Final Report
Ethnographic Overview and Assessment

Cultural Resources
Southeast Region

Final Report

Biscayne National Park
Ethnographic Overview and Assessment

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

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About the covers: The front cover includes (clockwise from top left) the Boca Chita Lighthouse, a man casting a line at the Mowry Canal, bas-relief fish on the Biscayne Headquarters sign, and local fishermen at Card Sound. The back cover shows fish sculptures located at the Dante Fascell Visitor Center. Both covers use a background map showing southeast Florida.

Biscayne National Park
Ethnographic Overview and Assessment
Final Report Recommendations

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STUDY TEAM

This work was a collaborative effort involving a number of individuals. John C. Russell, Ph.D. (EDAW), performed ethnographic research, was responsible for the ethnographic literature review, and served as the day-to-day project manager and primary author of the report following the first year's fieldwork and interim draft report. Manoj Shivlani, M.A. (University of Miami Rosenstiel School of Marine and Atmospheric Science [RSMAS]), directed the literature review of existing park uses as well as the shoreline fishermen interview effort. Jackson Underwood, Ph.D. (EDAW), was responsible for a significant portion of the ethnographic interview effort. Martin Watson (EDAW) compiled the background information on the socioeconomic and demographic context of the area and was responsible for the majority of the photography in the report. Daniel Suman, Ph.D. (University of Miami, RSMAS), worked in conjunction with Manoj Shivlani on a number of tasks. Michael A. Downs, Ph.D. (EDAW), served as the principal investigator on this project, was a contributing author, and directed field efforts.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

FOREWORD

Within the Ethnography Program of the National Park Service, an "Ethnographic Overview and Assessment" is described as:

> The most comprehensive background study, this document reviews existing information on park resources traditionally valued by stakeholders. The information comes mostly from archives and publications; interviews with community members and other constituents – often on trips to specific sites – supply missing data. This study also identifies the need for further research (http://www.cr.nps.gov/ethnography/parks/approaches/index.htm).

Doing an Ethnographic Overview and Assessment for Biscayne National Park (BISC) presented special problems. It is a park "without a gate," open locally to access by foot and by water, yet it is literally within the "gateway" to Latin America; it is little wonder that visitors – or refugees – entering BISC might easily be unaware that they have come into a national park. It is a natural resource park of open waters and islets, yet it is surrounded by the sprawling, burgeoning metropolis of greater Miami. It is situated in what was one of the last frontiers of the lower forty-eight United States yet has one of the longest histories of European contact in the nation. It is a park that permits commercial fishing and has a long-standing resident population in some very unusual dwellings in the water, "Stiltsville," yet it is a locale for both quiet family outings on shore and sometimes riotous recreation on the sea. It is a park situated in what had become one of the most culturally diverse and dynamic regions of the country at the end of the twentieth century.

Given these circumstances, just identifying stakeholder groups is in itself a challenge. Hence, through census records, this study gave close attention to the rapidly changing demographic character of the surrounding population. Likewise, the activities of those who make their living at least in part from the fishery resources of the park warranted careful attention to the landing statistics of the area. Recreational fishing in the park meant that in the absence of reliable statistics, researchers had to undertake some small scale pilot study surveys in the field. In combination with these special requirements for the BISC ethnographic overview and assessment, the study required a thoroughgoing survey of the published literature on the cultures of the various peoples currently associated with the park – from those who lived in the area before there was even a Miami to those who arrived by plane and boat yesterday to join their compatriots who immigrated to south Florida only a few years or decades earlier.

For a new park, in a newly developed region of the country, with an ever changing ethnic mix and body of "traditions" – including park usage – an ethnographic overview and assessment is always a work in progress. Even so, no matter how much and how soon this report might need to be updated in future years, it does provide a baseline for understanding the complex human environment of BISC and the multiple communities that have a stake in the park. It is important to keep in mind, however, that the report provides but a starting point to scholarly and scientific writing on the many ethnic and other groups that give meaning to the ethnographic resources of the park. For some groups, e.g., the Seminoles, much has been written; for others, e.g., commercial fishermen of various ethnicities, the ethnographic literature is just emerging.

There were many topics – beyond the constraints of project time and budget – that we wished the report might have been able to pursue further. These included the Jewish heritage of Miami Beach; populations from other Latin American countries, e.g., Brazil and the Dominican Republic; the general development of "tourism culture" in the region; the role of horse racing, jai-alai, and tribal gaming operations in the cultural mix of which BISC is a part; controversies surrounding various Afro-Caribbean religions that might find their way to the park; the clash of "Yankee" and "Cracker" culture with the ever more international character of the Miami area; and much more – not the least of which is how the park might better relate its mission and its resources to the complicated mix of peoples and cultures locally, nationally, and, indeed, internationally which surround the park. But an ethnographic overview and assessment is only a beginning. The exceptionally able authors of the study provide, in the end, a very sound and well focused set of recommendations for further research. Some of these have already begun to be realized through the subsequent Fishery Management Plan for BISC. In turn, this report and the data summarized within it have already proven useful to park management in a variety of areas. Not the least of these is the potential use of the document by new park employees as a "primer" on the character of the surrounding community.

Though communities and cultures everywhere are always changing, we hope that this report will prove helpful to employees, contractors, managers, and visitors alike in understanding the human environment for Biscayne National Park at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

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1.0 BISCAYNE NATIONAL PARK IN SOCIAL CONTEXT: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC OVERVIEW AND ASSESSMENT

Located between metropolitan Miami-Dade County and the upper Keys community of Key Largo, Biscayne National Park (BISC) occupies about 173,000 acres of diverse and dramatic natural and cultural resources. About 95 percent of the total area of the park is covered by water, ranging from the mangrove-lined mainland coast to the protected waters of Biscayne Bay, to sand and coral keys and beyond to coral reefs and the Florida Straits. BISC resources attract nearly 500,000 persons each year. These visitors are from nearby communities such as Miami and Homestead, but they also travel from other parts of the United States, Canada, Europe, Asia, and other worldwide locations to dive the coral reefs and shipwrecks, fish the flats, sail the channels, view the wildlife, hike and camp on the keys, and otherwise enjoy the natural and cultural resources of BISC.

The social and cultural landscape surrounding BISC is as rich and as diverse as the park's natural resources. The Miami Circle archeological site, located at the mouth of the Miami River, is a prehistoric archeological site that was inhabited for more than 2,000 years by Tequesta Indians. Offshore, the wreck of the *HMS Fowey*, an eighteenth-century English vessel, is in relatively shallow water almost within sight of downtown Miami. On nearby Boca Chita Key is a stunning old lighthouse that was part of the Honeywell family compound and on Porgy Key to the south is the home site of Parson Jones, an early Black entrepreneur in this region. His family bought the island and developed a thriving citrus farming business in the early part of the last century. There are other American Indian and pioneer sites scattered throughout the offshore keys, and many other wrecks dot the ocean bottoms of BISC's reefs. Spanish, French, English, and other explorers and settlers have also left their mark on this landscape, as have the more recent migrants from New York, Denver, Havana, and beyond. From Mardi Gras and Super Bowls to Santeria and Cracker story-telling festivals, the cultural landscape of the surrounding region is a rich and diverse mix of traditions and lifestyles. Residents of these communities most obviously interact with BISC by providing visitors to the Park. However, the Turkey Point Nuclear Power Plant, nearby agricultural fields that result in runoff into the Bay, commercial fishing, the lobbying of concerned environmentalists, day-boat cruisers, and sponge poachers each interact with BISC resources in ways that have management implications. The purpose of this report is to provide some insight about the cultural context of BISC and the management implications of that context.

This *Biscayne National Park Ethnographic Overview and Assessment* provides a general description of the social and cultural context of BISC and discusses current user groups and their activities within the Park. As an overview, discussion of social and cultural context is in terms of broad themes rather than in-depth detail about beliefs, customs, lifestyles, and patterns of social interaction. This overview also emphasizes cultural groups specific to the geographic area surrounding BISC as represented in readily available ethnographic literature. There are other cultural and social groups in the greater Miami-Dade area, but the emphasis in this report is on those ethnic groups that are well represented in the existing literature. The discussion of user groups categorizes activity types among visitors and describes their interactions with BISC resources. This discussion emphasizes commercial fishing and other water-based commercial and recreational uses of BISC resources. Limited observations are also included regarding how

particular ethnic groups use BISC resources. A review of existing reports, academic literature, and U.S. Bureau of Census data combined with limited ethnographic fieldwork is the basis for the discussion of users, their activities, and concerns about BISC resources. The ethnographic fieldwork (described in Section 5) focused on identifying current sociocultural conditions and issues associated with user groups and other interested parties. The report also identifies some of the major gaps in social and cultural knowledge about surrounding communities and discusses how existing information might be useful for BISC managers. The treatment of gaps in the literature and in overall knowledge about the connections of surrounding communities with BISC should be considered preliminary. Nonetheless, this is a starting point for understanding both what is known and what is yet to be developed about the overall ethnographic context of BISC.

The remaining sections of the report have the following contents:

- **Section 2** provides a historical and socioeconomic overview of the area and communities adjacent to BISC. Two major topics are presented:

  – A brief historical overview of south Florida and the region adjacent to the Park
  – An overview of the contemporary Miami-Dade County demography and economy

  The history discussion is a broad overview that establishes the major historical trends that resulted in the current social and cultural context of modern-day Miami-Dade County. The summary of the demography and economy describes current population structure and major components of the regional economy.

- **Section 3** is a summary of ethnographic literature for selected cultural groups for south Florida in general and Miami-Dade County in particular. Regional commonalities are first reviewed, followed by a summary discussion for the following ethnic groups: American Indians, Cuban-Americans, African Americans, Nicaraguans, Haitians. Also discussed are a group of non-ethnic rural whites known specifically in Florida as "Crackers" (For a full definition of the term as it pertains to south Florida, and the culture that surrounds the group, see Section 3.6). These populations are major cultural groups within communities surrounding the Park. Their experiences as new and old residents of the region illustrate a wide range of cultural and social issues that may also influence new immigrants to Miami-Dade County.

- **Section 4** is a description of user activities as expressed in documents particular to BISC. This discussion emphasizes the role of commercial and recreational fishing as well as other types of water-based commercial and recreational activities. These documents, primarily government and academic reports and papers, do not necessarily represent all types of users and activities, only those represented in some existing literature.

- **Section 5** identifies users and activity patterns as a supplement to the discussion in Section 4. There is a preliminary discussion of connections between ethnic groups and activity patterns within BISC, but this discussion raises as many questions as it answers. Given that ethnographic methods received limited application for this project, the emphasis in this

section is the gaps in information about issues and data that should be developed in future work.

- **Section 6** summarizes issues related to users, activities, and sociocultural groups in relation to the major types of resource management issues indicated by the secondary literature and ethnography.

2.0 THE HISTORICAL AND SOCIOECONOMIC CONTEXT OF BISCAYNE NATIONAL PARK

The current social and cultural context of BISC is influenced by the region's history, demography, and economy. History has set the stage for the composition of Miami-Dade County's communities and the types of issues that concern its residents. Similarly, the current demographic trends and economic patterns in the region describe important characteristics of the sociocultural environment of BISC. This section is a brief overview of both the history and current socioeconomic conditions of south Florida and specifically Miami-Dade County. This information is a prelude both to the discussion of sociocultural groups (Section 3) and the activities of BISC users (Section 4 and Section 5).

2.1 A Brief Historical Overview

Historians group south Florida historical periods in various ways,[1] but a common grouping is as follows: pre-contact aboriginal history; post-contact exploration and colonization; Seminole and Miccosukee; territory and statehood; post-Civil War to World War II (WWII); and WWII to the present. This section summarizes major historical themes for each time period.

2.1.1 Pre-contact Aboriginal Period

Near the mouth of the Miami River, recent development activities uncovered a site that archeologists have interpreted as part of an ancient town occupied by an aboriginal people known as the Tequesta. About 40 square feet of this archeological site, which is on more than 2 acres of land, revealed 24 basins in the bedrock that were surrounded by a circle of about 300 other basins alleged to be postholes. This site is believed to be between 1,700 and 2,000 years old (Carr and Ricisak 2000:282). However, this site does not date to the earliest inhabitants of this region. Paleoindians probably were in Florida since about 10,000 to 12,000 B.C. The discoveries by Royal at Warm Mineral Springs in southwestern Florida (Royal and Clark 1960) and later archeological work by Clausen (Clausen et al. 1975) in the 1970s and Cockrell (Cockrell and Murphy 1978) in the late 1970s and through the 1980s at both Warm Springs and Little Salt Springs indicate human remains that date to at least 10,000 B.C. These early peoples came from unknown places and traveled in an area where the coastline was significantly different than it is today. By approximately 5000 B.C., the climatic conditions and physiography of Florida began to stabilize, and populations of Paleoindians began to increase. By about 3000 B.C., the climate was comparable to present-day conditions, and the shoreline also approximated what it is today (Milanich 1996:4-5). Stone tools, a well-developed pottery tradition, and a culture that exploited fresh and saltwater shellfish appears to characterize the peoples of this time. By 1000 B.C., there were signs of settlements with sand mound burials, and by 800 A.D. there were indications of larger settlements and the introduction of cultivation of domesticated plants (Milinach 1996:9). From north to south, the Paleoindian populations showed different adaptations to their environment, and regional cultures developed. In south Florida, a group

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[1]Other histories of Florida (e.g., Gannon 1996; Jahoda 1976; Tebeau 1971) should be consulted for more in-depth discussions about the people and events that shaped south Florida and the major time periods of Florida history.

of hunter-gatherers who exploited marine resources are termed the glades culture (Florida Anthropological Society 1997). These people lived in the same areas later inhabited by the Tequesta, who occupied the site on the Miami River that is now known as the Miami Circle.

It is estimated that the population of aboriginal inhabitants of Florida numbered about 350,000 by the time Ponce de Leon sailed into the vicinity of Biscayne Bay. Of these inhabitants, about 150,000 lived in the west, central, and southern parts of what is now the State of Florida (Milanich 1996:14). After this time, disease and war ravaged the Native population, causing a significant decline (Dobyns 1983). Today, shell middens, pottery, stone tools, and other such artifacts are the remains of these cultures (Sears 1982; Goggin 1998).

2.1.2   Post-contact Exploration and Colonization

In the spring of 1513, Ponce de Leon was probably the first European to explore what is now the vicinity of Biscayne Bay. He named the area *Los Martires* (the martyrs) because the rocky keys were said to remind him of men who were suffering (Gannon 1996:20). It appears that hostilities between Ponce de Leon and Natives of the region were common in early encounters. Indeed, subsequent explorers, such as Panfilo de Narvaez and Hernando de Soto, landed vessels and crew and initiated explorations of coasts and interior regions and they also encountered hostile inhabitants. Substantial resistance to Spanish and other explorers appears to have inhibited the development of permanent settlements. The French also attempted to establish a presence in Florida with their explorations in 1562, when Jean Ribaut landed near what is now St. Augustine. The French made additional efforts to establish a colony (Lyon 1996:40-42), but conflicts with the Spanish as well as with Natives thwarted their efforts. The Spanish explorer Pedro Menéndez de Avilés fought with the French explorers, and it was he who established the first permanent Florida colony in 1565 at St. Augustine.

The Spanish also had some success with establishing missions in Florida and up the Carolina coast. One of these, known as *Mayaimi,* was established in 1567 at a site that later became the City of Miami. By about 1590, there were garrisons on the west and east coasts of Florida. Mission activity extended into the seventeenth century, but conflict among French, Spanish, and Natives continued, and Florida was characterized as a "land of constant war" (Bushnell 1996:74). Through missionizing activity by the French and others, the Native populations of Florida became exposed to disease and other influences, which caused a population decrease. A result was that the Spanish, French, Dutch, English, and others had limited labor to build settlements. The first significant appearance of the English was by Sir Francis Drake who raided the Spanish colony of St. Augustine in 1586. However, the Spanish remained largely in control of Florida despite the incursions of other European powers, until the Spanish ceded Florida to the English after the Seven Years' War (Fabel 1996:134). The English split Florida into East and West territories with capitals at St. Augustine and Pensacola, respectively. However, tropical fevers, difficult terrain, ongoing problems with American Indians, and limited economic opportunity inhibited the development of major English colonies.

By 1778, England was once again at war with Spain, and Florida was the prize. The Spanish attacked west Florida and continued westward into what is now Louisiana. In east Florida, the English enlisted the help of Creek and Choctaw Native Americans in their battles against the

French, but the Spanish were persistent and formidable. In 1783, the English ceded Florida to Spain in the Treaty of Paris, which was part of the settlement that ended the Revolutionary War. In what is commonly known as the second Spanish period in Florida, the population began to increase due to Spanish land grants and increased economic opportunity associated with tobacco, indigo, and lumber (Coker and Parker 1996:152). Yet peace in Florida was short lived, as the United States began to show interest in French and Spanish holdings in the region. In 1814, Andrew Jackson led troops into Florida, and Spain eventually ceded Florida to the U.S. in 1821. By then, the legacy of exploration and colonization in Florida was a heterogenous population of British, Spanish, French, Indians, people of African descent, and other nationalities.

2.1.3 American Indians and Peoples of African Descent

During the period of exploration and colonization and through statehood and the Civil War, American Indians remained, and peoples of African descent became prominent in Florida history. A thorough discussion of this history is beyond the scope of the historical overview presented here. Sources elaborating that history should be consulted for a more detailed description of the history of these peoples in Florida (e.g., Colburn and Landers 1995; Covington 1993; Wright 1986). This discussion briefly summarizes some existing literature to emphasize the importance of these groups in the early history of Florida.

Landers (1996:167ff) suggests that peoples of African descent most likely entered Florida with the Spanish. Ponce de Leon, De Soto, and other Spanish explorers were accompanied by both free and enslaved Blacks from Spain. Subsequently, African slave labor was part of the process of Spanish colonization, especially when American Indian populations began to decline. The population of peoples of African descent in Florida increased because of continued importation of slaves and an influx of escaped slaves from the Carolinas and elsewhere. By 1814, some estimates place Blacks at about 57 percent of Florida's population (Landers 1996:178). With the presence of the English, slavery became more prevalent and subsequently the presence of larger populations of freed slaves was a concern of slave owners in states adjacent to Florida. Some slaves escaped and joined the Seminoles and other American Indian groups, prompting further hostility between the United States and peoples in Florida. As U.S. incursion extended into Florida, slavery became more prevalent and many formerly free Africans fled to Cuba and elsewhere in the Caribbean (Landers 1996:180-181).

The political situation in the Colonies resulted in pushing some southeastern Native Americans into northern Florida. These groups called themselves *saminoli* or refugees because they were displaced from their homelands. By the mid-1700s, these Indians were well established in north Florida (Garbarino 1989). The Creek wars of 1813 in the states north of Florida drove additional populations of American Indians south into Florida. The *saminoli* and later populations of Creeks are among the ancestors of the early Seminoles in Florida. This transition of Creek to Seminole is summarized in Seminole tribal history as follows:

> Creek War of 1813-14, the brutal repression and disastrous treaty forced upon them by General Andrew Jackson sent thousands of the most determined warriors and their families migrating southward to take refuge in Spanish Florida. There, they joined the descendants of many other tribes whose

members had lived all across the Florida forests for thousands of years. The Indians who constituted the nucleus of this Florida group thought of themselves as yat'siminoli or "free people," because for centuries their ancestors had resisted the attempts of the Spaniards to conquer and convert them, as well as the attempts of the English to take their lands and use them as military pawns. Soon, White Americans would begin to call all of the Indians in Florida by that name: "Seminoles." (Seminole Tribe of Florida 2002)

The United States pursued a policy of removal of Indians from Florida through three identified "Seminole wars." The first of these was in about 1817-1818, the second from about 1835-1842, and the third was in the time period of 1855-1858. Osceola, Cooacoochee, Octiarche, Billy Bowlegs, and other Seminole leaders fought substantial battles against U.S. troops, but in the end almost 4,000 Seminole were relocated to lands in Oklahoma, leaving what was believed to be less than 300 Seminole in Florida. These remaining Seminole relocated to the remote Everglades and Big Cypress areas of Florida, often residing on small islands where their presence was difficult to detect. Ultimately, the United States established reservations for Florida Seminole in what are now Broward and Palm Beach counties.

2.1.4   Territory, Statehood, and the Civil War

Andrew Jackson was dispatched to develop the territory of Florida, where in 1824, Tallahassee was established as its capital. Immigrants from nearby states and elsewhere, including those from the southeast who were later known as "Crackers," began to swell the population and by 1840, it is estimated that Florida had a population of about 55,000. East, central, and west Florida were more populous than south Florida where less development occurred. During this period of expansion, two issues dominated: the removal of the Seminole from lands they occupied, and access to lands for agricultural development. Plantations were established and slaves were major sources of labor for landowners. In 1845, Florida was admitted as the twenty-seventh State of the Union and William Moseley was elected the first governor. Cheap land and opportunities for economic growth fueled a population boom and, by the end of the 1850s, the population was about 140,000. Economic growth was built on the slave labor of Florida's cotton plantations. Indeed, slavery appears to have been an essential part of the economy as well as the political concern of post-statehood Florida (Schafer 1996:225-227). This concern was expressed by Florida's vote for secession from the Union in 1861 and its joining the Confederacy at the start of the Civil War. Florida, in particular south Florida, was a major source of salt and beef for the Confederate armies during the Civil War. This fact resulted in the only major Civil War battle in Florida: Union troops engaged Florida forces at Olustee in an attempt to disrupt the transport of supplies north to Confederate armies. The Union forces were driven back, but there were few reasons for Floridians to be cheerful given the poverty and social disruption that accompanied Florida's participation in the war. After 1865, Florida as well as the remainder of the South was in dire economic conditions until the late 1870s.

2.1.5   Post-Civil War to World War II

Florida suffered with the rest of the South during reconstruction. However, as political and social conditions began to stabilize, the economy began to recover. Citrus crops, cattle, and

other agricultural products dominated Florida's economy. The population remained concentrated in about 10 cities, but by 1880, there was a population of about 260,000, nearly half of whom were black. Key West was the largest city (about 10,000), followed closely by Jacksonville and Pensacola (Proctor 1996:272). By 1896, the renowned developer, Henry Morrison Flagler, finished a railroad link to the fledgling city of Miami. In 1912, the link to Key West was complete. With these developments, many of the transportation impediments to south Florida's growth were removed. Only the arrival of the automobile would have a greater effect on population and commerce in Florida.

Florida's population increased substantially, with the majority of growth coming from white immigrants. During this time, there was also a concomitant relative decrease in the black population. Miami became a center for tourism and population growth in south Florida. By 1900, the population of Florida was almost 530,000, with Dade County growing more than 500 percent since 1890 (Proctor 1996:282). In the early part of the twentieth century, the story of south Florida is one of spectacular land development in Miami Beach and the rest of coastal Florida. Retirees and tourists began flocking to the region and the real estate boom fueled economic growth. Derr describes the boom as the opening of the "American Riviera," where dreams and reality were often confused:

> In the heady years of the early 1920s, the dream of Florida mattered far more than its realities. Buoyed by victory in the War to End All War, flush with optimism and money, people climbed into their cars and puttered down the open roads toward America's near tropics. . . . Trains and boats, more additional thousands to Tampa, Miami, Fort Myers, Jacksonville, Orlando. No place escaped the boom of the 1920s, though no place experienced it more profoundly than the lower east coast of the peninsula (Derr 1989:181).

The boom went bust in 1926 and many who made real estate fortunes were left penniless, but Miami, Florida, was established as a world class tourist destination and one of the shining cities of the United States. The Great Depression compounded some of the effects of the real estate bust, but a strong agricultural base, WPA projects, and tourism kept fueling the engines of growth. By the outbreak of WWII, Florida's population was about 1.9 million.

2.1.6 Post-World War II to the Present

Economic and ethnic diversification, phenomenal population growth, and urbanization are only some of the trends that characterize Florida since WWII. After WWII, many of the hundreds of thousands of military personnel who trained in Florida returned to either live or vacation. By 1950, the population was about 2.8 million, by 1960 it was nearly 5 million, and by 1990 it was 11 million. Air conditioning made some of the growth possible as did the efforts at mosquito eradication and control. And, unlike past patterns of growth, south Florida was the center of the new population boom (Derr 1989:337-338). Much of this growth was the result of widespread migration. Cubans, Haitians, and other ethnic groups from the Caribbean and central America became important components of south Florida, and especially the Miami population. However, Cubans were among the most prominent of the Caribbean immigrants. Many Cubans left because of the rise of Fidel Castro and they found safe haven because of

favorable immigration policies resulting from cold war-related tensions between the United States, Russia, and Cuba.

Miami and south Florida in general have one of the most ethnically diverse populations in the United States. Another characteristic of this population growth has been the concentration of residents in urban areas. Before the major population boom of the twentieth century, Florida's population was predominantly rural. Most recently, Florida has developed one of the most urban and aged populations in the United Sates. More than 18 percent of the population in 1990 was older than 65 (Mohl and Mormino 1996:422-23), and in some of the southern counties the percentage ranges from 30 to 50 percent (Derr 1989:339). Economically, the state, and especially southern Florida, has diversified from its previous cattle, citrus, and tourism base. Technology, tourism, and especially service industry employment are major features of the region's economy. Today, Miami is not only a major U.S. center, but it is known as a "capital" of the Caribbean, a truly international city that is ethnically and culturally diverse. This complexity gives Miami and southern Florida a unique ambiance, but one that escapes a clear-cut characterization. One author's description captures this complexity:

> From the early 1960s through the present there has been substantial immigration from northern states, as well as from Latin America and the Caribbean. Hispanics, who currently account for over one-half of Dade County's population, have contributed to Miami's emergence as a major Latin American commercial and cultural center. As a result, Florida's largest city contains a majority Latin American population, a large Black minority with a significant Caribbean island element, and a large Jewish population. The result is the gradual development of a unique local culture which synthesizes aspects of all cultures. For example, Miamians are likely to share a café cubano on their way to a bar mitzvah, where they may kiss each other on the cheek in greeting and dance to reggae (Bucuvalas 2000).

2.1.7 The History of Biscayne National Park

Leynes and Cullison (1998), in their review of BISC historical resources, discuss the historical background and development of Biscayne Bay and Miami. Their work should be consulted for a more detailed analysis of the interaction of BISC and the development of south Florida. Some of the major points of their analysis regarding the history and historical resources of BISC are highlighted below.

Aboriginal History

As noted earlier, the environs of Biscayne Bay have been inhabited by aboriginal peoples since at least 10,000 years ago. Within BISC, archeological evidence of early habitation exists on Sands Key and at other sites around the perimeter of Biscayne Bay (Leynes and Cullison 1998:10). Juan Ponce de Leon, in about 1513, encountered Tequesta Indians at the mouth of the Miami River, which flows into Biscayne Bay, but the Tequesta seemingly disappeared from this region early in the historic period. Other aboriginal peoples visited the area, but it appears there were no permanent residences in the vicinity of the Bay or what is now BISC. Although some Seminole established

residence at Ochupocrassa in 1820, it appears that no Seminole lived on lands that are now part of BISC (Leynes and Cullison 1998:11). However, Native Americans probably have used the resources of Biscayne Bay and its environs for as long as they have inhabited the area. That is, they lived in the vicinity or traveled through areas adjacent to the modern-day BISC and used resources as indicated by the various middens and other artifacts that are found in BISC.

Early European History

Sailing vessels used the straits of Florida as a passage from the Gulf into the Atlantic. Some vessels sank or ran aground, circumstances that prompted some early entrepreneurs to develop salvage operations. Some of these wrecks are part of the historic resources of the park, including the Spanish vessel *Nuestra Senora de Populo* (1733) and the British warship *HMS Fowey* (Leynes and Cullison 1998:11). The salvage operators, who were American Indians, Spaniards, Bahamians, and Euro-Americans, lived primarily in temporary camps. These salvage or wrecking operations were somewhat slowed by the construction of lighthouses and the use of steamships rather than sailing vessels. Salvage operations continued in the area, until halted in 1921 by the Wrecking License Registry (Leynes and Cullison 1998:13). During the early Spanish and British periods in south Florida, the region was sparsely populated. After the Americans took control of Florida there was some settlement, but as late as 1877, when Commodore Munroe reached Biscayne Bay, there were still only a handful of settlers (Leynes and Cullison 1998:14). Agriculture was the impetus for the development of much of the lands after the Americans took control, and this was also the case in south Florida and the environs of Biscayne Bay, where pineapple plantations thrived. Slaves and other laborers were brought in to work on these plantations and the population of the region began growing. Plantation and Elliott Keys were major centers for these pineapple plantations. Soil depletion resulted in a change from pineapples to limes and then to other crops such as lemons, peaches, and other tropical fruits. By the late 1800s, homesteading, especially on Elliott Key, added to the growing population.

Flagler's Railroad, the Growth of Miami and Biscayne Bay

Most of southern Florida was difficult to reach until the completion of the railroad between Jacksonville and Miami by Henry Flagler, who had been urged on by Julia Tuttle, a Miami landowner and entrepreneur. Flagler had a major resort hotel in St. Augustine and had a similar vision for Miami, which would be aided by the presence of easy transportation via the railroad. The completion of the railroad began a process of people flowing into Miami. The population swelled from 500 in 1896, to 15,000 in 1915, to more than 71,000 by 1925. This was the period when Miami and Biscayne Bay began to develop as an "American Riviera." This new playground drew old and new millionaires, including Carl Fisher and others who built fishing lodges, hotels, golf courses, and mansions in Miami and its environs. The Keys of Biscayne Bay became part of this "millionaire's playground." For example, Boca Chita Key became a retreat for the Honeywells who built an array of structures, including a lighthouse, which are now important historical resources currently located in BISC (Leynes and Cullison 1998:26-37). Biscayne Bay continued to be part of the Riviera image associated with south Florida. The status of the bay, first as a National Monument in 1968, and then as a national park in 1974, reinforces early images of escape into the environment that Flagler, Fisher, the Honeywells, and

others wished to create. BISC has now evolved into part of a new and developing set of images and expectations about Miami and south Florida that include a multicultural metropolis with ties to the Caribbean and Central America as well as South America. This evolution continues, raising questions concerning how BISC will respond to local pressures and perceptions.

2.2   The Contemporary Socioeconomic Context of Miami-Dade County

While examining south Florida history establishes the foundations of the contemporary sociocultural setting of Miami-Dade County, it is the demographic and economic characteristics of the county that structure its current form and identity. This section summarizes the county's major demographic and economic characteristics, including population composition and trends, economic structure, and income and employment. County demographic data are compared with the state of Florida to illustrate its relationship to overall state demographic patterns.

2.2.1   Background

Miami-Dade is the largest county within the state of Florida, encompassing more than 2,000 square miles along the southeast tip of the Florida Peninsula (Figure 1). On its western and southwestern borders, Everglades National Park occupies fully one-third of the County's total land area. Broward County is to the north, Biscayne Bay and the Atlantic Ocean are to the east, and the Florida Keys are to the south. Within the county there are 90 cities/incorporated areas with a total population of 2.25 million persons (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2001a). Approximately 98 percent of Miami-Dade County's population resides within 12 miles of the coast (FEMA 2000). Agriculture, tourism, manufacturing, and government constitute major economic sectors within an overall County economy that had a net value of production (Gross Regional Product) of $64.9 billion in 1998 (Beacon Council 1999). The County's workforce is multi-ethnic and, traditionally, new immigrants have been an important labor source for tourism, manufacturing, and agricultural industries in the region. Recent demographic trends illustrate significant overall growth and increasing diversity within the County's population.

2.2.2   Demography2.2.2   Demography

In reference to the region, various information sources such as U.S. Bureau of the Census publications, newspaper articles, and journal papers, use a variety of terms such as the Miami-Dade Metropolitan Area, Dade County, and the Miami-Dade County and Primary Metropolitan Statistical Area (PMSA). For the purposes of this section, all of these terms refer to Miami-Dade County.

Hernando

Pasco

Orange

Brevard

Hillsborough

Polk

Osceola

inellas

Manatee

Hardee

Indian River

Okeechobee

St Lucie

Sarasota

Highlands

De Soto

Martin

Charlotte

Glades

Lee

Hendry

Palm Beach

Collier

Broward

Miami-Dade

Monroe

Monroe

LOCATOR MAP

FLORIDA

Study Area
Miami-Dade County

30   0   30   Miles

NORTH
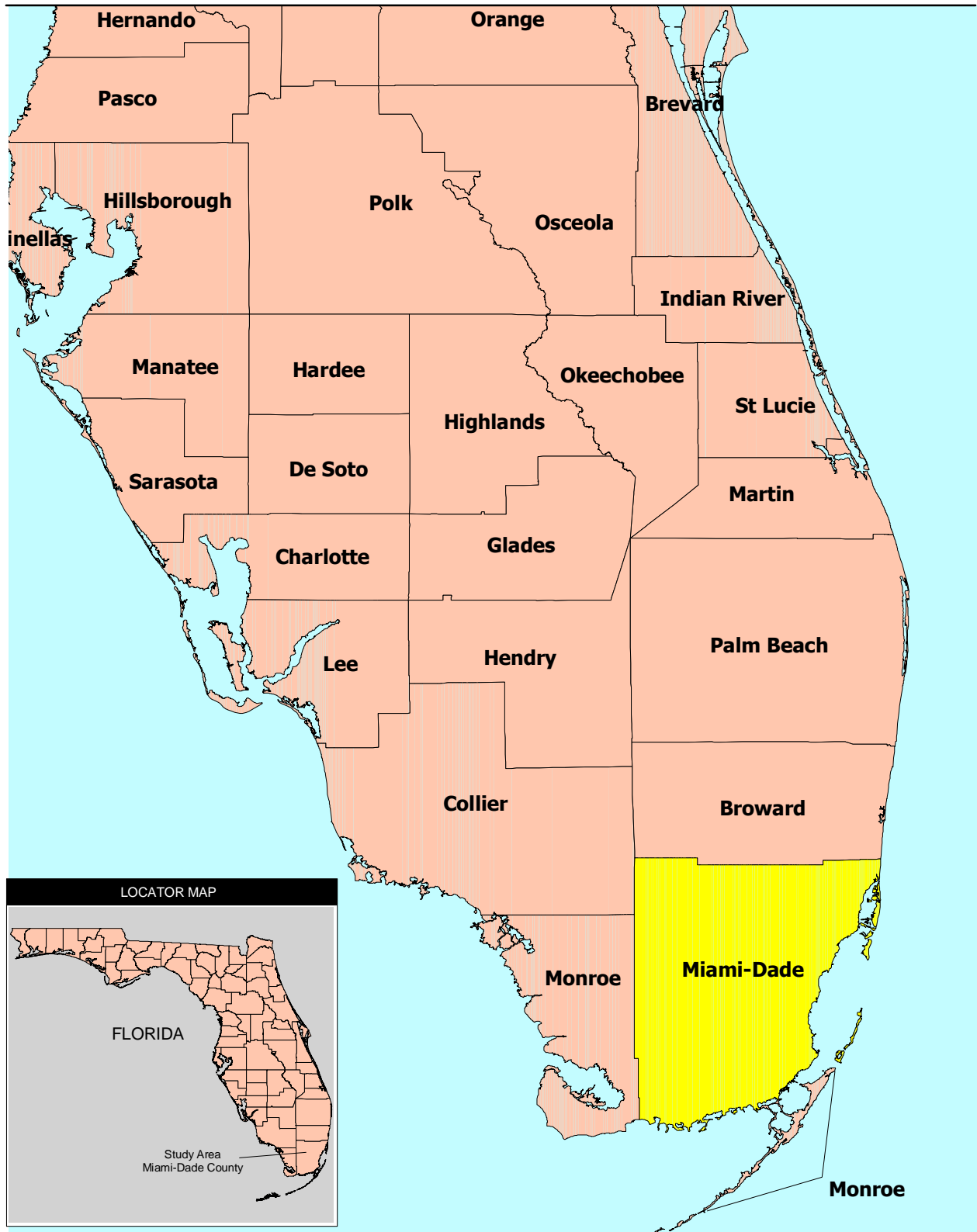
Scale = 1:2,000,000

**Figure 1
Locator Map**

Population

The population within Florida, as of 2000, numbered 15,982,378 persons, up from 9,746,324 persons in 1990, showing an increase of 63.9 percent (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2001a). Florida remains the fourth most populous state in the nation behind California, Texas, and New York, respectively. Between 1990 and 2000, the U.S. population increased 13.1 percent, placing Florida third and seventh nationally with regard to numerical and percentage population growth, respectively (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2001b). Table 2.1 summarizes 1990-2000 population growth for the state as a whole as well as for Miami-Dade and contiguous counties.

Table 2.1. Population Change, 1990-2000

Area	Population		% of State		Growth
	1990	2000	1990	2000	1990-2000
Florida State	9,746,324	15,982,378	n/a	n/a	63.9
Miami-Dade	1,937,094	2,253,362	19.87	14.1	16.3
Broward	1,255,488	1,623,018	12.88	10.15	29.3
Collier	152,099	251,377	1.56	1.57	65.3
Monroe	78,024	79,589	0.8	0.49	2.0

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census 1990, 2001a

According to the 2000 Census, Miami-Dade County, with 2,253,362 persons, was the most populous of Florida's 62 counties and constituted 14.1 percent of the population of the state of Florida. The county, with a population of 1,937,094 persons in 1990, then constituted 19.87 percent of the population of the state and had numerically grown 16.3 percent as of 2000. The contiguous counties of Broward, Collier, and Monroe, in turn, had 2000 populations constituting 10.15, 1.57, and 0.49 percent of the state's population, respectively. Broward and Collier Counties had increases in populations numbering 29.3 and 65.3 percent, respectively, from 1990. However, the population of Monroe County fell 2.0 percent over the same period (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2001b).

The communities adjacent to Biscayne Bay comprise a major portion of Miami-Dade County's population. Table 2.2 outlines some of these communities and their recent population change. Virtually the entire area experienced some level of growth, and many of the major metropolitan areas of Miami to the north (specifically Hialeah, Doral, Richmond West, and Country Walk) exhibited substantial levels of population expansion during the past decade. The unincorporated areas of the county to the west of BISC also experienced significant population growth. These trends can also be seen when comparing population density per square mile for Miami-Dade County between 1990 and 2000 (Figures 2 and 3).

BROWARD COUNTY

Thompson
Park

North Miami Beach

Opa-locka

North Miami

Hialeah

Miami Springs

Miami Beach

State Hwy 836

MIAMI

State Hwy 836

41

Sweetwater

1

MIAMI-DADE COUNTY

South Miami

Coral Gables

Key
Biscayne

State Hwy 874

Everglades
National Park

Biscayne National Park

State Hwy 821

Biscayne Bay

Homestead

Florida City

1

Key Largo

Key

LEGEND

Population Per Square Mile

- 0 - 100
- 101 - 1,000
- 1001 - 5,000
- 5,001 - 10,000
- 10,001 - 20,000
- 20,001 +
- Biscayne National Park
- Parks
- Highway
- Cities

Sources: Florida Fish & Wildlife Conservation Commission, Biscayne National Park

7   0   7 Miles

40000   0   40000 Feet

Scale: 1" = 40,000' (1:480,000)

NORTH

Figure 2
Population Per Square Mile:
Miami-Dade County 1990 Census

BROWARD COUNTY

Thompson
Park

North Miami Beach

Opa-locka

North Miami

Hialeah

Miami Springs

Miami Beach

MIAMI-DADE COUNTY

State Hwy 836

State Hwy 836

41

MIAMI

Sweetwater

State Hwy 836

1

South Miami

Coral Gables

Key
Biscayne

State Hwy 874

Everglades
National Park

Biscayne National Park

Biscayne Bay

State Hwy 821

Florida City

Homestead

1

Largo

Key

LEGEND

Population Per Square Mile

- 0 - 100
- 101 - 1,000
- 1001 - 5,000
- 5,001 - 10,000
- 10,001 - 20,000
- 20,001 +
- Biscayne National Park
- Parks
- Highway
- Cities

Sources: Florida Fish & Wildlife Conservation Commission, Biscayne National Park

| 7 | 0 | 7 | Miles |

| 40000 | 0 | 40000 | Feet |

Scale: 1" = 40,000' (1:480,000)

NORTH

Figure 3
Population Per Square Mile:
Miami-Dade County 2000 Census

Table 2.2. Population Growth of Municipalities Adjacent to Biscayne Bay

Municipality	1990 Population	2000 Population	Change
Miami Beach	92,639	87,933	-5.07%
Aventura	14,914	25,267	69.41%
Bal Harbour Village	3,045	3,305	8.53%
Coral Gables	40,091	42,249	5.38%
Key Biscayne	8,854	10,507	18.66%
Miami Shores Village	10,084	10,380	2.93%
North Miami City	49,998	59.880	19.76%
North Miami Beach	35,359	40,786	15.34%
Homestead	26,866	31,909	18.77%

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census 1990, 2001b

The projected population trend for Florida, and Miami-Dade County in particular (Figure 4), is continued rapid population growth. The 1996 Bureau of the Census population projection (starting from 15,233,000) shows Florida's population growing by 36 percent between 2000 and 2025 (to 20,710,000). That is the fourth fastest projected rate of growth in the country. It is estimated that Miami-Dade County's population will reach almost 2.5 million by 2010 (Bureau of Economic and Business Research 1999).

Figure 4. Forecasted Miami-Dade County Population Growth
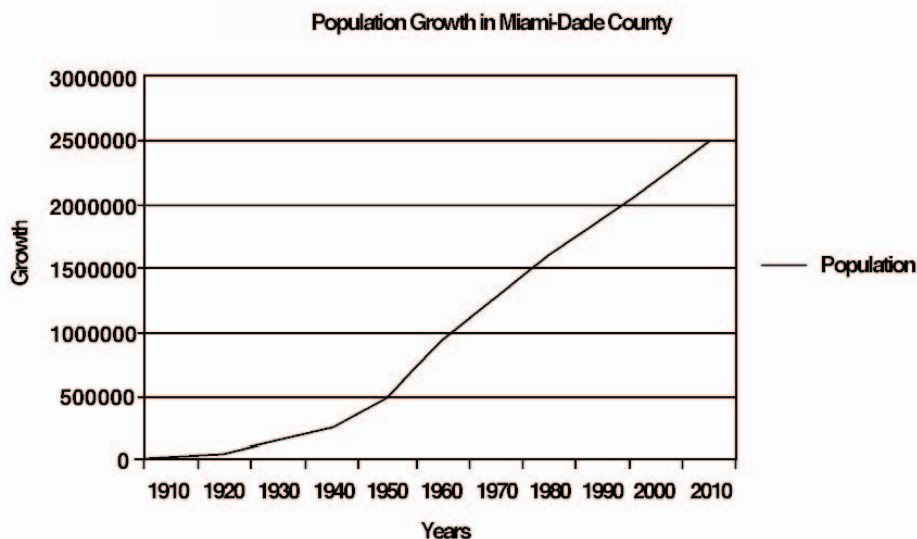
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population, Vol. 1, Characteristics of Population, Part 11, and Florida Consensus Estimating Conference, 2000; and BEBR, 1999

Race and Ethnicity

The Miami-Dade County area may be characterized as cosmopolitan, with many ethnic groups present, including an array of minority populations. The Council on Environmental Quality (CEQ) defined "minority" to consist of the following groups: Black/African American, Asian,

Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander, American Indian or Alaskan Native, and Hispanic populations (regardless of race). U.S. Bureau of the Census categories have changed over time, however, so some comparisons over time are not straightforward. For example, within the 2000 Census the previous "Asian/Pacific Islander" category was split into separate "Asian" and "Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islander" categories. For the purposes of this analysis, to determine a total change between 1990-2000, the separate 2000 Census categories were combined. Moreover, for the purposes of this analysis, "minority" also includes all other non-white racial categories within the 2000 Census such as "Some other race" and "Two or more races."

The *Miami-Herald* newspaper recently reported that the data from the 2000 Census indicated "Near-total ethnic and racial make-overs in some areas." The article went on to identify that 20 cities and unincorporated communities went from a majority non-Hispanic white population to a minority non-Hispanic population. These cities included Coral Gables, Cutler Ridge, and Kendall. The article also stated that 15 cities and unincorporated communities went from minority to majority Hispanic, including Miami Springs, Homestead, Key Biscayne, and Miami Beach. Black/African American populations also significantly increased in many areas, with North Miami going from 32 percent black in 1990 to more than 55 percent black in 2000 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2001b).

As shown in Figure 5, in 1990, the non-Hispanic white populations within Miami-Dade County were generally concentrated in the areas immediately west and southwest of BISC as well as in the far northern areas of the county. According to data from the 2000 Census, shown in Figure 6, within almost all the abovementioned areas, and especially those to the west and southwest, the overall population of non-Hispanic whites has diminished. Black or African American populations constituted a larger percentage of the population in some areas immediately west of BISC as well as in the areas north of Miami proper.

Hurricane Andrew, the most destructive United States hurricane on record, hit south Florida on August 24, 1992. Of the 180,000 people temporarily displaced by Hurricane Andrew, many stayed with relatives in Broward County and when insurance monies were issued, many stayed permanently. According to the U.S. Bureau of the Census, between July 1992 and July 1993, Broward's population rose by 41,032, an increase of approximately 80 percent in excess of the previous 12 months. While non-Hispanic whites were more likely to have left the county altogether, Hispanics displaced by Hurricane Andrew tended to move to the heavily Latino communities of suburban west-central and northwest Miami-Dade County, whereas Blacks/African Americans tended to rebuild homes on their existing lots in South Miami-Dade (*Miami Herald* 2002).

