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The Business Community of Little Haiti (Dialogue #32)

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THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY OF LITTLE HAITI

Alex Stepick, Ph.D.

Dialogue #32

February, 1984

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PREFACE

Following his appointment at Florida International University in 1981, Professor Alex Stepick has focused his research almost exclusively on Haiti and Haitian migration. The research printed herein is the result of the Haitian community's interest in finding out about their own patterns of development. Yves Savain, Executive Director of the Haitian Task Force, was especially instrumental in co-sponsoring Dr. Stepick's research.

Mark B. Rosenberg
Director

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Foreword

The modest accomplishments of Miami's Haitian entrepreneurs remain a notable development even in an area well accustomed to rapid and spectacular growth. In less than five years, the long established businesses of Edison Little/River and Lemon City, the area also known as Little Haiti, have been joined by over 100 small enterprises, owned and managed by Haitians. The enthusiasm and determination that marked this beginning clearly predict the major role private enterprise will continue to play in the South Florida Haitian community.

For the Haitian Task Force and other community institutions, notably the Haitian American Chamber of Commerce an accurate inventory of that development became essential. A careful analysis was clearly required to assess the current state of old and new businesses in Little Haiti, and to make realistic plans for future growth.

The survey of Little Haiti's businesses became a major project of the Haitian Task Force in our first year of operation as a community based organization (CBO). Enlisting the participation of the Haitian American Chamber of Commerce, HTF set out to solicit the help of demographers, secure adequate financial resources and assure the cooperation of some 250 area businesses.

The list of those who gave of their time and resources to this project is long. We will note first, Dr. Alex Stepick who authored this report and whose participation was invaluable at all stages of the survey. Others whose contribution must also be acknowledged include Loretta Titterud and Nicole McCandless of the Behavioral Research Science Institute who shared their expertise, having recently completed a more extensive study of the area, and who were instrumental in the development of the questionnaire and the survey's methodology. Benny Moore and Flore Limousine of the Miami Dade Community College North Campus made it possible to hire eight creole and english speaking interviewers and assured the coordination of their work. Of the staff and of the board of directors of the Haitian Task Force, Genevieve Auguste and Jockesta Megie are deserving of mention for managing the project at various stages. And finally our friends of the Florida International University, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, notably Michelle Lamare, and Dr. Stepick's assistants Gina Canero, Al Fernandez and Roald Garcia volunteered once again their priceless professional attention. Last but not to be forgotten are the eight interviewers who canvassed the community and whose data we now rely upon.

Yves Savain
Executive Director

I. Introduction

The store fronts leap out at the passersby. Bright blues, reds, and oranges seem to vibrate to the rousing Haitian music blaring from the sidewalk speakers. The multilingual signs advertise peculiarly Haitian products --- rapid money transfer to any village in Haiti, the latest Haitian records, custom tailored "French-styled" fashions, and culinary delights such as lambi and griot. Unlike so many neighborhood shopping areas in the age of the automobile and suburbs, Little Haiti's streets are filled with pedestrians. They have resuscitated, at least partially, an area that had been declining for a decade.

Their leaders are businessmen. They are filled with energy and optimism. They envision Little Haiti becoming another Little Havana or San Francisco Chinatown. The only Little Haiti in the U.S. will be a cultural and tourist attraction based upon the Haitians drive and enthusiasm and upon the Haitian's unique cultural attributes -- world renown painting, wood crafts, music, French inspired cuisine, and numerous skilled trades.

This report describes the Little Haiti business community as it exists today. It analyzes the community's resources, needs, prospects for fulfilling the dreams of its leaders, and suggests some policy recommendations to promote the community's further development and success. The report begins with a summary of the study's methodology. the following section overviews the importance and different types of business communities among other immigrant groups in the U.S. and other parts of the world. The study then provides a brief history of the changes in the Edison-Little River area which produced Little Haiti. The characteristics of the owners of the Haitian businesses are then examined, their education, business background, and experiences in the U.S. The types of businesses in Little Haiti, both Haitian and non-Haitian, form the focus of the following section. They are contrasted in terms of diversity, number, and sector. The report then analyzes employment of the businesses in Little Haiti for both Haitian and non-Haitian firms. It then examines more closely the nature of the Haitian businesses, their clientele, their background, finances, integration into modern business practices, their degree of success, and their needs. The report concludes with an analysis of their future prospects and some recommendations for increasing their chances of success.

II. Methodology

The primary research tool was a census survey of every business with a store front, both Haitian and non-Haitian, on NW 2nd Ave, N. Miami Ave., NE 2nd Ave from 47th St. to 79th St. and on 54th St, 62nd St. and 79th St. between NW 2nd Ave and NE 2nd Ave. The survey specifically excluded the industrial park between NE 2nd Ave and the Florida East Coast Railroad from 56th St. to 79th St. (See Map 1).

The questionnaire, included as Appendix A, was developed jointly by Yves Savain of the Haitian Task Force, Loretta Titterud and Nicole McCandless of the Behavioral Science Research Institute and Dr. Alex Stepick of the Sociology and Anthropology Department at Florida International University. It was administered in August 1983 with support from of Miami Dade Community College's North Campus and cooperation from the Haitian American Chamber of Commerce permitted a refinement of the questionnaire and facilitated the interviewing process.

All the interviewers were all bilingual Haitians or Haitian-Americans. They were thoroughly screened before being hired and trained in this project. They were individually interviewed by the field supervisor, and were given a test in English to measure their ability to read and communicate in English. They were also tested in their ability to translate the questions on the survey into Haitian Creole in case any of the potential respondents preferred to respond in Creole rather than English. Applicants who could not master the test were dropped.

The survey provides the only scientific, thorough and reliable data on the Haitian business community in Miami. It covers a wide range of subjects in relatively great depth from the type of business to the education and previous business experience of the owner to resource and training needs. Because the survey was a census of all the businesses on the primary commercial streets in Little Haiti, and not a sample, there is no need for inferential statistics in interpreting the results. Percentages and correlations can be presented and interpreted directly. Nevertheless, the results must be interpreted with caution. The census does not include all Haitian businesses in Miami. The methodology does miss two important components of the Haitian business community.

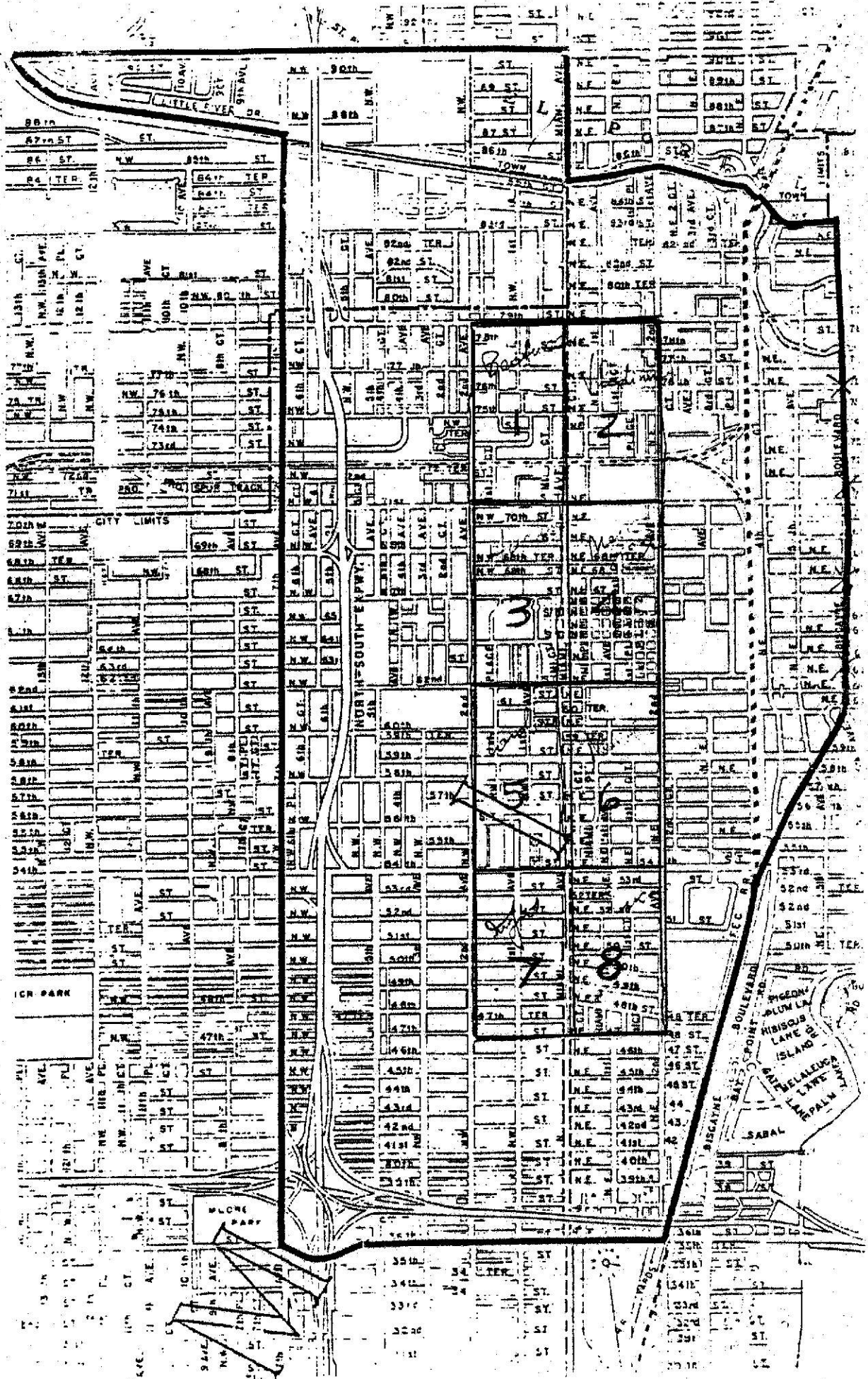
First, it neglects the numerous Haitian businesses in Miami that have nothing to do with Little Haiti, businesses which are well integrated into the mainstream and are usually not even recognized as Haitian. Some are import and export firms which support Haiti's export assembly plants. Many of these firms have business offices in Miami to facilitate exporting of the goods for assembly to Haiti and the importing of the finished products to the U.S. Associated with these businesses are numerous maritime and air cargo companies and freight forwarders which frequently, but not necessarily, specialize in freight to and from Haiti. All of these firms melt into the melange of import

