

U P P E R

M I D D L E

The Haitian Community in Miami-Dade

A Growing the Middle Class Supplement

LOW INCOME

BROOKINGS INSTITUTION METROPOLITAN POLICY PROGRAM

An aerial, grayscale photograph of a city grid, likely Miami, showing a complex highway interchange and surrounding urban development. The image is dark and serves as a background for the text.

Acknowledgments

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The Brookings Institution Metropolitan Policy Program would like to thank the driving force behind this publication, Gepsie Metellus, executive director of the Haitian Neighborhood Center, Sant La, Inc. Sant La was founded in December 2000 by a group of community leaders and service providers concerned by the chronic gaps in the provision of services to the Haitian/Haitian American community of South Florida. Sant La's work addresses the problems resulting from the Haitian community's social isolation and lack of awareness about available community resources. Brookings also acknowledges the work of the rest of the Sant La staff: Leonie M Hermantin, Sheba St. Hilaire, Sophia Lacroix, Desiree Marrero, Arielle Dominique Valme, and Lauren Fordyce.

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Although Haitians have been coming to Miami-Dade in large numbers for only a little over two decades, they have quickly become an integral part of the region. But there are important differences between the Haitian experience and other immigrant experiences in South Florida. As researcher Philip Kretsedemas explains, “Unlike many Hispanic immigrants, who benefited from the enclave economy and political networks established by earlier cohorts of middle-class refugees—Haitian immigrants entered South Florida as unwanted immigrants, black minorities, and members of an ethnolinguistic group that was isolated from both the English-speaking and Spanish-speaking community.”¹ Haitians are also from one of the poorest nations in the world. And in a region with some of the highest poverty rates in the country, Haitians are among the poorest groups in Miami-Dade: Haitians are more likely to work low-wage jobs, earn less money, and pay larger shares of their incomes on basic necessities.

This report is a supplement to a June 2004 publication entitled, *Growing the Middle Class: Connecting All Miami-Dade Residents to Economic Opportunity*. The intent of this report is to provide specific information about the Haitian community in Miami-Dade County in order to better describe the challenges they face. After describing Haitian income trends, the report explores some of the reasons behind the low incomes and higher poverty rates of Miami’s Haitian population.

The Haitian community in Miami-Dade has gained a lot of ground since the late 1970s—there are now Haitian and Haitian American politicians, organizations, businesses, and middle-class neighborhoods. But the numbers also show that there is still much work to be done to ensure that all groups in the region, including Haitians, have access to economic opportunity.

A NOTE ON THE DATA

It is often difficult to get a truly accurate count of groups such as the Haitian American community. A range of issues—from distrust of federal agencies to inadequate funding for outreach to immigrant communities—contribute to a likely undercount of Haitians in the U.S. For example, the U.S. Census Bureau says there are 96,000 Haitians in Miami-Dade, but community leaders feel this number underestimates the true count.²

While recognizing that the Census Bureau number may not capture all the Haitians in the county, this report relies on the census numbers because of the unparalleled level of detail and information they provide. Undercount or no, the statistics still reveal important trends facing the Haitian community in Miami-Dade.

And no other data source provides such detailed characteristics of population, housing, and employment at very small levels of geography. Such data come as close to comprehensiveness as any that exist.

The information about the Haitian community is captured in the “ancestry” section of the Census found in Summary Files 3 and 4. Individuals in households who received the long form of the census were asked, “What is this person’s ancestry or ethnic origin?” This report includes any individual who listed “Haitian” as their sole ancestry, or as one of a number of ancestries. In other words, the numbers in this report represent those that listed themselves as either Haitian or part Haitian.

Most of the numbers in the report are from Census 2000, Summary File 4. The tables provided by the census in Summary File 4 are the only source of detailed information on groups below the major race categories (black, white, Hispanic, Asian, etc.). However, in a few years the U.S. Census Bureau will complete its implementation of the American Community Survey (ACS), a new research product that will eventually replace the long form of the decennial census. Once implemented, the ACS will provide yearly data which will enable users to track the information provided here on a more regular basis. Until then, Census 2000 is the best source of detailed information about the Haitian community.