As outlined in Table 2.3, of the total population within Florida as of 2000 (15,982,378 persons), 97.6 percent of the population was classified to be of one race and 2.3 percent of two or more races. Of those persons of one race, 78.0 percent were white, 14.6 percent were black or African American, 0.3 percent were American Indian or Native Alaskan, 1.7 percent were Asian, 0.1 percent were native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander, and 3.0 percent were classified as "Some other race." Also, as shown in Table 2.3 and Figure 7, of the total population of Miami-Dade County as of 2000 (2,253,362 persons), 96.2 percent of the population was classified to be of one race and 3.8 percent of two or more races. Of those persons of one race, 69.7 percent were

BROWARD COUNTY

Thompson
Park

North Miami Beach

Opa-locka

North Miami

Hialeah

State Hwy 826

Miami Beach

Miami Springs

State Hwy 836

MIAMI

Sweetwater

MIAMI-DADE COUNTY

41

1

South
Miami

State Hwy 874

Coral
Gables

Key
Biscayne

Everglades
National Park

Biscayne National Park

Biscayne Bay

State Hwy 821

Homestead

Florida City

1

Key Largo

LEGEND

Non-White Minority as
a Percentage of Total Population

0 - 10 Percent
11 - 20 Percent
21 - 40 Percent
41 - 60 Percent
61 - 80 Percent
81 +
Biscayne National Park
Parks
Highway
Cities

Sources: Biscayne National Park, 2000b; U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2001

7   0   7   Miles

40000   0   40000 Feet

NORTH

Scale: 1" = 40,000' (1:480,000)
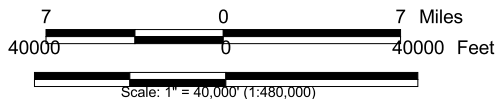
Figure 5
Non-White Minority as a
Percentage of Total Population:
Miami-Dade County 1990 Census

BROWARD COUNTY

Thompson
Park

North Miami Beach

Ope-locka
North Miami

Hialeah

Miami Springs

State Hwy 826

State Hwy 836

MIAMI

Miami Beach

MIAMI-DADE COUNTY

Sweetwater

41

1

South Miami

Coral Gables

State Hwy 874

Key
Biscayne

Everglades
National Park

Biscayne National Park

Biscayne Bay

State Hwy 821

Homestead

Florida City

1

Largo

Key

LEGEND

Non White Minority as
a Percentage of Total Population

- 0 - 10 Percent
- 11 - 20 Percent
- 21 - 40 Percent
- 41 - 60 Percent
- 61 - 80 Percent
- 81 +
- Biscayne National Park
- Parks
- Highway
- Cities

Sources: Florida Fish & Wildlife Conservation Commission, Biscayne National Park

7   0   7   Miles

40000   0   40000   Feet

NORTH

Scale: 1" = 40,000' (1:480,000)

Figure 6
Non-White Minority as a
Percentage of Total Population:
Miami-Dade County 2000 Census

white, 20.3 percent were black or African American, 0.2 percent were American Indian or Alaska Native, 1.4 percent were Asian, 0.0 were native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander, and 4.6 percent were classified as "Some other race."

Table 2.3. Florida and Miami-Dade County, Population by Ethnicity and Race, 2000

	Miami-Dade County	Florida State
Total Population	2,253,362	15,982,378
One Race	96.2%	97.6%
White	69.7%	78.0%
Black or African American	20.3%	14.6%
American Indian, Alaskan Native	0.2%	0.3%
Asian	1.4%	1.7%
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	0.0%	0.1%
Some Other Race	4.6%	3.0%
Two or More Races	3.8%	2.3%
Hispanic origin, any race	57.3%	16.8%
Total Minority Pop	79.3%	34.6%
Total Non-Minority Pop (Non-Hispanic White)	20.7%	65.4%

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census 2001b

Figure 7. Miami-Dade County Population by Race, 2000

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census 2001b

According to the 2000 Census, persons considered to be of Hispanic or Latino origin (of any race) constituted 16.7 percent (2,682,715 persons) of the total population of Florida. Within Miami-Dade County, this figure rose to 57.3 percent (1,291,737 persons). As of 2000, persons

of Hispanic or Latino origin constituted the most populous ethnic group within Miami-Dade County. The county also contained the largest proportion of Hispanic or Latino populations within any of Florida's 15 most populous counties (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2001b).

Between 1990-2000, the Hispanic population of Florida rose from 12.2 percent of the population in 1990 to 16.8 percent of the population in 2000. Numerically, the Hispanic population increased by 70.4 percent between 1990-2000. While non-Hispanic whites constituted 73.2 percent (9,475,326 persons) of Florida's population in 1990, as of 2000 this proportion had decreased to 65.4 percent (10,458,509 persons). The non-Hispanic white population of Florida numerically increased 12.0 percent between 1990-2000 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2001b).

The total minority population figures for Florida in 1990, represented as all non-white or Hispanic persons, numbered 26.7 percent of the total population (3,462,600 persons) and had risen to 34.5 percent of the population as of 2000 (5,523,869 persons). The total minority population within Florida numerically increased by 59.5 percent (2,061,269 persons).

Miami-Dade County also experienced considerable change over this period, as shown in Table 2.4. Non-Hispanic whites constituted 31.36 percent of Miami-Dade County's population in 1990 (588,063 persons), and this proportion had decreased to 20.7 percent as of 2000 (455,772 persons). The non-Hispanic white population numerically decreased 77.4 percent between 1990-2000. The total minority population figures for Miami-Dade County in 1990, represented as all non-white or Hispanic persons, numbered 69.64 percent of the total population (1,349,031 persons) and had risen to 79.3 percent of the population as of 2000 (1,787,590 persons). The total minority population within Miami-Dade County numerically increased by 32.5 percent (438,559 persons) (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2001b).

As outlined above, as a proportion of the population, non-Hispanic white populations within Miami-Dade County have decreased significantly in the last decade from 31.6 percent to 20.7 percent. Non-Hispanic black or African American populations have shown a minimal increase from 13.1 to 14.1 percent over the same time period with other racial groups such as Asians and Native Americans continuing to constitute a relatively small proportion (less than 6.5 percent) of a growing population with a significantly expanding Hispanic and Latino populace. Miami-Dade County has the highest, both numerically and proportionally, Hispanic and Latino population within any of the 15 largest counties or incorporated areas of Florida. Figure 8 illustrates the Hispanic-Non-Hispanic population split in 2000.

As shown in Figure 9, in 1990, Hispanic populations tended to be concentrated in the areas immediately west and northwest of Miami, yet the map also shows that from North Miami Beach to Florida City, persons of Hispanic origin constituted a significant percentage of the population. As shown in Figure 10, 2000 Census data indicate that while these concentrations have changed somewhat, a general pattern of increased density of Hispanic populations within the County is evident, again generally to the north and west of Miami.

Table 2.4. Miami-Dade County Race and Ethnicity, 1990-2000

Miami-Dade County	1990	2000	Percent Change (Numerical)
Total Population	1,937,094	2,253,362	16.32% (316,269)
One Race	95.06% (1,841,432)	96.2% (2,167,940)	17.73% (326,508)
White	73.06% (1,415,346)	69.7% (1,570,558)	10.96% 155,212
Black or African American	20.56% (398,424)	20.3% (457,214)	14.75% (58,790)
American Indian, Alaskan Native	0.15% (2,889)	0.2% (4,365)	51.09% (1,476)
Asian*	1.25% (24,353)	1.4% (31,753)	30.38% (7,400)
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander*	>0.1% (420)	>0.1% (799)	90.2% (379)
Other Race	4.93% (95,662)	n/a	n/a
Some Other Race	n/a	4.6% (103,251)	n/a
Two or More Races	n/a	3.8% (85,422)	n/a
Hispanic origin, any race	49.0% (949,700)	57.3% (1,291,737)	36.0% (342,037)
Total Minority Pop	69.64% (1,349,031)	79.3% (1,787,590)	32.5% (438,559)
Total Non-Minority Pop (White Non-Hispanic)	31.36% (588,063)	20.7% (455,772)	-77.4% (132,291)

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census 2001b
*Within the 2000 Census the "Asian/Pacific Islander" category was split into separate "Asian" and "Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islander" categories.

Figure 8. Miami-Dade County Population by Ethnicity, 2000
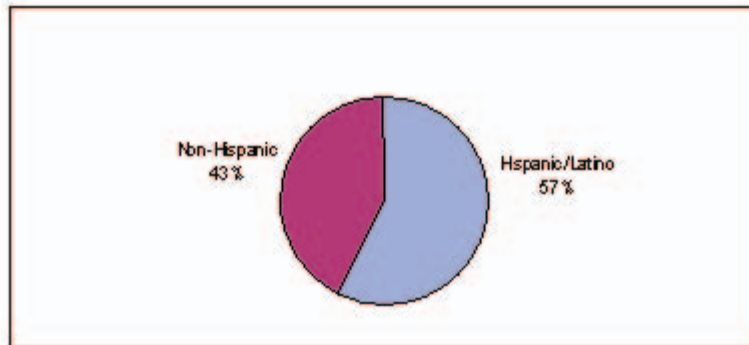
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census 2001b
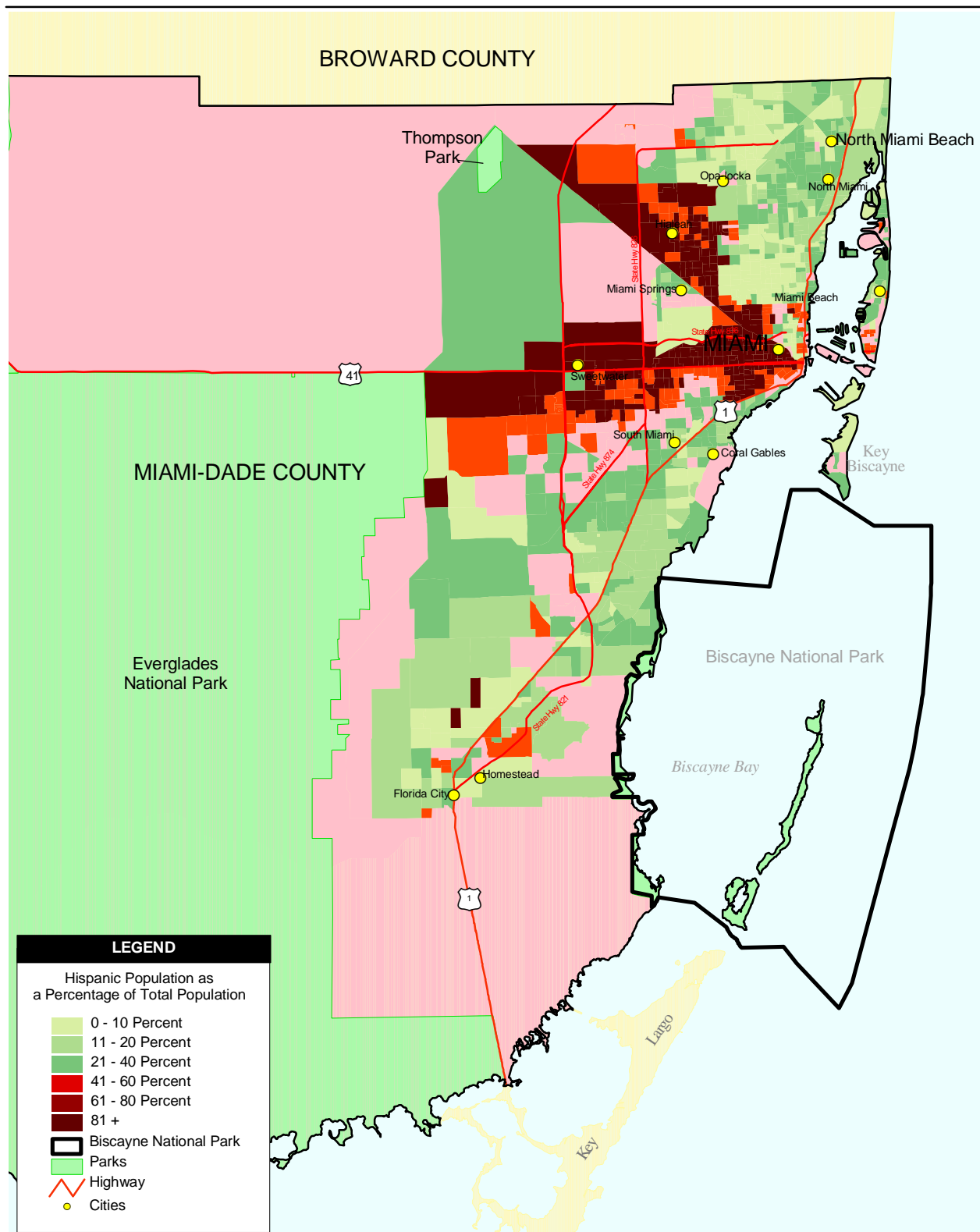
LEGEND

Hispanic Population as
a Percentage of Total Population

- 0 - 10 Percent
- 11 - 20 Percent
- 21 - 40 Percent
- 41 - 60 Percent
- 61 - 80 Percent
- 81 +
- Biscayne National Park
- Parks
- Highway
- Cities

Sources: Florida Fish & Wildlife Conservation Commission, Biscayne National Park

Scale: 1" = 40,000' (1:480,000)
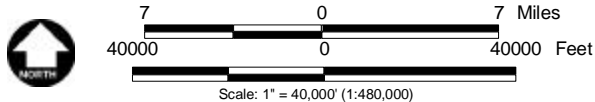
**Figure 9
Hispanic Population as a
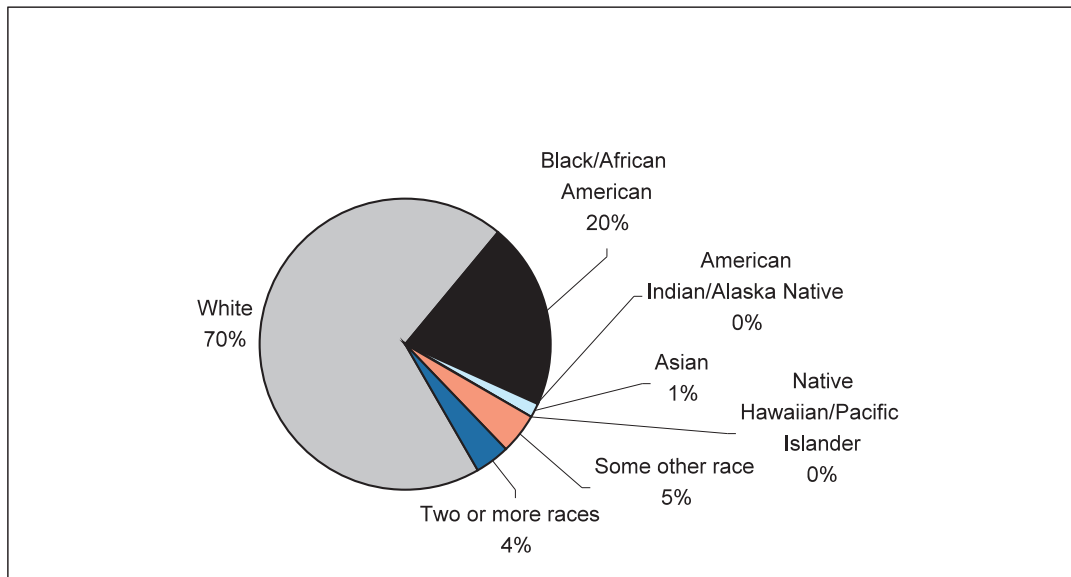Percentage of Total Population:
Miami-Dade County 1990 Census**
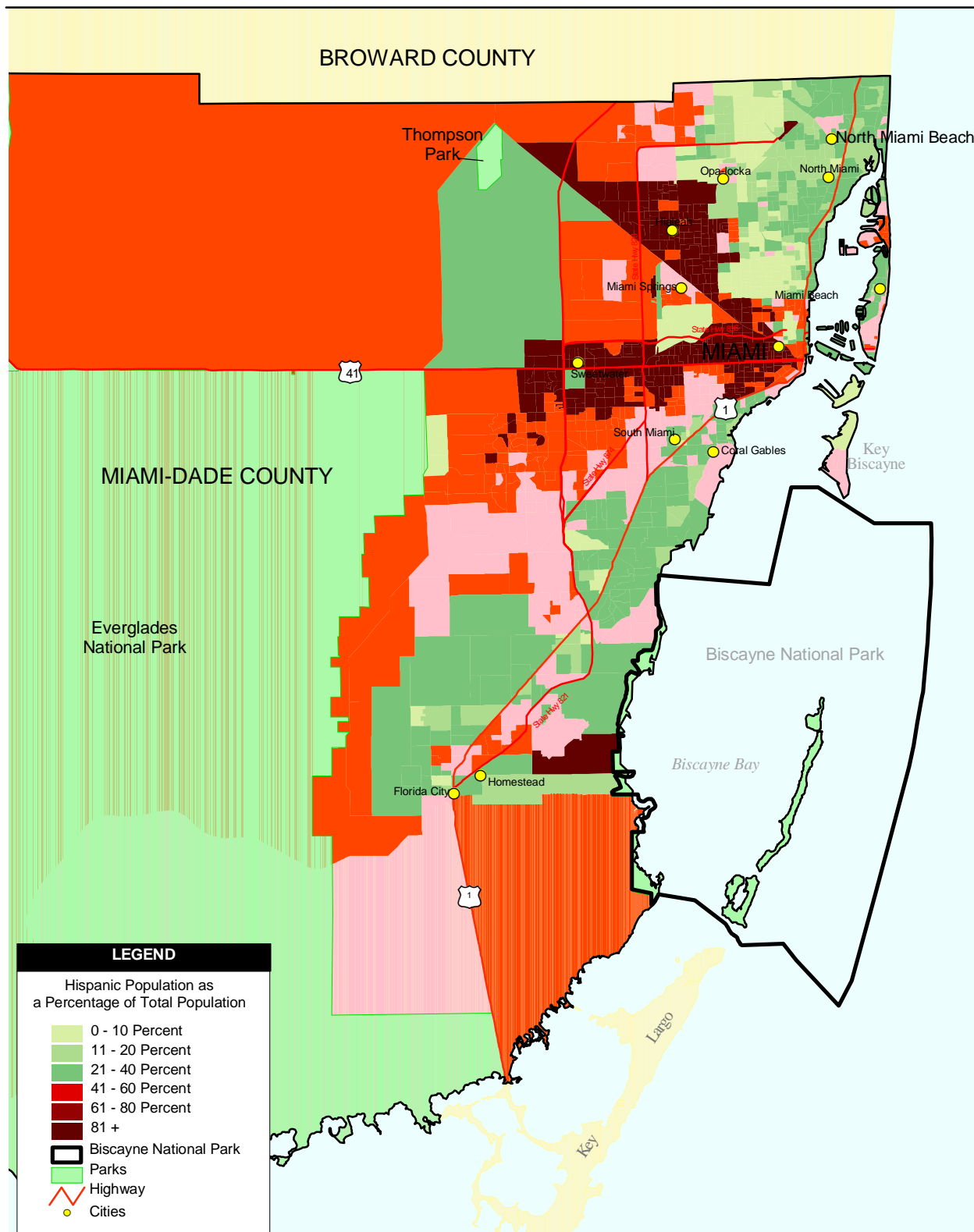
BROWARD COUNTY

Thompson Park

North Miami Beach

Opa-locka

North Miami

Hialeah

Miami Springs

Miami Beach

MIAMI

Sweetwater

MIAMI-DADE COUNTY

South Miami

Coral Gables

Key Biscayne

Everglades National Park

Biscayne National Park

Biscayne Bay

Largo

Florida City

Homestead

Key

LEGEND

Hispanic Population as
a Percentage of Total Population

0 - 10 Percent
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21 - 40 Percent
41 - 60 Percent
61 - 80 Percent
81 +
Biscayne National Park
Parks
Highway
Cities

Sources: Florida Fish & Wildlife Conservation Commission, Biscayne National Park

7   0   7 Miles
40000   0   40000 Feet

NORTH

Scale: 1" = 40,000' (1:480,000)
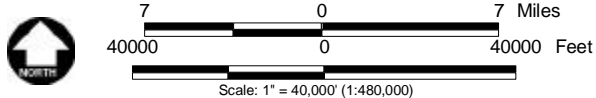
Figure 10
Hispanic Population as a
Percentage of Total Population:
Miami-Dade County 2000 Census

Over the last 40 years, Florida's ethnic composition has changed dramatically. In 1960, 81 percent of the state's population was comprised of non-Hispanic Whites. By far the largest minority was comprised of Blacks, accounting for 17 percent of the state's total population. Less than 2 percent of all Floridians were Hispanic. During the 30-year period between 1960 and 1990, Florida's population more than doubled in size. Although the state's non-Hispanic white and black populations almost doubled in numbers, the Hispanic population increased enormously in size, growing over 16 times to comprise 12 percent of Florida's population as of 1990 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1990, 1992).

Age and Gender

The age and gender population distribution of Miami-Dade County and surrounding areas, as indicated by 2000 Census data, is presented in Table 2.5 below. Historically, adults age 65 and older have been in the range of 14 to 16 percent of the total population. Results of the 2000 Census indicated that overall, the percentage of retirement age adults was decreasing in the Miami-Dade area. The age distribution of the Miami-Dade County population is described below and compared to that of Florida and the surrounding counties of Broward, Collier, and Monroe, between the years of 1990 and 2000.

Table 2.5. Age Distribution in 2000

Age	Florida	Miami-Dade County	Broward County	Collier County	Monroe County
Under 18 years	22.8% (3,646,340)	24.8% (559,213)	23.6% (382,929)	19.1% (49,941)	17.1% (13,605)
18-64 years	59.6% (9,528,441)	61.8% (1,393,597)	60.3% (978,980)	55.7% (139,923)	68.3% (54,336)
65+ years	17.6% (2,807,597)	13.3% (300,552)	16.1% (261,109)	24.5% (61,513)	14.6% (11,648)

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census 2001b

According to 2000 Census data, the population of Florida, 65 years and older, totaled 17.6 percent, slightly higher than that of Miami-Dade County, which totaled 13.3 percent. Conversely, statewide, those under 18 years old totaled 22.8 percent, slightly lower than that of Miami-Dade County, which totaled 24.8 percent. Based on the above figures, the median age for the state was calculated to be 38.7 years, marginally higher than that of the county, calculated to be 35.6 years.

As of 2000, the population of Broward, Collier, and Monroe counties, 65 years and older, totaled 16.1 percent, 24.5 percent, and 14.6 percent, respectively. Those under 18 years totaled 23.6 percent, 19.1 percent, and 17.1 percent, respectively. The median age in 2000 was calculated to be 37.8, 44.1, and 42.6 years, respectively.

When compared to the 1990 Census, Florida's population, aged 65 years and older, numerically increased by 18.5 percent, and those aged below 18 years numerically increased by 27.2 percent, as shown in Table 2.6. Proportionally, those aged over 65 years and below 18 years exhibited a decrease of 0.6 percent and an increase of 0.6 percent, respectively. The median age

decreased by 2.2 years during the decade. During the last decade the population of Miami-Dade County, 65 years and older, numerically increased by 10.95 percent, and those under 18 years numerically increased by 19.4 percent. Proportionally, the population of the county aged over 65 years and under18 years exhibited a decrease of 0.7 percent and an increase of 0.6 percent, respectively. The median age of the county increased by 1.3 years during the decade.

Table 2.6. Numerical Population Increase from 1990

Age	Florida	Miami-Dade County	Broward County	Collier County	Monroe County
Under 18 years	27.2% (781,840)	19.4% (90,982)	49.4 % (126,657)	63.7 % (19,449)	0.9 % (125)
18-64 years	14.1% (1,826,183)	10.1% (195,319)	19.2% (240,850)	34.7 % (52,747)	3.0% (2,323)
65+ years	18.5% (438,934)	10.9 % (29,689)	0.38 % (1,011)	43.8 % (26,963)	5.6 % (651)

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census 1990, 2001b

When compared to the results from the 1990 U.S. Bureau of the Census, the population of Broward, Collier, and Monroe Counties, 65 years and older, numerically increased by 0.38 percent, 43.8 percent, and 5.6 percent, respectively. Those under 18 years increased by 49.4 percent, 63.7 percent, and 0.9 percent, respectively. Proportionally, between 1990 and 2000, the population of the Broward County aged over 65 years and those aged under18 years exhibited a decrease of 4.6 percent and an increase of 2.8 percent, respectively. Within Collier County, the figures showed an increase of 1.8 percent and a decrease of 1.3 percent, respectively. Monroe County showed a decrease of 1.2 percent and 1.3 percent, respectively. The median age change between 1990 and 2000 of Broward County remained at 37.8 years, with the median ages in Monroe and Collier Counties increasing by 3.3 years and 3.6 years, respectively.

The above statistics, when coupled with the other demographic data, depict a changing region with the most dynamic changes being felt within Miami-Dade County. Miami-Dade County has the lowest median age among the contiguous counties and is lower than the state. The under 18 population within the county exhibited a growth rate of 19.4 percent, almost double that of the 10.95 percent increase of the population 65 years and over. Such conclusions are also borne out by the proportional decrease of persons over the age of 65 within the population of Miami-Dade County (-0.7 percent) and the rise of those under 18 (0.6 percent) (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2001b).

The 1990 U.S. Census indicated that males constituted 47.9 percent of the Miami-Dade County population and females 52.1 percent. As of 2000, the percentage of males in the total population had increased to 48.3 percent and females decreased to 51.7 percent. In comparison, males constituted 48.3 percent of the Florida population and females 51.7 percent. Similarly, as of 2000, the percentage of males in the total population had increased to 48.8 percent and females decreased to 51.2 percent.

Immigration and Emigration

Florida

Between 1980 and 1990, U.S. Bureau of the Census data indicated that Florida's foreign-born population grew by 57 percent (from 1,058,732 to 1,662,601 persons) and accounted for 19.7 percent of the overall population growth. As of 1990, this foreign-born share constituted 12.9 percent of the state's population, much higher than the 7.9 percent national average. A total of 81.4 percent (1,335,357 persons) of Florida's total foreign-born population in 1990 lived in 6 of its 67 counties (Federation for American Immigration Reform [FAIR] 2001a). Miami-Dade County by itself was home to 52.6 percent of the total in 1990 (874,569 persons) (FAIR 2001b).

The 2000 Census recorded 2,670,828 foreign-born residents in the state, constituting 16.7 percent of the state's overall population. This figure represented an increase of 60.6 percent above the 1990 foreign-born population of 1,662,601 residents. The amount of increase was the fourth highest in the country. However, the rate of increase in the foreign-born population was not among the 25 highest in the country (FAIR 2001a).

A comparison of the increase in the immigrant population from 1990 with the change in the overall population during the same period shows that immigrant settlement directly accounted for about one-third (33.1 percent) of the State's overall population increase over that decade. The 2000 Census found that 38.6 percent of Florida's foreign-born population had arrived in the state since 1990. This demonstrates the effects of the current mass immigration, although it is a lower share than the national average (43.7 percent).

As of 1990, Florida had the third largest number of immigrants and the fourth highest concentration of immigrants nationally (FAIR 2001a). Additionally, immigrants born in Cuba made up 30 percent of the state's total immigrant population. Several national groups showed sharp numerical increases between 1980-1990, including Nicaraguans (874+ percent), Haitians (382+ percent), and Mexicans (304+ percent). Of the rest of Florida's 10 largest national groups, only Italians (10th) had registered a decline over the decade (-2 percent). Populations of European immigrants were registering declines elsewhere in the country over the same period. Some of this increase may have been attributable to re-migration from elsewhere in the country (FAIR 2001a).

Immigration figures from 1990 also reflected many of the illegal aliens who had arrived earlier but had since gained legal status. With regard to Florida this mainly applied to Haitians, Mexicans, and Nicaraguans (FAIR 2001a).

Table 2.7 shows the main nationalities of legal immigration within Florida during Fiscal Year 1991-98. Averaging more than 15,000 persons per year, immigration to Florida was dominated by Cubans. During this eight-year period, more than one-fifth (20.2 percent) of all immigrants since 1990 came from Cuba. Haitian immigration numbered more than 9,000 per year, and Mexicans more than 7,500 per year. Along with Cubans, these national groups accounted for more than two-fifths (42.1 percent) of all new "green card" recipients in Florida since 1990. Lesser groups included Jamaicans, Colombians, Nicaraguans, Dominicans, and Canadians.

Also, with more than 1,500 immigrants per year were Peru, the Philippines, Vietnam, China (including Hong Kong and Taiwan), and India (FAIR 2001a).

Table 2.7. Florida Legal Immigration, Most Prominent Nationalities, 1991-1998

Country	Total Fiscal Year 91-98	Average Per Year	Percent of Total
Cuba	122,072	15,259	20.16
Haiti	72,982	9,122	12.05
Mexico	60,030	7,504	9.91
Jamaica	37,451	4,681	6.19
Colombia	27,094	3,387	4.47
Nicaragua	17,027	2,128	2.81
Dominican Rep.	16,266	2,033	2.69
Peru	15,381	1,923	2.54
Canada	14,165	1,771	2.34
Philippines	12,638	1,580	2.09
United Kingdom	12,416	1,552	2.05
Vietnam	9,270	1,159	1.53
Other	188,686	23,585	31.16
Total	**605,478**	**75,684**	**100%**

Source: FAIR 2001a

The 2000 Census found that 38.6 percent of Florida's foreign-born population had arrived in the state since 1990. A comparison of the increase in the immigrant population from 1990 with the change in the overall population during the same period shows that immigrant settlement directly accounted for about one-third (33.1 percent) of the state's overall population increase over that decade. The effect of immigration on population change is still greater when the children of the immigrants are born here after their parents' arrival and are included with their parents in the calculation.

Miami-Dade County

According to the 1990 U.S. Bureau of the Census, Miami-Dade County had the highest concentration of immigrants of any major metropolitan area in the country, with 45.1 percent of the county's population (874,569 persons) indicating birth outside of the United States compared to 15 percent for the remainder of Florida. The number of foreign-born residents was the second largest for any county in the country. The share of the foreign-born population that reported being naturalized United States citizens was 36.1 percent, slightly lower than the national average. The city with the nation's highest concentration of immigrants was Hialeah (with 70.4 percent foreign born). Second in the nation was the city of Miami (59.7 percent). The city of Miami Beach ranked sixth in the country with, 44.8 percent (FAIR 2001b).

Although Miami-Dade County during the past decade exhibited a growth rate comparable to other metropolitan areas of its size (23.5 percent), the major source of this growth has been through immigration, primarily among peoples of Hispanic origin from the Caribbean and Central America. According to preliminary census data, from 1990-99, Miami-Dade County added 337,174 immigrants, a rate of increase of 17.4 percent over the decade. The average annual number of new immigrants since 1990 has been more than 37,000 (FAIR 2001a). An increasing proportion of the county's population is composed of immigrants and the rapidity

of this change has overtaken the population composition of any other urban area in the country (FAIR 2001b).

If immigration numbers are ignored, Miami-Dade County is theoretically declining in population due to residents leaving for other parts of the country. According to the 2000 Census, while Miami-Dade County showed a population increase of 12.3 percent between 1990-99, the outflow of residents was so great (236,078) that if it were not for newly arriving immigrants (about 337,200), the county's population would be shrinking despite a net increase in residents and despite natural change (129,000 more births than deaths).

The net international migration data detailed above actually understate the impact of immigration on a locality because only the arrival of immigrants from abroad is actually recorded–not those moving within the country, and the children born to immigrants after their arrival are not part of the immigrant settlement data. These populations simply become part of domestic population change (FAIR 2001b).

In 1998, *The Washington Post* reported that "many of Miami's white population are leaving metropolitan areas because of the large influx of immigrants." Citing the research of University of Miami Population Studies Center demographer William Frey, the article stated that the ratio of those in the exodus to new immigrants has been "about one-to-one." Reasons given for this exodus included "ethnic change as well as home prices, crime, schools and congestion." Some of those leaving said that Miami felt to them like "a foreign country" (Booth 1998).

In summary, Florida is a demographically changing region with the most dynamic changes being felt within Miami-Dade County. The projected population trend for Florida, and Miami-Dade County in particular, is continued rapid population growth. Ethnically, Miami-Dade County is diverse, with significant minority populations present. Hispanic or Latino origin constituted the most populous ethnic group within Miami-Dade County, with many communities going from majority non-Hispanic to majority Hispanic over the last decade. Conversely, Non-Hispanic white populations within the county have decreased significantly in the last decade. The county's population is getting younger with the lowest median age among the contiguous counties and lower than the state and the decreasing percentage of retirement age adults. Immigration is a significant population factor in both the state and the county. An increasing proportion of the county's population is composed of immigrants, and currently constitutes the highest concentration of immigrants of any major metropolitan area in the country.

2.2.3 Economy, Employment, and Income

This section presents an examination of the wider economy of Miami-Dade County and the comparison of a variety of statistics over the past decade. Also included is the identification of both present and future trends that may have ramifications for the interaction of the surrounding area with BISC. Areas examined include overviews of the major economic sectors within the region, employment within specific industries, per capita personal income and median household income, and unemployment levels over time.

Miami-Dade County had a net value of production (Gross Regional Product) that reached $64.9 billion in 1998 (Beacon Council 1999). Major economic sectors contributing to this

production include tourism, international trade, services, retail, government, transportation, health care, real estate and development, finance/insurance, and agriculture. Miami also functions as the gateway to markets in the Caribbean, Mexico, and Latin America. This Latin America-Miami connection is an important component of the overall economic structure of Miami-Dade County. With approximately half of its population bilingual, Miami has developed strong ties with Central and South America and the Caribbean. The area is considered a gateway to Latin America and is a major destination for Spanish-speaking tourists, shoppers, financiers, and entrepreneurs (Federal Emergency Management Agency [FEMA] 2001).

Historically, employment within Miami-Dade County has been dominated by a number of major economic sectors–among them industries like construction, agriculture, tourism, and trade. While the services sector historically has represented a significant element of the local economy, an important recent trend within the county has been the continued growth of more service-orientated industries such as banking, real estate, accounting, and retail. As shown in Figure 11, in 1999, the service sector was the largest employer in Miami-Dade County, followed by trade and government (31.05 percent, 26.29 percent, and 14.39 percent, respectively) (FDLES 2000FDLES 2000)

Figure 11. Miami-Dade County Total Employment by Major Industry Categories, 1999
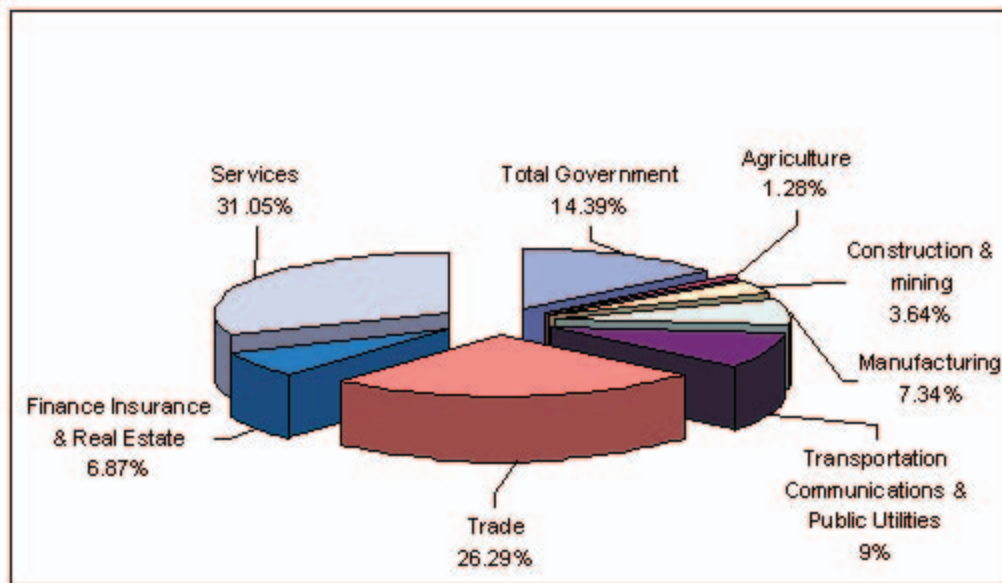
Source: Florida Department of Labor and Employment Security, Office of Labor Market Statistics, 2000

Between 1990 and 1999, employment levels within the major industrial sectors in Florida grew by 30 percent, compared to a lesser rate of 9.2 percent within Miami-Dade County (FDLES 2000). Significant differences in job growth existed between Miami-Dade County and Florida for the period. While the overall number of jobs in agriculture; construction/mining; and finance, insurance, and real estate (FIRE) increased for the state, Miami-Dade County experienced an employment decrease among these sectors. Additionally, employment in manufacturing decreased more dramatically in Miami-Dade County (-20.5 percent) than it did in Florida as a whole (-5.9 percent). The service sector experienced the most significant growth

across the state (60 percent) but considerably less within Miami-Dade County (23.9 percent). This sector was, however, the fastest growing across the state and within Miami-Dade County for the period (FDLES 2000)FDLES 2000) . In addition, the entertainment industry, regional film and television production, music, and location-based entertainment have shown marked growth (Beacon Council 2002a). Employment levels are expected to continue to increase, with growth shifting from the goods-producing sector as manufacturing declines due to international competition (Rust 1998Rust 1998).

Tourism

The combination of a subtropical climate, beaches, various recreational attractions, diverse range of shopping and nightlife, and Everglades and Biscayne National Parks, continues to attract multitudes of vacationers and convention events globally. The tourism industry is one of the driving forces behind the county's economy and has been referred to as "the community's major economic engine" (Beacon Council 2002b). For more than a century, it has been one of the largest employers in Miami-Dade County. No other industries are considered as important to the economic health and well-being of the county. Tourism from Europe has increased significantly in the past two decades. Overnight visitors (leisure, business, medical, etc.) contribute more than one-third of annual sales tax revenues and support industry-related expenditures through special taxes. The Beacon Council predicted 10 million overnight visitors and more than $13 billion in total expenditures for 2000. However, the number of visitors decreased in 2000, down 2.2 million in 1998 and 1999, reflecting a general trend when compared to the rest of the nation (Beacon Council 2002b).

In the 1980s, civil disturbance and the sudden unrestricted, massive migration from the Port of Mariel, Cuba, prompted *Time* magazine's "Paradise Lost" article and a significant decline in the number of visitors to Miami-Dade County. In response, the hitherto fragmented industry united to create the Greater Miami Convention and Visitors Bureau to meet this major threat to the industry's prosperity.

Agriculture

Miami-Dade is the second largest agricultural producing county in the state after Palm Beach, and 39th out of 3,076 nationally, with total annual agricultural sales of $416.5 million in 1997 (USDA 2001USDA 1997). Agriculture in Miami-Dade County has an economic impact of approximately $842 million annually and employs roughly 23,000 people (Degner et al. 1997Degner, et. al. 1996). Southern Dade County is renowned for its tropical fruits and container plants, and its harvest of corn, tomatoes, and other traditional and specialty vegetables. Although agriculture is a multibillion-dollar contributor to the state and the regional economy, the industry is facing both economic and environmental challenges. Agricultural acreage in Florida and across the nation has decreased as local, regional, and state economies have grown and diversified. Between 1982 and 1992, the number of acres designated as agricultural in south Florida decreased by 16 percent from 12.8 million acres to 10.7 million acres (U.S. Department of Commerce 1984, 1994United States Dept. of Commerce 1984, 1994). This reduction stems mainly from increasing levels of urban sprawl, soil subsidence, and the conversion of some agricultural lands to other uses (South Florida Ecosystem Restoration Task Force 1998 Working Group 1998).

Citrus has been produced commercially in Florida since the mid-1800s. It is produced predominantly across the southern two-thirds of the Florida Peninsula, where there is a low probability of damaging winter freeze events. Over the last several decades, the geographic distribution of citrus production within the state has migrated southward in response to a series of freezes in the north-central region of the state in the 1980s (Hodges et al. 2001).

On a wider scale, agriculture within the region, specifically the tomato industry, has been negatively affected by international trade agreements such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). This is due to significant implications on the competitiveness of domestic products and remains a significant issue for many industries within the region. In spite of these obstacles, the agricultural industry continues to demonstrate an ability to adjust by concentrating on international markets, specialty products, and domestic niche marketing (Governors Commission for a Sustainable South Florida [GCSSF] 1995GCSSF 1995).

Merchandise Trade

A primary economic sector within the region is merchandise trade, of which south Florida has emerged as a leading hub within the global economy. Total trade through Miami's Customs District was $51.947 billion in 1999, up $230 million from 1998. Trade between the region and Latin America remains substantial with Miami handling the majority of all U.S. trade with Latin America. In 1999, 87.3 percent of Miami Customs District's total exports occurred with Latin American and Caribbean countries (Beacon Council 2002a, Beacon Council 2000).

Also, emerging trade with Europe and the Far East provides a crucial connection for the global distribution of goods through the ports of south Florida (Loiry 1995), of which Miami in particular has emerged as a leader and a "gateway" for trade within this hemisphere and the greater global economy. The Florida Department of Commerce estimates that each additional $1billion of foreign trade creates approximately 16,000 additional jobs within the region (Massachusetts Institute for Social and Economic Studies 1995, University of Massachusetts 1994).

International Business and Banks

In August 2000, the City of Miami was ranked the premiere U.S. city for doing business with Latin America by *América Economia* magazine. Miami-Dade County has centers for over 500 international companies, such as Apple, AT&T, Airbus, American Express, Lucent Technologies, IBM, General Electric, and Hewlett Packard. The county has 121 national and international banks with $58.3 billion in total deposits. Additionally, the county is home to 13 Edge Act banks, 38 State-licensed foreign bank agencies, and 59 commercial banks and 11 thrift institutions. The region is also a major international business hub, with 106 international banking offices, 55 foreign consulates, and 25 foreign trade offices in 1995 (Starrett 1997).

Services

The services sector within Miami-Dade County is broad, encompassing professional services from doctors, dentists, and teachers to mechanics, repairmen, laborers, and fast-food workers. Tourist-related establishments, such as hotels, theme parks, and other recreational activities, also figure highly within this sector. Although Miami-Dade County's economy is diverse with

major components, including tourism, trade, transportation, and agriculture, recent employment growth has been concentrated within relatively low-paying service sector jobs. Overall, the sector employed 448,984 persons in Miami-Dade County in 1999–a numerical increase of 10.78 percent since 1996. In 1999, the services industry provided 32.7 percent of total county earnings compared to 30.2 percent of earnings in 1989.

Miami International Airport and the Port of Miami

Miami International Airport's impact on local tourism, the cruise industry, international banking, trade, and commerce is estimated to total $13 billion annually (Miami International Airport 2001). Airports are of critical importance to the region's tourist industry; an estimated 97 percent of Miami-Dade County's overnight visitors arrive in south Florida by air (GCSSF 1995-GCSSF 1995). Flights from Miami International Airport cover 152 cities on four continents.

The airport and related aviation industries contribute 196,000 direct and indirect jobs in south Florida, a number roughly equivalent to one out of six jobs in the region. In 2000, the airport serviced/carried 33.6 million passengers and had a weekday daily average of approximately 90,000 passengers. Freight totals for 2000 amounted to 1,717,511 United States Tons (1,430,624 U.S. Tons international, 286,887 U.S. Tons domestic) (Miami International Airport 2001).

As the third largest U.S. airport after John F. Kennedy (JFK) and Los Angeles International (LAX) for international passengers, and as shown in Table 2.8, Miami International Airport ranks in the top 10 airports worldwide in nearly every category.

Table 2.8. Miami International Airport Rankings for 1999

	Domestic Ranking	International Ranking
International Freight	1st	6th
International Passengers	3rd	14th
Total Freight	4th	7th
Total Cargo (Freight + Mail)	4th	7th
Total Passengers	9th	14th

Source: Miami International Airport 2001

The Port of Miami is the number one cruise port in the world and also ranks as a top cargo port worldwide. The port's operating revenues increased to an estimated $64.5 million in 1999. The port's fiscal health is important to the local economy, contributing in excess of $8 billion annually and supporting 45,000 jobs (Port of Miami 2001). The port is home to approximately twenty cruise ships–the largest home-ported cruise fleet in the world. The port also handles more "mega ships"–vessels with a capacity in excess of 2,000 guests–than any other port in the world (Port of Miami 2001Beacon Council 2000). The port handled 3,112,355 passengers in 1999 and, in that same year, 6.9 million tons of cargo moved through the port, with exports of 3,190,769 tons and imports of 3,739,603 tons. Miami has more than forty shipping lines connecting 362 ports in 132 countries worldwide (Port of Miami 2001).

Education

The Dade County public school system is the fourth largest nationally, with 360,000 students

in the system. The total number of schools and centers is 318, including the Miami-Dade Community College with five campuses. It is also the single largest employer within the County, providing in excess of 35,000 jobs as of 2000.

A $1.5 billion capital improvement program for an expanding student population has been initiated (Dade County K-12 District). The underlying social and economic conditions present in the community can have an impact on education standards. The recent dramatic influx of immigrants has resulted in a continually more diverse population ethnically and culturally. Lack of fluency in English and overcrowded classrooms can generate factors that put pressure on education. Similarly, high mobility can also detrimentally affect the education process (Beacon Council 2002b).

Income and Employment

There are numerous ways to measure economic well-being. Economists frequently use income as a key measurement. The Bureau of Economic Analysis (BEA) produces most of the income statistics generated by the Federal Government, and researchers consider BEA data of high quality, albeit slightly dated. To examine income levels over time within Miami-Dade County and surrounding areas, two standard income indicators are used: Per Capita Personal Income (PCPI) and Median Household Income. BEA defines PCPI as total personal income (income received from employment, investments, and government transfer payments) divided by the population. The U.S. Bureau of the Census defines Household Income as the sum of money income received in the previous calendar year by all household members 15 years old and over, including household members not related to the householder, people living alone, and others in non-family households. The U.S. Bureau of the Census defines the median household income as the figure that shows half of the households having higher annual incomes than this value, and half having lower incomes.