MAP 1

Little Haiti
and the Survey
Area

Outer black
line encloses
the boundaries
of Little
Haiti.

Inner
rectangles
define the
survey area.



and export firms surrounding Miami International Airport. They usually employ only a few people locally and seldom do any of their employees live in Little Haiti, nor do they sell their products there.

There are also numerous other independent Haitian businessmen who run a variety of firms specializing in many different products including tire franchises, automobile parts outlets, sporting goods stores, and camera stores all outside the Little Haiti area and catering almost exclusively to non-Haitians. Finally, there are also numerous Haitian professionals in Miami, physicians, dentists, computer programmers, and the like, who have independent practices based outside Little Haiti and again catering to non-Haitians. All of these are missed by a survey which focuses on businesses in Little Haiti. While important to combating the negative stereotypes of Haitians as uneducated and unskilled, neglecting these firms does not severely compromise the results of the survey because these individuals and firms do not directly help the Haitians who are in Little Haiti. They neither provide goods or services to them, nor do they have many employees from that area.

The second broad group not reached by the survey is the increasing number of businesses run out of individuals' homes in Little Haiti. These include seamstresses who sew for individuals, pest control services, lawn maintenance, various skilled tradesmen, and numerous other small businesses. Missing these businesses is indeed unfortunate. Other preliminary research conducted by Dr. Stepick indicates that they are an important, dynamic, and growing sector of the Haitian business community. Since they do not have store fronts and are not listed anywhere, it was impossible to survey them. Information on this important subsector of the Haitian business community can only be gathered by more intensive, long term research.

As one final caveat, the reader should recognize that a survey also necessarily captures a population at one point in time. It may ask questions about the past and prospects for the future, but the primary focus is the present, the time at the administration of the survey. Moreover, to be scientific and reliable surveys must ask a fixed set of questions. They cannot leave the interviewer and respondent free to diverge in any direction. As a result, precise predictions are difficult and some areas, which may be interesting, can only be briefly touched. To overcome these inherent difficulties, the survey data is supplemented by intensive, open-ended interviews with numerous Haitian businessmen and other research in the Haitian community by Dr. Stepick (see Stepick 1982a, 1982b, 1984).

III. Business Communities among Immigrant Groups

Virtually all immigrant groups establish some sort of business community in their new homelands. One of their primary functions usually is to fulfill the peculiar social and cultural needs of their fellow countrymen, the goods which are not locally available such as food and spices, particular services such as entertainment, or simply as a broker with the outside community who can speak and understand the language and customs of both the larger community and the immigrants.

Not all immigrant business communities, however, are alike (see Stepick 1982c). They can be divided into three distinct types. First are those immigrant communities which are limited to small, mom and pop stores serving their own ethnic group and having few business ties to the broader community. Their goods are either imported or provided from within the community itself.

The second type of immigrant business community is the middleman business community which acts as a link between the immigrant or ethnic community and the broader society. Middleman business communities may even be of a different ethnicity than the immigrant community they serve, such as the Korean merchants in New York, or even some Cuban merchants in Little Haiti. Middleman minorities are not limited to the U.S. and include the Jews in Europe, the Chinese in Southeast Asia, the Indians in East Africa, the Arabs in West Africa, the Armenians in Turkey, and the Parsis in India (Bonacich and Modell 1980:14).

The third and final type of immigrant business community is the ethnic enclave where an immigrant business community creates an economic subsystem largely unto itself with ethnic entrepreneurs, workers, customers, and suppliers all of the same group (Portes and Bach 1984). Ethnic enclaves contain much more economic diversity than the other types of immigrant business communities. They do not simply provide the peculiar needs of the immigrant community, but they seek to provide all its needs and they attempt to do so with materials and services provided by still other members of the same ethnic group. Ethnic enclaves tend to arise among immigrant groups which contain a broad cross-section of the native population, not only workers but successful, experienced businessmen and skilled tradesmen. The most immediate example is the Miami Cuban community, but also included are the Jews of the Northeast in the 19th century and the Orientals, particularly the Japanese and Koreans, of the West Coast in the 20th century. The ethnic enclave business communities grow much more rapidly, become much larger than the other types, and with time usually incorporate themselves into the larger economic system.

The type of immigrant business community -- mom and pop stores, middlemen, or enclave -- is not simply important in itself, but it also reflects the immigrant community's relationship to the broader society, its economic success and its chances for integration. If the business community is largely

confined to small, mom and pop stores serving the peculiar needs of their countrymen, the immigrant community as a whole is probably primarily composed of blue collar, working people. The native population frequently despises the immigrants and blames them for taking jobs away from natives. The small business community is limited in its potential for growth, since their market is only their own countrymen who are limited in number and have low or at best middle incomes. Where these limited immigrant business communities predominate, the immigrant population tends to possess little socioeconomic mobility in the first generation, although their children often obtain higher education and succeed by leaving the immigrant community. The children may become businessmen themselves, but usually they are no longer part of the immigrant business community. Instead they economically integrate into the mainstream and maintain their ethnic identity socially, through language and maintenance of some traditional customs such as religion, observance of particular holidays, and perhaps language.

The immigrant middleman business communities are more widespread and more successful. They tend to maintain a separate and distinct community, often through religion and other cultural traits. Ethnic solidarity remains an important ideal enforced in numerous ways, including through formal associations and informal peer pressure. They seldom participate in local politics except as they impinge on their own ethnic affairs. Economically, they tend to concentrate in particular economic activities such as trade, petty finance and money handling. Small businesses overwhelmingly predominate and most are self-employed or have family owned businesses. The businessmen run effective and competitive small businesses because they operate and sell with relatively low expenses. In contrast to the first type of immigrant business community, middleman business community may experience considerable economic mobility within the first generation. At the same time, the individuals typically face considerable hostility from the larger society, including frequently discriminatory laws restricting their rights to citizenship, places of residence, land ownership, and intermarriage (Bonacich and Modell 1980:17-19). Middleman minorities, therefore, are more likely to be economically successful than the first type, but they are also less likely to integrate socially into the larger society.

The third type of immigrant business community is the ethnic enclave. Socially, ethnic enclaves are similar to the middleman immigrant business communities. They also tend to form separate communities maintaining ethnic solidarity and in their early stages are unlikely to participate in local politics. They also frequently encounter hostility from the larger society, a hostility which is often reinforced by the immigrants' desires to remain aloof and retain their ethnic identity and own customs. Their businesses are also small and family owned in the initial stages. And, they are similarly efficient and competitive for the same reasons as the middleman immigrants' businesses, low wages and long, hard hours. The ethnic enclave business

community, however, differs in one crucial respect -- it is far more diversified than that of the middleman minority. It does not concentrate in particular activities such as trade and finance. It attempts to involve itself in all types of economic activities from the productive process through retailing to service and finance. Economic success is highly likely for the first generation immigrants and equally likely for their descendants. Moreover, because they have diversified, with time they integrate more and more with the larger economic system, while commonly maintaining their separate ethnic identity.

