and understand symptoms in the context of the client's life, history and culture.

Acculturation is an experience of all foreign-born living in another culture. The inevitable accommodation and conflict are all aspects of mental health. They are stress. And, some of this stress, if not resolved, may lead to serious mental maladjustment.

In the early 20th century, there was a perception on the part of the host culture in the United States, that large segments of immigrant populations were mentally and emotionally weak. Their behavior was often depressive. They may have emigrated for economic opportunity, but were also fleeing war, famine, disease, oppression, discrimination. Escaping such situations did not necessarily give them peace of mind. They continued to worry about family left behind, about what was happening in their native land and their feelings of responsibility. And there was no concerted infrastructure at the time to provide for that kind of necessary comfort, that was sensitive about the need for counseling, about loss and acculturation.

Since those times, there has been much more recognition of the traumatic effects of events which cause or impel people to escape their native land and emigrate. World War II, the Korean War, the Indochinese/Vietnam war: refugees especially suffer what has come to be known as post-traumatic stress

syndrome. No one puts the images of killings, hatred, violence, theft, usurpation, rape and denigration aside easily.

Haitians have suffered immeasurably at the hands of those in power. And incredible violence since the beginning - the legacy of slavery, of bloody revolution, of dictatorial, punitive and oppressive authority. Denial of access to education, creature comforts, and the right to speak out. They virtually have had no rights. No assurance of civil rights. The emotionless face worn like a mask in public is testimony to this history. It is self-protection.

In addition to the scars Haitians wear within - especially of participation in efforts at democracy, on top of previous, often arbitrary violence, loss of family members, property, the need to flee to preserve life, and current concern for family left behind in a situation that appears more and more hopeless, both environmentally and politically, the acculturative milieu for Haitians is one of unwelcome and apparent discrimination. They have never been given the same credibility or chance as Cubans, with whom they compare their situation. While Cubans also fled a repressive regime by boat, it is the Haitians that wear the very negative "boat people" label, in addition to the other negative baggage they are made to carry: "dirty," "illiterate," "voodoo worshipers" and an association with both tuberculosis and AIDS.

Young children, newly arrived, never having had the chance to go to school in Haiti, have been greeted with "dirty Haitian," despite the fact they wear their best clothes the first day. When placed by age, they are often already ashamed at being so behind. This is a set-up for mental health problems: some say that they "go blind" when walking to school. Culturally inappropriate behavior may get labeled as emotionally disturbed, and the children may be placed in special classrooms. Additionally, there has been conflict between African-American and Haitian children. Haitian mothers told me that African-Americans say, "this is our country;" even in the schools, "they are hitting each other," "the black Americans accuse the young Haitians of 'doing voodoo'!" Even the police, they say, believe the word of the black American over the Haitian.

Such ever-present discrimination affects mental health. Haitians have cause to fear many groups of people, e.g., African-Americans, police, INS. Constant fear erodes sanity.

All of these environmental stresses play out within the family as well. Especially for lone refugees, singles, but also for families without the traditional embrace and proximity of the extended family, mental health is severely threatened. So many Haitians are without the skills necessary to survive a "first world" culture, that, despite their dreams of making it, they find a lonely reality. Domestic abuse may be a result of such frustration and disappointment. Both Women in Distress and the Victim Support Hotline in Miami receive requests for help from Haitians community members.

What is called "child abuse" also shows up. Traditional child rearing discipline is corporal: taps, slaps and spanks in addition to shaming - as a means of developing self-protection for the danger of public life. Its interpretation by the host community in this local environment is one of abuse, and, in fact, it can certainly turn into abuse in an atmosphere of frustration and helplessness on the part of parents. A local Broward Department of Children and Families social worker explained that Haitians may represent 15% of their caseload and are the most difficult cases because of the problem of communication. Their traditional "discipline practice is in direct conflict with United States' laws and cultural norms." Intervention is complicated by the need for translators and culturally knowledgeable therapists. And, it is difficult because of the extreme "clash of cultures" and because "Haitians fear authority." On the other hand, she said, "there are many knowledgeable people in the community" who have provided culturally sensitive services for the Haitians.

Another kind of abuse is not uncommonly suffered by undocumented women who are adjusting status

through marriage, who have essentially been used and abused by their "husband," who may also threaten to keep them from their children.

Alcohol/Drugs

Despite the renowned Barbancourt rum, and despite partaking, Haitians do not tend to abuse alcohol. Drinking, in the classes that can afford it, is a very social event. One man said that drinking is always not only in a social context, but is always accompanied by eating. People do not tend to get "drunk," (although there is a word in Creole for this state, so it is a possibility). There is a raw rum used in some religious ceremonies, but, again, a highly circumscribed social context, where extra-ordinary behavior is sanctioned. Exposure to Western drinking habits may certainly lead to misuse, especially in such a frustrating environment, but it is not a traditional proclivity brought to South Florida by the general masses.

Certainly, especially with generations born in the United States and the group sanction of imbibing as a kind of rite of passage for youth, alcohol use could become more common in the Haitian population. Acculturation, as well, to American habits and standards. On the other hand, the number of more or less fundamentalist Haitian churches in Broward would suggest disapproval. The greater possibility is of Haitians acculturated to America's preferred vices, returning to Haiti to initiate the more innocent.

Drugs, also, were never the custom. Youth born in South Florida are more likely to be exposed than their counterparts in Haiti. Again, the influence of the very conservative typical Haitian family, and the plethora of fundamentalist churches suggest that the community would fight the incursion of drug use.

Divorce

It is difficult to calculate this as many Haitians at the lower socioeconomic rungs never did marry. But, they maintained a socially recognized relationship, called plasaj, which involves mutual responsibilities. Traditionally, the male is responsible for the economic welfare of the family and the female is responsible for keeping up the domestic side: child-bearing and rearing, cleaning, cooking, maintenance of a home garden, etc. A man could be expected to establish other families, so long as he could support them. Women also would contribute to the family's welfare by other activities, such as itinerant buying and selling. A couple might marry when they could accrue the resources necessary to conduct a formal marriage ceremony in the church and to build themselves a house.

In South Florida, this tradition has led in two directions. One is for a couple to be plase ("socially placed") and eventually marry, when they have saved the money for it. Another is for men to hook up with women, have children, but move on and not maintain responsibility for the welfare of the children because they themselves are less able to earn a living in this environment and because government assistance was available for children of single mothers. Because this pattern has had years to become entrenched, whether or not it will change is moot, but certainly the recent immigration and welfare reform legislation has put some members of this population in jeopardy.

Children

Child care is a burning issue for the Haitians. So many mothers must work, if they can find work, yet cannot afford good day care and are impeded by the lack of transportation available to drop a child at a day care site plus get to work. For this reason, sometimes, they have to choose not to work. Additionally, they are equally impeded from pursuing English classes at local facilities, daytime, because there is no child care or because there is a substantial fee for child care. Many of the women request that the adult/community centers offer

economically feasible/free child care while parents are in class.

Haitians have strong values when it comes to child rearing and family. They would prefer that child care be with someone they trust, preferably family. They do not want their children to be corrupted by what they perceive as looser morals and less seriousness in the host culture, nor by the inevitable prejudice their children will experience. For this reason, they not only take advantage to request that siblings and cousins who are at home with their own children help out, but they also import their parents from Haiti. Their elderly parents serve the very vital services of maintaining the culture, as the most respected heads of the extended family, rearing the child in his own home, and doing domestic kinds of tasks, including cooking. According to informants, some such families might also send their children back to Haiti to be reared by a trusted older sister or grandmother. This gives stability to the child's upbringing as well as time to the immigrant parent to make some economic headway.

One informant said that middle and upper class families prefer to send their children to good Christian day care centers or to hire Haitian nannies to be with the children in their own home during the parents' work day. Or, they not infrequently are returned to their grandparents or an older aunt to be properly brought up and educated in Haiti.

The other issue with children is the lack of structured, supervised after-school activities. Working parents fear for their children - that they are alone and/or influenced by the many seductions of the environment. St. Joseph's in Pompano Beach had an after-school program to help school children with their homework, supervise them, offer extra activities, but funding was not renewed. The parents are heart-broken, as many are illiterate and not able to help their children with their school work. Additionally, parents are concerned about letting their children be alone after school or that they might hang out with less moral youth.

Elderly

The very elderly that are so valued by their child-rearing children are often lonely. They are restricted by virtue of language, responsibility and lack of social companionship. They typically have children back home in Haiti that they worry about constantly, both for their security and their income. Many of these seniors, because they are the matriarchs and patriarchs of their extended family, are in conflict about their responsibility to their children. So, some of the women say that they take care of their children's children, in addition to taking care of others, too, because they "need to make a little money" to send back home to support the family in Haiti.

Some have quite extraordinary health problems, deteriorating eyesight, dental pain. Diabetes and high blood pressure are also common. Many have never had any of the usual medical screenings and need interpreter services should they be referred to a specialist. They also need help with transportation.

Safety/Security

Due to the low socioeconomic status of many of the immigrants, large settlements of Haitians are found in poorer, urban areas, where they have cause not to feel safe. Their aim, though, is to save enough to move out of apartments in the hard central core and relocate in a "better" area, eventually to be able to buy a house in a "good" area. There was no word/meaning in Creole for "mortgage," because home-ownership was not traditionally achieved by this means in Haiti, but, after several decades in the United States now, the word "mortgage" has been incorporated and creolized in Haitian Creole in south Florida.

In the city of North Miami, coupled with WLQY radio, there is an effort to organize crime watches and improve relations between the police and residents of the diverse populace. Information is going out in both Creole and Spanish and there were several programs on crime prevention on WLQY during March, 1999.

There are also reported efforts in Delray Beach in the Haitian community to develop crime watches and accompany police in an effort to improve communication and cooperation.

The Ft. Lauderdale police were meeting with the Haitian community in the first half of 1999 with plans to continue throughout the year. It is a welcome effort for mutual understanding.

Juvenile Delinquency

This is what Haitians fear: that their children will become involved with others, conform and learn anti-social behaviors. Possibly to be accepted, to be part of a group. Some Haitian youth form their own "gangs" for self-protection vis à vis other youth gangs. It was impossible to get hard statistics on this topic, as Department of Juvenile Justice data was, until very recently, kept in categories of "White" and "non-White." It is clearly a concern, as parents and community advocates want after-school activities for their youth.

Law, Crime, Punishment, Accidents

The Broward County Sheriff's Department keeps arrest reports in "immigration" categories, i.e., place of birth. Unfortunately, the arrest records are only for arrests, not the specific arrests, and arrest is not necessarily crime. There are so many factors with arrests that may result in release: communication problems, mistaken identity, etc. It is not reasonable to use the data to prove or disprove anything, especially as there are no credible foreign-born population numbers to give arrest numbers a meaningful context. Nonetheless, detail of actual confirmed charges per place of birth/sex/age, etc., would prove useful for prevention and intervention strategies for all populations.

Meanwhile, Haitians are afraid of the police. Some of this fear comes almost inborn, from their experiences in Haiti, with the historical possibility of arbitrary detention, arrest and violence. Additionally, the Broward community experiences somewhat similar arbitrary and unpredictable persecution due to being Haitian. Their fear of INS and knowledge of their own stigmatized social position, with the community's experience of being stopped and requested "papers," by police, too, further leads them to fear anyone who represents the authority of the law. Ironically, the culturally appropriate response for Haitians to being stopped and questioned by police/any authority is not to meet his gaze, not to challenge him. So, while the Haitians are being respectful, the local police read their behavior as guilty.

The radio producer is incredulous that cultural differences have not been addressed, especially as Haitians have been living in this community which has been growing exponentially for at least three decades now. His own first American experience was in Boston, where service providers, including the police, were interested in the culture; teachers wanted to learn about it. Here, it is almost as if they know nothing about the community. He suggested that perhaps they are not even interested.

It is certainly the case that Haitians do not know the laws. This is part of the cultural information they request be included in the English language classes. There is no packet of such information given to newcomers into the county despite the fact that they are interested and would like to have it. Especially if they could have it in their own language (for illiterates, on cassette.).

Civil Rights/Equal Opportunity/Discrimination

This is the case with rights, as well. The Haitians do not know their rights in all contexts in the United States. It would contribute to their ability to acculturate if such information could be made available to them in

their own language. (Many other groups requested the same, no matter refugee, immigrant, migrant worker, undocumented.) Because they do not know their rights, they resign themselves to being left last in clinics, being dismissed with lies they cannot refute, being taken advantage of in some citizenship classes, by attorneys, by businesses, being charged for benefits they are entitled to.

Threaded throughout the above, the perception of inequality and discrimination is expressed in almost every quality of life category. The most symbolic of discriminatory practices is the national policy of interdiction, as if there were a wall in the Caribbean which Haitians should not penetrate, while they see those from other countries picked up and transported the rest of the way. They know there has never been a welcome. Since the early 1980's, Lutheran re-settlement assistance witnessed prejudice toward Haitians "from both whites and blacks."

The aura of discrimination imbues the cases of Adner Louima in New York City, who was found to have been brutalized by police, and the case of Thomas Sylvain, deported to Haiti, despite available evidence of native American citizenship, left essentially to die there until, at his last minute, returned to Jackson Hospital in Miami. The treatment of these two men leaves an impression of unfairness, of inequality before the law, of life-threatening action predicated on presumed guilt, and only adds to the Haitian community's general sense of personal vulnerability.

Government/Participation

Although the Haitian population may not be citizens yet and therefore do not vote in great numbers, they have many allies, such as the Haitian Refugee Center, Florida Immigration and Advocacy Center and Florida Legal Services' spokesmen for their cause. The Haitian community stages protests and demonstrations in front of the Immigration and Naturalization offices in Miami, or at the courthouse. They demonstrate for Haitian causes as well, for an improved situation in Haiti, for real democracy. They write letters and take buses to Washington, D.C., to state their purpose. Attorneys who have spent years arguing their cases for asylum have gone on to be prominent and trusted advocates, even developing lobbies for the cause of Haiti and for Haitians in the United States. Recently, the Haitian community found an ally in U.S. Representative Carrie Meek. She has supported the efforts of the Haitians to push through the most recent Haitian Immigrant Fairness Act, with access to work permits and as a step toward permanent residency.

The 1996 immigration and welfare legislation, instead of intimidating the community, has energized a larger effort to study and apply for citizenship. At the same time, local Haitians have run for office, in Broward, for the first time. Margaret Armand ran for the Broward County School Board and Claude Louissaint ran for State Senator. This was extremely energizing to the community, too: phone lines into the local Haitian radios were crackling. People have become more interested in actively participating in government. The Haitian-American Democratic Club continues to grow in membership and was much in demand on the radio prior to the September elections to keep the community informed about voting. A Haitian candidate for mayor of North Miami just announced in May, 1999.

Haitians sit on the Multi-ethnic Advisory Board to the County Commission. They are members of the Refugee and Multi-cultural Task Force of Broward County. They represent the community on the Multi-Cultural Advisory Committee to the City of Coral Springs. The community is interested in politics, locally, as well as in Haiti.

Most recently, news of the impending Census 2000 has elicited great interest in South Florida among the Haitian communities. Leaders understand the significance of a complete count and are already working on getting out the word. Ideally, numbers will provide the necessary credibility for increased funding into community

based organizations, which now struggle to meet the many serious needs of the enormous community. There may be a tri-county Haitian effort to make Census 2000 work toward a better quality of life for Haitians. Many Haitians have applied to take the exams to work for the Census Bureau's efforts to prepare for and conduct Census 2000.

Spiritual/Religious/Moral Preferences

The number of churches in Broward county has exploded as the Haitian population increases. Because of the language issue, the predominance of a Haitian Creole speaking population makes integration in other churches problematic. There is, as with other groups, the culturally familiar and comforting way that a service is realized. Initially, many local churches where Haitians began to settle added a Haitian pastored service for the local congregation. The Haitian congregation then raised money and built or bought its own facility. Whether a storefront or a proper church, it is one that belongs to them. In Broward County, the evidence illustrates these stages. There are still many American Protestant churches that offer alternate Creole services (as well as Spanish, Filipino, Vietnamese, French, Portuguese, Korean, Chinese, etc.), but, also, now many independent Haitian churches, at least 37 Baptist (members of Gulfstream Baptist) and two Catholic.

For a population that has suffered so, its faith, nonetheless, is strong. Haitian churches are places of spiritual solace, cultural comfort and social solidarity. The act of building their own confirms their rootedness in Broward and the strong sense of cultural integrity and morality they wish to maintain.

Sources of Information/Trust

Clearly, pastors are highly respected and trusted. For this reason, it would behoove pastors to be more active in the larger community, so as to have good information for their parishioners. Radio spokesmen are in the most "heard" position possible. They are some of the most trusted sources of information in the community, aware of both their credibility and responsibility to the community. This is the vehicle for getting good information to the Haitian community, much more effective than print-outs in Creole.

Teachers of English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL), also, are highly respected and considered trustworthy sources of information. ESOL teachers are necessarily acculturation change agents and sources of information for in-migrant populations. Their inevitable familiarity with students over time evolves into a kind of social work. And, helping inspires trust.

Medical doctors also are highly respected and trusted, especially American ones. Doctors really do affect the quality of life, if not the life itself, of people. It is important that doctors talk in an educational way with clients, not just treat them. There is the possibility the clients will hear, learn and try to comply.

Acculturational Issues

These are infinite. What so many of the population have in common is how to bridge the gap between a "third world" up-bringing and "first world" environment. Additionally, behaviors of the host culture are understandably interpreted as completely unwelcoming - from punitive and dismissive INS policy to the shock and stigma of racism. Additionally, Haitians come from a culture whose most viable, autonomous building blocks are extended family. The individual is tightly woven into that matrix. The individualist ethic of the United States is quite lonely and incomplete. And, immigrants often remark on the intense pace and pressure of life in South Florida, as opposed to the more relaxed lifestyle of their homeland.

Goals, Priorities

A job and concomitant ability to support family locally as well as those still in Haiti is really the main goal. Everything that would contribute to that goal is top priority: a secure INS status - permanent residence, now more than ever, citizenship; English, childcare and education for the children (especially to be doctors or lawyers, for the welfare and reputation of the family), good health (continued ability to work), affordable housing and eventually home ownership.

Trends

Haitians have been emigrating to the United States seriously for three, even four decades now. But, the histories of the two countries have long been more intertwined than most Americans recognize: at least, since January 1, 1904, the time of Haiti's independence from France. With its environmental devastation, insoluble political stalemate and increasing internal corruption and violence, and so much of its population now living in south Florida, many potential emigrants are eligible for "family unification" and will continue to come, as INS permits. At the same time, because of continued deteriorating conditions in Haiti, Haitians will continue to risk their lives by boat, seeking "a better life," to work where there is work, so that they can fulfill ingrained cultural responsibilities to family.

Deteriorating conditions include "persistent economic hardship, little altered by regime or foreign largess," ... overpopulation, ... a dearth of arable land, continued extraordinary illiteracy rates..., "living without electricity or running water."[7] The devastation wreaked by Hurricane Georges in 1998 goes mostly unmentioned in comparison with the more shocking ruin that Hurricane Mitch rained on Honduras and Nicaragua. But Haiti's most fertile land was stripped by the torrential rains, and small homes were swept away. The assembly plants and related businesses are long moved to Central America. There is little work.

Additionally, the political status is clearly not the democracy it was "proclaimed" to be. Claude Charles, at the Center for Haitian Studies in Miami, says: "Haitian society has deteriorated into chaos. The future continues to be generally bleak for people."[8] And, subsequently, observers predict more tragedies as people gamble their lives for the promise of a better life in the United States.

At the same time, the Haitian community in south Florida, despite the extraordinary social barriers it continues to face, is deepening its roots: cultural infrastructure is in place and there is belief in the promise of a better life in the United States. Due to recent changes in immigration and welfare law, there is further incentive to master skills needed for the citizenship test, to become citizens and to vote. The community has taken advantage of the opportunity for education and employment and, in addition, is becoming more politically visible, and speaking out in a voice which will be heard.

HISPANICS

The word "mushrooming" is used in recent news articles about the growth of the Hispanic community in Broward County. The Hispanic community in the United States is made up of at least nineteen national groups plus Puerto Rico and all others who are American born and/or perceive themselves of Hispanic ancestry. "Hispanic" is a label used for peoples from those countries colonized by Spain, which were historically under Spanish domination and, most often, Spanish speaking, and their descendants. It is a label utilized by the Census as an indicator of "ethnicity" for at least two censuses now.

Although some chafe under the collective label, there is power in numbers, proven out by the many prominent "Hispanic" lobbies and growing political influence. Within the label are so many historical and cultural differences, even the "Spanishes" spoken are different, but, together, the Hispanic voice is potent. The most recently created organization in Broward, "The Hispanic Alliance," was formed for the benefit of all Hispanics in the county, as an umbrella group to address "issues of concern"/needs of its constituents.

Indicators

Available numbers from the 1950 Census indicate minimum foreign-born Hispanic presence in Broward. For instance, there were only 66 Mexicans counted, 12 Salvadorans and 25 Guatemalans; 51 Dominicans and 535 Cubans. From South America, the numbers were 107 Argentineans, 31 Colombians, 41 Ecuadorans and 34 from Peru. At that time, the Census did not ask for either "Spanish" or "Hispanic" origin. By the 1980 Census, the count was 40,314 of "Hispanic origin" ("ethnicity") but numbers of Hispanic foreign-born were much less. By 1990, there were 105,668 counted to be of Hispanic origin living in Broward, but foreign-born numbers substantially less numerous. For instance, while Mexicans of Hispanic origin were 7,549, only 2,991 were Mexican-born. The Cuban case is also a contrast: 24,611 of Hispanic origin but only 15,784 Cuban-born. Colombian presence in Broward has definitely exploded: from 31 Colombian-born in 1950 to 9,938 in the 1990 Census, but 12,341 of Colombian origin. Puerto Rican presence is measured by Hispanic origin; this was 26,034 in 1990. Puerto Rican and Cuban populations, by these somewhat fuzzy methods, tend to be about the most numerous Hispanic populations in the county, although there is indication that Colombians are in close competition. Nonetheless, every South and Central American, Mexican and Caribbean Hispanic country, as well as Spain, is represented in Broward County.

Country	Census 1950	Census 1990	Hispanic Origin 1990
Mexico	66	2,991	7,549
El Salvador	12	1,338	1,779
Guatemala	25	828	970
Puerto Rico			26,034
Dominican Rep	51	2,288	-
Cuba	535	15,784	24,611
Argentina	107	1,992	1,971
Colombia	31	9,938	12,341
Ecuador	41	1,951	2,677
Peru	34	3,579	4,022

An internal community count in 1995 estimated Hispanics in Broward at 140,000. In 1997, the then-director of Hispanic Unity set the estimate of population size at 170,000, based on University of Florida calculations. Other community leaders felt that even that number was low. In spring of 1998, local agency estimates were 180,000. In early 1999, long-term Hispanic leaders in Broward were saying at least 250,000. These numbers relate not exclusively to foreign-born, but to factors of ancestry, ethnicity, and self-identity.

The most numerous populations are clearly indicated by foreign-born student registrations with the School Board, but they are certainly the tip of the iceberg when other tallies use ancestry indicators. Hispanic students are said to be 16% of the total schools' enrollment of 231,429, for school year 1998-99, a percentage that is allegedly an undercount, as it is a self-identity option on registration. The percentage of Hispanic-born students enrolled to the total is only about 4%.

Comparing school year enrollments of foreign-born students PK-12 in the years 1989 and 1998 in the Broward County School Board:

Country	1989-90	1998-99
Colombia	282	1959
Venezuela	84	1446
Peru	159	1006
Mexico	84	807
Dominican Republic	82	666
Cuba	27	496
Ecuador	69	349
Argentina	46	313
Honduras	54	311
Nicaragua	63	270
Panama	54	229
Guatemala	35	219
Costa Rica	26	194
El Salvador	48	211
Chile	18	177
Spain	11	100
Bolivia	26	70
Uruguay	3	48
Paraguay	-	-
Total Hispanic Foreign-born:	1,054	8,871
Total Foreign-born:	4,054	27,060
Total registration:	149,026	231,249

Not to be overlooked is the history of Puerto Rican-born and ethnic students vis à vis the Broward County School Board. Puerto Rico was listed as one of the "country of origin" categories at inception of the Multicultural Education Department in 1989. In actuality, Puerto Rico was named separately under several

"U.S.A" born categories (e.g., Samoa, Virgin Islands), and would have added 217 students to the Hispanic-born numbers in 1989. This policy appears to have been changed slightly by the mid '90's when Puerto Rico appeared in School Board data as a singular foreign category whose representation in student enrollment numbers was always close to the most numerous, typically after Haiti and Jamaica. Winter term 1998, its "foreign" status must have been questioned. The disappearance of Puerto Rico as one of the major contributors to "foreign-born" numbers with both cultural and linguistic implications may have been politically correct, but leaves the School Board without a tracking mechanism for growth of this very large population. Evidence from Hispanic Unity is that Puerto Ricans continue to increase in number in the English as a Second Language classes. And, evidence from local cultural festivals is that the Puerto Rican identity and sense of solidarity are fiercely valued.

As to total Hispanic numbers, the "PK through 12" Hispanic enrollment pales in comparison with adult Hispanic foreign-born registrations in the adult/community schools. In the 1997-98 school year, total adult foreign-born registrations were 39,986 out of a total 96,994. Hispanic registrations, including Puerto Rican-born, were an enormous percentage of the total. It is inferable that most foreign-born registrations are for English classes, as highest numbers were from non-English speaking countries. (Jamaican born registrations were extremely high, though, at the vocational schools and those in central Broward.) Because there are adult students from both Palm Beach (few) and Miami-Dade (many) counties, it is impossible to give an accurate number of total Broward Hispanics enrolled for the school year 1997-98. Roughly, though, approximately 14,500 (27% of foreign-born) were Hispanic foreign-born, with Colombian numbers the highest and present at almost all schools in the system. They were followed in numbers by Peruvians and Venezuelans, but were dominated by Mexicans at Pompano Multi-Purpose Center and NE Adult Community School in Oakland Park, and were closely followed by Mexicans at Margate Community and Coral Springs Community. In Deerfield Beach, Dominicans and Colombians registered in about the same numbers. At Crystal Lake Community, Mexicans were the most numerous of the Hispanics, followed by Puerto Ricans and Hondurans. At Ft. Lauderdale Adult Center, Colombians and Salvadorans were registered in similar numbers and at Whiddon Rogers in Ft. Lauderdale, Puerto Ricans and Colombians were registered about equally. Cubans showed up enormously at Sheridan Vocational; also at Hollywood Hills Community, whose student body was almost entirely Hispanic-born. Cubans, Dominicans and Puerto Ricans attended the adult schools in Miramar and Pembroke Pines. Colombians, Peruvians and Venezuelans were dominant Hispanics at all the western-most adult schools: Tequesta Trace, Bair, Plantation, Piper and Taravella.

Community School	Col	Ven	Peru	Cuba	PR	DR	Mex	Hon	Salv	Nica
Deerfield Beach										
Deerfield Comm	26					26				
Pompano Beach										
Crystal Lake					31		102	30		
Pomp Multipurpose	122	72					184			
Ft. Lauderdale										
NE Adult	32		29		23		34			
Ft. Lauderdale Adult	67						46		66	
Parkway Community				102						
Whiddon Rogers	141	89			143					
Davie										
McFatter Vocational	456	145	175	228						

BrowFire Academy				99						
Nova Community	160	91	46	44			34			
Hollywood										
S Broward Adult	24	16	17							
Hollywood Hills	342	94	217	164	84					
Sheridan Vocational	339			547	254	118				79
Hallandale Beach										
Hallandale Adult	441	196	301							
Miramar										
Walter Young	67	27		28	26					
Cooper City										
Cooper City Comm	49	22			30					
Weston										
Tequesta Trace	241	222	47							
Coral Springs										
Coral Springs Comm	137	88	82				135			
Taravella Comm	29		14							
Margate										
Margate Community	85						51			
Coconut Creek										
Atlantic Vocational	236			101	142					
Sunrise										
Piper Community	735	299	182	107	111					
Bair Community	162	105	88							
Plantation										
Plantation Comm	131	58								
Lauderhill										
Lauderhill Comm	16									

Foreign-born student distribution in the public schools, PK-12, also suggests similar geographic clustering of national groups. Colombian-born are the most numerous of foreign-born Hispanics (without considering Puerto Rican born students/removed from the "foreign-born" category) as of December 1998. They were also the most in 1989, more than Puerto Rican-born. They seem to be the most geographically all-pervasive of Hispanic groups, scattered throughout the county, except for the most central Lauderhill/Lauderdale Lakes area. The public school populations are usually very diverse, with most concentrated Hispanic student bodies in Hollywood, more mixed with other non-Hispanic nationalities in Dania Beach, but again highly Hispanic in Pembroke Pines. In Weston, the Hispanic population is predominantly South American. (Non-Hispanic South Americans, the Brazilians, are also relatively prevalent in Weston schools.) Colombians are in high numbers in Sunrise schools, where Jamaicans tend to predominant in the foreign-born student body. In Plantation schools, whose foreign-born are highly disparate, Colombians, Jamaicans and Brazilians tend to be the most numerous.

Coral Springs schools are also quite diverse, but Colombians, Venezuelans, Peruvians (and again, Brazilians), predominate, with added South America populations among the foreign-born. Colombians are also found in lesser numbers in Pompano Beach and Coconut Creek schools.

Venezuelan-born are relatively concurrent with Colombian-born students, although much more numerous at Western High School in far southwest Ft. Lauderdale, and at Tequesta Trace Middle, Eagle Point Elementary and Country Isles Elementary in Weston. There are more Venezuelans than Colombians at Forest Glen Middle in Coral Springs Elementary, but otherwise, they, along with Peruvians, show similar population size in the public schools of Coral Springs. Venezuelans are much more in Davie than Colombians are and to the exclusion of Peruvians altogether.

Peruvians also are concurrent with Venezuelans and Colombians, but with some differences. For instance, Peruvians and Colombians show up at Oakland Park schools, whereas Venezuelans do not. And Peruvians are much more prevalent in the Dania Beach and Hollywood schools than are Venezuelans and in the Hallandale Beach schools, whereas Venezuelans are not at all. Peruvians are in N. Lauderdale schools, along with Colombians, and Venezuelans are not. Such patterns may be indicative of socio-economic correlates.

All three are in public schools in Plantation, Sunrise and Pembroke Pines: Colombians are more numerous than Venezuelans or Peruvians, but they all are especially substantially represented at Flanigan in Pembroke Pines. While the Plantation and Sunrise schools are highly mixed with large percentages of Jamaican/Caribbean populations, the Pembroke Pines schools are quite diverse ethnically, but highly Hispanic.

The Mexican population, while more localized than the Colombian, Venezuelan and Peruvian, is also more spread throughout the county than image would have it. It is certainly the case that the population is most numerous in the Pompano Beach, Deerfield Beach and Coconut Creek areas, but Mexicans are found as well in Coral Springs, Margate, N. Lauderdale, Oakland Park, Plantation, at Western High School in far southwest Ft. Lauderdale, the Riverland area of Ft. Lauderdale, in Davie and a fair number live in Weston. Although there is a Mexican population which continues to work the remaining fields along the northern boundary of the county, others have "migrated" and others may have immigrated directly from Mexico into more urban regions, especially northeast county, also down into Ft. Lauderdale and Oakland Park, as well as the westmost cities of the county. Again, the diverse picture is most likely a reflection of socioeconomic status.

The whereabouts of the Puerto Rican population, due to their absence in school board data, are moot, but their Caribbean cohorts, the Dominicans and Cubans, are geographically indicated by school registration. The Cuban community is poorly represented by these data, as they have been in S. Florida much longer than the others. Many are, of course, second, even third generation, and would not show up in foreign-born school registration. Even Dominicans began their immigration a long time ago, more likely to NYC originally and more recently down to Florida. Adult school registrations may be more suggestive of geographical location, as well as population numbers. Dominican public school students are in Pompano Beach, Deerfield Beach, Plantation, N. Lauderdale, and in southwest Ft. Lauderdale with Cubans. Only Dominicans show up at Western High School. Dominicans in Weston, but Cubans in Davie, Dominicans in Dania Beach, but both in Hollywood - Dominicans much more so. Dominicans represent a substantial percentage of foreign-born students at McArthur High School in far west Hollywood. Dominicans are also in schools in Hallandale Beach, Miramar and Pembroke Pines in relatively substantial numbers, and there is a small contingent at Coral Springs High School.

Central American populations first moved into Broward from Miami-Dade; the larger community remains in Miami-Dade. Nonetheless, there are fledgling communities in Broward that will surely attract others, as well as be able to take advantage of the family unification provisions of immigration law as their own status in the United States has recently been greatly eased. Nicaraguans are attending schools in Oakland Park,

southwest Ft. Lauderdale, Hollywood and Miramar (at the least). Hondurans are found in Oakland Park, southwest Ft. Lauderdale and Hollywood; Salvadorans in southwest Ft. Lauderdale and Guatemalans in Oakland Park and southwest Ft. Lauderdale.

Broward Community College (BCC) registrations demonstrate growth in size of foreign-born student population. The numbers might also demonstrate how little this option for higher education is considered by the foreign-born or available to them. The majority of the foreign-born "first-time-in-college" registering per fall term are from Central America, the Caribbean and South America. Of course this includes all the Spanish-speaking countries except for Spain. The largest numbers are South American, parallel with Broward County schools' data. First-time foreign-born student registrations are depicted below:

Foreign-born	1989-99	1998-99
Colombian	65	117
Peruvian	21	76
Venezuela	27	69
Cuban	28	45
Dominican	2	43
Nicaraguan	8	18
Mexican	5	10

Hispanic Unity has conducted English as a Second Language classes since its beginning. These numbers draw a picture of growth over time. Hispanic Unity is an "off-campus" site of South Broward Adult/Community School, so the numbers do not add to the totals for public adult education: they are just an example of growth in classes that are mostly Hispanic, in an agency that is culturally comforting. Numbers for the last column, 1997-98, are tallied several months short of a full year. It is provocative to note that Colombian and Peruvian registrations are higher than the previous year's registrations while being several months short of a yearly count.

Country	1994-95	1995-96	1996-97	1997-98	1998-99
Colombia	95	151	190	227	235
Peru	76	104	135	147	190
Dominican Rep.	57	65	70	93	40
Cuba	43	82	114	110	65
Puerto Rico	32	27	42	82	40
Mexico	15	18	20	25	19
Venezuela	15	29	38	75	25
Guatemala	12	8	8	9	-
Ecuador	11	24	33	65	19
Honduras	11	20	16	20	20
El Salvador	10	19	18	24	19
Panama	7	7	12	12	-
Chile	6	16	12	12	12
Argentina	4	4	12	14	20
Costa Rica	4	6	4	6	9
Nicaragua	4	12	18	25	10
Bolivia	3	2	-	-	-
Uruguay	2	3	4	6	-
Paraguay	-	-	-	-	2

State of Florida Department of Children and Families (DCF) sorts "legal alien" clients by zip code, a reasonable geographic indicator, (except that post office box addresses undermine the possibility of a comprehensive display of distribution). These demonstrate congruity with above geographical suggestions, but are of course more focused on what is probably a narrower socio-economic range than would overall school data, (although it, too, does not include all students in the county, and there are many enrolled in private and religious schools).

The DCF data (12/31/98) for District 10, Broward County, do not include category of service. The data are not useful for determining needs per population or per geographical area. Its unique usefulness lies in the fact that foreign-born clientele are collected by zip code, so it can give an idea of geographical distribution throughout the county of those foreign-born who are clients of the Department of Children and Families. The numbers of foreign-born receiving assistance are quite small compared with overall numbers per zip code. Cuban-born clients seem to live everywhere throughout the county except for the Coconut Creek area, and are the most numerous of the Hispanic clients. Their highest numbers are in Miramar, central and west Hollywood running into Pembroke Pines, Hallandale Beach and in east Plantation. Only a few Cuban clients are found in Deerfield Beach and Pompano Beach and the unincorporated area between, none in Coconut Creek or Parkland, but some in Coral Springs, even less in Tamarac, none in Margate, none in North Lauderdale. There are small numbers in Sunrise, Lauderhill and Lauderdale Lakes. There are slightly more in the Oakland Park area. Along the east side, there are very few per zip code, barely double digits in Ft. Lauderdale and Dania Beach. A substantial number in east Davie, a few all the way west. There is a small number in Cooper City, and continued few all the way west, even some in Weston.

In northeast Broward: Deerfield Beach and Pompano Beach and the unincorporated area in-between, there are more Colombian DCF clients than Cubans. Colombians are unique Hispanic clients in the Parkland/N. Coral Springs zip code areas, more numerous in Coral Springs than Cubans. They are the unique Hispanic clients in Margate, substantial in North Lauderdale. There are some Colombian clients in Lauderhill and Lauderdale Lakes and down into southwest Ft. Lauderdale. Colombian clients are also at the east and west ends of Davie, and out by Bonaventure, a few in Weston.

Dominican clients are quite numerous in Miramar and west Hollywood. In smaller numbers, they are in east Hollywood, unincorporated/west Ft. Lauderdale, Oakland Park and Deerfield Beach. In the unincorporated area between Deerfield Beach and Pompano Beach, slightly more; just a couple in Coral Springs.

Peruvian clients are few but widely scattered: Coral Springs, Deerfield Beach, Pompano Beach, Oakland Park, Ft. Lauderdale, Plantation, Sunrise, Bonaventure. They are most numerous in west Hollywood and Hallandale Beach. Ecuadoran clients track the Peruvians, but in even lesser numbers.