As shown in Table 2.9, in 1999, Miami-Dade County had a per capita personal income of $24,492, which was 7.9 percent below the Florida average of $26,593, and 12 percent below the national average of $27,843 (Florida, in turn, was 4.4 percent below the national average). In comparison, in 1990, the average per capita personal income within Miami-Dade County was approximately 4.9 percent below that of Florida (which in turn was 1.4 percent above the national average of $19,572).

Table 2.9. Income Indicators

	1990		1999	1997 *
	Per capita personal income	Median household income	Per capita personal income	Median household income
Miami-Dade County	$18,605	$26,909	$24,492	$30,000
Florida	$19,832	$27,483	$26,593	$32,877
Broward	$23,504	$23,530	$27,950	$37,832
Collier	$27,871	$34,001	$38,916	$41,000
Monroe	$23,028	$29,351	$33,654	$36,353
National Average	$19,572	$30,056	$27,843	$37,005

*Model-based estimate (intercensal year estimate based on census statistical model)
Source: BEA 2000; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1990, 2001b

In 1999, the counties contiguous to Miami-Dade County (Broward, Collier, and Monroe) had per capita personal income levels of 14.1 percent, 58.9 percent, and 37.4 percent, respectively, above that of Miami-Dade County (BEA 2000). This trend was evident in 1990, with Broward, Collier, and Monroe Counties showing per capita personal income levels of 17.6 percent, 40.7 percent, and 16 percent, respectively, above that of Miami-Dade County.

In 1999, the per capita personal income in Miami-Dade County ranked 20th in Florida by county, whereas in 1990, the county ranked 15th in the state (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2001a). The average annual growth rate of per capita personal income within Miami-Dade County over the past decade has been 3.1 percent (BEA 2000).

As of 1997 the median household income within Miami-Dade County, at $30,000, was 8.8 percent below that of the state (a census model-based estimate–the most recent figures currently available). In comparison, in 1990, the median household income within Miami-Dade County was approximately 4.3 percent below that of the State of Florida (which in turn was 8.6 percent below the the national average of $30,056). Between 1990 and 1997, median household income in Florida dropped from 8.2 percent to 11.2 percent below the national average.

In 1997, Broward, Collier, and Monroe Counties had median household income levels of 15.1 percent, 24.1 percent, and 10.6 percent, respectively, above that of Florida (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2001a). This represented, particularly in the case of Broward and Monroe counties, a significant change from 1990 when Broward, Collier, and Monroe counties had median household income levels 14.3 percent below, 19.1 percent above, and 6.36 percent below, respectively, that of Florida (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1990).

As shown above, during the last decade, in relation to the national average, the per capita personal income listed for Florida rose only slightly (1.0 percent) while the median household income fell further (3.0 percent). Over the same period, per capita and median household incomes within Miami-Dade County, both below the state average in 1990, also fell further (1.6 percent and 0.6 percent, respectively). Comparing Miami-Dade County with the national averages, as of 1999, per capita incomes were 12.0 percent below the national average, and as of 1997 (the latest figures available), median household incomes were 18.9 percent below the national average (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1990).

There are a number of underlying factors that could contribute to the lower-than-average income levels described above. One factor is the large population of younger individuals below 18 and between 18 to 24 years who earn significantly less than older groups. The other factor is directly related to the prevalence and growth of low-wage service sector jobs and the inability of the economy, in the face of an influx of immigration, to cope with the demands of a rapidly growing population.

Employment

As shown in Table 2.10, while mirroring the national decline in unemployment levels during the last decade, unemployment levels within Miami-Dade County have continuously ranked above the State and national averages, and all contiguous counties. A significant factor leading to the current employment scenario within Miami-Dade County is the shortage of low-skilled

positions in relation to the population seeking those low-skilled jobs. In effect, south Florida, and Miami-Dade County in particular, with high levels of immigration has reached a saturation point regarding low-skilled employment. Compounding these factors, due to specific government initiatives, welfare rolls have to a degree shrunk, and many previously unemployed residents are attempting to reenter the workforce.

Table 2.10. Unemployment Levels

	1990	1995	1999	2000
Miami-Dade	7.8%	7.4%	5.8%	5.3%
Broward	5.6%	5.7%	4.1%	3.7%
Collier	5.3%	7.0%	3.7%	3.5%
Monroe	2.6%	2.7%	2.2%	2.0%
Florida	6.0%	5.5%	3.9%	3.6%
United States	5.6%	5.6%	4.2%	4.0%

Source: FDLES 2000

Mainly, however, large numbers of immigrants are seeking entry-level, low-skilled positions that are just not available (Rust 1998Rust 1998). Essentially, while the services sector has grown significantly, it has nonetheless contributed to both lower than average incomes and higher than average unemployment rates within Miami-Dade County.

Major employers include the service industries (including tourism and visitor-serving), international trade and commerce, and the government (Tables 2.11 and 2.12). As shown in Table 2.13, the top employers in the county are within the public sector and include Miami-Dade County Public Schools, Miami-Dade County, Federal Government, and the State of Florida. In the private sector, top employers in the county include American Airlines; Jackson Memorial Hospital; the University of Miami; BellSouth; Southern Bell; Motorola; Florida Power and Light, Pratt and Whitney; American Express; and Publix and Winn Dixie supermarkets.

Table 2.11. Historical Distribution of Annual Non-agricultural
Employment in Miami-Dade County

	1990	1995	1998
Manufacturing	10.0	8.3	7.6
Durable	4.0	3.5	3.6
Non-durable	6.0	4.8	4.0
Construction	4.4	3.9	3.5
Transportation/Utilities	8.2	8.4	8.8
Trade	27.1	26.1	26.2
Wholesale	8.5	8.3	8.4
Retail	18.6	17.8	17.8
Finance/Insurance/Real Estate	8.0	7.1	6.8
Services	28.6	31.8	33.0
Government	13.7	14.2	14.1

Source: Computed from Florida Department of Labor and Employment Security,
BLS Annual Report on Employment, Hours, and Earnings, 1982-1998

Table 2.12. Employment by Industry, Miami-Dade County, 1998

	Employment	Distribution of Employment
Miami-Dade County	947,606	100%
Agriculture	11,485	1.2%
Mining	319	-
Construction	33,102	3.5%
Manufacturing	72,719	7.7%
Transportation / Utilities	84,452	8.9%
Wholesale Trade	76,910	8.1%
Retail Trade	170,023	17.9%
Finance Insurance and Real Estate	65,702	6.9%
Services	290,909	30.7%
Government	135,825	14.3%

Source: FDLES, Office of Labor Market Statistics 2000

Table 2.13. Largest Employers in Miami-Dade County, 2000

Rank	Employer	Employees
1	Miami-Dade County Public Schools	35,469
2	Miami-Dade County	30,000
3	Federal Government	18,276
4	State of Florida	18,100
5	American Airlines	9,000
6	Jackson Memorial Hospital	8,191
7	Precision Response Corporation	8,000
8	University of Miami	7,800
9	Baptist Health Systems of South Florida	7,500
10	BellSouth	4,240

Source: Beacon Council 2002a

Employment in manufacturing and goods-producing industries has historically provided significantly higher wages than those in service-oriented enterprises (GCSSF 1995GCSSF 1995). Average annual salaries in south Florida for 1997 were approximately $25,000 for jobs in the services sector, compared to approximately $33,000 within the manufacturing sector, $36,000 within the mining industry, and $27,000 within the construction industry (FDLES 1997FDLES 1997). Since this recent job growth has tended to be concentrated in the comparatively low-paying services sector, it may partly explain the dichotomy between the relative levels of employment increases and the fall in incomes over the same time period within Miami-Dade County.

In summary, the major economic sectors in Miami Dade County include tourism, international trade, services, retail, government, transportation, health care, real estate and development, finance/insurance, and agriculture. Miami also functions as the gateway to markets in the Caribbean, Mexico, and Latin America. The presence of many world class recreational attractions make the tourism industry one of the driving forces behind the county's economy and is one of the largest employers in the county.

Major employers include the service (including tourism and visitor-serving) industries, international trade and commerce, and the government. Countywide employment in

manufacturing has recently decreased dramatically along with the continued growth of more service-orientated industries. The county shows lower-than-average income levels partly due to a large younger population earning significantly less than older groups and the prevalence and growth of low-wage service-sector jobs and a rapidly growing population. Unemployment levels within Miami-Dade County have continuously ranked above the state and national averages, primarily due to a shortage of low-skilled positions in relation to the population seeking those low-skilled jobs.

3.0 EXISTING LITERATURE: THE SOCIOCULTURAL CONTEXT OF SOUTH FLORIDA AND MIAMI-DADE COUNTY

Boundaries, edges, and frontiers are phrases used in existing literature to characterize the complexity of the Miami-Dade sociocultural context. It is one of the most ethnically diverse and culturally complex metropolitan areas in the United States, as expressed in the multi-ethnic populations that include American Indians, Cubans, African Americans, and Hispanics from the Caribbean and Central America. This section provides an overview of the ethnographic literature regarding cultural groups that account for the major elements of the sociocultural context of Miami-Dade County. The focus is on identifying and summarizing prominent sociocultural characteristics of groups in communities surrounding BISC. For each group discussed, there is a brief review of social history and demographics followed by an overview of major themes concerning culture and lifestyle and their implications for BISC resource managers.

3.1 Regional Commonalities

The existing ethnographic literature emphasizes the differences and multicultural elements among Miami-Dade County's population. Underlying these discussions of particular ethnic groups, there is also discussion of some commonalities in the region, but these topics are less developed than the cultural characteristics of particular populations. Three topics regarding commonality stand out in the existing literature: tourism culture, neighborhood segregation, and the relationship between environment and shared activities.

3.1.1 Tourism Culture

Even before Flagler built the railroad south into Miami and the Keys, south Florida had been a tourist destination. The railroad only made it easier for those from the northeast and elsewhere in the United States to visit the beaches and enjoy the tropical climate of south Florida. Although always promoted as a tropical paradise, the reality of insects and summer heat and humidity sometimes discouraged tourists. Insect control and air conditioning changed tourists' minds: what had once been the fantasy and playland for the very rich soon became a destination and residence for a wider range of people seeking the promise of the Florida getaway. Tourists, seasonal residents, and others just passing through contributed to the construction of a community and region that caters to their needs. Theme parks, Seminole alligator wrestling shows, condominiums, national parks, and retirement communities became part of the social and cultural landscape of south Florida. In fact, tourism in south Florida has influenced the development of service industry jobs and the demand for unskilled and semi-skilled labor (cf. Strong 1991). As important, Miami cultivated an image of a restful but exciting place blessed by exotic natural resources. This image was bolstered by the vacation homes of some of the wealthy and powerful families of American industry, such as the Honeywells, who built homes and compounds on places such as Boca Chita Key. Yet, the less wealthy and powerful also sought vacation or retirement homes in south Florida, resulting in a surge in condominium building and the growth of retirement communities. The image and reality of Florida also attracted those escaping long northeast and midwest winters and college students seeking a Spring Break vacation spot.

The tropical paradise of the early years of Miami, and those who visited the Keys and waters of Biscayne Bay for fishing, frolicking, and other types of fun, began to see a shift after the first Cuban refugees began to arrive on American shores. Tension developed surrounding images of an ideal past and the current reality of Miami-Dade County. These tensions were sufficient for some residents to leave and search elsewhere for the ideal Florida dream (Portes and Stepick 1993). However, this influx of Caribbean and Central American immigrants and refugees has also developed a new cultural as well as a new economic reality. Miami has become not simply a tourist destination, but it also functions as the capital of the Caribbean. There are transnational corporations that cater to the Caribbean market and there are immigrants, such as Haitians, who have consolidated strong economic ties with their homeland. This emerging social context will interact with the tourist culture of Miami and south Florida to produce a new iteration of community culture. Yet, as these new iterations emerge, there remains a strong base of tourism culture supported by images of an exotic place with a tropical climate, only now with a Disneyworld thrown into the mix. The overall cultural milieu in south Florida has tourism values, beliefs, images, and socioeconomic realities that give this region its distinctive character.

3.1.2 Neighborhood Segregation

Residential neighborhood segregation is a feature commonly noted in the literature about Miami-Dade County (e.g., Mohl 1991; Dunn 1997; Portes and Stepick 1993). Blacks live in particular neighborhoods, and the residents of Little Havana, Little Haiti, Little Managua, and other clearly defined ethnic neighborhoods have a history of keeping to themselves. The social history of Blacks in Miami clearly shows that the Caucasian power structure in Miami made specific policies designed to contain Blacks in certain parts of the city. This type of residential segregation is characteristic of the region. It promotes continuity between community social structure and local culture. That is, the values, beliefs, and lifestyles people have are the ones shared by their neighbors and often supported by community or neighborhood specific organizations, such as those in many Cuban neighborhoods. This continuity of social space and cultural traditions supports the creation of enclaves and the lifestyles of ethnic groups that might otherwise experience stronger pressures for acculturation. Yet, neighborhood segregation is not always voluntary, as indicated in the experiences of Miami Blacks (Dunn 1997), and it can also engender "have" and "have-not" sentiments. In this type of social and cultural environment, state or county parks or even national parks such as BISC may not be perceived as "common" spaces open to all, but rather as territory that is unknown or places that "others" gather. This type of neighborhood segregation also promotes a more restricted view of the relationship of social and physical space that may restrain visitation to places outside the familiar environment of the "local neighborhood."

3.1.3 Environment and Shared Activities

Bucuvalas, Bulger, and Kennedy (1994) suggest that there are folk traditions based in the environmental characteristics that contribute to a unique Miami sociocultural milieu. Some of these folk traditions revolve around the harvesting of marine resources such as fish, shrimp, lobster, and crabs. They also suggest that the distinction between commercial and personal use activities is not clear in the Miami area (Bucuvalas, Bulger, and Kennedy 1994:138). That is,

some commercial fishermen also fish for personal use, and some personal-use fishermen sell portions or all of their catch. For example, as noted elsewhere in this report, commercial shrimping is well established in Biscayne Bay, but there are also personal-use shrimp dippers who take a catch from areas such as Haulover Cut, Government Cut, and other waters leading into south Biscayne Bay. There is also a growing practice of using pleasure boats to drag trawl nets with PVC frames for nighttime shrimping (Bucuvalas, Bulger, and Kennedy 1994:142-143). Some of this personal-use catch is apparently sold, contributing to what Bucuvalas et al. see as a blurring of the distinction between commercial and personal-use harvesting. This may be a regional characteristic, but just as significant is the presence of these activities among different ethnic groups. For example, snagging mullet, hook and line for barracuda, trapping for spiny lobster, or using trot lines for crabs in the Bay are activities that are common across ethnic groups, although some groups may have culturally specific harvest methods. There are also craft and commercial activities associated with these practices such as boat building, making fishing rods and nets, and processing fish harvests. These are common activities that are in support of the harvesting of marine resources in the region (Bucuvalas, Bulger, and Kennedy 1994:148-154).

Bucuvalas et al. also suggest that tropical agriculture and horses also characterize this regional culture (Bucuvalas, Bulger, and Kennedy 1994:154-162). Prior to Hurricane Andrew, agriculture in this region was an important economic activity with unique products. Mangos, guavas, pineapples, papayas, and other tropical fruits have been grown in the region to supply local demand as well as to sell to other markets in the United States. Commercial orchards as well as backyard trees have supplied these markets and fulfilled the local demands for these food preferences. Bucuvalas et al. also suggest that horses have been an integral part of regional culture since the Spanish first explored the region. Now, horses are part of ranching, racing, pleasure riding, and breeding activities that have supporting industries and crafts.

In communities where diversity is prominent, shared activities and orientations among diverse groups are less well understood or discussed. In fact, emphasizing diversity can mask shared values and orientations that may provide a basis for integration and common ground. Outdoor recreation, professional sports teams, festivals, and celebrations as well as cultural diversity may each contribute to a regional culture in Miami. The discussion by Bucuvalas et al. regarding folk traditions in south Florida expresses a view of shared traditions that is understandably underdeveloped for communities where diversity reigns and commonalities are less apparent.

3.2   American Indians: The Seminole and Miccosukee

Seminole and Miccosukee Indians are part of the cultural mix surrounding BISC, but their current attachment to the waters and lands of BISC is unclear. These American Indians have been and now are an important component of the Miami-Dade County cultural milieu. In this section, a brief review of some themes in the ethnographic literature regarding the Seminole and Miccosukee is presented. However, the literature regarding each of these tribes is itself extensive and beyond the scope of this overview to thoroughly develop the history, culture, social structure, and lifestyles of each group. Resources indicated in the information below direct the reader to more comprehensive assessments of these south Florida Native Americans.

3.2.1   Population and Social History

The Miccosukee Indians have a reservation some 33 miles west of Miami. There are also Seminole reservations at Big Cypress, Brighton, Hollywood, Tampa, and Immokalee, and the Florida State Reservation, which is also partially located in nearby Broward County. In 1993, there were approximately 2,300 persons on the Seminole Tribal rolls, and in 1994 there were an estimated 369 enrolled members of the Miccosukee Tribe. The latter have three different reservations: the Tamiami Trail west of Miami; Krome Avenue, which is near the Tamiami Trail reservation; and Alligator Alley west of Fort Lauderdale. Both the Seminole and Miccosukee have traditional use connections with Everglades National Park and the Big Cypress National Preserve, but as of April 23, 2003 there does not appear to be a similar connection to BISC. Currently, there are approximately 4,000 American Indians in the county, but current census data do not indicate the exact numbers of Seminole and Miccosukee. There are cultural resources in BISC associated with Tequesta Indians, but at present there are no significant cultural resources associated with the Seminole or Miccosukee. Nonetheless, both of these tribal groups have a prominent place in American Indian culture in Florida. This presentation is limited, and those seeking a more thorough treatment of the history and traditions of the Seminole and Miccosukee should consult ethnographic and historical materials such as William C. Sturetevant, *Seminole Sourcebook*, 1985; Merwin S. Garbarino, *Big Cypress: A Changing Seminole Community*, 1986; Harry A. Kersey, Jr., *The Seminole and Miccosukee Tribes: A Critical Bibliography*, 1987; Dorothy Downs, *Art of the Florida Seminole and Miccosukee Indians*, 1995; Patsy West, *The Enduring Seminole: From Alligator Wrestling to EcoTourism*, 1999; Brent Richards Weisman*, Unconquered People: Florida's Seminole and Miccosukee Indians*, 1999; Jerald T. Milanich, *Florida's Indians from Ancient Times to the Present*, 1998; and Patricia Wickman, *The Tree That Bends: Discourse, Power, and the Survival of the Maskoki People*, 1999.

The Seminole and Miccosukee are each descendants of the Creek Indians of the Southeast, primarily in Alabama and Georgia. There were different bands that spoke distinct dialects, such as Hitchiti and Muskogee. The latter eventually became a lingua franca among the different bands. Some of these groups subsequently settled and cultivated corn and other vegetables as well as tobacco. Ongoing conflicts with Native and non-Native groups contributed to many moving south where they continued an agricultural lifestyle that was supplemented with hunting and gathering. Runaway slaves sometimes became tribal members, and in other instances the Seminole kept black slaves (Bucuvalas, Bulger, and Kennedy, 1994). Eventually, conflicts over land and the expansion of the United States into Florida resulted in the three Seminole wars that had a major effect on the culture and populations of the Seminole.

Tribal members today are the descendants of individuals who escaped relocation after the second and third Seminole wars. A remnant group of about 50 to 200 individuals retreated to the swamps and hidden reaches of the Everglades and south Florida, where they lived in small dispersed camps (Covington 1993). These were primarily clan-based groups, the basis for social organization among their Creek relatives. An alternative view is expressed by Wickman (1999), who suggests that south Florida Native Americans are not necessarily Creeks who moved south, but rather they are a people indigenous to the region. This is a more controversial view, but one that Wickman forcefully argues based on ethnohistorical and ethnographic research with Seminole in Florida. Most scholars, including Wickman, would agree that

regardless of origin, the period of the three Seminole wars was a turbulent and rich period in the history of these peoples that resulted in the emergence of historically important leaders such as Osceola, as well as dramatic social and cultural changes that forever changed their way of life.

After 1858, these remnant groups remained small and isolated, and generally avoided contact with non-Natives. However, sporadic contact did occur, and eventually the Seminole began trading pelts, feathers, and other animal products with Americans and Europeans in the 1870s (Kersey 1975). Furthermore, they began to have some contact with travelers and others who made their way into Florida. This contact included missionaries who became very active among these Natives during the late nineteenth century; some Natives were more receptive than others to these missionizing activities. It was the early twentieth century before the Seminole became settled on reservation lands set aside for them at Big Cypress and Dania, and then in the 1930s the Brighton reservation was established. The opening of the Tamiami Trail also brought non-Natives into increasing contact with the Natives and there ensued an emergent industry supplying palmetto dolls and other artifacts to tourists and travelers. There also appeared the precursors to the "tourist villages" that displayed, or some say sensationalized, the Seminole and their lifeways.

These tourist villages became one alternative to reservation life while others simply chose not to live on the reservations. One such group lived along the Tamiami Trail and they became known as "Trail Indians." They are described as generally more conservative than their reservation and tourist village relatives, and more likely to participate in traditional activities, such as the Green Corn Dance, and maintain traditional religious beliefs (Covington 1993). This group and other reservation Indians had significant conflicts with their non-Indian neighbors regarding land use, hunting and fishing rights, and property rights. In 1957, a group of primarily reservation-based Indians were granted tribal status as the Seminole. Some of the Trail Indians chose not to participate in this tribal recognition but subsequently petitioned to have a distinct identity with reservation lands along the Tamiami Trail. These are the present-day Miccosukee Indians who reside in Miami-Dade County. Today the distinctions between the Miccosukee and the Seminole are both political and cultural. Yet, they also share a common Creek heritage as well as common history in their adaptations since the Seminole wars.

3.2.2 Lifestyles and Culture

Traditional Creek society was based on clan structure. These clans were matrilineal, that is, traced through the mother, and excluded marriage within the clan. Seminole and Miccosukee society have retained a Creek-based clan structure (Spoehr 1941). Although some clans have become extinct, today the Seminole identify eight clans: Panther, Bear, Deer, Wind, Bigtown, Bird, Snake, and Otter. There has been deterioration of clan marriage prohibitions because of simple demographic facts. Along with this change, it now seems that although this clan structure continues to exist, the nuclear family appears as the most important unit of social organization among present-day Seminole and Miccosukee (Bucuvalas, Bulger, and Kennedy 1994). Similarly, traditional Seminole political organization was based in tribal councils whose members were elected and ruled not by force but by example and persuasion. Today this

tradition informs the self-governing Seminole and Miccosukee tribal organization that has both political and business components. The Tribal Council:

> . . . administers the Seminole Police Department, the Human Resources programs, the Tribal gaming enterprises, citrus groves, the Billie Swamp Safari, the Ah-Tah-Thi-Ki Museum and the majority of the Tribe's cigarette-related enterprises. The Seminole Tribe of Florida's Legal Services Department administers a public defender's office, Water Resource Management, and the Utilities Department (Seminole Tribe of Florida 2002).

The Miccosukee Tribe has a similar tribal and business council and a business corporation that receives Federal, state, and private monies.

Present-day Seminole and Miccosukee engage in a variety of economic activities including cattle ranching, gaming, and tourism. The Miccosukee Tribe "owns and operates a restaurant, gift shop, general store, service station, and Indian Village on the Tamiami Trail Reservation; an Indian Gaming facility and Tobacco shop on the Krome Avenue reservations; and a filling service gas station and plaza on the Alligator Alley Reservation" (Miccosukee Tribe of Indians of Florida 2002).

There are some indications that gaming and associated activities contribute about 90 percent of the income to the Miccosukee Tribe. Tribal members participate in these activities and derive the majority of their income from tourism and gaming activities. Among the nearby Seminole, gaming and tourism represent an equally significant source of income (Goldstein and Testerman 1998). Some of these tourist-related activities include alligator wrestling, museum exhibits, arts and crafts shops, exhibition villages, restaurants with traditional foods, hunting and fishing tours, and "swamp safaris." These types of culture-based tourist activities have sustained the Seminole and Miccosukee since the turn of the century, and they continue to be significant sources of income and activity for the present day (West 1999).

Religion among the Seminole and Miccosukee has blended Christianity and traditional beliefs and practices based in their Creek heritage (Capron 1953; Sturtevant 1954a; Buswell 1982). Since the early Spanish missionary activities, Europeans and Americans have attempted to convert the American Indians in Florida to Christian beliefs and practices. At the turn of the century, Christianity appears to have taken root among some Florida Seminole. Episcopal and Baptist churches were built on the Big Cypress and Dania reservations and by the middle of the twentieth century, Christianity was well established among the Florida Seminole. Some groups continued to maintain traditional beliefs, but at the same time traditional beliefs and practices based in their Creek heritage coexisted with Christianity (Bucuvalas, Bulger, and Kennedy 1994). These traditional beliefs share some common features of American Indian cosmology, eschatology, and world view: a creation story; emphasis on harmony with the land and other peoples; visions as a source of personal insight, power, and communication with a diety; rites of passage; trickster stories; belief in the spirits pervading all things; and a shaman or medicine man who led ceremonies and provided a source of communication with the "great spirits" and the other world (Hultkrantz 1997).

A significant feature of traditional religious beliefs and practices among Seminole and Miccosukee is a ceremony known as the Green Corn Dance (Capron 1953). Derived from traditional Creek practices, this ceremony of thanksgiving and renewal retains its meaning for many American Indians. This ritual is still practiced among the Miccosukee as well as on some Seminole reservations, although with the arrival of Christianity in the later nineteenth century, it ceased to be a regular practice for some Seminole (Covington 1993). The dance is about a 4- to 7-day ceremony and is usually held sometime between late April and June. In general, these ceremonies are closed to outsiders. The purpose of the dance is to celebrate a crop of new corn, hence the name "green corn." A traditional medicine man sets the day for the start of the ceremony at a location in the wilderness. A circular dance area is prepared, and groups build traditional chickees (thatched roof houses with cypress frames) around this focal point. Ritual bathing and purification through consumption of emetic drinks, stickball games, fasting and feasting, dancing, sweat baths, and consumption of "new corn" are essential features of this ceremony (Sturtevant 1954a; Bucuvalas, Bulger, and Kennedy 1994). Traditionally, this type of ceremony promoted group integration and expressed ideals of religious belief and culture. Among present-day Seminole and Miccosukee, the Green Corn Dance remains an essential expression of their culture and way of life.

Historically, there have been two major language groups among Florida Indians: Muskogee and Mikasuki. The Muskogee language is primarily associated with the present-day Seminole and Mikasuki with the Miccosukee. The 1990 Census indicated that there are about 496 Muskogee speakers with 33 monolingual out of 1,200 individuals. Of the Miccosukee, 98 percent speak Mikasuki, with 25 percent monolingual. English as well as Native languages are taught in local schools, but among the reservations there appear to be differences in the daily use of these languages. Again, the more traditional Miccosukee appear to use their language, where residents on reservations such as Hollywood use their language less. Language remains an important part of the cultural identity of these groups, but as the older generation passes, it remains to be seen how widely Native languages will persist among Seminole and Miccosukee speakers.

Another central theme in the ethnographic literature about the Seminole and Miccosukee peoples is the practice of traditional medicine (Greenlee 1944; Stirling 1970; Sturtevant 1954b, 1960; Snow and Stans 2001). These works suggest that traditional medicine coexists with western medicine, and medicine men and women still have viable roles in these societies. Elders or "gifted" persons use herbs, roots, and other products of nature to address health issues. However, as with other aspects of Seminole and Miccosukee culture, the knowledge and practices associated with traditional medicine are considered to be information for tribal members and not outsiders. Consequently, there is some information regarding the uses of plants and natural products as remedies, and less information about the ceremonies, practices, and meanings of traditional medicine as it is practiced today.

3.2.3   Sociocultural Issues

For many American Indians, maintaining cultural traditions and identity is an important socio-cultural issue. The process of acculturation or modernization is ongoing for many tribal groups and often results in social disruptions and psychosocial problems that have widespread conse-

quences for individuals, families, and communities. These issues are well documented in anthropological and sociocultural literature regarding American Indian groups where educational, ecological, economic, political, and other forces result in changes in traditional ways of life. Today, both the Seminole and Miccosukee maintain cultural traditions and a distinct cultural and political identity. Traditional food, dress, crafts, music, language, and other aspects of culture remain part of the daily traditions. However, there are changes in the Everglades ecosystem that affect traditional hunting, fishing, and agriculture. There are also adaptations such as gaming and resort hotels that provide new resources as well as new challenges for tribal members. Maintaining their culture while adapting to the modernization of American society in general is perhaps the greatest challenge and the largest sociocultural issue for the Seminole and Miccosukee. Maintaining or asserting their cultural identity and traditional rights are among the more prominent issues that may affect the interaction of BISC with the Seminole and Miccosukee in the Miami-Dade area. Importantly, the increased economic status of these tribes may also result in the ability to devote more time and effort to issues such as cultural resources and traditional ways of life. Moreover, these types of issues may have increasing importance as Seminole and Miccosukee continue to adapt to new sociocultural circumstances and find meaning in cultural and natural resources that were once part of their history.

3.3   Cuban-Americans

Cuba and Florida are separated by some 90 miles of water, but within the heart of Miami thrives a society and culture that is reminiscent of a pre-Castro Cuban lifestyle. Santeria, Salsa dancing, Bodegas, Jojo fishing, Cubano coffee, and fluent Spanish speakers are expressions of the richness and pervasiveness of elements of Cuban culture in present-day Miami-Dade County. Few ethnic groups have transformed an American city in such a short time as the Cubans in Miami. Once described as a Southern spa town for the well-to-do of the Northeast, Miami has become a de facto capital of Caribbean culture, with the flavor of that culture being decidedly Cuban. Cubans are major contributors to the cultural milieu and ambiance of Miami proper and Miami-Dade County more generally. Some of the major sociocultural characteristics of Cubans in Miami-Dade County, including their demography and social history, are identified and summarized below.

3.3.1 Demography and Social History

Population

Prior to 1959, there was a relatively small Cuban presence in Miami-Dade County; some suggest about 20,000 persons (Boswell and Curtis 1991). Subsequent waves of immigrants swelled the Cuban population within the County by about 500,000 persons between 1961-65, by about 125,000 persons in 1980, and by about 30,000 persons in 1994. In 1990, Cubans were about 59 percent of the Hispanic population in Miami. Tables 3.1 and 3.2 indicate the changing trends in the composition of the Hispanic population between 1970 and 1990:

**Table 3.1. Changing Percentages of Nationality Components of
Dade County's Hispanic Population – 1970-1990**

Nationalities	1970	1980	1990
Cuban	83%	70%	66%
Puerto Rican	7%	8%	6%
Mexican	1%	2%	2%
Other Hispanic	10%	20%	26%

Source: Boswell and Curtis *The Hispanization of Metropolitan Miami* in south Florida:
The Winds of Change. 1990. Thomas Boswell, Editor.

**Table 3.2. Estimates of Nationality Components of
Dade County's Hispanic Population in 1990**

Nationalities	Numbers	Percentages
Cuban	604,560	66
Nicaraguan	100,892	11
Puerto Rican	55,032	6
Colombian	45,860	5
Mexican	18,344	2
Other	91,720	10
Total	916,000	100

Source: Oliver Kerr, *Hispanic Estimates for 1990 in Dade County,
Florida,* Research Division, Metropolitan Dade County Planning
Department, Miami, 1990.

Preliminary analysis of the 2000 Census indicates Cubans account for about 50 percent of all
Hispanics (Viglucci 2001). These data also suggest that there are now about 651,000 Cubans
in Miami, an increase of about 15 percent from the 1990 Census (Viglucci 2001). Cubans
continue to account for a significant portion of Miami's growth from Hispanic immigration,
but Nicaraguans, Columbians, Mexicans, and other South and Central American nations
contribute a larger share. Almost two-thirds of all U.S. Cubans now live in Florida and more
than 50 percent of those live in Miami-Dade County. Census data also suggest that the Cuban
population has higher education levels, lower unemployment, smaller families, more business
ownership, and above average incomes in comparison to other ethnic groups, and they
approach the average income for the County.

Little Havana and Hialeah are traditional areas of residence for Miami's Cuban population,
although some suggest that Little Havana is now more a symbolic center rather than a
residential center for Cubans. However, the initial waves of immigrants from Cuba began
settling in the Little Havana area of Miami and radiated out into Hialeah and other nearby
neighborhoods. Current data suggest that Cubans and other Hispanics are present throughout
most areas of Miami-Dade County. Figure 12 indicates the distribution of Hispanics within
Miami-Dade County in 1990 and 2000 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1990, 2001b).

Lisandro Perez suggests that Hispanics and presumably many Cubans live in what he terms a
"Hispanic Belt," which he describes as:

Figure 12. Hispanic Population, Miami-Dade County, 1990-2000
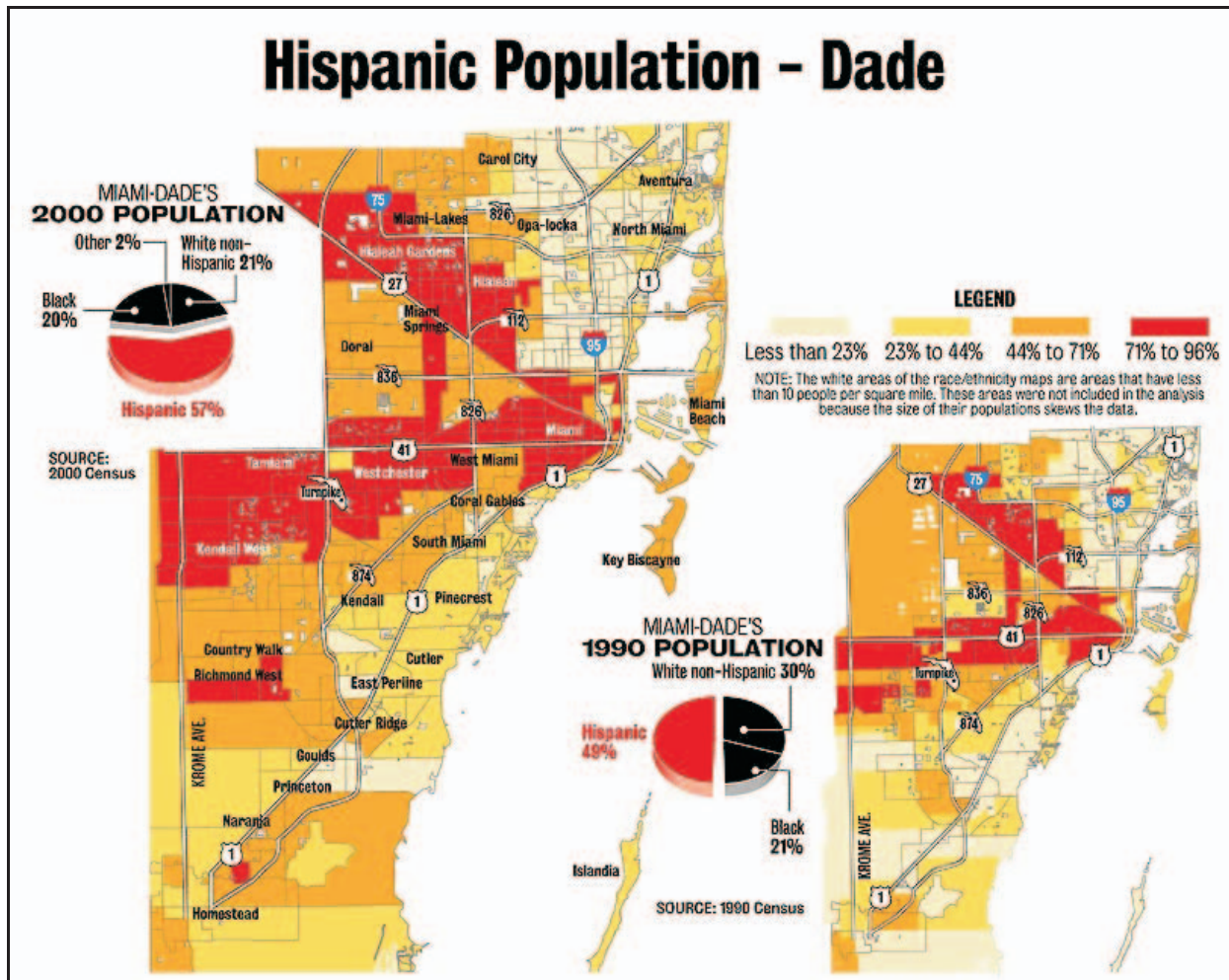
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census 1990, 2001b

. . . running west from downtown (which is located east on Biscayne Bay) all the way to the western edges of the metropolitan areas. This belt includes the southern half of the city of Miami as well as the incorporated areas of West Miami and Sweetwater, the northern part of the city of Coral Gables, and unincorporated portions of the County in the west. Its rough boundaries are the 836 (Dolphin) Expressway on the north and Southwest 40th Street on the south. The belt's principal east-west arteries, on which the commercial activities of the Cuban population are most evident, are Northwest 7th Street, Flagler Street, Southwest 8th Street (The traditional Calle Ocho), Southwest 24th Street (Coral Way), and the western portion of 40th Street (Bird Road). Since the 1960s the settlement of Cubans along this belt has proceeded from east to west, emanating largely from the area known as Little Havana, which is located within the city of Miami, some twelve to fifteen city blocks direct west of downtown and stretching west along Calle Ocho for about fifteen city blocks (Perez 1992:88-89).

Social History

The social history of south Florida is often discussed in terms of "waves" of Cuban immigrants from different time periods and each with particular social characteristics. These different phases were fueled by economic or sociopolitical conditions in Cuba, especially the 1959 Cuban revolution, in which Batista was deposed by forces led by Fidel Castro. Prior to the Cuban revolution, the Spanish American War and the Machado dictatorship also pushed immigrants to the United States. Authors who discuss Cuban migration identify several phases of immigration depending on their interpretation of pre- and post-1959 revolution waves of immigrants (Portes and Stepick 1993; Gonzales-Pando 1998). Although the number of immigration waves described varies, there is general agreement that each wave can be characterized by particular sociocultural characteristics. For purposes of this assessment, we can identify five different phases of immigration: the first covers the time period prior to 1959; the second, the period between 1959 and 1961; the third between 1962 and 1973; the Mariel period between 1973 and 1980; and the post1980 period. Next the characteristics of each of these phases and immigrant sociocultural characteristics are briefly described.

Phase I - Pre-1959 Revolution

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, Cubans who immigrated to the United States generally went to New York or other cities of the Northeast. It is estimated that during the 1890s, there were less than 20 Cubans residing in the Miami area. Subsequently, political turmoil in Cuba and the Spanish-American War pushed immigrants into the northeastern United States as well as into Florida. Another group of Cubans associated with the cigar-making industry also established themselves in the Tampa area. However, it was not until the mid-1930s that the Cuban population in Florida increased primarily as a result of political turbulence in their homeland. A group of relatively affluent Cubans established residence in the Miami Beach area, while a less affluent group of student activists established a colony in downtown Miami. Little Havana became home for many of these immigrants, and they proceeded to establish themselves as property owners and business persons (Boswell and Curtis 1991:45). Despite ongoing political turmoil in Cuba, ties between Miami and Havana increased with regular commercial flights between the two cities, which facilitated commerce that further solidified links between Miami and Havana Cubans. The Cuban population grew primarily as a result of the ongoing political turmoil and, as before, the refugees were often educated professionals and successful businessmen. The Miami Cuban community also became home to several exiled past leaders, including Geraldo Machado and Carlos Prio. Indeed, it was Prio who led a group of Cubans out of Biscayne Bay in 1957 to begin the fight against Batista that eventually resulted in the second phase of Cuban migration to the United States.

Phase II - 1959-1961

It is estimated that there were about 20,000 Cubans in Miami in 1958 (Boswell and Curtis 1991:145). However, this changed with Castro's overthrow of Batista and his subsequent political and economic actions. This resulted in a new wave of Cuban immigration to Florida and particularly Miami. This Phase II immigration resulted in 250,00 persons settling in the United States between 1959 and 1961. This group is often characterized as the "golden exiles"

because they were composed of attorneys, physicians, and other professional and business persons who were well educated. They brought with them wealth and business acumen and they found an established Cuban community in which to reestablish their business and professional lives. The preexisting Cuban community in Little Havana, although small, facilitated reestablishing their businesses if not their cultural lives. In fact, it is argued that the established community in combination with the financial resources of these immigrants provided employment and business opportunities that mitigated pressures for assimilation and facilitated retention of Cuban culture.

Phase III - 1962-1973

The third phase of immigration between 1962 and 1973 is characterized by a more heterogeneous population. By this time, Castro instituted limitations on the financial resources that refugees could take with them and thus, those arriving in this wave did not have the same economic capital as did earlier immigrants. This group is described as being composed of more tradesmen, mechanics, fishermen, and clerks who had less formal education than their predecessors. Fewer men and more children and women than previous waves also characterizes this wave (Soruco 1996:8). Another difference for this wave is their dispersion to different areas of the United States. This dispersion was an intended feature of the Cuban Refugee Program that was to address their immigration to Florida, and Miami in particular. Under provisions of this program, Cuban immigrants were given financial and other incentives to relocate from Miami to New York, New Jersey, and other states. Between 1962 and 1973, approximately 300,000 Cubans were relocated away from Miami under the auspices of this program (Perez 1992:87). However, by as early as 1972, there was a "return flow" phenomenon in which those who were relocated elsewhere began returning to Miami: "Data from the 1980 Census indicate that 55 percent of the Cubans who moved to Miami between 1975 and 1980 arrived from another state, as opposed to arriving from a foreign country" (Boswell and Curtis 1991:141). These migrations to Miami were motivated more by personal ties and cultural imperatives than by the prospect of economic enhancement.

Phase IV - 1973-1980 Mariel

After 1972, the high tide of immigration receded until about 1980 when Castro opened the port of Mariel to emigration that resulted in about 125,000 additional Cubans entering the United States. As with prior waves, this group had unique characteristics: about 60 percent were male, 22 percent women, 18 percent minors (Portes and Stepick 1993). Others suggest that this wave of immigrants represented Cuba's population composition of construction and manufacturing workers, who were younger and contained more Blacks and Mulattos than prior waves of immigrants (Soruco 1996:9). Castro also released inmates from prison and some from mental institutions, and this wave of immigrants became characterized as criminals, misfits, "scum," and otherwise socially undesirable individuals. However, only about 15 percent of the 125,000 immigrants had criminal records and 4 percent appear to have served prison time for offenses that would not have resulted in prison terms in the United States (Boswell and Curtis 1991:154). However, this element of this immigrant wave received significant attention in the press to generally stigmatize the entire Mariel group (Suroco 1996). There is some suggestion that Cuban immigrants were also stigmatized by the Mariel (Boswell and Curtis 1991:154-155).

Ultimately, some Mariel immigrants were detained and imprisoned and others were returned to Cuba.

Phase V - Post-1980

After the 1980s, the United States instituted new immigration policies that changed the flow of Cuban immigrants. Furthermore, there had been pressure to change the 1966 Cuban-American Adjustment Act, which allows Cubans to become legal immigrants after one year. In 1984, the United States and Cuba negotiated agreements that were intended to normalize migration from Cuba to the United States by allowing up to 20,000 immigrants, 3,000 political prisoners, and 2,000 immediate family members for a total of 25,000 per year. This agreement was suspended by Castro in 1987 and subsequently reinstated. However, between 1984 and 1994, the United States issued only about 11,000 immigration visas. Socioeconomic conditions in Cuba changed during the mid-1990s, and in response to unrest related to these conditions, Castro allowed Cubans to leave in small boats and other craft. The results were chaotic, and ultimately the United States and Castro negotiated a more orderly process for this wave of refugees (Gonzales-Pando 1998). This 1995 agreement limited immigration to the United States and permitted those who feared political persecution. This agreement allows about 4,000 persons a year to enter the United States, and all Cubans can apply for a lottery under the Special Cuban Migration Program that allows up to 20,000 additional persons. About 30,000 refugees from Cuba entered the United States as a result of the 1994 exodus from Cuba. The sociocultural characteristics of these immigrants are less well described in the literature than prior waves of immigrants. However, they are individuals with relatives in Florida or elsewhere who were seeking relief from the social and economic conditions in Cuba post dissolution of the Soviet Union. Some have suggested that these immigrants have more in common with the post-1959 and pre-Mariel Cuban immigrants (cf. Portes and Stepick 1993).

3.3.2 Lifestyles and Culture

Miami has a Latin if not a Cuban ambiance expressed in Latin music that sometimes blares from motor and sail boats anchored at Sands Cut or Boca Chita harbor. However, the quintessential Cuban ambiance has been associated with the area of Miami known as Little Havana. The heart of this area is SW Eighth Street, otherwise known as *Calle Ocho*, along with the area between 12th and 27th Avenues. Most of the commercial establishments are on *Calle Ocho*, and a large portion of the remainder of the area is residential. Cubans who arrived in Miami after 1959 found an existing community here with familiar language, culture, and ways of doing business. This became a residential center for new immigrants who then moved into adjacent Hialeah, which also quickly became a center for Cuban residence. More recently, Nicaraguans and other Hispanics have established themselves in Little Havana, but it continues to retain its Cuban heritage. Other Cubans took up residence in other parts Miami; for example, Jewish Cubans settled in Miami Beach (Bettinger-Lopez 2000:46-36). Although Cubans have subsequently become residents throughout Miami's neighborhoods, there are still concentrations in particular sections of the city.