IV. The Haitian Business Community in Miami

Little Haiti, a part of Lemon City, Edison-Little River and the Buena Vista areas, is one of Miami's oldest neighborhoods. It has been settled for probably 150 years and once upon a time it was the cultural center of the county. It had the area's first school, first post office, first active community improvement association, first community church, first library, and the first paved street. But the area no longer ranks among Dade's best neighborhoods. While the changes have been dramatic, they are not recent. As early as the 1930s, local economic changes occasioned neighborhood transformations. The depression shut down Lemon City's saw mills and starch plants. Instead Miami began to attract people with money from the Northeastern U.S. Miami grew and gradually absorbed Lemon City and Edison-Little River. Sumptuous homes arose along the bay and Buena Vista became a favored site for many of Miami's local elite while the surrounding areas became solid blue collar, white communities with a small population of middle income blacks in the west. Most of the housing consisted of single family dwellings. A stable business community arose serving local residents and the 1950s tourists who stayed in the motels a few blocks from the bay.

In the late 1960s and 1970s the area became subject to the same forces that buffeted so many cities throughout the U.S., the flight to the suburbs. In the 1960s Cubans, Puerto Ricans, and Black Americans settled in the area raising the proportion of Latins and Black Americans each to about a third by 1970. The whites who remained tended to be older and retired. The increase in blacks continued through the decade of the 1970s and by 1980 the area was about 80% black (Behavioral Science Research 1983:1-2). Businesses were mainly long established and making it or fly by night and folding. The changes lowered real estate values and made the area affordable to the Haitian refugees who began arriving in significant numbers in 1977.

Today the area is commonly known as Little Haiti, although they constitute less than 40% of the area's total population. About 30% of the current Haitian residence in the areas had settled there by 1977, another 26% in 1978-9, 29% in 1980 and 14% in 1981-2. A 1982 survey estimated about 25,000 in the area from NW 36th St. to 91nd St. and between I-95 and Biscayne Boulevard (Behavioral Science Research 1983:17).

Concurrent with the growth in Haitian population has been an ever expanding Haitian business community. The first Haitian businesses in Miami opened downtown in 1974 before there was a focused Haitian community. The business community grew slowly at first with only one or two new businesses opening up each year. First, there was a record shop, then a beauty salon, dry cleaners, automobile repair, a restaurant, and a grocery store. In 1976 there were probably less than 10 Haitian businesses in Miami. As Haitian arrivals increased in 1977 (See Stepick 1982b) and focused on the Edison-Little River, so did the businesses.

The Haitian market had increased to a sufficient size for many small entrepreneurs to serve their needs. New Haitian businesses opened up in the area and Haitian businesses that were outside this area relocated to it. Soon NE 2nd Ave., 54th St., 62nd St., NW 2nd Ave., and 79th St. each had numerous Haitian businesses. Presently, on some blocks in the area it appears as if virtually every business is Haitian, sporting brightly painted walls and murals. The Haitian business community has also developed a public presence organizing both the Haitian Task Force and the Haitian American Chamber of Commerce. The Chamber of Commerce has organized seminars in managing small businesses. The City of Miami Commission put up \$43,750 last year to help fund an economic development office under the auspices of the Haitian Task Force. The Haitian Task Force has used this seed money to obtain funding from the Ford Foundation for a revolving loan fund in the area.

But the transformation has not been complete nor entirely successful. There are still storefronts with old and peeling exteriors, vacant lots with trash and weeds, and streets without sidewalks which force strollers onto the roadway. But the Haitian business community is anxious and struggling to fill these gaps. They talk constantly of turning Little Haiti into a Little Havana or San Francisco Chinatown.

While this dynamism, optimism, and organization bode well for the Haitian business community, it still remains the minority even in Little Haiti. As Table 1 indicates, over 60% of the businesses surveyed are owned and operated by non-Haitians. Table 1 also reveals that there are very few Haitian managed stores(2%). Moreover, as Table 2 reveals, the majority of the customers who patronize the non-Haitian businesses are also non-Haitian. There appears, therefore, to be a clear ethnic split within the area's business community. Most of the businesses remain non-Haitian; most of their customers are non-Haitian, and they have not hired Haitian managers either. An apparently increasing percentage, but still a minority, of the businesses are Haitian owned and most of their customers are Haitian. While there is some overlap -- some non-Haitian stores have a majority of Haitian customers and some Haitian stores have a majority of non-Haitian customers-- the overlap is unequal. Non-Haitian businesses are more likely to draw upon Haitian customers than Haitian businesses are to rely upon non-Haitian customers.

TABLE 1
Ethnicity of Businesses' Owners and Managers

	Number	Percent
Haitian Owned	92	36.6
Haitian Managed	5	2.0
Non-Haitian Owned or Managed	154	61.4

TABLE 2
 Proportion of Customers Which Are Haitian
 Haitian Businesses Non-Haitian

Businesses	Number of Firms	Percent	Number of Firms	Percent
More than one-half	60	63.2	41	27.2
About one-half	18	18.9	14	9.3
Less than one-half	17	17.9	94	62.3

V. Profile of the Haitian Businessmen

The typical Haitian businessman in Little Haiti is not someone who just got off the boat, or even someone who came to Miami during the peak of the Haitian inflow. As Table 3 indicates, less than 10% of the Haitian businessmen surveyed came in 1980 or more recently. Over 60% have been in the U.S. more than 10 years and the average is over 12 years. They are people who know something, indeed quite a bit, about the U.S. and its ways. They have had experience both living and working in the U.S. And, frequently, although by no means always, that experience is related to the business which they now run.

Table 4 reveals that nearly 60% have had some kind of training for the businesses they now operate. For some it has been formal courses in business administration. For others, such as those who run automobile repair shops, it is likely to have been an apprenticeship as a mechanic. Regardless, the majority do not simply jump directly into a business about which they know nothing. They may not know everything they need to know, as other information discussed below reveals. They may not be fully informed about insurance, finance, and the like, but they at least have some acquaintance with their field.

They are also much more highly educated than the average Haitian (see Table 5). In Haiti, approximately 80% of the population is illiterate. The Haitian businessmen in Little Haiti, however, have an average of 13.3 years of education. This compares very favorably to earlier studies of Haitians including a sample of Haitian Entrants which had an average of over 8 (see Stepick 1982a), a survey of household heads in Little Haiti which had approximately the same average (Behavioral Sciences Research Institute 1983), or a recent survey of the Haitians released from Krome Detention Center which had a slightly lower average (Stepick 1984). The majority of the owners were educated in Haiti. There are, however, a few who have obtained all of their education in the U.S. In terms of education, this latter group may be more American than Haitian.

Table 6 reveals that 40% of the Haitian businessmen have owned or operated prior businesses. Table 7 also reveals that a significant proportion of the Haitian business community has quite cosmopolitan experiences including New York, Montreal, and even Europe and Africa. A significant minority, therefore, has had previous business experience and presumably has some expertise and less need for business training. But because many of the previous businesses were outside the U.S., one might expect these people to still be in need of training for the U.S. business environment. While the number who have had previous business experience is considerable, for the majority (60%) the current business is their first and one might expect their business expertise to be less and their needs greater.

Table 8 reveals that certainly not all of the owners' previous businesses were short lived failures. Overall they

averaged nearly 4 years and almost one-third lasted from 6-13 years. These businesses had weathered those most difficult first two years. In many cases, they were closed probably because the owners decided to move rather than because of inadequate business practices. A second group of current owners may have indeed had unsuccessful or only marginally successful businesses. The third group is those who do not have previous business experience. In Haiti, businesses frequently are a repository for savings. When a family or individual has amassed a small sum of money, rather than letting it lie idle or trusting in banks (which are still not widespread, especially outside the capital, Port-au-Prince), individuals invest in a business. The intrinsic nature of the business is less important than the simple fact that it is a business and in their minds the most productive place for their small capital. Interviews indicate that the trend continues here. Businesses are started not necessarily because of previous experience or even a felt need to provide particular goods or services, but because the owner wants to put his savings to work. These are the owners who have little or no background in business and who, if they are to succeed in the long run, need substantial support and training. All three groups were probably enticed to establish new businesses in Miami because of the expansion of the local Haitian population. If the captive market did not exist, most likely neither would many of their businesses. The survey reveals, perhaps even more importantly, that the owners have differing backgrounds and motivations for beginning a business in Little Haiti.

In summary, this profile of the Haitian businessman reveals two fundamentally important facts:

1. Most of the Haitian businessmen are educated and experienced. They are neither new to this country nor new to their business. They have enough years in the U.S., training, education, and previous business experience to make a reasonable go of it in Little Haiti.

2. Nevertheless, the business community is not homogeneous. Not everyone has been in the U.S. for ten years or more, or has more than a high school education with training in business and previous business experience. While virtually all have been in the U.S. 5 years or more and have at least a primary education, a significant proportion had no previous business experience before they opened their current business.

TABLE 3
How Many Years Has the Owner Been in the U.S.