Little Haiti, USA: A Brief History of Haitians in South Florida

By Gepsie Metellus

Executive Director, The Haitian Neighborhood Center, Sant La, Inc.

Haitian migration to the United States dates back to the early 1800s and even to Haiti’s pre-independence period. However, this migration became more formalized during the 1950s and early 1960s as the Haitian educational and economic elite was exiled by the Duvalier regime. After an initial wave of professional and highly-skilled workers of the 1960s, a second wave of middle and lower-middle class migrants arrived in the mid-1970s, mainly settling in the northeastern United States. As socioeconomic and political conditions continued to deteriorate in Haiti, the 1980s gave rise to a mass exodus consisting mainly of poor peasants, both rural and urban, who became known as the “Haitian Boat People.”³

Haitians fled deteriorating conditions in Haiti and traveled by boat to the Bahamas and Florida in search of a safe haven and a more stable and prosperous life. While many reunited with family members located in other regions of the United States, the great majority without United States relatives remained in South Florida.

Simultaneously, there was also a wave of Haitian migration from the Northeastern United States and Canada. The latter group consisted of earlier immigrants who were fleeing the cold weather and were seeking an alternative similar to Haiti’s tropical weather and lifestyle. These groups settled in such neighborhoods as Miami Gardens, Florida City, Homestead, and Opa-Locka.

Once the province of middle-class whites, the city of Miami became the highest point of concentration for Haitian refugees in South Florida beginning in the 1970s and into 1980s. By the late 1980s, there was a solid presence of Haitians in the Edison/Little River area. Because successive groups of Haitian refugees settled throughout this enclave, the neighborhood was christened “Little Haiti.” Geographically, this neighborhood is considered to stretch from 54th Street in the south, to the northern Miami city line, or 86th Street. The eastern border is the Florida East Coast Railways, and Interstate 95 marks the western side.

Little Haiti has a viable business district along Northeast Second Avenue, whose revitalization in a relatively short time is credited to the ingenuity and entrepreneurial spirit of Haitian small business owners.

In recent years, several factors have led to a change in Little Haiti. Many of its original settlers have moved to the contiguous neighborhoods of the Northeast Corridor such as El Portal, Miami Shores, North Miami, and North Miami Beach as well as to Broward County. Simultaneously, a real-estate boom, the rapid demographic transformation of smaller neighborhoods surrounding Little Haiti, the area’s proximity to downtown Miami, and its accessibility by public transportation have made it desirable for redevelopment and real-estate investments.

Little Haiti enjoys a national and international reputation. Little Haiti is, and will continue to be, of social, cultural, and historical significance to South Florida’s Haitian community as well as to members of the Haitian diaspora because of its role as the touchstone of Haitian migration to the United States.⁴ The names of Haitian cultural and historical icons grace major thoroughfares in the heart of Little Haiti: Northeast 54th Street has been designated as Toussaint Louverture Boulevard, and Northeast Second Avenue is now also known as “Avenue Felix Morisseau Leroy.” Over a relatively short period of time, Haitians have changed the character of the neighborhood once known as “Lemon City.”



Miami-Dade is a center of Haitian life in the U.S.