Mutual Aid Organizations and Ethnic Enclaves

These residential concentrations suggest at least two themes about the social organization of Cuban-Americans in Miami. One is the practice of mutual assistance and the other is an "ethnic enclave" that influenced the socioeconomic conditions for Cuban-Americans. The process of mutual assistance is expressed in *municipios*, a feature of Cuban society immigrants reconstituted in the United States. These organizations, known as *Los Municipios de Cuba en el Exilio* (Cuban Municipalities in Exile), are a network of mutual assistance groups that existed in Cuba. There were about 126 of these in Cuba, and about 117 have reorganized in Miami-Dade County. These are formal organizations that have elected officials and function as primarily social groups that sponsor festivals, gatherings, holiday celebrations, and the days of patron saints (Bucuvalas, Bulger, and Kennedy 1994:80-81). These types of organizations offered new immigrants an existing network of contacts and mutual support that buffered the transition into a new social and cultural milieu. Today these organizations have grown into a source of political power and influence, but they retain an important function of promoting social solidarity within the Cuban community. A similar type of organization formed among Cuban Jews is known as the *Circulo Cubano-Hebreo de Miami*. This organization was also important in promoting social solidarity among this group of Cubans:

> The Circulo's primary objectives thus focused on making a better life for the Cuban Jews in Miami. They aimed 'to restore the social activities of the Cuban Jews in Miami, through an active society and in a secure or permanent place' and 'to provide social assistance to people . . . lacking sufficient economic resources.' . . . Finally, El Circulo sought to forge ties with secular organizations throughout the city of Miami . . . (Bettinger-Lopez 2000:40).

These organizations are an important resource for Miami's Cuban residents because they assist new residents' integration into a familiar social setting. Such organizations also indicate a community that is trying to recreate a social environment similar to their homeland.

The Cuban community in Miami also formed what can be termed an ethnic enclave that further assisted their adaptation to new socioeconomic circumstances. According to Perez, quoting Portes and Bach (1985:203), an enclave is "a distinctive economic formation, characterized by the spatial concentration of immigrants who organize a variety of enterprises to serve their own ethnic market and the general population" (Portes 1987:90). Boswell and Curtis (1991) also suggest that Cubans established a true economic enclave in Miami.

> Miami's Hispanics have established their own economic enclave that caters particularly (but not only) to the Latin American market. In this enclave, it is possible to transact all business negotiations in Spanish and to use Latin business customs, thus making it easier for newly-arrived immigrants to become incorporated quickly into the Hispanic economic mainstream. The initial capital and entrepreneurial skills used to establish the enclave were provided by the earliest waves of immigrants who left Cuba in the early 1960s. The later flows of refugees sustained its growth and allowed it to reach a sufficient size for economies of scale to be developed. As more recent waves contributed immigrants who were somewhat less educated and less skilled, they

provided a cross section of laborers that would allow for a more vertically integrated local ethnic economy to develop (Boswell and Curtis 1991:151).

This enclave process sustains the lifestyle of Miami-Dade Cubans. They are owners of construction, finance, retail, and wholesale businesses, and they supply goods and services to other immigrants as well as the larger Miami population. However, it is the "institutional completeness" of this ethnic enclave that is unique: a nearly full range of services and products exists that allows individuals to live within their own communities (Perez 1992:91). Such an enclave clearly provides economic as well as social benefits, since not only familiar goods and services are available, but also employment and social support in the form of existing networks. Perez also suggests that the enclave has assisted the overall economic circumstances of Hispanics by allowing for culturally appropriate participation of females in the labor market (Perez 1992:92). That is, within the enclave where family and friendship contacts exist, women find opportunities that might otherwise not exist. The effect is to have a relatively high rate of participation by females in the Cuban work force, and this directly contributes to their economic status. The enclave also promotes the retention of traditional culture, but pressures for assimilation and acculturation exist within Cuban communities, and there are reported intergenerational differences in values and orientations (Bettinger-Lopez 2000). However, differences between adults and adolescents regarding traditional values are common among diverse social and cultural groups.

Although the Cuban enclave is described as promoting social solidarity, economic mobility, cultural expression, as well as mitigating assimilation pressures, there are critics who argue it has adverse effects on other Miami populations, particularly Blacks (Mohl 1991; Dunn 1997). The "special status" accorded early Cuban immigrants as political refugees, which has caused some tensions with other Caribbean immigrants, especially Haitians, allowed for financial assistance and other incentives that were not available to other immigrants or minority groups. This aided the formation of enclaves that promoted the economic success of Miami-Dade Cubans. In fact, Dunn (1997) argues that Cuban success is directly related to the lack of success among Miami Blacks:

> The Cuban influx succeeded not only in diverting attention from Miami Blacks during the crucial integration period, but also by virtue of their greater social acceptability and entrepreneurial skills. Cubans began winning the lion's share of public dollars, especially for business development. . . . Considering all SBA loans made in Dade County from 1968 to 1980, Hispanics received 46.9 percent of funds made available . . . , non-Hispanic Whites received 46.6 percent . . . , and Blacks received 6 percent. . . . (Dunn 1997:329).

Dunn also suggests that housing, jobs, public health resources, and other public assistance resources were consumed by Hispanics to the detriment of Blacks, resulting in racial tensions (Dunn 1997:330-333).

Language

Language expresses the values and world views of a people and its persistence among

immigrants is an indicator of the maintenance of traditional values and beliefs. It is not surprising that Spanish remains the first language of many Miami-Dade Cubans: the enclave process provided an environment in which business and personal interactions could be conducted in Spanish. Language could be sustained even when the dominant language was English in the larger communities of Miami-Dade because of a network of personal and business ties that facilitated, if not rewarded, speaking Spanish. As the Spanish population grew, Miami became a bilingual city with Spanish spoken in a wide range of social, business, and private situations. Max Castro contrasts Spanish language use in Miami and Los Angeles as follows:

> What was so unusual about Spanish in Miami was not that it was so often spoken, but that it was so often heard. In Los Angeles . . . Spanish remained a language only barely registered by the Anglo population, part of the ambient noise: the language spoken by the people who worked in the car wash, trimmed the trees, and cleared the tables in restaurants. In Miami, Spanish was spoken by the people who ate in the restaurants and owned the cars and trees. On the socio-auditory scale, this contrast made a considerable difference. . . . (Castro 1992:113).

The pervasiveness of Spanish in Miami-Dade County became a political if not a cultural issue for Cubans. In 1973, an ordinance was passed in Dade County that identified the County as bilingual. This political acknowledgment of the reality of Spanish as a significant language issue in the community was responded to with a grass-roots campaign in 1980 with the intention of establishing an "English only" policy for the county (Castro 1992:119). The effect of this policy was to prohibit the use of public monies for language use other than English, including the banning of fire safety information pamphlets in Spanish, Spanish marriage ceremonies, and Spanish signs for public transportation. This initiative was not supported by a wide spectrum of Anglos or Blacks, but it did pass and indicated some of the tensions within Dade County regarding the emergence of Hispanics as a powerful political, economic, and cultural force, with language being the auditory expression of that presence. Subsequently, elements within the Hispanic community known as the Spanish American League Against Discrimination promoted an English Plus policy, arguing that in the socioeconomic context of Miami and a growing global economy, bilingualism was an important asset. Fradd and Boswell (1996) express a similar perspective in their argument that bilingualism and particularly Spanish-English bilingualism is an economic asset for communities with multinational workforces and multinational corporations.

Religion: Catholicism, Santeria, and Judaism

The dominant religion of Cuban immigrants is Catholicism, although Jews and Protestants are also well represented within the Cuban community. There is also thriving practice of African-based practices known as Santeria that often coexist with the dominant religions. In this section we briefly outline Cuban-American religious traditions as expressed in the existing literature, which focuses on Santeria (Canizares 1993), Catholicism (e.g., Tweed 1997), and Judaism (e.g., Bettinger-Lopez 2000).

Catholicism

The existing ethnographic literature regarding Catholic Cubans in Miami-Dade County focuses on particular religious practices and symbols and their relationship to Cuban identity and nationality. The most developed topic concerns the shrine, pilgrimages, and meanings associated with Our Lady of Charity and La Caridad del Cobre. "Our Lady of Charity" is the Patron Saint of Cuba as identified by Pope Benedict the XV in 1916. The Saint's day is celebrated on September 8. A shrine was built by the refugee community in 1973, on South Miami Drive, on the shores of Biscayne Bay. The shrine faces toward the ocean and looks out at what should be the direction of their Cuban homeland. The altar at this shrine contains Cuban soil and rocks taken from the raft of Cuban refugees who tried to make it to Florida shores but died in the process. There is also a mural depicting key events in Cuban history and the shrine otherwise expresses themes of Cuban nationalism. The center piece of the shrine is a statue of the Virgin brought to Cuba in 1961, and behind this statue are busts of two Cuban patriots. The shrine is a center for one of the largest pilgrimages in the United States by Catholics, attracting more than a 100,000 pilgrims each year. Included in the religious practices of individuals at this shrine are rosaries, singing of the Cuban national anthem, and prayers to Our Lady for her intercession to oust Castro from Cuba. Although this shrine is important as a Catholic religious site, it is also a fundamental expression of what Tweed (1997) terms "diaspora religion," which expresses nationalistic themes of a group in exile. Tweed's extended discussion of this shrine should be consulted for a thorough analysis of the link between Cuban Catholicism and nationalism as expressed at the Our Lady of Charity shrine.

Jewish Cubans

Jewish Cubans fled Cuba along with immigrants of other ethnicities and religions and then established themselves in Miami and other parts of Miami-Dade County. These Cuban Jews are part of a growing population of Hispanic Jews who are immigrating from various Latin American countries. Between 5,000 and 6,000 Hispanic Jews are estimated to be in Miami and about 3,000 of those are Cuban (Roth 1999). It is estimated that about 90 percent of all Jews in Cuba immigrated to the United States in the early 1960s, about 5,000 persons (Bettinger-Lopez 2000:7). Sephardic and Ashkenazic elements are represented in this community. Jews sought out the local Miami Jewish community, but there are reports that they did not find an immediately warm welcome from all segments of this community, aside from the Miami Beach's North Beach Ashkenasiz temple (Bettinger-Lopez 2000:23-29). Cuban Jews experienced an alienation from their non-Jewish fellow Cubans, while the local Jewish community was less than welcoming (Bettinger-Lopez 200:34-35). A result was the emergence of a Jewish Cuban identity among these exiles.

This consolidation, which resulted in the development of the Circulo Cubano-Hebreo (Cuban-Hebrew Social Circle), signified the entrance of the Cuban Jews into new space – one where they would not be challenged as either Cubans or Jews. Within this space, these emigrés identities changed, both as individuals and as members of a larger group; here they became the (intentionally hyphenated) "Cuban-Jews" (Bettinger-Lopez 2000:35). Subsequently, they became integrated into larger Jewish community in Miami, but the Circulo remains a focus of Jewish Cuban social and religious life, integrating these in a way that reflects their Cuban social

traditions. Identity, homeland, new-land, old identity, new identity; these are the types of issues discussed in connection with Cuban Jews establishing themselves within a larger Jewish population. The specific issues of religiosity are not as vigorously discussed and, as with Cuban Catholics, the emphasis is on homeland and diaspora. These are the types of issues that reflect the historical realities of a displaced population. Religion becomes another cultural expression or reflection of concerns about homeland, culture, and identity.

Santeria

Santeria or La Regla Lukumi is a religious tradition based in the spiritual beliefs of the Yoruba or Lukumi people of West Africa. The Lukumi were transported to the Caribbean and elsewhere as slaves, especially by the early Spanish explorers of the region. Santeria (Way of the Saints) derives its name from the practice of slaves converted to Catholicism who were observed praying to saints instead of to Christ. These Yoruba disguised the practice of their native beliefs by praying to the saints, and this is part of the origin of the blending of Catholic and Yoruba traditions that is now said to be practiced by between 75,000 to 100,000 persons in southeast Florida. Many of these practitioners can reportedly be traced to the persons who came to south Florida from the Mariel immigration.

The primary deity of Santeria is the remote god known as Olodumare, but deities known as orishas are the subjects for many of the daily rituals and practices among Santeria believers. These orishas function much like saints in Catholicism, wherein saints intercede on behalf of humans to solve life problems or protect humans from harm and misfortune. The blending of Catholic and Santeria traditions is well illustrated in Ochun, who is the orisha of love, femininity, and rivers, and is said to assist women in childbirth. The Catholic manifestation of Ochun is Our Lady of Charity, who is the patron saint of Cuba. The commonly evoked orishas are associated with the forces of nature over which they are believed to have control: Elegba, road and doors; Ogun, iron, war, and labor; Oshosi, hunting and tracking; Obatala, father of other orishas and creativity and justice; Oya, winds; Yemaya, seas and lakes; Shango, lightning, fire, and thunder; and Orunmila, wisdom and divination. Orishas also have an associated color or colors; a number, food, and dance; and an emblem or other manifestation. As in Catholicism, there is an associated feast day associated for each orisha. Humans invoke the powers of the orishas through rituals of sacrifice and praise. Divination (Ifa), possession, and dance rituals known as *bembes* are essential aspects of Santeria, as is the use of herbs and other "botanicals" in rituals and for medicinal purposes. Santeria practices are usually presided over by a priest or priestess. (Canizares 1993).

Celebrations and Customs

Among Hispanics, including Cubans, the importance of the family is expressed in the presence of celebrations and rituals associated with key life events. For Cubans, life cycle events such as baptism, birthdays, and the passage of girls into adolescence (*quinceañera*) are marked by celebrations or rituals. Similarly, for adults, marriages are often formal religious ceremonies with elaborate banquets afterwards. Wakes are held for departed friends and family, and their grave sites are visited on holy days and secular holidays, such as Mother's or Father's Day and the deceased's birthday. In both Hialeah and Little Havana, there are speciality merchants who

cater to the demand for the flowers, dresses, tuxedos, catering, and other accouterments that accompany these celebrations and remembrances.

Social life for Miami-Dade's Cuban communities also includes the celebration of various secular and religious holidays. Celebration of New Year's Day is often accompanied by the practice of emptying a bucket of water into the street to rid houses of the troubles of the past year. January 28 is a day for parades and celebration of the birthday of Jose Marti, a hero of the Cuban independence movement against the Spanish at the turn of the last century. The Miami Carnaval is the Mardi Gras, and more, of Miami-Dade County, which is celebrated with parades, Latin music and dance, feasts, with a few religious overtones associated with the observance of Lent. Other significant holidays include May 20, which celebrates Cuba's independence from Spain and December 28, the Day of the Innocents (when King Herod is said to have killed innocent babies). The tone of this holiday is secular, having the characteristics of April Fool's day in American Culture (Bucuvalas, Bulger, and Kennedy 1994:90-93).

Culture is also expressed in everyday food, music, and other entertainment. The everyday foods of Cuban-Americans express the intersection of African and Caribbean traditions with yams, plantains, okra, and grains characteristic of African traditions. Traditional meals are beans, rice, and a meat dish, with pork the preferred meat, followed by beef and chicken. Small family-owned grocery stores known as *Bodegas* sell café cubano, a staple of Cuban life; fresh fruits; rice and black beans; and perhaps a tamarind fruit drink. Bodegas are pervasive and reflect the reestablishment of Cuban culture in south Florida (Bucuvalas, Bulger, and Kennedy 1994:82:84). In the neighborhoods of Hialeah and Little Havana, visitors are likely to hear a variety of Latin and especially Cuban music. As with food, this music expresses both Spanish, African, and blended traditions. Some of the African traditions are expressed in rich music and dance associated with the practice of Santeria, but Salsa music rich with trumpets and trombones is a core form of music expression in Cuban neighborhoods. Other popular forms of entertainment include playing dominoes and fishing, especially with a hand line (known as jojo fishing) (Bucuvalas, Bulger, and Kennedy 1994:94-96).

3.3.3 Sociocultural Issues

Exile Culture

A theme that pervades Cuban culture in Florida is the notion of a people in exile who expect to return to their homeland. This is termed "exile culture." Cubans have been characterized as preoccupied with the political, economic, and social issues in their homeland, but especially political issues. Perez suggests four characteristics of exile ideology:

1. The primacy of issues and concerns that deal with the political status of the homeland.
2. Uncompromising struggle against and hostility toward the current Cuban government.
3. Lack of debate allowed about the "exile ideology" within the community.

4. Overwhelming support for the Republican party among Cubans within Miami. (Perez 1992:95-96).

He also suggests this ideology is sustained by the preponderance of Cuban-born individuals in the current population, the presence among those persons of those who left more for political reasons, and the presence of the enclave that facilitates communication and focus about exile ideology (Perez 1992:98-99).

Part of "exile culture" has always been the belief that return to Cuba was imminent. In part, holding on to this belief also entails the notion that participation in the American political process or registering to vote or otherwise investing in the exiled home was less than patriotic. However, after the Bay of Pigs and the persistence of Castro in political power, Cuban-Americans began a new process of participating in social, economic, and political arenas in a way they had not previously:

> By the later part of the 1970s, the old dilemma between competing allegiances to Cuba and the United States was finally overcome, opening the way to massive American citizenship and voter registration drives. During the decade, the number of Cubans who became American citizens more than doubled. It would be misleading, however, to assume that all those who adopted United States citizenship had actually replaced their sense of identity as Cuban exiles for that of ethnic immigrants (Gonzales-Pando 1998:60).

Exile culture remains a significant issue among Cubans in Miami-Dade County as evidenced by community responses to the return of Elian Gonzalez to his father in Cuba. That is, exile culture frames the interpretation of events in particular ways and suggests the morals, values, and actions that should be taken in an event such as the Elian Gonzalez case. Some authors have suggested that, as the waves of immigrants who fled from the Castro revolution pass, exile culture may diminish in its intensity (Perez 1992).

Assimilation

For a minority immigrant population, there is a cultural expectation of blending into or "assimilating" into the dominant culture as part of the "melting pot" process in American culture. Assimilation is a concern for Cuban as well as all other immigrants in Miami-Dade County, but the literature suggests some particular issues about Cuban assimilation. One issue concerns how the enclave economy supports the maintenance of Cuban identity, language usage, and lifestyle. The existence of the enclave allows individuals and families to listen to Cuban music, eat ethnic foods, speak their native language, conduct business in a culturally familiar style, and to otherwise maintain a Cuban frame of reference in everyday life. Exile culture also works against assimilation by establishing a frame of reference that in the past promoted the notion of eventual return to Cuba; this perspective inhibited assimilation into the dominant culture. Similarly, the first waves of post-revolutionary immigrants were older and more established in their own culture and this inhibited assimilation (Perez 1992:93). Among the American-born children of immigrants, there is evidence of selective adoption of aspects of dominant culture and concern within Cuban families about the erosion of traditional culture.

However, the process of assimilation among Cuban youth suggests that a Cuban-American identity is emerging, along with concerns about "which culture" and "what identity" represents authentic experience (e.g., Bettinger-Lopez 2000).

Economic Enclave

The economic enclave established by Cuban refugees in Miami has received considerable attention in academic literature (e.g., Portes and Bach 1985). Portes and Bach suggest that an economic enclave is a particular structure in which there is a "spatial concentration of immigrants who organize a variety of enterprises to serve their own ethnic market and the general population" (Portes and Bach 1985:203). The existence of human and monetary capital established a range of businesses and services among Cuban immigrants that also resulted in additional employment and business opportunities for new waves of immigrants. These businesses established a foundation on which a wide range of small businesses and professional services developed to serve new immigrants. The literature also suggests that Cubans own more businesses and have a better socioeconomic status than other immigrants (Perez 1992). The economic enclave process is a partial explanation for the success of Miami Cubans since it also explains the economic basis for their upward mobility in south Florida society in general. As noted earlier, the enclave has provided the range of services and opportunities that have allowed Cubans to sustain cultural practices and ways of life they left behind in their homeland. This has not only buffered the effects of discrimination and assimilation but also asserts a cultural presence that authors suggest defines the cultural milieu that is Miami-Dade County. This cultural presence itself reinforces the enclave process and validates the ways of life and traditions of Cuban heritage in the presence of a dominant culture.

3.4   African Americans

The literature regarding peoples of African American descent in south Florida addresses African Americans as well as Haitians, Cubans, Bahamians, and other Caribbean peoples. The existing literature usually refers to these peoples as "Blacks" (e.g., Mohl 1991; Dunn 1997). For consistency with these conventions, we refer to the African American populations in Miami-Dade County as Blacks. This population is distinguished from Haitians, Cubans, and other groups that also have African ancestry, but who are ethnically distinct from African Americans. However, the literature indicates that Blacks from the Bahamas, Haiti, and elsewhere in the Caribbean have intermarried with American Black populations with a resulting cross-fertilization of customs and traditions. We note where these cross-fertilization issues are important, but this discussion focuses on ethnic African Americans.

3.4.1   Population and Social History

Population

Preliminary 2000 Census results indicate there are approximately 457,214 African Americans in Miami-Dade County, or about 20 percent of the 2000 Census total population. In 1990 there were about 360,000 Blacks or about 22 percent of the population. Since the turn of the century, the range of the Black population in Miami-Dade County has been between 26 percent (1900)

and 35 percent (1910), with a low of 17 percent in 1980 (Mohl 1991:112). Several sources regarding black demography in Miami-Dade County (Mohl 1991; Dunn and Stepick 1992; Dunn 1997) suggest the following noteworthy issues in black population trends and composition:

1) There is a history of steady growth in the black population in south Florida and particularly Miami-Dade County since the early part of this century. Table 3.3 indicates population growth for Blacks.

Table 3.3. Population of Dade County, Florida, by Race and Ethnicity

Year	Total Population	Black	Hispanic Origin	Whites and Others
1930	142,955	29,894	n/a	n/a
1940	267,739	49,518	n/a	n/a
1950	495,084	65,392	20,000	409,692
1955	715,000	101,000	35,000	579,000
1960	935,047	137,299	50,000	747,748
1965	1,101,500	163,500	174,500	763,500
1970	1,267,435	189,042	296,820	781,573
1975[1]	1,462,000	237,000	467,000	773,000
1980	1,625,781	280,358	580,340	775,914
1985	1,775,000	367,000	768,000	662,000
1990	1,937,094	397,993	953,407	614,066
1995	2,057,000	440,200	1,134,300	515,900

[1] There is some overlap of Blacks and persons of Hispanic origin beginning in 1975.
Source: Metro-Dade Planning Department, "Profile," 4. Estimates for 1955, 1965, 1975, 1985, and 1995 by Metro-Dade Planning Department, Research Division, 1995.

2) From about 1900-1930 Blacks accounted for more than 40 percent of population growth in Florida. Interstate migration accounted for the majority of this growth, with Georgia, the Carolinas, and states of the northeast being primary sources of migrants. Blacks were drawn to south Florida and Miami because of work opportunities, primarily in the tourist industry and railroads. These early migrants worked primarily as unskilled laborers (Mohl 1991:118).

3) Blacks are more concentrated in south Florida and especially Miami, but overall, Florida's black population has decreased whereas Miami-Dade's black population has increased (Dunn 1997:335-336). Between 1970-1980, the black population grew by 47 percent, a rate exceeded only by Atlanta, Georgia. Miami became 1 of only 16 major metropolitan areas with a black population of more than 300,000 (Dunn and Stepick 1992:50).

4) In recent decades, Miami-Dade's black population has increased as a result of immigration, primarily from Caribbean immigrants. In 1980 about 20 percent of the black population was foreign born (Dunn and Stepick 1992:49). This trend continued through the 1980s:

> By 1990, one in four Dade Blacks was born in the Caribbean, primarily in Haiti and the West Indies. There were 117,000 foreign-born Blacks in Dade County in 1990, about 30 percent of the total. The bulk of these, about 99,000 or 25 percent . . . , were born in the Caribbean, including Puerto Rico (Dunn 1997:336).

Table 3.4. Place of Birth, by Ancestry, Black Population, Dade County – 1990

Place of Birth	African American	Haitian	West Indian	Hispanic	Other	Uncoded	Total
United States	199,139	14,223	9,459	4,440	5,974	48,386	281,621
Caribbean	4,399	40,118	32,946	10,684	3,045	7,624	98,816
Central America	417	0	556	3,030	105	282	4,390
Other	657	162	730	717	3,217	611	6,094
Unspecified Abroad	114	687	560	365	84	6,240	8,050
Total	204,726	55,190	44,251	19,236	12,425	63,143	398,971

Source: Metro-Dade Planning Department, "Profile," 18.

5) Blacks moved away from Overtown and Liberty City in the years following 1960. In 1991, Mohl noted: "Since the 1960s, a large and still expanding corridor of black residential housing has emerged in the northwest quadrant of Dade County, reaching beyond Liberty City to Opa-Loca and Carol City" (Mohl 1991:125). Dunn also observed that black residence has moved northwest into Carol City, Richmond, and other traditionally white areas of Miami. Regarding this trend Dunn notes:

> The past decade appears to have been marked by two contrasting but not contradictory movements of the Black populations. On one hand, there has been an expansion of the population and size of majority-Black areas; on the other, there was a more widespread movement of Blacks into formerly all-White areas. While there were more areas of very high concentration of Blacks, they accommodated a smaller proportion of Dade's Black population. One third of all Blacks now live outside predominately Black areas (Dunn 1997:341).

Dunn also notes that neighborhood racial segregation is a characteristic of black residence with more than 80 percent of the black population living in nearly contiguous communities; current residential and population patterns suggest this trend will continue (Dunn 1997:341-342). Tables 3.5 and 3.6 indicate trends in the presence of Blacks in particular neighborhoods and cities.

Table 3.5. Black Population and Percent of Population, Selected Cities, Dade County – 1950-1990

City	1950 No.	1950 % [1]	1960 No.	1960 %	1970 No.	1970 %	1980 No.	1980 %	1990 No.	1990 %
Miami	40,242	16	65,213	22	76,156	23	87,110	25	98,207	27
N. Miami	17	0	51	0	69	0	1,597	4	15,941	32
Opa-Loca	1,681	32	3,544	36	3,503	19	9,182	63	10,603	69
N. Miami Bch	n/a	0	719	3	1,010	3	93	0	7,707	22
Homestead	1,691	37	3,178	35	3,871	28	5,278	26	6,178	23
Miami Beach	640	1	568	1	319	0	894	1	4,798	5
Florida City	1,547	100	2,403	58	3,040	59	3,678	60	3,540	61
South Miami	1,599	33	2,403	24	2,842	24	3,282	30	3,078	30
Miami Shores	n/a	0	n/a	0	n/a	0	123	1	2,056	20
El Portal	n/a	0	n/a	0	n/a	0	314	15	1,312	53
Other Dade	18,147	8	59,788	11	99,174	12	170,214	15	252,739	18
Dade County	64,947	13	137,299	15	189,666	15	280,434	17	397,993	21

[1] Percentage is of city population.
Source: Metro-Dade Planning Department, "Profile," 26.

Table 3.6. Population of Black Neighborhoods in Dade County – 1960-1990

Neighborhood	1960	1970	1980	1990
Carol City	222	7,384	27,564	29,213
Washington Park	640	965	1,477	6,630
West Little River	10	12,121	21,648	22,887
Edison Park	90	8,922	24,081	34,851
Model City	49,025	73,799	61,561	55,038
Seminola	842	970	955	314
Overtown	38,581	20,899	13,386	12,510
Coconut Grove	9,463	9,281	5,961	5,701
Richmond Heights	4,400	7,469	6,036	7,485
Perrine	5,057	5,502	4,485	7,667
Goulds	3,900	6,065	6,024	6,004
Naranja	726	711	1,426	1,556
Total Neighborhoods	112,956	154,188	174,604	189,856
Blacks, Dade County	137,299	189,042	280,358	397,993

Source: Metro-Dade County Planning Department, "Profile," 26.

Social History

Among the first Blacks to the Biscayne Bay region were slaves who accompanied settlers in 1804 (Dunn 1997), although the first Blacks in Miami were Bahamians (Mohl 1991). However, there is what appears to be a myth, or perhaps just shallow history, about the presence of a black pirate who roamed Biscayne Bay and environs. Dunn quotes the logs of Commodore Ralph Monroe, one of the early explorers and residents of Biscayne Bay as follows:

> We entered Biscayne Bay through Caesar's Creek, a long and winding channel. . . . Here we were again invested with the spirit of piracy, for this was the stronghold of Black Ceasar, a giant negro, who took toll from passing vessels along the reef. . . . (Dunn 1997:10).

Black Caesar, who may have been the Black Seminole John Caesar, suggests that Blacks have been part of the social history of south Florida since the days of the earliest Spanish explorers. They worked as domestics and constructed outposts for the Spanish; sometimes they escaped and lived with American Indians. The "Black Seminoles" (Porter 1996) became a recognized group among the Seminole, participating fully in the traditions and social life of the tribe. They also fought alongside other Seminole in the Second Seminole War.

Throughout the early and later periods of exploration and development, black slaves as well as freemen were part of the population who often held the tough jobs of clearing and developing the land. During the British period (1763-1784), large indigo, rice, sugar, and cotton plantations were established, and large numbers of slaves from Sierra Leone were brought in to work. At the conclusion of the American Revolution, Florida returned to Spanish control and:

> . . . many slaves took advantage of the chaos of war and the subsequent colonial transfer to escape British control. Untold numbers found sanctuary among the Seminole nation. . . . Others . . . claimed a refuge among the incoming Spaniards on the grounds of religious conversion . . . (Landers 1996:175).

The black population continued to grow as the Spanish ruled Florida between 1784-1821. This increase occurred from natural population growth, the importation of new slaves, and the migration from other states of runaway and ex-slaves seeking refuge in Florida. The Keys as well as other parts of Florida were also a destination for Bahamian Blacks, who also contributed to Florida's growing black population (Mohl 1991). Some estimates suggest that Blacks were about 27 percent of the population, and by 1814, this number rose to about 57 percent (Landers 1996:178). With the arrival of the Americans after the war of 1812, the social climate for Blacks deteriorated. Black troops had fought against the Americans, and sentiments about free Blacks among the Americans resulted in the emigration of some Blacks to both Cuba and Mexico. Free Blacks suffered significant discrimination under American rule, and the slave population swelled as land was cleared and developed into plantations. Not surprisingly, Florida's secession during the Civil War was a marker of the importance of slaves in the state. However, after the war, the freed slaves found their lives not much improved as they worked as sharecroppers and tenant farmers and, as the rail lines pushed south, they also found work as laborers. By the turn of the twentieth century, civil rights promised as part of Reconstruction remained to be implemented. Although Blacks were a significant proportion of the total population, at the 1885 State Constitutional Convention, only 8 of the total 108 delegates were Black (Proctor 1996:274-275). Civil rights were further eroded by establishing a poll tax and mandated school segregation. In the new state, the promises of Lincoln were not ones that were uniformly implemented, and civil rights continued as a significant issue for Florida's black populations.

Until the 1960s, a slavery mentality persisted among the White residents of Miami and elsewhere in Florida (Dunn and Stepick 1992). Civil rights were ignored or undermined and, in the worst cases, Blacks were subject to racially motivated violence:

> Forced to live in a segregated and unjust society, Blacks were frequently subjected to lynchings and mob violence. Between 1900 and 1917 approximately ninety Black men and women were lynched in the State. Their "misdeeds" ranged from insulting White women, to a refusal to give up land, to alleged rape and murder. . . . Whites were responsible for more than fifty lynchings between 1918 and 1930 (Jones 1996:379).

Nonetheless, after 1900 many Blacks from other Southern states migrated to Florida because of economic opportunities. Georgia, the Carolinas, as well as the Northeast were sources of migrants to Florida where they found work on the railroads, in the tourist industry, and in the fields and cattle ranches of Florida's agricultural industry. At the same time, Bahamians also migrated into south Florida seeking economic opportunities. Of the 966 identified Blacks in the 1900 Census for Miami, about 212 (22 percent) were Bahamians, 392 (41 percent) were native-born Blacks, and the remainder were from the Carolinas, Alabama, Virginia, and elsewhere. As they were in slave times, Blacks became an essential part of the labor force that was necessary to develop Florida in the twentieth century. Although black employment was mostly in the labor and service industries, there was also a black professional class of physicians, attorneys, teachers, and business owners that developed between the turn of the century and the early 1960s. However, the socioeconomic status of most black Floridians remained problematic (Jones 1996:378-383).

After Miami was incorporated in 1896, there was already an established black community that began to grow immediately after the turn of the century. South Miami, Homestead, and Florida City were among the earliest black settlements. By 1910, Blacks were 42 percent of the population. Following conflicts with their neighbors, some of whom were white, an ordinance was passed that essentially established racial zoning. Blacks became concentrated in what was termed "colored town," which later became Overtown just on the outskirts of downtown Miami. A Bahamian-based black community developed in Coconut Grove to the south and also along the railroad tracks toward Homestead where black farmers took up residence. Blacks became concentrated in these areas as a result of this racial zoning, and a pattern of residential segregation became characteristic of Miami (Mohl 1991:123).

As the city developed and demands for business space increased, there were further efforts to relocate and concentrate Blacks in areas away from Overtown, which was adjacent to the central Miami business district. This included the construction of Interstate 95 (I-95), which displaced Blacks from Overtown to make room for the interstate and to create room for expansion of the business district (Dunn 1997:157). The Liberty Square area, northwest of Miami, was designated for new black residences in a housing project known as Liberty City. This further expressed a pattern of intentional segregation of Blacks into particular neighborhoods, primarily in the areas northwest of Miami, that was evident in the interval between 1940 and the 1960s (Mohl 1991:134). The overall effect of these policies was to create the current pattern of residential segregation in Miami-Dade County.

The effects of this pattern of residential segregation include a heightening of racial tensions between Blacks and Whites, as well as Cubans (Mohl 1991), and undermining the political effectiveness of the black populations in Miami. Dunn and Stepick (1992) note that 60 percent of the black population lived in unincorporated areas with limited political power. Further-more, the practice of electing county commissioners at large further limited the ability of Blacks to exercise political power since they were concentrated in areas where their votes could be fragmented. Stack and Warren also suggest that "the fact that the majority of the black popu-lation resides in highly segregated yet spatially isolated neighborhoods, throughout sprawling Dade County . . . . makes it difficult for any effective grass roots political mobilization to occur . . . " (Stack and Warren 1992:170). Residential segregation also contributed to diminished eco-nomic opportunities along with the effects of racial and job discrimination experienced by Blacks in Miami-Dade County. This is in stark contrast to the socioeconomic success of Cub-ans and this contrast is itself problematic for Blacks in Miami who have been characterized as:

> . . . the most frustrated residents of the city. Cubans have prospered economically and have gained political control over much of local government. A good portion of the working class Anglo community has simply left, but most Blacks have no place in which to flee. While some Black's have truly become economically better off since the arrival of Cuban immigrants . . . , most Blacks have seen Cuban immigrants leap past them. One third of the black population remains locked in poverty and for many conditions are getting worse (Dunn and Stepick 1992:54).

Economic and political frustration along with perceptions of limited social opportunities are common characterizations of the social history of Blacks in Miami-Dade County.

Another dominant theme in black social history concerns racial tensions and civil unrest often related to social inequities in south Florida:

> Prior to the civil rights movement in Dade County, Black people were truly second class citizens. Relations between Black and White people in Dade County were cordial, as long as Black people understood that they were not the social equals of Whites. The 'Whites only' signs, as prevalent in Miami as they were in other southern cities, stood everywhere as reminders in case someone forgot (Dunn 1997:171).

Voting rights, job and housing discrimination, school and residential segregation, and police brutality were key issues that motivated the civil rights movement of the early 1960s among Miami's black communities (Dunn 1997; Mohl 1991). Much of Miami was segregated, including the area's valued beaches. Blacks were confined to using Virginia Key Beach and another beach at Convoy Point where the Headquarters Building for BISC is currently located. However, violations of civil rights went beyond these obvious forms of discrimination at beaches and other locations. A group of civil rights leaders emerged during this time who made significant strides in addressing some of the most flagrant violations of civil rights (Dunn 1997:174ff.). However, the influx of Cuban refugees was perceived by some Blacks as blunting their efforts for addressing civil rights issues and ultimately distracting Miami officials from resolution of key problems of concern to Miami Blacks:

> In retrospect, it appears that Cuban migration short-circuited the economic, political, and social gains Blacks were making elsewhere in the civil rights era. The exile 'invasion' . . . touched off thirty years of competition and conflict between Blacks and Hispanics over jobs, residential space, government services, and political power in the south Florida area . . . (Mohl 1991:131).

Tensions between Blacks and other racial and ethnic groups is a noteworthy characteristic of recent black social history in Dade County (Mohl 1991). A result of these tensions was a series of riots, the first of which occurred in 1968, with subsequent major events in 1980, 1982, and 1989, and what Dunn calls "mini-disturbances" in 1970, 1971, and 1979 (Dunn 1997:245ff). The 1968 riots had roots in these past tensions, but the precipitating event was the arrest and mistreatment of a black youth by Miami police. This riot ended when National Guard troops and the Sheriff's office were called in to stop violence that killed several Blacks. The precipitating event for the 1980 riot was the trial and acquittal of Miami police officers in the beating death of an unarmed motorcyclist named Arthur McDuffie. Dunn suggests the riot was not in response to McDuffie's death, rather "It was the failure of the criminal justice system to convict those who committed it; and more than that, it was the intentional exclusion of Blacks from the trial jury that inflamed many black people" (Dunn 1997:268). This four-day riot resulted in violence, looting, multiple deaths, and in excess of 100 million dollars in property damage. The 1982 riot was precipitated by a police shooting of a black man and the 1989 riot was sparked by another police shooting of two black men (Dunn 1997:246-314).

As the twentieth century came to a close, Blacks in Miami-Dade made progress in voting rights, school desegregation, political empowerment, and some socioeconomic advancement. Residential segregation still exists, but Blacks are moving into neighborhoods previously

occupied only by Whites or Hispanics. Yet, authors writing about the socioeconomic circumstances of Blacks in Miami and Dade County have not predicted a radical shift. Dunn suggests a present and future that is consistent with themes in other writings about Miami-Dade Blacks:

> . . . it should be clear that Blacks are not likely to move ahead by great leaps and bounds in the next century. If history is to be our teacher, Blacks will continue to make gains, but it will be a gradual process punctuated by great events and individuals who will shape the future in ways we cannot yet imagine. By the year 2096 most Black Dade residents probably will be foreign born, or at least of foreign-born ancestry, and the influence of the Caribbean will carry the day. African Americans may find themselves an ethnic minority among other Black people (Dunn 1997:373).

3.4.2 Lifestyles and Culture

There is limited literature regarding the traditions and lifeways of ethnic African Americans in south Florida. They are not mentioned in Bucuvalas, Bulger, and Kenney's work on south Florida folklife, although there is a discussion of the Bahamian and West-Indian traditions that are part of the black culture of Miami-Dade County. Other literature focuses on the socioeconomic, political, and civil rights issues within black communities, but lifestyles and culture are less developed. Some of the multicultural traditions and historical materials that indicate elements of black culture relevant for this discussion are reviewed here.

Black Lifestyles in Miami

Alongside discrimination, the Klu Klux Klan, and school and housing segregation, there was another side to life in Overtown and Coconut Grove between 1930 and 1960 that expresses black culture in Miami. Dance, music, and theater thrived in Overtown. Dunn (1997:143-163) describes a segregated community in which the famous and not-so-famous black entertainers, athletes, and artists provided entertainment for black as well as white residents. A section known as the Avenue became a focal point for this type of entertainment:

> Because of the high quality of entertainment to be found in Colored Town during its heyday, Second Avenue between Sixth and Tenth Streets gained a national and international reputation as Miami's Little Broadway. . . . For over three decades the Avenue became the place to be seen in Miami. Among the famous entertainers were Ella Fitzgerald . . . , Cab Calloway, Benny Goodman, Louis 'Satchmo' Armstrong, Bessie Smith, Billie Holiday, Nat King Cole, Count Basie, Josephine Baker, B.B. King, Sammy Davis Jr., James Brown, Sam and Dave, Dionne Warwick, Aretha Franklin, and many, many others (Dunn 1997:144-145).

A rich mixture of talent flowed through Overtown and added to the cultural ambiance of the black community. However, an undercurrent in Dunn's discussion of this cultural milieu is the pervasiveness of racial issues and segregation as major themes of black culture. When Louis Armstrong or Cab Calloway came to Miami, they stayed in all-black hotels. Joe Louis, the Heavyweight World Champion, and Jack Robinson, the hall of fame baseball player,

experienced the same segregation as the black business owners and laborers of Miami. Whites came to Overtown to enjoy the performances of the black entertainers and athletes, but there were laws prohibiting mixed audiences. Garth Reeves of the *Miami Times* newspaper quoted by Dunn observed: "It was on the local books that we couldn't have mixed audiences . . . but nobody paid much attention to it when there was a big-named entertainer in town. In fact, by about the middle of the set, Blacks and Whites were sitting all over! They weren't caring about color and racial differences" (Dunn 1997:149). There were exceptions, but the carryover of slavery and the prevalence of segregation framed the culture of the black community. For example, Dunn also comments on the origins of the Orange Blossom Classic, which remains an important event in the black community, noting that Blacks were prohibited from attending Orange Bowl activities so they organized a Coconut Festival with its own football game and parade. The elements of black culture described by Dunn are each framed by segregation and civil rights issues. What seems to be missing are discussions of other elements of Black culture that express values, traditions, and lifestyles that are not necessarily framed by the history of slavery and discrimination. Yet, just as Cuban culture in Miami-Dade is pervaded by the events of exile, the significance of slavery and discrimination may be the dominant frame of the culture of black Miami.

Bucuvalas, Bulger, and Kennedy (1994) as well as Dunn (1997) note that there are cultural celebrations within Miami-Dade black communities that have roots in the traditions of Caribbean immigrants from Jamaica, the Bahamas, and elsewhere. The Goombay festival held each June in Coconut Grove represents this blending of traditions. Goombay is a multiday street celebration. Parades, street dancing, music of all flavors, including Jonkonnu bands (a music style of drumming and singing with origins in Jamaica) from Miami and the Bahamas, as well as diverse African American and Caribbean foods are all part of the Goombay street celebrations.

3.4.3 Sociocultural Issues

The literature regarding Blacks in south Florida and particularly in Miami-Dade County suggests several sociocultural issues that have been reviewed above. The focus of these issues is civil rights, segregation, and racial tensions between Blacks and other ethnic and racial groups in Miami-Dade. The most prominent issues in the literature are:

1) Poll taxes and other practices that prohibit full participation of African Americans in the election process.

2) Housing and job discrimination that have limited the full participation of African Americans in the Miami-Dade economy.

3) Residential segregation that in the past fragmented the political power of Blacks in Miami.

4) Preferential treatment of immigrant groups that is perceived to have adversely affected the access of Blacks to public monies and other governmental assistance.

5) Unfair treatment by police and other law enforcement agencies that has resulted in past riots and ongoing tensions between police and members of black communities.

In the years since the civil rights movement, Blacks in Miami-Dade have made social and economic progress. There are more black-owned businesses, more diversity in employment, and less residential segregation. Yet, the dominant themes that frame many expressions of black culture remain rooted in concerns about equality, civil rights, and discrimination.

3.5   Nicaraguans and Haitians

Haitians and Nicaraguans represent a trend in the diversification of immigrants to Miami and south Florida. Each is also a proxy for different elements of this diversification, with Haitians representing a trend in Caribbean immigration and Nicaraguans a trend in Central American immigration. Many Nicaraguans fled their homeland because of political upheaval and some authors (e.g., Bucuvalas, Bulger, and Kennedy 1994:101) suggest that Nicaraguans are the second largest Hispanic population in south Florida and represent the largest Nicaraguan population outside of Managua. Many Haitian immigrants also fled the sociopolitical circumstances in their country during and after the 1970s and have encountered differing levels of success adapting to conditions in Miami. Neither Nicaraguans nor Haitians are perfect proxies for the groups they are intended to represent in this discussion, but together these groups suggest the cultural complexity resulting from immigration from Central American and the wider Caribbean.

3.5.1 Population

The combination of legal and illegal immigration of both Haitians and Nicaraguans makes an accurate determination of their population difficult. However, there are concentrations of each that can be used to estimate the population of these groups. For example, the 1990 Census indicated about 40,000 people in Little Haiti, where many Haitians live, and about 82 percent of that population was black. The 2000 Census numbers showed that North Miami had a total population of 18,686 Haitians (Miami Dade County Department of Planning and Zoning 2002). There are estimates that between 50,000 to 70,000 Haitians arrived by boat in Miami between 1977-1981 and another 5,000 to 10,000 by airplane (Stepick 1992:58). There are other estimates that currently about 150,000 Haitians live in south Florida and another 150,000 live in New York (Stepick 1998:5). This same work also suggests that the census has undercounted Haitians and other minorities. Unlike populations of Haitians in New York and other parts of the United States, the Haitians in south Florida are almost all recent immigrants.

Boswell and Curtis (1991) cite data that estimate approximately 101,000 Nicaraguans living in Miami in 1990, making them the second largest Hispanic population in Miami-Dade County. However, they also note that this estimate undercounts the actual number: "Although the Metro-Dade Planning Department estimates there were about 100,000 . . . living in Dade in 1990, most experts suspect that the true figure is higher. The correct figure is probably somewhere between 110,000 and 150,000, although some estimate it to be as high as 175,000" (Boswell and Curtis 1991:148). Characteristic of the segregation of neighborhoods in Miami-Dade, Nicaraguan residence has been concentrated in specific localities. The wealthiest group resides in Key Biscayne, Brickell, and Kendall. The "middle class" groups tend to reside in Sweetwater and Fontainebleau, and the less economically well-off live in East Little Havana, Allapattah, and Hialeah (Boswell and Curtis 1991:148). The "Little Managua" of Miami is in

Sweetwater, and this is the area most usually associated with Nicaraguans in Miami. Although most immigrant groups exhibit internal population diversity, this is especially characteristic of Nicaraguan immigrants. There are three identified ethnic subgroups:

> . . . the Creole peoples of the southern Atlantic coast, the Miskito population of the Rio Coco and Puerto Cabezas area, and the Mestizos of the Pacific Coast. These communities do not have much contact across cultural lines. No overall Nicaraguan cultural organization unites them, and, though they share some foodways, their cultural heritages are quite distinct . . . (Borland n.d.)

As with Haitians, there was a small existing Nicaraguan community in Miami prior to 1980, but most of this population is of recent origin as described in the discussion of social history.