	Number of Owners	Percent
Four years or less	7	7.4
Five to Nine	20	21.2
Ten to Fourteen	28	29.5
Fifteen to Nineteen	17	17.9
Twenty to Twenty-six	13	13.7
Average Years in U.S. ---	12.2	years
Median Years in U.S. ---	12.1	

TABLE 4
Formal Business Training

	Number	Percent
Yes	55	58.5
No	39	41.5

TABLE 5
Owner's Years of Schooling

	In Haiti		In U.S.		Combined	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
0-6 years	9	9.6	87	90.6	7	7.4
7-12	58	61.7	6	6.3	32	34.0
13-16	17	18.1	3	3.1	38	40.4
17-28	5	5.3	0	0.0	18	19.1
Average	10.8		2.5		13.3	
Median	11.5		2.0		13.5	

TABLE 6
Owned or Operated a Prior Business

	Number	Percent
Yes	37	38.5
No	59	61.5

TABLE 7
Location of Prior Businesses*

	Number	Percent
Haiti	18	34.6
Miami	12	28.8
New York	8	15.3
Montreal	6	11.5
Other	5	9.6

*

The number of prior locations is greater than the number who owned or operated a prior business because some owned or operated more than one prior business in more than one location.

TABLE 8
Years of Operation of Prior Businesses

	Number	Percent
One year	7	13.7
Two years	10	19.6
Three years	5	9.8
Four years	2	3.9
Five years	3	5.9
Six to Thirteen years	16	31.3

Average Length of Previous Businesses — 3.98 years

VI. Types of Businesses in Little Haiti

While the number and diversity of Haitian businesses in Little Haiti is increasing virtually every day, they are still less than the non-Haitian businesses. As described above, the survey found 96 Haitian businesses and 154 non-Haitian businesses (Table 1). Moreover, the non-Haitian businesses with 46 different kinds of businesses are more diverse than the Haitians with only 26 different kinds (Table 9).

Both Haitian and non-Haitian businesses have their highest concentrations in food related businesses and automobile service. For the non-Haitians the highest proportions are in grocery stores (17.2%) most of which are small, usually Cuban owned stores, automobile service (8.3%), restaurants (5.1%), carpet and draperies (5.1%), custom furniture (3.8%), and gas stations (3.2%).

For the Haitian businesses, the highest proportions are in automobile service (20.8%), restaurants (11.5%), grocery stores (9.4%), beauty salons and barber shops (9.4%), and tailors (7.3%), followed by furniture retailers and photographers (3.1%) each. Beyond these, businesses diversify for both the Haitian and non-Haitians with only one or a few of each kind.

Clearly, retail stores predominate and they are retail stores which service primarily the immediate area. The only significant exceptions are the non-Haitian carpet and draperies stores and the custom furniture manufacturers both of which are on the edges of the Designer District, but fell within our survey area. Table 10, which groups businesses into broader categories further confirms this concentration. Food and other retail businesses predominate for both groups. Food, which includes restaurants and grocery stores, comprises 30.1% of the non-Haitian businesses and 22.9% of the Haitian ones. Other retail stores comprise 29.5% of the non-Haitian and 28.1% of the Haitian. Auto stores, which because of their numbers we categorized separately, comprised 14.7% of the non-Haitian and 21.9% of the Haitian businesses. The only other business type which comes close is services among the non-Haitians at 14.7%. There are very few wholesaling or professional businesses in either group.

If the businesses are grouped even more broadly, as in Table 11 which lumps the auto, barbers and beauty salons and tailors into the services, the distinctions between the non-Haitian and Haitians shift. The Haitian businesses are virtually evenly divided between retail (52.1%) and services (47.9%), while the non-Haitians have almost a two-thirds majority in the retail sector (65.4%).

Analysis of the types of businesses, therefore, reflects a business community which is primarily devoted to serving the needs of the immediate area. Non-Haitians are still the majority in the area. They still run the majority of businesses and they

still form the majority of the customers for those businesses. The simple dichotomy between Haitian and non-Haitian, however, masks important ethnic differences among the non-Haitians. The majority of the area's residents are Black Americans, but Black Americans do not own the majority of the area's businesses. While they own some, most of the non-Haitian businesses are owned by either White Americans or Hispanics, usually Cubans. This point is not a central concern of this report which focuses on Haitian businesses, but it is important to anyone trying to understand the nature of the area and the overall business community within it.

Immediately surrounding the area of Little Haiti are two areas which do serve the broader community. The industrial park along the Florida East Coast Railroad consists largely of light industry which finds its market primarily in South Florida. The Design District on Little Haiti's southern edge attracts upper income patrons also from throughout South Florida. Both of these, however, are more like economic enclaves. With few exceptions, they neither employ many Haitians nor have Haitians as customers.

The Haitian business types fit the pattern of either the mom and pop immigrant businesses or the economic middlemen. They do not fit the pattern of the economic enclave. They concentrate in a few business types, particularly in retail and services, serving primarily the peculiar economic needs of the Haitian community. While Haitian businesses outside Little Haiti are integrated into the broader economic system, those within it are not.

TABLE 9
Types of Businesses

	Haitian		Non-Haitian	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Automobile				
Service	20	20.8	14	8.3
Restaurant	11	11.5	5	5.1
Grocery Store	9	9.4	27	17.2
Beauty Salon				
or Barber	9	9.4	4	2.4
Tailor	7	7.3		
Retail Stores				
Furniture	3	3.1		
New Appliances	1	1.0		
Used Appliances	1	1.0		
Records	2	2.1		
Photography	3	3.1		
Jewelry	1	1.0		
Variety	1	1.0		
Religious				
Articles	1	1.0		
Discount Store	1	1.0		
Pharmacy	1	1.0		
Auto Parts	1	1.0	1	.6
Export & Import	1	1.0	1	.6
Carpet & Draperies			8	5.1
Custom Furniture			6	3.8
Golf Cart Parts			2	1.3
Tires			2	1.3
Electrical			2	1.3
New Automobiles			2	1.3
Used Automobiles			2	1.3
Pet Supplies			1	1.6
Clothing			1	.6
Refrigeration				
Equipment			1	.6
Appliance Parts			1	.6
Car Stereo			1	.6
Adult Book Store			1	.6
Marine Products			1	.6
Paint & Supplies			1	.6
Monuments			1	.6
Food Manufacturer				
Bakery	1	1.0		
Soft Drink	1	1.0		
Wholesalers	2	2.1		
Textiles			1	.6
Printing				
Equipment			1	.6
Services				
Insurance	2	2.1	1	.6
Real Estate	1	1.0		
Gas Station			5	3.2
Dry Cleaning			3	1.9

TABLE 2 Continued

Cleaning			3	1.9
Electronic				
Protection			1	1.3
Towing			1	.6
Boat Repairs			1	.6
Day Care			1	.6
Community Center			1	.6
Labor Union			1	.6
Funeral Home			1	.6
Rental Agency			1	.6
X-rated Movie				
Theater			1	.6
Doctor	2*	2.1	1	.6
Dentist			1	.6
Notary Public	2	2.1		
Printing	1	1.0	2	1.3
Business				
Management				
Consultant	1	1.0	2	1.3
Construction				
Trades				
Windows and Glass			2	1.3
Plumbing			1	.6
Welding			1	.6
Construction				
Materials				
Marble			1	.6

* The survey underestimates the number of Haitian doctors in Little Haiti because some of them refused to cooperate and answer the questions. Presently, there are approximately twelve Haitian doctors and one dentists with offices in Little Haiti.

TABLE 10
Groupings of Types of Businesses

	Haitian		Non-Haitian	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Retail	27	28.1	46	29.5
Food	22	22.9	47	30.1
Auto	21	21.9	23	14.7
Barber and Beauty	9	9.4	4	2.6
Tailor	7	7.3		
Professional	5	5.2	4	2.6
Services	4	4.2	23	14.7
Wholesale	1	1.0	9	5.8

TABLE 11
Retail Versus Services Businesses

	Haitian		Non-Haitian	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Retail	50	52.1	102	65.4
Services	46	47.9	54	34.6

VII. Employment in Little Haiti's Businesses

Most businesses in Little Haiti, whether Haitian or non-Haitian, have some employees (Table 12). Only 10.5% of the non-Haitian and 22.9% of the Haitian businesses have no full time employees. The Haitian businesses, however, do have fewer full time employees than the non-Haitian ones (Table 13). The average number of full time employees for all the Haitian businesses is 1.9. If one excludes those businesses which have no full time employees at all, the average increases to 2.4. In contrast, for the non-Haitian businesses the averages are 5.2 for all businesses and 5.8 excluding those who have no full time employees. The figures for non-Haitian firms are just slightly above the Dade County average of 4 for Black firms and still far below the county-wide average of 14 for all Dade County firms (Metropolitan Dade County Planning Department 1981:3). Thus, while the non-Haitian businesses have three more full time employees than the Haitian businesses, neither have many employees compared to the county-wide average.