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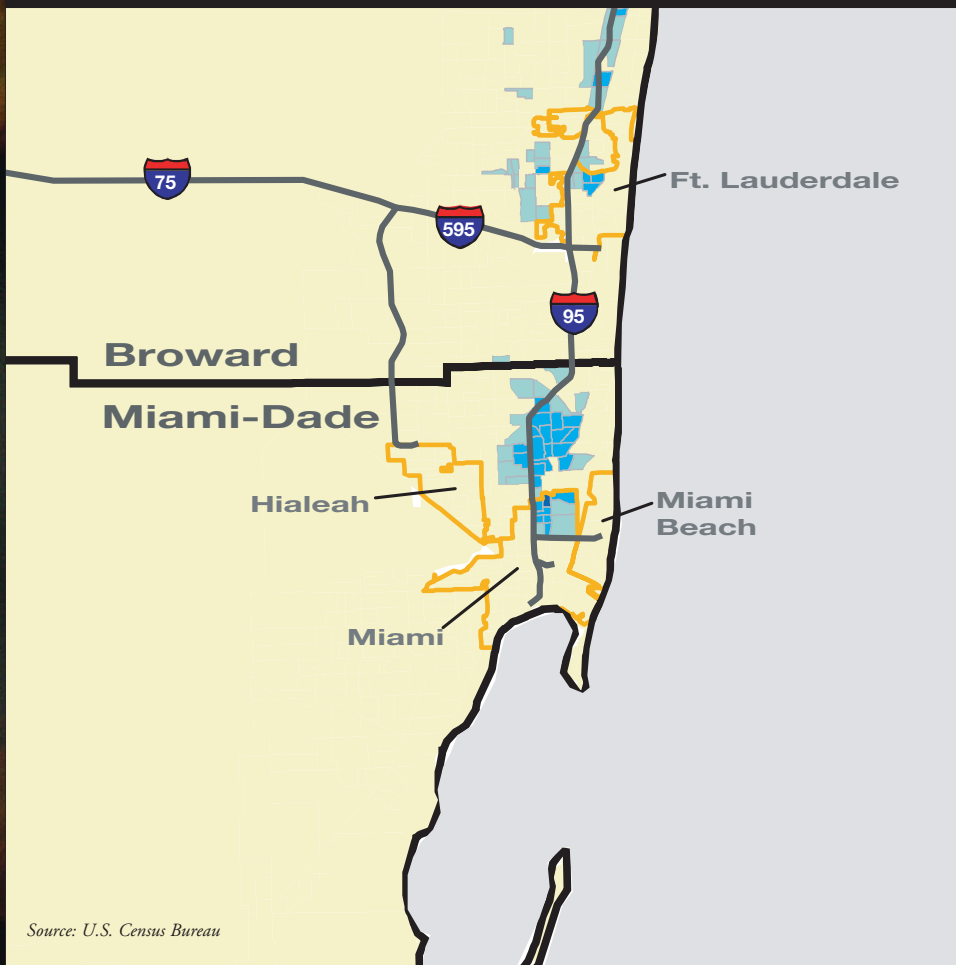
According to the U.S. Census Bureau, there were 95,669 Haitians in Miami-Dade in 2000, representing 41 percent of all Haitians living in Florida.⁵ Haitians make up 4.2 percent of the county's population, making them the second largest immigrant group—behind Cubans—in the county. There are more Haitians in Miami-Dade than there are Nicaraguans, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, or Colombians.

No other county in the nation has as large a Haitian community as Miami-Dade. The next largest Haitian population in the country is Kings County (Brooklyn) in New York City at 74,000; the third largest is neighboring Broward County with 62,000.

More than 18,600 Haitians live in Miami City, primarily in the northeast corner of the city. Almost as many (18,300) live in North Miami City, where 31 percent of the residents are Haitian. The residential pattern varies widely for the other large municipalities or census defined places in Miami-Dade—there are no Haitians living in Hialeah or Miami Beach, and less than 1,000 live in Kendall.

More than 18,600 Haitians live in Miami City, primarily in the northeast corner of the city.

The heaviest concentration of Haitians is in the northeast corner of Miami-Dade County



Source: U.S. Census Bureau

THE TREND:

Incomes are low and poverty is high in the Haitian community

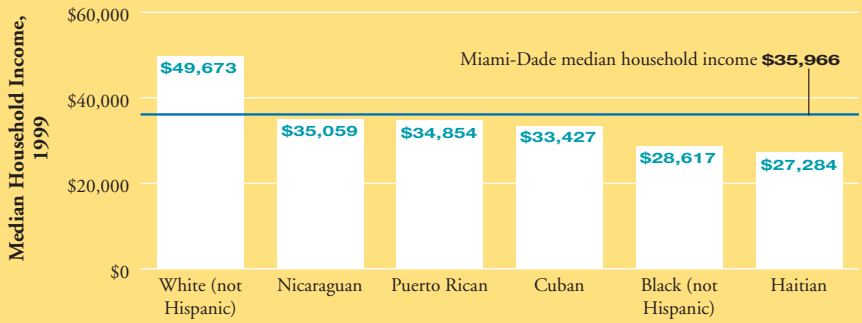
Miami-Dade’s median household income is \$35,966, one of the lowest of the nation’s 100 largest counties. The city of Miami itself has an even lower median household income—its median household income of \$23,483 is about half of the nation’s (\$41,994).