There are a few Mexican clients in Pompano, unincorporated Deerfield Beach-Pompano Beach, Coconut Creek and Coral Springs, North Lauderdale and east Miramar.

Central American clients are also quite minimal: some Salvadorans in Oakland Park and unincorporated west Ft. Lauderdale, Hondurans in southwest Ft. Lauderdale, Nicaraguans in east Davie and Miramar.

Distribution of churches also reinforces the geographic picture. In Broward, there are 29 Catholic churches. Three of those have services in English, Creole and Spanish and sixteen more in separate English and Spanish masses. One, San Isidro in Pompano Beach, is uniquely in Spanish. There are eight in Ft. Lauderdale which offer a Spanish mass, two in Miramar, two in Pembroke Pines, one in Hollywood, one in Dania Beach, one in Davie, one in Margate and one in Coral Springs.

There are 23 Hispanic Baptist churches in Broward that are members of the Gulfstream Baptist Association. The most are in Hollywood: Lake Forest Hispanic, Gardens Hispanic, Stirling Hispanic and Sheridan Hills Hispanic. One in Dania Beach, Bautista Nuevo Amanecer. In Miramar, one: Pembroke Road Hispanic Baptist (with Creole, Korean and English services, too). There are three in Pembroke Pines: Pembroke Pines Baptist, Las Palmas and Iglesia Cristiana Misionera. In Weston: Bautista Noroeste de Broward. In Davie, Jerusalem Baptist Church and in Sunrise, Iglesia Bautista de Sunrise. Plantation has two: Primera Iglesia Bautista de Plantation and the Spanish Worship Center. One, Centro de Vida Familiar, in Margate. In Coral Springs, Coral Springs Hispanic Baptist. One in Pompano Beach: Pompano First Spanish Baptist. And several in Ft. Lauderdale: Maranatha Hispanic, Stirling Rd. Baptist Church, Iglesia Baptista. And one in N. Lauderdale: Iglesia Cristiana Bautista.

In addition to smaller local ethnic groceries, such as Arco Iris in Margate, Sedano's in Hollywood at State Road 7 and Sheridan has been successful in providing culturally common foods and ingredients, not just for the Hispanic market, but for the Caribbean as well. So successful, in fact, that they have now opened a second large grocery in Pembroke Pines to cater to the tastes of the newest Hispanic residents of Broward. Even as it opens, Sedano's contemplates a third, for the farthest western reaches of the southwestern county.

Overall, the general impression of major Hispanic numbers most heavily in the southern county is valid, especially along county line, Hollywood appropriately a kind of motherland with its very substantial and diverse Hispanic populations, Miramar perhaps more Caribbean Hispanic. All of West Broward has been seriously populated by Hispanic populations, specific sectors of Ft. Lauderdale as well as the unincorporated areas, and

the northeast more than image would have it.

A study done by Marketquest in 1996 determined percentage of "Hispanic penetration" per Broward zip code. Those with highest "penetration" (16% to 20% Hispanic) fall in line with the impression drawn by the above indicating: western-most Hollywood, east-central Hollywood, Miramar, western-most Pembroke Pines, Bonaventure and Weston, plus North Lauderdale where there has been maximum concentration of Hispanic populations.

Quality of Life

Sense of Community and Culture

Although there was a small contingent of Cubans in the county by 1950, the beginnings of a serious flow began in the late 1950's. There was already evidence of the population in the 1960's, for instance, the Cuban-American Club of Davie. St. Stephen's Catholic Church in Miramar was already conducting huge masses in Spanish. Educardo Cardounel opened a realty business in 1970, on Davie Blvd., which eventually became the center of Broward's "Little Havana," although Hollywood's La Marquesa supermarket is also credited with being an original signpost of "Latin culture in Broward." Many Hispanic businesses began in the Davie Blvd. area. By 1974, when there were already more than fifty Hispanic businesses in Broward, a Cuban paper was published, El Heraldo. The paper focused on Cuban politics, society and promoted local Hispanic businesses. The Clínica Hispano Americano was established in the area; another, Clínica Latina Americana was opened at 695 N. SR 7. By 1977, the Latin Chamber of Commerce was organized. According to articles in the Hollywood Sun Tattler in 1980, Colombians were buying up farm land near Delray Beach, Costa Rican investors owned an apartment building in Hallandale Beach; there were 7,000 Spanish speaking households in Miramar.[9] This was the setting before the Cuban-Haitian influx of the early '80's.

There was clearly a well-established Hispanic population in Broward by 1980. But, according to a long-time, local insider, "Cubans and Puerto Ricans living here felt loneliness, unhappiness, there was no sense of community." The mass exodus from Cuba in 1980 rallied the local Hispanics to develop culturally sensitive services. Henderson Mental Health Clinic and San Isidro Catholic church were two sites hospitable to the newcomers. It was a time of frustration for all service workers reaching out to the refugees because of both language and cultural differences. San Isidro Catholic Church was a haven for the Cubans, especially, and provided a sense of solidarity and safety. The efforts of Puerto Ricans and Cubans together to develop social services out of the church and Henderson Mental Health Services's Hispanic component led to the founding of Hispanic Unity in 1982. The development of a Spanish-speaking community based organization offering social services for the newcomers was the beginning of a tradition that offers necessary resettlement aid, and training toward acculturation, including English classes, but also cultural comfort and security. It has been a beacon for later refugee and immigrant arrivals to the area. And, the founding of Hispanic Unity sealed Hollywood's status as "motherland" for Hispanics in Broward County. Throughout the 80's, not just Cubans and Puerto Ricans, but other Hispanics had cause to immigrate: continuing violence and diminishing quality of life in Colombia, warfare in Peru, the political turmoil and guerilla wars in Central America, increasing poverty and lack of resources in the Dominican Republic. Secondary migration from the cold, crime and congestion of NYC of earlier émigrés from the Caribbean also contributed to the size and diversity of the Hispanic community in Broward.

By 1990, Broward's Hispanic populations had grown dramatically. This is, of course, not a phenomenon unique to Broward: the Hispanic population had increased nationwide. Long anchored communities grew from family unification allowances, continued secondary migration (even from Little Havana, Miami), and then were greatly multiplied in the post-Andrew exodus from South Miami-Dade, the great precipitate of development in southwestern Broward County. Moreover, Broward is just one piece of the South Florida demographic picture.

In the last twenty years, Hispanic media, a tri-county phenomenon encompassing Spanish-language, multi-cultural AM and FM radio, Hispanic TV stations/cable and programs, newspapers representing every Hispanic national group and from different political perspectives, ethnic groceries as well as ethnic influence on available products at Publixes and Winn-Dixies have all contributed to a not so subtle metamorphosis of Broward. The Hispanic presence, or market, perhaps - has, as well, provoked, finally, significant efforts to consider language and custom. Memorial Hospital Pembroke has had a Director of Hispanic Services for several years, and Holy Cross has redesigned its patient protocols to fit the experiences and expectations of its Hispanic clientele. Many clinics also have materials available in Spanish. First Call for Help has a local Spanish help number, whereas members of other linguistic groups are hooked up to an AT&T interpreter. (There is availability of a local Haitian Creole help line in the evenings.)

There are not only individual cultural associations dedicated to preserving and honoring cultural arts and historical events, but there are a couple of enormous weekend-long Hispanic festivals, as well as related affairs in Miami-Dade County such as the annual Calle Ocho. There are more and more umbrella type associations that allege to speak for all. Among them are: the Latin Chamber of Commerce with more than 1100 members both Hispanic and not, ASPIRA (not an acronym, but written in caps to signify its importance as an Hispanic youth group dedicated to development of educational, leadership and social skills, open to all local youth), Hollywood Hispanic Advisory Council, the Democratic Hispanic Caucus, San Isidro, to name just a few, and the newly formed Hispanic Alliance, whose aim is to address issues and needs of the community. Meanwhile, the services of Hispanic Unity have continued to expand, never faltering. The newest addition will be for seniors: both added space and programs/services.

There are at least six Hispanic/Spanish-speaking radio stations in South Florida, newspapers available from every country and locally published papers as well. El Heraldo and El Noticiero are two of the longest available in the area. El Directorio Hispano is a "yellow pages" of the greater Hispanic community. Spanish-language channels become more apparent on television. The Telemundo Network has even experimented with English subtitles on their Spanish-language shows to attract the possibility of a wider audience. Just recently, though, they returned to the more successful monolingual Spanish format.

Funeral homes have acculturated, with both Panciera and Hunter's expanding their services to provide culturally appropriate viewing, visitation time and refreshments to Hispanic clients. Panciera is located in Hollywood with offices also in Ft. Lauderdale and Oakland Park. Hunter's is in Miramar. There is also a Funeraria Broward Funeral Home in Lauderhill. Maspons is a recently opened, Hispanic-owned funeral home in Pembroke Pines, an area become so Hispanic that more and more Hispanic-owned businesses are drawn to it. While there have long been Hispanic owned funerarias in Miami-Dade County, where Broward Hispanics would go for funerals, now there are culturally appropriate choices in Broward.

The cultures are celebrated yearly in Broward at the September Hispanic Heritage Festival, usually held in downtown Ft. Lauderdale for a three-day weekend. These festivals are extremely popular, not just appealing to Hispanics, and are replete with live music, traditional performance art, and vendors with extraordinary variety of cultural wares and foods. There is also the yearly HispanicFest, sponsored by Hispanic Unity, typically held on a Sunday in April, at Young Circle in Hollywood.

Certainly, there is every opportunity to acculturate, to integrate with the larger community, but the cultures are hardly diminished, they remain vital. There is such proximity to home countries by virtue of airlines, media, telephone, e-mail, shipping and money exchange facilities, that many of the Latin cultures have just extended their geographical embrace. Grandparents come to help rear their grandchildren, keep house and cook, while their own children go to school or work. People return to their homeland for birthdays, Christmas, sometimes for medical care. Extended families become bi- and tri-national.

Perhaps the most impressive example of this is the outpouring of concern, resources and manpower after Hurricanes Georges tore through Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic (and Haiti) and Mitch drowned Honduras and Nicaragua in late summer and fall of 1998, and then the earthquake in Armenia, Pereira and Calarca, Colombia. Cultural/ethnic organizations came out of the woodwork to solicit publicly in the newspapers, on the radios and television; churches with large ethnic congregations mobilized efforts and local consulates acted as liaisons between south Florida and the stricken Caribbean, Central America and Colombia. The grief and sense of loss, but the desire to help, were evident on so many faces in Broward.

As one long term member of Broward's "Hispanic community" confesses, "in principle, we are one, but the problem is - who is the leader?" What is apparently a community may actually be a "constant forming and reforming of coalitions, constant struggles for power, which keeps the whole internally divided." In a way, the newly formed Hispanic Alliance addresses this internal foment by calling for a unified effort to address needs: education, social services, health care, housing, etc. And, in order to resolve such issues, to "link with other agencies and both public and private organizations." Pepe Lopez, one of the founders, said: "We are truly bilingual ... we focus on truly talking to our community; we stress the need to be bilingual; we enrich the whole community with our tax dollars and hard work. We do group ourselves under one umbrella - this is how to address the issues."

And the other face of the coin is the extremely local, neighborhood community. Many Hispanic immigrants comment on the shock they experience socially as there seems to be no time to know one's neighbor, to socialize, because everyone works so hard. No one helps the next. "The life style is apathetic, unhelpful." They perceive people's emphasis on hard work for material gain and material possessions, to the detriment of good social relations. They see that the culture reinforces working overtime. You cannot make ends meet otherwise. The cost of living is higher than they expected. They worry that they are "living too fast." Many say that laws and remote, unhuman computers drive lifestyle, and they see social solidarity disintegrating into emphasis on individual autonomy. They complain about not knowing their neighbors and what they are doing.

Others wish out loud for talk among neighbors. Their apparent sense of loss of community seems quite acute. The children feel the rechazo - "rejection." They suggest that we are all the same, we all need to make money, not take it from others, and that we all want to be responsible.

Someone said that Hispanics tend to be involved most with the church. This may continue to be the case; it is a source of stability, trust and cultural and spiritual comfort. It is always there for the individual. The reality for many immigrants, and certainly for refugees, is that migrating, being without family or entire family, not speaking English, and trying to find work are a struggle - to survive.

Also, many perceive that Cubans are in charge, but not representative of the Hispanic community. There is some uneasiness and resentment on the part of the non-Cuban Hispanics. Some say that Puerto Ricans are very uninvolved, spoiled by the benefits of their relationship with the USA proper. Colombians are more recent, but have come in incredible numbers. They are said to be more hidden, protecting resources, some perhaps without proper documents, and not generally socio-economically apparent. Finding leadership to satisfy such a diverse Hispanic community is a great challenge.

Immigration

Everyone comes for "a better life," including the flight for freedom. Even those who had a reasonable life come to superarse, "to better themselves" economically. The goal is to trabajar para vivir (work to live) in order to get that tranquilidad (peace of mind). They come "for a change," to get some skills, to help themselves.

Some say they have come “for the future.”

Cubans, of course, have a somewhat unusual variety of INS statuses: refugees, parolees and entrants. They are not dismissible or deportable because of the political relationship between the United States and Cuba. The majority of foreign-born enter at Miami. Numbers released for total refugee-class arrivals for District 11 (Miami-Dade County) continue to be high. For District 10 (Broward County), official arrivals are much less, but not-officially-tracked secondary migration in search of employment adds to Cuban numbers in Broward County.

For other Hispanic nationalities, many kinds of visas are utilized for entry. Family unification allowances obtain, tourist visas - often taken out by grandparental generations who serve important purpose in the maintenance of the extended family, and business visas. Some immigrants have special immigrant “class” status, especially those from Central America. And there continue to be those who entered without papers or who overstay legal visas and remain “out of status,” seriously jeopardizing their quality of life: not so much fear of being caught and deported, but limited access to employment, serious health care, higher education, etc. It is possible, with adequate funds and a good sense of timing, to adjust status in some cases. It is clear, over the course of conducting the research, that this is an enormous issue for too many people, as it totally, negatively affects all domains of their life.

Another significant issue is the cost of adjusting - in both time and money. The recent changes in immigration policy have made it very difficult for many to afford the application fees. And there are those who are marrying partners left behind in the home country. How will they be able to get entry for them?

The 1996 immigration and welfare legislation provoked many Hispanic residents to consider the final steps to citizenship - before increased fees became effective. The Ad-hoc Committee for Legal Non-Citizens, a time-limited committee of The Coordinating Council of Broward, sponsored several citizenship drives in 1997, helping applicants fill out the N400 forms. One of the drives was held at Hispanic Unity, and was extremely busy.

The recent Nicaraguan Adjustment and Central American Relief Act, while providing Nicaraguans access to adjustment of status to lawful permanent resident, akin to that accorded Cubans, at the same time, disregarded similar histories of persecution that Salvadorans and Guatemalans suffered in their homelands and required that they meet more restrictive standards for adjustment. Those standards are costlier and more time-consuming to meet; those affected by the Act were in jeopardy until the end of May, 1999, when Congress agreed to new regulations not requiring proof of “extreme hardship” should they be deported. The adjustment process is basically the same as provided by the recent Nicaraguan Adjustment and Central American Relief Act.

Economy/Jobs

“A better life” tends to entail the concept of a steady job. Immigration to the United States with a work visa implies very specialized, sophisticated training, as in engineering, medical research, computer science. Or, adjustment to a business visa from a tourist visa once entered requires knowledge of the system and generous resources. Although people want to work, this is a privilege granted by the INS. One must have government sanction based on appropriate INS status and compliance. It is of course still possible to work “illegally.” There are many low paid opportunities, which are “better than nothing,” but, because of lack of status, not only are the talents and education of many being wasted, but their employers profit by taking advantage of them. A Chilean man said: “there is great work here, but not for Hispanics. What is available for Hispanics does not pay a livable salary.” Employment is greatly complicated, not only by immigration status, but also by a number of issues: language, an alleged palpable anti-immigrant sentiment and denial of benefits. Especially health benefits.

Hispanic Unity hosts a big job fair every year in the spring, usually in a large facility in the Hollywood area. The fair is more sophisticated and better attended by potential employers every year. It has become relatively successful at matching openings with qualified applicants. There was another in June, 1999, in west Hollywood, whereas the 1998 autumnal fair was in east Hollywood. This is yet another indicator of the spread and depth of Hispanic concentration across south county.

There are the inevitable stories about required American references. A Guatemalan woman wondered why an employer would want a reference from an American who little knows you rather than one from someone from their country who has known you for a long time.

There are always references to the low pay scale. Even compared with those in New York City.

Informants said that 80% of the Hispanic working population has no health insurance. You could only have access if you working for "big business." Most "just hope nothing happens." Meanwhile, in working in other settings, they feel that they are taken advantage of just because their employers know they have to work and will put up with less, out of necessity.

Housing

Surprisingly, this comes up little. When offered as a topic, it turns out to be extremely important, but other issues are paramount - mainly jobs, health care, education of children, discrimination. But, housing is one of the reasons people are so pressed economically. They are astounded at the high costs for purchase, the high cost of renting, not anticipated. Concomitantly, too many say that the low price neighborhoods they are forced to live in are not very good. This turns into fear of crime.

Moreover, those who have homes are surprised about code regulations, about being fined for rules and regulations they know nothing about. Even fined for not picking up tree debris from neighbors' properties that fell on theirs!

They are shocked to be barred from some condominiums that will not allow children. And prices are espantosos "shocking." A Colombian man explained that they were accustomed to being able to rent for a month at a time, but here have to pay first, last, current rent plus security deposit. "No one has that kind of money right off,' he said. This requirement forces them out of "good areas," and not only are they left in worse areas, but terribly crowded, with too many people sharing too small a space.

Language

As with all other non-English speaking populations, language is the biggest barrier to access to everything. As adult students in the ESOL classes at Hispanic Unity say: "the language is the biggest choque - "shock".... If you don't speak English, you are treated **very** differently." El idioma es primordial - "The language is primary." Without English, it is difficult to get a reasonable job, to understand anything, even to obey the laws. Students in large multi-cultural ESOL classes at Hispanic Unity say that they feel left on the outside of everything, never included by the only-English speaking at work. And so they feel "diminished" in that social isolation, and taken advantage of, often overworked, but not overcompensated. They are forced to accept menial jobs, despite their own self-concept of being "professionals," at least middle class. But, trying to re-achieve that status, while having to learn English, and to take care of family responsibilities, is very difficult. One said that "language is the bridge," and it really is the path to integration in the greater society and economy.

Mexican women in the migrant camp in north county and/or who live in the area close to the fields had

English for Speakers of Other Languages classes in a community center in their camp, provided by the Broward County School Board, Adult/Community education, in 1996-7, but it was stopped, possibly because of necessary repairs on the building. Although the building is currently "repaired," there are no English classes. Meeting with the women of the families that had attended, it was clear that they are aching for the classes. Also, they find themselves at total disadvantage at the Sample Road Department of Children and Family offices where they say there are Spanish-speaking caseworkers, but they are never assigned to them! Because of their inability to speak up and be understood, they are "too easily dismissed."

It is clear that Hispanics take advantage of ESOL classes in the Adult/Community school system. Numbers are enormous (above). And the growth pattern described by enrollments at classes held at Hispanic Unity reinforces the impression that the Colombian population is the most explosive. The agency has been offering classes as an off-campus site of the School Board, and numbers have increased steadily through the decade. In school year 1990-91, there were 84 adult students enrolled. By 1995-96, the numbers were 617. Country-of-origin data are available beginning with school year 1994-95. (See above) Enrollment and numbers mostly reflect composition of the proximate community of Hispanic Unity in Hollywood. It is inferably incredibly diverse, an impression heightened by the fact that the agency also enrolls Eastern (Romania, Hungary, Bulgaria, Poland, the Czech Republic, the Ukraine, Bosnia) and Western Europeans (Spain, Portugal, Italy, Greece), students from the Middle East (Lebanon, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia) and Asia (Pakistan, Hong Kong, Vietnam, China).

Education

Comments about the public schools seem to echo each other across cultures. Some who had lived in New York City on the way to south Florida feel, in retrospect, that the city's school system was more rigorous than Broward's. Especially when it comes to class size. Here, "the rooms are too full." Students even have to have classes in portables - also too full. One mother was quite distressed about bathroom access for students in portables, bathrooms that would become unusable when it was raining. School buses always come in for criticism: their schedule, the fact that students have to walk a distance, often in the dark, to get them, and that they are terribly over-crowded.

There is criticism of the curriculum, that there is too little time spent on the hard-core academic, and too much on "other insignificant things." 'Not enough time is allotted for learning or for asking questions.' 'The school day is too short.' 'That there are not rigorous standards that mandate working and studying hard.' Many of the parents feel that their children could be learning much more than they are. Another fallo (deficiency) is the absence of spirituality in the schools, or, what is worse, its prohibition! The parents suggest that this is the cause of disrespectful behavior, the premature autonomy and independence of their children.

Parents are also concerned about discrimination against their children. They have found teachers non-responsive to their concerns. The parents feel that their children are often segregated out from the rest of the class and labeled negatively because teachers interpret non-American behaviors (due to different cultural backgrounds, other language speaking, with different traditional and social values) as "trouble." And so, their children are stigmatized.

Some of the parents felt that it is not the teachers that are culpable in this but rather that there is something "sick" about the system.

Parents seeking more substantial curricula enroll their children in private schools. But this tends to be an expensive option which few can afford.

A leader in the Hispanic community who works for the School Board decries the lack of parent participation in the school system. He said, "We need the parents and community to get involved." An Hispanic himself, he feels that Hispanics "don't want to rock the boat ... or put any pressure on the system." They remain "passive." But, "They need to get involved."

Health

This seems to be one of the most insoluble of issues. Illness, access to care, experience and knowledge, language, communication, discrimination, cultural custom, immigration and employment status, cost/insurance are inextricably tangled in a maze few can negotiate.

Although the Hispanic community has been well entrenched in Broward County for more than two decades, services continue to lag in terms of cultural and linguistic sensitivity. On the other hand, in this decade, there have been major efforts to address the Hispanic population, in some few sites. Maria Soldani, the Director of Hispanic Affairs at Holy Cross Hospital since 1991, represents great sensitivity to the community. The hospital has made itself more available to those in need (without adequate resources), and also has mounted community outreach efforts. Additionally, it has added Spanish-language channels to patient room televisions, café con leche in the cafeteria and makes it possible for families to stay with the family member who is the patient (a Hispanic custom).

Memorial Hospital Pembroke has had Miream Sierra on board for several years, as Director of Hispanic Services. The Hospital provides bi-lingual staff who assist clients by translating forms and medical instructions. In the South Hospital District, there are also bilingual staff at Memorial Primary Care Center on Pembroke Road and the Memorial Walk-in Medical Center on Douglas Road in Pembroke Pines.

North Broward Hospital District staffs the Clinic of the Americas/Clínica de las Américas on Davie Blvd., one of the original Hispanic settlements in Broward, with bilingual personnel. Clients are not denied access because of insufficient funds, but are requested to make a payment plan.

For those without or with minimal resources, Clínica La Luz del Mundo, north of Ft. Lauderdale, has been available since the late 1980's. It serves "all races," but was begun in response to the lack of access to affordable and linguistically comprehensible medical care for Hispanics. Dr. Irwin Vásquez, a cardiologist originally from Venezuela, is the founder.

The Elderly Interest Fund's Medivan is available to seniors (over 50 years of age), eligible by virtue of insufficient resources, for regular monitoring of key indicators (weight, blood pressure, pulse, lab screenings, diabetes, PAPs, etc.) and referrals for mammograms, X-rays and follow up to appropriate specialists. This service is performed by volunteer retired doctors. And, it does utilize the assistance of interpreters, at some sites, three of which are Hispanic.

Ironically, there are many services available to the underserved, the poor, that employ Spanish-speaking workers, but there are also many client reports about not having access to those workers. Mexican women who go to the Sample Road office of the Department of Children and Families say that there are forms available in Spanish but there is rarely a match-up with one of the Spanish speaking caseworkers. Clients are advised to bring an interpreter, but in a population that is mostly monolingual and composed of young families with infants, this is scarcely a realistic request. Other Hispanics tell of being told to bring an interpreter, too, but they cannot: the population is too often employed in minimum wage work that does not grant days off for such a favor. Additionally, translation of symptoms and doctors' orders is one thing; communication, especially health/medical communication and interpretation across cultures is quite another.

People also do not know their rights to health care. Pre-natal care is available to new mothers despite their immigration status, because the care is ultimately for the baby. Although this is legally the case, many non-English speaking pregnant women tell tales of being summarily dismissed by local clinics. This could be because of language or individual employee prerogative.

A Mexican family was helped by a migrant social worker to access available services the parents had no idea existed, much less would help them. The father was in a car accident because he could not see well. The caseworker connected him, and his entire family, to the Ft. Lauderdale Lions Club which was able to provide free exams and glasses for everyone. One of the children was horribly sick, but the parents said they had no insurance, no money. The caseworker ended up taking the child to the emergency room. It turned out the child had tuberculosis. Those who live in Broward need information about and access to what is available and how they can achieve the best quality of life possible in threadbare circumstances. Clearly, their situation, unremedied, had the potential to affect the larger community.

As mentioned above, some community members estimate that 80% of the Hispanic population in Broward does not have health insurance. The most reasonable source of insurance is employment, but the majority of the community, they say, even if employed, is not employed with benefits of any kind.

Pregnant women without insurance who have normal deliveries, without complications, still are faced with bills long beyond their resources to pay. Typically, they are petrified, are not informed that they can make regular payments, and live in dread of a future medical emergency or request for proof of their financial credibility. Some suggest buying temporary insurance for such cases, that it might cost less, but no one really knows for sure. There is a kind of common belief in the community that services are set up "to rob the babies the most."

Any service available at the hospital clinics seems to be eyed with some fear. When the clinic card comes up for renewal, it comes with an intimidating form to fill for verification of need. Those with unpaid bills, again, do not know about the possibility of agreeing to pay over an extended time.

People let their health concerns go because of the cost of care, but then end up being saddled with ambulance and emergency room bills and more serious medical conditions.

Some Colombians return to Colombia, as do some Peruvians, for their health care. They find that the price of the airline ticket plus health care is less than they would pay for health care alone in Broward. There are others who get medicines sent regularly to them from their home countries.

There is a need for preventive education. Many who access low-cost and free services are not aware of the connection between nutrition and health, do not get exercise - and often live in neighborhoods where it is too dangerous even to go for a walk - and are burdened by worry, sense of loss and loneliness, to boot. So many are petrified that they will die or suffer from the same things their parents did, especially cancer, diabetes and blindness. It is difficult to get a good medical history, asked in the standard medical format. Health/medical knowledge of western trained doctors and non-western clients and/or clients lacking in formal education are not necessarily mutually intelligible. There is much uncorrected vision, which, corrected, could certainly improve function in language classes, the possibility of working and avoidance of injury.

To answer the above needs, Hispanic Unity hosts a health fair every year, usually in a large facility in Hollywood, full of booths of service providers, information in Spanish, and opportunities to receive some basic screenings and the chance to interact with local medical personnel.

Another way that the Hispanic community can contribute to its own health and that of the larger community is to participate when blood banks request blood donation or to volunteer regular donation. In all of south Florida, Hispanic blood donation rates do not match Hispanic need for donated blood. This awareness campaign continues, as the local blood banks constantly run low.

Mental Health

One of the first things said, in a question as to what are major quality of life issues for newcomers, is: "We have lowered ourselves in coming here; we have put ourselves at a disadvantage." They say they do not feel as if they have the same value or worth that they did in their home country. Despite the opportunities, there are also unforeseen barriers. The cost of living is unexpected. Overt discrimination relegates them to a lower social position than "Americans;" they feel not equal. They are thwarted in utilizing their skills, to do what they know they can do. They feel taken advantage of, especially when it comes to access to employment and benefits. Their greatest disadvantage is not knowing English and the time it takes to acquire it.

Another issue is that of non-Cuban Hispanics vis à vis the resident Cuban population. Even the Puerto Ricans in Broward County were not able to get culturally, linguistically appropriate services until the Cubans entered in such extraordinary numbers in 1980. Now, other Hispanic nationals see the influence the Cubans have, even in Washington D.C. Others would like this influence but say they are quite unlike the Cubans. We feel like huérfanos, ("orphans"), they say. Many see that the Cubans in the U.S. are protected by the Americans but also feel that the Cubans are not qualified to "take the control" they seem to have. They ask why does the United States help the Cubans and not citizens of other countries where there is terrible terrorism, persecution, lack of respect for human rights. They suggest that it is hypocrisy only to be helping Cubans when other governments are equally deplorable. Other Hispanic groups have no such sense of being preferred, despite their own reasons to fear oppression and violence in their own countries.

There are the old traumas, never resolved, that fester. Central Americans, mostly Salvadorans and Nicaraguans, typically come as pieces of a family and with horrible memories of executions, of warfare, violence, of coercion. Peruvians, also, who have lost family members to executions by the guerillas, and Colombians who are constantly aware of terrorism just below the surface of everyday life, and the trauma of family caught in the earthquake southwest of Bogotá. Family members of those killed during Hurricane Mitch's plunder of Honduras still express terrible shock and guilt.

There is also the issue of the 'out-of-status,' with time/purpose-limited legal entree now overstayed. Such people have few options, especially if they are without resources. They could return to their home country, but not be eligible to re-enter the United States for many years. Many seem to have chosen to remain, but live in a state of both legal and psychological vulnerability.

Separated families, living in different countries, despite telephone, even internet communication, feel estranged. In fact, some people have come to the United States to be with already emigrated family. They say that with family they feel muy sano, muy calma ("very healthy, very calm"). For those with family left behind and family in Broward, there is always a tension, you can feel their wistfulness. This happens with the grandparental generation, brought up from Caribbean, Central and South America to help out with child care, to complete the extended family, but often end up being the domestic, the cook, the baby sitter, always missing their children and grandchildren in the home country, and terribly isolated by their lack of English. Some older couples whose children have gone on to establish more American lifestyles, even moving to other, northern cities for work, are extremely alone, the wife typically nervous about the state of her husband's health.

Women, especially, seem to suffer mental stress. They say that they have more responsibilities here and are distanced from the psychological support of extended family. Some who need to work to support their own as well as relatives in the home country inadvertently may provoke jealousy or a sense of inadequacy on the part of their husbands. There are women from Peru, widows or with husbands in the military, who have emigrated in order to rear their children in a less fearsome environment, but, meanwhile, mourn their husbands or worry about their safety, while taking on unaccustomed responsibility to allow their children a more sane environment in which to grow up. On the other hand, unaccompanied women, women nursing ill or disabled husbands and women without extended family fear their own imminent isolation.

Some middle-aged and older women are meagerly supported by their children who have decided to move elsewhere for education and employment. Mostly monolingual, they remain in the small Hispanic community they are familiar with. They try to find work, limited in their employability by lack of English or visa status. Being alone is very difficult for Hispanics brought up in the network of extended family, a traditional source of mutual assistance with a common history. Some women express their concern about going crazy with nothing to do, wanting even to volunteer but having no idea how to find out about and access opportunities, again restricted by lack of or limited English. Others talk of dizzy spells out of the blue, "fatigue" in the heart, terrible anxiety and isolation even from immediate family who are giving in to the seduction of American life. Others, so alone, living in boarding homes, talk about being awoken with a violently beating heart, feeling just like an "orphan." Some confess to overeating to assuage their angst and stress. The doctors say to them, "You are too fat," but really, they are too lonely. When someone discovers a reliable social circle, especially in a church, new friends with something in common and who are willing to help out with transportation and such, she looks alive again.

Fragmented families, no matter the cause, are of serious concern to the Hispanic mental health establishment. There was a conference held on this topic in Miami, October 1998, to focus on family bonds, welfare issues, family violence and substance abuse.

In the Hispanic yellow pages for Broward, there are a few entries of Hispanic counselors and psychologists, psychiatrists.

Alcohol/Drugs

Alcohol is a Latin tradition. A social tradition. But, in the context of acculturation, what was an accepted tradition can become unhealthy solace. The newspapers are full of outcomes of this habit become addiction: drunk driving, violence - fighting, shooting, lethal jealousy, depression. The National Council of La Raza is reportedly looking into the issue of drinking, driving and the relatively high rate of fatal car accidents so as to be able to address it.

On the other hand, when posed this question of alcohol use/abuse, Hispanic respondents tended to remark on the excessive alcoholism they observe in the United States. They are appalled at the drinking and driving statistics. A woman mentioned that Hollywood Beach is disgusting and fearful in the evenings, littered with drunks and the garbage they leave behind.

An expert insider/observer on the scene of drugs and alcohol says that almost everyone drinks, there is more marijuana than cocaine use, but that these are not so common among inner city youth. He suggests that wealthy South Americans are involved in trafficking and money-laundering. Because a high percentage of gangs tend to be Hispanic, he said, and which are often correlated with drug abuse, he bemoans the fact that grants for drug prevention were cut back last year.

In a surprisingly candid conversation among Mexican women in the migrant camps in North Broward, the overuse of alcohol by their spouses turned out to be an all too common source of fear for the women: for their own physical safety, for the durability of the marital relationship, for their ability to keep their children with them, for their fear of the effect of the situation on their children. They asked for information, for counseling, for support.

Abuse/Violence

The above hints at many possibilities of abuse and violence. The South Florida scene is one of tremendous flux for all the immigrant populations as well as the "host culture." There are expectations based on (foreign) experience that are not in accord with local rules and regulations, terrible losses, dreams burst, hardship and the frustration of communication, un-welcome/prejudice/discrimination. Acculturation affects quality of life; there need to be outlets for some of the steam. It is often the family that suffers the brunt of these negative forces.

Asked about ethnic caseloads at Department of Children and Families (DCF), specifically for charges of neglect/abuse cases, a very long-term caseworker suggested that the Hispanic population of Broward was not so large before Hurricane Andrew, but afterwards, the movement into south and southwestern Broward even became obvious at the DCF. The Hispanic populations most represented in the DCF caseload tended to be from Central America, from those countries that had experienced the internal wars of the '80's, witnessed so much violence, lost family members and were living in relative poverty in the United States. With this influx in the early '90's, DCF was forced to expand its services. Nonetheless, they were able to do so, better than for other ethnic populations, because there are reportedly many Hispanic providers and counselors in the county.

Children

In addition to their concerns about their children in the environment of the public school system, parents are concerned that so many have to return to an empty house after school and be isolated by virtue of the fact that there is little sense of neighborhood as they knew it in their home country. Parents say their children are "being brought up in the light of the television." They are being exposed not to quality, but to quantity: they begin to crave all these material things. There were a lot of references to the emphasis on the material in the culture, the weird, the depraved and the murderous that predominate on television. This is one reason parents try to bring their own parents up from the Caribbean, South and Central America. Grandparents help to guide the upbringing of their grandchildren within the parameters of their traditional cultural values.

And, again, the discrimination. Hispanic youth often suffer from the atmosphere of rejection, the "different is inferior" that they feel in the larger culture and at school. ASPIRA is an active youth organization which attempts to reinforce and value the Hispanic background and identity, while encouraging the pursuit of higher education, leadership and social skills. It also organizes workshops on relevant issues, such as teen pregnancy. ASPIRA is growing in size and activities in Broward (there are chapters in Homestead, Miami and Palm Beach County as well). The establishment of middle schools in the three counties is the most recent development. And, their agenda of outreach continues to expand. This includes not only programs for Hispanic youth, but for non-Hispanic youth, as well.

Elderly

The elderly are highly respected in Hispanic families; they are the traditional heads of the extended family. They embody standards and values that should be inculcated in all the following generations. There are many Hispanic elderly in Broward, sent for by their adult children who have children lacking in that necessary

influence. Such elderly often inadvertently assume extremely domestic roles: caring for their grandchildren, keeping house, doing the cooking. They tend to be socially isolated; without competence in English or transportation of their own, they are often quite housebound. Many would like to take English classes and mix socially, but they are impeded by the family role they do seem happy to have been expected to perform. Should they become ill, their own working children's insurance, if they have it, would not cover them. They must find low cost health care and one that they can communicate with. They are often lonely for the children and grandchildren they have left behind, as well as their own aging siblings, nieces and nephews. Some are able to return on a somewhat regular schedule, especially if their health care is covered in their native country.

There are senior programs in the county that are attended by widely diverse seniors. The Focal Point Senior Centers, founded in 1976 in Broward, are Southeast, in Hollywood; Southwest in Pembroke pines; Northeast in Deerfield Beach, Northwest in Margate and "satellites" Miramar Senior Center in Miramar and Sylvia Poitier/Theodore Williams Senior Center in Ft. Lauderdale. These are supported by The Area-wide Council on Aging of Broward County. There is the Hepburn Center in Hallandale Beach. We do not know if these centers are well attended by Hispanic seniors. Hispanic Unity has recently received funding to build a new facility to house and expand its own programs for seniors. For years, Hispanic seniors have been kept relatively busy at the current facility. They appear to be happily engaged and buoyed by the opportunities to learn, be creative, socialize and have lunch together. But the population in need of services continues to grow.

The Senior Connection is a hotline for referrals and requests for assistance. Intake workers, who include Spanish-speaking, record race and ethnicity of callers. Having looked at that data for the year 1998, it is clear that quite a number of "Hispanics/"Spanish-speaking called in for information/assistance, as a percentage of the foreign-born. But those numbers are completely dwarfed by the majority of "White" and "Black" English-speaking.