3.5.2   Social History

Haitians and Nicaraguans are significantly different populations, with different languages, customs, traditions, and history. They share a common history of migration to Miami-Dade County, although the sociopolitical and socioeconomic reasons for these migrations differ. Yet, both of these groups are relatively recent migrants, and thus their social histories concern the circumstances of immigration and adaptation to the Miami-Dade sociocultural milieu. Also, for each group, adaptation to their new environment was influenced by other residents; in the case of Haitians, the resident African Americans, and for Nicaraguans, resident Cuban-Americans. Haitians and Nicaraguans are obviously different cultural groups, but they share common reasons for their immigration to Miami-Dade County. Furthermore, the numbers and circumstances of migration have been influenced to varying degrees by U.S. immigration policies. These policies are a complex topic that is beyond the scope of the discussion here other than to note their influence on both the flow of immigrants and their status once they arrived.

Nicaraguans

Some of the first major migrations of Nicaraguans to the United States were in the 1930s, when individuals fled the policies of the Somoza government. Most of these immigrants did not settle in Florida; rather, they took up residence in major cities in the east (New York) and west (Los Angeles). Subsequent migration was motivated primarily by economic conditions, during the interval between1940 and the late 1970s, but the major Nicaraguan immigration started in the 1970s in response to the emergence and success of the communist Sandinistas. This first wave of immigrants often had financial means:

> The first wave of Nicaraguan exiles was much like the early 'Golden Exile' wave from Cuba in that it was comprised disproportionately of entrepreneurial elites who left Nicaragua with resources that allowed them to established in Miami. This beachhead of approximately 15,000 wealthy and middle class immigrants established a foundation for the masses of poorer Nicaraguans who followed (Boswell and Curtis 1991:148).

These were the immigrants who found residences in Key Biscayne and Brickell and some also began purchasing condominiums in the western parts of Miami-Dade County (Portes and

Stepick 1993:152). After the Sandinistas took political power in 1979, a second wave of immigrants headed for the United States. These were the "middle class" of Nicaragua, the white-collar workers, professionals, and business persons who found residence in Sweetwater. The next wave of immigrants began in the mid-1980s and was comprised of younger men trying to escape military service, peasants, and other persons of working class socioeconomic background. There was a final push of immigrants in 1988 and 1989 in response to the ongoing civil war in Nicaragua:

> . . . thousands of Nicaraguans began flowing up through Guatemala and Mexico to Texas and on to Miami. The stream of new immigrants swelled through the last months of 1988 until, at the beginning of 1989, it became a flood. United States Immigration and Naturalization Service . . . officials estimated that as many as three hundred refugees a week had been settling in Dade County since the summer of 1988 (Portes and Stepick 1993:150).

Between 1980 and 1985, Miami's Nicaraguan population increased from about 0.4 percent of the population to about 2 percent, and by 1990 it was about 5 percent (Boswell and Curtis 1991:148). A larger number of the overall population of Nicaraguan immigrants were accounted for by these less affluent and less educated Nicaraguans, especially those in the final 1988-1989 push.

The literature about Nicaraguan immigration to Miami raises several issues about the resettlement process:

(1) The role of Nicaraguan immigrants in the local economy.

The first wave of Nicaraguans had the skills and capital to establish themselves in businesses or professions when they arrived, but subsequent immigrants, and especially the last groups, were less skilled and had fewer resources. They found employment, but in Miami's informal economy of casual labor where workers were paid in cash at very low wages. Nicaraguans filled a need for cheap unskilled labor in the local economy. Garment factories, construction jobs, agricultural labor, and unskilled factory labor were sources of work for men and women. Nicaraguans also developed small entrepreneurial enterprises, such as selling flowers and other street vendor operations.

(2) Local response to this wave of immigrants.

The response of Anglos and Blacks to Nicaraguan immigrants was influenced by the occurrence of prior immigration in Miami-Dade County. Between 1959 and 1989, Miami was in the process of transformation from a predominately white community with a black minority, to a community in which Hispanics and other immigrants were the dominant population. Whites began a process that continues to the present of moving out of Miami-Dade County into Broward County and elsewhere in Florida. Spanish became a significant language in business establishments, and among some residents, resentment began to develop about the displacement of the dominant culture with that of the Hispanic immigrants. These same sentiments were expressed towards other immigrants who arrived during the same time period. Blacks and others who had been in the role of unskilled laborers were to some extent replaced

by Nicaraguans, and they also responded with resentment. For example, Portes and Stepick quote a Miami black man as saying, "The bosses should be looking out for the people who have lived here for years. They shouldn't allow these foreigners to come here and take our work" (Portes and Stepick 1993:163).

(3) The character of Nicaraguan and Cuban relationships.

Nicaraguans were not just fellow Hispanics for the established Cuban community. They also were exiles who fled their country in response to the emergence of communist political regimes. They thus shared an ethnic and political identity and a common language that was the basis for developing ties between Nicaraguans and Cubans. Nicaraguans became employees in Cuban establishments and residents in Cuban neighborhoods. Cubans exercised their political power to assist Nicaraguans in the resettlement process. They fostered policies and aid that made the process easier, despite the resentment of other groups and policies, described below, that were not favorable to Nicaraguan resettlement in the United States. The process of integration into the economic and social milieu of Miami was thus substantially aided by the character of the Nicaraguan-Cuban relationship: "The incorporation of Nicaraguans into the exile moral community in turn opened the way for their incorporation into the growing business enclave. In both cases, the larger, more established Cuban-American community, extended itself to absorb the Nicaraguans. ... The partnership was nevertheless one-sided, for Cubans were in complete control" (Portes and Stepick 1993:167).

(4) Federal policy that affected the status and orientation of Nicaraguan exiles vis-a-vis other exile groups.

Unlike Cuban refugees, the political status of Nicaraguan immigrants and exiles has been more tenuous. Specifically, U.S. immigration policy toward them has varied from acceptance to advocating return to Nicaragua once the Sandinista government was replaced by a moderate political regime. Nicaraguans were thus not exiled in the same way as Cubans; there existed the possibility of return to their homeland with a non-communist regime. The possibility of return is a significantly different orientation to their lives in comparison to their Cuban counterparts. Moreover, unlike the status and assistance granted to Cubans, Nicaraguans have had more of an overall tenuous status as immigrants, and this has undermined their local political power and status:

> . . . the hostility of the federal government toward permanent resettlement of Nicaraguans in the United States weakened the group's voice in local affairs. Federal policy rendered the situation of the working-class arrivals still more precarious, forcing them into minimally paid and informal jobs. The struggle to be allowed to remain in the United States also consumed much of the energy of the community, preventing it from articulating a distinct political discourse (Portes and Stepick 1993:170).

Nicaraguans remain part of the Miami-Dade social landscape, and more recent policies of the federal government, such as the Nicaragua Adjustment and Central American Relief Act, established some relief for Nicaraguans who wished to stay in the United States legally. Additionally, applications for Temporary Permanent Status have been extended, and other

policies and procedures of immigration law have attempted to address the "not quite exile" status of many Nicaraguans residing in Miami-Dade County.

Nicaraguan Lifestyle and Culture

Most immigrant groups are not homogenous, but Nicaraguans exhibit more cultural diversity than Cuban or Haitians. As noted previously, there are three distinct subgroups of Nicaraguans:

1) The Miskito speak their own language in addition to Spanish and English. These are the indigenous people of Nicaragua who primarily reside on the Atlantic coast of Nicaragua. The ethnic Miskito of Miami often reside in apartments in the Miami Shores and Miami Beach areas of Miami-Dade County. They are among the most anglicized of the Nicaraguan immigrants (Borland n.d.).

2) The Costeños are Creole people who speak English and often Spanish. The Costeños, who are often professionals, have resided in Miami since the 1950s, primarily in Carol City and other nearby neighborhoods (Borland n.d.). There are estimates of about 6,000 to 10,000 Creole and Miskito in Miami-Dade County, with the remainder of the Nicaraguan population being the Hispanic Mestizos (Bucuvalas, Bulger, and Kennedy 1994:102).

3) The Mestizo are Hispanic and speak Spanish as their primary language. In their homeland, Mestizos are concentrated on the Pacific coast of Nicaragua. Mestizos are the largest segment of the Nicaraguan population in Miami and they tended to arrive after 1979 (Portes and Stepick 1993). The Mestizo Nicaraguans tend to live in Sweetwater and the working class areas of Little Havana and Hialeah.

These three groups appear to live separate social and cultural lives with little interaction and without a uniting cultural organization (Bucuvalas, Bulger, and Kennedy 1994; Borland n.d.).

There are two aspects of Nicaraguan culture discussed in the literature reviewed for this work: religious festivals and foodways. Although this may reflect the focused nature of this review, some authors suggest that other key aspects of Nicaraguan culture, such as occupational traditions and craftsmanship, have been blunted by the circumstances of immigration. For example, Borland offers the following example:

> …traditional fishing crafts, and mahogany and rosewood carving and furniture making have proved impracticable. For instance, on the Atlantic Coast the dory or dugout canoe remains the major means of transportation. Thus, any adult male who grew up there knows how to build a dory. He simply goes to the forest, chooses a suitable tree, and starts chopping.

As retired Miskito-Creole carpenter Sydney Willis queried, 'Where would you get the tree trunk around Miami without getting arrested' (Borland n.d.:10). This type of example suggests a discontinuity between the current social circumstances of Nicaraguans and their cultural

traditions. The necessity to adapt under difficult circumstances focuses life on the most immediate needs and limits opportunities for other expressions of culture. This is not to suggest there is a dearth of Nicaraguan culture, only that current literature reviewed for this work tends to focus on the cultural essentials of food and religion.

Mestizo and Creole/Miskito Nicaraguans have different religious traditions. The latter are Moravian, reflecting the activities of Moravian missionaries in their homeland, and Mestizos are primarily Catholic. The Nicaraguan Catholic traditions, and for that matter other Caribbean and Hispanic Catholic practices, emphasize "patronal festivals" that are associated with particular towns. In Miami these festivals have been adapted to local circumstances. They are often held in rented halls or other larger spaces, they have some modified form of procession, and they also include music and dance. Each festival celebrates a patron saint and the celebration itself may last several days. The following are the more prevalent patronal festival days with some of the practices associated with each.[1]

- *San Sabastian, January 21.*
  This festival has a characteristic processional dance known as the *El Toro Huaco* (the Huaco Bull). It is the most traditional dance performed by Miami Nicaraguans in these festivals. The dancers, " . . . mostly children, form two lines facing one another. Between them twirls a man sporting a cow's mask attached to a kite-like structure he holds over his back. The dancers alternately charge and retreat from this cow, employing a methodical stamping step" (Borland n.d.:4).

- *Santa Ana, July 26.*
  This festival does not have the elaborate procession of San Sabastian, but individuals dressed in street clothes or perhaps wearing masks will enter the procession if they have made a promise to this Saint.

- *Santo Domingo de Guzman, usually held in August.*
  This festival was originally sponsored by some Nicaraguan elite trying to provide a means of community integration, but the effort failed and split into two events. One held by the elite is essentially a horse show and social event. The other festival is held in Little Havana and is attended by younger men.

- *San Jeronimo, September.*
  A one-day celebration with a mass and then a marimba dance in which participants don costumes or may dance in their street clothes.

- *La Purisima and La Greteria, November 26 through early December.*
  This is the festival that celebrates the patron Saint of Nicaragua, the Virgen de la Asunción. The celebration is focused around private parties held in homes where individuals are treated to Nicaraguan foods and asked to recite rosaries and say prayers. There is also a public celebration held in the evenings wherein young people and others travel around shouting traditional sayings and receiving gifts in return.

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[1] The following summaries of these Patronal Festivals are based on Borland, n.d., pages 4-13.

The Miskito and Creole Nicaraguans have different religious traditions reflecting their Moravian beliefs. The major celebration among these Nicaraguans occurs at Thanksgiving when there is a Harvest Festival. *Palo de mayo* is a traditional Creole music and dance associated with maypole celebrations, but adapted to the celebrations at the harvest festivals (Bucuvalas, Bulger, and Kennedy 1994:109-110). At these festivals, "people simply dance to palo de mayo and reggae recording. In recent years, the palo de mayo dance has become so suggestive that many older Creoles scorn it as obscene" (Bucuvalas, Bulger, and Kennedy 1994:110).

Food is an important aspect of culture that reflects the preferences and practices of a cultural group. The literature regarding Nicaraguans reflects the different food traditions of Creole and Mestizo groups in Miami. *Nacatamales* are the traditional foods of the Mestizo, which are combinations of pork, cornmeal, and spices that are steamed or boiled in banana leaf. Pork, chicken, beef, along with friend plantains and green bananas are also traditional foods, as are pork rind snacks known as *vigoron*. Many traditional foods are sold by Nicaraguan street vendors known as *fritangas* in Little Havana and other parts of Miami's Latin communities. In contrast, Creole traditions are based more in the Caribbean style and use coconut milk as a common ingredient in cooking. One-pot meals known as "ron don" include fish or meat served on top of vegetables. The Creole peoples do not have the same types of street presence with their foods as do the Mestizos, and as such, the differences are only important as indicators of the larger cultural differences among Nicaraguans in Miami-Dade County.

Nicaraguan Sociocultural Issues

The sociocultural issues regarding Nicaraguans in Miami-Dade County expressed in the literature review for this work are as follows:

(1) Class and Cultural Divisions.

The Nicaraguans of Miami-Dade represent at least three different cultural groups. Additionally, there are class divisions among Nicaraguans that also fragment this community, as indicated in the Santo Domingo de Guzman festival, where the more elite Nicaraguans and more working class Nicaraguans each instituted their own festivals. This expresses a larger pattern of class differences among the elite and working class Nicaraguans: "The flood of working-class arrivals had erased the relatively positive image of elite exiles, and many responded by distancing themselves from the newcomers . . . " (Portes and Stepick 1993:172). The effect of the cultural and class divisions has been a fragmented Nicaraguan community without the leadership that enabled Cubans to successfully adapt after their immigration.

(2) Stigmatization and Identity Ambivalence.

The later waves of Nicaraguan refugees were stigmatized in much the same way that Haitians were. They were characterized as uneducated, unskilled, dirty, and undesirable. This type of stigmatization in part accounts for the separation of earlier waves of immigrants who had a more positive image in the community. However, rather than becoming "invisible," as some Haitians have in response to similar stigmatization, the response of the Nicaraguans was to

emphasize class differences and to some degree submerge their identity (Portes and Stepick 1993).

In response to U.S. immigration policy, and in part, because of the ability to return to Nicaragua after the fall of the Sandinistas, Nicaraguans have not had the same "exile" identity as Cubans. The possibility of returning home further added to ambivalence regarding Nicaraguan identity in Miami-Dade. Stigmatization, immigration status, and class differences have each contributed to concerns about Nicaraguan identity among all classes and Nicaraguan subgroups.

(3) Undocumented Status and Its Socioeconomic Consequences.

There have been a substantial number of undocumented Nicaraguans in Miami-Dade County (Garvin 2000). The effect of this status is that these individuals often have been restricted to lower paying jobs and ongoing uncertainty about their ability for better paying jobs and advancement in the work force. Additionally, this status has further added to the stigmatization of Nicaraguans and otherwise calls into question their ability to ever be integrated into the social and economic fabric of south Florida.

Haitians

As with Cubans, Bahamians, Trinidadians, and other Caribbean island people, Haitians have had a presence in south Florida for an extended period of time (Gannon 1996). However, there was no major concentration of Haitians in Miami-Dade County until large-scale flight from Haiti began in 1980. Then images of "boat people" filled television screens and newspaper stories, sometimes with the tragedy of drowning, as boats capsized in attempts to flee to Florida. Stepick (1998), Portes and Stepick (1993), and Stepick (1991) describe some of the key issues of the Haitian immigration between 1980 and the mid-1990s, and the settlement of these refugees in what is now Miami-Dade County. Although not the only important issue of Haitian social history in Miami, it is critical to understand the Haitian experience in Miami-Dade County.

Although Haitians fleeing by boat arrived as early as 1963, and then again in 1973 and 1977, it was the period between 1977 and 1981 that saw the greatest influx of immigrants to Florida. During this time period, between 60,000 to 80,000 Haitians arrived in Florida either by boat or plane, the majority of them in highly publicized boat landings, thus becoming known as the "boat people." The Haitian arrivals coincided with the Mariel exodus from Cuba. This was a time when Miami and other Florida residents, as well as U.S. immigration policies, were not especially welcoming (Stepick 1998). Unlike the Cuban or Nicaraguan immigrants, Haitians were not fleeing a communist government. Some fled for political reasons and others certainly for economic reasons (Stepick 1998). However, others suggest that a simple "political-economic" dichotomy does not explain a more complex situation:

The reasons for mass migration . . . have been twofold; economic and political oppression. The United States Immigration and Naturalization Service attempts to dichotomize the two reasons, but they are really inextricably linked in that country. They are two symptoms of the same fatal disease. Many who were poor were also at the mercy of the ruling class and their military control forces. Those who criticized the Duvaliers

were denied property, liberty, and even life, thereby impoverishing their families. Even a simple desire to seek economic opportunity outside the island was construed as treasonable activity, punishable by indefinite incarceration (Mosley-Dozier 1989).

Haitians continue to leave their country and travel to Miami, although today the numbers are a relative trickle in comparison to the 1977-1981 time period (cf. Viglucci 1999). They were at once pushed by socioeconomic and political issues, and pulled by their own images of Miami and Florida:

> The image of Miami rises like a specter over all of Haitian consciousness. Whatever one can accomplish, obtain, or develop is dwarfed and made insignificant by the possibilities of Miami. Miami is the place where you can earn a month's wages in a day or a year's wages in a week. . . . (Mohl 1991:122).

However, the images and dreams of Miami and Florida clashed with the realities Haitians experienced after they arrived. There are several issues in the literature regarding this experience that are noteworthy: (1) the stigmatization of Haitian refugees; (2) immigration policies that influenced the status and identity of Haitian refugees; (3) Haitian refugee socioeconomic status; and (4) relationships with Blacks in Miami.

(1) Stigmatization of Haitian immigrants.

Media images of arriving boat people began a portrayal of Haitians as less than desirable immigrants to south Florida: "Photographs of shirtless Black refugees huddled aboard barely seaworthy craft evoked images buried deep in the American collective mind. Like the slave ships of yore, these boats also carried a cargo of Black laborers . . . and nobody wanted them" (Portes and Stepick 1993:51). Haitians were generally stigmatized by media coverage as noted by Stepick in his quotation from Robert Lawless' 1992 work, *Haiti's Bad Press*: "Few people would disagree with the statement that favorable reports about Haiti are as rare as positive declarations on the nutritional value of cannibalism or the healing power of black magic" (Stepick 1998:2). Haitians were incorrectly identified as having high occurrences of tuberculosis and AIDS and they were often stereotyped as practitioners of the occult including voodoo, which itself is significantly misunderstood (Stepick 1998). The overall effect was to stigmatize Haitian identity, which had a chilling effect on their integration into local communities and on their status as immigrants: "Many Haitians lost their jobs, and negative stereotypes and fears of Haitians became firmly embedded in the general south Florida population. Haitians were perceived by many to be not only disease-ridden, but also uneducated, unskilled peasants who could only prove a burden to the community" (Stepick 1992:58). This type of stigmatization also resulted in some Haitians hiding their identity or trying to pass for African Americans (Stepick 1992:1998).

(2) Immigration policy that influenced Haitian Identity and Status.

In response to concerns about Haitian refugees, the Immigration and Naturalization Service instituted policies to intercept and otherwise restrict the flow of Haitian refugees and to otherwise discourage the stay of these refugees in the United States (Stepick 1992, 1998). Portes

and Stepick argue that the Cuban refugees of the same time period were treated differently because of existing policies and perceptions regarding Haitian circumstances of immigration: "The difference between the Cubans and Haitians streaming into Miami had less to do with individual motivations than with the country they left behind, the community that received them, and their color" (Portes and Stepick 1993:53). Some Haitians were also jailed upon their arrival in the United States and others were denied work permits. There were pressures from local groups who believed Haitians were undesirable and therefore they should be deported (Stepick 1992:60). The net effect of these policies and practices was to further stigmatize Haitians. Furthermore, many of the Haitians in the county faced immediate deportation because of their nationality. Ultimately, some of these policies were acknowledged and reversed through legislation, such as the Haitian Refugee Fairness Act of 1997. This act intended to reverse policies of the past that were based more on nationality, race, and language rather than the particular circumstances of the refugees.

(3) Haitian refugee socioeconomic status.

Haitians, even those who have a reasonable education by Haitian standards, are not as educated as some other immigrant groups, and this places them at a socioeconomic disadvantage. Portes and Stepick (1993:57) cite statistics for Haitian immigrants revealing that for the 499 refugees they surveyed, the average was 4.6 years of education, 75 percent were single, about 35 percent were jailed on their arrival in the United States, 31 percent had been jobless in Haiti, and 59 percent were at or below poverty level, while about 29 percent were receiving welfare. Although these 499 cases are not the whole story, it is also suggested that the overall socioeconomic status of many Haitian refugees was relatively low in comparison to Cuban refugees and to U.S. residents (Stepick 1998). The effect of this is to place these refugees at a comparative disadvantage because of limited education and job skills. Haitians have not fared as well as Cubans and many other refugee groups. In fact, their overall socioeconomic status has remained low, although there is a Haitian middle class that has prospered in Miami. This group is estimated to be about 15,000 to 20,000. However, the literature focuses on the lower socioeconomic status of many Haitians:

> For many, especially in the 1980s, either no opportunities were open or the only work available was low wage, dead-end jobs. In a 1983 survey of Haitian refugees . . . more than one-third had never worked since coming to the United States. Nearly 30 percent of the males and more than 70 percent of the females were unemployed and looking for work. . . . Haitians' incorporation in south Florida's economy has improved with time. Two years later when we re-surveyed the same individuals in 1985, unemployment had dropped by almost two-thirds. . . . By the 1990s South Florida Haitian unemployment rates remained high, but they had begun to approximate those of African Americans (Stepick 1998:35).

Furthermore, it is suggested that these circumstances resulted in a significant disadvantage when combined with the stigmatization of Haitian identity: "Haitians were not so much the bottom of the labor market as outside it; they were neglected by public welfare agencies and looked down on by all other segments of the local community, including Blacks" (Portes and Stepick 1993:58).

(4) Relationships with Blacks in Miami.

Haitians are predominately black and Stepick and others suggest this fact affected their immigration status and their integration into south Florida communities. Just as Cubans assisted Nicaraguans in their inclusion into Miami-Dade society, Blacks of Miami also assisted Haitians. Black leaders in Congress and elsewhere, including Miami, noted the discrimination experienced by Haitians and put forth efforts to change policies and intervene on behalf of Haitians (Stepick 1998). However, the relationship between Miami Blacks and Haitians is complex. On a general level, reports would indicate that Blacks viewed Haitians as well as Nicaraguans and other immigrants as competitors for the jobs they traditionally held in Miami's economy. Haitians were not eager to assume a black identity in the United States because of the history of discrimination and subjugation that especially characterized the experience of Southern Blacks. Haitians also were largely segregated from black neighborhoods in their Little Haiti residences. There appears to be a clear ambivalence, as reflected in existing literature, regarding Blacks' acceptance of Haitians and Haitians desire for separate identity. This ambivalence seems especially apparent in younger Haitians who socialize with African Americans in schools (Stepick 1998).

Lifestyle and Culture

Nicaraguans and Haitians each have cultures and lifestyles that differ from those of the dominant culture of the United States in language, lifestyle, and other aspects of culture, but their cultures of origin are ones that are rich, diverse, and complex. As these refugees have established new residences in Miami-Dade County, aspects of their culture have arrived with them. Our intent here is to provide an overview of what the literature describes as some of the salient features of these cultures and lifestyles among these groups in Miami-Dade County.

Haitians in Miami-Dade County

Language

Haiti is a bilingual country with French and Creole being the primary languages. French is the language of prestige and the upper class and it is also the language that united the diverse groups brought to Haiti from Africa. Creole is a French-based pidgin language with elements of the traditional languages of the African groups. It has a subject-verb-object word order, and most of the lexicon is French based, although tonal inflections are less pronounced than in French. Until about the 1920s, Creole was primarily a spoken language. In Haiti, about 90 percent of the population speaks primarily Creole. In Miami-Dade County, Haitian immigrants recognize the necessity to speak English. Although at home parents and children are likely to speak Creole with one another, English has been adopted as a necessity. Haitians also value speaking their language as a means to maintain connections to their home country (Stepick 1998). Creole is also an important expressive medium for Haitians since it embodies some of the traditions of African heritage. For example, there is a rich tradition of proverbs as well as children's folk tales, known as *kont*, derived from African traditions (Bucuvalas, Bulger, and Kennedy 1994:131).

Family

Family is an important value among Haitian immigrants as it links individuals in their new community as well as their homeland. Family values provide expectations about emotional support, financial support, and mutual assistance. These expectations are not diminished by the distance between individuals living in Miami and those living in Haiti. In fact, Haitians living in the United States are expected to send money to other family members living in their homeland. Among those living in the United States, these values are sometimes extended to individuals who constitute a reconstructed family (i.e., a family recomposed after immigration that may include blood or non-blood relatives). Families are also a basis for patterns of Haitian immigration: "Haitian individuals within families immigrate sequentially, as if each immigrant were a link in a chain between Haiti and the United States" (Stepick 1998:16). Arriving immigrants (known as "just comes") often find temporary homes with relatives; they are directed into job networks by relatives, and otherwise their inclusion into their new circumstances is aided if not buffered by a resident family. The dominant ties are to the nuclear family, but these family members may be separated by long distances either for short or long periods of time. The value of nuclear family ties motivates individuals to reconstitute those families and Haitian households can appear to be fluid as ties are renewed and broken according to changing immigration circumstances. These values about family and the circumstances of Haitian status within the United States have made for households that are flexible:

> Haitian households and families thus are flexible and expansive. Families help each other and when necessary or convenient they incorporate a wide range of relatives and even non-relatives. Among the nonprofessional classes, households, and the individuals within them are also constantly on the move, changing addresses as houses become too small or individuals move to find their own quarters (Stepick 1998:18).

Religion

Catholicism is the dominant Christian religion among Haitians, although Portes and Stepick (1993) suggest that about 40 percent of Haitian immigrants are Protestant. However, there is an old Haitian saying that "Haitians are 80 percent Catholic, 20 percent Protestantism, and 100 percent Vodoun" (Bucuvalas, Bulger, and Kennedy 1994:129). As with Cubans, Christian beliefs provide an important link to the Haitian homeland and religion is also a significant resource for assistance with adaptation to the circumstances of immigration. The literature about Haitian Catholicism and Protestants takes second place to the literature about Haitian practices known as Voodoo or Vodoun. Vodoun, like Santeria, has roots in traditional African religious practices that have merged with elements of Catholicism. It is estimated that perhaps 50 percent of Haitians practice Vodoun, but more importantly, Vodoun expresses a world view that shapes the outlook of a larger number of Haitians.

Haitian Vodoun entails the belief in a single diety, but there are also other types of spiritual beings including ancestral spirits and spirits representing the forces of life (e.g., health, childbirth, good fortune, evil, happiness). Some of these spirits can possess persons, and others can be invoked to cure illness. In fact, a major component of Voudon beliefs concerns rituals

to cure individuals from illness or injury by using herbs and music-filled ceremonies to cure sickness or injury. Both men and women can be Vodoun priests (*houngan* and *mambo*, respectively). These priests preside over ceremonies, often held outdoors in their homeland, but more frequently in basements or living rooms among Haitian immigrants. The traditional ceremonies often are focused around a *poto mitin* or center pole. Songs, and especially drum music, evoke the *loa* spirits who "mount" or possess individuals during the ceremony. Sacrifice, often animal sacrifice, is also a part of these ceremonies, which is intended to appease the *loa* spirits (Davis 1985). The practice of Vodoun among Haitians in the United States is less obvious than its practice in their homeland. As with many other aspects of Haitian culture, there is a stigma associated with Vodoun. Some authors suggest that these beliefs and practices are among the most misunderstood aspects of Haitian culture (Stepick 1998).

Little Haiti

The center of Haitian cultural life in Miami-Dade County is Little Haiti. It is located on the northeast side of Miami, bounded on the west by I-95, the east by Biscayne Boulevard, I-95 on the south, and 87th street on the north. Little Haiti expresses some of the art and architecture of Haitian lifestyles. There are brightly colored street signs in French and Creole with themes depicting Haitian life, as well restaurants and grocery stores selling preferred foods. Fish, rice, beans, dried conch, and a hot relish called *pimet* are likely to be found in both the restaurants as well as the grocery stores. Street vendors are likely to be selling sweet potato pudding, puff pastries, and tamarind or other tropical fruit drinks, while a *rara* drummer on the corner accompanies a *vaccines* player (a type of flute) (Bucuvalas, Bulger, and Kennedy 1994:126-136). Little Haiti is at once a vibrant expression of the art, architecture, and sounds of Haitian culture and also a reminder of the difficulties of Haitian immigrants in the United States. Little Haiti is also a place of multiple families living in cramped quarters and where workers are mostly employed at the lowest levels of Miami-Dade's economy. It is also a place where Haitians have tried to make their mark, as indicated by numerous small businesses started by Haitian entrepreneurs.

3.5.3 Sociocultural Issues

A range of sociocultural issues for Haitians in Miami-Dade are reviewed by Portes and Stepick (1993) and Stepick (1998). These issues can be organized into several themes concerning (1) social status and prejudice; (2) cultural identity; (3) economic integration; and (4) the Haitian enclave. Here we outline the basic issues and refer the reader to the previous citations for more extended discussions of these topics.

(1) Social Status and Prejudice

Haitians have experienced substantial prejudice and discrimination because they are at once black, Creole/French speakers, and immigrants. They were jailed more often than other refugees. Federal policy was intended to exclude them from reaching the United States and, once here, to deport them back to Haiti, and other practices and polices regarding Haitians resulted in an "official unwelcoming" (Stepick 1998) by the United States. Haitians were unjustly accused of having excessive rates of AIDS and TB, and otherwise assumed a pariah

status in the United States. Stepick, following Lawless (1992), also emphasizes the power of press coverage to amplify prejudice against Haitians. He suggests that Haitians experience more prejudice than African Americans because of such coverage in concert with the effects of U.S. immigration policy and the response of local communities to Haitians (Stepick 1998:1115). Indeed, noting that Blacks were among those who came to the aid of Haitian immigrants, they also participated in the "unwelcoming" of these immigrants. Among Blacks, "The word Haitian became an epithet, standing for foreign, backward, dirty, unintelligible, and ignorant" (Portes and Stepick 1993:191). Haitians were thus the subject of substantial prejudice that adversely affected their overall socioeconomic status within Miami-Dade's economy and social structure.

(2) Cultural Identity

Haitians formed cultural groups (e.g., Sostete Koukouy) to promote their heritage and lifeways. These groups were formed in response to stigma attached to Haitian identity. Haitians attempted to maintain their own cultural identity rather than assume that of the Blacks in Miami. In fact, they often made special efforts to distinguish themselves from African Americans through the promotion of cultural groups and organizations. Furthermore, Haitians resisted " . . . being pulled down to the economic level of native Blacks and of having their distinct immigrant identity submerged into that of the urban underclass" (Portes and Stepick 1993:190). At the same time, some Haitians, often younger school-age children and young adults, did assume a black identity in response to the prejudice and stigma attached to their Haitian heritage. Stepick (1998) describes a process of individuals "covering up" their Haitian identity as they passed as U.S. Blacks or as Whites. This process of having one identity at home and another in the public area is inherently stressful. It also contrasts with the experiences of Haitians in other parts of the United States (Zephir 1996).

(3) Economic Integration

The social status and prejudice against Haitians limited their economic opportunities. Many of the working class took jobs in the informal economy in very low paying jobs. With limited opportunity for upward mobility, Haitians remained among the poorest immigrants in Miami-Dade County. After an initial period when employers shunned Haitian workers, they subsequently did find employment, but mostly in low paying positions.

> Haitians in south Florida through the 1980s overwhelmingly concentrated in farm work and low-paying factory or service work such as back of the house jobs in hotels and restaurants: . . . hotel maids, janitors, kitchen helpers, busboys and dishwashers. According to the census, most Haitians hold lower-level positions with the largest segment in restaurants, over one-third in services . . . and over one-fourth working as low skilled laborers . . . (Stepick 1998:41).

Portes and Stepick (1993) and Stepick (1998) discuss a Haitian middle class that is successful and integrated into the economic mainstream. However, as a counterpoint, these same authors also note that in some instances, this middle class appears invisible because of their desire to hide their Haitian identity.

(4) Haitian Economic Enclave

Little Haiti may have developed as a cultural enclave, but it is underdeveloped as an economic enclave. The success of the Cuban enclave in Miami invites comparison with other immigrant groups such as the Nicaraguans and Haitians. For Haitians there are several factors cited as inhibiting the success of a Haitian economic enclave. One factor is what could be termed the "leakage" of income from middle class Haitians who consciously do not buy goods or services from other Haitians, nor do they employ other Haitians (Stepick 1998:54-55). A second factor is the lower level of "human capital" (i.e., skills, education, training) among Haitians in comparison to Cubans (Portes and Stepick 1993). Other factors are (1) the federal assistance offered to Cubans that was not offered to Haitians and (2) the absence of linkages to existing Haitian businesses (Stepick 1992:77). In combination, Haitians have not built the same business infrastructure as their Cuban neighbors, nor have they had the opportunities for upward mobility that would have provided resources for economic development. The combination of these factors account for major reasons why there is no Haitian economic enclave. On the other hand, Haitian businesses have developed strong ties with their homeland and have success in supplying goods and services to that market. This has promoted the success of some Haitian enterprises, if not a Haitian economic enclave (Stepick 1998).

3.6   Cracker Culture in South Florida

South Florida and Miami-Dade County have a diverse "non-ethnic" population. German-Americans, Irish-Americans, Greek-Americans, and other mixed ethnic, or for purposes of this analysis "non-ethnic," identities exist here as they do in all other regions of the United States. These populations have what might be termed "American culture" or the beliefs and lifestyles associated with the majority population in the United States. Regional and local variations exist in American culture such as "southern culture" or "cowboy culture" in the western United States. These regional and location variations have distinct customs, beliefs, and worldviews that express and give meaning to particular lifestyles. In south Florida there are self-defined "Rednecks," "old families," "Crackers," "Conchs," and "Southerners" among many others that define regional and local variations of American culture. While there is an extensive literature about "Southern culture" (e.g., Owsley 1949) in the United States, this work did not uncover any extensive works about the Florida variation of "southern culture" other than the literature about "Crackers."[2] And while there may be more generalized literature about "rednecks" or "old family" culture in other areas of the United States, this work also did not uncover a well-developed literature about the Florida expression of these other variations of American culture. A more exhaustive examination of the literature might reveal such specific works, but our search did not yield such specific works. Consequently, this section will focus on the Florida expression of "Cracker" culture not because it represents a "non-ethnic" example for this region, but rather because it seems to organize some of the diversity about rural, Southern, traditional ways of life. Other local variations of American culture certainly influence responses

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[2] The term "Cracker," while now more widely known as a derogatory term for rural whites, has a more specific–and less insulting–definition in Florida. The Florida Crackers are Whites of Celtic descent that first settled South Florida around the mid-eighteenth century, usually having migrated to the Florida Everglades from Alabama, Georgia, and the Carolinas (Library of Congress 2000).

to natural resources and land management issues. These are important cultural contributions to local communities, but they are also the most diffusely expressed in existing literature. The task of integrating and organizing a coherent discussion of this literature is beyond the scope of what can be accomplished here, but American culture significantly influences responses to natural resource and land management issues, and these deserve more focused attention in future research efforts.

The term "Crackers" is a name given to a group of primarily Celtic origin who accompanied the English into Florida. Today in south Florida, Crackers are not a well-defined group who live in distinct neighborhoods or geographic areas. However, at one point in Florida history they were. In recent history, Cracker has referred to a lifestyle or cultural orientation associated with rural living and practicing a self-sufficient way of living in which people built their own style of homes and provided for their families by hunting, fishing, and otherwise living off the land. For some, "Cracker" is a slur referring to rural living, poor whites. For others it indicates a "native Floridian" who pioneered life in the rural areas of Florida. Still others associate the term "Cracker" with bigoted whites. "Cracker" usually refers to Caucasian Floridians who live in rural areas and have some association with an agricultural way of life. The description of "Crackers" here focuses on the lifeways and traditions of Crackers as expressed in existing literature.

3.6.1   Social History and Population

Until the mid-nineteenth century, the South was less populated than the North and many early Southern settlers were Scots, Irish, Welsh, and others from what is often termed the "celtic fringe" of the British Isles. In fact, some authors argue that the cultural differences between the Northern and Southern colonies and later states is a direct result of different cultural groups that populated these regions (McWhiney 1988). Some of the Celtic emigrants were known as Crackers with the exact origin of that term being controversial, but apparently relating to the herding or farming practices of some of these emigrants. For example, "Cracker is one of the oldest epithets for white Southerners and has been used to describe, among other folk types, both the stereotypical poor white farmer cracking corn and the prosperous farmer who owned a slave or two, farmed and raised cattle and hogs, and used a long whip with a tip called a cracker" (Storter 2000:xv). Other authors suggest that the name describes individuals living in small "cracker box" houses or that these were individuals skilled at "cracking a cow whip" (Bucuvalas, Bulger and Kennedy 1994:38-40). The term "Cracker" appears to describe populations that lived in Georgia as well as Florida who practiced a farming and often a herding lifestyle (McWhiney 1988:51-104).

Crackers first appear in Florida about the mid-18th century. Although they appear to have settled throughout Florida, they concentrated in the Everglades region. Crackers lived a distinctive lifestyle, focused around cattle, farming, hunting, fishing, and sometimes moonshining. Their distinctive way of life appears to have attracted the attention of more than one traveler who commented on Florida Crackers. For example, Bucuvalas, Bulger, and Kennedy quote an 1882 New England traveler's observation of Crackers:

> The entire trip that day was through an unsettled region, the only human beings living anywhere along the road being four or five families of Florida natives, the genuine,

unadulterated 'cracker' – the clay-eating, gaunt, pale, tallowy, leather-skinned sort — stupid, stolid, staring eyes, dead and lusterless; unkempt hair, generally tow-colored; and such a shiftless, slouching manner! Simply white savages – or living white mummies would, perhaps, better indicate their dead alive looks and actions. Who, or what, these 'crackers' are, from whom descended, of what nationality, or what becomes of them, is one among the many unsolved mysteries in this State. Stupid and shiftless, yet sly and vindictive, they are a block in the pathway of civilization, settlement, and enterprise wherever they exist (Bucuvalas, Bulger, and Kennedy 1994:38).

This less than flattering description of Crackers is one that seems common for the time. Other scholars also suggest that Southern Crackers, if not Southerners in general, were not well evaluated by their Northern brethren:

Observers reported that Southerners simply had a leisurely attitude toward life. In 1789, for example, a visitor described Virginians as 'indolent, unindustrious, poor credit risks, … [and] spoiled by the abundance of Negroes,' who also 'prefer idleness to work.' Other contemporaries mentioned the 'sloth and indolence' of Southerners, especially the lazy ways of the 'crackers,' but most travelers claimed that being unhurried was typical of all sorts of Southerners. 'The planter takes his time' noted a visitor to the South. 'Leisure and ease are inmates of his roof. He takes no note of time. . . . A clock, almanac, and a good fire, are hard things to find in a planter's house. . . . The word, haste, is not in a Southerner's vocabulary' (McWhiney 1988:44-45).

Southerners in general and Crackers in particular are described as prone to leisure if not lazy and overly fond of alcohol, gaiety, and the sensual pleasures of life. These characterizations appear similar to English assessments of Irish and other Celtic peoples whom they conquered, often describing and depicting them as somewhat less than human. It seems plausible that these early characterizations of Southerners and Crackers are heavily influenced by stereotypical, English assumptions about Celtic peoples in general. Nonetheless, such descriptions appear often in travelers' tales and other literature about the early and later Cracker populations in the South, but their accuracy is worth questioning. Certainly among some present-day Floridians, the term Cracker is not derogatory, but rather a description worn with considerable pride. For example:

The Florida Cracker developed a culture that was for the most part rural, clannish, leisure-loving, yet combative – Celtic in nature. This culture thrived in the wilderness that was south Florida and has been handed down to the Crackers of today. As native white Floridians have reclaimed their heritage, 'Cracker' is a label they wear with pride, proclaiming their origins by covering their car bumpers with 'Florida Native' stickers. Florida Cracker E.A. 'Frog Smith' was asked a few years ago what he would be if he wasn't a Cracker. His instant reply: 'Ashamed' (Bucuvalas, Bulger, and Kennedy 1994:38-39).

Crackers were ranchers, farmers, and fishermen in south Florida. They were among the later pioneers of south Florida, but they were without a doubt "pioneers" who cleared land, raised cattle, and fished for a living while exhibiting a discernable lifestyle. This pioneer history is important for present-day images and identities of Florida Crackers. Yet, as Florida urbanized,

Cracker ways of life became less an everyday reality and more of a reference to native-born Floridians who practiced a variety of urban and rural lifestyles (cf. Derr 1998). This is not to suggest that Cracker lifestyles no longer exist, but the Cracker way of life described in traditional literature is mostly past.

3.6.2 Lifestyles and Culture

Traditional Cracker culture is the focus of this discussion of lifestyles and culture. Modern Crackers derive their current ways of life from these traditional practices and those who use Cracker as a descriptor of a native Floridian identity look to these traditions as a source of meaning for this identity. This discussion focuses primarily on prominent features of traditional Cracker culture as expressed in Bucuvalas, Bulger, and Kennedy's 1994 discussion of Cracker customs and some accounts of Cracker families (e.g., Storter 2000; Denham and Brown 2000).

Cracker Architecture

Cracker architecture is cited as distinctive and derived from their adaptation to Florida's tropical climate. However, there is some variability in how Cracker architecture is described. For example, some authors indicate that in response to the hot and humid Florida climate, Cracker houses were either one- or two-story open houses with a porch wrapping around at least two sides and sometimes around the entire structure. Doors were oriented so they could be opened for flow-through ventilation and windows were tall as were the ceilings. Peaked roofs made from cypress also allowed for ventilation (Bucuvalas, Bulger, and Kennedy 1994:57-59). Other authors emphasize that Cracker houses were built for summertime conditions, high off the ground to improve circulation, and a side benefit was that the raised space allowed a safe spot for livestock. These houses also are described as having kitchens separated from the main house but connected by a "dog trot." Those houses with "dog trots" had more of a figure "H" construction and these are often considered "classic" Cracker style houses (Haase 1992). However, regardless of the particular form of these houses, they were oriented to increasing "natural" air conditioning and sheltering people and animals from the sun while also providing an outdoor porch for socializing, shelling peas, or just cooling off.

Cracker Verbal Style

Crackers are described as a people who appreciated colorful use of language and story telling, traits related to their Celtic ancestry (McWhiney 1988). In various parts of Florida there are storytelling festivals that celebrate the Cracker propensity for telling stories and relating everyday happenings in colorful ways. There is also an expansive popular literature of Cracker tales (e.g., Haase 1992; Bruce 1996; Simmons and Ogden 1998) as well as lists of expressions said to characterize Cracker speech. For example, the list below indicates some Cracker expressions:

"*Bear Caught*: Is when you get overheated and you can't breathe. As though you had been running from a bear and got caught. Another word for sunstroke!

Hog Caught: Is when you get overheated and get cooled off too fast and pass out.

Slides: Another name for shoes. "Put your slides on before you go outside."

Mash: Press. "Do ya want me to mash that button for ya?"

Croakersack: Another name for a burlap bag. Since dry goods were shipped in burlap bags, they were put to use once empty. They were used by frog hunters to hold the frogs (croakers) while giggin (spearing). They were also used as bedding when the bags were stuffed with spanish moss.

Stowed up: Stiff muscles. "Gator took to the bed for three days and got stowed up."

Slappin: The sound of the rain hitting the roof or windows of a house.

Youngin's: Another name for children.

Learnin': Another name for education or as it was pronounced: ed-u-ma-cation "That boy never did have no learnin" <http://www.geocities.com/Heartland/Plains/1953/expressions.html>.

Jokes, tales, colorful language, and oral histories are part of the traditions of Cracker verbal expression and these traditions are believed to "… impart a sense of belonging, a sense of place to families who pioneered in a wilderness area and continue to feel a link with the land that survives development and seasonal tourist invasions" (Bucuvalas, Bulger and Kennedy 1994:63).

Cow Tending, Fishing, and Moonshining

Crackers were said to be reluctant agriculturalists, but they are known to be among the first and most successful cattle ranchers in Florida. As with other aspects of their lifestyle, Cracker ranching styles are said to be related to Celtic cow-tending practices (McWhiney 1988:51-79). This style is said to favor open range grazing, the use of dogs and whips to control and help herd the animals, and burning off the land to increase tender grasses that cows are said to prefer for grazing (Bucuvalas, Bulger and Kennedy 1994:39-43). In Florida, the Crackers added horses to herd cattle and brands to keep track of their roaming herds. Their horses became a recognized breed, the Cracker horse, that was well adapted to the grazing and herding conditions in Florida. Cracker preferences for open-range cattle grazing is also said to have resulted in its persistence until 1949, whereas in other parts of the United States open-range grazing died in the late 1920s. Ranching in the Cracker tradition continues to be an important part of south Florida lifestyles, but as with many other aspects of Florida culture, there is also a thriving tourist business that promotes Cracker cowmen, trail rides, and the swamp cowboy experience.