More than anything else Haitian and non-Haitian firms alike have one full time employee (32.3% of the Haitian firms and 20.5% of the non-Haitian firms). Nearly as many non-Haitian firms, however, have two full time employees (20.4%). The more dramatic difference though is in the number of firms with ten or more full time employees. There is no Haitian firm with twenty or more full time employees and less than 10% have four or more full time employees. On the other hand, there are twelve non-Haitian firms with twenty or more full time employees (8.1%) and 40% have four or more full time employees. While for both Haitian and non-Haitian firms, the norm is for few employees, among the non-Haitian firms there is a significant minority with a large number of employees. Among the Haitian firms, virtually all have few employees.

The comparisons are similar for part time employees. A higher percentage of Haitian firms have some part time employees (45.8% versus 37.0%), but the averages for the Haitians remain, nevertheless, lower. Across all Haitian firms, the average number of part time employees is .8. Including only those firms which have at least one part time employee raises the average to 1.8. For the non-Haitian firms the respective averages are 1.4 and 3.8. Again, apart from those which have no part time employees, most Haitian and non-Haitian businesses have one part time employee (20.8% and 15.6% respectively). There are no Haitian businesses, however, with five or more part time employees, while one non-Haitian business has twenty or more and another five (3.2%) have between ten and nineteen.

TABLE 12
Employees

Employees	Haitian Firms				Non-Haitian Firms			
	Full Time		Part Time		Full Time		Part Time	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
None	22	22.9	52	54.2	16	10.5	97	63.0
One or More	74	77.1	44	45.8	136	89.5	57	37.0

TABLE 13
Number of Employees

Number of Employees	Haitian				Non-Haitian			
	Full Time		Part Time		Full Time		Part Time	
	Number of Firms	%	Number of Firms	%	Number of Firms	%	Number of Firms	%
0	22	22.9	52	54.2	16	10.5	97	63.0
1	31	32.3	20	20.8	32	20.5	24	15.6
2	20	20.8	18	18.8	31	20.4	13	8.4
3	14	14.6	3	3.1	15	9.9	5	3.2
4	3	3.1	3	3.1	17	10.9	5	3.2
5-9	3	3.1	0	0.0	20	13.3	4	2.6
10-19	3	3.	0	0.0	9	6.0	5	3.2
20-up	0	00	0	0.0	12	8.1	1	.6
Average including those who have no employees other than owner	1.9		.8		5.2		1.4	
excluding those who have no employees other than owner	2.4		1.8		5.8		3.8	
Average for All Dade County firms			14					
Black firms in Dade County*			4					

*Dade County figures from Metropolitan Dade County Planning Department 1981: 3)

VIII. Haitian Employees in Little Haiti Businesses

A. Haitian Businesses

In the Haitian businesses virtually all the employees are also Haitian. The number of employees remains small regardless of the circumstances with few exceptions. The average number of full time Haitian employees in Haitian firms where the owner had a prior business is somewhat higher (2.1 versus 1.5). Similarly, the average number of part time Haitian employees in Haitian firms where the owner has had some business training is also somewhat higher (.98 versus .36). There is also a slight tendency for older businesses to have more employees ($r=.14$ for full time employees and $.21$ for part time), and for businesses with more square feet to have more employees ($r=.29$ for full time and $.10$ for part time). The number of employees in the Haitian businesses, however, has no relationship with the number of years the owner has been in the U.S., the proportion of Haitian customers the business has, and only a slight relationship with the firm's sales.

B. Non-Haitian Businesses

Haitian employees in non-Haitian businesses are much scarcer than they are in Haitian firms (Table 15). Among the non-Haitian firms, 80% have no full time Haitian employees and only five have four or more full time Haitian employees. The average is only .5 full time Haitian employees compared to the overall average for non-Haitian firms of 5.2 employees. Examining only those firms which have any employees at all hardly changes the picture. The average rises only to .56 full time Haitian employees per firm. Overall among the non-Haitian firms only 10% of the full time employees are Haitian, a figure far lower than either the proportion of Haitian customers or the available labor pool in the neighborhood, especially given the extraordinarily high stated unemployment rates among Haitians in Little Haiti of nearly 30% (Behavioral Sciences Research Institute 1983:27).

Part time Haitian employees in non-Haitian businesses are just as scarce. Over 90% of the non-Haitian firms have no part time Haitian employees and only two have four or more. The average number of part time Haitian employees in non-Haitian firms is only .2 compared to an overall average of 1.4 part time employees. The percentage of part time Haitian employees in non-Haitian firms is, therefore, slightly higher (14.3%) than it is for full time Haitian employees in non-Haitian firms. Nevertheless, it remains considerably below the proportion of Haitian customers or the available labor pool.

There is a definite tendency for full time Haitian employees in non-Haitian firms to concentrate in those businesses more

likely to have Haitian customers (Table 16). Wholesale and professional non-Haitian businesses have the highest averages of Haitian full time employees, but these are somewhat exaggerated because there are so few of these types of businesses (Table 17). Of the firms which do exist in significant numbers, all the averages are small. Nevertheless, the services' average (.78) is nearly twice as high as that of retail (.40), food (.35) or auto (.34). When the businesses are lumped into the larger groupings of only services and retail, the distinction lessens but remains (.66 versus .43). The relationship, however, reverses for part time Haitian workers in non-Haitian firms. Services have virtually none (average=.08), while retail and food have considerably more (.36 and .32, respectively).

TABLE 14
Haitian Employees in Haitian Businesses
Full Time Employees Part Time Employees

A. Averages			
Owner Had			
Prior Business			
Yes	2.1		.86
No	1.5		.66
Owner Has			
Business Training			
Yes	1.76		.98
No	1.72		.36
	*		
B. Correlations			
Owners Years in			
US	-0.04		.06
Owners Years in			
Business	.14		.21
Proportion of			
Haitian Customers	-0.04		.04
Perception of Whether			
Business Was Worst	-0.15		.15
Last Year			
Square Footage of the			
Business	.29		.10

* Correlations presented are either Pearson's r, if both variables are interval level, or Kendall's tau, if one or both variables is ordinal. The numbers provide a measure of association between the two variables. A positive one (1.0) would be a perfect positive association and a negative one (-1.0) would be a perfect negative association. A zero would be no association at all. Thus, the -.04 correlation between the number of employees and the owners years in U.S. means there is a very slight tendency for the owners who have been in the U.S. longer to have fewer full time employees. The .29 correlation between square footage of the business and number of full time employees means there is a reasonably strong tendency for those businesses with more square footage to have more full time employees.

TABLE 15

*

Number of Haitian Employees	Haitian Employees in Non-Haitian Businesses Full Time		Part Time	
	Number of Firms	Percent	Number of Firms	Percent
0	122	80.3	139	90.3
1	18	11.8	7	4.5
2	3	2.0	5	3.2
3	4	2.6	1	.6
4-up	5	3.2	2	1.2
Average including those who have no employees other than owner		.5		.2
excluding those who have no employees other than owner		.6		.5

*
Virtually 100% of the employees in Haitian businesses are
Haitians.

TABLE 16
Haitian Customers and Haitian Employees in Non-Haitian Businesses

A. Correlation	Full Time -.25		Part Time .08
*			
B. Crosstabulation	None	Some	
	None		None Some
Less than one-half Haitian customers	25	16	35 6
About one-half Haitian customers	11	3	11 3
More than one-half Haitian customers	82	12	87 7
Chi square =	11.95		3.38
r =	-.28		-.12

*None means the firm had no Haitian employees. Some means it had one or more. The numbers in the columns refer to the number of firms. Thus, 82 in the lower left hand corner indicates that there were 82 non-Haitian firms which had no full time Haitian employees while having more than one-half their customers as Haitians.

TABLE 17
Haitian Employees in Non-Haitian Firms
According to Type of Firm*

	number	Full Time		Part Time	
		average	total	average	total
A. <u>First Grouping</u>					
Retail	45	.40	18	.36	16
Food	46	.35	16	.32	15
Services	23	.78	18	.08	2
Auto	23	.34	8	.00	0
Wholesale	8	1.1	9	.00	0
Professional	4	1.75	7	.75	3
Barber & Beauty Salon	3	.67	2	.00	0
B. <u>Retail versus Services</u>					
Retail	99	.43		.30	31
Services	53	.66		.09	5

*

"Number" column refers to the number of non-Haitian businesses in this type. Thus, 45 in the upper left hand column means there were 45 non-Haitian retail firms. Average refers to the average number of Haitian employees for that type of firm; .45 thus reflects an average of .45 full time Haitian employees in retail non-Haitian firms. Total refers to the total number of Haitian employees in all the non-Haitian firms of that category. Thus, 18 means there were a total of 18 Haitian employees in all the 45 non-Haitian retail firms.

IX. The Nature of Haitian Businesses in Little Haiti

The Haitian businesses in Little Haiti adapt to, but do not entirely reflect the conditions of the population they serve. Owners of Haitian businesses have a longer residency in the U.S. and higher education than the average Haitian in Miami. Moreover, many have previous business experience or training in the business they are running. Yet, most are in business because of the Haitian population. They tend to serve its needs and desires.