The Elderly Interest Fund's Medivan parks at Hispanic Unity twice a month and has an extremely loyal and constantly growing clientele. Clients represent almost the entire range of Hispanic diversity in the county. The Medivan also visits two other Hispanic sites: the parking lot of the old Light of the World Clinic on SR 7 in Lauderhill and the apartment complex of Archbishop Hurley Hall in Hallandale Beach. Again, diverse clientele, extremely loyal, faithful and grateful for the service.

Safety/Security

There is fear mentioned in relation to neighborhoods where some have to live, for financial reasons. The only housing they can afford is in areas they would prefer not to live in. Another fear is of drunk drivers and of being in car accidents.

Juvenile Delinquency

Yes, informants express fear of juvenile delinquents, usually of certain racial groups, but also of juvenile gangs. They say that delinquent behavior is glorified by television and are afraid that their own children might become attracted to the behavior and the power/protection of such a peer social group.

Law/Crime

Everyone has a "cop" story. One couple whose car ran out of gas told an officer and he seemed understanding, said to leave the car on the side of the road and go get gas. When they returned, the car had been ticketed. ... A Guatemalan woman told about being at a grocery store and that her own very young child, curious about another child, touched the other child's hair. That child's father, who was drunk, she said, went and got

the police! She was made to feel dirty by the scolding. Later, she saw the policeman and drunk father together at a counter drinking coffee and laughing at this woman. ... A security guard towed the truck of a Mexican migrant who entered a housing area that had a sign saying that no cars not belonging to residents may enter. The Mexican man had given a co-worker, whose own car had broken down, a lift. The Mexican man ended up having to pay to get his car out of a lot. Immigrants also have stories of being fined by city code officers, not warned first.

Because of the language issue, and because there really is no concerted curriculum to help people acculturate, there is a lack of knowledge about the rules for living in accord with the variety of laws. Several respondents asked if there could be more than English in ESOL classes, for instance, what are the rules that govern life in neighborhoods, on the streets and in Broward County. And information on how to contact whom when people have questions.

Civil Rights/Equal Opportunity/Discrimination

These issues are threaded throughout the above. Most informants had high expectations about life in the United States, the proverbial country whose streets are paved with gold. They know there is opportunity, but have discovered that there are also many barriers to realizing it. They feel the discrimination and racism, an anti-immigrant sentiment, taken advantage of by employers, denied benefits. Yet, they appreciate the many havens of welcome: the extensive availability of ESOL classes, vocational classes, medical screenings, and what is actually a huge Hispanic cultural scene. They are not so isolated as many other foreign-born populations. The Hispanic infrastructure is deeply embedded: radio, television, groceries, cultural offerings, fetes and festivals. There is still a lag in significant services - the availability of interpreters, but a serious effort has just been mounted through the United Way to address this need.

It is in the domain of employment, the desire to become integrated into the productive economy where tacit barriers are most perceived. The County Commission still has no Hispanic representation, despite the longevity and size of the community. There is no equal voice for Hispanics at the level of county government. The community perceives this as a significant barrier to equal access. Non-Cubans express concern that Cubans seem to control managerial and foreman positions where newcomers hope for employment. And many simply do not know the rules: they ask for information on rights and violation of rights, on laws about access to jobs and benefits.

It appears that both the Latin Chamber of Commerce and the Puerto Rican Chamber of Commerce are working very hard to establish credibility of the populations they represent, as well as to offer vital opportunities for business development to their own communities. The numbers are such that their success will contribute enormously to the continued economic development of the county.

Leisure/Recreation

There are a number of Hispanic festivals throughout Broward every year. The Hispanic population, though, is not a small one and certainly not limited even to South Florida. As Hispanics and others from South Florida may visit Broward's festivals, so do Broward Hispanics participate in Hispanic fetes elsewhere, especially in Miami-Dade County. The annual Calle Ocho blow-out in Miami is almost a requisite yearly rally, if not a pilgrimage! - not just for Cubans, but for all Hispanics and for everyone who indulges in the extraordinary cultural, historical, political and expressive diversity of south Florida. The parks in Broward attract, as well, both performing groups and participant audiences from the surrounding region. South Broward, especially, is very fluid at county line with Miami-Dade. It is almost a shared cultural community of many populations, but predominantly Hispanics and English-speaking Caribbean peoples.

The schedule for Hispanic festivals in Broward includes the Hispanic Heritage Festival held in September in Bubier Park, Ft. Lauderdale, for a three-day weekend. It celebrates all of the Hispanic cultures of the county with traditional dance performances, traditional music, contemporary Hispanic music stars, vendors of ethnic cuisines and wares, and tends to appeal to everyone. HispanicFest is held on Young Circle in Hollywood in April, sponsored by Hispanic Unity, a celebration of music, tradition, food and, increasingly, "product promotion." Numerous fairs at churches, as well, often Hispanic, but very often even more diverse, are increasingly publicized, popular and well attended.

In Broward, there are several nightclubs that cater specifically to Hispanic tastes - both the range of traditional Latin music and dance as well as the more recent rages, especially in south county. And, throughout the year, there are musically focused festivals in county parks, although the biggest Latin stars seem to play Miami-Dade.

Government Participation

Although there is still no Hispanic at the level of the Broward County Commission, there are Hispanics in some city commissions. There is also Hispanic representation at the level of local advisory boards to the cities of Hollywood, Pembroke Pines and Coral Springs. The Multi-ethnic Advisory Board to the County Commission includes Hispanic members. At state and federal levels, there is Hispanic representation.

There are a Hispanic Democratic Club, Puerto Rican Democratic Club and Colombian Democratic Club in Broward. The new Hispanic Alliance, while not so overtly political, has as its purpose to elucidate issues and concerns of the Hispanic community and lobby for their resolution. Latin/Hispanic associations have the same end: numbers have a voice which can effect some political pressure. The Latin Builders Association invited the county administrator to speak at their monthly luncheon. The Hispanic Alliance has attended meetings with the Board of the United Way of Broward to request their support in encouraging agencies that receive United Way funding, at least, to provide Spanish interpreters and agency brochures in Spanish.

Many people who would become involved and vote but had not made the effort to become citizens were inspired by the 1996 Immigration Act to do so. Several large efforts to assist applicants with requisite paperwork and filing of the N400's, pictures, fingerprints and money orders were conducted in 1997 and 1998, held in different areas of the county. The Ad-hoc Legal non-Citizens Committee of The Coordinating Council of Broward, the Jewish Community Relations Services, Catholic Charities, Asian-American Federation, the Refugee and Multi-cultural Task Force of Broward, Legal Aid Services of Broward and One Nation (based in Miami-Dade), as well as many others, have assisted qualified applicants. One of these citizenship drives was held at Hispanic Unity. It was inundated. Applicants from every possible Latin nation were waiting to be helped. The numbers are substantial: the Hispanic community may find they do have a voice.

Meanwhile, members of the Latin Chamber of Commerce voiced their opinion about the proposed single member commission districts with a strong mayor as a needed change for the County Commission. They feel the current system dilutes "minority" representation, representation that needs to sit at County Commission level. Additionally, with the passage of the City of Hollywood's proposed change to districting, the executive director of the Latin Chamber has already announced his candidacy. Hollywood has also not had Hispanic representation on its commission, despite its long history of Hispanic settlement.

Spiritual/Religious preferences

Resident Hispanic populations have certainly contributed to the growth of churches in the county, the expanded repertoire of linguistically appropriate services, the character of the church community itself and to a

general expansion of services and activities offered by the churches. Nationally-specific saints are honored, child care and church associated kindergarten and early elementary schools have developed, weeknight social groups are held, various missions to feed and clothe the poor, the homeless and the hurricane/earthquake/disaster stricken have been mounted; even town halls are held at churches. There is increasing outreach on the part of county-wide agencies to deliver information and engage in related discussion on church territory.

Hispanics traditionally come from a Catholic background, but Protestant missions have made inroads as well. Nonetheless, many Catholic churches extant in Broward before Hispanics began to settle in large numbers have experienced a sea-change in their congregations, and in the need for multi-lingual services. Hispanic Protestant churches have developed as Hispanics have settled in the county, often sponsored as a mission by an original English-speaking congregation, but housed in Hispanic neighborhoods. Those eventually aim at becoming independent. There are many other denominations represented among the Hispanic populations in Broward than just Catholic and Baptist, but the Archdiocese of Miami and Gulfstream Baptist Association have directories readily available. Distribution of Hispanic Catholic and Baptist congregations throughout the county is just a suggestion of overall Hispanic community distribution; neither denomination cites predominant national or ethnic group membership.

The obvious concentration of Hispanic services is in south Broward. Iglesia Bautista Nuevo Amanecer is in Dania Beach. In Hollywood, two Catholic churches, Little Flower in east Hollywood and Nativity in central, offer Saturday evening Spanish language vigils. Hispanic Baptist churches in Hollywood are Sheridan Hills Hispanic and Stirling Road Baptist in north Hollywood and Hollywood Spanish Baptist in southeast Hollywood, Lake Forest Hispanic and Gardens Hispanic Baptist are in southwest Hollywood. In Miramar, St. Stephen on the east side has Spanish language vigil and a Sunday mass, while St. Bartholomew, a little farther west, has a Sunday evening Spanish language mass. Pembroke Road Baptist Hispanic is also in Miramar. In Pembroke Pines, there are two Catholic churches with Spanish language masses: St. Maximilian Kolbe (only one a month) and St. Boniface. The Baptist churches in Miramar are: Iglesia Cristiana Misionera, Pines Hispanic Congregation and Las Palmas, held at Flanagan High School. In Davie, St. Bonaventure offers an evening vigil in Spanish. Jerusalem Baptist Church in western Davie is the unique Gulfstream Baptist Association church in that city.

Weston houses Iglesia Bautista Noroeste de Broward.

Ft. Lauderdale's St. Jerome Catholic Church conducts a Sunday noon mass in Spanish. Our Lady Queen of Martyrs in southwest Ft. Lauderdale offers a Spanish language vigil and Sunday Spanish language mass. St. Clement conducts a Sunday mass in Spanish and St. Helen in northern Ft. Lauderdale an evening vigil in Spanish. Maranatha Hispanic is in north-northeast Ft. Lauderdale. In the Riverland area of Ft. Lauderdale, there is an Iglesia Bautista Riverland. In North Lauderdale, there is Iglesia Cristiana Bautista.

Plantation has three Spanish language Gulfstream Baptist churches: Primera Iglesia de Plantation, Hispanic Mission of Plantation and Spanish Worship Center. Sunrise has one Spanish language Baptist church, Iglesia Bautista de Sunrise.

In northeast Pompano Beach, St. Elizabeth of Hungary conducts a Spanish-language mass on Sunday evenings at 7:30. And San Isidro in west Pompano Beach offers a Spanish-language vigil on Saturday evenings and two Spanish-language masses on Sunday. Pompano First Spanish Baptist is in southwest Pompano Beach.

In Margate, there are St. Vincent with an evening Spanish-language mass and Centro de Vida Familiar (Baptist) in Margate.

Lastly, in Coral Springs, St. Andrews Catholic Church schedules a Sunday afternoon mass in Spanish.

Coral Springs Hispanic Baptist is the only Gulfstream Baptist Association church in the city.

Sources of Information/Trust

There are long-established leaders in the community, but perhaps somewhat remote from what is really a fragmented community. It was clear from discussions that for those who are relatively new, or isolated for whatever reason, maybe without proper documents, or still suffering after-effects of war, violence, loss of spouse; who are elderly or very alone, concerned about working, that there are not reliable sources they have yet discovered for necessary information. It is typically the family one would most trust, but not in this foreign environment. Perhaps the churches could be sources, but, in all the conversations held among Hispanic groups, there were always so many questions about how to access all kinds of information, evidence of no one to trust, that there is not a great sense of the kind of community that would provide this. Although Hispanics have been in Broward in substantial numbers for several decades now, they are internally an extremely diverse group, socio-economically as well as culturally. While there is tremendous wealth and professional expertise, there is also poverty, lack of education and general disenfranchisement. Many of the Hispanic leaders tend to be of Cuban origin. While the Puerto Rican population seems to have an affinity with the Cuban, some even say candidly that they are not united politically. Other Hispanic groups offer much skepticism about their own alignment with the Cubans and even distrust of their positions, as one they infer to be a special, privileged status with the American government and leaders.

This must be a very strong sentiment as it even corrupts trustworthiness. When talking about matching potential census takers with ethnic neighborhoods, some non-Cuban Hispanics offer that they would not answer the questions if the enumerator were Cuban.

There is still the need for trust and for good information. First Call for Help does have Spanish speaking operators, but the community may not know about the service. The carefully prepared resource directory for the Spanish speaking community of Broward County should be available by now. In conversations with foreign-born, there were requests having to do with general local laws as well as with immigration, and what organizations there are to help newcomers gain access to information about living in Broward. Many people asked if this kind of information could be made available to them in adult English for Speakers of Other Languages classes. Churches would also be good places at least to make printed information available to members.

Acculturational Issues

As stated above, Hispanics sense some local prejudice and most have experienced it indirectly if not directly. There has not been much of an effort to ease communication and improve service delivery with the intermediation of interpreters: for decades, clients have been asked to bring their own interpreters. Only very recently has the newly formed Hispanic Alliance sent a member to the United Way of Broward to express this concern and request some attention to it. Adequate communication can make all the difference in service delivery. Having to bring along an English speaking family member or friend (to do what a provider should do: communicate), who would typically not be able to have a day off a low paying job, and would not be versed in provider information, proves somewhat unfair. Additionally, no one takes the time to monitor or evaluate this communication. That the Hospital Districts have bi-lingual staff available does not mean that Spanish-speaking clients can always be/are matched with Spanish-speaking staff.

Feeling “lower” expresses a diminution of quality of life. The many frustrations expressed above testify to this feeling. And, for non-Cubans, the perceived political, favored and unequal status of the Cuban population creates some tension within the Hispanic bloc.

Goals/priorities

First goal is to have a job, then a job appropriate to one's skills, but this is affected by the need for English, so that language is also a top goal; it will make all the others at least more accessible. Everything that contributes to the ability to support self and family is a goal on the way to achieving that end. Having access to good, understandable, comprehensive information is another priority because reliable information can help one plan the best route to achieving goals. This is a priority that seems to be undervalued by the host community. Information and its communication (linguistically appropriate and publicly accessible) are an interlinked need that everyone, not just the foreign-born communities, mention as crucial.

Trends

The Hispanic community of Broward is long entrenched. From a thousand or so foreign-born in 1950 to current Hispanic origin estimates of 170,000 to 180,000, with substantial evidence of community, the only reasonable prediction is that numbers will increase. There is already a third generation well entrenched, yet first generation continues to immigrate. The Hispanic community represents a wealth of cultures, skills and resources, and speaks Spanish as well as English. Both serve the demands of an increasingly Hispanicizing United States and increasingly globalizing economy. The Hispanic population of the United States is a bi-lingual one, necessarily, as ties to homelands are not cut, businesses are becoming only more multi-national and hemispheric, as are media. The Hispanic population of Broward is therefore a huge asset to the entire county. It offers bilingual workers to potential business, and extra-national connections to the world economy. It is rich with the potential for cross-cultural communication and understanding.

Local Hispanic growth, development, advancement and credibility are tied to that of the larger community in the United States. The diversifying and exploding Hispanic population of the United States is a national phenomenon. There has been tremendous recent growth of marketing to the American Hispanic community. Popular English language magazines are now available in Spanish, and unique Spanish language or bi-lingual magazines are published for Hispanic Americans as well. There are Spanish language and cultural cable, radio, television programs. Prodigy is offering a Spanish-language Internet access service to American Hispanic customers; Ford has developed a Spanish-language Web site. And any community that has not just one but two motorcycle clubs must have grown roots: the Hispanic Harley Owners Club and the Latin American Motorcycle Association of Miami.

The county could only expect more in-migration. Cuban refugee inflow is inevitable and allowed. Prognostications for South and Central America, Mexico and the Hispanic Caribbean continue to consider signs of an "eroding" middle class, political turbulence, terrorism and violence as factors that would feed emigration. The infrastructure in Broward is in place: churches, media, grocery stores and restaurants, annual Hispanic festivals, strong business organizations and chambers of commerce, ease of communication with family in the homeland as well as with business networks; access to linguistically and culturally matched money exchanges and shipping companies and air travel. The local political voice is growing louder as well, at the same time that many are inspired to apply for citizenship due to recent immigration legislation.

There is an awareness of the need to be visible. To support this possibility, Hispanics are already well represented on the County's 2000 Census Complete Count Committee and its several sub-committees. Everyone who understands is involved in getting the word out about how much it will mean for both the Hispanic community as well as for Broward to be thoroughly counted: monies for services/quality of life and baselines for appropriate political representation.

CARIBBEAN
JAMAICAN, TRINIDADIAN AND TOBAGONIAN,[10] GUYANESE

The largest of the English-speaking Caribbean populations resident in Broward is Jamaican. Indicators of presence typically include that also of immigrants from the two-island country of Trinidad and Tobago, way at the southeastern end of the Caribbean. The histories of the islands have some things in common and many things not. Nonetheless, registrations at same schools in Broward suggest not exact, but similar geographical residential proximity, and the majority of West Indian grocery stories are found along the State Road 7 corridor from Sunrise Blvd., through Oakland Park Blvd. to about the Shops at Oriole in Lauderdale Lakes, and then taper off, but continue up into Margate and Tamarac. Additionally, Guyanese, although from mainland South America, share the same, original East Indian indentured servant relationship with the British as did the population brought to Trinidad and Tobago, speak English, and strongly identify with their Hindu and Muslim senses of spirituality and morals. There are other "West Indian" residents of the county, as well, difficult to discern in agglomerations of data labeled "West Indian" or "Caribbean."

A protected relationship with Great Britain in the face of diminishing opportunities during the '50's and '60's made it more reasonable for Jamaicans and other English-speaking Caribbean peoples to emigrate to England and Canada for "opportunities" than to the United States. Nonetheless, there were those that went to NYC as well to seek a better life. When the cold weather, crime and congestion became too oppressive in NYC, and what turned out to be relatively restricted opportunity and a confined living situation in Great Britain, these migrant populations came south, ultimately many to south Florida, and have settled in the hundreds of thousands in an environment that reminds them of their childhoods, with similar vegetation, the sea and ocean, plus the possibility of home ownership and, of course, the already extant cultural infrastructure.

According to Census data, 284 Jamaican born residents of Broward County were tallied in 1950 (estimated from sample responses). There was a steady, gradual flow through the 1960's and early 1970's and then a surge in the late 70's, adding up to a total of 5,109 foreign-born Jamaicans "counted" in the 1980 Census. By that time, a second generation would already have been established and a third generation on the way. But, 1990 Census numbers demonstrate a continued flow of the foreign-born: 22,034 Jamaican-born counted, 25,278 claiming Jamaican ancestry. (These data are based on samples that are always subject to error, alternate cultural interpretations of questions and probable undercount of the population.) By 1995, the local West Indian community guesstimated to be at least 100,000 Jamaicans in Broward. A survey conducted by the locally published Caribbean Today put the numbers of the Broward and Miami-Dade Jamaican population at 500,000 in the early 1990's. At the same time, Western Union had come out with the statistic that half of the total money orders remitted nationwide were Jamaican.

Meanwhile, the Census data for Trinidad and Tobago-born Broward residents in 1950 (an estimate based on sample) was 12 and showed gradual growth for a total estimate of 314 by Census 1980. In just ten years, by the 1990 Census, Trinidad and Tobago-born population had increased tremendously: to 3,084. The sample-obtained estimate for Trinidad and Tobago ancestry was 1,817. (These are islands that were inhabited by natives long before being colonized by European (Spanish, French and English) nations that in turn imported both slaves from Africa and indentured workers from India as well as attracted a large Chinese community. Ancestry is a complicated calculation, considering the possible contributions.) Broward Guyanese-born by 1950 were Census estimated to be 40, and 178 by 1980. By 1990, the population size was estimated to be 1,640.

Country	Census 1950	Census 1980	Census 1990
Jamaica	284	5,109	22,034
Trinidad and Tobago	12	314	3,084
Guyana	40	178	1,640

What is similar about the two nations (Trinidad and Tobago and Guyana) complicates issues of ethnicity and identity, but is clearly significant: large cross-cutting populations of both are Islamic or Hindu. This is very much in evidence in Broward. West Indian Hindus attend West Indian Hindu temples, whose services are more likely to be conducted in English, with Sanskrit chants and scriptural readings, than at the (Asian) Indian temples where "services" are conducted almost exclusively in Hindi and Sanskrit. The Shiva Temple close to the intersection of Oakland Park Blvd with SR 7 and the area's plethora of West Indian groceries, bakeries and eateries, travel agencies, money exchanges, shipping offices and newspaper drops, has a substantial West Indian attendance while The South Florida Hindu Temple far west on Griffin Blvd and the Shiva Vishnu Temple of South Florida farther west on Dykes Rd. have memberships more typically Indian-born. Similarly, West Indian Muslims are more likely to attend Darul Uloom Institute on Pines Blvd, whose leader is Trinidadian himself, the membership mixed but heavily West Indian, than they are the more Arab and Arabic-speaking mosques. Although Arabic is the language of prayer and services and a goal toward which many are studying, the membership of West Indian mosques tends to be English speaking. There is another West Indian group, with a membership of 500 families already, soon to begin building their own temple in the vicinity of SR 7 and Pembroke Rd. This southern and southwestern concentration of West Indian Muslims in Broward contrasts with The Islamic Center of South Florida in Pompano Beach, mainly, but not exclusively attended by a more Middle-Eastern, Arabic speaking membership.

Broward County School Board registrations suggest residential concentrations within the county. In the case of K-12, clustering of ethnic groups is sometimes apparent and growth over time unquestionable. The School Board of Broward County did not begin formally to register new foreign-born students by country of origin and language until 1989. At that time, 417 Jamaican-born students registered. In the school year 1998-99, Jamaican-born enrollment was 4,060. This is clearly tip-of-the iceberg ethnic indication, as the community has been sizeable for well over two decades now. 149 Trinidad and Tobago-born students registered for the 1989-90 school year and for 1998-99, 783. Trinidad and Tobago are the tenth in the top ten of foreign-born public school enrollments in 1998-99. Numbers for Guyanese students are somewhat smaller, but contribute significantly to the West Indian cultural complex in the county: in 1989-90, 30 Guyanese-born enrolled; in 1998, 215.

	1989-90	1998-99
Jamaica	417	4,060
Trinidad and Tobago	149	783
Guyana	30	215

While School Board registration data reveal presence of Jamaican, Trinidadian and Tobagonian and Guyanese presence throughout the county, numbers are highest in Lauderhill, Lauderdale Lakes, Sunrise, northwest Ft. Lauderdale, Miramar and Pembroke Pines. But, the generalizations are truest for the Jamaicans as their numbers are overwhelmingly predominant. In Lauderhill, that is Lauderhill Middle: 221 out of 372 foreign-born, and more than half of the foreign-born populations at contributing elementary schools: Royal Palm and Castle Hill, are mostly Jamaican, few Trinidadian and Tobagonian and almost no Guyanese. In northwest Ft. Lauderdale, Jamaicans are dominant, with some Trinidadian and Tobagonian: 117 out of 358 foreign-born

at Dillard High School and about a fourth at the contributing elementary and middle schools. In Lauderdale Lakes, the combined population, but mostly Jamaican, is 396 out of 831 foreign-born at Boyd Anderson HS.[11] At Lauderdale Lakes Middle, the Jamaican and some Trinidad and Tobago numbers are 177 out of 376 foreign-born and are half of the foreign-born at Oriole Elementary. In Sunrise, in a highly diverse student body, Jamaicans/Trinidad and Tobago-born are 173 out of 483 foreign-born at Piper High School, and a comparable largest foreign-born population of the mix of mostly Haitian and Hispanic students at Village Elementary, Banyan Elementary, Horizon Elementary, Bair Middle and Westpine Middle (in Sunrise). Plantation schools also host extremely mixed foreign-born student bodies so that none is really predominant. Nonetheless, the Jamaican-Trinidadian and Tobagonian population is more than any other at Plantation HS (223/547), 87 out of 181 at Plantation Middle and predominant among the foreign-born at Plantation Elementary and Peters Elementary. At Stranahan High School in southwest Ft. Lauderdale, Jamaican, Trinidadian and Tobagonian are 117 out of 540 foreign-born. At Miramar HS, Jamaica- and Trinidad and Tobago-born are 213 out of 438 foreign-born, 131 out of 288 at Perry Henry Middle and predominant at Fairway Elementary and Sunshine Elementary in Miramar. There are substantial numbers throughout the public schools of Hallandale Beach and Pembroke Pines, Coral Springs, N. Lauderdale and Hollywood, and fair numbers in Pompano Beach and Coconut Creek, a few in Deerfield Beach, Parkland and Tamarac.

School	Jamaica	Trinidad and Tobago	Guyana	Foreign Born
Lauderdale Lakes				
Boyd Anderson High	376	20		831
Lauderdale Lakes Middle	168	9		347
Oriole Elementary	50	1		100
Lauderhill:				
Lauderhill Middle	221	9		372
Royal Palm Elementary	84	2		192
Castle Hill Elementary	40	1		86
Plantation				
Plantation High School	192	31	11	547
South Plantation HS	80	10	6	333
Plantation Middle	72	15	1	181
Plantation Elementary	31	1	-	69
Peters Elementary	25	4	4	136
Miramar				
Miramar High School	189	24	10	438
Perry Middle	106	25	-	288
Fairway Elementary	5	7	-	100
Sunshine Elementary	27	5	-	88
Sunrise				
Piper High School	151	22		483
Bair Middle	59	14	3	188
Westpine Middle	55	13		207

Village Elementary	42	4	2	114
Ft. Lauderdale (northwest)				
Dillard High School	106	11		358
Stranahan High School	98	19		540
Larkdale Elementary	28	3		81
Broward Estates Elem.	11	3		30
N. Lauderdale				
Silver Lakes Middle	82	22		301
N. Lauderdale Elementary	42	9		130
Morrow Elementary	8	8		58
Margate				
Margate Middle	49	22		226
Margate Elementary	6	6		77
Coconut Creek				
Coconut Creek HS	88	34	7	498

The impressions of school-related concentration for the three populations are actually not parallel, but they do overlap. Jamaican-born students are in greatest number relative to their total numbers at schools in Lauderhill, Lauderdale Lakes, then Miramar and Plantation. Trinidad and Tobago students are highest in numbers relative to their own total enrollment in Sunrise, then Plantation, Miramar, Coconut Creek and Pembroke Pines. There are smaller enrollments in Pompano Beach, Deerfield Beach and Hollywood. Guyanese students are highest as a percent of their overall numbers in the schools of Plantation and Miramar.

In school year 1997-98, adult education registrations of foreign-born included large numbers of Jamaican-born. Jamaican and Trinidad and Tobago adult students, on the other hand, register in more significant numbers at the vocational schools. For instance:

Vocational School	Jamaican	Trinidadian and Tobagonian	Foreign-born
Atlantic Vocational	567	96	3208
Sheridan Vocational	980	159	5505
McFatter	319		3242
Broward Fire Academy	30		365

Adult school registrations:

Community School	Jamaican	Trinidadian and Tobagonian	Foreign-born
Lauderhill Community	254	18	619
Whiddon Rogers Ed.Cntr.	156		2,318
Dillard Community	126		672
Plantation Community	115		914
Parkway Community	68		705
Cooper City Community	67		417
Bair Community	58		689
Ft. Lauderdale Adult	57		2,143
Margate Community	49		689
Miramar Community	47		183

The numbers are most concentrated in mid-Broward - because of the more substantial Jamaican community, but apparent throughout the county. Adult students are seeking vocational/job training; many others to complete high school equivalencies.

Broward Community College enrollment of foreign-born reveals Jamaican students to have registered in increasing numbers yearly since 1989, and always to be the largest national population registering. They are constantly substantially more than the Haitians, Canadians, Colombians, Venezuelans and Peruvians vying for second, third and fourth place. Trinidad and Tobago students have also been in the "Top Ten" list of numbers of new registrants per school year. Although the numbers are smaller, Guyanese enrollment demonstrates growth per year, as well.

Foreign-born	1989-90	1998-99
Jamaica	198	338
Trinidad and Tobago	28	56
Guyana	10	18

State of Florida Department of Children and Family "legal aliens receiving assistance" data record Jamaican and Guyanese foreign origin but all other English-speaking Caribbean nationalities are grouped into a category of "West Indian." There is a significant Trinidad and Tobago population living in Broward County, especially evident in School Board data, but it does not show up in the DCF client list. It is impossible to know (from available data) if there are no Trinidad and Tobago clients or if they might be subsumed in the category labeled "West Indian."

DCF data are aggregated by zip code (current as of 12/31/98). Clients whose addresses are post office boxes - and there are many - cannot contribute to the geographical picture. Nonetheless, zip code concentrations do give an idea of distribution of those using services; they just cannot depict the true count of numbers. In the Hallandale Beach area, there are all of Jamaican, Guyanese and West Indian clients, but in relatively small numbers. In East-Central Hollywood, there are more Jamaican, Guyanese and West Indian clients, but relatively outnumbered by Hispanic client numbers. The more west in Hollywood, the more Hispanic the client load, with Jamaican, Guyanese and West Indian remaining in the range of 10 to 30, out of several thousand per zip code.

Jamaican numbers pick up in E. Miramar, competing with the Hispanic bloc, and in west Hallandale Beach, east Miramar, Jamaican and West Indian clientele are substantial in size, but Hispanic even more so. Farthest west in Miramar, Pembroke Pines and Cooper City, Jamaican, West Indian and Guyanese numbers are almost negligible.

In Pompano Beach, only very few West Indians are counted as DCF clients, no Jamaicans. But in Margate, there are Jamaican clientele, a few Guyanese and West Indians. In the unincorporated area between Pompano Beach and Deerfield Beach, there are a few Jamaicans and West Indians out of a caseload of several thousand. There are slightly more in the north Coral Springs area, only a couple of West Indians in south Coral Springs. In Parkland and Coconut Creek, there are only a few Jamaican clients. In north Lauderhill, Jamaican, West Indian and Guyanese numbers are higher than the Hispanic, still a small percentage of the overall.

In downtown Ft. Lauderdale, there are only small numbers of Jamaican, Guyanese and West Indian DCF clients. In the Lauderdale Lakes and Oakland Park area, Jamaicans, West Indians and Guyanese predominate over other foreign-born clients, but still, the overall numbers dwarf foreign-born numbers. In unincorporated Ft. Lauderdale, in Lauderdale Lakes and Lauderhill areas (33311), Jamaicans and West Indians and a very small number of Guyanese are substantial at less than 300, but only a drop in the bucket of a total 14,264! Also, the northern reach of Lauderhill houses Jamaican and other West Indian clients in substantial numbers. South of 33311, Hispanics predominate, but there is a small West Indian contingent of clients. Around the airport, a small number of West Indian clients. In Tamarac and south Sunrise areas, also, there are a few West Indian clients. The numbers of these populations are negligible throughout Davie, westmost Sunrise, Bonaventure and Weston.

The distribution of these numbers is misleading as a general impression of concentrated communities of Jamaicans and West Indians, or Guyanese, in the Lauderhill/Lauderdale Lakes region of the county, as well as in Hallandale Beach and east- and central Miramar, with some substantial numbers in central-west Hollywood. The dominance of Jamaican numbers in central Broward jibes with school board related geographic distribution. Guyanese distribution, already shown not to parallel that of the Jamaican is even differently not parallel to the Jamaican DCF data. These impressions, though, cannot be inferred to represent the total populations. They would be more worthwhile broken down by category of service.

Long-extant West Indian grocery stores line SR 7 from just south of Broward Blvd. through Lauderhill and Lauderdale Lakes. There is an intersection here, also, mainly of foods, with Caribbean Hispanics. All the groceries carry the local Caribbean papers; the larger ones also carry papers from the international Caribbean. Usually in the back, or at the corners, of the stores, are also religious icons, flags, figures, even religious literature. The many malls in the area house shipping and money exchange facilities, and meat and fish markets that cater to the entire Caribbean, and intersect as well with local Islamic meat markets and Asian markets, both historical residents of the Caribbean. In addition, there are roti eateries as well as Jamaican health food restaurants. More recently, west Hollywood and Pembroke Pines are seeing an emergence of instantly popular and patronized Caribbean bakeries and restaurants serving the increasing Caribbean populations. One bakery is run by a Jamaican and Trinidadian trio; a new cafe serves both traditional Jamaican and Cuban fare. A new Jamaican based restaurant satisfies Hispanic Caribbean as well.

Although collected church data as indicators of community are inadequate to the size of the population, it may give some idea of geographical distribution. There are five Caribbean pastored Baptist churches, members of the Gulfstream Baptist Association in Broward County. These are the Bethel Baptist Church in North Lauderdale, the Lael Baptist Church in southwest Ft. Lauderdale, Mount Hermon Baptist Church and Lauderhill Caribbean Church in Lauderhill, and Caribbean Baptist Church in west Hollywood. This does not begin to exhaust the range of churches attended by members of the community, of course. Additionally, as stated above, the Shiva Temple ((West Indian) Hindu) is in eastmost Lauderdale Lakes, the Darul Uloom Institute (Islamic))

in Pembroke Pines on Pines Blvd. and a larger version slated for a huge piece of land in far west Broward, and a new Caribbean mosque soon to be built at SR 7 and Pembroke Road.

Quality of Life

Sense of Community and Culture

A sense of community is refreshed daily by virtue of the radio. WAVS, 1170 AM, "heart of the Caribbean" is by now an institution in Broward. The morning is spent with news of both the homelands and local community, a multitude of speakers with information about real estate, health, etc., and an hour long call-in that invites real concerns from the community itself. There are toll-free numbers available for callers from both Miami-Dade and Palm Beach counties. On Sundays, there are half hour programs from both West Indian Islamic and Hindu communities. Saturdays, Radio WVCG 1080 AM caters to the West Indian community. Also, on 790 AM, there are evening and weekend programs inferably more focused on those from the southeastern Caribbean. Advertising is always geared to the Caribbean/West Indian listener.

Locally published newspapers also reaffirm community. The Caribbean Today comes out once a month and can be picked up most reliably at any of the West Indian shops that line SR 7 north of Sunrise Blvd. It is geared, for the most part, to the Jamaican community. Caribbean Contact is also available in the Lauderhill-Lauderdale Lakes region, and at the Shiva Temple. Although it demonstrates a Caribbean reach, it seems to be more Trinidad and Tobago-focused than Jamaican. The Lauderhill ("Jamaica Hill") Mall is said to be "central to the community." Not only the local papers but also the daily Gleaner, Jamaican Observer and the Star - papers from Jamaica, are available there.

Caribbean Contact and The Caribbean Today carry advertisements mainly from the local community itself. The wealth of professionals is only suggested by the range of fields of expertise: many medical doctors: family practice, obstetrics-gynecology, plastic surgery, internal medicine, podiatry, dentistry, orthodontics; attorneys in civil law and immigration, especially; realty, brokerage/investment and financial advisors. Although the target audience lives in the tri-county area, many of the services are either located in Broward or have two offices - one in Miami-Dade, one in Broward.

The many West Indian grocery stores, becoming cornerstones to plazas, in the same area, as well as growing numbers in Miramar and Pembroke Pines, attest to the growth of the community as well as to general residential concentration. These are not "ethnic enclaves" but are more Caribbeanesque, as one finds Puerto Ricans, Cubans and Dominicans shopping at the local "meat and fish" markets, as well. The islands have such similar vegetation, as well as proximity to the sea, that what is different is the cultural nuance. Sharing mall space with the Caribbean/West Indian shops also are Oriental ones, mainly Chinese, reflecting an important historical contribution to and ongoing interplay among the cultures of the Caribbean.

Just as "food stores follow the people," as one Jamaican informant said, so do the churches. Although he was referring mainly to those that so influenced the development of education in Jamaica, (Quakers, Moravians, Baptists and Catholics), the churches ultimately were more holistic institutions than he sees in south Florida. That is, they had a real social service function. For this reason, perhaps, West Indians/Jamaicans tend to split off from kindred American churches to form their own cultural version. This is the case, certainly, with the Baptist churches mentioned above. It is also the case with the Hindu Shiva Temple, which is predominantly West Indian rather than Asian Indian. Although not exclusively, Caribbean Muslim mosques also satisfy cultural and linguistic proclivities of their members, as the more Arab mosques do theirs. Anglican churches are the West Indian Episcopalian. The Catholic churches are affected by the need not just for linguistic appropriateness, but for cultural comfort as well: St. Maximilian Kolbe Catholic Church in Pembroke Pines satisfies this need for

many West Indian members. A Jamaican leader said that there are more than 100 churches in Broward serving the African-American/Caribbean populace. Caribbean churches are places for socializing, and especially about "culture and politics." This is a function they share with the local grocery stores, as well, which are well-known repositories of "political gossip."

There are many Caribbean organizations: The Caribbean Association, The Caribbean-American Democratic Club that outreaches with voter education and will participate in Census 2000, the Greater Caribbean Chamber, The Caribbean Coalition (made up of at least 100 members, representing every country in the Caribbean, and which puts on the yearly Unifest and supports traditional cultural arts), the South Florida Business Group whose tri-county members are all Caribbean businesses, the Caribbean Bar, the Caribbean Medical Center, and, of course, cultural associations for every island/country, such as the Bahamian American Federation, the Barbados Cultural Society, the Grenada Cultural and Civic Association, the United States Virgin Islands Progressive Association, to name just a very few.