Presenting median household income by race and ethnic group shows that some groups, particularly Haitians, are not even earning enough to be on par with the region’s low numbers. Haitians in Miami-Dade have a median household income of \$27,284, which is almost \$9,000 less than the county’s median household income and \$22,000 less than Miami-Dade whites. Incomes for Haitians living in Miami City are lower still; there the Haitian median household income is only \$20,000.

The same pattern holds true for poverty rates. In Miami-Dade County, the overall poverty rate is 18 percent but the Haitian poverty rate is almost double that at 30 percent. Once again, the poverty rate for Haitians living in the city of Miami is even higher at 37.5 percent.

One-third of all Haitian households living in Miami-Dade County are low-income (earning below \$18,000), while only 7 percent of Haitian households earn in the top income group (\$81,000

The Haitian median household income is lower than any other race or ethnic group



Source: U.S. Census Bureau

or higher). In comparison, 26 percent of all Miami-Dade households earn below \$18,000 and 17 percent are high-income households. In the city of Miami, 47 percent of Haitian households are low income and only 4 percent are high income.

BEHIND THE TREND:

Explaining the Haitian community’s income statistics

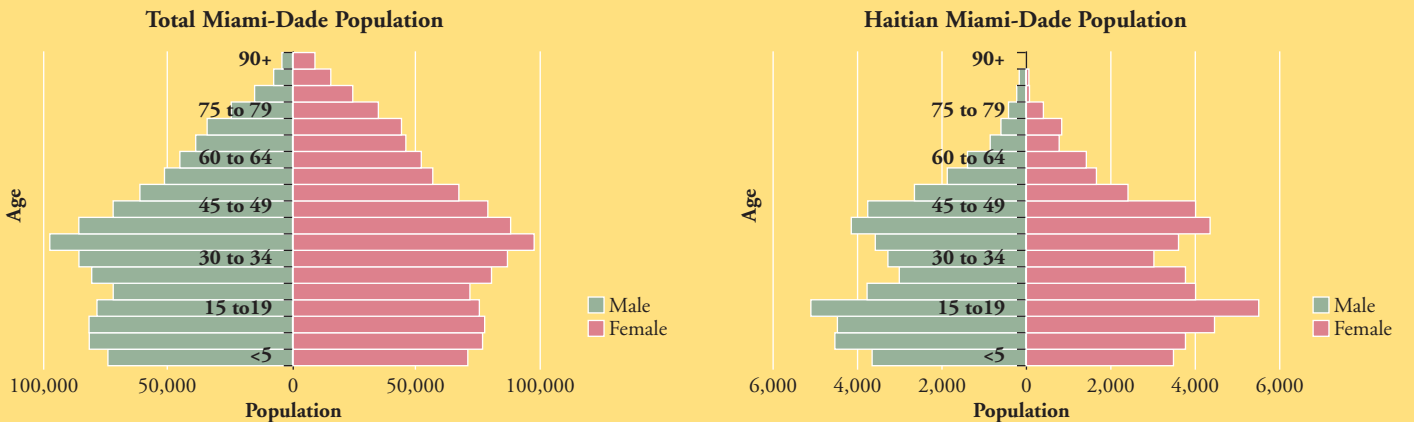
The Haitian population is young and from a struggling source country

Unlike Cubans, Haitians have not had as long a period to establish themselves in business or other institutions. It may be that as the Haitian community’s time in Miami-Dade increases, the differences between the Haitian community and other populations will decrease.

Miami-Dade’s Haitian community is also much younger than the overall population. The median age for Miami-Dade is 35.8 years while the median age for the Haitian community is only 28.5. As Haitian youth get older and enter the workforce, Haitian employment rates, educational attainment rates, and incomes may improve.