Table 18 reveals that over 60% of the Haitian firms have more than one-half of their customers as Haitians, while less than 20% have less than one-half Haitian customers. In short, some firms (17) serve primarily the non-Haitian market, but the vast majority are oriented mainly towards their fellow countrymen.

Firms' markets depend somewhat on their product. The automobile service firms have the highest percentage of non-Haitian customers with more than 50% of them having half or more of their clients as non-Haitians. Virtually all other firms cater primarily to the Haitian market. Moreover, there is no relationship between a Haitian firm's number of employees, square footage of space, or sales and its proportion of Haitian customers. In short, large Haitian firms are not more likely to cater to the non-Haitian market than small Haitian firms. Firms which have been in business longer and those whose owners have been in the U.S. longer are, however, more likely to serve the non-Haitian market (Kendall's tau = .13 and .20, respectively). These firms may simply have learned more about how to serve the non-Haitian market. They may also realize the intrinsic limitations of serving a market of 40,000 Haitians in Miami.

Most of the Haitian firms in Little Haiti are indeed new. The average firm is 3.3 years old and more than one-half have been in business three years or less (Table 19). Nearly one-half (45%) have been in business two years or less and 37.5% have a year or less of being in business. Yet, there is diversity. Nearly 25% of the Haitian businesses have been in business five years or more. In short, while the typical business is new, there is a growing core of successful, surviving businesses.

TABLE 18

	Proportion of Clientele Which Is Haitian			
	Haitian Businesses		Non-Haitian Businesses	
	Number of Firms	Percent	Number of Firms	Percent
More than one-half	60	63.2	41	27.2
About one-half	18	18.9	14	9.3
Less than one-half	17	17.9	94	62.3

TABLE 19

	Years of Operation of the Present Business	
	Number	Percent
One year or less	36	37.5
Two years	8	8.3
Three years	17	17.7
Four years	11	11.5
Five years	6	6.3
Six to Nine years	14	14.6
Ten to Twelve years	4	4.1

Average number of years -- 3.3

X. Family Involvement in Haitian Businesses

It is commonly believed that immigrant businesses exist and thrive because of their heavy reliance upon unpaid family labor (see Light 1972). By having mother, father, children, grandparents, or aunts, cousins and the like work for little or nothing, wages are minimal and the business can survive and prosper in the face of competition from modern businesses which may be able to buy goods more cheaply or on credit because of their larger size.

The Haitian businesses in Little Haiti largely contradict this image. While a significant proportion do indeed have some family members working in the business, the majority do not (Table 20). Just over 40% of the firms have some other family member besides the owner working in the business. Most of these have just one other member and a small minority have two or more (17.7%). The average number of other family members working in the business is only .84 and the median is .4. If only businesses which have any other family members working in them are included in calculating the average, the figure rises to 1.8. Clearly, Haitian businesses do not survive on the basis of unpaid family labor.

Nor do they survive on subsidies from other jobs within the family. Among other family members of the owners, 32.2% have jobs which contribute to the household income and thus could potentially be subsidizing the business (Table 21). Only 7.6% of the owners themselves have some job outside of the business. In short, these businesses are the primary source of support for most who have them and they do not depend upon the family working either in them or elsewhere.

TABLE 20
Number of Other Family Members Working in the Business

	Number	Percent
None	46	58.2
One	19	24.1
Two	5	6.3
Three	8	10.1
Five	1	1.3

Average -- .84

Median --- .4

TABLE 21
Other Jobs Outside the Business

	Number	Percent
Owner	7	7.6
Other Family Member	29	32.2

XI. Haitian Integration into Modern Business Practices

The Haitians by and large are not running financially complex and sophisticated businesses. Few have applied for and received loans from banks (22.3% have applied and 9.6% have received loans, Table 22). A bare majority (55.2%) use professional bookkeepers and only slightly more (61.1%) have separate checking accounts for their businesses.

Yet, there are apparent interests and intentions to learn about and make use of more modern financial institutions. Nearly 60% indicated intentions to apply for a bank loan. Most desire small loans with nearly 50% expecting to apply for a loan of \$10,000 or less (Table 23), although 35% did indicate they would apply for a loan of \$25,000 or higher.

Most Haitian business do not have any kind of insurance (Table 24). Nearly 40% have fire insurance; 35.9%, liability; 31.5% theft; and 26.1% workmen's compensation. Most have simply never applied for insurance (43.0%, Table 25). Nearly as many who have never applied, believe they cannot afford it (36.7%). A small proportion have either been turned down or felt that the insurance company required too many changes.

The Haitian businesses, however, do advertise, especially through media which reach the Haitian community (Table 26). Over 50% advertise on the radio, almost exclusively on programs in the Haitian Creole language. Slightly over 40% advertise in the local Haitian community newspapers, while one-third have advertisements in the yellow pages. But only 13.7% advertise in non-Haitian newspapers and, not surprisingly, none advertise on television.

TABLE 22
Business Finances

	Number	Percent
Separate Checking Account	58	61.1
Use Professional Bookkeeper	53	55.2
Ever Applied for Business Loan	21	22.3
Ever Received a Business Loan	9	9.6
Plans to Apply for a Business Loan	51	58.0

TABLE 23
Amount of Prospective Loan

	Number	Percent
\$5,000 or less	15	25.0
5,001-10,000	14	23.3
10,001-25,000	10	16.7
25,001 and up	21	35.0

TABLE 24
Insurance

	Number	Percent
Workmen's Compensation	24	26.1
Theft	29	31.5
Fire	36	39.1
Liability	33	35.9

TABLE 25
Reason for Not Having Insurance

	Number	Percent
Have Never Applied	34	43.0
Too Expensive	29	36.7
Turned Down	9	11.4
Required Too Many Changes	2	2.5
Other	5	6.3

TABLE 26
Advertising

	Number	Percent
Radio	50	52.6
Haitian Community Newspaper	38	40.4
Other Newspaper	13	13.7
Yellow Pages Listing	32	33.3
Yellow Pages Display Ad	20	21.1
Other, e.g. Leafleting	15	16.0

XII. Internal Integration of the Haitian Business Community

The establishment of modern business practices such as bookkeeping and the like is not the only key to success. The Cuban business community, and other immigrant enclave business communities, prosper particularly because of their internal integration. They rely upon each other both economically and socially. Not only do they run the businesses and sell to other immigrants, but they also have suppliers who are of the same immigrant community. A Cuban grocery store can procure products from a Cuban wholesaler. Both can receive financing from a Cuban owned and operated bank. The money in circulation stays in the community much longer than in other immigrant communities. It goes from the wage earner to the store operator to his workers and suppliers, to the suppliers' workers, and to the community's bank which in turn loans it to the community again. Much, of course, eventually ends up outside the community, when an automobile is bought, televisions, or any of the myriad of items produced outside the community. But in contrast to most immigrant communities, the money circulates far more extensively within the community thus producing greater growth and wealth internally.

The Haitian community, however, is not well integrated either economically or socially. While Haitian businesses sell primarily to Haitian customers and employ almost exclusively Haitian workers, they obtain very few supplies from Haitian suppliers. As Table 27 reveals, nearly 70% of the Haitian businesses obtain no supplies at all from Haitian suppliers. Only two firms obtain all of their supplies from Haitians and another three more than half of theirs.

The supplies which Haitians businesses do provide are limited primarily, although not exclusively, to goods peculiar to the Haitian community: sodas, food stuffs, and records (Table 28). As Table 29 indicates, there is a wide range of supplies which Haitian businesses use, but currently do not procure from Haitian suppliers. Except for auto parts and food stuffs, however, the market is obviously too small for a supplier to rely upon Haitians solely.

Neither is the Haitian business community socially well integrated. Most Haitian owners of businesses (63%) do not belong to any formal organizations (Table 30). Of those who do belong to formal organizations, the largest number belong to the Haitian American Chamber of Commerce (23.9%). Those who have businesses in the services, especially professionals, are more likely to belong to community organizations. In this respect, Haitians are unlike immigrant enclave business communities which normally rely upon numerous formal and informal social organizations (see especially Bonacich and Modell 1980, chapter 13). The organizations in these other immigrant business communities are not only social. They also provide their members with ways to share information, to make contacts for current or

future business transactions and frequently they also provide services such as loan funds. While these kinds of groups are still new in the Haitian business community, the Haitian community has still unfortunately low participation in these kinds of organizations. They provide perhaps the most effective way to learn and share valuable business experience.