Caribbean based music, song and dance, both traditional and evolving, have been much in demand, locally as well as internationally. Professional troupes from the Caribbean perform in South Florida, especially in Miami. Everyone is affected by direct exposure to cultural arts and/or to performing in new territory. South Florida is not just Latinizing, but also, Caribbeanizing. It would seem to be a very creative time and place for these arts.

Immigration

Caribbean/West Indians are clearly not refugees; their status has to do with education, business, visiting or immigration. Or, they may be "out of status", having overstayed a non-immigrant or even student visa. Many, having sought higher education or training in Commonwealth countries, especially England and Canada, but oftentimes thwarted at securing comparable employment, immigrated to the United States. Many Jamaican nurses were trained in England because of a dearth of nurses there; they have subsequently brought these skills to south Florida. As above Census numbers testify, from a meager stream in the '50's and 60's, the Jamaicans, especially, "are just flooding south Florida," says the publisher of Caribbean Today. And not just from Jamaica, but also from New York City, Toronto, Connecticut, Philadelphia and England. Those coming from Jamaica, he says, have suffered economically, their characteristically productive, enterprising drive thwarted. They see the Jamaican economy failing, do not feel safe because of rising crime rates and corruption, and rue the evolving materialism and loss of morality. Thus, they come to south Florida for the promised opportunities, especially "economical enhancement." This will continue, considering the most recent politico-economic developments in Jamaica.

"To better themselves:" they come for a job, a good income, education, a home and property that they own. The newspaper publisher said that there is never any standing still: then, a better job, a better home, a better neighborhood.

Nonetheless, there is constant attention paid to conditions in the home country. West Indian newspapers are available in West Indian grocery stores; West Indian news is read on radio programs. Call-ins as well as articles in the local West Indian papers opine fervently about politics in the islands, the economic situation, the inevitable changes. Western Union is one of the top advertisers in Caribbean Today: analysis of their own records in the mid-90's demonstrated that half of the total money orders remitted nationwide were Jamaican. And shipping companies for goods to Jamaica continue to be heavily utilized as well. There are always local preparations to return home for the major holidays and festivities, especially Carnaval in Trinidad.

Much immigration, at this point in the history of the Jamaican population, is family unification. Family

members are joining the first that emigrated many years ago, and the community continues to mushroom. In Broward, the West Indian community was additionally greatly expanded by virtue of the exodus from South Miami-Dade after Hurricane Andrew. Miramar and Pembroke Pines exploded with the "refugees" from Andrew, a huge measure of whom were Hispanic and West Indian. Jamaicans have also continued to fill in the already strongly West Indian Lauderhill and Lauderdale Lakes, while relatively more Trinidad and Tobago-born settled in Coral Springs. As above school registrations demonstrate, too, these West Indian populations are also found in substantial number in Sunrise, Plantation, Margate and Tamarac.

Immigration also means the visa and legal process. This is a sore topic for West Indians. How many calls during radio programs' call-in time have to do with hassles and harassment at airport entry. Not just at Miami International, but at facilities in other cities as well. One caller claimed that "being Jamaican" makes you suspect for trafficking drugs. He called the constancy of INS suspicion "a campaign of intimidation." Both males and females are subject to the interrogation. The Jamaicans feel particularly vulnerable in the prevailing climate, in which summary deportations are permissible.

Another immigration issue is the recent mandatory deportation of immigrants with criminal records, even if a sentence has been served. This has caused extraordinary anguish in the community, both for the seeming injustice - unequal treatment - of immigrants and for the fact that it rips holes in family units. On the other side of this policy is what the community sees as the exportation of crime to their home countries. They fault the American culture with seeding desire for material things, drugs, guns, and then exporting subsequent crime learned in the U.S. to Jamaica and other Caribbean islands. Now, those in the home country become more and more fearful of their own, mandatorily returned.

Some West Indian Muslims wonder about the extraordinary time it takes to receive permanent residency, despite their ample eligibility, and the services of immigration attorneys. Professional, well-employed, tax-paying other West Indians have partnered with large national advocacy groups to request amnesty for the long-term, qualified "out-of-status."

Economy/Jobs

West Indian immigrants tend to be well-educated. Caribbean students had access to British educational facilities because the islands were English colonies. Churches, having assumed the responsibility of educating the populace, spawned and ran most of the boarding high schools and teachers colleges in the islands. "To stop the flow of black Caribbean students to England" (for university), says a local Jamaican expert of his own culture, the University of the West Indies (UWI) was started - by the University of London. All of the former colonies were linked with campuses at Mona, Jamaica, north Trinidad and Barbados. There are "extra-mural" campuses in Bermuda, Belize, the Bahamas and Dominica - kind of like community colleges. Each of the three major campuses has a "speciality:" in Barbados, it is law; in Jamaica, medicine and in Trinidad, agriculture.

Of course, in such a substantial population, all socioeconomic classes are represented. Their stratification is apparent in various residential areas in Broward. There are so-called "yardmen" as well as there are doctors, dentists and attorneys. There is often commentary on the local call-in radio programs that some segments lack adequate literacy skills, and therefore, maybe adequate reasoning as well! Listeners call in to exhort the community to get as much training and schooling as possible. Also, it is clear, just traveling through Lauderhill up into Lauderdale Lakes, along Pines Blvd. in Pembroke Pines and elsewhere, that the West Indian community is extremely resourceful and entrepreneurial. Although there are jobs in the community or that serve the local community, West Indians are integrated as well in the larger community of South Florida.

At a "town hall" for a mixed congregation at St. George Catholic Church in unincorporated Broward,

needs were solicited. None had to do with jobs, despite the fact that most other categories of need were at least influenced by perceptions of discrimination (having to do with "race."). On the other hand, in a mixed meeting of Islamic West Indians, the very first need that was offered was in the domain of "jobs." Several said, "jobs are not there for Muslims." In this case, the discrimination was perceived to be because of religious affiliation. There were several examples of having answered employment ads, sent in the requested qualifications, been invited for an interview, but on sight, being rejected: usually they are told that the position is already filled, or that they are in fact not qualified. Women said that it is the hijab (the head covering) that "disqualifies" them. They could see rejection on the face of the employer when they walked in for the interview in their traditional garb.

One man asked about a reliable source of updated available jobs in the county. He would like to subscribe to weekly available job lists. He asked, "How do you find jobs here?"

Housing

As the publisher of Caribbean Today said, after jobs, West Indians are seeking homes, and then better homes, and better neighborhoods. Throughout the 70's, he said, Caribbean money purchased land, especially on the west coast: Naples, Ft. Meyers, and has been building homes. There has been intense West Indian investment in property in South Florida for the last three decades, just as there was with the earliest Cuban migration to South Florida in the '60's, followed by Central American and Colombian money buying land and properties in north and southeast Broward, just as the French Canadians have been buying coastal property along the length of Broward as well as a multitude of mobile homes, apartments, motels and condominiums and have been building new with their own construction companies. On WAVS, 1170 AM, "Heartbeat of the Caribbean," there are frequent shows with real estate agents explaining all the aspects of purchasing a home, with accompanying call-in time allotted. This continues to be an area of immense interest, judging by the amount of shows and by the amount of increasingly numerous West Indian real estate agents advertising their services in the local papers.

Home ownership is a serious goal of the West Indian community. Members express the desire to have non-attached housing (not rental apartments), on a plot of land where they can grow their own tropical trees and vegetation. The desire is to have a home in better and better neighborhoods. "Damn public sentiment about how property values are affected by the newcomers!," said one informant. The truth is, he said, that Jamaicans raise values because they take such good care of their homes and property and are especially assiduous about the landscaping. Another said that West Indians do not have the tradition of putting their older family members in nursing homes. "This is why you see," he said, "West Indians in the market to buy a home looking for four bedrooms. ... Maybe they really only need two bedrooms, but one is for the elders, one for visitors (you never put visitors in a motel or hotel!). And also the kids stay home until they marry," (traditionally, that is).

Among the group of West Indian Muslims, one member had heard that, if your income were less that $15,000 a year, you could be eligible for a home financed by Pembroke Pines, that the city had received a grant for that purpose. They wanted to know how they could find out more about it.

Education

As mentioned above, the educational tradition of the West Indies has a long history of discipline and rigor. Education has always been highly valued. This is not to say that everyone had the opportunity to participate in the breadth theoretically available, but it is something that continues to be an aspiration in the immigrant community. Comments on this domain usually note the differences in the West Indian and American systems. West Indians find the American public school education lacking in discipline and in respect for the teachers. There are always complaints about their children being placed "behind" despite their advanced knowledge in mathematics. And there is real disappointment in the allowed unruly behavior they witness in the

schools. Parents are concerned also about the lack of strict morals. For this reason, there are those West Indians that prefer to have their children especially in Catholic schools, where "manners, concern for others and thoughtfulness" are part of the curriculum. At the town hall held at St. George Catholic Church, West Indian members inferred that standards for teacher placement differed according to racial composition of the student body. They were disappointed that their children might have less qualified teachers simply because of the color of their skin.

Some said that the charter school concept is good because it would put competition in the realm of education and perhaps, the public school would respond by improving itself. West Indian Islamic parents had heard that Jewish people have their own schools in Broward. They asked how could the Muslims do that, too. Would the School Board be able to help them set up their own schools? Many of the mothers of this group would like to be able to afford to send their children to private schools: they feel they are better than the public ones, that their children would get a better education, would be better behaved, and would be safer, too. Many West Indian members of the Catholic church were upset that prayer in schools seems to be so summarily dismissed, that even student choice as to the matter has been perceived to be too threatening. The parents expressed belief that prayer is not something everyone necessarily should do, but could do, in school.

As pointed out above, Jamaican-born are the most numerous and growing of foreign-born enrolling in Broward Community College every year since the college began keeping such data in 1989. The West Indians are extremely industrious, holding down several jobs as well as continuing to pursue higher education so as to have a better and better life. It was also pointed out above that Jamaicans are some of the most numerous in vocational classes and high school equivalency classes at the School Board's Adult/Community Schools.

Health

There is a strong health tradition in the islands and a great respect for those who can cure. Many of the health stores in Broward and Miami-Dade counties are owned and operated by West Indians. There are programs on Caribbean radio about health maintenance and care and, when there have been call-in opportunities to talk with guest doctors, many questions. (Traditional beliefs and practices survive.) Culturally, informants said that West Indians prefer the attention of their own doctors. Especially the "older folks don't want to go to 'foreign' doctors." In every domain of service provision, of course, culture is an aspect of its delivery and its receipt, more tacit perhaps, but quite as important as and interwoven with language. Considerations of cultural comfort in the realm of health are important: they have to do with trust, with communication -both linguistic and non-verbal, and with "compliance." One informant said that the West Indian doctor will spend time with his patient and really talk with him. The perception is that the approach is more "holistic" than American style medicine. He continued to say that West Indians often feel "rejected" by the "foreign" (American) doctors. The populace regards West Indian pastors and West Indians doctors with equal respect.

The West Indian medical community addressed this issue, in 1998, by opening the American-Caribbean Medical Center at Plantation General Hospital. "Security," "trust," "island language," "familiarity," "same background," "at ease"[12] are words used by the community in their appraisal of the services, which are also geared to meeting the needs of those with the least resources.

All of the locally published Caribbean newspapers carry advertisements from West Indian medical doctors and dentists. The newspaper publisher says that as local Jewish doctors retire and move northward, many are selling their practices to Caribbean doctors. "The landscape is changing," he says, and it is necessary to refill professional services with equally qualified MDs whose practice is culturally comforting to fit the new demographics. This has also affected nursing staff in the major hospital facilities. A high percentage of West Indian nurses who received training and then worked for years in British facilities have migrated to South Florida.

Additionally, nursing and medicine are popular, as well as highly esteemed, career tracks for Caribbean peoples.

Among the West Indian Islamic group, the topic of health came up early in the conversation. Especially regarding "the older people." They need shots to protect them from disease, especially should they want to participate in the Hajj to Mecca. Also, they are in need of flu shots. They have believed that the shots should always be available. And, how will they get to the Public Health Department or clinic that gives the shots? Is there public transportation available to take "older people," (not necessarily "disabled people") to health care facilities? Are there jitneys available for such a service?

The group persisted on health care. One member said that a family making more than $12,000 to $15, 000 is expected to pay "in full" doctors'/hospital bills. Without insurance, how is this possible? Where can a person go for "reasonably priced, quality health care?" And is there public transportation to get people to their doctors? Additionally, there are older women, newly widowed, who are not eligible for SSI. Where can they go for affordable health care? Younger widows with young children and no resources, how can they find health insurance for their children? Such women, because of the religious culture, "are bashful" because they have little or no experience out in the community. Their customary role is in the home. Where can they begin to find information for the well-being of their children?

Women with pending residency and therefore without a social security number are afraid to put the family in jeopardy by applying for Medicaid for their children. Where can they go for reliable advice about this issue?

Mental Health

This has been a serious issue for diagnosis and treatment in diverse South Florida for decades. The domain of mental health may be even more inextricably intertwined with cultural beliefs, traditions, non-western treatment and stigma than physical health. Even in western and westernized cultures, older traditions and practices linger vis à vis mental health. Broward mental health facilities are impacted by the cultural variable in dealing with diverse clients because staff psychiatrists, psychologists and counselors are also from diverse backgrounds but tend to be trained and equipped with western protocols, methodologies, dedicated medication regimens and western style talk therapy. Diagnoses based on symptoms benefit greatly from knowledge of the cultural matrix of the client, the explications made and meanings of the labels used in the client's culture for what appears to be "abnormal" behavior.

There are also the many mental health issues related to the process of acculturation, ranging a huge spectrum from refugees fleeing war, oppression, persecution, death to those who have had the freedom to make a decision about chasing "a better life," for education, for employment. Immigration status, a welcome and supportive acceptance or prejudicial and discriminatory rejection by the "host" culture all affect acculturation. One's own history, experiences and expectations are his tools for adaptation to the new environment. There is necessarily a time of "adjustment," not just by newcomers, but by the resident community. Both will change. Additionally, members of families acculturate at different rates and in different ways; roles inevitably change, authority and power may shift from the traditional pattern. All of this is essentially stress which can be resolved or not, depending on the players, the sociocultural environment, the support systems, etc.

In the case of West Indians, at least, they speak English. The intra-familial power shift that so often occurs in non-English speaking families as children acquire English more rapidly and become de-facto interpreters for both their parents as well as host institutions/personnel should not happen with West Indians - at least for reasons of language. What does reportedly happen is a power shift between the parents and some loosening of nuclear family bonds just by virtue of "the big life style change." In the islands, an informant says,

"it was taboo for the kids to work... The longer they depended on you economically, the longer you could control them. Now, they work, get roommates, they don't even finish school. ... They get minimum wage - and don't see the bigger picture. .... They get a big old car." So long as a child is at home and not contributing financially, "he is still considered a kid. If he begins to pay for stuff, you lose control ... And, if he's working, you can't enforce your own curfew." He suggested that this contributes to the "tripling of the divorce rate among Trinidadian, Barbadian and Jamaican families living in the United States compared with the rate in the islands."

Additionally, the male role has been challenged by the women who have availed themselves of higher education. Traditionally, the men are the breadwinners, the source of major family income. All of a sudden, though, the women can make more money than their husbands who are working in the trades. Additionally, the men usually have to go to school in south Florida to get properly certified to work. "This contributes to some real disaffection." Men may even return to Jamaica and start another family. Meanwhile, the wife goes to college and becomes economically independent. Such outcomes are not without their emotional/mental ramifications. On-going friction of role change while trying to achieve economic betterment provokes fights, abuse, violence and/or depression. These and possible separation affect the children, the extended family, even the community.

What is seen as rampant discrimination toward "Blacks" in the United States has spread its net to include Caribbean/West Indians, who were not brought up in the same type of milieu. Ever-pervasive racism is insidious and has a negative influence on quality of life - it acts as a barrier to many opportunities as well as one's sense of fit and safety in the community. (See **Discrimination** below) While some might tolerate this underlying social theme of inequality and judgmentalism, others suffer emotionally for it.

Alcohol/Drugs

According to a small group of West Indian men, drinking is a Friday and Saturday night tradition, typically with a group of friends and family, in someone's home or in salons. They do not indulge in public, according to a Jamaican informant, who also says that this tradition has its origins on the plantations, the sugar cane plantations, where rum was made. Problems arise among the immigrant community if someone is alone and depressed, and the younger West Indians, not indoctrinated in the time-steeped tradition, are the ones to be picked up for DUI. If drinking becomes a problem in the West Indies, the person is typically cared for by the family's doctor. It is considered a medical problem. In South Florida, the weekend drinking may become more volatile, as the frustrations of acculturation, role upheaval, discrimination, to name just a few, may rise to the surface. It is in this occasion that abuse or violence could be provoked. Some West Indian men said that this is really an issue now in the Caribbean community, male on female domestic violence.

Although marijuana has a role in ritual context, it was never, according to the publisher of Carribean Today, a popularly used drug in Jamaica. If you smoked outside of the sanctioned sphere, you were considered a "derelict," he said. Foreign-born adult West Indians tend to laugh when asked about drug use at all, as if it were absolutely unthinkable, but the younger generation, born or brought up in South Florida might smoke it, they say, because "they learned it here." Of those who use, they are typically protected by their family and the community, according to a Jamaican observer of this phenomenon. They will be bonded out of jail more quickly than most, and often sent back to the home country "to cool off," "to save the family name." Apart from use, there is still some drug selling. Allegedly, a West Indian who uses crack is "considered crazy, rejected and sent away to a home family member."

The Islamic West Indian would not indulge. Alcohol is prohibited in the Qur'aan. Perhaps drugs were not known or a concern in the 600's AD, but they are apparently considered of the same ilk as alcohol.

Abuse/Violence

Informants mentioned incidence of domestic abuse, even violence as a product of frustration in the acculturative context of immigration, catalyzed by traditionally sanctioned weekend alcohol use, too easily run out of control. The frustrations are fed by new economic and educational opportunities exploited by women while their husbands struggle to certify in their trade and retain their position and self-respect by being the major source of income to the family. Violence is also related to jealousy, as depicted too often in the newspapers.

The DCF social worker said that, although there are some Jamaican cases, the community itself is overall well educated and hard working. Its members are strongly (extended-) family oriented. They help each other in that context. That they are English speaking clearly facilitates provision of services.

Divorce

Mentioned above, divorce is also often a product of the move to south Florida, the acculturative context in which women have more need and more opportunity for education and to work, and men are caught in their role as major contributors to family income. They often have to take the time to study and certify their trade skills in order to land work in their fields. "Caribbean men may get marginalized ," says the publisher of Caribbean Today. Unable or unwilling to compete, some men return to the island and start another family.

Children

So much concern for the children is expressed by the adults. A group of parents has just formed to address the issue of "dilution of the culture." The traditional Jamaican society is said to be "breaking down." Children are not reared by "the community of fictive kin." People are affected by television, by the 'soaps' they see, the way people interact, the advertising. This is a picture of a very different society from the one the adults were brought up in. Everyone is becoming more Americanized and many parents "fear for the children." For this reason, disaffection with the public school system turns to registration in Catholic and other private schools. Parents want their children to behave as they would have been expected to "back home:" with respect for others, manners, moral values. West Indian parents rue the influence on their children of what they perceive as the inferior academic quality of public schools in "black" neighborhoods. And the astute Jamaican observer of West Indian immigrants in south Florida noted (above) the early freedom accorded West Indian youth in the South Florida context compared with that in their homelands. Children who take jobs, become somewhat economically independent, are able to separate from their natal family, even if still living at home, and begin also to take a shorter range view of their options. Content to work and make money, some even fail to finish high school.

West Indian Muslims expressed (above) their desire to send their children to private schools, where, they are convinced, the education is more rigorous and the temptations more distant. It is the case that pre-school and early elementary are now available at Darul Uloom, according to school board standards, and Islamic education is included in the curriculum. These parents also fear the corruption of their own children by the values too available to them in the local culture, including the television and other media. West Indian Hindus as well are offering to their youth at the Shiva Temple spiritual education and exposure to the Hindu great books and wisdom. There are very strong cultural organizations that work to maintain the values and reverence of Hinduism and the perpetuation of its long tradition of religiously associated performing arts.

West Indians, in their goal of a better life, include aspirations for their children: that they will be well educated toward a professional career, especially those of medical doctor and lawyer. These goals are built on solid early academic education as well as strict values of discipline, respect for learning, expectations for self. For this reason, they are also cautious about daycare.

They would prefer that their children be in the hands of caregivers they trust: fellow West Indians, specifically. They say they will drive miles out of their way, from county to county even, to leave their pre-school aged children in the hands of a relative, a person they knew back on the island or a church member rather than in state-run or private day care. There is "implicit trust" in common cultural ground and the very long roots of family and church. For this reason, Islamic West Indians have set up daycare for pre-schoolers at the local religious institutes. This avenue of vigilance is of course not unique to West Indians.

Elderly

As mentioned above (Housing), it is traditional to keep the extended family together, especially including the grandparental generation. West Indians are not accustomed to the "nursing home." They do not resist the elderly services agencies in Broward, (and in fact may find employment in them), but do request transportation. Especially for health care. It is difficult for working people to take time off to drive older parents for long days at doctors' offices, clinics or the hospital.

Safety/Security

Although crime and safety are serious issues to everyone, informants often say it is worse in their home country. There has been so much in the Caribbean news recently about escalating violence, often perpetuated by immigrants deported from the United States by virtue of the stipulations of the 1996 Immigration Act, due to behaviors believed to have been learned in the United States, that this is the topic that engages them more readily. Additionally, they express their concern about the media's glorification of materialism, that this has corrupted people and tempted them to commit crimes as well.

Juvenile Delinquency

As the Jamaican scholar said, "traditional Jamaican society is breaking down." As the Caribbean Today publisher said, if they are smoking marijuana, "they learned it here." The Jamaican scholar refers to increasing numbers of West Indian youth in jail for using as well as selling. The West Indian group at St. George Catholic Church stated the community's concern for the youth and its relationship to drug use. They ask for drug prevention and drug rehabilitation programs. The scholar has pinpointed the westmost Broward-Miami-Dade county line (Miramar, Pembroke Pines) as an area of intensely populated West Indian neighborhoods. He calls for focused work with youth in this area who he feels are daring the system, unemployable, yet living at home.

Caribbean Muslims have already started separate schools for their youth, so that academics are infused with morality, spirituality and right behavior. They will not have their children conform to what they perceive to be the dominant unruly, disrespectful juvenile ethic.

Law, Crime

The conversation in this domain has to do with the many versions of "being targeted." As mentioned above, West Indians, especially Jamaicans, recognize their recent graduation to drug trafficking suspect. There are many stories of being harassed. The Catholic focus group of West Indians in unincorporated Broward said that local police policy seems to be one of "chasing profiles: of poor, black, male, youth, groups hanging out." They feel that there should be more minority police and police that take a "ground level approach" to crime and safety. That is, they would hope that police be more community-oriented, get out of the car, get to know the residents and the neighborhood, work with the community, not against its members.

One member of a group discussion offered a serious problem he observed about policing activities. He said police never seem to be around where there is "predictable trouble." Before there is "total loss of civil life in an area," they will be present and available to the people. But, when conditions deteriorate, the police are not longer around. They are as vulnerable as anyone to anarchic conditions. He mentioned Carver Ranches, some places in Miramar, and said that police neglect those areas. Previously, they used to sweep the streets but now appear to have "given up." The community feels that the police could prevent the next outburst, but they have absented themselves.

Civil Rights, Equal Opportunity, Discrimination

The radio call-ins are full of stories about discrimination based on "race" and suspected "profile" of Jamaicans as potential drug trafficker. Happening more and more routinely at the airports, this "campaign of intimidation," as they label it, has come to be expected. It is a kind of targeting they see not unrelated to the deportation of immigrants with criminal records mandated by the Immigration Act of 1996. Even Jamaican/West Indian residents of homes in Broward County feel targeted when they are cited for code violations when they have never been informed of the rules. Or, that they have not been able to afford yet. The recent shooting of a young Jamaican woman on Oakland Park Blvd in Ft. Lauderdale stunned the community with its apparent blatant racism. On the call-in, there was a kind of off the cuff editorial about "the reality of racism in this country ... it is the environment we live in.... It's not healthy, it's not new, but it's real."

Being targeted does not seem like civil rights to informants. It is one of the more salient of the many threads of discrimination running through much of these conversations, ultimately based on being "black," but with various stereotypes thrown on top, such as the association of Jamaicans with drug use and trafficking. Discrimination made into law, the deportation of immigrants for crimes, especially those judged to be misdemeanors, committed long ago and paid for in time and fines, denied any access to appeal, does not seem like civil rights.

Discrimination appears to this community to be at the root of the denial of Jamaican participation in the 1999 national spelling bee contest in the United States. Last year, 1998, a young Jamaican girl, Jody-Anne Maxwell, won. Subsequently, Jamaican contestants were deemed ineligible for the 1999 contest, allegedly because of changed dates for qualifying competitions. The community apparently perceived the eligibility change as underhanded and that the United States appreciated 'foreigners' in the competition, but did not expect that they could win.

Different groups cited different instances of infrastructural neglect. In the recent Plantation city commission elections, a Jamaican-born candidate mentioned the lack of attention to the east side of the city as one of his priority concerns, that it was ripe for development of business and entertainment entities. The implication is that the city averted its eyes as Caribbean peoples began to settle in this area. The same observations were made by West Indians in unincorporated Ft. Lauderdale: that in any neighborhood perceived to be "black," poorer, maybe with more especially male/youth groups hanging out, the quality of facilities and services are not kept up comparably with areas more white and socio-economically better off. This feeling applies across the board: that the West Indian children attend schools maintained at lower standards than elsewhere, that the parks in the neighborhoods suffer from inferior maintenance, and that police are looking for trouble rather than trying to prevent it.

In addition to skin color, perceived religious affiliation is also interpreted as a trigger of discriminatory behaviors. The West Indian Muslims, as noted above, have many personal stories about rejection based on what they believe is some indication that they are Muslim. Already mentioned are instances of women wearing the hijab (head covering) being rejected for jobs they were qualified for. The entire community of Muslims cites

instances of media misrepresenting incidents as characteristic of Islamic belief and behaviors, thereby building stereotypes by which the community itself is then negatively judged. Small businessmen complain that it is difficult to start businesses in Broward as so many properties are owned by Jews. They are forced even to hire Jewish lawyers so as to try and get a foothold for start-up. The men want to attend the Friday noon prayer, the most important one of the week, the one that "keeps you disciplined," they say, "and you will live a better life." It is quite difficult for anyone to get an hour off at lunchtime to pray at the mosque, except for those who work in the vicinity of a mosque, but for those who have Jewish bosses, and most do, they say, it is virtually impossible to obtain permission.

Leisure Activities, Recreation

West Indians tend to be soccer fanatics. Those who are from Trinidad and Tobago have a real affinity for cricket. The Florida Cricket Team with a tri-county membership of Pakistani, Indian and West Indian players, has had a "home" field now for almost a year at Dania Beach's Frost Park. The competition season stretches from May through September. Another passion, especially among Jamaicans, is dominoes. There is even a club established for this traditional, popular game.

Parks are important to the Caribbean/West Indian populations: social get-togethers and activities belong outdoors: it is the Caribbean tradition. Picnics, recreation, performing arts, concerts and festivals all can be held outdoors. This is why the West Indian feels that conditions of neglect at parks most frequented by them are a sign of discrimination and disregard by the county. The community values the environment.

Church groups charter buses to explore south Florida and visit places such as Disney World in Orlando or Busch Gardens.

More activities could be held in Broward because of its central location, attractive to both Palm Beach and Miami-Dade. The Unifest, sponsored by the South Florida Caribbean Cultural Coalition (English -speaking West Indies including Guyana and the Bahamas, plus Haiti), is a festival just a few years old, held in the Lauderdale Lakes area. There are mini-Carnivals held, parades of patriotism and festivals and formal balls celebrating independence dates of the many homelands.

Island dance companies have been performing most often in Miami-Dade County. Jamaica Awareness has been instrumental in making professional performances available to south Florida audiences. And, island-music concerts are popular fare at Bayfront Park in Miami.

The popularity of nightclubs with live music as new business in previously more conservative neighborhoods has created some conflict with some city commissions, but the Caribbean music/rhythm/dance sensibility is an inexorable and hugely popular contribution to the evolving diversity, aura and life style of south Florida.

Government/Participation

In August, 1996, an article by Gregg Fields, Herald Business Writer,[13] cited Jamaican government estimates of expatriate South Florida population at 250,000 (out of a Jamaican population of 2.5. million). Local West Indians call this an underestimate. The survey done by Caribbean Today estimated 500,000 tri-county. While Jamaicans may be the majority of West Indians in South Florida, (in Broward), other nationalities are present in numbers more substantial than would appear from looking at Census tallies. Representing the full socioeconomic range, West Indians may be somewhat concentrated in a geographic sense, but not clustered in "ethnic enclaves." Data from school board registrations would confirm this impression, but it is true that there

is greatest density of the population in the Lauderhill/Lauderdale Lakes area.

Whatever the numbers, there is plenty of desire to "have a voice." While many are skeptical of the system and feel that business interests are what influence Washington, many are seeking ways to become active politically. There is a Caribbean Democratic Club, two years old, whose members are pan-Caribbean, very supportive of West Indian initiatives to gain representation in the political process and also to lobby other elected officials that represent the larger Broward community. Hazelle Rogers was elected city commissioner for a second term in Lauderdale Lakes and Eric Hammond ran but was defeated for city commission in Plantation. These are just the forerunners of a tide to be. Listening to them on radio, prior to the elections, it was clear that one of their major concerns is that the absence of West Indian political presence "penalizes" the communities. West Indian politicians, on the other hand, just by being present at various meetings, they say, can get "some necessary things done." Politically positioned representatives of the community are credible advocates for the community. If there is no political voice, "there will be no progress for the community itself."

And, because business development and presence in the community is a kind of contribution to quality of life of the whole community, it also has political potential. The "new Greater Caribbean Chamber of Commerce" may draw some much needed attention to this aspect of the growing West Indian community.

Environment

Already mentioned above is the concern of the community with upkeep of county parks frequented by what residents infer to be "minority" peoples. West Indians suggest that the neglect has to do with a status of inferiority conferred on them by the host culture.

Spiritual/Religious/Moral Preferences

Caribbean/West Indians come from all religious backgrounds. Obviously, those from Hindu and Muslim traditions would not have found large groups of like spiritual tradition several decades ago. But, even among those that might have existed, and especially in the more expected American religious traditions, such as Catholic, Episcopal, Baptist and other Protestant churches, what all have in common is the effect of culture on the services, the prayers, the "hymns," "chants," language used, as well as concomitants: socializing, counseling, social services, education/information, day care, associated academic schooling, etc.

For instance, as alluded to above, according to informants, Jamaican churches have "holistic functions." The church historically was not only associated with a specific hamlet, a specific community, but was the moral voice for that community. The churches took responsibility for making academic education available to their surrounding population. Social services also became integral to religious purpose. All of these functions are part of the cultural expectation of church. The sense of trust grown from this tradition that ties together place, people, faith and morality is utilized in the acculturative setting of south Florida: for example, the preference for culturally comforting and trusted daycare, no matter the distance or inconvenience.

West Indians may attend American versions of their own churches but there are many instances of mismatch. While the style of service and leadership have obviously to be different, one Jamaican informant claimed that they also find the church somewhat "isolated," that the churches seem more doctrine- than faith-based. "Faith builds community," therefore, they will build their own churches as soon as they can raise the money. This is a commitment that stabilizes the growing community more. The informant said that the West Indian people "would mortgage their houses to build a church." And, of course, they have. Additionally, this is not unique to West Indians, but occurs in South Florida in the Haitian and Brazilian communities as well. The Hispanic population, too, although the numbers are such that some extant churches have been changed by their

very congregation.

The same phenomenon is happening in resident Islamic and Hindu populations. The issues of cultural, and of course linguistic comfort, become crucial, as they relate to access to the spiritual. While the divide between Arab and West Indian Islamic community has to be partly linguistic, the West Indian Muslims are also learning Arabic. Muslims from India and Pakistan, or their descendants that have emigrated to the United States from Guyana and Trinidad, admit to practicing an Islam that is affected by the Indian/Pakistani cultural style. And there is an affinity among peoples who share common national and cultural backgrounds. West Indian Hindus, also, to the observer, appear to be more "at home" in a West Indian temple than in an Indian one. The accouterments of the temples (in Broward), while the same for inferred crucial elements (presence of representations of the deities, for instance), are stylistically different, the seating pattern is even different with families together all about in the West Indian temple, men and women separate in the Indian, and while chants and prayers are in Sanskrit in both, the West Indian service is conducted in English, the Indian in Hindi.

Both Islamic and Hindu West Indians express strong concern about the morality of western culture, especially as it appears to degenerate, the extraordinary materialism, the appeal of risk behaviors, the exposure of their children to violence, speed, decadence. Both faiths appear to have self-segregated to some degree in the last half of the decade in order to develop opportunities for more family education and activities at the mosques and temples during the week, to reinforce their principles and sense of spiritual morality. The West Indian Muslims have started their own day-care and early elementary school, sanctioned by the School Board, and intend to keep growing. As Muslims pray five times a day and many Hindus keep shrines in their homes, spiritual consciousness is maintained.

Sources of Information/Trust

Sources of trust for West Indians are reputed to be their own extended family, religious leaders, the religious community, their own medical doctors and people/families known in the home country who share the same values. From the sounds of it, they also trust the popular hosts of local ethnic radio programs.

Nonetheless, all of these communities request so much information on such a diversity of domains and issues, there is clearly room to develop new sources that they can depend on.

Goals, Priorities

A self-sustaining job is everyone's first goal; it is the basis for ability to make a life. West Indians are extremely motivated to better themselves academically, economically, and many spiritually, as well, not neglecting the well-being of their own parents, not neglecting the potential of their children. While aspiring, it is not purely an individual endeavor, but rather, to lift up the entire community. For this reason, West Indians are seriously concerned about the social conditions their children are exposed to, the lack of morals they perceive in the environment, the seductive messages of the media and the possibility of their not receiving an education of very high standards. For this reason, children are switched into private and/or religious schools and churches that offer more community-sustaining activities than the public schools do. Continuous upward mobility is a long-term priority.

At the same time, the Jamaican community, with its longevity and numbers in Broward, is becoming more political. With several locally produced newspapers and radio programs, its media also build community. With increased naturalization, inspired by the punitive 1996 Immigration Act or not, what was interested political commentary becomes active. Gaining political representation is clearly the goal of many, as the West Indian community is enormous, with deep roots, continually growing in numbers as well as socio-economically and

merits a voice.

There are current efforts to prevent further "dilution of the culture," not to integrate completely so as to assimilate, but rather, to participate but maintain identity, moral values, high standards and continued upward mobile achievement.

Trends

Continued growth of the communities. Little chance of permanent return to the islands, although some do maintain two homes. The West Indians have suffered economically; the island environments are negatively impacted by swelling population and development, and there are not enough jobs for everyone. It is predictable that immigration would continue, not necessarily to integrate totally, but to take advantage of educational and employment opportunities, to have land, house and other investments. There is definitely growing interest in the local and national politics of the United States. The 1996 Immigration Act has provoked many to move toward citizenship; leaders encourage voting.

The publisher of one of the Caribbean newspapers predicts a 'turf war' in the not-so-distant future in South Florida: between Hispanics and others, mostly "Caribbean blacks," (including Haitians). Already, non-Hispanic whites are moving northward, he says, concerned that the newcomers will devalue south Florida. They are disaffected by the proximity of the raft of Caribbean-born immigrants. The turf war, he says, will be economic: professionals, lawyers and doctors. The second generation, mainly Cuban, which leaves for higher education, return as professionals to this "capitol of the Caribbean," "this ... seat of Caribbean power," and will resettle. Meanwhile, educated African-Americans, he says, will align with "the more tolerant Caribbean," because basically they have the same interests. The already established Caribbean infrastructure will continue to grow, he predicts, and there will be an inevitable struggle for precedence/control.

How this vision might be realized in Broward is moot. Clearly, both Hispanic and Caribbean numbers have exploded since the last Census, almost a decade ago. It is also clear that infrastructural development is well entrenched. But the internal composition of the Hispanic population is not so skewed by high numbers of Cubans as in Miami. The Jamaican presence in Broward is increasingly pervasive, but so far, the political infrastructure has scarcely been scratched by the newcomers, although there is increasing organization toward that end: to participate at a political level in affairs of the county.

THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA

Difficult to label ethnically and/or culturally, this is a complex geo-cultural area, pre-historically, historically and currently. Many believe it is inhabited by "Arabs" and "Jews," but, in fact, what is referred to as the "Arabian" peninsula also includes Turkey and Iran: there are Turks and Persians as well. There are also the Kurds. And Israelis. Israel, of course, is multi-ethic, multi-lingual, and multi-faith. North Africa is Arab but also tribal, for instance, the Berber of Morocco and Tunisia. And, the complexities are further complicated by religion: Islam, Judaism, Orthodox Christianity, Egyptian Coptic, Catholic, Baha'i. Each of these has its own internal schisms as well and each is additionally culturally nuanced.