Another major difference between Haitian immigrants and other groups arriving in Miami is that Haiti itself is one of the poorest countries in the world, with an unstable political environment and very low educational attainment rates. The per capita income there is only \$1,610 (compared to \$36,110 in the U.S.), the lowest in the Western Hemisphere. Moreover, 59.5 percent of the adult population has no formal education of any sort (the figure

The Haitian population is younger than the county’s overall population



Source: U.S. Census Bureau

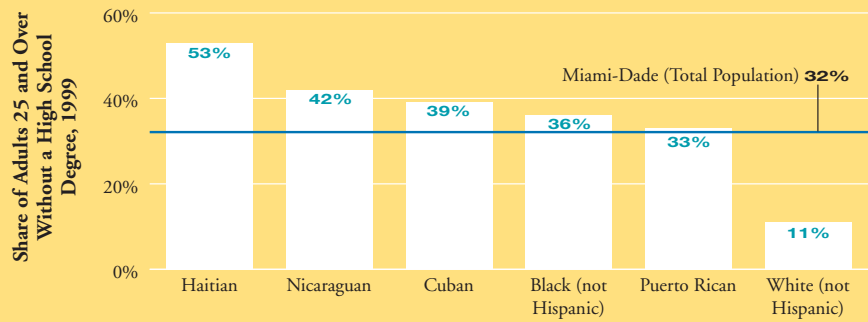
is less than 1 percent in the U.S.).⁶ This puts Haitian immigrants at a disadvantage when arriving in a country that places a wage premium on highly educated individuals.

Additionally, Haitian immigrants remit large amounts of money back to family members living in Haiti. About 90 percent of all Haitian expatriates living in the United States have at one point remitted money back to Haiti.⁷ According to some estimates, about \$800 million a year is sent to Haiti—mostly from Haitians currently living in the United States. This money represents at least 20 percent of Haiti's gross domestic product.⁸ Remittances are crucial for those living in Haiti, but it presents a challenge to Haitian-Americans living in Miami-Dade. Sending a generous portion of a household's already very low income makes it that much harder to accrue savings and move up the income ladder. On average, Haitian immigrants in the U.S. send \$163 a month back to Haiti—a large sum for those on a tight budget.⁹

Educational attainment rates are low in the Haitian community

High levels of educational attainment indicate the potential for regional economic growth as well as individual earning power; and Miami's poor education statistics help explain its small middle class and low incomes. The nation's county average for adults with a bachelor's degree or higher is 29 percent,

Haitians have the highest rate of adults without a high school education



Source: U.S. Census Bureau

but Miami-Dade's college attainment rate is only 22 percent. The city of Miami's rate is far lower at 16 percent.

In a region with low educational attainment rates, the Haitian community struggles with rates that are even lower. Later in this report, we show how education trends may be improving for the Haitian community. At the moment, however, only 10 percent of Miami-Dade Haitian adults over 25 years old have a bachelor's degree, and only 5 percent of Haitian adults living in the city of Miami are college educated.

Similarly, while 16 percent of adults in the U.S. do not have a high school degree, the rate is twice as high in Miami-Dade (32 percent). It is even higher among Haitian adults—53 percent do not have a high school diploma in Miami-Dade, and 73 percent are not high-school educated in the city of Miami.

Haitians are overrepresented in low-wage jobs

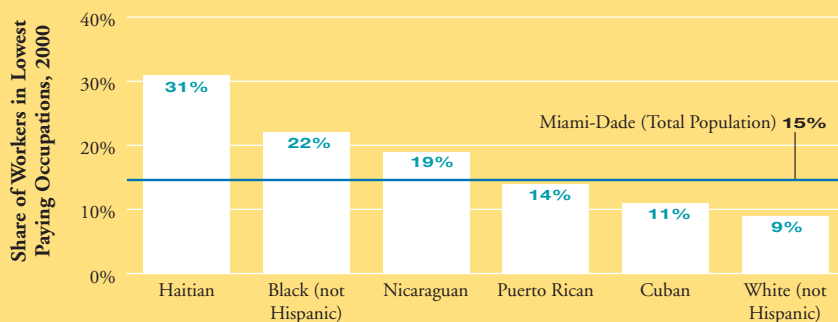
Part of the reason the Haitian community in Miami struggles with poverty is because the jobs Haitians tend to hold are low-skill, low-wage jobs. And while the entire county's occupational structure suffers from having too many low-wage jobs; Haitians have even higher concentrations in jobs that do not pay well.