Crackers were also adept fishermen who participated in commercial as well as subsistence fishing. They were known for their preferences for catfish and mullet in their diet, but they were also known to consume take from their commercial catches including blue fish, snook, redfish, and snapper. Alligator and frog legs were also special treats associated with Cracker practices of "frogging" and using marshmallows and dogs as bait to attract "gators." In addition to the exotic practices of frogging and "gator" hunting, Crackers are said to have practiced "dry stop

fishing" in the south Florida swamps and the Everglades, usually done at Spring high tides:

> At high tide the fish go into the grass and even back into the mangrove swamp. I put the nets out and put stakes on them like a big fence. When the tide goes out it will be completely dry in an hour and you will get everything that goes back in the mangroves. While the tide is out I pick up all the loose fish that are on the mud and clean the fish out of the nets. Then the tide comes back in I pull the net back in the boat. I have caught many fish this way (Storter 2000:92).

The considerable angling and outdoor skills of Crackers also made them desirable as guides for fishing and hunting and many became well known for their skills and abilities for finding and landing fish. But, as guides, commercial anglers, or subsistence fishermen, Crackers had unique beliefs about being successful in their pursuits. As with their Celtic counterparts, Cracker fishermen were prone to various superstitions or as their Irish counterparts would say, *Piseoga*, that prescribed or proscribed certain actions that would either protect them from harm or promote successful fishing. For example, " . . . it is bad luck to leave dock on a Friday, say 'alligator' or 'banana' on board, have a woman on board, whistle on board, turn the hatch upside down, or bring a black suitcase on board" (Bucuvalas, Bulger, and Kennedy 1994:49). These types of beliefs were common and in fact no doubt remain a part of Cracker culture in south Florida.

Cracker fishermen and ranchers were known for their poaching and they evaluated it as part of a lifestyle rather than as a violation of law. However, in addition to often being on the wrong side of the law while poaching, they also were known as prolific "moonshiners" or producers of illicit alcohol. Again, this is a tradition that is fundamental to Celtic ways of life, with only the ingredients varying. For the Irish, *poteen* was and still is a variety of Celtic moonshine made from potatoes, while their Cracker cousins used corn, sugar, or whatever else was at hand. Poaching, moonshining, and, to a lesser extent, smuggling are the ornery expressions of Cracker culture for some, while for others the culture exemplified a living-off-the-land lifestyle that exemplified the self-sufficiency that Crackers so valued.

Celebrations

In the past, Cracker celebrations and other elements of expressive culture revolved around family and religion. Family life cycle events such as births, deaths, birthdays, and religious holidays were among the most important celebrations in their daily lives. This focus on family and religion may not necessarily represent modern Cracker culture since today celebrations and festivals that are "Cracker" tend to celebrate story-telling and the outdoor and skills of Crackers of days past. Events such as Cracker Heritage Days in various communities and storytelling contests and celebrations, as well as events such as Pioneer Days and Cracker County Days, exemplify more of a celebration of things past than an expression of present-day beliefs, values, and practices.

3.6.3 Sociocultural Issues

Crackers in some respect represent non-ethnic native Florida populations. Whether they are old family or self-identified "rednecks" or "Crackers," a significant issue for these populations

is the increasingly multicultural social environment of south Florida. Non-ethnic culture still flourishes, but it is arguable whether it is in fact the dominant culture in this part of Florida. In this environment, Florida natives who may have no Cracker heritage may look at Cracker festivals and elements of Cracker practices and beliefs as an expression of "traditional Florida" culture.

4.0 EXISTING LITERATURE: USES OF THE PARK

BISC, as well as other entities, have sponsored research regarding visitor usage, commercial and recreational fishing, and other topics that offer insights about the uses of BISC by residents of surrounding communities and out-of-area tourists and visitors. This section summarizes some of the findings from this literature as a means to illustrate the range of topics and issues concerning uses of BISC resources.

4.1 Overview

BISC is a unique marine managed area, both in terms of its physical setting and its users. Located near the city of Homestead and adjacent to Miami's urban and suburban communities, BISC abuts a number of developmental and agricultural interests (Figure 13). These include the former Homestead Air Force Base (AFB), Florida Power and Light's Turkey Point Nuclear Power Plant, various agricultural areas, and other commercial and residential developments. Compounded with these interests are other proposed activities and developments that do or may affect the park's resources and interests, particularly the fight over Stiltsville, the future of the Miami Circle, and proposed development on the realigned Homestead AFB.

BISC also hosts a variety of recreational activities such as fishing and boating, and its users have access to a variety of entrance points due to the park's setting. Visitors can enter the park via land at its main entrance at Convoy Point near Homestead and at Black Point and Bayfront Park Marinas, which abut the park; however, almost all points of entry are on the water. Accordingly, a majority of the uses associated with the park take place in the coastal and marine environment. There are two primary types of resources that BISC offers its users: natural resources and cultural resources. Natural resources refer to the coastal and marina flora and fauna, the coastal and benthic formations, and the general physical conditions of the park and its environs. Cultural resources refer to both submerged and land-based cultural resources, such as artifacts, constructions, and structures, including prehistoric, colonial, and more recent items.

This assessment study began with an extensive literature survey to identify the uses of BISC, and the preliminary research conducted focused on the history of the uses, the past and present participants, and current use standards and practices. No attempt was made to circumscribe uses to the traditional definition of active participation in resource extraction or appreciation; instead, we expanded the definition to identify all stakeholders and uses that may exploit, appreciate, or compete for BISC resources. This study determined that the park's natural resources are primarily utilized by commercial and recreational fishing interests, divers, boaters and cruisers, and land-based visitors/tourists. Indirect natural resource uses that may conflict or compete with BISC include aviation uses at the former Homestead AFB facility, Turkey Point Nuclear Power Plant, and agricultural interests. Users of the park's cultural resources are more difficult to define; therefore, the park's major cultural resources will be described and then the major uses of those resources will be described. These resources include Stiltsville, Tequesta sites on the park's islands (and links to the Miami Circle outside the Park), historical structures on the park's islands, and BISC's submerged cultural resources or shipwrecks.

A survey of these activities and resources follows, and it provides a brief yet firm characterization of the socioeconomic uses and user groups of BISC.

FISHERIES

There are two major kinds of fisheries present in BISC: commercial fisheries and recreational angling. Fisheries have enjoyed a rich history within the region and continue to flourish today. However, the user groups within the fisheries have changed significantly, particularly in certain segments of the commercial fishing industry. To understand each fishery and its users, it is best to discuss each fishery and its subgroups separately.

COMMERCIAL FISHING

BISC has allowed commercial fishing within its boundaries since its inception as a National Monument in 1968. Ault et al. (1997) identify the major species that commercial harvesters target in the park as spiny lobster, blue crab, stone crab, penaeid shrimp, and finfish. The preferred gear types for the invertebrates are wood slate-traps for lobster and stone crab, wire traps for blue crab, and nets for shrimp. Ballyhoo, primarily a baitfish species, is also caught using nets, and snapper-grouper are caught mostly by hook-and-line angling, although there is significant (recreational) spearfishing of these species as well. While sharing some common species, the main distinction between bait shrimp and food shrimp is the physical size of the individual shrimp, with food shrimp considerably larger than bait shrimp.

Commercial landings data in Florida are reported using a trip ticket system. Fishermen fill out trip tickets, itemizing catch, trips, and area fished. The larger reporting area for Biscayne Bay is Miami-Dade County itself; however, there is a subset for the bay, which includes Biscayne Bay, Barnes Sound, and Card Sound. The catch totals for the entire Miami-Dade County region have fluctuated between 1.3 and 2.2 million pounds for the period between 1990-2001 (FMRI 2002). Overall, there has been a net loss of 299 commercial fishing licenses in the industry from 1994-1998. The number of commercially registered vessels has decreased in the County as well, from 1,353 vessels in 1989-1990 to 757 vessels in 1998-1999. Refer to the figures below for catch totals (1990-2001).

As shown in Figure 13, the commercial landings for most major species have declined towards the end of the 1990s. To understand the dynamics of each fishery, it is important to compare the effort and landings by species. Figures 14 through 19 illustrate each major fishery in greater detail for the past decade, as well as provide a general background of each species and its status in Biscayne Bay.

Figure 13. Landings in Major Fisheries, 1990-2001
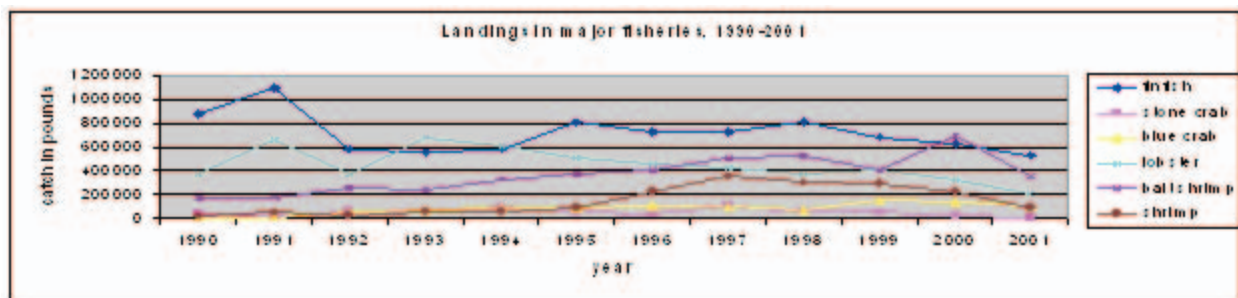
As depicted in Figure 14, finfish effort has averaged almost 5,000 trips from 1990 to 1996, and catches spiked to over 1 million pounds only in 1991. The catch increased steadily from 1992 (585,023 pounds) to 1998 (812,371 pounds) before declining to just over half a million pounds in 2001. The total trips, which may reflect additional effort as they include multiple-species trips, have similarly declined since the 1991 peak, when there were 5,616 trips recorded. In the most recent year, less than 3,400 trips were recorded. As the numbers of trips have increased in the early 1990s, the catch per trip has decreased. Then, in the late 1990s, as the number of trips decreased, the catch per trip increased for a few years before declining again. It is interesting to note that some of the best catch per trip periods have been recorded during the years when fishing effort has been at its lowest (1998 and 1999).

Amendment three of the Florida Constitution, known as the net ban, was implemented in July 1995 and made unlawful the use of entangling nets. As the net ban was intended to reduce pressure on several key species of finfish, a decline in overall landings was expected, however long term benefits resulting from the net ban will be realized through continued improvement to finfish stocks (Adams et al 2000).

Figure 14: Finfish Catch and Effort, 1990-2001
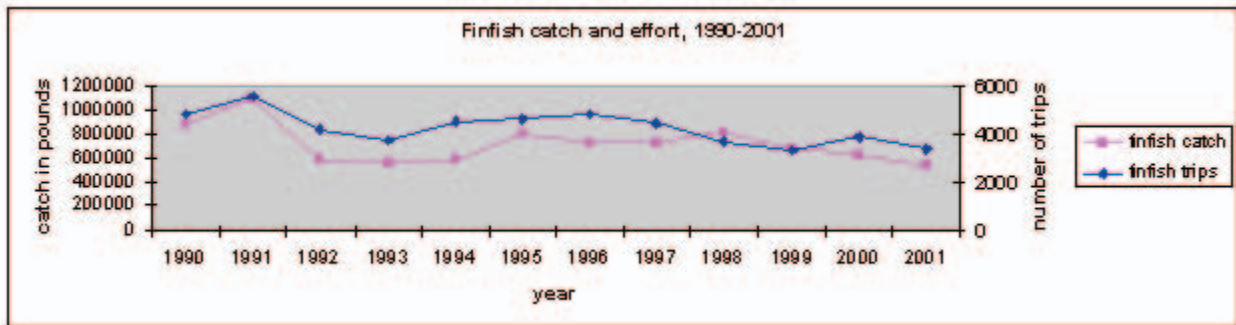
Stone crab catches followed a pattern of alternatively increasing and decreasing catch cycles (Figure 15). For example, landings exceeded 100,000 pounds in 1994-95 but dropped to less than 60,000 pounds the subsequent season. Also, it appears that fishermen began taking more trips since the 1993-94 season, but efficiency did not improve until the 1998-99 season. Effort may have increased in 1994-95 because in that season stone crab licenses were restricted by the

Figure 15. Stone Crab Catch and Effort, 1990-2001
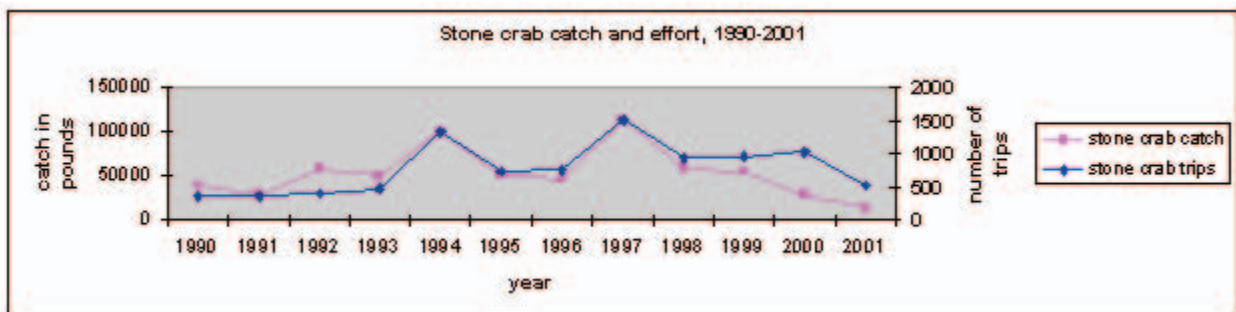
number of pounds reported. By the late 1990s, however, catch continued to decline, and it reached its lowest point in 2001, when only 11,750 pounds were landed. Initially, effort remained at or near 1,000 trips per season in the late 1990s, but it decreased considerably by 2001.

Stone crabs are landed from October 15 to May 15 (FAC 68B-13.005). Like spiny lobster, stone crabs are caught in wood slate-traps, and this fishery is subject to a certificate program (Florida Statute 370.13), starting in the 2000-01 season. However, unlike spiny lobsters, which are harvested whole, it is illegal to harvest whole stone crabs; instead, only legal sized claws are removed, and the invertebrate is released. Ault et al. (1997) report landings fluctuating between 45,000 pounds and 12,000 pounds in Biscayne Bay. Williams (1997) reported that catch per unit effort (CPUE) has declined steadily due to the excess gear capitalization in the fishery, but it is not known whether this is the case for Biscayne Bay. As noted by Ault et al. (2001), there is "sparse literature" on the stone crab fishery in the bay. Data trends from the Biscayne Bay region show less than 8,000 pounds landed in 1999, 7,800 pounds in 2000, and slightly more than 3,000 pounds in 2001.

The blue crab fishery appears to have increased a substantial amount of effort since the early 1990s to the present day. Trips increased from less than 100 in 1990 to over 1,500 in 1996; there were almost 1,200 trips recorded in 2001. Also, it seems that only recently has the efficiency in the fishery improved, as demonstrated by the increased CPUE (or trip) for the 1999 season as compared to previous seasons; that trend has continued into 2000 and 2001.

Figure 16: Blue Crab Catch and Effort, 1990-2001
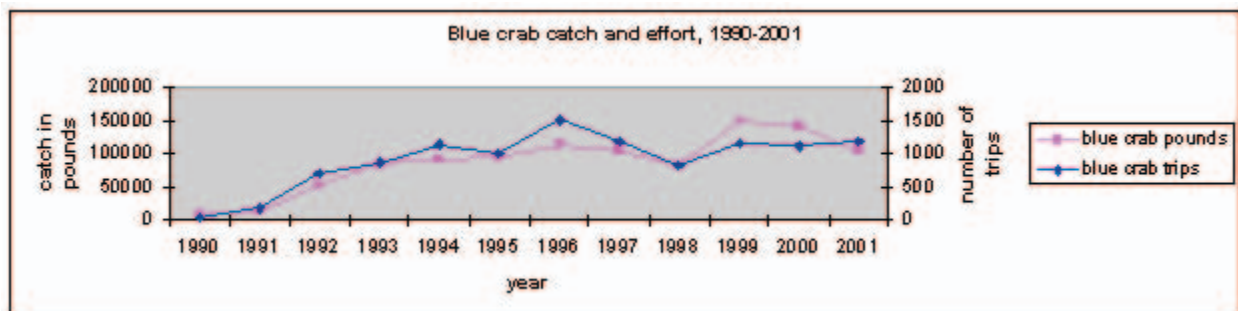
Blue crabs have no season and can be caught year-round; the data displayed in Figure 16 show that while landings for invertebrates in 1999 declined in Biscayne Bay during the summer, they did not cease. This is because the summer catches reflect exclusively blue crabs. The blue crab fishery dates back to the late 1800s in Florida, but it was not until the 1950s that the current gear type - wire traps - began to predominate the fishery. Landings have remained low for Biscayne Bay compared to other regions, but there has been a recent increase (according to Ault et al. [2001]). That increase can be attributed to an increase in the total number of fishermen and trips; consequently, CPUE has declined in the fishery. In 1999, almost 120,000 pounds of blue crab were landed in Biscayne Bay and almost 150,000 in Miami-Dade County (from a low of 82,000 pounds in 1998). In 2000, almost 190,000 pounds were landed in Biscayne Bay (more than the 140,000 pounds landed in Miami-Dade County), and the landings dropped to 105,000 pounds in 2001.

Ault et al. (1997) found that blue crabs are mostly targeted in the southern parts of the bay and park, and that the traps are located almost exclusively on seagrasses in the southwestern shoreline between Black Point Marina and Turkey Point Power Plant.

Spiny lobster landings in the Miami-Dade County region have declined steadily since peaking in the 1993-94 season. Effort too has declined with catch, and 2001-02 was the lowest year for lobster catch during the preceding decade, when only 210,000 pounds were landed (compared to 1993-94, when almost 700,000 pounds were landed).

Figure 17: Lobster Catch and Effort, 1990-2001
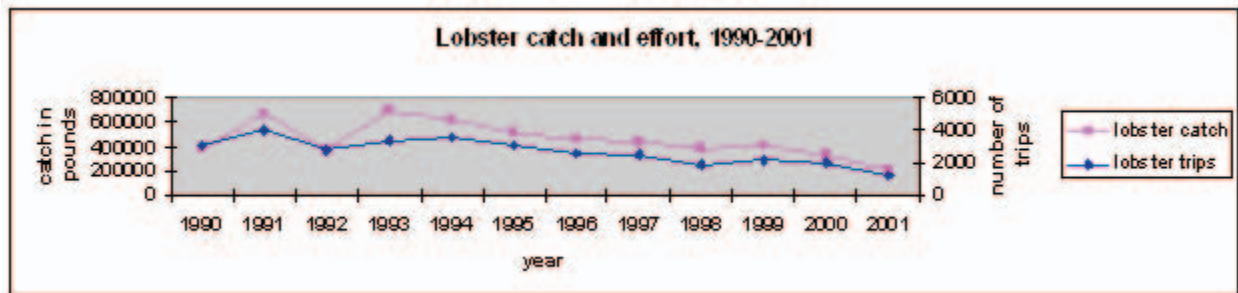
Spiny lobster is landed from the first week of August to the last week in March, although the recreational season commences a week prior to the commercial season (FAC 68B 24.005). The predominant gear type in the fishery is the aforementioned wood slate-trap, and the number of traps is strictly controlled under a market-based certificate program (Shivlani and Milon 2000). The only other way that fishermen can commercially harvest spiny lobster is by diving for the species. Spiny lobster fishing is allowed in a majority of the Biscayne Bay. However, under FAC 68B-11, no lobster fishing is allowed in the Biscayne Bay-Card Sound Spiny Lobster Sanctuary. As noted above, spiny lobster is not a very important commercial species in the bay, as over 90 percent of the annual catch is landed in the Florida Keys. However, it does represent a vestige of the region's past history, and it remains important for the few fishermen who trap in the lower parts of the bay, including Card Sound and Barnes Sound. In the 2000-01 and 2001-02 seasons, fishers trapping in Biscayne Bay landed 3,500 pounds and 4,000 pounds, respectively.

Spiny lobster are targeted in a variety of habitats, but traps are usually set on seagrasses or hard bottoms (near coral and patch reefs). Ault et al. (1997) found that over half of the traps they observed in the park were located on seagrass, a third on patch reefs, and 14 percent on bare substrate. The researchers also noted that the traps are located either close to shore (328 feet) or out on the eastern side of the keys in the park.

Bait shrimp catches have increased dramatically in the 1990s, from 50,000 pounds in 1990 to almost 700,000 pounds in 2000. The effort has increased in conjunction with the catch, and it appears that the efficiency has increased during that time as well. However, 2001 was a mediocre year, as catches only reached 360,000 pounds (or the 1993/94 levels), even though effort was at 5,500 trips (2,500 trips above the 1993 season). In fact, CPUE was at its lowest

point in the past decade. Whether this represents an overfishing trend or interannual fluctuation remains to be determined.

Figure 18: Bait Shrimp Catch and Effort, 1990-2001
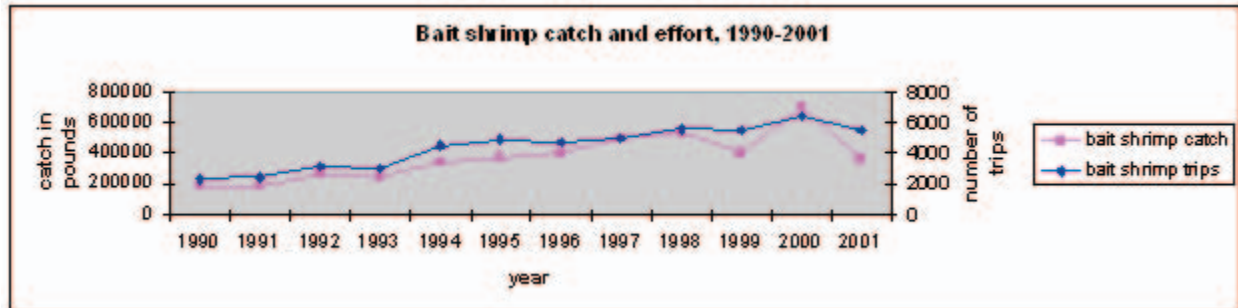
Bait shrimping, an activity that has occurred in the bay since the early 1950s (Seidenfeld 1999), utilizes a trawl that is towed behind a vessel. Over time, the trawl has been modified into the so-called rollerframe (which essentially is a roller trawl that moves over seagrass). Although the system has been endorsed by the State of Florida, there have been studies implicating rollerframes for impacts to sponges and hard and soft corals (Ault et al. 1997; Tilmant 1979). While the number of vessels in the fishery increased since its inception, reaching a maximum of 46 boats in 1986, that total has decreased to a dozen or more boats currently. Unlike in the crab and lobster fisheries, effort in the bait shrimp fishery generally emanates from Dinner Key and Black Point Marinas (from the central bay). The fishing vessels, as noted above, work year round and can sweep the shallow (4 to 6 feet) bay bottom up to four times per year (Ault et al. 1997).

The shrimp fishery, mainly food shrimp, has dramatically increased in the 1990s, much to the expense of the catch/effort ratio. It appears that the number of trips has greatly outpaced catch in most years, and the ratio has declined significantly towards the end of the 1990s, suggesting

Figure 19: Shrimp Catch and Effort, 1990-2001
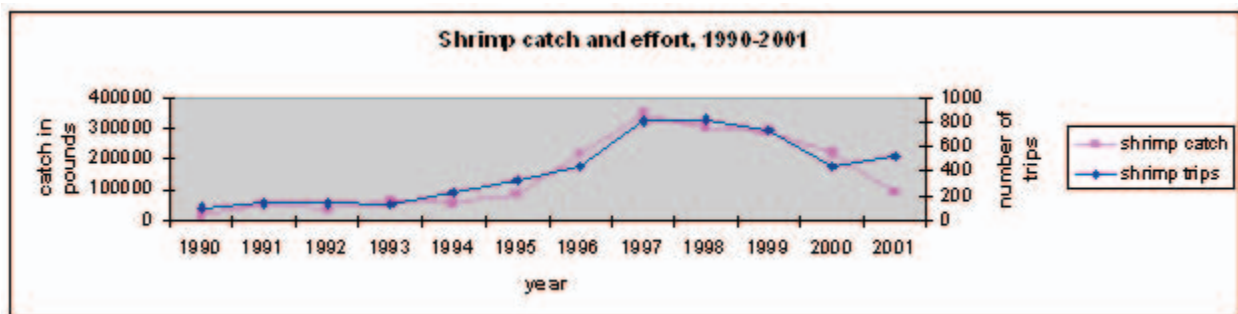
a large but less efficient fishery. From the late 1990s through 2001, catch has decreased steeply. In 2001, even though trips increased (526 total trips) from the previous year (443 total trips in 2000), catch still dropped from 220,000 pounds in 2000 to 90,000 pounds in 2001.

Food shrimping is conducted primarily by wingnetters, so-called due to the appearance of their fishing vessels that skim nets on either side. The technique is relatively new (having been developed two decades ago), and it only utilizes the upper level of the water. Therefore, wingnetters cannot and do not net in water shallower than 4 to 6 feet, effectively segregating them from grounds used by bait shrimpers (personal communication, Regina Lopez, Miami Wingnetters Association). Seidenfeld (1999) reports that wingnetters fish from the Venetian Causeway in the upper bay to the Rickenbacker Causeway in the central Miami-Dade region. Subject to a closed season, the food shrimpers do not typically use the park; they may enter the northern boundaries of the park in the area around Stiltsville but usually fish the mid and upper bay (personal communication, Regina Lopez, Miami Wingnetters Association).

Biscayne Bay Landings

Within the more specific region of Biscayne Bay, 1999-2001 landings and trips data show that the majority of blue crab (79 percent) and almost all of the bait shrimp is taken from the Biscayne Bay region, with the other species less important in the context of countywide catches (FMRI 2002). The trips reflect that trend as well. The figures below show the monthly breakdown in commercial catch within Biscayne Bay for the last three years. Note that the trends do not necessarily reflect catch totals on a perennial basis.

As shown in the Figures 20 through 22, finfish catch was fairly stable in Biscayne Bay in 1999, although landings were higher during the winter months. Peak landings occurred in January, when almost 25,000 pounds were landed. Finfish catch was minimal in 2000 and 2001, with peak landings occurring during the fall and winter months. Invertebrates show a more marked, seasonal trend, and this may be due to regulatory, as well as abundance, reasons. In 1999, landings were lowest during the closed season; however, in 2001, when both stone crab and spiny lobster fisheries were very low, blue crab landings sustained catch totals throughout the year, including during the closed seasons for other invertebrates. The shrimp fishery also

Figure 20: Catch by Month in 1999
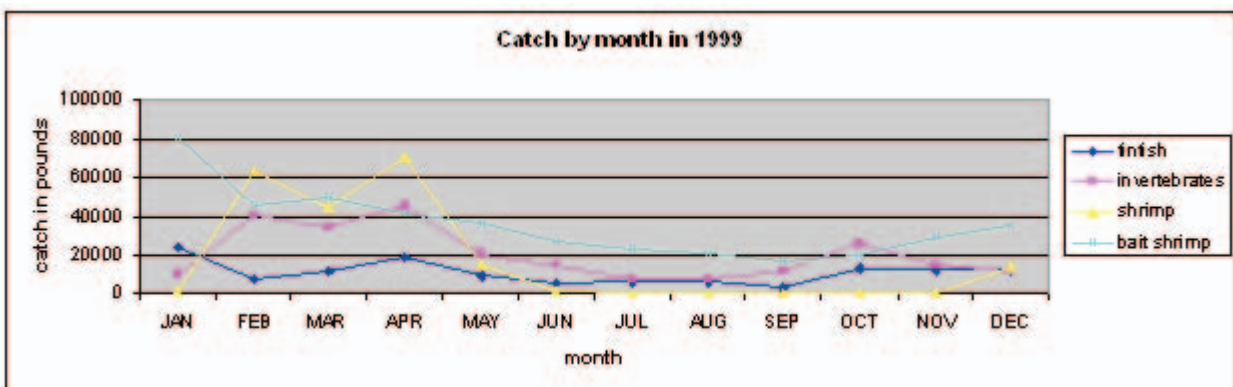
exhibited a seasonal peak, in the winter months between January and April. Although the 1999 season showed a spike in landings during those months, catch was flat in 2000, before rebounding slightly in 2001. The season is closed between May 15 and October 15, and thus there were no landings during that period (FAC 68B-31.0135). Finally, bait shrimping–which

is open year round–showed decreasing landings from the winter to summer months, and the peak catches were in the winter and spring months (over 150,000 pounds in January 2000). The bait shrimp fishery, in all three seasons shown above for Biscayne Bay, as well as for the reporting period of 1994-98, is the most important fishery in the region as determined by catch and effort. Accordingly, as part of the BISC's internal annual fisheries reports (Lockwood and Perry 1997, 1998) the park noted that the most important commercial fishery within its boundaries and in the bay is the bait shrimp fishery.

Figure 21: Catch by Month in 2000
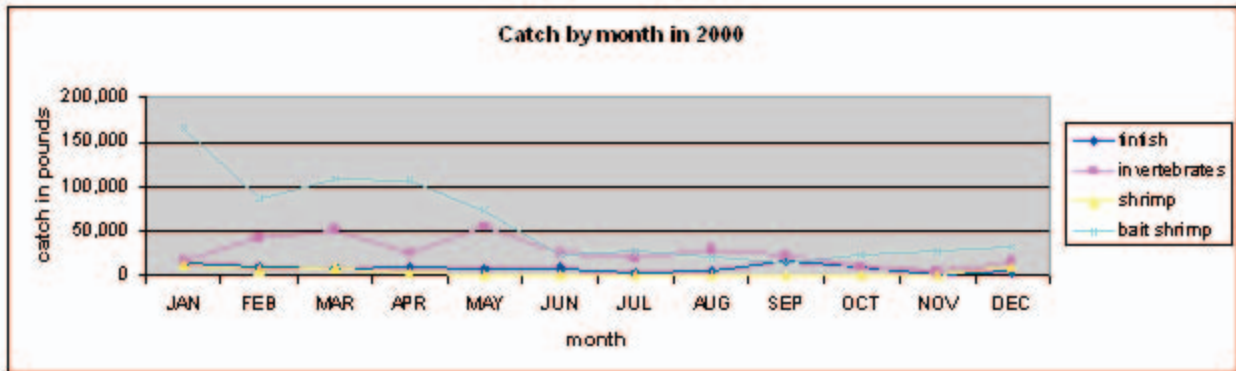
Figure 22: Catch by Month in 2001 (through November)
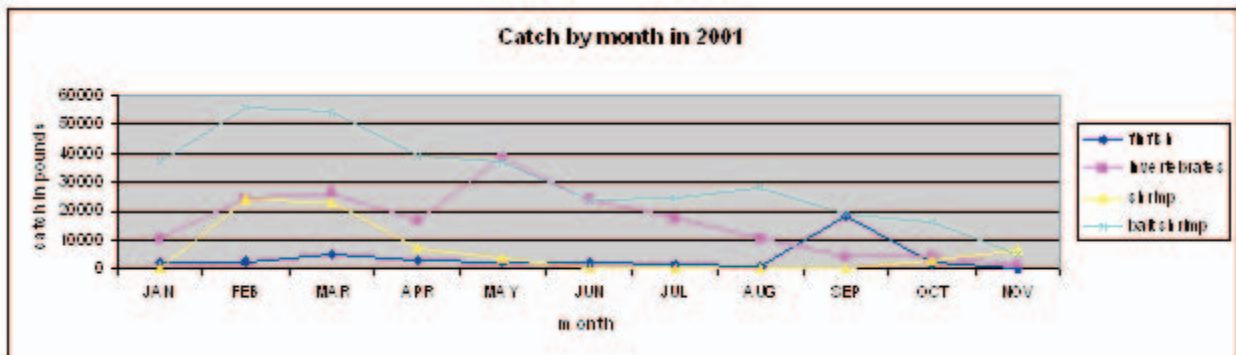
Sponging

Sponging was allowed in BISC until 1991, when the Florida Marine Fisheries Commission (MFC) closed the fishery (FAC 68B-28.004). Traditionally, sponging was an artisanal activity in the bay until a 1980s sponge die-off in the Mediterranean inflated world prices and prompted increased effort and participation in the Florida fishery. Under these circumstances, BISC requested that the MFC close the fishery (Diresta, Lockwood, and Curry 1995).

Sponging is still allowed in other parts of Florida, but there are regulations on gear, size, and areas. Spongers may not dive for sponges in most State waters, and they can only use standardized gear and fish a minimum size (Florida Statutes 370.17). In the Biscayne Bay area,

spongers only use Barnes Sound and Card Sound, avoiding the central and upper bay (personal communication, José Ordono).

A 1995 study on the sponge population within the park determined that the commercial sponges harvested previously by fishermen have low growth rates. The study also found that commercially mature sponges comprise a small percentage of the complete population but they contribute most heavily to the reproductive success. The study determined that mortality rates under human harvest conditions have severe impacts, and recommended that the park remain closed to commercial sponging (Diresta, Lockwood, and Curry, 1995).

Since the 1991 closure, a few spongers have illegally harvested sponges in BISC, and these users have been banned from the park for all activities. However, these remain isolated incidents, and the use is not permitted. There is sponging allowed in the Biscayne Bay region that is not part of the park itself. In 2000, 119,197 pieces were collected, but that total decreased to less than half in 2001, when only 54,826 pieces were collected (FMRI 2002).

RECREATIONAL FISHING

Recreational fishing is among the most popular activities undertaken in BISC. Providing a variety of habitats, the park hosts thousands of recreational fishing vessels annually; the 1997 total was estimated at less than 33,000 fishing vessels. As part of a boat survey, BISC determined the characteristics of the recreational fishery. The study found that most fishermen tend to be recreational anglers, although almost a fifth engage in spearfishing, and almost 30 percent go farther offshore (east of the park's islands). The areas that most fishermen use are along the reef tract (hard bottom substrate) and the area inside the bay near Adams Key (mixed substrate). The composition of catch includes mostly common reef species, such as snappers, grunts, and lobster. An identical study, performed a year earlier, found similar statistics; however, spearfishing use (8 percent) was considerably lower than in 1997.

Another study, which examined data from 1976 to 1991, determined the average characteristics of recreational anglers (Harper, Bohnsack, and Lockwood, 2000). However, it should be noted that the data used in the study predates Hurricane Andrew, which had dramatic and chronic effects on recreational activities and patterns in the region (personal communication, Maria Villanueva). In that study, the researchers found that recreational trips yield approximately 9 fish/shellfish, and angler means were approximately half that amount. Most of the users were skilled anglers, but almost 20 percent were food fishermen, and approximately 10 percent were lobster divers and spearfishers. Areas used within the park correlate well with fishing activities; for example, spearfishing occurs mostly east of the islands on the south side of the park. Also, there are definite "hot-spots" where fishermen focus their efforts in BISC, including the northeastern corner, south of the park, and the southern portion of the park.

A 2001 study by Ault et al. (1997) assessed the fisheries resources and habitats in BISC, concluding that the park plays an important role as a primary nursery area for many important commercial and recreational species, but that a majority of the region's fisheries are overfished, and that the effort has greatly increased in the past four decades. The study found that the average size of fish within BISC was very close to the minimum harvest size, and not the natural,

unfished population size. The study notes that 77 percent of the commercially important species complexes (groupers, snappers, and other reef fish) are overfished, and the current rates of exploitation for particular species range from 3 through 10 times that which would achieve maximum sustainable yield (MSY). The researchers also note the existence of "serial overfishing," where less desirable species are being targeted now that the previously valuable ones have been overfished. Much of this overfishing is blamed on the increase in the fishing effort in the region, which the study notes has increased by 444 percent in the period between 1964 and 1998. Added to this increase has been a significant improvement in fishing technology, assisting fishers to locate and harvest fish. The researchers call for a broader, integrated strategy of monitoring, assessment, and modeling to manage fisheries in the park more effectively, focusing on fishery resources that have been previously overlooked, and to include in the effects of other factors (such as water quality) on fishery abundance.

A visitor survey conducted by the University of Idaho Cooperative Park Studies Unit in 2001 (Simmons and Littlejohn 2002) obtained resource use and management perception responses from 308 visitors to the park. Although the most frequent activities undertaken are nonconsumptive (such as nature viewing and walking), 31 percent of the visitors do participate in recreational fishing. Moreover, a large majority of the respondents, or 72 percent, view recreational fishing as an appropriate activity in the park (only 13 percent disagree).

BOATING

Pleasure boating, or cruising, remains among the most popular water-based activity in south Florida and in BISC. Although it is often and correctly associated with other activities–namely diving and fishing–it is nevertheless important to examine boating as an overall activity in the park and its environs.

The number of registered vessels has increased steadily in south Florida over the 1990s, reaching to a total of 50,163 registered vessels in Miami-Dade County in 1997 (Boating Research Council 2000). Of this total, almost 48,000 vessels are pleasure craft, and over 50 percent of these are between 16 to 26 feet in length. Commercial vessels, which include fishing boats, comprise 1,702 of the total, and a majority of these vessels are also in the 16- to 26-foot range. Finally, a majority of the vessels (over 47,000) use a combination of inboard and/outboard motors; less than 1,000 vessels are registered as sailboats.

Mostly local boats (from Miami-Dade County) use BISC, as suggested by studies conducted at the park (Lockwood and Perry 1997, 1998). In 1997, an estimated 50,000 vessels used the park for a variety of activities (including fishing, diving, and passage); of that total, almost 30,000 boats participated in fishing activities, and 90 percent of those users were from Miami-Dade County.

A 1991 study conducted to determine boat use patterns in Miami-Dade County determined that most vessels are launched on boat ramps closest to their proposed destination, although ramp and marina preference is more related to proximity than eventual site preference (BRC 1991). Accordingly, greater than half of the boaters surveyed in the study disclosed that they used the ramp close to their home, and over 85 percent of the respondents who used ramps in southern

Miami-Dade County went to destinations south of Cape Florida. Using a marine traffic network model, the study determined areas of highest use from points of departure. The model determined that boating into BISC is highest from three southern marinas: Matheson Hammock, Black Point, and Bayfront Park. Boaters departing from more central and northern ramps/marinas do not tend to visit the park. Although these patterns may have changed since 1991 due to more vessels and due to the effects of Hurricane Andrew, data from McClellan (1996) suggest otherwise. That study, which used overflights comparing the number of boat trailers in the southern marinas and the number of boats in the park, determined that it might be possible to estimate the number of boats using the park by counting the boat trailers.

Vessel use, like associated activities such as fishing and diving, does affect BISC's natural and cultural resources. Vessels make these otherwise inaccessible areas open to use, although in some cases this also means more vulnerable to damage. The park estimates that the 700 recorded groundings since 1995 represent only between 10 to 20 percent of the actual number of grounded vessels (BISC 2000a). During a recent study, the greatest extent of diving and boat damage in the park was found in Bache Shoal, which is the closest reef site with mooring buoys to the mainland (Lutz 1998). The study concluded that there should be, among other measures, greater boating education to reduce such impacts. Another study, conducted using aerial survey analysis, determined that 11,220 acres of the 145,650 acres of seagrasses in Miami-Dade County are scarred; this represents 7.7 percent of the total seagrasses, and 5.8 percent are severely scarred (Sargent et al. 1995). Areas that were severely scarred in BISC include the parts of the bay immediately west of Boca Chita Key, Sands Cut, Caesar Creek, and Midnight Pass in the southern boundary. With the exception of the first site, all other severe scarring is located within high traffic sites, confirming the effects of vessel damage.

The effects of larger vessel abuse were most prevalently observed with the grounding of the vessel M/T Igloo Moon in November 1996 on the park's coral reefs (BISC 2000a). Damaging almost 500 square meters of reef resources, the vessel injured both the coral reef and other organisms in the area. In December 2000, under the Park System Resources Protection Act, the National Park Service settled for $1 million (the largest settlement ever under the act). These funds shall be used for restoration and remediation in the affected area, as well as in other park areas.

Although not directly related to resource damage but to maintain the "environmental integrity of park areas," the use of personal watercraft (PWC) has been prohibited in BISC effective April 20, 2000 (36 CFR 1, 3, 13). Based on potential resource impacts, user conflicts, and safety concerns, BISC and 12 other areas have been closed to all PWC use. They shall remain closed to such activities until it is determined, based on a variety of park-specific characteristics and objectives, that such use is again appropriate.

Related to boating activity, diving is an important recreational activity in and around BISC. Apart from the licensed concessionaire, there are the aforementioned private vessels that cruise to and enjoy the coral reefs and other hardbottom habitats of the park and surrounding areas. In a recent study completed by Johns et al. (2001), it was found that there were 3.25 million person-days spent snorkeling and diving in natural and artificial reefs in Miami-Dade County from June 2000 – May 2001 (total use was 9.17 million person-days, including activities such as

fishing and glass-bottom boating). The visitors were willing to pay $47 million to protect these resources from water quality degradation, physical impacts, and overuse. Finally, over 60 percent were in favor of no-take zones in Miami-Dade County, and the average percentage of coral reefs no-take area preferred was 30 percent. While this study did not target BISC users, the results demonstrate user behavior in the greater Biscayne Bay area, and the views may be indicative of users within the park.

CULTURAL RESOURCES

BISC contains a variety of cultural resources, ranging from ancient pre-Columbian sites of the ancestors of the Tequesta Indians, colonial and post-colonial submerged resources, and historical buildings from the 1900s. The park identifies, manages, and maintains over 100 known archeological sites and 10 historical structures (Adams et al. 1998).

Tequesta sites have been identified in BISC and are located on Elliott Key, Sands Key, Soldier Key, and Totten Key. Nearby, but outside the park, is the recently discovered Miami Circle. This latter resource is of distinct regional importance as it may have been a strong center-periphery tie to the less dramatic but important sites within the park. The Miami Circle, located on the mainland near the mouth of the Miami River, is under Miami-Dade County control and was purchased using State and County funds. The circle was discovered during a routine archeological excavation in September 1998 when Miami-Dade County archeologists discovered unusual features cut into the ground of a new construction site (Miami-Dade Parks 2000). The resulting excavation yielded a 38-foot-diameter circle cut into the bedrock, as well as evidence of animal offerings and other artifacts. It is believed that the circle may have served as a temple or council house. The circle remains in excellent condition and is believed to be more than 2,000 years old; BISC and archeologists suspect that the Tequesta may have traveled between the islands and the Miami Circle, thus linking the two areas as archeological satellites. The future of the Miami Circle was not secure until the State of Florida provided the County with $15 million for the $26.7 million purchase, and the County secured other funding and loans. While the circle does not belong to the park, there was some discussion in 1999 that it be joined with BISC to secure federal funding; however, the proposal, led by Senator Bob Graham, failed without any support in the U.S. House of Representatives.

In early 2001, the State of Florida created a group that will oversee the long-term planning and management of the Miami Circle site. The Miami Circle Planning Group – comprised of community leaders, historians, archeologists, and preservationists – advises officials on site interpretation and public visitation planning issues. Among its members is the BISC superintendent (Florida Department of State 2001). At its inaugural meeting in August 2001, the group heard public comments, discussed the historical significance of the site, and considered current issues, including plans for interpretation, a draft interim management plan, and temporary facilities. Most recently, Senator Graham again called for the preservation of the Miami Circle as part of Biscayne National Park. He announced a U.S. Department of the Interior plan to conduct a feasibility study to incorporate the site as part of the NPS. The inclusion will consider future funding and would take 18 months to complete, once the legislation is approved (Thomas 2002). In addition to its intrinsic cultural resource value, the Miami Circle could also provide an urban gateway to BISC. In several ways, such a presence

could provide an interpretive bridge for pre-Columbian and contemporary use patterns between the areas that are now urban Miami and BISC.

In 1998, the park updated its inventory of submerged cultural resources to at least 83 sites, with an estimated 30 to 40 sites that were still being evaluated (Adams et al. 1998). These sites range from historic shipwrecks to other submerged cultural artifacts. There are also other historical sites on the park's keys, including more recent structures.

Finally, Stiltsville is a set of seven remaining structures within the northwestern boundary of BISC; in fact, that northern boundary was expanded in 1980 to include the sandbar on which the Stiltsville buildings sit (Lauredo 1998). Stiltsville's origins lie with a barge that ran aground in the 1920s just south of Key Biscayne, which was then used as a bait shop and restaurant. Various structures were erected alongside the renovated barge, and slowly a community of sorts developed. While privately constructed, the State of Florida retained (submerged) land rights, and eventually lease agreements were reached between structure occupants and the state. The structures grew in size and in number and peaked in 1965 at 24 houses; thereafter began the decline, with the State of Florida prohibiting all new construction and Hurricane Betsy destroying 7 houses that same year. When the National Park Service took possession of the area including Stiltsville, the terms of the existing leases, including their expiration dates, remained in effect. In 1992, Hurricane Andrew destroyed all but 7 structures. The final leases on Stiltsville expired in July 1999, but standstill agreements extended the date to December 31, 2000.

As part of the decision making process, a citizens' advisory committee was formed to determine possible alternate public uses for the structures. The committee met three times in 2001-02 to consider the eventual disposition of the Stiltsville structures, and the standstill agreements were extended to April 2002 (later extended to June 2002). Finally, following consensus among the various stakeholders in early May 2002, followed by a National Park Service Advisory Board public meeting on May 30, the structures' fate was decided (BISC 2002). Under the agreement, previous leaseholders will enjoy continued access to the sites under a special-use permit until at least December 31, 2002, while awaiting the completion of an amendment to the park's General Management Plan (GMP). This amendment will be subject to public review, and its preferred alternative shall be the creation of a non-profit organization that will determine the management options for the structures. The objectives of this non-profit organization shall include increased public access and a stabilization program for the structures. Funding for the stabilization project will come from a combination of public, private, and government sources.

Stiltsville represents a distinct management challenge for BISC. While the land is not privately held, Stiltsville represents a private/public use tension seen in "in holdings" issues in a number of other national parks. A limited grandfathered use, the long-range condition of the area will be the absence of any structures, with ultimate removal triggered by attrition due to natural forces. In the interim, however, Stiltsville represents a set of highly valued resources, the use of which remains the subject of much contention.