All of this complexity flourishes in Broward, too! School Board data, collected for place of birth and home language include students from all of these countries, and speaking Turkish, Farsi, Arabic, Berber and Hebrew. Not so obvious are the grocery stores and bakeries (possibly more in Miami-Dade than Broward), replete with newspapers from home countries as well as the locally published Almanber ("The Platform") with local, national and inter-national news of Arab and Arab-American, Turkish, Iranian, Greek and north African communities, Middle Eastern videos jamming the shelves lining the walls, as well as CDs and cassettes with all of folk, traditional, religious and popular music from the mid-east and North Africa. There are shops with traditional Middle Eastern clothing; jewelry stores, travel agencies, shipping companies and money exchanges specifically for transactions with the Middle East, strung along SR 7 from Oakland Park Blvd. northward. There are Middle Eastern oriented travel agencies in Oakland Park. And there are churches, mosques and synagogues. The South Florida Islamic Center in Pompano Beach, not far from City Hall, is enormous in size and membership. There is also an Islamic center on Griffin Rd. and Darul Uloom in Pembroke Pines, on Pines Blvd. just east of Broward Community College south, whose members include Indians, Pakistanis, West Indians, as well as Arabs and Americans. St. Philip Orthodox Church in Davie has a largely Middle Eastern congregation, many of Lebanese heritage. The church's community center is sometimes utilized for cultural events, such as concerts of traditional music. There is an Egyptian Coptic Church in Pompano Beach. And, there is an Arabic Baptist Church in West Palm Beach.

Census numbers, especially those that are estimates based on a sample of foreign-born, while not expected to be perfect, are, at the least, indicative of presence and growth. The 1950 Census did so-"count" foreign-born, at that time collected under the "racial" category of "Asian." The "Asian"-born tallies for Broward were 353 Turkish, 118 Israeli, 61 Lebanese and 7 Iranian. Under "Africans," there were estimated to be 54 Egyptians in Broward in 1950. By 1980, the numbers had climbed to 453 Turkish, 479 Israeli, 355 Lebanese and 250 Iranian. By 1990, the picture had changed, (still calculated as an estimate based on sample): 530 Turkish, 1748 Israeli, 485 Lebanese (but 3105 claiming Lebanese ancestry) and 467 Iranian. Additionally, there were 669 Egyptian (506 claimed Egyptian ancestry), 304 Moroccan, 226 Jordanian (153 claimed Jordanian ancestry), 138 Syrian (911 claiming Syrian ancestry), 93 Iraqi (154 of Iraqi ancestry), 38 Saudi Arabian and 351 claiming Palestinian ancestry. What is interesting about these numbers is their contrast with community perception. The usual generalization is that the largest of these populations in Broward is Lebanese, although there are those who claim the same for Palestinians. It should be pointed out that use of multi-interpretable ancestry data and estimated foreign-born counts for populations that feel themselves somewhat globally stigmatized and locally targeted is of highly suspect reliability.

	Census 1950	Census 1980	Census 1990
Turkey	353	453	530
Israel	118	479	1,748
Lebanon	61	355	485
Iran	7	250	467
Egypt	54	379	669
Palestine			351
Morocco			304
Jordan			226
Syria			138
Iraq			93
Saudi Arabia			38

These numbers do not start to approach community estimates of size. They cannot account for the substantial memberships at the many mosques, synagogues and related churches. Perhaps local estimates include ancestral or ethnic ties for those born in the United States. The numbers for "Arab" tri-county south Florida alone have been estimated at 65,000, with 15,000 of those in Broward County. And, a local Israeli disc jockey claims a listenership of 40,000.

Foreign-born student counts per school in the Broward County School Board suggest geographic distribution of the many populations that are widely scattered, not clustered. There are surely many American born children within this community who augment the numerical sense of community but this is not tallied by School Board criteria. The implications made by comparing school registrations based on country of birth in 1989 with those in 1998 demonstrate growth in numbers of nationalities as well as growth overall. These numbers are conservative for demonstrating ethnicity or ethnic population, as American-born children of foreign-born parents are not captured by these data.

Country	1989-90	1998-99
Algeria	1	14
Bahrain	1	67[14]
Egypt	6	35
Iran	4	45
Israel	107	267
Jordan	7	25
Kuwait	-	26
Lebanon	10	25
Morocco	-	14
Oman	-	3
Qatar	-	1
Saudi Arabia	3	64

Syria	5	12
Turkey	4	25
United Arab Emirate	1	20
Iraq		1

Geographical distribution is suggested by school registrations, (imperfectly, with the possibility of magnet attendance and voluntary busing). The numbers are relatively small, compared with those of more substantial and obvious populations, and because they appear to be truly scattered almost evenly about the county. The one real exception is that of the Israelis, which are much more obviously clustered. Israeli born, though, could be of many backgrounds; it is not possible to infer from these numbers what ethnic or religious origin they represent. The schools in Coral Springs, Sunrise, Plantation and north-central Hollywood register the largest absolute numbers of Israel-born students. There are smaller but noticeable numbers in the Weston area, Cooper City, even less in Miramar, Pembroke Pines, Hallandale Beach, Dania Beach and Ft. Lauderdale schools.

Of the remaining Middle Eastern and north African immigrants, the majority appear to have gravitated to Coral Springs, Parkland, Sunrise, Pembroke Pines, Cooper City and eastside Ft. Lauderdale and Oakland Park. Deerfield Beach and Pompano Beach schools also register students from the Middle East, especially Morocco, Lebanon and Egypt, but Turkey and Iran, as well. Margate, Tamarac, Lauderdale Lakes, Lauderhill and Davie schools show the least enrollment of students born in the Middle East and north Africa.

In the same time span covered by Broward School Board data, foreign-born also were registering at Broward Community College - but, in extremely small numbers. Of the north African, there was one of each nationality: Egyptian, Libyan, Moroccan and Tunisian, enrolled in 1989. Moroccans are the only ones that have continued to enroll through the ten years, but always in minimal numbers. In 1998, there were two Egyptian-born enrollees and one Algerian. There is no growth curve suggested by these numbers, but there is continued presence. (Local residence and visa status are not attached to these data.)

From the Middle East, numbers are stronger but highly variable per year. Predictably, Israeli-born are the largest and most increasing in numbers: from 13 in 1989, up to 28 in 1996, down to 18 in 1998. Iranian numbers began with four registrations in 1989, ascended to eleven in 1992 and down to four again in 1998. Turkey began with three in 1989, went as high as ten in 1994, and dropped to only one new one in 1998. Lebanese-born were 14 in 1989, down to two in 1998 and Jordanian four in 1989, only one in 1998.

	1989	1998
Israel	13	18
Iran	4	4
Turkey	3	1
Lebanon	14	1

There is apparently a stereotype that the populations are relatively well-off, a concern expressed by residents as they feel the county may not recognize their needs. In addition to knowledgeable comments from Middle Eastern local media personnel, and signs in ethnic groceries about accepting food stamps, there is also some very small evidence of need in Department of Children and Family numbers as of December 31, 1998, although they do not reflect categories of service. They are grouped by zip code, so only can serve to indicate geographic distribution of the populations. Even numbers of “legal aliens” are undercounted due to heavy use of post office boxes as addresses (not included in these data). In Hallandale Beach, Margate and north Oakland

Park/Lauderdale Lakes, there is evidence of some Middle-Eastern, including Israeli, clientele. There were no north African-born clients at the time (12/31/98) the data were tallied.

Sense of Community and Culture

Populations of the Middle East share stigmas of association and stereotype within the larger south Florida community. Just as their provenance is taken to be "Arab," whereas it is much more complicated than that, their identity is conflated with "Muslim." And that with terrorist acts. The minute the Oklahoma bombing happened, people were looking for Arab-sounding names in the phone book to call and accuse, to express their hatred. The American penal system has arrested and incarcerated "Arabs" on suspicion of colluding with known terrorists. Despite inability to prove the charges, the system neither releases nor deports them. There is a current, long-lingering case of such a stalemate in Tampa. Media stereotypes of Arab/Muslim terrorists have been set and reinforced by the film industry as well. All of these phenomena pervade the host culture and seriously affect the sense of security and quality of life of members of this wide-ranging community. The population is of course not unique in anticipating prejudicial acts against themselves; but it may be a reason for the low profile they keep.

A sense of internal community is maintained by the local newspaper, Almanber. It is almost completely in Arabic, but there are usually two pages in English. Advertisements tend to be by the local, tri-county Arab community, mostly from linguistically and culturally matched businesses and services available to the readership. Advertisements or announcements from other local businesses or agencies that invite or welcome participation by the Middle East community have not been apparent. On the other hand, some of the English-language news and editorials have had to do with participation in the larger community, such as applying for available scholarships to local educational institutions or, for those who are citizens, to becoming politically active, to learning the issues and making the commitment to vote.

As with other foreign-born populations, religion is community - and comfort, and the variety of facilities now available offer culturally comfortable access to worship, spirituality, affirmation of faith. As the community grows and becomes more rooted, more mosques are built. Small groups start even in older strip malls, but accrue funds to build their own. According to the publisher of Almanber, two-thirds of the resident Arab community in Broward is Muslim, one-third Christian (both Orthodox and other). St. Philip in east Davie is Eastern Orthodox, said to be spiritual home for many of Lebanese origins. There is an Egyptian Coptic church in Pompano Beach. (Other Eastern Orthodox churches exist throughout the county, but cater to Greek, Polish, Romanian, Russian, Ukrainian and Russian congregations.) Of the masjids (mosques) in the county, the Islamic Center of South Florida in Pompano Beach may be the most Arab, but memberships are mixed and include Pakistani, Indian, West Indian and American members as well in the several other Broward sites of worship.

Islamic facilities are multi-functional. In addition to daily prayer services, some have begun academic schools on site, others sponsor academic schools. This is a recent phenomenon: in Broward, it has happened just within the last five years and appears to be growing. There are Arabic language classes in the local facilities for all ages and community events for information with speakers from various organizations. Marriages are conducted and funeral services are held. Sometimes, the facilities may serve as social centers.

Familiar food, baked goods and a few Middle Eastern, including North African, restaurants exist in Broward. These tend to be extremely hospitable places, both to the public and to the regulars. As are other "ethnic" grocery stores, the Middle Eastern ones have cultural film/videos to rent, music CDs and cassettes to buy, sometimes jewelry, cooking ware, prepared take-outs, newspapers and magazines from all the represented countries and flyers about local events and information. Also, like other ethnic grocery stores, they are active social centers.

There are stores now, in Miami-Dade and Broward, where appropriate Middle Eastern and Muslim clothing is sold - along with videos, jewelry and several (cultural) versions of head coverings. For the uninitiated, the cultural variations and intricacies of design on somewhat similar apparel are as art. The presence of these facilities serves to indicate community in south Florida.

There are local and national organizations designed to support Arab and other Middle Eastern cultural groups' participation in the larger community, such as the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee and the Council on American-Islamic Relations. They range from encouraging Census activities, stressing the importance of having a big impact with accurate numbers, to considerations of naturalizing, becoming political, and gaining a voice for the community in the American system.

There are also local clubs and organizations, mainly social groups of like background, such as the Syrian-Lebanese American Club, the Middle East Club of South Florida, the South Florida Shura Council, the Iranian Cultural Society of South Florida, the Muslim Student Association of FIU, just to name of few.

Immigration

Middle Eastern merchants and traders included the sea as a route to do business. They were in the United States early in the century. After WW I, there was migration, especially of Christian Arabs, due to heightened religious tensions. After WW II, this was even more the case. The Detroit automobile industry attracted populations from the Middle East, but when the work waned, some migrated to Florida. The community suggests that setting up a grocery business puts down roots and makes it possible to send for family. After the Seven Days War in 1967, Palestinians were offered a welcome in the United States, thus another period of relatively heavy in-migration. The local Arab community seems to think that it is the Palestinians who are most represented in this area. But Lebanese claim the longest and most numerous ancestral ties.

Five years ago, when a more qualitative approach was taken to the resident foreign-born communities, the forecast was of a return to the Middle East. Now, inspired by the 1996 Immigration Act or not, there is more talk of becoming citizens, and active, voting ones at that.

Economy/Jobs

Entree in the employment scene is not easy. There is always the unspoken prejudice. According to informants, it is difficult to find work. Many Muslims say, "There is no job for Muslims." Despite being theoretically qualified, there is rejection. They may not answer ads that require a picture on the application. Setting up, or buying an independent business is an option pursued by some. Even then, some small shop owners relate experiences of having to work with Jewish attorneys in order to rent Jewish owned facilities that charge more than the going rate. And those who are Muslim, who work for Jewish bosses, are concerned that Jewish holidays are honored but not their own sacred Friday noon prayer time in the mosque.

The community values a good education and employment; the source of their reputation as avid workers. Perhaps, also, this is the source of the stereotype of "Arabs" being "well off." This must have some basis in reality, but the truth is that many are struggling to support their many-generational, geographically spread out families. Some are working toward having the whole family together, including to make it possible for the grandparental generation to join them in the United States. Some work so that those who remain behind may have access to material necessities as well as to education. As so many immigrants of all nationalities say, they want a better life and they want to be able to fulfill their responsibility toward their families. They claim that individual families find it a hardship to survive here; "people are working all the time." And "some care just for business and family;" that may be all they have time for; that may be all they can attend to at this stage. There are those

who have been in Broward for fifteen years and still do not speak English, have never even been to a class. They can survive, even thrive, without it.

That the community is indeed not the "rich" stereotype it is so often inferred to be is supported by an ad for the Middle East Market on State Road 7 in Lauderdale Lakes: "We accept food stamps and all major credit cards." The District 10 State of Florida Department of Children and Families demonstrates more evidence: based on "legal alien" registration data, there is some need in the Middle Eastern Arab and Israeli communities.

On the other hand, there are also highly educated professionals whose services are advertised in the local (South Florida) Arab community newspapers. These include doctors and attorneys, translators and type-setters, at the least. There are Arabic speaking attorneys that include immigration law in their advertisements and medical doctors with offices in Miami and Pembroke Pines. And businesses that cater mainly to the community itself, such as the grocery, clothes and jewelry stores, travel agencies, shipping companies. The community is quite entrepreneurial.

The council on American-Islamic Relations, in Washington D.C., published An Employer's Guide to Islamic Relgious Practices. Its purpose is to help inform those who would employ, toward the end of dispensing with prejudice, too often based on ignorance.

Housing

This topic did not come up in the conversations. In the precursor study of 1995, some informants mentioned that the community perceives discrimination in willingness to rent to those who are believed to be Arabs/Muslims, also charging exorbitant damage protection and several months rent.

Education

The very first thing requested of us by one Arab/Islamic interviewee was help from the School Board. Can they send a teacher on Saturdays from noon to about 4:00 PM, to teach anywhere from 60 to 100 children five to 15 years old Arabic and Middle Eastern history and Arabic (the language) at the Islamic Center of South Florida? The leaders of the mosque believe that this will inspire solidarity of the group and also make it possible for the children to communicate with their grandparents, who are more and more "coming over" to be with their own children, to help out in the house when mothers and fathers are at work. Many of the children actually can speak Arabic, but cannot read it. Obviously, it would be extremely useful in the mosque, especially, to be able to read Arabic.

Some have heard that the School Board contributes personnel to local Jewish schools and believe they should have access to equivalent resources.

Most express shock at behaviors allowed in the public schools. They say that "it looks good on paper," but "when you see what happens inside," it is quite upsetting. They say that the children might be taught to read, but they certainly are not taught how to act. In the public school, teachers are not allowed adequate authority, they say, and this transfers to children's disrespect of their own parents. They say that "private schools are better," because "the behavior is more controlled."

Additionally, the Middle Eastern community has been interested in having the School Board consider Arab materials for its history or diversity curricula. While the Arab World Notebook has been available for several years, a new Arab World Studies Notebook is more recently available, complete with lesson plans, bibliographies and lists of relevant films and videos. Both Arab and Arab-American academics, intellectuals and

authors contributed to the contents of these extensive resources.

Darul Uloom Institute in Pembroke Pines first offered Islamic education to youth, preschool to grade five, in 1996. There are also classes held at night and on weekends for both children and adults. These opportunities are well taken advantage of. There are 45 full time day students and 250 part time evening and weekend children and adult students. The Institute is energized with enthusiasm for knowledge. In 1997, another Islam-centered school, the Nur-Ul-Islam Academy opened, this close to Cooper City. Classes are available for students preschool to grade 9. The intent of the president of the academy, the imam of The Islamic Center of South Florida, is that students will receive a rigorous academic education but, as well, will have a "a Muslim personality."[15] This includes extraordinary self-discipline to live a rigorous morality, spiritual consciousness and daily prayers, respect for elders, modesty and humility, and charitableness.

Every year, in the Almanber, available scholarships to higher education are announced for Arab and Arab-American students. These are made available by members and organizations of the community itself, mostly based in Michigan, Illinois, New Jersey and Washington, D.C. Some of the funders are: Arab-American Medical Association, Arab Student Aid International, Chaldean Federation of America, Polytechnic University/S.M. Jabara Scholarships/Brooklyn, Greater Detroit Interfaith Roundtable, Hariri Foundation (for Lebanese graduate students at Boston University), Lebanese-American Heritage Club, Midwest Federation of American Syrian-Lebanese Clubs and Wayne State University.

Health

This is a topic high on the list of the community's concerns. Another of the first questions asked had to do with the cost of health care. Community members said a visit to the hospital is usually accompanied by encouragement form the hospital to buy insurance - "because the hospital wants to be paid," is their interpretation of this gesture. The potential patient is left with a $400 to $500 monthly payment to the insurance company and may never even need it again! Although you cannot live without it, you cannot live with it. For a relatively "thrifty people," this is considered insane. Because most of the community are "independent businessmen," they are not eligible for group insurance. Representatives of insurance companies do propose to offer group policies to mosque members, but a substantial number of people must apply, and the mosque leadership would have to collect the monies. They are concerned that the mosque itself would have to cover if people were not able to - and they cannot afford it. It is too big a risk. Consequently, they are extolling the virtues of a national health care and insurance system, as there is in Canada, because there are so many uninsured people in need.

Relying on the small discounts a few Arabic doctors might give is not at all sufficient and is not fair to the individual doctor, as they have their own bills to pay.

Mental Health

Although this was not a topic explicitly discussed, the constancy of prejudice and discrimination is clearly a stressor. On the day of the Oklahoma bombing in 1995, many local Arabs, or people with inferred Arabic names, were called out of the blue to be accused of terrorist acts. The reluctance to apply for a job that requires a photo on the application, the many charges of guilt based on appearance/"profile" experienced, the exorbitant rents charged certainly negatively affect the population's interest in integrating into the larger community.

Alcohol/Drugs

The observation on this topic was that "the country loses the people who use these things: it destroys the

brain, they cannot work, the family breaks up..." There was even begrudging approval for the Iranian policy of killing drug dealers.

For Muslims, these are substances that have no part in a lifestyle of morality, purity and cleanliness. Even those who run convenience stores grapple with the dilemma of stocking their coolers with beer. There are some who choose not to.

Abuse/Violence

There are clearly stressors in the environment, but extended family work to maintain the integrity of the unit. One enormous change in the family, though, is that " here, even women have to work." It tends to be an economic necessity for the family, yet there is then less time for family. And, it has potential to "break the family." Even the television has a terrific impact on relations within the family. The children see things they should not (immorality) plus they are caused to want material things.

Divorce

Additionally, divorce is happening more frequently. "Before, ten, fifteen, twenty years ago, it was very rare. ... Now, it is becoming more common." And this is between people of the same nationality, not because they are of different backgrounds. "Now it is the younger ones who are divorcing." For Muslims, this is an extra dilemma. The final conflict is fair division of resources, but American law and Islamic law do not see eye to eye in this case. A couple and their divorce can spend a lot of time and money with attorneys and in the court system. This is divisive within the Islamic community where sacred and secular are so intertwined. Because American law does not tend to consider the religious contract of the marriage, there is really great consternation in the community.

Children

Tight families and a tight community, especially when reinforced by strict religious/moral precepts, have the same concerns as other foreign-born populations in Broward have expressed. They are concerned with "dilution of the culture" and, for the Muslims especially, weakening of a respect for a moral life.

There is also a much more audible plea that the children learn Arabic. It is the language of their ancestors and helps them maintain connection with their history, solidarity with their culture, their people. For the Muslims, of course, Arabic is the language of the Qur'aan. It is the dream of most to be able to read the Qur'aan in the language in which it was originally written. The community wants its children to be brought up in the context of high moral standards, knowing the word and law of Allah.

Elderly

Those elderly who are brought over, either to visit the family or to live with them, are quite isolated. In most families, both parents are working. Children often do not speak the language of their grandparents so there is no communication. There is no real community for the elderly that speaks their language and can offer friendliness and caring. In the "old country," there was time for family, for socializing, for the warmth of relationships. Here, time is not spent on such activities. All day long, their own children are at work; the older generation may be "stuck" in front of a TV that they cannot understand, and the children are consumed by schooling and their own activities. Many of the older people are predicted to return to the old country. Many want both to die and be buried there.

Safety/Security

This was scarcely touched on. In several older conversations, informants expressed fear of living in some of the more eastern urban neighborhoods. They felt that they had a greater sense of safety more toward the western cities, also toward the north of the county. School Board data suggest that this pattern might indeed be the case.

Also, there is some fear of local police due to experiences of having been treated with assumptions of guilt, predisposition to acts of terrorism, ruthlessness and always the association with hatred toward the West.

Law, Crime, Punishment

First is a kind of fear, or maybe wariness, of the law, or who represents the law, that is, police officers. And now, INS is even more to be feared: for instance, the long detainment of some Muslims in mid-Florida, on the basis of suspicion, with no expectation of either freedom or deportation. This is also the fear of being judged by fit to a "profile," if not the common stereotype floating in the culture.

Additionally, for Muslims, there is actually wonder at American law vis à vis the rigor and punitiveness of Islamic law. The biggest concern seems to be that American courtrooms will not take into account the authority of Islamic law for those who are adherents, and that the precedence of American law will serve to weaken their families - especially regarding divorce - and possibly make them more vulnerable to temptations. And yet, as immigrants, this community also sees itself as vulnerable to summary kinds of judgments that never see the light of the law.

Civil Rights/Equal Opportunity/Discrimination

A common stereotype of Arabs, conflated with that for Muslims, is one associated with irrational dogma and ruthless terrorism. The host culture may be wary, suspicious, rejecting, or just take advantage. These are attitudes and behaviors that affect the quality of life of many immigrants, not just Arabs, and they question the mandates of civil and human rights and equal opportunity laws. Many immigrants do not know their rights, but, even if they did, they may feel even more at-risk if they were to demand them.

There are concerted efforts, though, in the larger community. National organizations, such as the Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Council seek to inform (the American populace and exhort the Arab community to such as participate in the Census, to naturalize, to vote). The Council on American-Islamic Relations published An Employer's Guide to Islamic Religious Practices as well as the 1997 Ramadan Publicity Resource Kit for Muslim leaders in the United States to help them educate reporters and the communities in which they live to understand their beliefs. Locally, The Institute of Islamic Education and Research in Miami also serves to educate, especially the media that have such a powerful influence on the thinking of the general populace. In the last two years in Broward County, there have been "dialogues," ranging over weeks of get-togethers between both Muslims and Catholics and Muslims and Jews, (and previously, Catholics and Jews), both to learn about the faith and religious tradition of the other as well as to meet as human beings with similar/same needs and concerns. A Palestinian mother with three children living in Broward has written a book for children explaining Ramadan, the month of fasting. These efforts to reach out to and interact with the host culture and community have to do with the desire to be part of the whole.

Leisure Activities/Recreation

Someone has to watch all those videos! There are all kinds, many very old, the originals from Egypt in

black and white. There are ancient musical traditions, using traditional instruments such as the oudd. St. Philip Orthodox Church in Davie sponsored such a concert, just last year. And belly-dancing, a long cultural tradition, is both performed and taught in Broward. There are also social clubs, such as the American Syrian-Lebanese Club and the Middle East Club of South Florida, which recently mutually hosted a Valentine's get-together in Ft. Lauderdale.

The Shurma Islamic Athletic League sponsored "athletic games," basketball, volleyball and soccer in TY Park, inferably, an annual event.

Government/Participation

There are prominent Arab-American names in the history of the United States, yet perhaps overlooked by the local host culture. While national Arab-American organizations exhort their constituency to naturalize, vote and participate, the people are focused on "surviving," according to members of the community. Before they will participate in the larger culture, they need the stability of employment, the access provided by language, and a reliable social group. There are so many basic concerns and responsibilities first: the well-being of their family here and in the "old country." Although a few may be involved in politics, they have chosen to stay on the outside, caring "just for business and family," not really thinking about living in the United States actively. It is quite possible to live in Broward but not be of Broward, evidence the amount of successful businessmen who do not speak English (and not just Middle Eastern peoples). Some have chosen to participate, but only a few. "We are still not enough number,.. we care more to make money for ourselves." One said, "Foreign people need more time to evolve - like the Hispanics in Miami." Once "evolved," the group is strong and unified and will be able to lobby effectively.

On the other hand, many take moral offense at the machinations of political parties. They would not associate with either one, "with people that are wrong."

Nonetheless, editorials in Almanber exhort the Arab community to participate, to vote, and to be counted in the Census. National Arab-American lobbies understand the significance of a good Census count and its potential for the growth and developing voice of Arabs living in the United States.

Spiritual/Religious/Moral Preferences

There is hardly any quality of life category not affected by the morals, spirituality and religiosity of the community. In the case of Arabic peoples, there are several religious traditions living in Broward, the most vocal of which, recently, is Islamic. Their roots are established already in the presence of both mosques and schools. The Muslim tradition is one of the sacred interwoven with the secular. The religion is practiced every day, the sense of spirituality is consciously lived, and the morals are believed to belong to the public sphere.

Other religious traditions of the Middle East exist, as well, in the county: Orthodox, Egyptian Coptic, Jewish, Catholic and even Protestant.

Sources of Information and Trust

Clearly, religious leaders are enormously respected and trusted. So is the community newspaper, Almanber, as it carries news from the "old countries" as well as the new. It prints information about services available to the community by its own members and of social events within the Arabic community. And it carries information from national Arab-American associations that have become vocal and forceful. Articles from leaders of these groups are informational and educational.

Muslims say that they trust the word of Allah, as recorded in the Qur'aan and that they pattern their lives according to the Islamic precepts, morals, appropriate behavior and social law. Nonetheless, the entire community needs more information about living in the United States, in Broward County, what services are available to them and how to access them, how to know what their rights are and how to participate in the larger community.

Goals, Priorities

Goals relate to what are most important to the immigrant community. These are maintenance of the culture(s), adherence to spiritual-religious morals, precepts, practices (for the Muslims, non-separation of the sacred and secular), not forgetting the "old country:" that is, their ancestors, history and language, and that their children be brought up in an atmosphere which reinforces these goals. Priority, then is to have employment that can support achievement of these goals by the family, especially the second generation. To that end, an excellent education/preparation is also a priority. Acquisition of Arabic by the second generation is most important, as it is seen to maintain solidarity of the group and, for those who are Muslim, provide access to the word of Allah.

Another related priority in the Islamic community is the establishment, maintenance and growth of Islamic schools for the youth. The community wants a separation from the public school system, in order to retain the religio-cultural values, the language of the Qur'aan in an atmosphere of extreme rigor in academic expectation and achievement. These are means of protecting the children from the seductive appeal of western television, media and loose lifestyles.

Traditional marriage ceremonies as well as traditional funerals and burial are also considered priority rites-of-passage that involve the whole community. The former is somewhat easier to provide than the latter, which intersects more crucially with the host culture. There are (public health) laws that the Arabic community must comply with regarding burial, and cultural preferences that the Arabic community desires. The Islamic Center of South Florida has a relationship with Forest Lawn in Ft. Lauderdale that allowed the Center to buy a block of gravesites together. They have been permitted to bury the dead in a plain white sheet and in a plain box, and put a plain stone with name and birth and death dates on it. Although this is not the way either party would conduct the event, it appears to be a satisfactory compromise.

Another priority voiced by a few is to become a part of the larger community, to have a voice, to dispel prejudice and discrimination. Goals along the way include addressing inter-group conflict by inviting others to participate in dialogues and to join mixed associations, advisory councils, etc. Community leaders seem to welcome interest on the part of the host culture, to be receptive to the local newspapers publishing articles about their activities and often invite members from the larger community to celebrate major holidays and events with them.

Trends

There is a certain sense of self-isolation and real self-reliance of the Arab community. There are two sides to the coin: their perception of host culture reception and their own desire not to lose their culture, their religious beliefs or their customs. Certainly, the community is entrepreneurial, has very high values with regard to both secular and religious education for their children and their own sense of morality and spirituality, but is open to the larger community. The ever present prejudice/rejection does not serve to deter, but rather to reinforce a kind of segregation or sense of otherness.

Nonetheless, immigrants continue both to sponsor family members and progress toward naturalization.

This is a trend toward filling out and strengthening the community in terms of resources both human and material. The ongoing move toward providing schooling in the religious centers, especially history of the Middle East and the Arabic language, will encourage more internal development and focus on the welfare of their own community, rather than on participating in the larger society.

The future of the Middle East suggests continued unrest and some instability and conflict. Those who have immigrated to Broward are seeds of a potentially much larger community, especially as members have lived in Broward for enough years to have sunk roots. Several years ago, the sense was of possible return to the home country. Now, it appears that family re-unification is more likely to occur in the United States rather than in the Middle East.

INDIAN, PAKISTANI, BANGLADESHI, SRI LANKAN

Although immigrant Indians resident in Broward County were estimated to number 41 on the 1950 Census, the population did not have a real opportunity to enter the country until the Immigration Act of 1965, when the United States made immigration available to populations from the East, the first time since the Immigration Act of 1924 had so narrowly defined permissible categories (Western Europe, in addition to the Western hemisphere). Even so, numbers did not boom: there appears to have been a significant jump in numbers in Broward between 1970 and 1975, up by 206, but not necessarily reflective of the more general increase. Nonetheless, this does jibe with the appraisal by the editor of Desh-Videsh, a locally published journal having to do with those from India, but also for Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka, living in South Florida, that the "first wave" of Indians began to come to the United State about 1965, through the late '70's, both "professionals and students wanting higher education: masters and doctorates." By 1980, Census estimated a total of 538 Indians living in Broward. Primary destination for immigrants and students was related to what educational and professional opportunities were available where and for which they had applied and been accepted.

The "second wave" of immigrants began in the early '80's and continues up to the present. Family sponsorship may account for a large number of them; this is not necessarily a totally professional or highly educated wave. The journal editor suggested a more business-oriented class of immigrants. In the second wave, fueled by family sponsorship, some of the older generation has been brought to the United States, as well. By 1990, Census estimated only 1,883 Indian foreign-born living in Broward. Pakistanis numbered 515, according to Census estimates.

Country	1950 Census	1980 Census	1990 Census
India	41	538	1,883
Pakistan			515

The Multicultural Education Department Assessment/Registration Center of the Broward County School Board registered 28 Indian students in 1989, 22 Pakistanis, 7 Bangladeshis and one Sri Lankan. In that year there were 4,054 foreign-born registrations and a total school board enrollment of 149,026. By 1998, Pakistani enrollment was 252, Indian-born students 208, Bangladeshi 98 and Sri Lankan 5. This is a very small part of a total of 27,060 foreign-born registrations and 231,429 total registrations for the current school year. These students also represent populations that speak Urdu, Hindi, Gujarati, Punjabi and Bengali.

Country	1989-90	1998-99
India	28	208
Pakistan	22	252
Bangladesh	7	98
Sri Lanka	1	5
Totals	58	563

Broward Community College registrations also indicate growing presence of the sub-continent over the last ten years. Indian enrollments even made the "top ten" countries twice. In 1989, there were three Bangladeshi registrations, between two and five each of the next seven years, and six new registrations in each of the last two years. Sri Lanka, a very small local population, is represented in only four years with one to three registrations per year. Pakistan, on the other hand, is well represented in registration data. In 1989, there were 15 foreign-born

students entering, followed by 26 the next year and from six to thirteen in each of the next eight years. Indian students have been enrolling in the double digits every year since 1989, ultimately holding fairly regularly in the high teens, low twenties.

	Fall 1989	Fall 1992	Fall 1995	Fall 1998
India	19	17	20	16
Pakistan	15	12	9	13
Bangladesh	3	4	5	6
Sri Lanka	2	3	(1996) 2	

The Indian community of South Florida sees itself as a tri-county population, interconnected socially, culturally and religiously. Their own estimate of population size ranges up to approximately 6,000 from West Palm to Miami. This is based on a conservative estimate of family size: two parents and two children. Larger estimates of the tri-county Hindu population do not subsume the Indian population, as not all Indians are Hindu, and some, but not all, West Indians are Hindu.

There is much Indian infrastructure obvious in Broward: Hindu temples, a Sikh temple and a Jain temple under construction, several very large grocery stores on the east side in Ft. Lauderdale, on the west in Sunrise and in the north in Coral Springs. There is some intersection of taste and merchandise between the West Indian and Indo-Pak groceries, but they seem in reality to be self-segregating. There are also Indian clothing stores, jewelry stores and Indian restaurants - both popular businesses and crucial community social centers; travel agencies, shipping companies. The sinking of roots demonstrates commitment to South Florida, and also increasing numbers. The community itself has raised the monies to build and support the temples - in order to maintain and affirm their own spirituality and culture. The presence of Indian-born medical doctors is readily apparent. Even the North Broward Hospital District had a full-page advertisement in The Herald about their newest cardiologist, Dr. Munuswamy, at Imperial Point Hospital, who received his MD in India. There are also several large cultural organizations: India Fine Arts Society, the Florida Indo-Cultural Society, the South Florida Chapter of the Association of Indians in America and the Association of Indian-Americans at the least, plus the International Hindu Organization and the Florida Hindu Association. There are many annual Indian and Hindu festivals, as well as Indian and Pakistani recognition of independence celebrations, many opportunities for the community to witness non-stop traditional performing arts, booths of traditional clothes and jewelry, historical and religious displays, much tourist information and extremely popular stalls of typical foods.

Members of the local Indian community suggest that people tend to live in western Broward. School Board data corroborate this, but extend it somewhat. (There may be errors due to magnets and voluntary busing.) The substantially largest numbers of Indian students are found in Coral Springs' schools. The next largest are in westmost Ft. Lauderdale and Pembroke Pines' schools. There are ample numbers of Indians in Ft. Lauderdale proper, as well as in Pompano Beach schools. Smaller numbers, just double digit teens, are in Plantation and west and north Hollywood. Smaller numbers yet are in Deerfield Beach, Coconut Creek, Margate, Cooper City, Hallandale Beach and Miramar, Cooper City and Davie. Again, central Broward does not indicate Indian residency, nor does Dania Beach, at least as evidenced by their absence in public school registrations.

Pakistani students are highest in numbers in Plantation schools, then in Sunrise, then in Coral Springs' schools. Subsequently, their next largest concentration is in west and north Hollywood and Miramar schools, then east Ft. Lauderdale, then in Pembroke Pines. There are some in Coconut Creek and Deerfield Beach schools, less in Pompano Beach, a couple in Tamarac and Margate.

Bangladeshi students are mostly in northeast Broward: Pompano Beach, Deerfield Beach and Coconut Creek, then some in Sunrise and Plantation, west Hollywood and Miramar.

Department of Children and Family data draw a different picture: a few Indian-born clients in north Coral Springs, a few in Sunrise, E. Miramar, Hallandale Beach, Margate and west. Pompano Beach. There is a relatively large number of Pakistani clients in west Hollywood, and single digit numbers in Oakand Park, E. Miramar, Sunrise and Plantation, Margate and west Pompano Beach. Only a few Bangledeshi DCF clients are counted, and they are in Margate.

Sense of Community and Culture

The temples and religious groups, "Indo-Pak" and East and West Indian grocery stores, complete with shelves and shelves of Indian videos from India's prolific film industry, as well as CDs and cassettes of its equally prolific and extensive religious and popular musical repertoire, clothes and jewelry stores, radio time on 980 AM, WHIZ 1080 AM and WAVS 1170 AM, with traditional music and religious programming, public celebration of traditional fetes such as Diwali (festival of lights) , and less advertised but no less attended on-going round of celebrations of deities, the large annual festival of dance, music, tradition, food to celebrate the mother country, and the newspapers and journal Desh-Videsh (whose main purpose is "to promote the culture"), the constant visits and residencies of various swami and guru, while not so obvious, are, in fact pervading, peaceful and hospitable. The few Indian restaurants serve not only to introduce the public to the cuisine, but also as social/meeting centers for Indian organizations as well as for the thriving Indian community.

There is recent, concerted effort to teach the American born children the language of their parents. At the new South Florida Hindu Temple on West Griffin, both Hindi and Gujarati are taught. The temples offer religious instruction as well as prayer services and are open to the members and others during the week as well as on the weekend.

What they call "the holy land" is around the intersection of Griffin Rd. with Dykes Rd.: the Sikh Temple, the new Hindu Temple of South Florida on Griffin, the Jain Temple, under construction, next door, and, around the corner on Dykes Rd., the new Shiva Vishnu Temple of South Florida all occupy this territory.

There are myriad cultural groups: The Indian Religious and Culture Center, the oldest Indian Association in Broward, since 1979; Association of Hindu students, South Florida Teluga Association. Immigrants are trying to maintain the culture and religion for their own selves and for their children; they "are not at all sure what will happen to the third generation." The larger community is inadvertently helping in this effort: four mandirs (temples), members of the Federation of Hindu Mandir, are conducting the Indo-Caribbean Community Arts Project, being sponsored by the Historical Museum of S. Florida and the University School of Communication. They are documenting events in the Indian community over a year's time in order to develop a multi-media show available to the county (Miami-Dade).