The largest five occupational groups employing Miami-Dade Haitians are office support, building maintenance, food preparation, sales, and transportation. These are among the lowest paying occupations in the region.¹⁰ In fact, the five lowest-paying occupations (food preparation, farming, building maintenance, personal care, and healthcare support) employ 31 percent of Haitian workers but only 15 percent of all Miami-Dade workers.

Given the concentration of Haitians in low-paying occupations, it is not surprising that Haitians have the highest poverty rates among employed workers. Among workers who worked at least 20 hours a week, Haitians still had a poverty rate of 11.5 percent, while other black workers had a rate of 6.7 percent, Cuban workers had a 3.4 percent rate, and white workers had 1.9 percent.¹¹

Along with being the poorest workers in the county, Haitians also are the most reliant on public transit, which may serve to limit their choice of jobs to locations that are more easily accessible. Nineteen percent of Miami-Dade Haitian households do not have access to a vehicle, compared to 10 percent of white households and 5 percent of Cuban households. (Rates for Haitian households in Miami

Haitian workers are much more likely to be employed in low-wage jobs than other ethnic groups



Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Note: The five lowest paying occupations in Miami-Dade are food preparation, office support, building maintenance, sales, and transportation.

City are much higher—36 percent of households do not have a car). Haitians also have the highest rate of bus usage. In Miami-Dade, 15 percent of Haitian workers use the bus to get to their jobs, while only 4 percent of the total population of county workers uses the bus.

Haitians spend a large portion of their incomes on basic housing costs

The combination of very low incomes and high rents or mortgages adds another layer of burden to Haitians and other groups in Miami-Dade County.

First, with lower incomes and higher poverty rates, Haitian homeownership rates are unsurprisingly lower than other groups. The overall homeownership rate for the county is 58 percent, but the Haitian homeownership rate is only 45 percent. Most Haitians, then, are not benefiting from the assets and wealth-building potential that homeownership offers. And those Haitian households who do own their own homes don't benefit as much as other groups because their homes tend to be worth less. The median home value for Haitian owner-occupied houses was \$92,200 in 2000, as opposed to \$124,000 for all owner-occupied houses in the county.

Second, housing costs—including rent, mortgage payments, condo fees, or other associated fees—are quite high for the Haitian community. Fifty-one percent of all Haitian households in the county pay more than 30 percent of their income toward housing costs (as opposed to 41 percent of all Miami-Dade households, and 28 percent of all U.S. households). And more alarmingly, 25 percent of Haitian households in Miami-Dade spend more than half of their income on housing costs.

Haitians have less access to federal benefits and mainstream financial institutions

When federal welfare reform was passed in 1996, it terminated benefits for legal noncitizen immigrants for the first five years of residence. While some benefits were subsequently restored to immigrants who had arrived before 1996, foreign-born residents arriving after 1996 no longer have access (for the first five years) to federal programs such as Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF), food stamps, Supplemental Security Income (SSI), Medicaid, and the State Children's Health Insurance Program (CHIP).¹² Fourteen percent, or 13,000, of Miami-Dade's Haitian population are foreign-born residents who arrived between 1995 and 2000—a significant share of the population that does not have access to benefits that supplement income.

These changes have further complicated an already difficult situation. Because of the confusing nature of eligibility laws, as well as immigrants' distrust of government agencies, many eligible foreign-born residents don't access federal benefits. For example, an individual household may have members with different eligibility standings, such as noncitizen foreign-parents whose children are citizens or immigrants who are eligible for benefits living with relatives who are not. Studies have shown that eligible native-born children of immigrant parents are often not enrolled in health care services because their parents fear being considered a "public charge" by the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS, formerly the Immigration and Naturalization Service, or INS). Being considered a public charge

means that the USCIS may refuse a resident's application for permanent residency. Likewise, eligible immigrants may not consult government agencies about benefits for fear that ineligible or illegal relatives living with them may be reported to USCIS.¹³

In his study of Haitian immigrants in Miami-Dade, Philip Kretsedemas shows that benefit participation rates are very low for the Haitian foreign-born community, even when individuals qualify. No more than five percent of the immigrants in the survey applied for benefits, even though 80 percent of the respondents were eligible.¹⁴ Besides confusion on both the part of the immigrants and their service providers on who is eligible for what programs, Haitians face language barriers and cultural differences that can fuel miscommunication between government agencies and their clients.