5.0   AN ETHNOGRAPHIC OVERVIEW OF USERS AND INTERESTED PARTIES

Ethnographic methods were used to develop information about user groups, activities, and management issues and concerns. These methods include participant observation within the park and attendance at public meetings. Also, individuals were interviewed to elicit information about four major topics:

- the nature of user activities,
- the meanings of park resources,
- the connection between activities and user groups and cultural groups in surrounding communities; and,
- management issues and concerns among park users in 2001 and 2002.

Fieldwork was conducted in two periods of approximately one week each. Individuals were selected for interviews from a listing of user groups, interested parties, and persons knowledgeable about the park and its resources. Additionally, park personnel were interviewed concerning their knowledge about user groups and activities. Some limited interviews were conducted with visitors to the park. Field notes were taken during these interviews but no electronic recordings were made.

Characterizing perception of the park from a limited number of contacts is hazardous, but a theme emerges from field data that suggests BISC is something of an unknown park, a place people pass through or use, but they may not necessarily know they are in a "National Park." In part, this is because the most usual access to the park is via private boats that depart from the various county marinas or private docks throughout Miami-Dade County and adjacent area (Figure 23). As one person suggested:

> There's probably no other urban area that has so much park next to it, but it is a park that you almost have to have a boat to get to, that is one of the great things about it. But when you leave your dock you are not thinking 'I am going to the park' because sometimes you are in it and sometimes you are not. There is only one concessionaire and that is probably why the park is not used all that much. You might not say that if you go out there on the weekends, lots of boaters, but the area is close, and it is like being in the Keys without all the hype of the Keys and all the people too! Nothing is pristine down here, maybe parts of the Everglades are as close to pristine as you get, but the park (BISC) is a place I like to take my kids. . . .

Another person observed that BISC's identity also may get confused with the nearby marine sanctuary, and boaters from County marinas often may not know the exact location of park boundaries, even if they are aware of BISC's existence. Marine sanctuaries and parks adjacent to BISC are shown in Figure 24. With Everglades National Park also nearby, BISC has a less glamorous image, although for some its lower visibility is part of its attraction.

Unless visitors have access to boats, BISC has a relatively narrow "front door" through the Visitor's Center located near Homestead, Florida. Those traveling along Highway 1 can easily
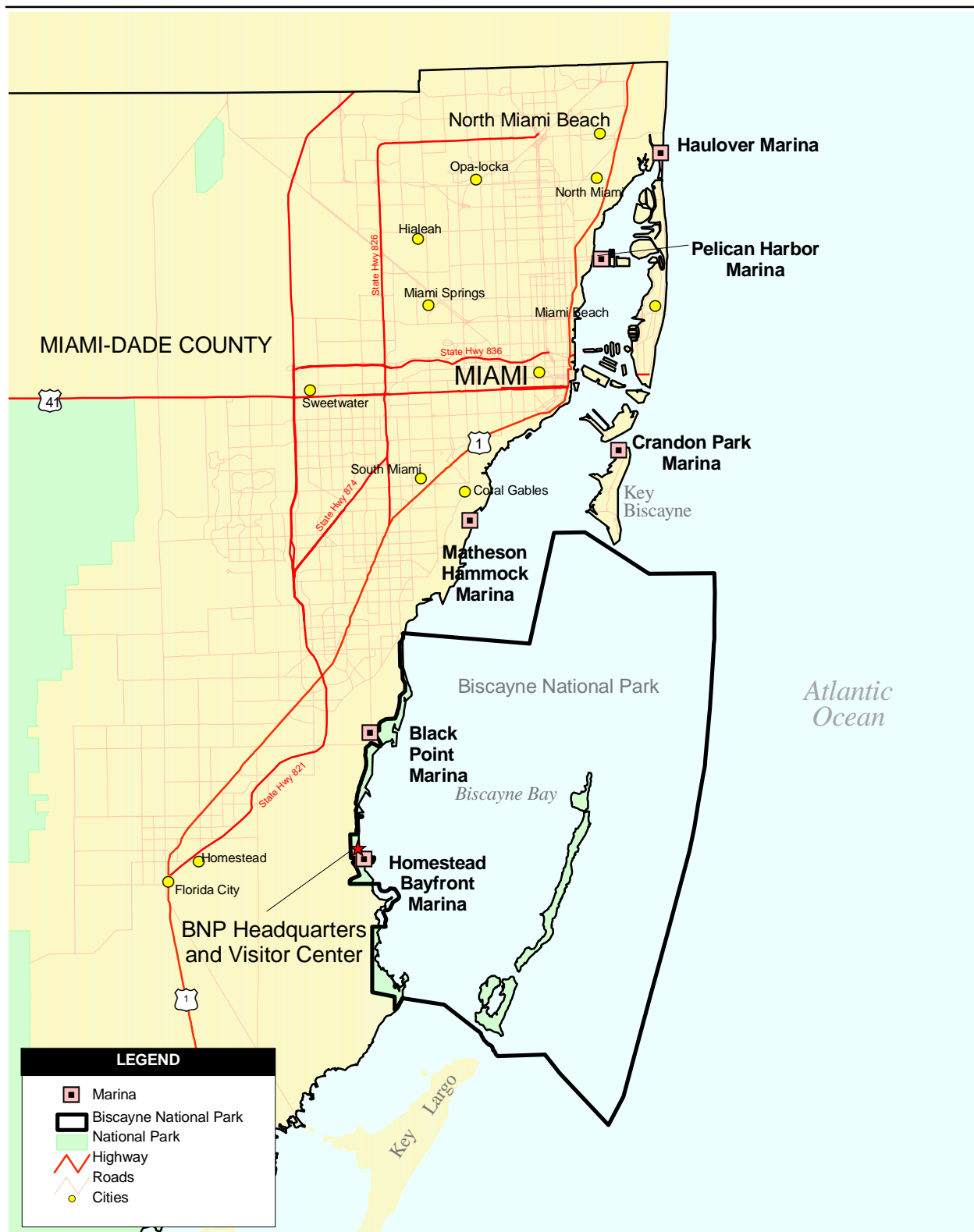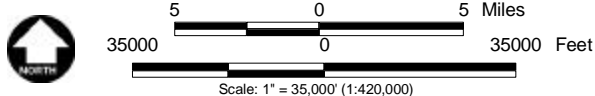
Figure 23
**Miami-Dade County Marinas
Near Biscayne National Park**

LEGEND

- Marina
- Biscayne National Park
- National Park
- Highway
- Roads
- Cities

Sources: Florida Fish & Wildlife Conservation Commission, Biscayne National Park

Scale: 1" = 35,000' (1:420,000)

Coral Gables

Key
Biscayne

Biscayne National Park

Sands
Key

BNP Headquarters
and Visitor Center

Biscayne Bay

Elliot
Key

Old Rhodes
Key

Card Sound

Key Largo

John Pennekamp Coral Reef State Park

Key Largo National Marine Sanctuary

Florida Keys National Marine Sanctuary

*Atlantic
Ocean*

State Hwy 874

State Hwy 821

LEGEND

Lobster Sanctuary
Biscayne National Park
National Park
Highway
Roads
Cities

Sources: Florida Fish & Wildlife Conservation Commission, Biscayne National Park

4   0   4   Miles

21000   0   21000   Feet

NORTH

Scale: 1" = 21,000' (1:252,000)

**Figure 24
Marine Sanctuaries and Parks
Adjacent to Biscayne National Park**

Figure 25
Highway One Roadsigns for Biscayne National Park

View from the upper deck of the Convoy Point Visitor Center.

Bayside picnic area adjacent to the Visitor Center.

Figure 26
Convoy Point Visitor Center Grounds

Convoy Point Entrance Sign

find signs that point to both BISC and Everglades National Park (Figure 25), with the road to BISC winding through agricultural fields and eventually forking, with one branch leading to BISC and the other to Homestead Bayfront Park and Marina, a county pay facility. A short distance down the BISC fork a sign greets visitors. Passing through the gate a short drive leads to a well-appointed Visitor's Center. Ample parking and well-manicured green lawns are near the main building that faces BISC's harbor and beyond to the bay itself. On clear days the Miami skyline is clearly visible from the upper floor of the two-story building (Figure 26). The upper floor also has a gift shop and other concessionaire facilities, as well as an interpretative center with displays and information about BISC's natural resources and history. The downstairs portion of the building has some classrooms and other facilities as well as public restrooms.

On weekends when "Miami comes to Biscayne," the picnic spaces in the immediate vicinity of the Visitor's Center fill with families and couples who bring coolers, volleyball nets, footballs, and other recreational items to enjoy their weekends. These families are from nearby Homestead and Florida City and more distant areas. There is a perception that the picnic areas are used primarily by Hispanics without attention to describing their ethnicity. Short-term exploratory ethnographic field observations suggest that a good proportion of these weekend picnickers are Hispanic, mostly families with children. Park staff suggest that despite efforts to invite these visitors into the interpretative center, they prefer to enjoy the picnic areas and not venture upstairs to participate in the park's educational efforts. Park staff also note that they continue outreach efforts to include these and other casual visitors of these facilities.

Casual tourists, bicyclists, sailboarders, and fishermen are also common weekend visitors. Tourists in family and other small groups walk the sidewalks that are on the perimeter of the

picnic grounds and then often venture onto the jetty that extends into the bay. Others sit at the picnic tables, benches, or on the sea wall and enjoy a spectacular view of the Miami skyline or simply stare out at the greenish-blue colors of the bay. These types of tourists are more frequent participants in the interpretative programs offered by the park. They may be Anglos, French Canadians, or other "snowbirds" who take advantage of the views offered by the park. Bicyclists comprise a group of visitors that might be termed "incidental recreationalists" because they use BISC as a destination and appreciate the availability of its restrooms. The park is at the end of an easy bicycle ride over mostly lightly traveled roads, making this a desirable ride for weekend bikers. Sailboarders prize the small bay to the north of the Visitor's Center as a prime location for their activity. BISC is a preferred spot because it is not as frequently visited as other desirable sailboarding locations such as Virginia Key Beach. The winds are excellent at BISC, and park staff are appraised as helpful and friendly. Sailboarders launch from a small beach near the Visitor's Center parking lot and take full advantage of onshore winds that blow across the bay. This area is relatively uncrowded except for the occasional kayaker and the two or three small crabbing boats checking their traps marked by visible blue and white floats. Fishermen use several areas in the immediate vicinity of the Visitor's Center, including the jetty. These types of visitors are discussed in more detail in other parts of this section, but here it is important to note that fishermen are among the usual group of daily and weekend visitors to the onshore areas of BISC.

Some visitors to this principal onshore area of the park take advantage of the services offered by the concessionaire who operates tours to Elliott and other Keys as well as snorkling and diving trips (Figure 27). The concessionaire offers the casual visitor without a private boat at least a limited opportunity to visit the bay and Keys as well as the land areas of the park. With only one concessionaire, these types of trips are limited, and without a private vessel it is not possible to visit most areas of the park.

5.1   Recreational Fishing

Recreational fishing is among the most popular activities in the park, and recreational users fish both from land-based canals within park boundaries and on boats in park waters. Previous studies on fisheries have focused mainly on the fishing activities undertaken while on the water, i.e., on vessels or using dive gear (Ault et al. 1997, 2001; Seidenfeld 1999; Harper et al. 2000). While an excellent, extensive data set exists for recreational fishing off boats in BISC (see Lockwood and Perry 1997, 1998; Harper et al. 2000), there is little information on recreational fishing from canal banks and off the shoreline in BISC. Interview and observation data were collected to describe various types of recreational fishing within BISC. These data indicate that recreational fishing in Biscayne Bay can be divided into three types: inshore, offshore, and shoreline. Important inshore fisheries exist on the flats (i.e., shallow water sand and coral bottoms) and in deeper waters around coral heads and open water. The offshore fishery occurs outside the limits of the bay in deeper waters near the Gulf Stream. The species sought, fishing technology, and boats for each type of fishing are different. Shoreline fishing takes place at Convoy Point in the canals that flow into Biscayne Bay, as well as the shorelines that are adjacent to these canals. Each of these types of sportfishing is briefly described below.
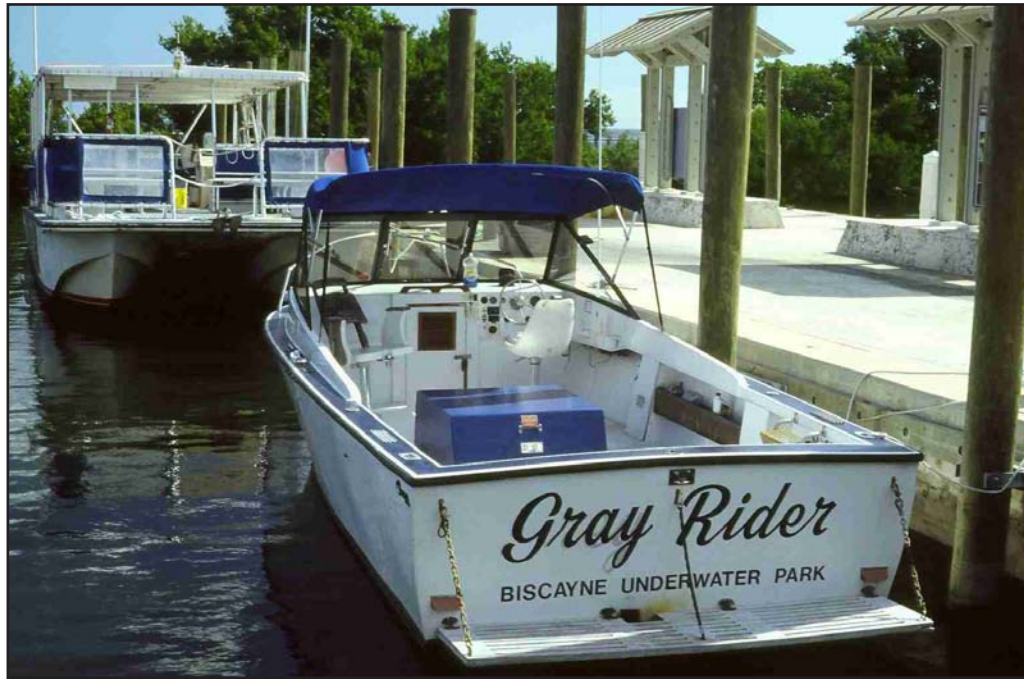
Figure 27
Concessionaire Boats at Convoy Point Dock (top) and
Afternoon Shoreline Fishing at a Canal Mouth Within Biscayne National Park (bottom)
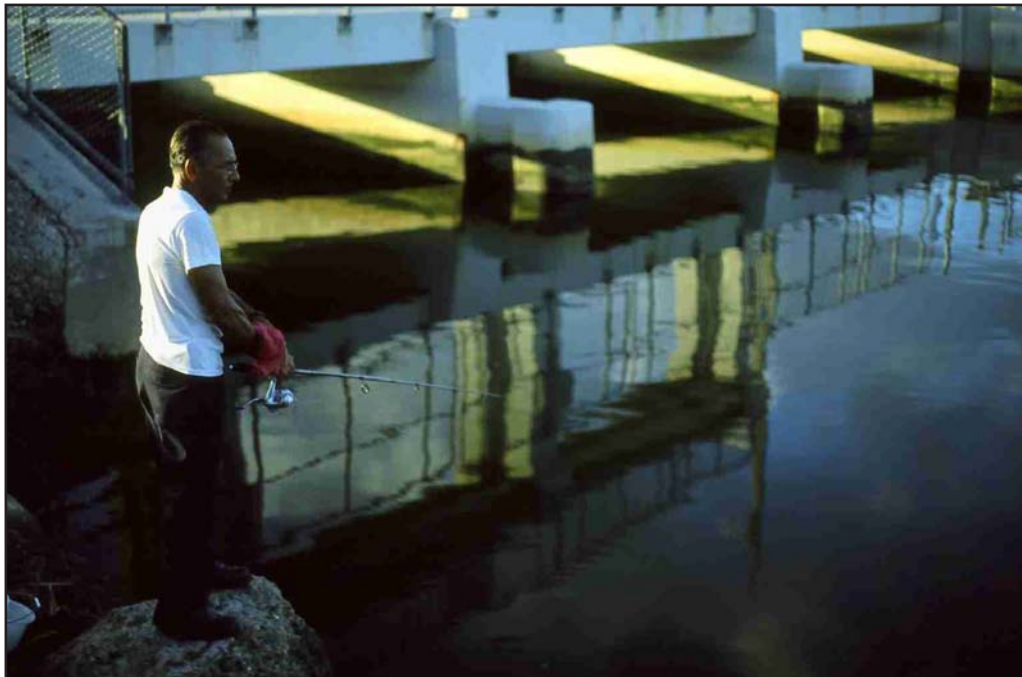
Figure 28
Canal Fishing Within Biscayne National Park

5.1.1   Shoreline Fishing

On most weekends or in the late afternoons during the week, people can be observed shoreline fishing at places such as Mowry Canal and Convoy Point (Figures 27 and 28). Persons fishing may consist of single individuals, a parent and their children, and family groups or mixed groups of men and women. The characteristics and activities of these shoreline fishermen were determined by interviews with park enforcement personnel who patrol the shoreline areas and by interviews with fishermen at various shoreline locations within BISC.

This work began with the identification of canals and shoreline sites used by recreational fishers in BISC. This involved traveling to each accessible canal and shoreline site, starting with Black Point Marina, which includes the confluence of Black Creek and Goulds Canals, Military Canal, and Mowry Canal, and ending at Convoy Point near the Visitor's Center and Homestead Bayfront Park. Of the sites visited, only Black Point Marina, Mowry Canal, Convoy Point, and Bayfront Park are directly accessible to land-based visitors. Furthermore, no land-based fishing was observed in Bayfront Park during the weekend observation visits to identify possible sampling sites. The absence of fishermen at Bayfront Park at these times may have been a random occurrence, or it may be related to the park's entrance fee and limited shoreline opportunities for fishing. On other occasions during this work, fishermen were observed on the shoreline at Bayfront Park. The sites chosen for the interviews were Black Point Marina, Mowry Canal, and Convoy Point because of the weekend presence of fishermen at all of these locations. The former two areas are canal-based, and the latter contains an extensive shoreline conducive to fishing.

A total of 65 interviews were completed on four consecutive Sunday afternoons in April of 2002. Sundays were the days selected for interviews because this was the day of the week that the most fishermen were observed at these locations during the initial observation periods to identify possible interview sites. Interviewers approached every other person at these sites to participate in the interviews. Twenty-two persons were interviewed at Black Point Marina, 22 at Convoy Point, and 21 at Mowry Canal. The interviews addressed the reasons for their visit to the particular site, their knowledge of the area, the species they target, the changes observed in the fishery, and whether the users knew that they were fishing within BISC. Observations were also recorded about the overall number and composition of fishers present at each site.

The results of these interviews are summarized by topic and site.

- **The reason for fishing at the particular site**. Over 86 percent of the 65 persons chose the particular site where they were fishing due to its proximity. Factors such as better fishing and crowded conditions did not play a role in site selection. In fact, the second most-stated reason for site selection (11 percent) was due to the site's amenities, such as picnic facilities, views, etc. The values were similar for all three sites, suggesting that all sites are selected due to their proximity rather than other attributes.

- **Frequency of visits**. Most of those interviewed (40 percent) reported fishing every week, followed by 28 percent that fish once a month. An equal percentage was visiting for the first time. These frequencies are similar across sites.

- **Fishing at other sites**. Most fishers reported using other sites, including others in Biscayne National Park. A total of 72 percent use other areas, and 24.6 and 26.2 percent use Convoy Point and Mowry Canal, respectively. Black Point Marina is less popular as a secondary site, as only 1.5 percent of the 65 persons indicated it as such. Only 45 percent of fishers at Black Point Marina reported fishing elsewhere, compared to 87 percent and 86 percent, at Convoy Point and Mowry Canal, respectively. Sixty-eight percent of Convoy Point fishers reported using Mowry Canal, similar to the 67 percent of the Mowry Canal fishers who use Convoy Point.

- **Species targeted versus abundant species, and changes in resource availability**. Four out of five anglers (or 82 percent) target snappers, 59 percent target jacks, 11 percent target barracuda, and 11 percent target other species (including sharks, pompano, mullet, and others). At each site, the species targeted are similar. Anglers at each location also report snapper is the primary target for fishing effort. Anglers also report they perceive that snappers are the most abundant species (55 percent) followed by jacks (49 percent), barracuda (31 percent), and others (26 percent). Generally, species abundances were reported more frequently (for all species) at Black Point Marina than at the other two sites. Convoy Point displayed the lowest percentages of abundances, for either targeted or nontargeted species. A majority of fishers believe that there have been no changes in the fish abundance; however, 40 percent did state that they do not know if there have been changes. Interestingly, among the changes noticed, 23 percent believe that there are fewer fish, and 8 percent believe that fish size has declined. There are no site-specific differences concerning perceptions of change in fishing abundance, and a majority from all three sites report no perceived changes.

- **Personal and observed gear use**. Every fisher surveyed stated that they use hook and line or pole gear. Five percent reported observing fishers using other gear, including variations on hook and line gear (called yo-yos) and cast nets.

- **The use of fish caught**. No one interviewed reported selling their catch. Eighty-nine percent reported eating their catch if of legal size. Almost all fishers who reported eating their catch qualified their answer by adding that they release under-sized fish. Eleven percent reported that they release all fish. Catch-and-release fishing was more frequently reported by fishers at Black Point Marina (23 percent) than at the other two sites (less than 5 percent).

- **Fisher numbers and site recruitment**. Most of the fishermen at these sites are local residents, with an average of about 33 persons per site. However, the range is very high (from 20 to 70 anglers). About 22 percent of the fishers were introduced to the site through their family, and almost a third (32 percent) learned about the site via friends. Only 12 percent discovered the site through road signs, and an even lower percentage (6 percent) read about the site in a brochure or fishing literature.

- **Participation in other activities apart from fishing**. Most anglers (65 percent) participate in other activities apart from fishing, including picnicking (57 percent), swimming (25 percent), walking (9 percent), and boating (15 percent). Black Point Marina and Convoy

Point attract fishers interested in a variety of activities, especially at the latter site. Conversely, Mowry Canal anglers do not participate in many other activities apart from fishing.

- **Site knowledge**. Twenty-nine percent of the respondents knew that the land from which they were fishing belongs to BISC. However, over two-thirds (68 percent) have heard of Biscayne National Park. Half of the Convoy Point fishers knew that the site is owned by the park, compared to 23 percent of Black Point Marina fishers and 14 percent of Mowry Canal fishers; almost a quarter of the respondents from the latter sites believe that their sites are owned by the State of Florida. The higher percentage of awareness among Convoy Point fishers is expected, as Convoy Point has a number of signs welcoming visitors to Biscayne National Park. Finally, over 70 percent of Mowry Canal and 77 percent of Convoy Point respondents had heard of Biscayne National Park, compared to 55 percent of Black Point Marina fishers.

5.1.2 Summary

This work suggests there is a considerable concentration of anglers who use BISC canals and shoreline for recreational fishing. The visitors at the sites are ethnically diverse but do not show a concentration towards a single ethnic group (when compared with the County's demographic profile). This work also determined that there are differences in the levels of exclusivity that fishing enjoys among sites, as some sites are more suitable for multiple-use activities. Finally, this work concludes that while there is much local knowledge that fishers have about the area, a smaller percentage of them know they are fishing in BISC waters. While Black Point Marina and Convoy Point are clearly marked as public facilities, there are no signs near Mowry Canal that indicate the area is part of BISC or is otherwise public land.

Fishers are usually local residents. For example, fishers who travel to Black Point Marina almost never fish in the other two sites (or in any other BISC sites). Similarly, there is only exchange among anglers between the adjacent Mowry Canal and Convoy Point sites, and not between the more northern Black Point Marina.

When first examined, the ethnicity of visitors at the canals and shoreline appears skewed towards Hispanics. However, it should be noted that Hispanics make up the majority ethnic group in Miami-Dade County, comprising 57.3 percent of the 2.25 million residents (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2001b). African Americans and Anglo-Americans make up 20.3 percent and 20.7 percent of the County's population, respectively. Of the 522 persons observed during the 12 observation sessions, 60.3 percent were Hispanics, 28.5 percent were African American, and 11.1 percent were Anglo-Americans. This shows that, demographically, Anglo-Americans are underrepresented, while African Americans are overrepresented. But, the study does not take into account the subregional demographics, namely of southern Miami-Dade County, as most of the respondents in the study stated that they were local residents and selected the sites due to proximity; subregional demographics may well demonstrate that the visitors represent a cross-section of the area's ethnicity.

Although site selection is determined largely by proximity (as stated by the respondents), site fidelity and repeat visits are related strongly to the types of activities in which the fishers

participate. For example, Convoy Point fishers reported the lowest abundances of targeted species; however, this group also stated participating in the most nonfishing activities. Therefore, Convoy Point B, which has an extensive shoreline with picnic facilities, provides more than a fishing experience, compared to Mowry Point and Black Point Marina. These latter sites are canal-based, and they do not offer many other amenities. Accordingly, although several respondents at Black Point Marina do participate in other nonfishing activities, a little more than a third at Mowry Point do anything else but fish. These differences are important, as they demonstrate that while fishing may be the ostensible reason for visitation, there are other reasons for site selection in BISC. This is reinforced by the fact that a majority of the fishers did not report either selling or retaining all fish. Instead, most respondents release undersized fish, and a smaller percentage releases all fish. Park law enforcement personnel report that retention of undersize fish continues to be a problem, and their observations regarding consumption of caught fish being a primary objective of shoreline fishing is consistent with interview findings.

5.1.3   Inshore Fishing

Unfortunately for this assessment, it was not feasible to perform the same type of data collection for inshore recreational fishing as for shoreline fishing since inshore fishing takes place in boats in the bay. However, interviews with BISC staff and with individuals who participate in inshore fishing provided an outline of inshore fishing activities. There are guided and unguided inshore fishermen. The unguided fishermen fish within the bay and environs for a wide variety of fin fish as well as lobster and crabs. Most of these fishermen use conventional gear, although there are some who spear fish and still others who fly fish. There is also a guided component of the inshore fishery that focuses on flats fishing for bonefish, tarpon, and other gamefish using light tackle, including fly fishing gear.

Inshore guided fishing is exemplified by the bonefishery. Bonefish (*Albula vulpes*) feed in shallow water on shrimp, crabs, and other crustaceans, as well as other fish. Bonefish are usually not eaten, but they are a highly prized gamefish. The bonefish of Biscayne Bay are noted for their size, averaging 7 plus pounds, which attracts anglers seeking these larger fish. Fishermen who fish for bonefish may also target tarpon, kingfish, snook, permit, and other species of opportunity. The number of bonefish guides varies from season to season, but there appears to be about a dozen full-time operators, and perhaps three times that many part-time or occasional guides. Guides from Islamorada also fish in Biscayne Bay because of its reputation for larger fish. Guides often specialize in either fly fishing or conventional gear, although there are guides who will use both gear types. Some are locals who have guided for many years, while others are seasonal guides from outside of the area who may fish Biscayne Bay in the winter and Alaska in the summer. The guide population appears to be comprised primarily of white, middle-aged men. Bonefish guides typically use small boats in the 18- to 25-foot range, powered by outboards, and adapted to shallow water fishing. These vessels are typically kept on trailers. Fishing is done on a half-day or full-day basis, with the former being more popular. Homestead, Bayfront, Black Point, or Matheson Hammock Marinas each has bonefish guides.

More popular fishing areas are the flats on the east or west sides of the bay, or the seaward side of Elliott Key. Early morning is preferred, although bonefishing is highly dependent on tides,

Figure 29
Black Point and Homestead Bayfront Marinas

since the fish tend to feed on moving tides. Once on the fishing grounds, the motor is turned off and the boat is moved by means of a 20-foot-long graphite pole with a "foot" to prevent it from sinking into the bottom. The guides' responsibility is to spot the fish and suggest to their clients how to place their lure or fly to ensure the best chance of a take. Still water represents the best conditions because it is important to be able to see the fish. At the same time, bonefish and other flats species are highly sensitive to movement and flat, calm conditions present a special challenge for anglers since they are more easily observed by bonefish at this time. Many anglers prefer a slight chop on the water since this obscures the fish's vision but allows the angler to still see the fish. The guides pole their boats through likely sand and grass flats seeking fish, then move between fishing areas using their motors.

Most guides work alone and take one or two customers at a time. The vast majority of customers are single fishermen, but there are a few parties composed of husband and wife, or husband, wife, and children. Clients are typically white, middle-class people from south Florida, but not necessarily from the immediate park vicinity. Rates vary depending on the reputation and experience of a particular guide, but full days range from $375 to $600 per day.

A number of people who participate in the bonefish fishery, both as guides and fishermen, belong to the Miami Rod and Reel Club. This organization promotes catch and release techniques, has fishing and environmental education programs for both youngsters and adults, and holds a number of fishing tournaments.

Unguided inshore fishing is a major pasttime of BISC users. Boaters are also sometimes casual fishermen, but fishing in the bay is an important type of use among residents of nearby communities. The county marinas as well as private docking facilities are the major points of access for fishermen who may fish from almost any type of powered, sail, or paddled vessel, although fishing from a powered boat is the usual mode for inshore fishermen. Cruising near Sands Cut, throwing a line from the docks near Stiltsville, or anchored in boats near Christmas Point, fishermen catch gray and mangrove snapper, sea trout, a variety of jacks, as well as other species such as barracuda. Shrimp are a preferred live bait for inshore fishermen, although artificial lures thrown with spinning or bait casting tackle are popular fishing tactics. It appears these fish are caught to eat, although there are reports that some recreational fishermen catch an excess of their limits and sell these fish for commercial purposes. Enforcement rangers in BISC report that poaching of various types is a common occurrence in the park, and this represents an ongoing challenge for resource management.

5.1.4 Offshore Fishing

Offshore fishing is typically done in larger, diesel-powered boats in the 30- to 50-foot range. Preliminary research suggests that most offshore fishing boats that use park waters are kept in marinas at Black Point or Crandon, although they are also found at Homestead Bayfront and Matheson Hammock (Figure 29). Offshore fishing boats at Haulover and Pelican Harbor apparently enter park waters only infrequently. It is not known at this time how many offshore fishing boats operate within park boundaries, but it is apparently a sizeable number, perhaps several dozen.

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Figure 30
Black Point Marina (top) and
Stone Crab Claws (bottom)

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Figure 31
Wire Traps (Blue Crab) and Wood Slate Traps (Stone Crab and Lobster)
at Black Point Marina

Offshore fishing boats often go up to 25 miles off shore. Day trips are typical. These boats cruise at 12 to 20 knots and might consume 100 to 150 gallons of diesel per day. They use park areas to prepare bait, but their main use of park waters is to pass through on their way to offshore fishing areas. Fishing parties typically consist of a few white, middle-aged, middle-class males. Occasionally, couples or families also form fishing parties. Offshore fishing captains also occasionally take out parties of divers, although the destination of the divers would have to be outside of BISC due to terms of the park concessionaire agreement. Limited interview data suggest that perhaps 50 percent or more of clients are from south Florida and the rest are tourists from outside the area. Some skippers sell portions of the catch for additional income.

Most offshore fishing guides are white, middle-aged males who have lived in the area for a long time. Most work at it full time. The complexities and expense of obtaining the required licenses apparently tends to discourage part-time participation, to say nothing of the expense of maintaining an offshore fishing boat. Like the inshore fishing guides, many of the offshore fishing boat captains are members of the Miami Rod and Reel Club.

5.2 Commercial Fishing

5.2.1 Blue Crab

The blue crab fishery is limited, with perhaps only 10 or 20 participants in park waters. Blue crab fishermen use skiffs in the 15- to 20-foot range, powered by outboard motors. These small craft are typically kept on trailers. Most blue crab fishermen who use park waters launch their skiffs from Black Point, but some may launch from Matheson Hammock and Homestead Bayfront as well. From their skiffs, these fishermen typically set 80 to 200 traps; the average is approximately 100. They might retrieve one-quarter to one-half of their traps each time they go out. Blue crab fishermen operate in shallow water in the vicinity of estuaries, canals, etc. They typically sell their catch to fishmarkets, particularly the Golden Rule Fishmarket.

Most participants in the blue crab fishery are part time; perhaps 30 percent are full time. Most are Anglo, although some men of Cuban ethnicity also participate. Most are long-time residents in the local area. Preliminary research suggests ages of these fishermen vary from the 20s to the 50s. There is apparently no formal association representing crab fishermen.

5.2.2 Stone Crab

The stone crab fishery is somewhat similar to the blue crab fishery, and some blue crab fishermen are also stone crab fishermen (Figures 30 and 31). Stone crab traps are much heavier (approximately 40 pounds), and this necessitates use of a larger boat. The season for stone crab is from mid-October to mid-May. Most stone crab fishermen are full time because the permit/certificate system is based on yearly catch, which places part-time fishermen at a disadvantage. The pattern among some stone crab fishermen is to fish inside the park early in the season, then the Key Largo area. Others work the Black Point area for the whole season. The catch is sold to local fishhouses, e.g., the Golden Rule Fishmarket and the Key Largo Fisheries.

Figure 32
Commercial Fishing Vessels at Dinner Key Marina (top) and
Black Point Marina (bottom)

Figure 33
Commercial Fishing Vessels at Card Sound

Figure 34
Commercial Fishing Vessels at Black Point Marina

5.2.3 Wingnet Shrimpers

Wingnet shrimpers use skiffs 25 to 30 feet long that are powered by outboard motors. These skiffs are mounted on trailers. Most launch at Crandon and other places north of park. Wingnetters typically do not fish within BISC as it is too far south of their base of operations, although some use of the northern edge of the park is reported.

The wingnet boats have a framework that supports a dip net on each side of the vessel. The framework is lowered into the water, and the boat powers slowly into the schools of shrimp as they rise to the surface. The wingnetters typically work areas around estuaries, canals, and bridges. The best time for wingnetting is during strong winds, especially northerners, because shrimp leave the bottom during these conditions and get up in the water column. When not on a set, the nets extend on each side of the skiff like wings, hence the name wingnet.

Wingnet shrimpers typically work at night, one or two people to a boat. Most are men, but some women also participate, and a few women have their own vessels. Virtually all wingnet shrimpers are of Cuban descent. The fishery is a relatively recent development and the wingnet apparatus was reportedly invented in the Miami area by a Cuban expatriate some 25 years ago. Ages of participants vary from the 20s to the 60s. An organization was formed in the late 1990s called The Wingnet Shrimpers of Florida. The organization has approximately 95 members, but approximately 500 people participate in the fishery. The season is now limited to 6 months. All the catch goes to fishpackers, who ship it to fishmarkets around the country. The wingnet organization is attempting to set up a cooperative to distribute their own product.

5.2.4 Trawl Shrimpers

Another shrimp fishery pursued in Biscayne Bay focuses on shrimp for bait and uses trawl gear. This has been described as the most intense commercial fishery use of the park. Especially in the summertime, the vessels work the western side of the bay in the grasses relatively close to the mainland shore. The vessels that use the park are concentrated in Black Point and Dinner Key (Figure 32), although there are also one or two vessels in the Card Sound area that use BISC waters (Figure 33). The largest single concentration is at Black Point, with perhaps 12 or 13 vessels operating out of that marina, and all of these vessels operate as full-time commercial operations (Figure 34). At least one vessel owner owns multiple vessels in this fishery. Although the fishery has some historical depth, interview data suggest that only a very few of the current participants have fished it for more than a decade.

Unlike the food shrimp fishery, the bait shrimp fishery has no closed season and is reportedly pursued seven days a week, year round. Markets for the shrimp caught in this fishery are bait and tackle stores, and catch is typically "pre-sold" through existing supply agreements. The stores supplied with bait from Biscayne Bay range from Key West to well north of Miami, and stores may buy from more than one fishing operation to hedge against a drop in performance from any one operation. Trawl tows are typically 15 to 30 minutes in duration, with catch retained in tanks on board after being sorted on picking trays to allow for the release of bycatch species. The financial return on effort varies significantly during the year as, according to one owner, "you make money in the winter, and [just] pay the bills in the summer."

Figure 35
"Stiltsville" Structures

With the hydraulic system on board, a vessel can be run by just the captain, but typically a mate is added in the winter time to help handle the increase in volume, at least when fishing on the weekends. One trawl is set on each side of the vessel, and typically vessels fall into the 27- to 32-foot range. In addition to the summer being generally slower than the winter, the period between Labor Day and the start of November is especially slow, as is a two-week period around Christmas. Interview data suggest that no significant gear conflicts are reported between shrimpers and crabbers, both of whom work in BISC out of Black Point, but in the past some conflicts occurred between local shrimpers and longliners working out of Miami. Participants in the fishery are typically described as white, long-time south Florida residents, but little information has been collected regarding this to date, and it is known that at least some captains are of Cuban-American descent.

5.3   Stiltsville

Stiltsville has been the subject of a number of management-related documents in recent years, and the legal context of the ongoing management of those resources will not be recapitulated here. Stiltsville is a group of seven structures built on pilings or stilts (Figure 35). At one time there were more than 25 structures, but the harsh saltwater environment and the occasional hurricane has reduced the number over the years. The architecture varies, but all are rustic wood and plywood structures, somewhat similar to vacation cabins. Stiltsville is located in shallows in the extreme north end of the park, east-southeast of Matheson Hammock, and southwest of Key Biscayne. Most of these houses are leased by small groups of people; one is leased by The Miami Springs Powerboat Club, and another is leased by an extended family. All current structures are of relatively recent origin, and two attempts at listing the structures singly or as a group on the National Register have been unsuccessful.

Most Stiltsville users are long-time area residents who use the structures as weekend retreats. It is also not unusual to observe boats tied up to the docks of some structures and people other than the regular occupants fishing off the docks. One Stiltsville occupant noted that as long as people respect the property, such casual use is acceptable. Some occupants also encourage civic and other organizations to use their properties for special events or outings. For example, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, various church groups, the Miami Chamber of Commerce, Disabled Veterans, Shake-A-Leg Sailing Club (for disabled children), and other groups have used Stiltsville properties for weekends or other outings. Some Stiltsville occupants suggest that these properties offer an opportunity for the leaseholders to exercise community service by sharing their facilities with these community groups. Stiltsville structures are also used for events such as graduation parties, business gatherings, and other occasions where people need a place to gather in an outdoor setting. Is is also possible to observe crowds of young people lounging on the decks and docks, listening to music, and otherwise socializing, swimming, fishing, or just relaxing and watching passing boats. Since most of these structures are within easy reach of Miami-based boaters, these structures also can be a base of operations for a day of diving, fishing, or just extended boating.

Interviews with two Stiltsville leaseholders and two other persons who are in the same network as these leaseholder suggest that these properties represent a connection with the Miami, south Florida, and Keys culture that existed prior to the influx of immigrants and the emergence of

Latin and Carribean influences on local culture. For those individuals, Stiltsville represents "their culture" and "their history" in a social environment where other elements of traditional lifestyles have faded into the background. Even the most mundane Stiltsville activities represent continuity with the Miami of their childhood and the hopes that it can be passed on to their children. This expresses an understandable desire for the persistence of a lifestyle in communities where there has been and continues to be significant social and cultural change. There is also a sense of Stiltsville as part of community as well as individual history. While apparently not qualifying as a "traditional use" in National Park Service parlance, continuity of use is still highly valued by the leaseholders of the current structures, and despite the fact that all but one structure is used by groups defined by factors other than extended family kinship relations.

5.4 The Boating Community

Boaters are the most frequent visitors to BISC. On almost any day, but especially on weekends, the harbor at Boca Chita is filled with powerboats or sailboats. Boaters tie up next to one another and share drinks, meals, and conversation. Others picnic on the grounds nearby, visit the lighthouse, or explore the island. Boaters from the inter-coastal waterway also cruise through park waters, some on their way to other destinations while others anchor in the lee of Elliott, Boca Chita, or sometimes Adams Key. Miami boaters usually come out of one of the nearby County marinas and either cruise through the park or find an anchoring spot such as Sands Cut. This popular spot is a destination for kayakers, small and large power boats, as well as sailboats of various sizes. Visitors from Key Largo and south as well as the Homestead area sometime anchor near Caesar Creek between Old Rhodes Key and Adams Key and Elliott Key. Others use this and other passages to the outer reefs, sometimes stopping at one of the 25 mooring buoys at 11 different coral reef or shipwreck locations where boaters tie up or anchor. These are pleasant spots for snorkling, fishing, or just relaxing. The wide variety of boaters who use Biscayne National Park can be roughly categorized into "powerboaters" and "sailors," and each of these groups is briefly described below.

5.4.1 Powerboaters

Most of the powerboats observed in park waters are small craft in the 18- to 30-foot range. Virtually all have planing hulls. These boats are typically powered by relatively large, two-stroke outboard motors. Most have a foredeck and at least a cuddy cabin (a small cabin below decks with limited space for shelter or amenities) to provide some accommodation space for overnight trips. Most have a vee berth forward and a porta-potty; some have galleys. Most of the powerboats using park waters are kept on trailers.

Powerboat enthusiasts come from a wide range of ethnic and socioeconomic classes. Most are long-time residents. On the other hand, powerboat groundings are perceived by persons interviewed for this work as a substantial environmental problem caused by novice boaters. A large area south of Key Biscayne and north of Ragged Keys known as the "safety valve," consists of shoals, with another large complex of shoals located around Totten Key and east of Old Rhodes Key. Outside of Old Rhodes Key is another large shoal area called Caesar Creek Bank. Novice boaters often possess only minimal navigation skills and run aground in these areas.

Entering BISC from Homestead Bayfront Marina

Considerable damage to seagrass bottoms and water quality occurs when the boaters attempt to power out.

There are numerous fish and dive destinations around the park, but when on boating-only outings, sometimes there is no actual destination. Often boaters simply cruise around inside and outside of Biscayne Bay and take in the sights and the fresh air. At other times, boaters visit favorite anchorages and coves such as "the sandbar" (on the leeward side of Sands Cut), Boca Chita, Sands Cut, and Adams Key. The sandbar is a shoal where numerous boaters anchor on weekends. They raft up, sit in lawnchairs in the shallow water, wade around, and socialize. At places like Boca Chita and Adams Key, boaters sometimes go ashore to explore or go for a walk. Most said that they did not use park facilities very often but did operate in park waters. The most substantial powerboating clubs operating in the park area are the Miami Springs Powerboat Club and the Dinner Key Cruising Club.

5.4.2 Sailors

Sailboats observed in park waters vary from dinghies to large craft in the over 50-foot range. Most sailing that takes place in park waters consists of daysailing despite the fact that many of the boats are designed and equipped for blue water cruising or offshore racing. Most sailboats in the 30-foot range and larger are powered by relatively modest-sized diesel engines mounted under the cockpit. Many smaller craft have small two-stroke, long-shaft outboard motors as auxiliary power. These are typically hung on a bracket on the transom.

Figure 36
Commercial Tow Boat Operations at Homestead Bayfront Marina (top), and
Grounding Damage Adjacent to Boca Chita Key (bottom)

Virtually all sailboats longer than 20 feet are decked over and have a cabin, or in the case of the smaller boats, a cuddy cabin. Smaller sailboats have a vee berth forward and a porta-potty; some have galleys consisting of a one-burner stove, a small sink, and an icebox. Large modern sailboats typically have berths for several sailors, a galley with a refrigerator, a head with a shower, and a large main salon.

In contrast to smaller powerboats, both small and large sailboats are designed to be lived in for at least a few days at a time. While smaller planing powerboats travel at speeds of 30 to 50 knots, smaller sailboats have a top speed under good sea conditions of perhaps 5 or 6 knots. While a small powerboat may well take 2 or 3 hours to travel 100 miles, it might take a small sailboat 24 hours, so overnight accommodations are more essential on a sailboat.

Sailors come from a wide range of ethnic and socioeconomic classes, but based upon interview data and participant observation, most seem to be white, middle-class, middle-aged men. Most are long-time residents of the Miami-Dade area. Most said that they did not use park facilities very often but do frequently sail in the park and through the park on the way to offshore waters. Sailors suggest that BISC is a great place to sail because the air and water are always warm, there is usually good wind, and the area offers beautiful scenery.

Smaller sailboats are often kept on trailers, but very few sailboats longer than 25 feet fit well on trailers because of deep ballast keels. Larger sailboats that are regularly operated in park waters are kept in marinas at Crandon, Matheson Hammock, Black Point, and Homestead Bayfront. In addition, numerous sailboats are kept at yacht club docks and mooring buoys.

The most important sailing organizations operating in the park area are the Coral Reef Yacht Club, the Coconut Grove Sailing Club, the Key Biscayne Yacht Club, and the United States Sailing Center. The latter is a new organization based in Coconut Grove whose focus is training Olympic sailing teams. The other organizations are more or less typical yacht clubs with youth programs, dingy, PHRF, and one-design racing programs, most of which focus on around-the-buoy races that typically take place in the park. In addition, each of the yacht clubs hosts a number of annual social and civic events.

The major annual sailing event that takes place in the park is the Columbus Day Regatta. This is a multi-club event coordinated by the Marine Council, a local advocacy group for marine interests in Miami-Dade County. It is apparently Florida's oldest sailing race, featuring numerous classes and trophies. It is not a heavily sponsored event, but rather an unpretentious race for families and ordinary sailors. The irony is that this low-key race has, according to its organizers, become unwillingly associated with a huge raucous party. The party has overshadowed the regatta and has caused law enforcement and public health and safety concerns for the park as well as other jurisdictions. Because of these concerns and what many in the yachting community perceive as very negative publicity, the future of the regatta is uncertain.