Regarding the Census as a sanctioned count of the community, all foreign-born populations have their criticisms of the classification system. In the case of the peoples of the Indian sub-continent, there is disaffection with being lumped in an "Asian" "racial" category. This is a grouping of such an enormous variety of ethnicities and nationalities and the so-called "races" as to be almost meaningless and certainly demeaning for those forced together. It is also a category that, as represented by immigrants in the United States, is numerically huge, and when undifferentiated, completely uninstructive. Nonetheless, the local community is interested in participating in the Broward Census meetings. Participation is crucial and can be advertised in the various Indian media.

Immigration

Indians and others from the adjacent sub-continent have entered the United States mainly, originally, on education and professional visas and the more recent allowance for family unification. Visitor visas are granted with maximum scrutiny and skepticism. They say that it is always possible that there may be "out of status" overstays, but this is not characteristic of the population.

The nature of United States immigration laws is such that those who would immigrate from the Indian sub-continent are subject to tough requirements, especially of adequate resources, to be granted a visa. Thus, the population that immigrates tends to be skewed to the higher end of the socioeconomic scale.

On the other hand, there have been a few recent cases of Indians on-board boats with other nationalities making an attempt to be smuggled into the country. If some are stopped and detained by the Coast Guard, some also must get through.

Economy/Jobs

Because of highly restrictive immigration limits, the "first wave" immigrants came either for higher education (beyond college level) or were qualified professionals for available jobs, especially in engineering, computer science and medicine. The "second wave," said to be more business oriented, are "buying up motels on the beach, Dunkin' Donuts, 7-11 stores, Subways." "They work really hard, are intelligent and successful." The culture clearly values education and hard work. Youth are held to high standards in schooling and career.

There are also those who provide extensive cultural infrastructure: the grocery stores, restaurants/ social centers, the boutiques, travel agencies, access to the satellite Asian Network, radio programming, the pundits of the temples and "priests." There are American trained Indian immigration attorneys and medical doctors of all specialties and investment brokers, as well.

There are family businesses; people working several jobs and going to school at the same time. One senses ambition, desire for constant betterment, interest in everything, and also gratefulness, hospitality, generosity.

Education

As do other immigrant groups, the Indians express some disappointment with the public school system. They do not talk so much, though, about discipline, unruly behavior, but rather, the intellectual opportunities and standards. Many are in favor of the currently politically debated voucher system, as it represents competition, which they see as the energy behind a good educational system. In fact, in any endeavor, competition provokes excellence. This is the point of schooling: to get the best education possible.

That is one reason for seeking higher education in the United States. American university education is perceived as more advanced than that available in India. And, in fact, relatively so cutting edge, that medical students tend to prefer to remain in the United States after the requisite internships and residency, so that they can actually practice the most modern medicine possible.

Health

This did not come up as the pressing issue that is almost always offered by other populations. This community tends to be employed, well educated, with a large professional class, and English speaking, all characteristics which are in and of themselves access to health care. Indians and others from the sub-continent

come from a long, long indigenous tradition of health care, the ayervedic tradition, and, in fact, the many Indian and Indo-Pak grocery stores carry treatises on the subject and related health care products. Medicine is a highly respected field of study. The British academic system has also trained many Indian doctors and intellectuals, a system made accessible by virtue of their historical relationship.

Additionally, the immigrant community is probably top heavy with professionals, many of whom medical doctors. They are working in Broward County districts' hospitals as well as in private practice.

Alcohol/Drugs

These are perceived as not much of a problem. Among the predominant Hindu Indians, alcohol is not proscribed as it is for Muslims. It is certainly available in the Indian restaurants which exist as much for the Indian community as they do for others. Indian beers do have quite a following.

There is some concern about the attraction of drugs for the youth. The community is interested in targeting youth with prevention counseling. There was once a community-run hotline by which the leaders of the Hindu community made themselves available to talk about these kinds of problems. They did "values based counseling:" right behavior based on cultural values, not to do things for the wrong reason. The hotline fizzled out, but there is talk of reviving it.

Divorce

There are marriage counseling issues. The religious community used to be available for those in need of advice and counseling. Again, values based counseling. This may still be an issue in the community. Adults - and youth - express concern about the second generation in relation to partner choice cross-culturally and the possibility of values conflicts.

In order to prevent the possibility of divorce and domestic conflict, Indians aim to reinforce values that would perpetuate the culture and religion, would encourage the community to stay together so as to pass values intact to the third generation. They see that American culture is seductive, especially for the Indian girls who might be attracted to American men who tend to be less domineering and perhaps more verbally affectionate that the traditional Indian male.

For this reason, many parents promote the "arranged marriage," not commitment at birth, but rather introductions or referrals for suitable mates through mutual relationships among the parental generation. ".... People who marry from two different traditions will have a problem when it comes to rearing their children." This is a problem the community would like to avoid as it would also serve to weaken the culture and integrity of the community itself.

Children

This topic is subsumed in the above. The community expresses real concern about the future, the third generation, born in the United States. They recognize the variety of seductive attractions of the host culture and say that "we are losing kids to the culture.... Different is attractive, an advance..." The youth are interested in dating "others." An informal study conducted among Indian teens by a Hindu council of students at the University of Miami revealed that more Indian girls are married to non-Indian, American boys than Indian boys with non-Indian, American girls. It is a phenomenon that youth of this age are concerned with, and was taken up as a topic at a recent national convention of Hindu college students. Intermarriage is a possible threat to retention of the culture. To combat this, the local temples are being built to "fortify the culture," and publications

such as Desh-Videsh "promote the culture."

Elderly

Although the senior Indian population is said to be relatively small, maybe one-hundred or so, more recently arrived through the immigration mechanism of family sponsorship, the community recognizes a need for them to be able to meet at a common place, preferably the new temple on Griffin as it is centrally located, for culturally appropriate activities. Although some speak English, more are Hindi- or other native language - speaking. Although some could mix in the larger society, the majority remain isolated. The plan is for the Indian community to make an appropriate site available, even provide for culturally appropriate activities, but request county elderly/transportation services if they could help take the population to and from the site.

There are Islamic Pakistani seniors who also need transportation to centers where they could participate in activities, whether they be at Muslim or county facilities. There is always the language issue with the elderly. Pakistanis tend to be Urdu speaking so at least need to be with similar others.

Civil Rights, Discrimination

This is something that just does not come up. There is such a sense of equality among the population. Clearly, the community is well-employed, by major employers as well as by entrepreneurial initiative. There were not complaints about police harassment, not to say that it does not happen, just that it was not offered. It has been possible to build the temples without undue community protest or demonstration. They say, "We are hardworking, we have a good reputations, we are professionals."

Nonetheless, there are operative stereotypes held by the host culture that are not particularly flattering. The Indian community itself expresses some discomfort at being confused or conflated with West Indians, or being categorized as East and West Indians. Although of similar, even shared ancestries, there are differences in religious and cultural practices, and West Indians have long lost their ancestors' languages. These are differences that are apparently not comfortable in the traditional environment.

Leisure/Recreation

For those who are Muslim and Hindu, innumerable religious festivals mark the yearly calendars. For both religions, religion is ever-present in the home and the daily round, perhaps somewhat more proscriptively for the Muslim than Hindu, nonetheless, recognized. While the get-togethers in masjids and temples are not for the purpose of leisure or recreation, they do reaffirm the sociocultural bonds obtaining among the membership. They do "re-create" the sense of spirituality and culture participants share.

Sports are something else that immigrants from the Indian sub-continent have in common, and because of their relationship with Great Britain. Cricket is one sport that is still played by Pakistanis, Indians, Bangladeshis and others in the United States. The South Florida Cricket Club has its own "home" field now, at Frost Park in Dania Beach.

Performing artists in dance and music from India have become more apparent. In January, 1999, Ravi Shankar, his daughter Manoushka, with a drummer and other accompanists played a sitar concert at the Miami Beach Convention Hall. This was well attended by Indians, but there were also many local enthusiasts as well. A "dance theatre" troupe from South India, sponsored by the India Fine Arts Society, performed in North Miami Beach in May. There is also the Association of Performing Arts of India. They schedule smaller stage concerts of classical music. These performing arts represent centuries old cultural heritage. In Broward, the traditions

are kept alive for the community in performance, are taught to youth so that the culture is maintained and are made available to the larger public for its own edification and appreciation.

Government/Participation

In talking with members of the populations, it is clear there is a lot of interest in American politics; immigrant communities follow what is happening as they are affected by laws and national policy the same as and maybe more so than citizens. Very opinionated, from bases of strong values, many talk about voting. For Indians, there is recent action to request dual citizenship from India - despite the fact that India has allegedly not considered it. The immigrant community desires this, the right to vote where it is living, but is, at the same time, unwilling, or at least reluctant, to give up its Indian citizenship.

On the other hand, there is overt participation on advisory boards to city governments. The Asian-American Advisory Council to the City of Hollywood is a multi-ethnic body with Indian representation. The Advisory Council's influence made somewhat moot by many non-meetings due to lack of a quorum, nonetheless, that it exists at all demonstrates interest on the part of both local government and the community.

The Multi-Cultural Advisory Committee to the City of Coral Springs also has strong Indian representation. The Board itself makes an aggressive, very community oriented agenda. It definitely has a say in city programs and opportunities, especially for the diverse school-age populations.

Basically, though, the community is rather invisible. They work hard and contribute tremendously to the greater community, but do not have a political voice/vote due to their immigrant status.

Spiritual, Religious, Moral Preferences

For the most part, Indians are Hindu, with smaller populations of Sikhs and Jains, also Muslims, but more Islamic Pakistanis, and, in Broward, there is an Asian Indian Baptist group (Coral Baptist Indian Fellowship in Coral Springs) and an Indian Orthodox church in Hollywood.

Of course, Indians are most associated with Hinduism, India being where the Vedas were allegedly first "revealed." Immigrant Hindu Indians and West Indians living in Broward have dedicated themselves to maintaining the tradition, which is cultural as well, by pooling resources until able to build the temples. Today there are several active Hindu groups. Some of these have been able to build a temple: there is the Hindu Temple of South Florida, far west on Griffin Road, and the Shiva Vishnu Temple of South Florida around the corner on Dykes Rd., both essentially Indian. The Shiva Mundir just southeast of the intersection of Oakland Park Blvd. and 31rst Ave. is more West Indian in membership. There is a Sikh Temple, still under construction, in the same vicinity of the two Hindu temples in west Broward. And, the Jains are building a temple beside the Griffin Road Hindu Temple as well. There are also several Hindu groups meeting in community centers on both east and west sides of the county. The "worship services" have been fitted to the American schedule, held on Sunday mornings: traditional Sanskrit chants/prayers, accompanied by traditional music played by the youth, readings in Sanskrit from the sacred books and other participatory rituals are conducted. The Indian "services" may be conducted in Hindi more than the West. Indian ones are, but both continue to read from the sacred texts in Sanskrit. There are also many weeknight gatherings for worship, offerings, and education.

Islamic Pakistanis, Indians and West Indian are encouraged to learn Arabic, as the sacred text, the Qur'aan, the word of Allah, was first recorded in Arabic.

Both groups are concerned about the incursion of English language (and American culture) in their

American-born children and seem to place a lot of emphasis on their learning both native and sacred languages in the setting of their mosques and temples.

Both groups also have very strong moral precepts for living. The Muslims are particularly concerned at how American law takes precedence over Islamic law in cases, such as divorce, in the United States, not to mention the stricter punishments for criminal behaviors they would have meted out in this context. Hindus also are concerned with the fate of the morality that underpins their lifestyle. To this end, there are more and more opportunities in the temples for the populace to learn about its heritage, its languages and to pray.

Recently, there is more talk about how immigrants were first attracted to, even seduced by, the indulgent American lifestyle, how easy it was to adapt to fast food take-outs and the pervasive materialism. Now, one hears people saying they are returning to vegetarianism, returning to the ways of their ancestors.

Sources of Information, Trust

There are many leaders in the Indian community, but the community itself does not seem so tied into the larger one of Broward. There are so many professionals that there has to be plenty of information, but access is another issue. Because they do not seem so political, nor vocal members of the various inter-faith groups in the county or the National Council for Community and Justice, they do not close that circle. The pundits of the temples surely are trusted and the temple foyers always contain flyers, announcements and even newspapers. The many markets, both East and West Indian, also stock flyers about local events and local services, but rarely about the larger community. As the Indian restaurants appear to be active social centers, they are also sources of shared information and advice.

Acculturational Issue

The community is especially concerned with the possible loss of its American born to American culture. American culture is seductive and attractive. The community is also concerned about living in the United States, relatively long-term now, facing the dilemma of not yet making the commitment to naturalize, to vote and participate in the political process, while continuing to promote their culture and maintain the essence of the traditional extended family, a challenge in a society which celebrates individualism.

Goals, Priorities

Top priority is to promote the religion and culture, to keep the children in the family and cultural fold, maintain cultural values through intra-Indian marriages, to get as much education as possible and achieve professional employment.

Trends

Considering the investment in infrastructure: temples, businesses, tri-county pan-Indian organizations as well as local affiliates of national Indian organizations would suggest permanence, and therefore growth in numbers and territory. Clearly, the parental, immigrant population would maintain the culture, religious and moral orientations as traditionally as possible. Currently, there seems to be some regression from the initial indulgence in the American way, and a return to reaffirmation of culture, values, religion. Nonetheless, there has been intermarriage and actually much interest in Hinduism on the part of the host community.

The community should continue to grow in size by family re-unification as well as its well rooted cultural infrastructure. Spiritual leaders are frequent visitors; so are performing cultural artists. The community is able

to support the growing round of festivals, concerts and dance-theatre. These are a contribution to the rich diversity of the county and serve to increase the visibility of the community.

If India agrees to dual citizenship and the Immigration Act of 1996 continues to inspire immigrants to naturalize, it may be the case that Indians also will have an audible voice and, perhaps, a political role in the future of the county.

"ASIANS"

Due to Asian Indian disaffection with being bundled into a Census-mandated category of "Asian," although the various local Asian and Asian-American organizations do include the nations of the Indian sub-continent, we have already presented their case separately.

Census data from 1950 - estimated counts based on sample - suggest that only three such populations were resident in Broward mid-century: Chinese 105, Japanese 19 and Filipino 117. By 1960, there were a small number of Koreans - 25, and by 1970 some 14 immigrants from Hong Kong, 15 from Thailand and 14 refugees from Vietnam. By 1980, the numbers show major growth: Chinese 617, Hong Kong 127, Japanese 259, Korean 255, Filipino 610, Thai 118 and Vietnamese 307.

	Census 1950	Census 1980	Census 1990
China	105	617	1,390
Hong Kong		127	557
Japan	19	259	473
Philippines	117	610	1,204
Taiwan			514
Korea		255	730
Thailand		118	300
Vietnam		307	984
Cambodia			59
Indonesia			277
Burma			100
Malaysia			91

By Census 1990, there was not only growth in size of the already resident populations, but growth in the number of populations. Chinese were now 1,390, Hong Kong 557, Japanese 473, Koreans 730, Filipino 1,204 and Vietnamese 984. New groups were Cambodian 59, Indonesian 277, Burmese 100 and Malaysian 91.

These numbers are somewhat deceiving as a couple of generations born in the United States contributes to a sense of ethnicity that includes many more than these estimated foreign-born numbers. The Chinese-American community for one, suggests its size at about 35,000 in the tri-county area. The Taiwanese community reports over 1,000 families living in South Florida. There are five Chinese language community papers and 700 restaurants to lend support to this number. Japanese are thought to number about 3,500 in S. Florida. The Korean-American community estimates from 7,000 to 10,000 residents in South Florida. Supportive infrastructure include five grocery stores and five flea-markets, twenty Christian churches, two Catholic worship groups and one Korean-language newspaper. Thai-Americans are said to number about 5,000. They are known for their small businesses, many of which are restaurants. Vietnamese-Americans claim that they are about 7,000 in South Florida.

Broward County School Board foreign-born student data, beginning in the year 1989-90, also demonstrate growth in numbers of populations and size of the populations. Foreign-born registration numbers in 1989 were largest for Korean: 31, then Vietnamese: 27; Hong Kong 13, Chinese 10 and Taiwanese 12;

Filipino 10 and Thai 7, Japanese 9. By school year 1998-99, Korean registrations were 175 for the Republic of Korea plus 36 North Korean, Filipino 194, Chinese 160 and Hong Kong 67, Vietnamese 100 and North Vietnamese 31, and 9 from Singapore, 8 from Malaysia and 5 from Indonesia. The Japanese count for 1998-99 is 468, a number of questionable reliability.[16]

	1989-90	1998-99
Korea	31	175 (Republic of Korea)
N. Korea		36
Vietnam	27	100
N. Vietnam		31
Hong Kong	13	67
China	10	160
Taiwan	12	
Philippines	10	194
Thailand	7	39
Singapore		9
Malaysia		8
Indonesia		5
Japanese	9	468 (but only 17 Japanese-speaking)

Broward Community College yearly registration data of foreign-born students also reveal generally increasing, yearly Asian registrations: Mainland Chinese student enrollment has been increasing over the last nine years, from nine in 1989 to 16 in 1998. Taiwanese enrollments, on the other hand, start with one in 1989, peak at 11 in 1991 and eventually drop to three in 1997 and 1998. Foreign-born students from Hong Kong started at six in 1989 went up to 12 twice in the intervening years and then dropped to none in 1997, but three in 1998.

Enrollment from the Filipino community has remained relatively consistent over the last nine years, with ten in 1989, staying in the double digits and up to 13 in 1998. Korean registrations started with four in 1989, rose to 9 in 1996 and 1997 and dropped to six in 1998. Thai enrollment has been relatively low but consistent: five in 1989, as low as one, as high as six, ending in three in 1998. New Japanese students also register yearly: two in 1989, as high as 15 in 1991, ending in 1998 with five.

	1989	1998
China	9	16
Taiwan	1	3
Hong Kong	6	3
Philippines	10	13
Korea	4	6
Thailand	5	3
Japan	2	5

Geographical distribution of the many different foreign-born populations is suggested by School Board registration and Department of Children and Family "legal alien" clientele. The former data are based on December 1998 totals per school, the latter on 12/31/98 active "legal alien" clients bundled per zip code.

Schools on the "west side" of the county clearly demonstrate higher absolute numbers of Asian-born students than the "east side" of the county.

The schools of Coral Springs reflect the most Asian diversity, as well as highest total number. There are many more Koreans in Coral Springs' schools than in any other area. The second area of Korean concentration is in way-west Ft. Lauderdale, third is Pembroke Pines; fourth is Cooper City, fifth is Plantation, sixth is Parkland, seventh is Sunrise. Otherwise, Korea-born students are registered in single digits at schools in Coconut Creek, Margate, North Lauderdale, west Hollywood, Deerfield Beach, Pompano Beach, Lauderdale Lakes, Ft. Lauderdale and Dania Beach.

The second largest Asian population enrolled in School Board schools is from the Philippines. The highest absolute numbers are registered at schools in Pembroke Pines. Next highest registration is in Sunrise, followed by schools in Coral Springs. Parkland and Ft. Lauderdale schools close out the double-digit enrollment number of Filipinos. There are some Filipino students in Plantation, west Hollywood, Pompano Beach, Miramar, Deerfield Beach and Coconut Creek schools, with just a couple in Lauderdale Lakes, Davie, Cooper City, Hallandale Beach and Dania Beach areas.

Chinese born are most numerous in Coral Springs' schools, Pembroke Pines, Plantation, Parkland, west Hollywood and Sunrise and smaller enrollments in Deerfield Beach, Coconut Creek, even less in schools in Pompano Beach, Margate, N. Lauderdale, Davie, Dania Beach and Miramar.

Vietnamese-born students are relatively most concentrated in Coconut Creek, then North Lauderdale, Plantation, Coral Springs, Pompano Beach, and few numbers in Ft. Lauderdale, west Hollywood, Lauderdale Lakes and Cooper City.

Hong Kong-born students are mostly in Coral Springs, Cooper City, way west Ft. Lauderdale, Margate, Miramar and Dania Beach schools.

Thai-born are found in schools in Pembroke Pines, way west Ft. Lauderdale, Coral Springs, Coconut Creek and Deerfield Beach.

The Department of Children and Family Asian data are provocative. (Because these are zip-code data, city associated residence is not necessarily concurrent.) Vietnamese-born clients are obviously most numerous among the "legal alien" Asian populations, specially eligible for services due to their "refugee" status. Their greatest numbers are in the North Lauderhill/mid-Margate/ Lauderdale Lakes/unincorporated area. Secondly, they are a substantial number in west Hollywood, somewhat less numerous in Plantation, and scattered in single digits in Davie, south Sunrise, and Coconut Creek.

Filipinos are the second most numerous population, but still incredibly few, considering the overall numbers. These clients are exclusively in east and west Miramar.

Chinese clients (Hong Kong not distinguished out of "China,"), in even lesser numbers, live in Sunrise, central Hollywood, Miramar/Hallandale Beach, Margate and north Coral Springs or south Parkland. A scant two live in the Margate area.

There is only one Korea-born client listed, in Miramar/Hallandale Beach.

There is much Asian infrastructure evident in the county, especially grocery stores. Housed in like structures, these stores have a certain resemblance but differ by language spoken and fare stocked, although there are always some cross-overs. Of course, the names and some writing differ, as well as the famous people posters on the walls. Videos available for rent are also culturally/linguistically appropriate. Interestingly, perhaps even the majority of the large Asian grocery stores range up and down State Road 7: at the south end in Hollywood, just north of Hollywood Blvd. are a huge Korean and a big Vietnamese grocery. To their west along Hollywood/Pines Blvd. are two Oriental markets. There is a giant Chinese market in Lauderdale Lakes at the Palm Plaza and on the east side of SR 7, a smaller Thai grocery store. Toward N. Lauderdale, there is a Hong Kong Market, and shortly afterwards, a Vietnamese grocery. Just off SR 7 on Sample, there is a Filipino market. And, farther north on SR 7, just to the east on Hillsboro Blvd., yet another Vietnamese grocery store. To the west, on University Drive in Sunrise is another large Oriental market.

Additionally, there are many long established restaurants, especially Chinese and Thai, and related large food import businesses. There are both local and foreign ethnic newspapers available at the grocery stores, video cassettes and Asian satellite TV to help keep current with events and culture.

There are myriad pan-Asian and individual ethnic cultural organizations spread out over the tri-county area: Palm Beach, Broward and Miami-Dade. These include: The Chinese American Benevolent Association since 1956), the Chinese Federation of Florida, the Chinese American Chamber of Commerce of South Florida, Chinese Cultural Foundation, Organization of Chinese Americans - South Florida Chapter and Coral Springs Chinese Cultural Association/Chinese Community Center; the Korean Cultural Foundation (of Greater Miami), the Korean-American Community Relations Council of South Florida, Korea Americas Society of South Florida and Korean Association of Greater Miami (all in Miami except one in Boca Raton); the Japan Society of South Florida and Ikebana International Miami Chapter, both in Miami; the Lao-American Association of Florida in S. Miami; Phil Am Association of South Florida, Filipino Community Association of Florida, Inc., Philippine American Federation of South Florida, Inc., and Filipino Student Association, all in Miami; Thai American Association of South Florida in Miami, and the Vietnamese-American Association of South Florida in Margate.

In Broward, there are an Asian-American Federation of Florida, Inc., Asian-American Democratic Club, an Asian-American Advisory Council to the City of Hollywood, and Asian representation on the Multi-ethnic Advisory Board to the Broward County Commission and on the Multicultural Advisory Council to the city of Coral Springs. Asian American Leaders of the Next Generation, based in Miami, is both an Asian advocacy and political education group.

Despite the relatively small numbers, the influence of Asians and Asian Americans in South Florida, in Broward is qualitatively substantial. They have contributed enormously to the quality of life of the county in terms of exposure to culture with at least four major over-all Asian events a year: A Festival of Asia in the fall, South Florida Asian American Community Gala in the winter, the Annual Asian Arts Festival in the Spring and Asian American Scholarship Awards made in the summer. There is also an annual Asian film festival held in Hollywood, staging of many performing arts: dance and music and participation in the increasing numbers of multi-cultural events throughout the year. Additionally, Asians are involved in the community, concerned with the quality of life at its most essential. They are represented on the Board of the National Council of Community and Justice (NCCJ) in Broward and have an active Asian American Democratic Club in Broward.

CHINESE

Because Chinese could be the largest Asian population in the county, and because it was difficult to gain entree to the various Asian populations, only information from quality of life conversations held with some Chinese will be presented here.

Sense of Community and Culture

Despite the vast numbers of groceries, restaurants, newspapers, cultural organizations and yearly round of festivals, when asked what gives a sense of community and culture, the answer was "the Chinese School." There are allegedly three, one in each of the South Florida counties, not yet full-time schools, but rather, held on the weekends. The purpose is to teach written and spoken "Chinese." The major dialect is Mandarin. Cantonese is also spoken in the province of Canton and was in Hong Kong, but in the latter site, is now being replaced with Mandarin. In the Republic of China, Taiwan, Taiwanese/Fukkianese is also spoken. The classes may have been set up for the children, but there are also classes for adults now. And, more importantly, there are plans for "a real Chinese School." The talk was of a charter (type) school, in which Chinese language would be an integral part of the curriculum. Families want the children to have a second language, their own language. The parents feel that it is important that the children learn "Chinese," "to communicate with their grandparents," "to help keep the culture." The community is concerned about the isolation of the grandparental generation and the loss of the American-born generations to English.

The new Chinese Arts & Cultural Center, at Old Sheridan and Hancock Road, will also house "Chinese" and ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages) classes, as well as collections on the cultures and histories of China and Asia, and the many related arts. The Center is not just for the Chinese community, but for the South Florida community. There will be a library, auditorium, art gallery, conference rooms and classrooms. Clearly, this is establishment of roots, an open invitation to the large community to participate and a contribution of culture and knowledge to Broward.

Immigration

Immigrants mostly say they have come for "opportunity:" for higher education: Master's and Ph.D. degrees, and the possible employment that might make good use of their cutting-edge degree. Many from Hong Kong have come in pursuit of advanced education. Those who came from Taiwan a generation and two ago, came from fear of Communism. There are others, in mainland China today, who are requesting visas for fear of persecution because of religious beliefs and worship.

Although there may be an original intent to return, it is often superseded by a good job offer that would utilize newly acquired knowledge and skills. Settling down with a new spouse and starting a family also impede return. Having American born children seems to be a powerful justification for not returning.

It was said that there are also many Chinese who are smuggled into the United States. Some may have temporary visas but when they fall out of status, remain. According to informants, they have come, as all do, "for the gold," for the opportunity, thinking they will make money to support their families. They often end up living in almost slave or indentured-servant like conditions, employed and sometimes housed by Chinese employers, with little freedom. Under these conditions, so long estranged from family, they are said sometimes to indulge in alcohol, women and gambling. And, so distanced from the host culture by language and immigrant status, and without knowledge of how to access local services, health is often neglected.

The Chinese community has been extremely active about encouraging naturalization among their people,

offering opportunities to have assistance at filling out their N400's, getting photos and, (previously), finger prints and filing. They have also worked with other groups in the county, assisting those of other nationalities, as well, in getting their paperwork in order. They continue to urge residents to become citizens and have even engaged in communication with the INS to make them aware of the needs of the local Chinese community.

Vietnamese are the main Asian refugee population in the county. They began to be resettled in Broward in the late '70's and continue to come, but very slowly. Latest numbers from the State's Refugee Program Administration indicate seven new arrivals between October 1, 1998 to March 31, 1999. These arrivals are inferred to be "from the refugee camps." Other growth of the population occurs only slowly through allowances for family re-unification.

Lutheran Ministries of Florida and Lutheran Services of Florida have long been involved in resettlement of refugees. The Lutheran experience with Vietnamese refugees found them to be entrepreneurial in the domains of car repair and boat construction and maintenance. Some were said to be hired by Broward Marine, which found them quite skilled. Additionally, the Vietnamese are said to be dedicated to the future of their children, especially anxious that they get a good education. They may even send their children away to access better opportunities.

Education

In addition to their initiative to make "Chinese" language classes available to both child and adult community, and the proposed increased exposure to history and culture, as well as to language, at the planned Chinese Arts and Cultural Center, informants wonder why the School Board does not include instruction in the Chinese language and Chinese history in their curriculum. They say they do not know how to communicate to the School Board about their requests for an enriched curriculum. Parents may be working so hard that they do not attend parent-teacher meetings, but they say they do not even know about them. Many do not know of the Diversity Office of the School Board.

There is also a sense of preference for private schools. High standards, strict behavioral parameters "there are too many drugs and guns out there," uniforms, good security - so that all attention is focused on learning is their ideal situation for their children.

Parents are extraordinarily focused on the education of their youth. It could be the only domain that inspires people to come out in force. At the July 14, 1998 meeting of the Coral Springs Chinese Cultural Association, with the Asian American Democratic Club, candidates running for School Board seats were invited to speak about their concerns and agenda. According to one Chinese woman, this is the only issue that can really get a crowd out: something to do with the education of their children. It was very well attended: both by the community as well as by the candidates.

The Chinese-American Benevolent Association offers scholarships to Chinese-American high school graduates. The awards are based on academic achievement as well as the applicant's vision for his/her future, assessment of his/her past and other non-academic activities and awards.

Health

There was a lot of concern expressed for the plight of the "underclass" of Chinese without proper papers. Without English competence, they do not even have access to information about where to go for health care. Nor do they have information - in their language - about disease. Because of their lifestyle, they are vulnerable to STD infection, including HIV. But they are afraid with symptoms, lack of ability to communicate, fear of questions

about status eligibility. They do not know about the availability of the Public Health Department, but, if they did, are there Chinese-speaking interpreters available? Community members say there is a very big need for health education in Chinese, available health and mental health services, alcohol and drug issues, domestic abuse and violence. Even their own Chinese newspapers for the local community do not cover these topics. They suggest that the local Chinese newspaper is the appropriate vehicle for this and would work with health agencies to get information to the community.

Mental Health

Acculturation is an issue for both families and the community. There is the inevitable culture clash between generations and between two working parents who must loosen total vigilance over the children for whom they have such extremely high expectations. Relatedly, parent roles may reverse. The community says, "there are lots of divorces." There are cases of suicides and attempted suicides. Discrimination, lack of acceptance by the host culture: they are traditional causes of personal shame, loss of face.

Several months ago, a Chinese woman said that she would like to see a mental health facility developed for Chinese, by Chinese. Now, she believe that county-available facilities should be culturally flexible. That is, staffed for language, cultural knowledge and acculturational awareness.

Alcohol/Drugs

It was said that "gambling and drinking are ... problems in the community." The restaurant business has a reputation for indulging after the restaurants close down. Workers go out to do serious drinking and gambling.

Abuse/Violence

Because the Chinese culture is traditionally so private, so protective of family reputation, members are extremely reluctant to look for or concede the need for help. Nonetheless, the stresses of immigration, especially vis à vis the somewhat inhospitable host culture, do provoke instances of abuse and/or violence. Again, what is needed the most is how to access information, especially in their own language. It was recommended that this information be made available in Chinese for the community at large, especially about Kids in Distress and Women in Distress. Additionally, how would they actually get to these facilities?

Divorce

Divorce is allegedly rare in China. Traditionally, there is no such thing as "counseling" available to couples that might consider such an act, counseling which could assuage the stressed-out marriage. Informants said they do not know of Chinese psychiatrists or therapists. How can the community get good, culturally understanding services related to this need?

And, Chinese women are not acquainted with divorce law. They do not know that they are entitled to a 50-50 split of property in Florida. How can this kind of information be made available so that the women are able to protect their access to resources?

Children

Children are the future of the family and the culture; they are their parents' social security. Parents sacrifice much to be sure that their children are very well educated and prepared for employment opportunities. This is one reason for the increased attention to learning Chinese language and culture, which are highly valued

and need to be preserved for the sake of future generations. At the same time, children born in the United States help the parents and the entire family feel that this is their home, that they belong here. The children are the bridge.

The informants said that "there seems to be a renaissance of feeling Chinese, feeling your ethnicity." Now adult immigrants remembering their teen years when they had just come to the United States, say, "we were teased about being different." "We didn't want to feel different." This leads to not wanting to integrate in the larger community: "we are timid, afraid, feared the prejudices." But, now, what young parents see happening, is that the children want to learn to speak "Chinese." "It creates a sense of solidarity" and "would strengthen the Asian presence." And children carry the responsibility to continue the culture, and the culture is embedded in the language - especially in relationship to communicating with and learning from their grandparents.

On the other hand, the teasing, even malicious teasing, continues in the second generation. Parents are concerned, as some children are so affected by it, they do not want to feel different, they want to be accepted. The children are confused about their identity as they are pressured from two sides - their school-aged peers and their parents and cultural community - about who they are.

Elderly

This is a population of great concern to the community. The elderly tend to be isolated, non-English speaking, stay-at-home and often relegated to domestic tasks. They may keep the house, cook, do laundry and take care of their youngest grandchildren. They are isolated even in the house as the school aged grandchildren often do not speak "Chinese." The elderly need language support: if they call for help or for information, they are thwarted for lack of language.

Informants said that "there are no social centers," "no social services for Chinese or any Asians." Apparently, there has not been serious communication between available services in the county with the Asian populations. The speculation was that service agencies tend to contact group/organization leaders - who are already swamped and are not necessarily the ones to plan and get something constructive started. Or, it may be that old pride speaking, the fear of being "invaded:" so they say, "We don't heed help." It is probably best for agencies to arrange meetings with Chinese organizations, as some members will be able to pick up on the opportunity to work together with services already available in the community. They said that there are those who would even volunteer in such an effort if they just knew where and how and with whom.

If there were social services and social activities that the seniors could participate in, they would also need some help with transportation. With their own family working and in school, the seniors are typically stuck at home. They, especially the older women, tend to be afraid to drive.

There is allegedly a tremendous fear on the part of the elderly that they will be put in nursing homes. They have so little contact with the host community and are so dependent on their immediate family/social group, that the thought of being in an institutional setting peopled and staffed by total strangers, and with no "Chinese" speaking personnel, would be "being left alone." Traditionally, they would be kept close to family, who would also take care of them. This is traditional filial obligation, but in an acculturational setting, emotional trauma for everyone. If culturally and linguistically sensitive care could be part of the local health care setting, there might be less distress about the issue.

Safety/Security

People claim not to feel safe "anywhere." There is always the aura of "hoodlums" and "criminals with

guns." Even schools, and the children in them, are not safe. One informant told a story of criminals with guns hiding out in a local public school! This is another reason for the interest in private, homogeneous, Chinese schools.

Although some claimed they felt safe in their very local neighborhood, they do not in the larger county. And those who must travel to Miami express real apprehension every time.

Law, Crime

The major issue in this domain is, of course, the general lawlessness spreading everywhere, among almost all age groups, and even in the schools. But, another important issue is access to legal advice, even access to information: "We don't really know what the rules are here. How do you get services?" The poor ones, especially, need access to Chinese speaking attorneys. "Is there some agency that does free legal consultations?"

Civil Rights/Discrimination

There is still the perception of the environment as one which says to them: "you're different, you're inferior." Like the old "foreign devil" label, they say they have just remembered it as we are talking. Because the Chinese community is not numerically enormous, there is some hesitancy to speak out, they say. Some feel they don't "have any influence." Their children are affected by this at school, called names on the basis of their appearance. It hurts; children need to be accepted.

Leisure Activities/Recreation

There are many festivals and cultural events throughout the year for the Asian and Chinese communities. At least four: the annual New Years's, the spring "Asian Arts Festival," the summer honoring of student achievements, the autumnal Festival of Asia. These are held in venues in all three counties, so as to include as much of the spread out communities as possible. There are also many individual fetes, often to celebrate American holidays, but also to celebrate religious ones. The Thais are especially respectful of the many sacred days of Buddhism and welcome participation by everyone at the temple in South Miami-Dade.

Also the Hollywood Asian Film Festival is well attended by the entire Asian community. The County recognizes May as Asian/Pacific American Heritage Month, made official by County Commission proclamation May 25, 1999. Typically, Broward County Library Programs sponsor a reception, various artistic demonstrations, traditional music, displays and performances and co-ordinate with the film festival as well.

Government/Participation

Participation is a goal of The Organization of Chinese Americans (OCA) - South Florida Chapter - "to give back to the Community, to work together for worthwhile causes, and to extend our friendship to the community." The Chapter conducts various "Community Volunteer" projects. One of the most recent was a volunteer effort of Asian and Chinese businesses to serve a Chinese meal to current residents at the Broward Outreach Center. Meals were donated by local Chinese restaurants and members of the community helped serve the meal.

And, there is certainly interest in participating in the domain of government: Chinese and other Asian members of advisory councils, specifically The Coral Springs Multicultural Advisory Council, the Asian American Advisory Committee to the City of Hollywood, membership in the Multi-ethnic Advisory Board to the Broward County Commission, the interest demonstrated in School Board politics by turning out at the new Asian-

American Democratic Club in July of 1998 to hear the candidates explain their positions and goals. Mentioned above, the Chinese especially have been encouraging and sponsoring citizenship drives, coordinating with other groups and communicating with the INS about the needs of the community. There has been more encouragement to naturalize since passage of the 1996 Immigration Act. The Asian communities are relatively long-term at this point and, especially with children in the American system, they become more interested in having a voice.