Haitians and other foreign-born residents also face obstacles to wealth-building because of their lower participation rates in mainstream financial institutions. An analysis of the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago shows that 32 percent of foreign-born households are unbanked, while only 18 percent of native-born residents do not have a bank account.¹⁵ Not only does this contribute to lower homeownership rates and savings rates, it also increases risk of theft and robbery, as the unbanked population is more likely to carry large amounts of cash, particularly on payday.

Being unbanked means depending more on "alternative financial providers" that often charge much higher interest rates than banks and other mainstream businesses for access to cash and credit. This "parasitic economy"—the check cashers, payday lenders, tax refund advance firms, and money transfer shops—thrives on low-income customers conventional banks don't pursue. The disconnect between working families without bank accounts and mainstream financial institutions carries a huge price. According to the U.S. Treasury, a worker earning \$12,000 annually pays about \$250 of that to cash pay checks at a check cashing store, not including additional fees for money orders or wire transfers.

Most Haitians are not benefiting from the assets and wealth-building potential that homeownership offers.



The Future: What is ahead for Miami-Dade's Haitian community?

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The trends described here demonstrate that the Haitian community is not starting from a position of strength on the path to the middle class. But it is also clear that this inauspicious starting point will not hamper Haitians forever. There are already some signs the gap may be beginning to close.

First, educational achievement among Haitians is better among younger adults than older adults. While college attainment rates are still low for all age groups, it appears that younger adults are making headway in terms of high school attainment rates. In Miami-Dade County, 67 percent of Haitian adults over 65 do not have a high school diploma, but the rate for adults aged 25 to 34 is only 27 percent.

Second, Haitian immigrants who become naturalized citizens have much lower poverty rates than non-citizens. The poverty rate for non-citizen, foreign-born residents is 34 percent, but the poverty rate drops to 20 percent for Haitians who are naturalized citizens. Citizenship status aside, foreign-born Haitians who entered the U.S. between 1995 and 2000 have higher poverty rates than Haitians who entered the U.S. before 1980. In Miami-Dade, recent Haitian immigrants arriving between 1995 and 2000 have a poverty rate of 40 percent, but Haitian immigrants arriving before 1980 have a poverty rate of only 22 percent. This suggests that the more established Haitians become in the U.S., the better off they become economically.

Third, Haitians are following the same paths as other immigrant groups in the region—as they move up the income ladder, they move out of Miami City. So while the overall numbers for the entire region may be low, there are pockets of Haitian prosperity through Miami-Dade and Broward. Like the overall population statistics, Haitians in Broward County tend to be wealthier than those living in Miami-Dade—Haitian median household income in Broward is almost \$4,000 higher than it is in Miami-Dade. Miramar in Broward County harbors the wealthiest Haitian community, with a Haitian median household income of \$43,138 and a Haitian poverty rate of only 8 percent. There are also several towns in Miami-Dade that have wealthier Haitian communities than the one in Miami City. For example, North Miami Beach has a Haitian median household income of more than \$30,000. (This generally is not good news for Miami City, which would benefit by retaining Haitians and other immigrants who successfully enter the middle class.)

incomes. Besides investing in workforce development programs, this also means thinking creatively about transportation—investing in a full menu of transportation options, including traditional mass transit, as well as jitney, ride-sharing, and car ownership programs.

Augmenting the effort to connect Haitians to quality jobs is the effort to make sure that work pays—that Haitian workers are maximizing the benefits available to them, such as the Earned Income Tax Credit, child care subsidies, and transit benefits. Relatedly, Miami-Dade should choose policies that help families build assets. This can include reducing costs that hinder family savings and wealth building capacity. For example, reducing the cost of remitting money back to Haiti would keep more money in the pocketbooks of Haitian families (currently, Haitian immigrants in the U.S. pay an average of 7.72 percent of the amount sent in fees and commissions).¹⁷

Finally, quality neighborhoods are paramount. Neighborhoods of choice and connection—safe, with good schools and quality housing stock—can not only improve outcomes for residents moving up the income ladder, but they will also attract middle- and upper-income residents as well.