TABLE 27
Proportion of Supplies Bought from Haitian Suppliers

	Number	Percent
None	67	69.8
Less Than Half	15	15.6
About One-Half	6	6.3
More Than Half	3	3.1
All	2	2.1

TABLE 28
Supplies Procured From Haitian Suppliers
Number of Haitian Firms
Procuring These Supplies

Sodas	5
Other Food Stuffs	7
Records	4
Paint	2
Dresses	2
Office Supplies	1
Furniture	1
Drugs	1
Televisions	1
Frames	1
Tools	1
Sewing Machines	1
Watch Bands	1

TABLE 29
Supplies Procured from Non-Haitian Suppliers
Number of Haitian Firms
Procuring These Supplies

Auto Parts	20
Food	20
Beauty Supplies	8
Sewing Materials	7
Tools	6
Electrical Supplies	4
Office Supplies	3
Variety Goods	2
pharmaceuticals	2
Bakery Goods	1
Televisions	1
Typewriters	1
Paint	1
Photography Supplies	1

TABLE 30
Community Organizations

	Number	Percent
Any Organization	34	37.0
Haitian-American Chamber of Commerce	17	23.9
Church	5	7.0
Masons	3	4.2

XIII. Measuring the Success of Haitian Businesses

To the Haitian businesses themselves, the most important characteristic of their businesses is whether or not they succeed. The survey contained a number of different measures of success including the physical size of the business, sales for one month before the survey (June 1983), sales in the previous year (1982), and the owner's perceptions of whether business was better or worse than before.

The businesses are primarily physically small (Table 31). Almost 65% have less than 500 square feet. There is only one truly large business, a grocery store, which approaches the square footage of many modern American chain groceries. The store, however, is reputed to be having a difficult time. On the other hand, the one non-Haitian grocery store which is a part of a large food chain is apparently prospering quite well in Little Haiti. There is, nevertheless, a relationship between the number of full time employees and the number of square feet (Kendall's $\tau=.29$) Thus, there is variation within the community. Some businesses are indeed larger than others and the larger ones are capable of providing employment to more Haitians. The maximum size, however, is far less than the typical Miami business. To this point, Little Haiti cannot apparently support stores which use many square feet.

The amount of total sales also reveals that the Haitian businesses are small by non-Haitian standards. The average sales for June 1983 was \$3,126 with a median of \$1,010 and a mode of \$800 (Table 32). Just over 12% had sales of \$6,000 or more; 40% had less than \$1,000; and 60%, less than \$2,000.

The figures for the year 1982 reveal the same pattern (Table 33). Almost 40% had below \$10,000 in sales for the entire year and almost 70%, less than \$20,000. Not all Haitian businesses are small. A few have substantial sales. Over 10% had sales of \$100,000 or more in 1982. The community can and does indeed support a few fairly large businesses. Nevertheless, these figures are dramatically below comparative Dade County figures. In 1977, Black firms in Dade county had an average of \$186,420 in total receipts and for all of Dade County's firms the average was \$422,374 (Metropolitan Dade County Planning Department 1981:3). Because of inflation these figures are undoubtedly higher now and the contrast even more dramatic. In short, compared to other firms, Haitian firms have very small sales. Yet, it is unrealistic to expect these young firms, serving primarily a small, low income community to do as well as the average Dade County firm or even the average Black-owned firm in Dade County.

The owners' perceptions are not particularly optimistic. Nearly 50% think their business at the time of the survey was worse than it had been the year before (Table 34). There was a slight tendency for those who had been victimized by shoplifting or bad checks to be more likely to think business was worse in the current year. Curiously, however, those who had been

burglarized did not think business was any worse in 1983 than 1982. There was also a slight tendency for those with more employees to think business was worse. Finally, retail stores expressed more pessimism than other businesses. Thus, experiences with some kinds of crime have reduced the owners' perceptions as do the number of employees, and having a retail store.

Perceptions, however, do not always match objective reality. While those with more employees perceive last year to have been a better year, they are also those who are more likely to have high sales this year ($r=.67$) Moreover, there was no relationship between crime or type of business and sales. Indeed, there was no relationship between sales and years in business, years in U.S., or proportion of Haitian customers. The only significant relationships were between sales and size of store (June, $r=.29$; 1982 $r=.32$) and between June sales and prior business training ($r=.28$). Thus, bigger stores lead to larger sales, or vice versa; and, those with business training tend to have higher sales.

TABLE 31
Square Footage

	Number	Percent
150 or less	14	14.7
151 - 250	20	21.1
251 - 500	27	28.4
501 or more	34	35.8

TABLE 32
Total Sales for June 1983

	Number	Percent
Less than \$1,000	26	41.3
1,000-1,999	13	20.6
2,000-3,999	9	14.3
4,000-5,999	7	11.1
6,000-9,999	4	6.4
10,000-19,999	3	3.1
20,000 and up	1	1.6
Average ---	\$3,126	
Median ---	\$1,010	
Mode -----	\$800	

TABLE 33

	Total Sales for 1982 Number	Percent
Under \$10,000	23	39.7
10,000-24,999	17	29.3
25,000-49,999	8	13.8
50,000-99,999	4	6.9
100,000 -		
249,999	3	5.2
250,000 and up	3	5.2

Dade County Average
for all firms \$422,374
for Black firms 186,420
(Metropolitan Dade
Country Planning
Department 1981:3)

TABLE 34

Is Business Better or Worse Than Last Year	Number	Percent
Better	18	24.0
About the Same	21	28.0
Worse	36	48.0

XIV. Haitians' Desires for Training

The Haitian businessmen, to their credit, are aware of their deficiencies and willing and anxious to confront them. Nearly 65% of the owners expressed an interest and stated that they would have some time each week to participate in training courses (Table 35). They indicated they would have an average of 2.67 hours per week for such courses (4.17 if the average excludes those who stated they would have no time). They were slightly less willing to commit their employees time, however. Only 54.5% of the employers felt their employees would have time each week for training, although the average number of hours was approximately the same -- 2.17 across all firms and 3.98 excluding those who claimed their employees would have no time.

The greatest felt need was in general management practices followed by accounting and bookkeeping (Table 36). There were also a significant number who indicated an interest in English language courses. After these, the interests become more diffuse and focus on particular trades. For the employees, the owners felt that English language courses would be most important, but also training in management & supervision and customer relations would be of help.

TABLE 35
Number of Hours Available for Training

A. Owner	Number	Percent
0	33	35.9
1-2	24	26.2
4-6	25	26.2
8-10	10	10.9
Average:	2.67 hours, including those who claim to have no time	
	4.17 hours, excluding those who claim to have no time	
B. Employees	Number	Percent
0	35	45.5
1-2	19	24.7
4-6	18	23.4
8-10	5	6.4
Average:	2.17 hours, including those who claim their employees have no time	
	3.98 hours, excluding those who claim their employees have no time	

TABLE 36
Training Courses Desired

A. For Owners Themselves	
Management	23
Accounting & Bookkeeping	15
English	10
Electronics	4
Advertising	3
Notary Public	2
Electricity	2
Printing	2
Fashion Design	1
Transport	1
Driving School	1
Bakery	1
Real Estate	1
Photography	1
Engineer	1
B. Employees	
English	17
Management & Supervision	6
Customer Relations	6
Accounting & Bookkeeping	2
Automobile Service	2
Electronics	1
Photography	1
Janitor	1
Teller	1
Fish & Meat	1

XV. Conclusions: Prospects for the Future

The Haitian businessmen in Little Haiti are perhaps somewhat better prepared for their ventures than many would have thought. They are educated, have spent many years in the U.S., and most have some experience in the same field as their business, although not necessarily in actually owning and operating a business.

Yet, they are not fully integrated into modern American practices nor do they have the mechanisms within the community to learn these without outside help. Many do not distinguish between their personal finances and that of the business. They have no training or help in doing bookkeeping. They have no insurance and they express a desire for more capital. The community is not sufficiently diverse that they can obtain supplies and services from other Haitian businesses. They also do not have well developed formal and informal organizations within the community which can train and provide them with access to these resources on their own. The Haitian American Chamber of Commerce and the Haitian Task Force are steps in this direction, but too few Haitian business owners belong and the organizations themselves do not have the resources presently to extend themselves adequately to the entire community.

As with virtually all immigrant business communities, the Haitian businesses rely primarily upon the Haitian market. The Haitian market in some sense is a captive one for them. They can provide peculiar goods and services in a familiar fashion. While adequate in the beginning, this strategy contains inherent limitations. The numerous tailors, for example, continue a cultural tradition of Haiti where custom made clothes prevail over ready made clothing. But in the U.S. ready made clothing is less expensive and considered, usually, more stylish. It is unlikely that many Haitian tailors, therefore, can survive.

The numerous grocery stores rely on their knowledge of the goods Haitians prefer, the Haitians' preference for dealing in their own language, and their lack of transportation to other stores. They do not offer better or less expensive goods and their competitive advantage is unlikely to persist forever.

The restaurants exist largely because of the unbalanced sex ratio in Little Haiti. There are many single men who prefer to buy meals rather than prepare them. As the proportion of females increases, this need will subside. The restaurants then may fulfill more of a social function as they do in many other immigrant communities. Expanding the appeal of Little Haiti's restaurants to attract non-Haitians is possible, but difficult. The area still suffers from perhaps an underserved, but nevertheless widespread image as crime-ridden. The image, and the degree to which it is a reality, must be changed before the businesses can attract significant non-Haitian clientele.