Citizenship is not uncommon in the community. Having children in the United States seems to make a family's situation more "American," and, as they have such high aspirations for their children, they have more interest in the local community. On the other hand, the community does not really understand how government works and expresses interest in the machinations. This is one reason for the new Asian-American. Democratic Club: it is an appropriate setting for learning. The community is asking for information and speakers on Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, all government programs. Not just literature, but the opportunity for interactive forums.

There is great interest in having a voice in the community. The Chinese presence should be recognized: they are tremendously active, opening their yearly round of festivals to the host community, extremely hospitable and hopeful to share their culture. The Asian Film Festivals they have initiated and maintained are a quality contribution to the culture of the South Florida. Nonetheless, the Chinese community feels that it is too small to have an influence.

Although there is understanding about the importance of the decennial Census to the recognition and welfare of the Chinese community, it is going to be problematic to census the undocumented, the non-English speaking, the socially isolated. Although the image of the community is one that is well educated, well employed and a functional, contributing part of the whole community, the total picture includes the very isolated and, ironically, those most needful of services.

Spiritual, Religious, Moral Preferences

The full spectrum of religions must be represented by Broward Asians. There is a Chinese Buddhist Temple in Nob Hill and private temples in the home, as well. An extraordinary Thai Buddhist temple and complex is also under construction in south Miami-Dade. There are Chinese Christian churches/worship groups: Coral Chinese Baptist in Coral Springs (at Taravalla High School); a First Filipino Baptist church as well, in Pembroke Pines; an Assembly of God Korean Church of Miami in Davie, a Korean Presbyterian Mission in Hollywood, Korean Catholic Community Church in Hollywood, Han Mi Korean Baptist in Ft. Lauderdale, Korean United Methodist Church of S. Florida in Tamarac, Pembroke Road Korean Church in Miramar; Vietnamese Alliance Church in west Hollywood, a Vietnamese mass at St. Maximilien Kolbe Catholic Church in Pembroke Pines. And, the Chinese Apostolate of the Miami Archdiocese holds a Catholic service the fourth Sunday of the month at St. Gregory Catholic Church in Plantation.

There are also those who do not adhere to a particular religion, but rather to prayerful recognition of their ancestors. Some families pray to their ancestors more than to "God," as a person's success is typically attributed to the influence of his ancestors. "We have a lot of reverence for our ancestors," one community member said.

No matter the religion, it is clear that the extended family is central to the cultures and most important to any one individual. While the newest born generation is greeted with high expectations, it is also tremendously supported by all possible efforts of the parents, whose own life of high aspiration seems, ultimately, to be for the benefit of its children. This is why the grandparents have such revered, respected status and are treated so dutifully.

Sources of Information, Trust

There are clearly very strong and dependable leaders in the Asian communities. They are the ones who make the yearly round of festivals happen, who preside over the myriad individual cultural organizations and who set up the citizenship drives. Otherwise, they are perceived to be "too busy" to effect the links to the host community. On the other hand, some of them have helped to develop opportunities for this to happen, such as the advisory boards, councils and committees, but members are often too busy to give their time.

Informants expressed a need for information they want about living in Broward they do not know how to access. One avenue will be the newly formed Asian-American Democratic Club, where speakers can be invited from the host community. Another, at least for the Chinese community, would be their World Journal. There are no radio programs available to most of the Asian community, so their own newspapers would be the best place to make information available.

Goals, Priorities

The priority of those Taiwanese hoping for Taiwanese independence is just that, the most important issue is freedom and independence from mainland China.

For other immigrants, the priority is to make the most of the opportunities available in the United States: i.e., higher education, skilled employment, the ability to provide for their family, a good education and upbringing for their children, as well as maintenance of the culture and language.

At this point in the evolution of their immigrant status into citizenry, and growth of the South Florida community, evidence suggests desire for greater participation and a voice in the larger community and its institutions. While it is also clear that the yearly round of cultural festivals and updating of the arts are important, both as aspect of their cultural identity and a source of ethnic pride for their youth, they are dedicated to maintaining the culture and not allowing it to be swallowed up. This has never been so clear as now: the new Chinese Art and Cultural Center, not just for the resident Chinese community, but for the host community as well.

The Thai community also has expressed a desire to share its culture with the South Florida Community. They publish a brochure every year about their own community, its businesses and cultural events. With some help with translation and dissemination, they would invite others to participate. Their Buddhist Temple under construction in south Miami-Dade and the resident monks already have received so many visitors and participants in the events already held: ground breaking, religious celebrations, blessings. Their hospitality is for everyone.

Trends

Although there was some talk several years ago prognosticating the migration of the Chinese community toward the north and west, even into Palm Beach County, it would seem now that the Broward Chinese community has made itself central by installation of the new Chinese Art and Cultural Center in Broward, and that, with its purpose also to reach out to the larger community, that it would contribute to the local life.

The Chinese community is already teaching "Chinese" language to its youth, as well as adults, indicating its intent not to melt into the larger community, but to remain a vital presence. That Chinese schools exist in all three counties and their possible interest in acquiring charter status indicates, again, cultural maintenance but rooted in the American community. It also demonstrates conviction of the worth of high moral and academic standards.

The Chinese community would grow as new immigrants, both relatives and acquaintances of those living in Broward, would choose to settle where the cultural infrastructure is solid. And the Chinese-American community is clearly growing.

CANADIANS

A population given short shrift in this report is the, mainly French, Canadian. Although they are perceived as "winter visitors," which is often the case, there are also longer term local residents, whether French or English speaking is moot. The Canadian presence is territorial, if not otherwise obvious, as they own land, condominiums, apartment houses and motels, trailer parks and have their own construction companies, real estate businesses, banks, a medical center and various restaurants, entertainment preferences and clubs. Every winter, a large, popular Canada Fest is held in Hollywood ("motherland" in Florida), originally on Young Circle, now on the beach. It is more up-scale "product promotion" than a celebration of traditional culture. The culture is supported by at least two locally published newspapers and regular delivery of all the major Canadian newspapers and a couple of hours on 980 AM every morning.

The impression of "settlement" is coastal Broward, heavily in Hallandale Beach, Hollywood, Dania Beach and Pompano Beach. There are many signs in French in businesses in these areas and local Catholic churches have seasonal services in French as well: St. Charles Borromeo in Hallandale Beach, Little Flower in Hollywood, Resurrection in Dania Beach, St. Maurice in Ft. Lauderdale, and Our Lady of Mercy in Deerfield Beach. Hollywood Beach is clearly a favorite of the winter visitors. One hears many languages there, but French competes loudly with Spanish during "the season." Canadian musical entertainment is popular along the Broadwalk on the beach as well.

The Census counted 4,868 Canadians in 1950; 14,644 in 1980 and 15,301 in 1990. This belies much more formidable estimates for residential population. The School Board has recorded a substantial increase in Canadian born students: from 136 enrolled in 1989 to 1,036 in 1998. For the 1998-99 school year, Canadian born students are the seventh most numerous of the total foreign-born registrants.

	Census 1950	Census 1980	Census 1990
Canada	4,868	14,644	15,301

	School Year 1989-90	School Year 1998-99
Canadian	136	1036

Additionally, Broward Community College Canadian-born registrations are substantial, sometimes in the "top ten" of represented nationalities enrolling. In 1989, there were 78 registrants, as high as 82 in 1993, down to 59 in 1998, but maintained in that range over the nine-year period.

	1989	1992	1998
Canada	78	82	59

Using School Board registration as indication of geographical distribution, Canadian-born students are found in highest numbers across north county - Coral Springs, Parkland, Coconut Creek, Deerfield Beach, then Pompano Beach and Margate, Plantation and Sunrise. Somewhat less are in North Lauderdale, southwest Ft. Lauderdale, Weston, a few in Davie, Cooper City, Dania Beach, Hollywood, Miramar and Pembroke Pines.

Canadian-born registrations at Broward Adult/Community schools totaled approximately 600 in 1997-98. Highest numbers were at Hallandale Adult, Sheridan Vocational (Hollywood), Hollywood Hills Adult, then Ft. Lauderdale Adult and Whiddon Rogers Educational Center, a little less at Pompano Multipurpose, then at

Broward Fire Academy (Davie), South Broward Adult (Hollywood) and Whispering Pines (Miramar).

There is even Department of Children and Families evidence of geographical distribution of the foreign-born Canadian population. The numbers are quite small, but highest (in the teens) in Hollywood, west Pompano Beach and the associated unincorporated area, Sunrise and single digits south of I-595/west of Dania Beach, Sunrise, Lauderdale Lakes, Oakland Park and Ft. Lauderdale.

EUROPEAN

There are substantial populations of Europeans in Broward, and even more substantial in terms of ancestry. Numbers for "foreign-born," for the most part, continue to be ample and suggest continued in-migration.

	1950 Census	1980 Census	1990 Census
USSR	8,988	9,556	5,939
Italy	6,522	8,577	6,829
Poland	6,437	7,464	8,136
Germany	4,613	8,008	7,939
England*	2,534	3,918	8,296
Austria	2,071	2,424	1,960
Hungary	1,672	2,559	1,985
Ireland	844	1,363	1,122
Romania	924	1,188	2,531
Sweden	704	835	732
Czechoslovakia	574	830	1,095
Denmark	220	354	452

* "England" became "UK" in 1980 data.

There are active organizations with regular meeting dates, many with clubhouses, some decades old, representing a wealth of European roots in Broward County. These are (at least): American Czechoslovak Group of Broward, Polish American Club of Hollywood, Polish American Club of Ft. Lauderdale, Ukrainian Culture Center/Hollywood, Hungarian American Social Club, American Slovenian Club, French American Chamber of Commerce of Miami and Ft. Lauderdale, Hollywood Italian American Club, Americans of Italian Heritage, German American Club of Ft. Lauderdale, German American Society of Greater Hollywood, Irish American Ceili Club, Scottish American Club of Hollywood and British Network.

School Board numbers for foreign-born are only available for the last ten years. Nonetheless, they also demonstrate continued growth in immigration into Broward County. (Country names are written as the School Board refers to them.)

	1989-90	1998-99
Romania	48	237
U.K.	58	180
USSR	23	99
Poland	18	70
Ireland, Rep. of	17	25
Germany, Fed. Rep.	15	420
Spain	11	110
Hungary	8	52
Yugoslavia	8	26
Italy	4	64
Czechoslovakia	5	7
Switzerland	3	26
Greece	3	31
Belgium	3	14
France	6	120
Sweden	2	23
Denmark	2	7
Portugal	1	40
Austria	1	25
Bulgaria	1	18
Scotland	-	18
Norway	-	4
Finland	-	21

One of the most provocative "indicators" is foreign student registrations per year at Broward Community College. There are students from every possible European country, but in very small numbers, except for England, Sweden, "Russia," and, just in the last year, for the Ukraine. The vast majority of European countries register in the single digits, mostly in the low single digits, per year. But England-born students were 29 in Fall 1989, 37 new registrations in the following year and continued in the low 30's and upper 20's through Fall of 1998, registering 28. In contrast, two Sweden-born students registered at BCC in Fall of 1989, but enrollment increased to ten in Fall of 1991, 25 in 1994 and 29 in both 1997 and 1998. "Russian" students also increased per year: two in Fall of 1998, 13 by Fall of 1994, 14 in Fall of 1997 and 12 in 1998. Six "Ukrainian" students registered in Fall of 1994 and increased to 13 new registrations in 1998. Uzbekistan enrollment first appeared in 1997 with one and one more in 1998.

	1989	1998
England	29	28
Sweden	2	29
"Russia"	2	12
Ukraine		13
Uzbekistan		1

Quality of Life

A club of Czech, German and Polish membership, including some from Palm Beach County as well as Broward, was informed about the quality of life research and invited to participate. Although they did agree, the first comment was, "I'm sure there's no one here who takes any hand-outs." This is not an uncommon reaction to the research. It was readily reinterpreted as a needs assessment for the poor/ disenfranchised/ "other."

Nonetheless, there was discussion. In the category of **Sense of Community**, what all shared was a great pride in their origins, their character, their standards, their morality. The majority of the group were quite senior, long-immigrated. Their experiences differ immensely from those of the more recent immigrants. They share social activities: club meetings, traditional music/bands and dancing. And they share all the history that is the reason they are in the United States in the first place.

One of their biggest, earliest offered concerns was about the non-synchronization of traffic lights, the non-policing of speeders and those who run red lights. They are also concerned about their liability in the face of the fact that "bicycle riders are taking over the roads."

They are concerned about the increase of youth and crime evident in their adult community retirement facilities.

Health care is a very important issue. Especially, the women had noticed that doctors are over-medicating the older patients. They said that doctors do not even ask what medications one is taking. A person should be able to develop a rapport with a doctor, but the system works against that. Someone said, "A lot of doctors will not listen." Sitting in waiting rooms, one realizes that everyone has a 9:00 AM appointment.

The other health issue is public health. One said that restaurant kitchens are not clean. That there need to be better health laws and oversight of employees and kitchens. They express concern that immigrants are not getting all the shots they should have coming into the country, but go to work in public facilities nonetheless. One woman suggested that there be a citizens committee convened by the public health department to oversee restaurant standards.

This topic evolved into some discussion on **Immigration**. Someone asked about the "quotas," suggesting that no more Polish and Slovaks have entrée. But, for those new immigrants, it is too easy, for instance, "the School Board teaches kids in their own language!" One man said that his "lawnman" can only say "hello" in English, "but he's a citizen! How did he do that?" Another "went to get gas on Federal Highway...wanted to pay in cash... went inside and the guy didn't even speak English." A member of the group who works as a caterer was on her way to a job in Miami, saw a woman wearing a sign, "I'll work for food," and stopped to offer her five hours of work. The woman said, "Oh, no speakee Inglish."

This issue clearly riles the earlier immigrants. When they came, they were "strictly interviewed, three interviews, have all our shots before entry, had had English training, a reliable sponsor and monies." "You have to deserve that citizenship." Additionally, they are concerned that "illegals" bring sickness, that "they never see the doctor."

The other concern of this group was the homeless, rather, the hospitality the county has extended in the way of shelter and programs. One man said, "We are German, Polish, Czech. We always prided ourselves on our self-reliance. We would be ashamed if we had to accept help."

They asked for **Information**. There were many questions, especially about traffic, unsafe intersections, highway maintenance, health care, the media, taxes, rights in retirement facilities. "How can we get our complaints satisfied? We need a list of where we can go for complaints." They recommended setting up a citizens' committee like one in Palm Beach County. Many seemed to want to add their voices and efforts to improvement in the local quality of life.

ROMANIAN

Romanians, "Russians" and Bosnians are special instances of European-born immigration to Broward County, because they were the most recent of the U.S.-sponsored refugees, until the arrival in May, 1999, of the latest refugees, from Kosovo. Of course, both Romanian and Russian immigrants have been counted in previous Censuses - and that is one reason refugees would be relocated to this area. There is the possibility of community. It is hardly possible to know about prior "Bosnians" as they were long subsumed by the nationality "Yugoslavian" (although School Board registration data did show "Bosnia' as a birthplace in 1989, but not in 1998). And, it is clear from the news that Kosovo-born peoples had already migrated to the United States in the late 1990's, perhaps in anticipation of what was to come.

Romanian numbers have increased slowly over time in Broward, as recorded above, from 924 in 1950, to 1,188 Census 1980 and 2,531 Census 1990.

	Census 1950	Census 1980	Census 1990
Romania	924	1,188	2,531

Public school registration data for 1989 showed 48 Romanian-born registrations for public school; in 1998, there were 237.

	1989-90	1998-99
Romania	48	237

Broward Community College enrollment data counted five Romanian registrations in Fall 1989, increasing to 11 in both Fall 1995 and 1996, dropping down to six in 1998.

	Fall 1989	Fall 1995	Fall 1998
Romania	5	11	6

The community is much larger than the Census indication. Romanians typically claim a community of about 10,000. Although there has been in-migration since 1990, ancestry is also included in this count. There are five Romanian churches alone in the Hollywood-Hallandale Beach area. They are collected very much on the east side, with only one, the Romanian Orthodox, as west as SR 441 and Pembroke Rd. The First Romanian Baptist group was meeting together from the 1970's, but there was no formal church until 1987, on Van Buren in Hollywood. The conservative Bethel Romanian Baptist church followed, on McKinley in Hollywood. Grace Romanian Baptist is a mid 1990's off-shoot of First Romanian Baptist established on Harrison in Hollywood. The Hallandale Romanian Baptist Church is on E. Hallandale Beach Blvd., and there is the Maranata Romanian Baptist group currently meeting in the west Hollywood home of its pastor. Lastly, the Pentecostal Romanian Church is on S. Dixie Hwy in Hollywood.

School Board data demonstrate an idea of geographical distribution: by far, the largest numbers of Romanian-born students (out of 237 total) are at Olsen Middle in Dania Beach, Hollywood Central and South Broward High School in Hollywood. But, otherwise, they are almost everywhere else in the county as well: in small numbers at schools in Lauderhill, Miramar, Sunrise, Plantation, Davie, Coral Springs and Ft. Lauderdale. They are least numerous in Margate, Tamarac, Parkland, Lauderdale Lakes, Pompano Beach, Deerfield Beach and Coconut Creek.

Department of Children and Family "legal alien" client data, as of 12/31/98, reveal very few Romania-born clients, but these also suggest concentration of the community in the Hollywood-Hallandale Beach corner of the county. Clients are collected by zip code, so the areas cited are only suggestive. The largest number of Romanian clients are in east and extremely east Hollywood, secondly in Hallandale Beach. There are smaller, single digit numbers in the Lauderhill-Lauderdale Lakes and mid-Margate areas. They are quite out-numbered by "Russian" clients, but more than "Yugoslavian" clients.

Sense of Community and Culture

The community is Hollywood, the Romanian motherland in Broward. It is best defined by its churches. Additionally, Romanians were allegedly attracted to the area because of the aesthetics of the"older," block and stucco houses on the east side.

Social life seems to revolve about the church community, which reinforces the culture, language and desire to maintain a high standard of morality, and, also, high standards of achievement. Romanian Baptists were denied not only practice of their religion under the Communist regime, but also access to reasonable employment and equal civil "freedom" allowed by the government because of their religious preference. It makes sense that the refugees' life would celebrate their freedom to worship in their own church. There are five Romanian Baptist churches in east Hollywood and Hallandale Beach, an evangelical Romanian church on S. Dixie Hwy in Hollywood and the Romanian Orthodox Church at SR 7 and Pembroke Road.

An additional community marker is the Transylvania Restaurant, between Harrison St. and Hollywood Blvd. in downtown Hollywood. Although it is clearly a business, as it recommends "Dracula Beer & Vampire Wine" and "the best of Romanian cuisine," it is also serves as a social center for its own community.

Immigration

There are no more "refugees." The only viable visa categories are for family re-unification, visitors and marriage. The consensus of the resident community seems to be to move toward citizenship.

Economy/Jobs

This is a domain which seriously impacts family quality and stability. Romanian culture is strongly family centered, with the extended three-generational family working together to maintain values and culture. As refugees, this ideal tri-generational family was often torn apart in the process of escaping and living in refugee camps. Despite sponsorship and some supportive "resettlement" assistance, there are enormous barriers to economic self-reliance. Mainly, these are language, a fit of skills to need, and general non-credibility of foreign credentials and experience. Moreover, according to female informants, many Romanian (and Russian) men eschew educational opportunities because of their cultural role as provider. They expect of themselves to make money to support the family immediately, so take labor-type jobs: construction, especially, and then evolve into other occupations, such as driving for national trucking firms, in order to maintain a flow of income.

Unfortunately, this is, at the same time, a breach of behaviors related to the male/father role. They say that the father's role is not just "provider" but, also, he "must guide the upbringing of the children." Especially professional women are said to have worked in Romania, so it is not unusual that they work in the United States. What is a cultural misfit is the absence of the husband for long stretches of time due to distant work while the wife works outside the home (as two salaries are necessary in the United States, they say,) and essentially lives alone with their children. This is "dangerous to the integrity of the family." There are "many temptations"

outside the home. Women also see that American men share domestic tasks with their wives, something Romanian men would resist. It causes some tension. Additionally, the perceived American values of "supreme individuality" and freedom, although seductive, will destroy the interlinked parental roles of Romanian families. For these reasons, in order to help maintain the culture, the grandparental generation has even requested to come and help rear their grandchildren.

Meanwhile, over the last several years, with acquisition of English and being in the workplace, return to school and/or completion of educational and professional equivalency requirements, the issue of employment is not so problematic as it once was, even four and five years ago.

Housing

Houses seem to represent the health of the family. "Romanians take great pride in their homes." Despite the financial struggle, much money goes into the home. A large, well-furnished house is a statement of success. That it would be filled with "good paintings and artwork" also demonstrates success, as well as familiarity with and respect for higher culture. This feeds into what some perceive as an addiction to a materialistic life style.

Education

This is of supreme importance. Parents want the best for their children and see that as private school. They feel private school is the path to university. Additionally, private school is believed to include the study of morality and religion. Most Romanians would like their children to learn religious values and standards. It is a financial sacrifice to try and provide a private school education for the children, but the families know it is worthwhile. As do others, they compare this drive with that of the local Jewish community, which they see sending its children to Jewish school, so that they are taught about religious values and standards.

Health

Health care is the same issue it is for others in Broward. People who have access to insurance through their jobs "go that route." Those who can afford it would buy it. But others, who have minimum resources, go to emergency rooms and pay the bill in installments. Florida Healthy Kids Medicaid type protection will help some families. Adults go to the primary health care clinics, part of the Memorial Health Care system, in South Broward (because the vast majority of the Broward Romanian population lives in south county).

Mental Health

Clearly, there is a lot of acculturative stress in the Romanian community, especially between traditional adult roles and the American context of what they perceive to be primacy of the individual. They are surprised at the freedom of women and relative equality of parents vis à vis work life and domestic life. The family experiences the stress of absent fathers, working elsewhere, infrequently home. These are issues they work out with some help from the grandparental generation. Grandparents, while serving the important function of childcare, rear the American born generation Romanian-style. These are issues that the church, so central to their lives, also deals with.

As to psychosis, it is totally stigmatized, something to be ashamed of. Allegedly, this is not something one would admit to. The person would be ostracized. Those so diagnosed were traditionally institutionalized and removed from the general populace in Romania. A person would never want to seek help or admit to needing it; he would even try to avoid having to take medications for fear of being marked.

Alcohol/Drugs

Drinking is said not to be a common problem. Drinking is usually relegated to social events, to holidays together. On the other hand, some cases of domestic abuse are assumed to be associated with drinking and/or "among couples that do not attend church," who do not have a "sense of spirituality in their lives."

Abuse/Violence

Although these might happen, they are said not to be common. Men are attracted to the more free lifestyle; women learn that they and their children are potentially protected by American laws in the face of neglect and abuse. Marital stress is predictable: the trauma of persecution and culture shock of being refugees, and being such a conservative tradition thrown into the more liberal American lifestyle. On the other hand, discord is more likely to provoke a temporary separation, even the possible divorce, than abuse.

Divorce

Divorce is a possible consequence, especially if a father is long absent from the home, on a job. This "hurts the sense of family." Or, it is precipitated as couples adapt in different directions to the new culture.

Children

Romanians have high expectations for their children: to be brought up in the church, in private schools so as to maintain and reinforce high moral standards and aspirations, exposure to and participation in the fine arts, such as music, painting, dance. Families are serious about the value of education and preparation for a professional career. Children are kept close to the fold. This is one reason the grandparental generation has such a presence in the community. They will rear their grandchildren because their own children are busy trying to earn a living. Traditionally, childcare "is the mother's responsibility," one which "instills culture, protects, teaches and reinforces traditional values." The community does not want to "mix" their children in the local daycare centers, nor pay for expensive centers when they are not really able to trust the individual in charge.

Elderly

The elderly - grandparents especially - are highly respected. "All families rely on the elderly for advice." When possible, the refugees have their parents with them. "Here," they say, "everyone is struggling, no matter who you are, financially." Both parents must be out working. They are more at ease in doing this if their own parents can help rear their children. By virtue of their presence, the children are considered safe and might be able to retain the language and culture.

Leisure Activities/Recreation

There is no yearly, public Romanian festival yet. But, the community celebrates its culture especially on religious holidays, in the churches. There are many centuries old traditions, extremely communal, social and religious, they continue to recognize and practice.

Government Participation

Just four years ago, when this question was asked, the answer was to refer to their confusion about the word "democracy," as the government from which they had escaped called itself a "democracy," as well. This year, clearly eligible for citizenship in terms of years of residency, but also perhaps provoked by virtue of the

1996 Immigration Act, relegating access to benefits almost solely to American citizens, the response was much more positive. Some people speak with such conviction that they would never return to Romania to live, due to the persecution they experienced. Now, perhaps they are ready to take a more active interest in the governance of the United States. All they lack is information on where citizenship classes are available and when and where the requisite tests are conducted. Yes, now, the community is interested in participating and "looking for the time they will be able to vote."

Spiritual/Religious/Moral Preferences

Running through all of the above are common threads of a shared morality, spirituality, respect for the church and what it stands for, and the experience of having suffered for their religious beliefs by the Communist government. There is a Romanian Orthodox church in westmost Hollywood, representing one of the oldest religious traditions in Europe, five Romanian Baptist churches in Hollywood and Hallandale Beach and one Pentecostal church in Hollywood. Although there is the inevitable competition between churches for membership, for style, for allegiance to a specific pastor, there is also the encouragement of one of the original church founders that it is necessary "to build bridges" among the Romanian churches. For they are the Romanian community.

Sources of Information/Trust

There are no local Romanian newspapers or brokered radio programs or Romanian call-ins. The community must rely on its own experiences, personnel in the sponsoring resettlement agencies (VOLAGs) and subsequent agencies, especially Broward County Bureau of Children and Families, and individuals who have been available and helpful to them in their process of adaptation. Clearly, pastors and longer-term church members and, of course, the grandparental generation are trustworthy, but often remote from access to necessary information about living in Broward County.

Acculturational Issues

One of the most threatening issues, mentioned above, is the perceived valuation of individuality, personal freedom and comparative domestic equality of male and female in the United States. The absolute need for both parents to be working in order to acquire the lifestyle they aspire to was also unexpected. The high cost of having what is culturally valued: private school education for their children, a well-furnished home that can afford an appreciation of the arts, higher education for themselves - all have come as surprises to the refugee community.

Goals, Priorities

"To achieve the financial stability to raise a family and eventually achieve a good lifestyle, have the things you want. ... Romanians want to make the kind of money that will allow them access to a high level of education and exposure to fine arts."

Trends

The Romanian community is relatively socially tight and geographically proximate. The members have much in common and a shared commitment to achieving a good lifestyle for themselves and, more especially, for their children. They value education and professional careers. Their strong sense of family, church and community is especially vital foundation for the future. The Romanian community will probably not grow greatly in size by virtue of any large influx of immigrants, but will certainly grow internally as an ethnic community. The desire to retain the strengths and values of the culture are strong, as is the desire to acquire the skills necessary to participate in the larger Broward community.

RUSSIAN-SPEAKING

The Russian speaking refer to the peoples of the old USSR, as one cannot use the label "Russian" exclusively, but, instead, a plethora, to include those from Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Kazakstan, etc. There have been three waves of "Russian" refugees, primarily Jewish (which was considered an ethnicity on their passports) refugees, in the last two and a half decades, the last quota having lasted throughout the '90's. This allowance now basically fulfilled, and the nature of the USSR forever changed, the 1990's have also witnessed a wider emigration. South Florida's well-rooted Russian community may attract, as well as do the climate and general aura of the area. Northeast Miami-Dade and the Hollywood/Hallandale Beach and Sunrise areas of Broward seem to house the largest numbers of the various old Soviet populations. There appears to be more serious infrastructure in Miami-Dade than Broward. Russian language newspapers, shops with Russian-language videos, some typical-food stores and small bakeries and cafes have surfaced.

According to the Census foreign-born survey of 1950, there were 8,988 immigrants from the USSR who had previously entered the United States and were living in Broward. Many of those who inferably entered the United States prior to establishment of immigration quotas early in the century eventually migrated to south Florida. By 1980, the number was 9,556 in Broward but by 1990, foreign-born from the Soviet Union were only 5,939. Without looking at death rates, age profiles, secondary migration and "out-of-status" numbers, total numbers and whether they represent earlier or more recent immigrants are moot.

	Census 1950	Census 1980	Census 1990
Russian-speaking	8,988	9,556	5,939

There are indicators that there has been a new influx. Certainly, recent availability of a locally published Russian language newspaper depends on an ample foreign-language speaking community. The availability of Russian-language videos and bakeries, cafes and small grocery stores is certainly for the benefit of the community itself. Such businesses would doubtfully survive otherwise. There is a new, fledgling "Russian" Baptist group meeting at the Hallandale Beach Cultural Center, the First Ukranian Baptist Church in North Miami Beach, the St. Nicholas Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Cooper City and a Russian Orthodox Church in Wilton Manors. Whether Russian Jewish refugees are attending Broward synagogues, and which ones, is a question unanswered by this research.

School Board registrations, available since 1989, cite 23 foreign-born students from the USSR for school year 1989-90. Registration numbers for the "Soviet Union" for 1998-99 are 99. (The School Board does not have a category for "Ukraine.")

	1989-90	1998-99
USSR	23	
Soviet Union		99

Broward Community College registered five "Russian" students in Fall of 1989, and generally increasing numbers yearly, as high as 14 in Fall of 1997, down to 12 in Fall of 1998. Ukrainian enrollments per year went from 6 in 1994 to 13 in 1998, Uzbekistan one in 1997 and one in 1998.

	Fall 1989	Fall 1994	Fall 1998
Russia	5		12
Ukraine		6	13
Uzbekistan			1

School Board registration data suggest a disperse population in Broward from a disperse origin. The enormity of the territory, the diversity of its peoples and reasons for their emigration, their different INS statuses, do not really argue for a monolithic population. School Board enrollment of the foreign-born does not cluster in any particular area although it is absent in the schools of Cooper City, Coconut Creek and Margate, barely evident in Parkland, Davie, Tamarac, Deerfield Beach and Ft. Lauderdale, and just a little more in Plantation and Sunrise Schools, more in Coral Springs. The most overall are in the schools of Hollywood and Pembroke Pines.

Already mentioned above, Department of Children and Family "legal alien" client data describe quite another picture of the population. There are definite concentrations of clients from the "USSR" in central and northeast Broward: Plantation, Sunrise, Tamarac, Coral Springs, Margate and Lauderhill/ Lauderdale Lakes and a separate concentration of substantial numbers in Hollywood and Hallandale Beach.

Sense of Community

This is moot. The diversity of the "Russian" migrant population in itself is enormous. But there is a sense that south Hollywood, Hallandale Beach, N. Miami Beach and the Aventura area in N. Miami-Dade are Russian-speaking territory, as the Sunrise-Plantation area also must be. There are recently two Russian social workers at Hispanic Unity where there had only been one for a number of years. A new Russian caseworker is in place at the County's Bureau of Children and Family Services, a unit that assists in the resettlement of refugees. A small organization in Hallandale Beach, "Children's Musical Theatre," is trying to preserve and pass on some of the repertoire of performance arts to the youth in the area.

Certainly there is some sense of community, some sense of territory as well, but there is also a sense of terrific loneliness and alienation. For those with refugee status, especially the older ones, who have health related, language and transportation needs, acculturation seems to be an especial hardship. Those who have been able to emigrate, but with minimal family, maybe nuclear or even less, miss their friends and families, who are often far distant, even emigrated to other countries. There is almost never a comforting social circle. And, for the professional, the well-educated and ambitious, both old and young, it is most difficult. Language is the barrier to re-engagement in work and intellectual life. It becomes a serious mental health issue: the mesh of loneliness, ambition and family responsibilities.

Quality of Life of some Elderly

A several part conversation was conducted with a group at the Taft Senior Center in Hollywood. Most of the group are quite senior, attend an ESOL class conducted by a teacher from the School Board as an off-site center, and also live in small apartments in the facility.

Immigration

The first, most important problem for many of this group was that of citizenship. This is also strongly tied into their sense of <u>security</u>. They see citizenship as their "future," so any delay is a barrier to peace of mind.

They are additionally concerned about cost of the application fee and potential loss of benefits.

They also have a difficult time communicating with DCF about food stamps. Some had been cut off without notice and some applied but received no response, and no one has the ability to talk with workers.

Language

There is a real feeling of desperation about this issue. Although they are grateful for the English class that comes to the Center, they would like for it to be longer. (But, they are afraid to ask, for fear they would just sound to be complaining. They like the teacher; they just want more class time.) They also express the wish for volunteers to come and just talk with them, help them practice English in conversations outside of class.

Currently, they are dependent on interpreters, which actually do not exist. Several have family locally, their children and grandchildren, who are too busy to help them.

Transportation

This stems from a sense of isolation. The group expressed the desire to go to the movies or to the beach, maybe as far as Aventura for the day. Public transportation is available, but connections are difficult for older non-English speakers in the usual heat of urban streets.

Also, they would like to go to synagogue. There used to be transportation for this, they say, but it was discontinued.

Health

For lack of exercise and fresh air, they worry about the quality of their health.

One participant wore a defunct hearing aid and could hear nothing. She had not been attending English class because of this. Additionally, she was driving others in the facility crazy by trying to watch a Russian language film on cable at full volume.

An immobile woman had had her Meals on Wheels discontinued and no one knew how to get them re-instated. The group had not known how to communicate this to whom.

Mental Health

All the participants expressed extraordinary stress for being marked as Jews in their homeland. They told stories of how they had always been denied opportunities and discriminated against. Now, they feel that their own families have more or less abandoned them; they do not have real access to synagogue or recreation or to communication with others. On the other hand, there is a sense of solidarity among them and some are resourceful but lack information or how to get the information they need. This is also dependent on ability to communicate in English or have a reliable interpreter available to them.

Discrimination

Everyone had a story about the discrimination they had experienced - dangerous, threatening discrimination in their homelands. They say that they had absolutely no rights to an equal education or a job. So, they are grateful for the kind reception they have received. It is the practicality of negotiating the options

available that is their current burden.

Trends

The refugee allowance is essentially completed. The latest State of Florida Refugee Program Administration data charting refugee re-settlement in Broward County for October 1, 1998 to March 31, 1999 shows just three from Uzbekistan.

BOSNIAN

A local refugee caseworker suggested that there might be twenty Bosnian families in Broward. A local resettlement volunteer believes that original resettlements were in Coral Springs, Tamarac and near the airport in Ft. Lauderdale. The refugees are Catholics, Muslims and Orthodox, their religious backgrounds a decisive factor in their motivation to escape. So, they are few, relatively recent and certainly not a community, resettled in a scattered fashion, sponsored by various agencies. Nonetheless, their experience and perceptions might be instructive for the host community that may be resettling other refugees from anywhere in the world any time in the future.

Indicators for growth hardly exist due to the recency of resettlement. School Board registration data does not currently have a category for Bosnian, although there is one for Yugoslavian. Remarkably, there was a category for Bosnian in 1993: there were three Bosnian students enrolled. But, in the Fall of 1989, there were eight Yugoslavians/eight Croatian speaking. In Fall 1993 - 14 Yugoslavians/18 Croatian speaking. In 1998, there were 26 Yugoslavian students registered, but only two "Serbo-Croatian" speaking.

The Broward Community College data on foreign-born registrations are also interesting. There is a category for Bosnia, which shows no foreign-born registration until Fall of 1998. One so-identified student registered. There were two registrations by students from Croatia in Fall of 1993 and one in each of Fall 1996 and 1997, and two in 1998. Additionally, students registered from "former Yugoslavia:" one in 1989, four in Fall of 1992, three in 1993, four in 1994 and one in each of 1996, 1997 and 1998.

Quality of Life

Immigration

The Bosnians are refugees, resettled from refugee facilities in Germany, where they worked, usually in factories, no breaks, no socializing, but rote physical labor. This lasted as long as several years. Once sponsored, they were given a work permit, a one time financial assistance of $400, a social security number and the right to apply for permanent residency after a year. On arrival to south Florida, they were given access to an eight-month allotment of food stamps, a small monthly cash assistance, plus Medicaid.

Economy/Jobs

The job is the biggest problem for the refugees, as the bedrock on which to rebuild their lives, mainly because of the language. The Bosnians are typically well-educated and qualified, although credits and certificates have to go through the process of translation and equivalency evaluation. While they are learning English, jobs that do not require much communication or English are preferred. A sponsor says that they may have to do work like bagging groceries while they acquire English. There is a dearth of factory jobs, which could fit those criteria, according to refugees. Additionally, they are competing for few entry-level jobs with many other immigrants.

A man explained that he had found work in a pizzeria, but was soon taken advantage of. The employer demanded more hours, but paid him less than other employees. This was not acceptable to him but he did not know his rights.

English

The English as a Second Language classes for adults available in Broward County Adult/ Community

facilities of the Broward County School Board are subject to these criticisms from non-Hispanic others: that the classes go too slowly and that there are many Hispanic teachers who cater to the usual numerous Hispanic students in Spanish. This is obviously frustrating.

Health

Allowances include time-limited access to Medicaid, but longer for childcare. As so many of the Bosnian refugees appear to be young families, this is obviously necessary.

Mental Health

It is clear that there is a great deal of unresolved anguish over the conflict in Bosnia, the destruction, the deaths, the act of escape, the distance from remaining family. Memories of considering suicide are still raw and emotional. Some refugees need to talk about it. They have pictures of their destroyed homes, maps of Sarajevo by which to describe the bombings and destruction, to show how the city was surrounded, how they escaped. These are extraordinary personal stories. A local sponsor says that the Bosnians have suffered so much political persecution.