Given the trends, both good and bad, it makes sense to follow a policy framework that accelerates the progress Haitians are already making. Helping to grow the Haitian middle class includes the following policy choices:¹⁶

- Develop an educated skilled workforce
- Improve access to quality jobs
- Make work pay
- Help families build assets
- Build quality neighborhoods

The Haitian community suffers from low educational attainment rates, and one of the most important policy choices Miami-Dade can make is to get Haitian high schoolers successfully through high school and into

community colleges or four-year institutions. Without this crucial step, the long term outlook for a large Haitian middle class is bleak.

Connecting Haitians to quality jobs is also a key component of reducing poverty rates and increasing median household

Miami City has the poorest Haitian population, while Miramar has the wealthiest

Places with Large Haitian Communities	Haitian Median Household Income	Haitian Population	Haitian Share of Total Population	Haitian Poverty Rate
Miramar (Broward)	43,138	4,359	6.0%	8%
North Miami Beach (Miami-Dade)	30,068	7,864	19.3%	24%
Lauderdale Lakes (Broward)	30,059	4,732	15.0%	26%
Golden Glades* (Miami-Dade)	27,500	10,284	32.0%	27%
Pompano Beach (Broward)	26,458	4,718	6.0%	39%
Lauderhill (Broward)	26,449	5,034	8.8%	30%
North Miami (Miami-Dade)	26,045	18,656	31.1%	33%
Pinewood* (Miami-Dade)	23,901	4,315	25.7%	44%
Fort Lauderdale (Broward)	23,691	10,869	7.1%	36%
Miami (Miami-Dade)	20,000	18,309	5.0%	38%
Broward County	31,041	62,342	3.8%	26%
Miami-Dade County	27,284	95,669	4.2%	30%

*Census-defined place (is not incorporated as its own town or city)

Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Conclusion

Miami-Dade is at the center of Haitian life in the United States. And for some Haitian residents, South Florida has been an incubator for economic success—new businesses, education, and good jobs. Additionally, the Haitian community has a growing number of elected officials. Currently eight serve, and three have served and since left elective office. These trends show that full economic and political enfranchisement of Miami-Dade’s Haitian community is possible. And if Miami-Dade can successfully grow the Haitian middle class, it will benefit not only the Haitian community, but the region as a whole.



Endnotes

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METROPOLITAN POLICY PROGRAM

ABOUT THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION METROPOLITAN POLICY PROGRAM

Redefining the challenges facing metropolitan America and promoting innovative solutions to help communities grow in more inclusive, competitive, and sustainable ways

The Brookings Institution Metropolitan Policy Program was launched in December 1996 with an initial seed grant from the Fannie Mae Foundation. Today, the Metropolitan Policy Program at Brookings is the only national organization of its kind, matching rigorous research with policy analysis and strategic communication on the full range of interconnected issues that local, county, and state leaders face daily in their work.

For more information on the Brookings Institution Metropolitan Policy Program please visit our website at www.brookings.edu/urban.

ABOUT DADE COMMUNITY FOUNDATION

Dade Community Foundation was established in 1967 as Greater Miami's permanent philanthropic endowment to enhance the quality of life of all the residents of Miami-Dade County. Dade Community Foundation manages the John S. and James L. Knight Foundation Donor-Advised Fund, established by the Knight Foundation to enhance both foundations' community impact in Miami-Dade and Broward counties.

ABOUT LIVING CITIES

Living Cities: The National Community Development Initiative is a partnership of leading foundations, financial institutions, nonprofit organizations, and the federal government that is committed to improving the vitality of cities and urban communities. Living Cities funds the work of community development corporations in 23 cities and uses the lessons of that work to engage in national research and policy development. The consortium includes the following members:

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Census 2000 provides a unique opportunity to define the shape of urban and metropolitan policy for the coming decade. With support from *Living Cities: The National Community Development Initiative*, the Brookings Institution Metropolitan Policy Program has launched the *Living Cities Census Series*, a major three-year effort to illustrate how urban and suburban America has changed in the last two decades. As a part of this effort, Brookings is conducting comparative analyses of the major social, economic, and demographic trends for U.S. metropolitan areas, as well as a special effort to provide census information and analysis in a manner that is tailored to the cities involved in the Living Cities initiative.



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