It may be the case that the greatest opportunities for

growth lie with those businesses the survey did not reach, the building contractors, gardening services, carpenters, paint contractors, and pest control firms, firms which because of their low labor cost can offer a competitive advantage. Interviewing indicates that many are successful and are expanding. But unfortunately, little information exists on them and more would have to be gathered to assess their chances more scientifically.

The Haitian business community is growing. It is both vibrant and fledgling. It has a chance of becoming an important focus for employment creation for other Haitians and as a cultural attraction for South Florida. While the community may have more resources than many imagined, it still does not have enough to realize these dreams on its own. There are some particular policies which should assist it.

1. Flexible, creative training programs

- a. business training

The Haitian community clearly needs and desires training. At the same time, as with most small, independent businessmen their time is short and filled with running the business. They will not simply be able to leave their business at any hour, even in the evening, and attend a training session. Moreover, they do not believe they have the time to undertake a broad educational business program. They want training addressed to their specific needs. They are likely to take advantage of training programs only if they are flexible and if they are convinced they can learn something from it. One medium which reaches all Haitians and demands little time is the radio. The number of Haitian radio programs is increasing and many who run them express commitment to helping the community beyond entertainment. A creative training program could take advantage of this medium and produce training programs in Creole. Research demonstrates, however, that radio supplied training is unlikely to stick unless it is followed up by personal contact. If small groups of businessmen could be organized according to their business, then an educator could follow up the training programs with business specific materials. Organizing small groups would have the advantage that the training could be directed to their particular needs and they would provide a mechanism for the businessmen to interact in informal groups sharing other business information.

- b. training for employees

If the business training is to help everyone in the community, it must go hand in hand with training other Haitians, too. Above all, the Haitians desire and need English language training (see Stepick 1984). While Haitian Creole may be sufficient as long as one works in a Haitian firm serving Haitian clients, English (and perhaps even Spanish) is necessary to expand the Haitian business community and the employment possibilities for all Haitians in South Florida. The owners also

indicated a desire to teach their employees basic customer relations techniques. As with the businessmen, training programs would have to be flexible and creative, perhaps utilizing the same suggestions as above: radio programs complemented by small groups.

2. Non-Traditional Sources of Capital

Besides training, many of the businesses, both present and prospective, need capital. The traditional sources of capital, the banks, however, cannot meet the needs of the Little Haiti business community. The banks usually require far higher collateral than the Little Haiti businessman is capable of raising. Banks also prefer to make larger loans than many of the businesses need or want. And, many of the special institutions established to serve the needs of small minority businesses also are reluctant to make small needs and frequently have long delays in processing applications. Little Haiti needs a source of capital particularly attuned to its own peculiar needs, a capital source which will specialize in small loans with little collateral and quick turn around time. It must also couple the loans to technical assistance in cash flow projections, profit and loss statement, and investment planning.

3. Support for Haitian Community Organizations

All services and support delivered to the Haitian business community should take advantage of the Haitian organizations which already exist. The development of community organizations is critical to the success of an immigrant business community. Local community organizations best know how to reach the intended audience. They know the peculiarities of the community, what times are best, what locations, how to find the right people, and all the other seemingly small organizational details which are critical to the acceptance and success of a program. The Haitian Task Force and Haitian-American Chamber of Commerce have both made efforts to bring outside resources to the business community, while the Haitian American Community Association of Dade (Hacad) has done the same for the non-business community. The Haitian Task Force has begun a revolving loan fund supported by the Ford Foundation and Hacad was recently awarded a large grant for emergency assistance from the Federal Emergency Management Administration. In spite of these successes, they all, nevertheless, operate with severely restricted resources and cannot fill all the needs which exist.

4. Physical Improvement of the Area and Its Image

Individual Haitian businesses have put a lot of sweat and paint into improving the appearance of the area, but it still has a long way to go. Abandoned buildings, vacant trash filled lots, peeling paint and faded signs still belie their efforts. The main

streets have no trees and present a harsh, uninviting image unlikely to attract residents of other areas or the tourists that many in the Haitian business community would like to see come. There is a facade improvement project underway by the Haitian Task Force for repainting and improving store fronts. On a more ambitious scale, the Haitian Task Force in association with the American Institute of Architects recently sponsored a design competition for changing the image. Entries were more than expected and imaginative with the winners producing a meld of Haitian and American cultures. While ambitious and requiring large resources, implementing a design as envisioned in the competition could truly transform the area. It could indeed transform Little Haiti from a struggling, marginal community to a vibrant culturally interesting area attractive to people from everywhere. One possible mechanism would be public-private cooperation using syndication to raise funds. The effort should be tied to a program to build upon the positive characteristics of the area:

1. the reliable, hardworking and friendly businessmen and workers;
2. the distinctive, exotic culture including folk art and cuisine;
3. the central location and easy access; and,
4. the low crime rate.

The Haitian business community has struggled and expanded against great odds. They work hard, long hours and can survive with small sales and smaller profits. In spite of the image, the area has a low crime rate. Haitian culture is exotic, colorful and appealing to outsiders. They have potential for succeeding, thriving and expanding. But no matter how much perseverance and hard work they invest, there remain compelling forces impeding their success. Their market is limited. They are unfamiliar with many U.S. business practices. They are in an area considered dangerous and unappealing to outsiders. They have little capital to expand and a small political base from which to bargain for more services and assistance.

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APPENDIX 1

THE SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

Control:	Interview Completed	Checked by Field Superv.	Edited/Coded	Keypunched
Date:				
Initials:				

Card #: / /

Questionnaire #: / / / /

SURVEY OF HAITIAN BUSINESSES
HAITIAN TASK FORCE

Address of Business _____

READ:

Hello, my name is _____ from the Haitian Task Force. We are conducting a survey of Haitian businesses in this area to find out what the Haitian community resources are and how the Task Force and the rest of the Haitian community can help themselves. Perhaps you have heard about the survey. It has been announced on _____ and _____ . The information you give us will help us to know more about the special needs of the Haitian community and help raise funding and establish programs to meet those needs.

Your answers are completely confidential. Our survey is specifically designed so that no one will be able to trace your answers back to you, unless you request follow up information.

1. Is this business Haitian owned and operated?
 - (1) Owned and operated
 - (2) Operated but owned by non-Haitians
 - (3) Other

2. Are you the owner of the business?

(1) Yes - continue

(2) No - May I speak with that person.

(If not available and Haitian owned or operated, arrange time for call back, time and dates, phone number.)

3. What type of business do you operate?

 / / / /

4. How many full-time employees does your business have?

 / /

5. How many part-time employees does your business have?

 / /

6. How many of the full-time employees are Haitian?

 / /

7. How many of the part-time employees are Haitian?

 / /

8. What proportion of your customers are Haitian?

(1) More than 1/2

(2) About 1/2

(3) Less than 1/2

TERMINATE HERE IF NEITHER HAITIAN OWNED NOR OPERATED.

30. Have you ever applied for a business loan with a bank?

(1) Yes

Were you given the loan?

(1) Yes (2) No

(2) No - If no, skip next question.

31. Do you have plans to apply for a business loan with a bank?

(1) Yes

(2) No

32. What would be the approximate amount of the loan for your business?

(1) \$ 5,000 or less

(2) \$ 5,000 - \$10,000

(3) \$10,000 - \$25,000

(4) \$25,000 or more

33. Do you have insurance coverage for your business?

(1) Yes - What type: 1. Workman's Compensation

2. Theft

3. Fire

4. Liability

5. Other

(2) No

(If no, skip next question.)

34. Have you attempted to get insurance coverage for your business?

- (1) Yes - What happened? 1. Too expensive
2. Refused
3. Required too many changes
4. Other
- (2) No

35. Are you listed in the Yellow Pages?

- (1) Yes
(2) No

36. Do you have an AD in the Yellow Pages?

- (1) Yes
(2) No

37. Do you do any other form of advertising?

- (1) Yes - Where: (Check as many as apply)
1. Community Haitian Newspapers
 2. U.S. Newspapers
 3. Radio
 4. Other
 5. None

38. Do you have a bookkeeper or do you do your own bookkeeping?

- (1) Have bookkeeper
(2) Does own bookkeeping

39. What kinds of supplies and services do you need to run your business?

_____ / / /
_____ / / /

40. Which of these do you obtain from other Haitian owned supply houses?

_____ / / /
_____ / / /

41. Has your business been the victim of any criminal activity?

(Check as many as apply.)

- (1) Shoplifting
- (2) Bad Checks
- (3) Burglary
- (4) Assault
- (5) Other (i.e. arson, etc.)

42. Do you belong to any community or business organizations?

(1) Yes - If yes, which one?

_____ / / /

(2) No

Thank you for your cooperation. My supervisor may want to call you and verify that this interview was actually done, so may I please have your first name and phone number.

First name _____

Phone # _____

DO NOT READ - Interviewer indicate sex of respondent: (1) Male

(2) Female