Children

For their children, the refugees want the best education possible, comparable to what they had. In their country, almost everyone would finish high school. Only, possibly, extremely rural farming families that needed the labor even of their children may have caused those children to lose the opportunity for schooling. After high school, one took exams to enter university or one could begin working as an apprentice in the fields of economics or technology, later taking exams to prove competence.

They have already heard negative comments about the South Florida schools. For this alone, they ask about academic reputation, opportunities elsewhere.

Safety/Security

This is a category redefined by the experience they have lived through. Newly arrived refugees to Broward during hurricane season witnessed what was to them an unprecedented event: television coverage of Georges in the Caribbean. They watched as people boarded up their homes and were reminded too emotionally of the destruction of Sarajevo. They were terrified, paralyzed about the possibility of having to leave and then returning to find nothing again. Where can they live that they will not have to board up anymore?

Spiritual, Religious Issues

Some express a loss of faith. The war and the devastation caused by man seem incomprehensible to them. They ask, rhetorically, how God could allow that, and then, the hardship wreaked on the Caribbean and Central America in 1998 by the hurricanes. They say, “I cannot believe now.”

Acculturational Issues

Clearly, one of the biggest shocks to Bosnian refugees resettled in South Florida is that “so many people are uneducated,” never finished high school, can not read and write. They are surprised that they were unable to find entry-level jobs or rigorous English classes. But, also, they had not expected, and are still surprised at, the hospitality of Americans who live around them.

Goals, Priorities

For the newest arrivals, it is clearly a job. And really one that uses their education, skills and experience, that will test their competence, give them a challenging purpose again. This is obviously what is number one among the refugees - to resume a life in which they are working in what they feel confident they do well. Other goals flow from achieving this first one.

Trends

The Refugee Programs Administration reported seven Bosnians resettled in Broward from October 1, 1998 to March 31, 1999.

The latest to be resettled are the Kosovar refugees. In the month of May, 1999, more than thirty were resettled in Broward County, sponsored by resident family members. At that time, State Refugee Program Administration representatives believed that the trend would continue into Broward, rather than to Miami-Dade.

REVIEW AND SYNTHESIS: SIZE AND GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION

There can be no doubt that Broward County is home to a highly diverse populace. According to school board data for the school year 1998-99, there are at least 166 countries of birth represented and 56 foreign languages spoken by enrolled foreign-born students. Census data offer evidence that there has always been diversity; only there are many more cultures and languages evident currently than there were in the early 1900's. The picture drawn by so many different populations resident in Broward is not of ethnic enclaves, nor of total dispersion or integration, but of apparent concentrations, and overlappings suggestive of inferred affinities, but also non-co-incidence suggestive of traditional antipathies. A tremendous amount of cultural infrastructure: grocery stores, meat and fish markets, bakeries/restaurants, travel agencies, money exchanges, shipping companies, as well as churches, mosques, synagogues and temples, often geographically proximate to the communities, demonstrate growth, cultural preferences and permanence.

Maps created to depict Traffic Analysis Zone groupings of Broward County School Board foreign-born student registrations (A Second Look at Diversity) in 1996 still serve as reasonable template for what has happened since: growth. The data which the maps illustrated were based on 1995-96 school year enrollments. They demonstrated areas of more and less concentration of over-all and specific foreign-born populations. The patterns depicted by1998-99 school year enrollments of foreign-born reveal higher numbers and more intense concentration. But, basically, cultural roots were already well in place mid-decade.

The most mixed diversity is found in western Broward: from south to north. The west side seems generally to be preferred by (Asian) Indians, Filipinos, Chinese, South Americans, some Brazilians, Arabs and North Africans, Israelis (also north-central Hollywood), some Russians. South Broward is quite obviously Hispanic, but more Caribbean Hispanic than South American, although the South American is growing. Miramar is also English-, as well as Spanish-speaking Caribbean/West Indian, culturally contiguous across county line. Hollywood is known for its wide range of diversity, the so-called Hispanic motherland in Broward, as well as the motherland for Romanians and Canadians. Both Hollywood and Hallandale Beach are also home for Eastern Europeans. Pembroke Pines celebrates its Hispanicity: Puerto Rican, Panamanian, Colombian, Dominican but also Filipino, Korean, Chinese, some Brazilians and Arabs. Central Broward/Lauderdale Lakes/Lauderhill is highly English speaking Caribbean although not monolithically; there are members of many other foreign-born populations scattered throughout as well. North Lauderdale is known for its wide-range of diversity, both numerical and cultural. Coral Springs is also incredibly multi-cultural, so much so that it has its own multi-cultural committee to advise city government. Parkland is also surprisingly diverse, as is Coconut Creek. Deerfield Beach and Pompano Beach and the unincorporated area in-between house a very concentrated Brazilian population, especially to the north. There is a wide, but not large, mix of other cultural groups in the area: Caribbean to North African. Pompano Beach is diverse, but overwhelmingly Haitian, as well as Caribbean Hispanic. The Oakland Park area is quite multi-cultural: Indian, Colombian, Peruvian, Central American, Haitian, Bahamian, Brazilian, Mexican, even Arabic. Ft. Lauderdale is a mix, too, especially as it covers so much territory. Far northwest Ft. Lauderdale, and central Ft. Lauderdale up to Wilton Manors are very much Haitian and related Bahamian, northeast more European, Brazilian and Arabic, the southwest more highly diverse Hispanic/Caribbean as well as Jamaican and some Haitian, and in the far west, diverse Asian, central and Caribbean Hispanic, Venezuelan, Colombian. Plantation is also increasingly diverse: not really predominantly any one population but more a mix of Jamaican, Guyanese, Colombian, Venezuelan and Peruvian, Haitian, Brazilian, Canadian, Indian and Pakistani, Israeli, Asian. Sunrise, likewise: Jamaican, Venezuelan, Colombian, Russian, Israeli, Indian, Pakistani, Filipino, Chinese. Margate: Mexican, Canadian, a few Haitian and Jamaican, some Asian.

Utilizing School Board numbers of foreign-born, for both PK-12 and Adult/Community schools is useful

for indicating geographical distribution of populations, to some extent. And, although numbers are ample, they misrepresent ethnicity, which would include children born of the foreign-born in Broward/Miami-Dade/the United States. Although PK-12 indication of range and size of diversity is provocative, the Adult/Community numbers are even more so. Those attending Adult/Community classes are learning English, vocations and getting high school equivalency in order to work. These are foreign-born dedicated to being well-employed so that they can support their families, many of whom are born in Broward. Those children add to the total ethnicity. As indicated in separate cultural text above, many families send for the grandparental generation who are also not caught by school board statistics. They, too, add to total ethnicity and numbers needing culturally and linguistically appropriate services.

For instance, Haitian-born PK-12 students were the largest foreign-born population enrolled in Broward County Public Schools for the school year 1998-99. As of December, 1998, they were 4,060 students. Compare with foreign-born adult/community school enrollments for school year 1997-98: Haitian born adult students were approximately 8,000. Jamaican-born PK-12 students were the second largest foreign-born population: 4,029 in 1998-99; adult students 3,444 (not likely to be in English as a Second Language classes). A contrast similar to that of the Haitians is demonstrated by Colombian data: Colombian-born PK-12 students in 1998 were 1,948. They were the third largest PK-12 foreign-born population. But Colombian-born adults enrolled in adult/community schools in 1997-98 were 5,168! Brazilian-born children, fourth largest, in 1998-99 were 1,564; adults as of 1997-98 were 2,788. There were also more Venezuelan-born adults in community schools in 1997-98: 1,525, than Venezuelan-born children: 1,443, fifth largest PK-12, in 1998-99. Cuban-born children are scarce in the public schools, but the community knows itself to be of substantial size, (comparable with the Puerto Rican, which is unknowable as Puerto Rico is not a foreign country). Because of the time spent in the United States already, the Cubans are more likely to be English-speaking, already two and three generations deep, and frequently include the grandparents, who are supported by their children. Cuban-born children for school year 1998-99 were 487. In 1997-98, Cuban-born adult enrollment was 1,390.

It is important when considering the nature and location of services, community relations, participation and representation, not just to look at foreign-born numbers but to take into account the breadth of ethnicity as well as its generational make-up. The Census collects data for overall Hispanic "ethnicity," and that associated with Mexican, Puerto Rican and Cuban origin and by write-in for the other Hispanic options. The Broward County School Board collects foreign-born data and overall Hispanic ethnicity.

Clearly, Broward's foreign-born populations are overwhelming Caribbean Basin: the Caribbean countries, Central America and northernmost South America, including Brazil. But, the Eastern European contingent is not invisible: "Russian," Ukrainian, Romanian, Bosnian and now Kosovar. Canadians also are not at all invisible. Nor are the Israelis, the Indians, Pakistanis, Chinese and other Asian populations, mid-eastern and north African peoples, as well as sub-Saharan Africans. There is enough infrastructure at this time: ethnic grocery stores; churches, synagogues, temples, mosques; non-English radio, TV and cable programs; restaurants and shops; the yearly round of cultural festivals and performances, all of which continue to increase, to demonstrate how entrenched the multi-ethnicity of the county is. County government/s know it: evidence the existence of the Multi-Ethnic Advisory Board to the Broward County Commission, the Asian American Advisory Council to the City of Hollywood, the City of Hollywood Hispanic Affairs Council, the African American Advisory Board of the City of Hollywood, Hispanic Advisory Council of Pembroke Pines, the Multi-cultural Advisory Committee to the City of Coral Springs and the Multi-cultural and Refugee Task Force of Broward County (originally mandated by the State to be effected through Broward County Human Services).

Because the cultural communities are substantial, and because economic and political conditions in so many of the contributing home countries are not stable, Broward could only expect to host more family reunification, more refugee resettlement, more inflow of secondary migration, even more "out-of-status"

residents. Meanwhile, the cultural communities contribute enormously to the life of and potential of the county. Broward County is global. Not only by virtue of the yearly round of cultural fairs and festivals, the many different houses of worship, the foods and cuisines, nor the strong desire for education and employment, the international networks of communication connecting local level Broward with elsewhere, but that the communities are substantial in Broward attracts visitors and tourists and international business. Extremely diverse, not monolithically dominated by any one group, the cultural communities of Broward are an extraordinary, albeit unbidden, and as yet untapped resource for the future of the County.

REVIEW AND SYNTHESIS: QUALITY OF LIFE ISSUES

For county institutions, the major issue seems to be numbers. It is the most common request. The only truly credible numbers are those determined by the Census. Even if those from the 1990 Census were infallible, Broward County's population would have been in jeopardy for funds tied to population numbers since the post-Andrew migration from South Miami-Dade into Broward and the subsequent development of the western, especially southwestern, reaches of the county. Another problem with Census based demographics is the off-putting racial and ethnic labeling system. The options do not fit the sense of identity of so many people who simply leave the category blank or write in the margins. The "race" categories themselves are somewhat uninstructive when looking at the population complexity of a county such as Broward's. Long form foreign-born and ancestry questions are useful for detail, but in traditionally "hard-to-enumerate" populations, it is difficult to achieve full sample size participation.

Foreign-born Communities' Perspectives

Employment/Language/Health

There are many quality of life issues in common among the in-migrant populations. For almost everyone, a job is the most important as there are bills to be paid and families to support. Although English would facilitate access to employment, learning it is often sacrificed to the necessity of working, even at minimum and less than minimum wage. Because of the low pay scale, and its correlate - no benefits, and the many unexpected expenses of living in Broward (transportation, high rent, electric, water, phone, health care, child care), people work more than one job. Learning English is almost a luxury for many. Nonetheless, everyone perceives the lack of English as a significant barrier to access and equal participation in the larger community.

For those from cultures who were deprived of access to education, not only lack of English, but illiteracy are serious impediments to even poorly paid employment. There are several English literacy programs in place for both families and adults in the Broward County School system, geared mainly to improving rudimentary skills. But, the various illiterate adult non-English speaking populations are at a real disadvantage to acquire literacy. A correlate to illiteracy is inadequate work skills for a technologically-based post-industrial economy. "Third-world" newcomers arrive quite unequipped to participate in the current economy. They are vulnerable to being taken advantage of.

The issue of poorly-paid jobs without benefits does not contribute to quality of life. It is a vulnerable life. Illness or injury, too often cause for dismissal, only leads to greater jeopardy and further weakens the associated family and community.

Another factor in employment is that of discrimination. Apparent tacit prejudice affects employability. Cursory denial or relegation to the lowest of positions happens often to job applicants who are unacceptable to potential employers because of "race," ethnicity, foreign language and/or religion.

Information/Communication

Relatedly, newcomers request information, access to information. Information about services, about problems they experience in their living situations, about their rights. And information that could be achieved if there were interpreters, if information were available in their languages. No one had heard of First Call for Help.

Inability to communicate is a frustration: there was astonishment on the part of non-English speakers that major public (especially health-related) services do not have interpreters. When so many newcomers are relegated to lower than- or minimum paid jobs, to be expected to bring a bi-lingual friend or family member seems ludicrous. People who are working, even at minimum wage, cannot take time off to help a friend! Additionally, interpreting between cultures (western and traditional) requires knowledge of both. Many have observed that agencies have bi-lingual staff but that clients/patients are rarely matched with personnel that speak their language.

Immigration/Information/Benefits

INS seems to be an especial problem for Broward residents. In addition to the common dilemma of communication with personnel, that the only local offices are in Miami-Dade and require pre-dawn arrival and extremely long waits complicates the ability of applicants to comply with requisite paperwork and deadlines. Almost everyone mentions the need to have a full-service office in Broward County.

The 1996 Immigration Act and the 1996 Welfare Act, combined, have caused unprecedented hardships in the immigrant community. At the same time, it has inspired the decision to naturalize on the part of many who would have otherwise maintained status quo so long as they could continue to be legally employable and to have potential access to benefits they had long contributed to. While the increased fees alone are a barrier or a sacrifice, the financial strain is not repaid quickly with citizenship status. The tremendous crush of new applicants has put citizenship at a distance due to processing time for the virtual flood of applications. Meanwhile, applicants feel they are in jeopardy. Especially the non-citizen elderly, newly without or with reduced eligibility for benefits.

That is not the only effect of the 1996 Immigration Act in the foreign-born populations. Deportability for crimes committed, despite time served and fines paid, prevents many from filing for citizenship. Should they be detained for any reason and discovered, they face summary deportation, nonetheless. Those from countries without reciprocal return relationships face continued imprisonment.

For those who are returned to their home country, there is outrage, both in the immigrant community in the United States and their homeland, about the criminals' often violent behaviors allegedly learned in the United States. Opinion has it that the deportees subsequently contribute to a serious deterioration in the quality of life in their own home country by indulging in previously uncommon heinous crimes. And, moreover, their actions often inspire others who have acquired a taste for its rewards while their own economy is strangling.

The 1996 Immigration Act also allows for summary exclusion at the border. Respondents during this research offered stories of friends and family who had experienced exclusion, despite clean records and legally granted visas. The newspapers, as well, have been following this issue, with details as to searches and harassment prior to exclusion.

Relatedly, some ethnic groups seem to suffer more "racial profile" associated suspicion than others, on entry from foreign countries. Jamaicans, especially, have been quite public about agents who detain, strip and do more invasive procedures in the pursuit of smuggled drugs.

There is, subsequent to the 1996 Act, less legal recourse to adjustment for the "out-of-status" foreign-born. Although their lives are harder since passage of the Act, the undocumented continue to enter for what is perceived as more opportunity than is available in their home countries.

Environmental/natural events, such as Hurricanes Georges and Mitch late summer 1998, that raked

across the Dominican Republic and Haiti and swamped Honduras and Nicaragua, that wreak such severe, ultimately economic damage, will provoke citizens to seek work where there is work. Although American assistance was promised and warehoused, much has still not been shipped, especially to Central America. If the shipments were not effected and distributed, predictions were of massive exodus in search of work, notwithstanding the lack of legal permission and papers.

For those who are becoming naturalized, an option especially attractive for those eligible for dual (or even multiple) citizenship, there were many requests for more information on government, on democracy, not just the structures and ideals, but how one can become involved and participate at the local level. Some groups requested that this be a part of English for Speakers of Other Languages classes and that this kind of information be available in foreign languages, as well. It is part of the overall desire for information. And it is preparation for continued efforts to be taken seriously by the political jurisdictions in which they live.

Education

Lastly, what is in common for most populations, is a desire for more scholastic and behavioral rigor in the public school system. Parents want their children to be well prepared for a professional career. They want an educational system in which their children experience equal academic and social opportunity. In terms of the public school curriculum, they express the need for a more historically and culturally inclusive curriculum. They find permitted dress and behavior way too liberal. Many decried the lack of uniforms. Respect for teachers, for education and equal treatment and high expectations for all students were concerns of many parents. There is a common perception that private schools, including parochial schools, are "better" than the public ones and that the charter schools also might meet some of these concerns.

The educational system could reinforce family by having meetings with parents, with interpreters available, avoiding use of parents' children to translate, an act which undermines traditional family authority and internal respect. Also, materials sent to the foreign language speaking parent could be sent in his/her language as well. Sometimes the school system itself subverts the strong and participating family it allegedly wants its students to have.

Discrimination/Prejudice

These pervade the community. It is one reason for the several multi-cultural and ethnic advisory boards to local governments, the many panels that have been offered to get to know each other, to understand backgrounds, the efforts of police and sheriffs to meet their communities, the infinite town halls that have been held, the groups such as Justice for All that collect priority concerns and attempt to have them addressed by local governmental bodies, the agenda of the National Council of Community and Justice (NCCJ) and one of the major topics of the national Study Circles program. The Board of the NCCJ includes many active members from the diverse community. The Broward County Library system is one of the most active institutions in the county in the endeavor to achieve mutual understanding and acceptance, outreaching to groups, offering venue to get together, artistically celebrating every month's cultural community with art and book displays, music, speakers. In November 1998, the library sponsored a discussion among a diversity panel, in which some issues of contention surfaced, born of long held antipathies. Speakers advised getting to understand each other's culture. They all expressed an awareness of "being of color," minority, "other" in the county and therefore deprived of equal access, unspokenly, if not overtly. The Immigration and Welfare Reform laws of 1996 serve effectively to "punish" their own communities, making family reunification more difficult, depriving many of benefits to which they were entitled, to which they contributed their earnings and energies. Even before those laws, there was a perception that social services had "never been sensitive" to the foreign-born populations. Many of the multi-ethnic communities do continue to contribute time and effort to achieving solutions. They have been

participating for years, already: some participated on the Miami Briefing meeting of the Florida Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in 1992.

Cultural Comfort

Although not always expressed so directly, cultural comfort is a factor in quality of life that cuts across almost all domains. Cultural comfort is based on the tacit: familiarity, custom, style, shared history and background and language, mutual understanding and trust, a sense of security and safety. It is not so much fear of "cultural dilution," (despite the perception of American culture as seductive, corruptive and individualist) but uncertainty of the unknown, the "other." Not even critical judgement, just trust in the familiar. And it is not primarily cost of services, but rather, trustability based on the known.

Daycare/Childcare

Cultural comfort seems to be an operating principle in choice of child/day care: the grandparents, aunt, older sister; someone from the same village "back home," fellow church members (same culture the crucial factor, more than same religion): the Jamaican who said that people will drive from Miami-Dade to Broward to leave the child with a church member from the same hamlet in Jamaica; the Haitians who would send a pre-school aged child back to a grandmother, aunt or older sister to rear; the Romanians, Hispanics and Haitians who import the grandparental generation, temporarily or permanently, to rear the American born grandchildren traditionally, to maintain their proper cultural upbringing. The effort to maintain cultural and familial integrity is serious.

Health Care

Health care is another domain seriously needing cultural comfort. How many foreign-born men mentioned the need for the women to been seen by a professional from their own culture! The elderly, also, prefer their own, for linguistic as well as cultural reasons. This is one of the professional fields most pursued by foreign-born, also so time-consuming to get foreign credentials evaluated and for preparation to take the American Boards. Unfortunately, it is not always possible for clients in hospital to be matched up with a doctor who speaks their language and is aware of their cultural background, but there are a few clinics that have set up shop to a very welcome reception by the community they represent. This is certainly the case with the American-Caribbean Medical Center at Plantation General Hospital and the Hispanic services available at both Holy Cross and at Memorial Hospital Pembroke. The Brazilian community asked if it would be possible to have a Brazilian doctor available specific days at county facilities, so that Brazilian clientele could be scheduled with someone they can communicate with. For communities with resources, seeing a culturally matched private doctor is possible, but this is often not the case for newcomers. Too many have no insurance. They must see whoever is assigned. For those who wait in public clinics and no one speaks their language, much less their culture, their frustration must be matched by that of the caregiver.

Community

Cultural comfort in terms of cuisine is very obviously available. In addition to such large population presences affecting inventory on Publix' shelves, there are many "ethnic" grocery stores all around the county. Sedano's is probably the largest, basically Hispanic, but caters to the general Caribbean cuisines, as well. There are also smaller Hispanic grocery stores. The range and coverage of Asian groceries is enormous; there are grocery facilities for each of the Asian cultures represented in Broward. In the case of Vietnamese, Chinese, Korean and Filipino, there are more than one. There are small Brazilian stores carrying Brazilian foods, plus a meat market. There are several very large, long-term Indian/Indo-Pak grocery stores in the county and many West Indian often shared with Caribbean Hispanic grocery stores. There is a North African/Arab grocery store and deli

and take-out, and several smaller Middle Eastern grocery stores, Persian as well as Arab, but these tend to a shared cuisine, even including a link with the Greek. There are almost as many markets advertising halal meats as kosher. The various groceries and markets are extremely cultural: at newsstands in the front, there are newspapers from the home country or the local community, flyers of culturally relevant events and performances and meetings, and in the back of the stores are often flags, images of deities, incense, cooking utensils, religious books, musical instruments, sometimes jewelry and/or clothes, also culturally common toilet articles and health aides, and always cassettes, CDs and videos for rent.

There are myriad Hispanic radio stations and programs, television and cable as well in South Florida. Haitian, West Indian, French Canadian radio programs air daily. There are also multi-ethnic cable TV shows available, not just for the largest communities, but for a wide range. WLRN Public television after midnight offers movies, news, and performances in Creole, Italian, French, Portuguese, Hebrew, Hindi, Urdu, Polish and Spanish. Fledgling to well-developed cultural associations abound with multiple agenda: camaraderie, sponsoring festivals and performances, raising funds for needs in the homeland, raising monies for student scholarships, supporting local ethnic athletics/arts/foreign film showings, assisting with naturalization paperwork and nurturing political clubs. Many communities sponsor efforts to maintain native language, to teach the youth. The Chinese community is building a large facility in Broward both to maintain the culture and as a contribution of cultural and academic resources to the County.

Religious Community

Facilities for culturally familiar worship have both surfaced or evolved from standing sites, whether they be churches or strip malls. And, of course, there are the completely new. While newcomers typically find each other and begin to worship together, even at someone's home, many have contributed to the creation of an independent site. Several long-standing Catholic churches in the county have become either Haitian or Hispanic while others have English and other language services available: Chinese, Vietnamese, Brazilian, French and Spanish, reflecting cultural and linguistic style. Their counterpart, the Orthodox churches, representing different cultures, speaking different languages, are spread through the county: Romanian, Russian, Ukrainian, Greek, Polish, Indian and Middle Eastern. Protestant churches also cater to culture and language - mainly offering services in addition to their English language one. Eventually, some break off from a sponsoring church to start their own. In the case of the Baptist churches, there are many uniquely Haitian, Spanish and Romanian, and there are Indian, Chinese, Russian and Ukrainian worship groups as well. Caribbean Baptist churches are flourishing, separating out from other English speaking ones. It is a matter of style, manner of speaking and preaching, the different accompanying musical traditions, the shared island tradition. The same with the Indian and West Indian Hindu temples. Although there may be some mixing, the styles of service and worship differ, the temples themselves are different inside, their cultural and linguistic histories are ancient but were separated by fate. In this case, culture has affected religious practice. Mosques in Broward are also somewhat, not totally, culturally defined. Again, language and culture provoke the separation. Middle Eastern and north African Islamic peoples are, for the most part, Arabic speaking, except for the Persians and Turks. But, there are also a great number of both English-speaking West Indian (Guyanese and Trinidadian) Muslims as well as Urdu- and English speaking Pakistani and Hindi, Gujarati, (and more) and English-speaking Indian Muslims in Broward. The five mosques and more in the planning stages reflect the many cultural differences within the overall Islamic population.

Education

Cultural comfort also factors into preference in the schools. Caribbean/West Indians especially request more West Indian teachers for the school system. There could hardly be enough Haitian teachers. There was a major recruitment for Hispanic teachers several years ago, especially in Puerto Rico. But even more importantly, the multi-cultural spectrum of parents has in common a desire for a school system which is more academically

rigorous, demanding, authoritative, more disciplined and for teachers who have the right to expect respectful, serious behavior on the part of the students. These are attributes of their own scholastic experiences that they feel are necessary to the development of serious and well-prepared adults.

Cultural comfort is a factor in English for Speakers of Other Languages as well. Non-Hispanic adults complain in the ESOL classes when the teacher is Hispanic, and when most of the students are Hispanic. There is a Brazilian language institute in Deerfield Beach that offers English as a Second Language, but also Spanish and Portuguese.

Needs Appraisal/Provider Perspective

The Refugee and Multi-cultural Task Force of Broward County, a group of service providers to refugee, immigrant and more overall ethnic populations in the county, early in 1999, participated in an exercise whose ultimate end was to prioritize and bring attention to the needs of Broward's foreign-born populations. The multi-cultural, multilingual membership of the Task Force are social/case workers, health outreach workers, educators, job developers, program planners, childcare/hospital/ESOL and vocational administrators as well as executive directors of community based organizations. Everyone agreed to make lists, based on his/her own experiences with clients, for the categories of Client Needs, Information Needs, and Community Needs. Provider Needs were added by providers.

Client Needs: the greatest consensus was for jobs: that immigrant clients need help with both job placement and jobs that are paid fairly and include benefits (access to health care, especially). Job skills and English training are also requisite for employment. All other needs seem to have equal weight and, in reality, none can be completely extricated from the others. Clients need day care for their children; this seemed to be high on the list: for part-time care, night-time availability and that it would be neighborhood/community based; grandparents should be eligible for certification. Everyone recognizes the need for bi-lingual interpreters in public facilities: especially for health care and in nursing homes. Affordable housing, defined as a decent, low-rent, secure place in a safe neighborhood, is a real necessity. Providers recognize the hassle imposed by INS for those living in Broward, especially who do not have transportation, and for those who cannot pay the escalated filing fees. There is a need for a full-service INS office in Broward. And, of course, providers see the need for quality schools for everyone, including access to literacy. There is also awareness of the need for activities for seniors.

Information Needs: Client needs include information: newcomers need general orientation, a resource manual about services, including English classes, and about the transportation system. Information needs have to do with INS protocols, the availability of fee waivers and medical waivers; how to register children in the public schools, availability of hotlines for non-English speaking populations, translations of health education and how to access care, how to locate services and get to them, how to "adjust" to the American culture and what one's civil/human rights are, no matter immigration status.

Community Needs: Providers express the need for community development and internal organization, so that newcomers could work together to meet their needs and develop a unified voice in order to obtain solutions.

Providers expressed their own needs: for better numbers and the seriousness of getting full participation in the 2000 Census, how service providers can successfully reach communities in need, the possibility of partnering with other agencies for coordinated outreach, interventions and service, and the necessity of becoming political, to advocate for social and economic justice for all the populations in the county.

Needs Perspective/Host Community

The last several years, there have been many requests from the larger community having to do with resident foreign-born and ethnic populations in the county. Surely these calls make the institutional rounds: especially to the county offices and South Florida Regional Planning Council. Yet, it is county offices themselves that do a lot of the calling for information: always for size of foreign-born populations and where they are concentrated. The information is necessary for outreach, prevention and intervention - having to do with drug awareness/use, infant mortality, HIV prevention, mental health, homelessness, elderly needs, preparation for citizenship, ad infinitum, in addition to development of business, international relationships and tourism. Size of the communities is crucial for "strategic planning" for public services to newspapers to job development to the tourist industry.

Many of the requests from county institutions and agencies have been for the sake of individuals: the desperate need for translators and support for non-English speakers in mental health court, the state of mental health services for Caribbean peoples, how to help ethnic runaways, the neglected non-English speaking elderly; police racial profiling (Haitian especially), the pervasive discrimination, impact on homeless population, effects of welfare reform, the misunderstandings that obtain between foreign-born workers and their employers, advice on recruiting ethnic workers where multilingualism is needed (American Community Survey, Census 2000), who are ethnic community leaders and how to contact them, immigrant professionals needing instruction on developing curriculum vitae and cover letters, that the undocumented are being taken advantage of, jobs for Islamic women who wear hijab (the Islamic headcovering), lists of all the ethnic groups, maps of population distribution throughout the county, lists of ethnic media and the need for grant writing training or access to a grant writer for fledgling community based organizations.

Needs/Recommendations

- Demographic baselines; on-going system to monitor trends. Support Census 2000 efforts and the American Community Survey.
- Creation and use of a uniform client intake template to include ethnic, cultural, linguistic information to intersect with and mutually confirm/question Census data.
- Jobs with fair wages, access to benefits, possibility of job site ESL, literacy and skills training; consideration of related child care and transportation issues.
- Paid interpreters. Positive valuation of bi-/multilingualism.
- Access to health care for everyone, no matter legal status.
- "Affordable," decent housing/secure neighborhoods; enforcement of fair rent and property maintenance practices by landlords.
- Local/neighborhood, culturally credible child care or job site child care.
- Full-service INS office in Broward County. Immigration/citizenship hot-line.
- Inclusion of all foreign-born/cultural communities in strategic planning processes and evaluations of health, education and social services.
- Inclusion of all foreign-born/cultural communities in opportunities for city and county leadership trainings.
- A school system hospitable to foreign-born families: interpreters available in administrative offices, for parent-teacher meetings, parent-teacher associations; information available in native languages.
- Early grades foreign language learning opportunities for all children and a more inclusive world history

curriculum in the public schools.

- Support for foreign-born parents in their roles as parents in all (service) settings. Not to use parents' children to interpret, to be the intermediary.
- Encouragement and support for naturalization. Outreach education regarding voting, politics, democracy.
- Utilization of ethnic media: specifically radio and newspapers, to deliver information to cultural/foreign-language speaking communities. County institutional/services participation in ethnic radio call-ins.
- Consideration of appeal of cultural communities' facilities, resources, infrastructure and events to both tourism/international business and the local community.
- Community responsibility for quality of life of refugees and immigrants of all statuses: advocacy for rescission of the more punitive provisions of recent Immigration legislation.
- Participation in efforts to help immigrants' homelands to develop in stable times as well as in times of crisis and hardship.
- Continued efforts to address inequalities of access and participation, and prejudices undermining social health in the county.
- On-going, continued conversations in multi-generational cultural/ethnic communities regarding quality of life issues. Enormous diversity and socioeconomic complexities are not easily revealed.

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4. Portes, Alejandro and Rubén G. Rumbaut. Immigrant America. University of California Press, 1966. p. 279.

5. Golden, Jeff. 6/4/80. p. BR 1.

6. Ft. Lauderdale News. "HRS accepts applications for cash assistance." 1/14/81, p.6B.

7. Maingot, Anthony. "Why Haitians come to Miami," The Herald. 3/11/99, p. 21A.

8. Yves Colon, "More Haitians leave behind chaos." The Herald. 1/24/99, p. B1.

9. Hollywood Sun Tattler 5/2/80, p. C1.

10. These are terms used by/for the Trinidad-born and Tobago-born, respectively, according to staff of Caribbean Today and Bob Mahabir of WHIZ Communications Network (1170 and 1080AM). A collective term, "Trinbagonian/s," referring to nationals of the two-island nation, although not considered to be "proper," but rather informal, "colloquial" or "dialectal," is utilized, even in print.

11. Foreign-born data per school also list 468 Japanese (coded JA) foreign-born without a comparable Japanese-language speaking number. The majority occur where there are substantial numbers of Jamaican (coded JM) foreign-born students. The discrepancy/confusion persists throughout the data. It may have to do with magnet populations, but it may be due to understandable coding confusion. Many of the alleged Japanese numbers may, in fact, be Jamaican.

12. Maldonado, Patricia. "Plantation clinic caters to Caribbean patients," The Herald. 7/20/98, p. 1BR.

13."The Jamaican Miracle," the Monday Business section of The Herald, pp 20-23.

14. The Bahrain numbers are questionable compared with those of the other countries, as Bahrain (code BA) is a country of small islands with a small population. Bahrain "students" show up in school data where there are relatively large numbers of Bahamian students (code BF). It seems likely that there could be some confusion about the codes.

15. de Vise, Daniel. "Islamic education finds itself flourishing locally," The Herald. 2/3/99, p. 1BR.

16. In print-out of nationality data per school, Japanese tend to correlate with Jamaican presence. They are theoretically recorded on registration as "JA" for Japan and "JM" for Jamaica.. Registration also records home language of foreign-born students. In this case, there are only 17 Japanese speaking. This is a very low ratio (17

out of 468) compared with other foreign-born nationalities that also record a non-English home language. Additionally, comparing the "foreign-born by language by grade" data with "foreign-born by country by grade" data per school, "Japanese" (language) rarely showed up, despite relatively large numbers of alleged Japanese-born registrations.

Other Sources

1998 Answer Book. The Herald.

Broward Historical Society Census collection and immigrant files.

"Catholic Missions & Parishes," Directory 1998, Miami Archdiocese.

"Ethnic Ministries of Gulf Stream" (draft) from From Many Nations: A Fifty Year History of South Florida's Gulf Stream Baptist Association. 1998. Pp. 177-237.

Festival of Asia 1998, Chinese American Benevolent Association and Korean Cultural Foundation.

The Festival of India. The Association of Indians in America, Inc. South Florida Chapter. 1998.

"First Term International Student Citizenship Fall 1989 to Fall 1998," *Information Brief*, Research and Planning, Broward Community College, Ft. Lauderdale FL.

"LEP and Foreign-born Student Enrollment December 1998," The School Board of Broward County. (also, print out of total county foreign-born by language by grade and by country by grade/by school 1998-99) (also, print out of foreign-born adult per school/1997-98)

Mission & Ethnic church Directory 1998, 1998 Gulf Stream Baptist Association. Plantation FL.

"Number of Legal Aliens Receiving Assistance in Broward County as of 12/31/98," Department of Children and Families, print out, by zip code.

Racial and Ethnic Tensions in Florida. Florida Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights. March 1996.

APPENDIX

Discussants, Facilities, Events:

Brazilian:
Family of God Church
7th Day Adventist Church
Deerfield, Ft. Lauderdale
GAZETA, publisher
The Brazilian Paper
Brazilian caseworker
Brazilian psycho-therapist, counselor
Brazilian cultural club
Administrator, Gulfstream Baptist Association
Central do Brasil

Haitian:
St. Joseph's Catholic church mother's group
Divine Mercy ESL classes and new Senior Center
Minority Development and Empowerment, Inc.
Medivan: at Haitian Bethel Baptist
First Haitian Baptist
Haitian family counselor/therapists
Department of Children and Famillies
Department of Children and Family Services
Haitian Democratic Club
Radio Haiti Amerique 980 AM
WLQY 1320
Haitian travel agent
Haitian American Community Foundation, Inc.
Caribbean American Foundation for Economic Empowerment
International Programs, Florida International Volunteer Corps
Caribbean Chronicle

Hispanic:
Mexican migrant community center, parenting class
ESOL classes at Hispanic Unity
Medivan in Lauderhill and Hollywood
School Board social worker, organizer
Puerto Rican leader
Social workers, health workers at Hispanic Unity
Education Coordinator, Hispanic Unity
Department of Children and Family Services
Department of Children and Families
HispanicFest
Hispanic Alliance kick-off
El Noticiero
El Heraldo

West Indian:
St. George Catholic Church, Town Hall
Lauderdale Lakes City Commissioner
Caribbean Today, publisher
Caribbean Contact
WAVS 1170
Islamic New Year's festival
Members of Darul Uloom
Jamaican social scientist, U. of Miami
Guyanese social worker
Catholic-Islam dialogue
Bedesse grocery, Five Star bakery
S & S Little India
Shiva Temple

Middle East:
Almanber, publisher
Emam, Islamic Center of South Florida
Members, Darul Uloom
Catholic-Islam dialogue
Sahara Grocery
Middle Eastern Fashion Center
Middle East Market

Indian:
Desh-Videsh, publisher
Festival of India
Little India (grocery store)
Libas Boutique
Indo-Pak grocery store
Indian Dance Theatre
Indian concert
Hindu Temple of South Florida
News India-Times

Asian:
Asian-American Association
Chinese Cultural Association
Asian-American Democratic Club
Group of Chinese friends
Vietnamese, Korean grocery stores
Lutheran Immigration Services
Super Pinoy Times
Overseas Chinese News
Miami Chinese Sun
Quê Viêt
Chinese-American leader

Thai Buddhist Temple

European:
American Czechoslovak Social Club
Romanian pastor
Romanian caseworker
Russian caseworkers
Lutheran Immigration Services
Taft Senior Center
Bosnian family

Overall:
Refugee and Multi-cultural Task Force of Broward
Department of Children and Families
Broward Historical Society
Lutheran Immigration Services
Senior Connection
Immigration/Benefits Conference, Miami 12/98