5.5   Tow Boat Operations

Another type of use of BISC is represented by several tow boat companies in the area that frequently operate in park waters. Some are associated with national organizations like SeaTow and Tow Boat/US (Figure 36). The most common type of watercraft used as tow boats within the

park are 20- to 25-foot vessels powered with two large outboard motors, in the 100- to 200-horsepower range. However, some larger inboard diesel-powered vessels are also available.

Dead batteries in small craft of both experienced and novice boaters account for most of the tow boat activity. The tow boats usually jumpstart the dead battery or, if that fails, then the boat is towed to its home port.

One operator suggested that approximately 10 percent of his calls consist of requests to refloat vessels that have run hard aground in various shoal areas. This is the most complicated and lucrative part of the tow business even though it is a very small percentage of calls.

Groundings occur primarily in three shoal complexes in the park. The largest shoal area within the park is located south of Key Biscayne and north of Ragged Keys. This area encompasses Stiltsville and Biscayne Channel toward the north, and Soldier Key toward the south. A small complex of shoals is located west of Lewis Cut and includes Featherbed Bank. In the south portion of the park is a large complex of shoals located around Totten Key and west of Old Rhodes Key. Outside Old Rhodes Keys is a large shoal called Caesar Creek Bank. Most groundings within the park apparently take place in the northern shoal complex, probably because of its proximity to the city of Miami. Most often, people who run aground on these shoals are novice powerboaters and/or new to the area. They often possess only minimal navigation skills and seamanship. Considerable damage to seagrass bottoms and water quality occurs if/when they attempt to apply high power when starting from a dead stop; the powerful propeller cuts into the bottom and throws up silt, sand, and seagrass. Sailors also run aground, but less frequently. This may be because sailing requires more training and skill just to get the boat to go in the desired direction. Novice sailors tend to be more cautious and have higher levels of seamanship by the time they venture into unknown waters. Sailors also cause less damage to the bottom when they do run aground because they go much slower and the keel or centerboard of a sailboat is much lower than the propeller, so only the keel hits the bottom.

Typically on a hard grounding within the park, the tow boat operator notifies the park and the park sends someone out to assess the situation. The tow operator and the park representative discuss the predicament and decide the best way to take the boat off with minimal damage to the bottom. If the grounded vessel is a large one, it is lightened by taking off fuel and water. Some situations require removal of the propeller and the placement of airbags to add buoyancy.

Tow boat operators generally expressed satisfaction with the park procedures. They did suggest that channels might be better marked by placing buoys close together so boaters can easily see from one to the next (e.g., 400 yards) and by lighting all channel buoys. Also, increased boater education was suggested as a way of minimizing groundings and damage to the bay bottom. In sociocultural terms, tow operators may be seen as inheritors of a local tradition of making a living off mariners in distress in the area that is now BISC. Unlike wreckers of old, however, towboat services assist in avoiding maritime catastrophes rather than profiting by them after the fact.

5.6   Sport Diving

There is one dive operation with exclusive rights via a concessionaire agreement to operate a dive shop and diving charters within the park. This operation is located within the Dante Fascell Visitor Center at the park headquarters complex at Convoy Point. However, numerous

other Scuba divers and free divers (also referred to as snorkelers or skin divers) access the park using their own vessels. Additionally, there are several dive shops outside the park that also serve the sport diving community.

There are substantial seasonal differences in sport diving in south Florida and also differences between scuba and free divers in terms of dive locations and party demographics. Not many divers use the area between Labor Day and Thanksgiving. The best underwater visibility tends to be in June and July.

According to interview data, the vast majority of scuba divers using the park tend to be south Florida residents, perhaps 80 percent, and most are white, middle-class males. Increasing numbers of Hispanics and women are participating in sport diving, however. Approximately half of the divers using the charter facilities within the park come as part of dive club activities and many others come to the park as a function of dive shop-sponsored trips. Of the groups that come to the park from outside of the area, most are from the Gulf Coast. These scuba parties typically go south of Boca Chita, to Adams Key or outside the keys, for example to Ball Buoy Reef, Pacific Reef, or to Mandalay Wreck.

Free diving as a specific focal activity within the park tends to be dominated by tourists, 60 to 70 percent of whom are from the United States and Canada. Most of these are white, middle-class men or families. In the fall, winter, and spring, 80 percent of the free divers using the park-licensed charter facilities are tourists. In the summer, more locals participate in free diving, although they are still in the minority. Free divers tend to go to more shallow dive spots like One Mile Reef, One Half-Mile Reef, and Marker 3. In foul weather, both scuba and free diving parties go to dive spots inside the Keys. A number of recreational boaters who use the park also free dive as an adjunct to other activities (such as picnicking or socializing).

Divers commented on the good reef development in the park and good park resource management; some suggested that the park has the healthiest marine environment from Miami to the Dry Tortugas. However, some expressed concern about ongoing reef and other bottom damage. Some divers would like to see the park ban all trawling and trapping and note that since gill netting was banned, the fish population has substantially increased.

5.7   Environmentalists

There are several environmental groups active in the area of the park that have indicated an interest in the park and park resource management activities: the Sierra Club, the Tropical Audubon Society, the Isaac Walton League, Citizens for a Better South Florida, Urban Environment League, 1000 Friends of Florida, the Biscayne Bay Foundation, and the Coastal Conservation Association.

These organizations and their members are concerned about numerous environmental issues in the south Florida area, some of which directly involve park lands and waters. Virtually all are concerned with the overall quality of Biscayne Bay. This concern is focused on several issues:

• Leaching of effluent into the aquifer from the sanitary landfill at Black Point (dubbed "Mount Trashmore" by locals, given the height of the facility in relation to the surrounding flat land).

- The injection of treated sewage deep underground at Black Point. There is concern, based on some scientific research, that this treated sewage is leaking into the Biscayne aquifer.

- The damage to the bay bottom caused by the large fuel barge servicing the Turkey Point Power Plant, and the potential for spills from this barge.

- The future of the former Homestead Air Force Base. Various proposals for development cause concern about impacts on Biscayne Bay, although the threat of redevelopment as a major civilian airport appears to have passed.

- The effects of continued shrimp trawling in the bay. Bottom damage and a big bycatch are viewed as destructive to Biscayne Bay.

- Extractive uses: at least some of the environmental organizations would like to see all commercial fishing banned from the park because, in their view, it damages the marine environment in various ways and is not compatible with the role of a park in preserving a natural area.

- Wetlands loss around Biscayne Bay and south Florida in general.

- Suburban sprawl into open space and wild areas and the increased air and water pollution that results. Many see the need for a large open-space buffer around the park.

- Agricultural runoff as a major pollution problem for the bay.

- Lax enforcement of park rules caused by underfunding. Irregular enforcement is seen as encouraging violations and damage to the park.

Some environmental organizations, e.g., the Sierra Club, Isaac Walton League, and the Tropical Audubon Society, sponsor outings in the park and other natural areas; other organizations do not. However, virtually all environmentalists use the park on an individual basis. These activities include kayaking, canoeing, sailing, diving, and fishing. Environmentalists tend to favor nonmotorized or "human powered" sports. Virtually all members of local chapters of national environmental organizations and members of local organizations live in the Miami-Dade area. Most members tend to be white, middle-class, and college-educated.

5.8   Other Community-Biscayne National Park Connections

Recreational and commercial fishermen, boaters, and environmentalists are among the most visible of users and park interest groups. There are others, less visible, but still with significant interests in BISC. In this section interviews and participant observation with two other groups, Miami Blacks and Old Family Miami, are briefly described. Fieldwork also indicates there may be other less visible interest and user groups that require further consideration.

5.8.1   South Florida Blacks

Blacks are not conspicuous users of national parks in general, and this is also a reality for the relationship of south Florida Blacks with BISC. However, there are two direct cultural

connections between Blacks in Miami and south Florida and BISC. One is the Parson Jones property near Jones Lagoon on Porgy Key and the other is the park area in the immediate vicinity of the Visitor's Center. The area near the Visitor's Center was once one of two segregated all-black beaches in the Miami region, the other being Virginia Key Beach. Each of these sites expresses a different and contrasting type of cultural connection with park resources.

The Parson Jones site is an abandoned house on the edge of Jones Lagoon that includes other features such as a hand-dug channel, remnants of key lime plantations, and other outbuildings and features. The site is culturally important for multiple reasons, including its representation of an older land-owning south Florida family living in the Keys whose members were successful agricultural entrepreneurs and also notable because they were black. Successful black land owners in the Florida Keys were unusual at the turn of the century. This history of Parson Jones and his family is a backdrop for the emerging meaning of this site for south Florida's black community.

Parson Jones arrived in the Miami area from his birth state of North Carolina. He worked at various jobs, including building houses, that allowed him to accumulate enough cash to buy Porgy Key in south Biscayne Bay in 1897. He and his wife Moselle and his two sons Lancelot and Arthur moved to their new property in 1902. They later acquired land on both Old Rhodes and Totten Key and eventually had more than 250 acres of property used for lime and other citrus plantings as well as pineapples. Parson's wife Moselle died in 1925, and he subsequently sold his property on Totten Key for approximately $250,000. Parson died in 1932 leaving his estate to his two sons. Lancelot lived on Porgy Key until 1992 when Hurricane Andrew destroyed his home. Park Rangers tell stories of his evacuation from his property and his continued residence on the Keys until he finally relocated to Miami where he died in 1997. Lancelot was also a "local figure" who lived off the land and sea, did some sponging, but was perhaps most well known as a bonefish guide. He guided Warren Harding, Lyndon Johnson, Richard Nixon, and other statesmen and industrialists who hunted bonefish in the environs of Biscayne Bay. Local fisherman also fished with Lancelot and report that he had uncanny abilities to find wary bonefish in the shallow flats of Biscayne Bay.

The Parson Jones site along with the Virginia Key Beach site are of interest to some local Blacks because each represents elements of the history of Blacks in south Florida. Virginia Beach, like American Beach near Jacksonville, Florida, expresses the segregation of Blacks in the history of this region. On the other hand, the Parson Jones home site represents the story of a successful black entrepreneur who, like other Old South Florida families, lived in the Keys and enjoyed the south Florida lifestyle. The history of the Jones family may be interpreted as a contrast to history of blacks in Florida who experienced segregation and inter-racial conflict. That is, the Jones's story represents the perseverance of a black family in a hostile social and natural environment who, in the words of one black observer of the site, "through their actions, these people transcend the heights and depths of our culture." The Jones site is interpreted as a black contribution to the development of south Florida and of the relationship of Blacks to the land as owners and not slave laborers or sharecroppers with no investment in the land. The Jones site may be symbolic of the desire of Blacks to have a stake in environmental issues and National Parks and their management. It may also symbolize successful entrepreneurship despite an oppressive social environment. The relationship of the site to the wider black community and other non-black interests in south Florida is a developing process. Currently,

Jones Family Homesite Marker

there are efforts to develop awareness about the site and particularly the history it represents both as an aspect of park history and as an expression of the black experience in south Florida.

The other site in BISC of particular historical interest for Blacks is the grounds around the current Park Headquarters and Visitor's Center. At one time this area was a "Blacks Only" beach much like American Beach and Virginia Key Beach. This was a place where Blacks gathered to swim, picnic, and enjoy their weekends. One former user of this beach described the use of the area as follows:

> You see the harbor over there, that is where people used to swim, yeah, we would come here on the weekend, on Sunday after Church sometimes it would be for birthday parties, you would see your cousins and have a picnic. We would have collard greens and barbecue and we would get the land crabs that used to be here and cook them too.
>
> People would dance, it would be 'showtime' for people to strut their stuff. It was a getaway place for us, a little fishing, a little dancing, a good time. There were young kids too along with the adults, and we would play games dodge-ball, strike and run, and stingamarie. And people would go fishing with a cane pole out here for mullet and things. Then we might sometimes have a fish fry.
>
> Some people, like my mother and sister, they would go out to Elliott Key and camp, sometimes they would stay a week right next door at the marina, that was the white beach. . . . Then in the sixties they integrated the beach next door.

It used to be this getaway place, and now it still is, only for different people. You see more Hispanics here now, they come from Hialeah and other places because here they don't have to worry about drive-bys, it is a safe spot with less violence than where they live. So, I guess it is not a lot different than when I was growing up, a safe spot for getaways.

Blacks are still occasional users of the environs around the Visitor's Center, but as a recent visitor's study indicates, Blacks account for about 2 percent of the BISC's visitors (Simmons and Littlejohn 2002). This present-day user volume appears to be a strong contrast with the common weekend getaway use of the park described in the gentleman's statement above. Park staff observations, supported by limited participant observation at the Visitor Center, suggests that Hispanics are now more common weekend visitors than are Blacks. Blacks still fish from Convoy Point and stroll through the area enjoying the views, but groups of Hispanics appear to be the most numerous users. This may be related to the region's shifting demography. It may also be related to other cultural factors regarding how Blacks perceive and use public spaces such as national parks. If the Jones site provides some cultural investment of Blacks in BISC, this is a step toward changing perceptions that places such as BISC can once again be weekend getaways for Blacks as well as others. BISC also presents a unique interpretive opportunity with the Parson Jones site offshore representing a different set of circumstances than that seen in the segregated beach site on the mainland, with both contributing to the complex picture of black local experiences in the twentieth century.

5.8.2 Old Family Miami

Before BISC was a national park, Boca Chita, Elliott, and other Keys were sites for weekend homes and permanent residences that ranged from shacks to mansions. Some of these were occupied by "old family" or the long-term residents of the region while others were owned by outsiders who visited for vacations or extended stays. However, old family residents developed strong ties to the region and made south Florida their home. As a segment of Miami society, old family is a self-explanatory descriptor of residents with a family history of multiple generations in the Miami area. These families tend to be white and in the middle to upper socioeconomic class. Old families often have an interest in BISC and its resources because of past and ongoing activities that have developed a sense of attachment to the place and its resources. For one such family this sense of attachment has a foundation in past as well as present-day connections with the bay and Keys.

My family has been using the park before it was the park or the monument. We used to go for walks on the beaches out on the Keys, looking for bottles and neat trash. We would fish and we did some diving too, it was just a natural place to go because the area is so close. There have never been *that* many people there because of all of the hype about the keys [the more southern Keys below Key Largo]. Biscayne still does not have recognition; there is almost zero reputation. People would talk about it as Biscayne Bay or Elliott Key, but usually not as Biscayne National Park.

I want my kids to be able to enjoy it the way I did when I was a kid with my family. My kids have been on the water since they were two weeks old. We go fishing, we go diving, we visit the beaches, we take our boat out to just explore.

There is a big allure in boating, you can just get away, it is not like getting in the car and driving, there is a kind of freedom in boating that you don't get from other things. And when you are out there, the water is warm and it is usually calm. There is just nothing like laying there on the boat with the colors radiating all around you. If you get hot you just roll off into the water and cool off, watch the fish swim and enjoy it. That's the kind of place it was for me as a kid, that is how it is for my kids, and that's how I want it to be for their kids, a place they can go and enjoy what I did with my father.

BISC is important because it is intertwined with past and present family experiences as well as hopes and expectations about what the future should be. For some old families, this family and human history is as important a feature of BISC as its natural history. For example:

I think they [BISC managers] want it to be 'environmentally pristine' but it has never been that way. The place has a human history too and that is as important as its natural history. But I don't see anyone there interested in that. I am frustrated by it. There needs to be a sense of ownership of the place that isn't there now, there needs to be a feeling from the heart of caring for the place and being genuinely interested it. I would like to see them develop some kind of interpretative program about old Florida history and the relationship of that to the park. It is important, but I don't think they see that as important.

This expressed frustration is perhaps connected to other Miami-BISC issues, but it also indicates a sense of history and attachment to BISC resources that predates the formation of the area as a monument and then later a national park. For old families, BISC and its managers are the newcomers who do not always seem to be caring for the full range of natural and historical resources associated with the park. Such feelings may also motivate community responses to the Stiltsville properties. For example, one leaseholder with connections to old family groups indicated:

You can see Stiltsville from downtown Miami. When I look out there it is like the Miami of a different time. I just don't think the National Park Service gives a whit about that. Their rationale is that these are not "natural" so therefore that is not the way it should be. When they don't exist, then the park will be "totally natural" and it has not been that way for a long time. That is a kind of purist attitude that ignores the reality. Now, I am a big supporter of National Parks, but a place is just not totally natural once you have put a road or something through there and it is no longer that way. Biscayne is on the edge of this aquatic interstate highway and it is never going to be a pristine natural environment. This line between the totally natural and the human just does not exist there. Those structures, people like them, they look neat, they are important to us and our history, they need to find some way to fix this situation and live with them out there.

This statement about Stiltsville expresses attachment to the human history as well as the natural history of the region. This history is, for some old family groups, expressed in physical structures such as Stiltsville, the Boca Chita complex, and for others in the natural resources of BISC. However, it would be a mistake to suggest that Stiltsville is supported by all members of what might be termed the old family group in Miami. For example, another person interviewed

who can also be characterized as old family was more equivocal about Stiltsville:

> I am not a great supporter of private holdings in the park and I tend to favor non-consumptive activities there. But the Park Service gave lessees too much latitude in 1988 and 1990, there was just too much waffling and that did not help. I know people feel that 'big government' is taking something from them and that is a problem, but I still don't think they [Stiltsville] are necessarily a good thing for the bay, but then you do have the culture of the people who live there bumping against the Park Service and it gets messy. . . .

The old family does not so much share a common view about Stiltsville or wreck diving, or any other particular use of park resources as they share a historical perspective about the meanings of their particular uses of the park. Whether it is the Stiltsville supporter, the beach combers, or the old-time families of Elliott and Adams Keys, they appear to construct present-day attachments to BISC from their own family and community experiences. BISC was once the front yard of a densely populated urban environment, and people used this front yard in various ways and developed different meanings about and attachments to these resources based on their community and individual experiences. For these Miami residents, BISC is a relative newcomer to the community and the newcomer's investment in the natural and human resources associated with the park is a developing story.

5.8.3   Contemporary Seminole and Miccosukee Connections with the Park

Park staff expressed a specific interest in the perceived associations of the Seminole and Miccosukee with BISC. Consequently, these groups were contacted to participate in the ethnographic interviews for the project. Unfortunately, no interviews with representatives of the Miccosukee Tribe could be scheduled. One representative of the Semiole Tribe of Florida was interviewed, but before any conclusions can be drawn about contemporary Native American attachments to BISC resources, more data need to be collected. However, based on some contemporary documents and the one interview, some limited findings can be reported.

Tribes have environmental, political, historical, and other interests in the natural resources of south Florida. However, the socioeconomic conditions of each of these tribes have consumed significant time and resources leaving only limited opportunity for involvement in other types of concerns. Consequently, when tribes do not respond to letters of inquiry or requests for input regarding land management issues, this does not necessarily mean a lack of interest since time and resources are likely consumed by more immediate issues. Nonetheless, tribes are sensitive to the process of consulting with them under the provisions of historic preservation laws and other Executive Orders that prescribe the consultation process between tribes and the federal government. There is an expectation of consultation about land managment issues of concern to the tribes and there is also an expectation about respecting tribal processes and traditions about such contacts.

One of the most prominent issues other than the necessity for attention to process in dealing with the tribes is a developing view that contemporary Florida Native Americans have a long history of attachment to and residence within south Florida, including the environs of Biscayne Bay. "People feel as if this is their homeland, their territory, they know the land well, but they see the world by water first. Their frame of the world is water." This view is the most well

developed in Patricia Wickman's most recent work that argues that Seminole history in Florida is one that predates the time when Native Americans were thought to have been destroyed in Florida by various natural and human agencies. Wickman argues that the view of Seminoles as being a group reconstituted after the 1500s from the remnants of populations from outside Florida that suffered from disease, famine, and invaders undermines their past and present connections to the land. She argues that ethnographic and ethnohistorical data indicate that Florida is in fact the "homeland" of the Seminole and other Native Americans in Florida. Wickman illustrates and closes her argument with a quote from a tribal elder:

> Out the Trail, all my life I have heard the elders tell us about the memories of the people from long before the wars. And the old people spoke of *ichi bomet* as our final home, and they knew the area very well. The ancestors knew which areas were high and dry, where the hammocks were, where to find the food, and where to build the camps. The knowledge of *ichi bomet* has been with our people for a long long time. And *ichi bomet* was was more than just the nose of the deer. It was that thin, long land where the soft, fresh, breezes would blow over us and set our spirits free. When we all lived in that land, our spirits would be able to blow gently over into the other world, to the West, without even having to cross over physically. They knew about Florida, and our people were here for a long, long time before the white people think we were (Wickman 1999: 221).

It is the nature of scholarship to reexamine and develop new interpretations as Dr. Wickman does, but this is a long-term process that will certainly involve critique by other scholars. However, the practical implications of her argument and the statements of the Seminoles she consulted with to construct it are that these people possess a sense of attachment to this region as their homeland and not some accidental waypoint dictated by historical circumstances beyond the control of their ancestors. This worldview promotes a sense of attachment to and investment in the management of resources such as BISC and Everglades National Park. As the social and economic conditions of the tribes improve, it is likely they will take more direct interest in those issues of direct cultural importance to them, whether the issues are about cultural resources or particular management topics.

6.0 SUMMARY: BISCAYNE NATIONAL PARK ETHNOGRAPHIC CONTEXT AND RESOURCE MANAGEMENT ISSUES

BISC is an area of contrasts. From north to south, the geology of the park ranges from sand barrier islands to coral Keys. From west to east, the ecological diversity of the park encompasses coastal mangroves, the protected waters of the bay, a chain of Keys and, finally, fringing coral reefs and deeper waters in the open Atlantic. The human uses of the park are as diverse as its resources. To the north of the park is the urban Miami metropolitan area, and toward the southern end of the park a "restored wilderness" can be found. While not a true wilderness, the park abounds with natural areas that show few obvious signs of human presence to the untrained eye. The park is at once the backyard playground to one of the great cities of the United States, and a set of natural and cultural resources of great aesthetic and conservation value. The park provides sustenance to shoreline fishers who use it to put food on their tables, and it provides at least a portion of a living to fishing guides, commercial fishers, and others who cater to the tourism trade. It is a recreational residence for individuals who may stay a day or two as campers or for a few who are occupants of Stiltsville.

The communities adjacent to BISC are changing. Miami has undergone significant demographic change in recent years and is a truly cosmopolitan center. In many ways, Miami is as much the northern fringe of Latin America as it is the southern fringe of urban America. Significant causes of this evolving reality include global as well as local factors. The growth and dominance of a Cuban-American population in the area can be directly traced to Cold War-related population flows, and Haitian and Nicaraguan immigration to the special relationship Miami has to the Caribbean and its economy. BISC itself has proven a crossroads in this change. For example, Haitian immigrants on crude vessels desperate to enter the United States have come into BISC where the Gulf Stream passes closest to American shores. The same area that was earlier the playground of the richest of the rich in America when wealthy families from the Northeast would vacation on the Keys is now at times a passionate destination goal of the poorest of the poor seeking a new start and a new life in this country.

While this report, by design an ethnographic overview and assessment, focused on existing literature, it is clear that there are park use patterns and associated community connections that are not adequately represented in the existing literature. For example, it is known that the local Mexican-American community has grown in recent years, and based on anecdotal evidence it would appear that there is at least some use of the park by this community for shoreline fishing. In contrast, Cuban-Americans often use the Keys within the park as a recreational destination site. These two communities or populations, while sharing an Hispanic heritage, appear to use two different areas of the park (onshore and offshore, respectively), accessed by two different means (vehicle and vessel), for two different (among other) primary uses (consumptive use of resources versus non-consumptive use). As suggestive as these initial findings may be, however, the Mexican-American use of the park is all but invisible in existing documents. In fact, research for this project shows that at least a good portion of shore based users of the park (e.g., 86 percent of the fishers contacted at Mowry Canal) do not know they are in a national park. This, obviously, presents management challenges to BISC staff. In general, the fact that BISC is a park "without a front gate" presents its own set of management challenges, and structures the relationship of the park to the communities in the area.

It is also important to note that while the particular mix of management and community related issues is unique to BISC, the individual management challenges faced by BISC managers are relatively common throughout the national park system. In some ways, BISC represents a microcosm of contemporary management complexities. One example of this is Stiltsville. In-holdings are not uncommon in national parks, and where these in-holdings overlap with a locally valued way of life, or are iconic of those lifeways, managers are presented with special challenges. In the case of Stiltsville, the structures do not qualify as historic, nor, apparently, do their uses qualify as types of 'traditional use' under National Park Service guidelines. However, the structures are clearly symbolic of a portion of the south Florida experience, and their existence harkens back to an earlier (if somewhat romanticized) era. While the structures themselves are not used as a public resource, the park will be different, and some say diminished, when these structures are gone. Park management and others with vested interests still struggle with issues of public and private access to commonly held resources, as managers do at other parks. The proximity to Miami and relatively extensive press coverage makes this a relatively high profile issue.

BISC also represents different things to different communities, and even different experiences of single communities. For example, to African Americans of the area, BISC embodies a history of segregation, in the form of a historic black-only beach on the contemporary site of the visitor's center, and of economic and social triumph in a repressive society, in the form of the Parson Jones homesite offshore on the Keys. That these two contemporaneous sites exist within the park is a valuable story that remains to be further developed. That the sociocultural differences parallel mainland and offshore resource contrasts is also an important part of the story, and a theme that carries through to stories of other groups and their varied relations to the park.

It is also clear that the demographic characteristics of the visitors to BISC do not reflect those of the communities of the area. While not unexpected, given the fact that national parks in general derive visitors from far and wide, the contrasts are still striking. Statistics compiled on participants in BISC school outreach programs appear to mirror the demographics of the communities at large, and these are very different from those characterizing persons seen at the visitor center or elsewhere in the park, whether measured by visitor surveys or casual observation. The dynamics of this situation are surely complex, and made all the more complicated by the differential types of access required to visit different parts of the park.

BISC is also a maritime crossroads as well as a destination. The Intercoastal Waterway runs through Biscayne Bay within the park, and Hawk Channel is a shipping lane that traverses BISC on the outside of the Keys. While wreckers and salvors no longer ply its waters, individuals still can and do make a living off of those in distress on the sea, but in modern times this normally translates to tow companies assisting pleasure boaters. Another contemporary incarnation of historic salvors may be seen in those who would privatize the excavation (or even widespread exploration) of historically significant shipwrecks within the park. A hard-fought battle in a number of parks (and elsewhere), the tension between those who believe that to leave a wreck untouched is to abandon it to destruction by the ocean and those who believe that to salvage it is to destroy its integrity and therefore its continuing value, is present in BISC as well. Preservation of these wrecks requires continuing vigilance on the part of park personnel. The common presence of U.S. Customs, U.S. Coast Guard, Immigration and Naturalization Service,

and other federal law enforcement officers in the area also attest to the fact that BISC also remains a crossroads for the smuggling trade. As the backdoor to Miami and gateway to the United States from the Bahamas, the Gulf of Mexico, the Caribbean, and beyond, a variety of illegal trafficking occurs in the area. Although individual issues are shared with their fellow officers elsewhere, BISC law enforcement personnel face a constellation of challenges not normally seen in other national parks.

Perhaps one event that best focuses a number of the issues faced by BISC management is the annual Columbus Day Regatta. While the centerpiece of this event is a sailing race, the event has grown to include a huge floating party within the park that has become an event in and of itself. To the attendees at the party, the race and, indeed, the park itself, would appear to be very much a part of an unseen and unimportant background to the immediate socializing and recreational opportunities afforded by the presence of large numbers of other boaters. As well as being a constant law enforcement challenge, this particular event does not typify what most people expect as a typical scene within the national park system. However, it is the logical extension of what is seen in BISC on a smaller, more low-key scale on an ongoing basis.

BISC faces continuing challenges becasue of the changing sociocultural context of the surrounding area. The population of some of the adjacent communities continues to increase in average age, and with a changing population may come different resource use demands. The park appears to have "dodged a bullet" with the dropping of a proposed reuse of Homestead AFB as a major civilian airport. This reuse would have meant the intrusion of high noise levels into the park on an ongoing basis, diminishing the solitude sought by many BISC users. Continuing challenges are associated with agricultural production in the area and associated water and runoff issues.

BISC represents many things to the different communities and populations in the area. It is a little known park compared to the nearby Everglades National Park. When viewed from the observation deck at the Dante Fascell Visitor Center at Convoy Point, the low-lying Keys within the park are not as obvious or eye-catching as the downtown Miami skyline that appears to float in the distance to the north (Figure 37). When on the water in the park and looking back toward the mainland, the miles of coastal mangrove, vital to the health and well being of the Biscayne Bay ecosystem, are not as obvious as the view-dominating Turkey Point (nuclear) Power Plant on the southern edge of the park and the highest elevation feature in the County located immediately behind (west) of the park at Black Point Marina–the enormous landfill colloquially known as "Mount Trashmore." Despite these reminders that the area adjacent to the park is not pristine, BISC represents an area and a set of resources that is vitally important to local communities in a variety of ways, perhaps made all the more so by adjacent uses. While a number of relationships between communities and the park have become clear through this study, it has raised a number of issues that could benefit from further clarification in subsequent studies. These include:

- A traditional use study to focus on intergenerational continuity of resource use, particularly by families who previously homesteaded in what is now the park, as well as those who make their living in the park through commercial fishing. The "old families" of the area represent an important continuity of community and resource relations that is not developed in the existing literature. This study could also explore continuity of use issues related to

Stiltsville. While contact was attempted with nearly all Stiltsville structure users, more in-depth work could serve to cast light on issues that are important not only to BISC but to other units within the national park system as well. This could also help to inform the ongoing advisory process as well.

- An ethnographic study of commercial and quasi-commercial fisheries within BISC. While we have laid out a typology of fisheries, there is still much work to be done to illuminate ties between particular groups and specific resources within different areas of the park. It is clear that different fisheries in different areas are associated with different sociocultural groups, but it is not clear how these activities fit in with other socioeconomic structures in those communities, nor how they contribute to family economies within those communities. Within the major categories of commercial fishing (by species complex), sport charter fishing, guided fishing (primarily on the flats), and subsistence-type fishing, there are clear patterns of differences by sociocultural and ethnic factors that remain to be definitively explored and described.

- Basic ethnographic research on use patterns in different areas in BISC. It is clear that uses co-vary with resource distribution and access type, but systematic exploration of the ties to particular communities and populations was not possible under this research. Visitor surveys have been conducted and are a useful piece of the puzzle, but supplementary ethnographic research could fill in a number of the gaps in understanding the relationship between the park and the adjacent communities.
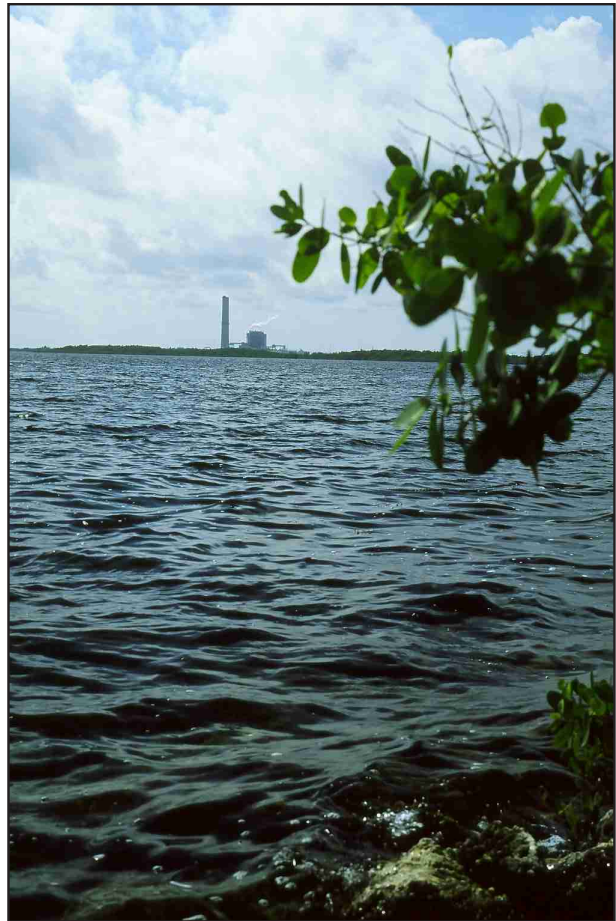
Figure 37
The Miami Skyline as seen from Biscayne National Park (top) and
Turkey Point Power Plant looking south from Biscayne National Park Shoreline (bottom)

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APPENDIX 1
METHODS AND RESEARCH APPROACH

APPENDIX 1
METHODS AND RESEARCH APPROACH

This document is presented as a reference work for Biscayne National Park (BISC) managers and staff. It is intended as an overview of the connections of surrounding communities with BISC. This overview combines a review of existing literature with limited ethnographic interviewing to describe the uses and sociocultural context of BISC resources. The complete development of the multicultural background and usage of BISC resources by diverse groups, while desirable, was assessed as beyond the scope of available project resources. Consequently, a research strategy was used to develop sufficient background and ethnographic information for a general overview of both the multi-cultural environment of Miami-Dade County and a preliminary assessment of cultural groups within communities surrounding BISC. This work should be considered a starting point for BISC managers and staff to assess the social and cultural characteristics of surrounding communities and their connections with BISC resources. The remainder of this section discusses three issues:

1. The research strategy that informed the decisions about how to achieve an overview within available resources.

2. The choices for examination of the existing literature about BISC's sociocultural context and the use of its resources.

3. The implementation of ethnographic data collection, including sampling strategies and interview methods.

RESEARCH STRATEGY

The questions guiding the implementation of this study are: "What communities or groups are associated with the park?" "Who is using the park now?" "Are there any traditionally associated peoples?" "How are they using the park?" and, "How does the park fit into the lives of members of surrounding communities?" Using both "top down" and "bottom up" approaches, literature review and primary data collection methods were combined to address these questions. The "top down" approach begins with a broad ethnographic treatment of the Miami-Dade County area, while the "bottom up" approach identifies particular uses and users of the park and follows the leads generated by those uses/users to particular groups, communities, and cultures associated with the park. The combination of the two approaches resulted in the connection of some users with communities and a description of the sociocultural context of BISC. During the initial year of this project, work focused on the "bottom up" approach. Literature regarding the uses and sociocultural context of the park was examined. The work also included a limited number of ethnographic interviews designed to understand the range of uses and the groups, communities, and cultures associated with those uses. The "top down" approach, that is, the ethnographic characterization and consideration of the larger community adjacent community context, was developed in more detail in the following year.

The decision to begin with the bottom-up approach resulted from several considerations. First, the Miami-Dade County area encompasses a large, sprawling, cosmopolitan metropolis. It is

home to a large range of communities, groups, and cultures. Without some basic understanding of groups likely to be associated with park, the ethnographic effort could be diffuse and the resources too limited to develop usable information about community associations with BISC. Second, given the composition of the project team, a decision was made to maximize the resources available from the Rosenstiel School of Marine & Atmospheric Science (RSMAS)/University of Miami component early in the study process. This would both involve those team members in the ongoing research and produce some preliminary information for park staff and managers early in the study process. This information would then be available for other efforts such as revision of the General Management Plan and the Fishery Management Plan. Third, this strategy would involve park staff at the earliest point in the process and ensure that BISC's manager's needs were identified early.

EXAMINATION OF THE EXISTING LITERATURE

Developing the literature review for this work required making choices about allocating resources between the literature about the uses and users of BISC's marine resources and the literature about the cultural groups in surrounding communities. A significant portion of BISC is composed of water that is accessed by commercial and recreational users. The commercial users are primarily fishermen who take shrimp, crab, and a variety of fin fish. Recreational users include sailors, power boaters, cruisers of the Inter-Coastal Waterway, fishermen, divers, beachcombers, treasurer hunters, and other recreationists who visit BISC's shorelines and waters. The literature about these types of users is primarily in academic publications and in non-published reports for government agencies. The cultural groups within the environs of the BISC are extensive and the literature regarding those groups is dispersed in local museum archives, academic books and journals, theses, dissertations, newspapers, magazines, unpublished reports, films, and other media. Examining the existing literature regarding the use of BISC's marine resources and the cultural groups in surrounding communities thus presented a decision about emphasis and depth of coverage. Examination of the literature about the uses of BISC's marine resources is emphasized using a "bottom-up" view that understanding uses and users would point to connections with surrounding communities. A majority of the available resources (264 of the total 336 hours) for the literature review were allocated to this task. The remaining seventy-two hours (about 21 percent) were allocated for an examination of ethnographic literature. This emphasis on existing uses reveals the connections of users with BISC resources, a key piece of information that can contribute to understanding the social identities of users and their connections to surrounding communities.

The discussion of the literature is presented in two separate chapters, one for a review of "existing uses" and another about BISC's sociocultural context. The later chapter is, as noted previously, a more limited discussion using the "top down" strategy to describe the sociocultural characteristics of cultural groups in nearby communities. This discussion is limited because resources were insufficient to develop the depth and breadth of potentially available information. In fact, a thorough examination of the Miami-Dade County sociocultural context is a substantial task: this is one of the world's most diverse and complex multicultural environments, including a mix of Native Americans, Europeans, Caribbean Islanders, and various peoples from Central and South America and other regions of the world. Developing the existing literature about the history, culture, and social characteristics for any one of these groups would require a thorough search of museum archives, books, journals, theses,

dissertations, scholarly notes, and other unpublished documents. The completion of a thorough review for all the major groups within surrounding communities was evaluated as beyond what could be accomplished for this work.

The focus of this assessment is on a few prominent cultural groups in surrounding communities that express the diversity of the multicultural environment of the region. These groups are: Cubans, Haitians, Nicaraguans, African Americans, Native Americans, and Crackers. There are many other possible cultural groups to consider: Eastern Europeans; Russians; Canadians; Jews; Mexicans; Bahamians; Puerto Ricans; "snow-birds," who are seasonal residents from primarily northern-areas of the United States and Canada; and a host of others. The focus selected is intended to illustrate a range of social and cultural issues for groups of long standing and those who are new immigrants to Miami-Dade County. These groups are also well represented in the available literature about the folk-life, sociology, and anthropology of surrounding communities. The readily available sources regarding these groups also often compile substantial amounts of previously published findings, thereby making a review of the sociocultural characteristics regarding these groups relatively efficient.

For each of the selected groups, information is summarized about social history and demography, social characteristics, and current sociocultural issues. While books regarding the folk-life and anthropology of these groups were the primary sources, there was some limited review of journals. However, the resources are not available to identify, acquire, and review theses, dissertations, and other less readily available works. Nonetheless, this review provides the reader with an introduction to the cultural groups discussed, and it should assist BISC managers and staff in understanding some of the broad cultural themes within communities surrounding the park.

USING ETHNOGRAPHIC INTERVIEWS TO DEVELOP INFORMATION ABOUT BISC USERS

The "bottom-up" strategy was also applied in identifying types of uses and user groups by conducting ethnographic interviews. These interviews were intended to ascertain local perspectives about types of uses of the park, assessments of resources, and management concerns. During the first project year, two ethnographers conducted about 22 interviews, and during the following year, another 19 interviews were completed by two ethnographers. Using a modified ethnographic interview approach (described below), another 65 shoreline and canal fishermen were also interviewed in the project's second year. Approximately 25 person-days were used to collect the ethnographic data and an additional 8 person-days were used for the shoreline and canal fisherman interviews. The sampling approach and format for both the ethnographic and fishermen interviews is described below.

Ethnographic Interviews: Sampling and Format

The knowledge of park staff was our starting point for identification of persons to include in the ethnographic interviews. Park staff have first-hand knowledge of the range of users who visit BISC and they are also a valuable source of information about user group issues. Staff in different departments (including the Superintendent's Office, Interpretation, Maintenance, Law Enforcement, Planning, and Cultural Resources) were contacted to inquire about the types

of users and the contact information for individuals who belong to groups that might have a perspective on the park and its resources. A list of individuals and their associated groups were compiled from these contacts. The groups identified included: recreational fishermen, boaters, divers, tow boat operators, shoreline fishermen, commercial fishermen, and environmentalists. Additionally, park staff also suggested there were others who do not necessarily represent a "user group," but they are "interested parties." That is, these individuals have connections to larger social and cultural groups in Miami-Dade County and its environs that express an interest in park issues. These groups were identified as: the Seminole and Miccosukee Tribes; Blacks from surrounding communities; and "Old Family" Miami residents.

Persons identified from contacts with BISC staff were categorized according to user groups (fishermen, commercial fishermen, etc.). In almost all instances, there were multiple individuals identified for each group. Telephone calls to arrange interviews were made to persons from each group; within the group phone calls were placed until a person was reached who agreed to an interview. The purpose of the project, how the individuals name was acquired, and the general topics we wished to address in the interview were explained. A few persons preferred a telephone interview, but the majority of these interviews were face-to-face. There were no refusals to participate in these interviews.

The format for these interviews was ethnographic; that is, within broad topic areas, individuals were encouraged to describe their use of the park, management concerns, and other types of connections with park resources. The ethnographer's task in these types of interviews is to encourage the person interviewed to describe from their point of view how they view the park and use its resources. Interviews were recorded in field notes, and then became the basis for the information presented in the description of users and interested parties in Chapter 5 of this report.
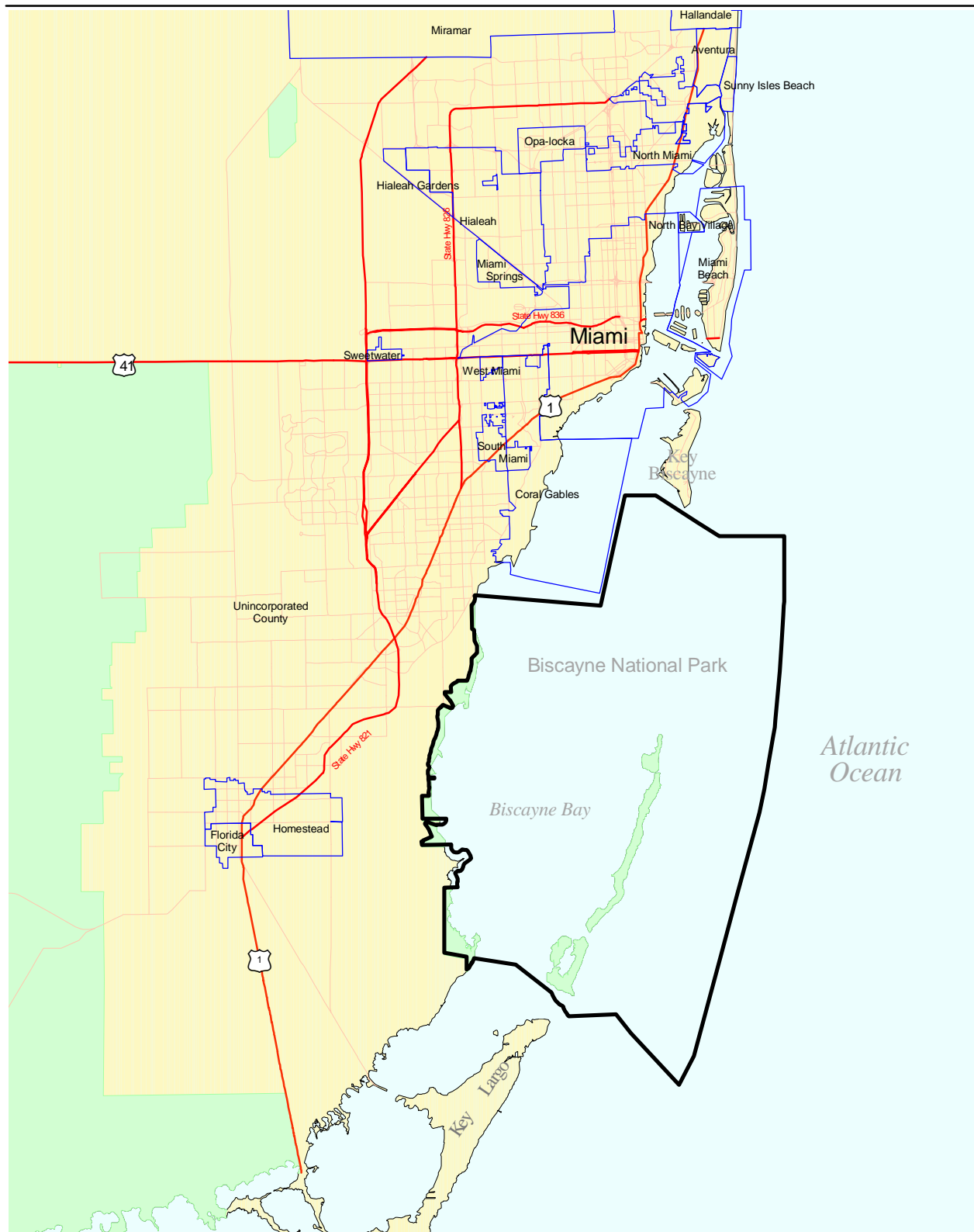
Fisherman Interviews; Sampling, and Format

Early discussions with BISC staff suggested a special interest in the fishermen who fish the canals and shorelines within park boundaries. Some suggested these were Hispanic "subsistence" fishermen who supplemented their diet with fish of almost any size. Others suggested these users might be primarily recreational fishermen who accessed park waters on weekends from near-by communities. We responded to concerns among park staff by working with the University of Miami to develop intercept interviews with weekend fishermen along the canals and shoreline of the park. Interviews were conducted primarily on weekends because park staff indicated this was the time of the most usage. This observation was supported by casual visits by ethnographers to the canals near the park on weekends and weekdays. The sites selected for these intercept interviews are: Black Point Marina, which includes the confluence of Black Creek and Goulds Canals; Military Canal; Mowry Canal; Convoy Point near the Visitor's Center; and Homestead Bayfront Park. On consecutive Sundays during the month of April 2002, these sites were visited by two Spanish-speaking interviewers. Every other person encountered at each site was asked to participate in an interview about their fishing practices. A total of 65 persons were interviewed; 22 at Black Point Marina; 22 at Convoy Point; and 21 at Mowry Canal. This targeted sampling was not intended to represent the full range of users, but to explore the types of users who accessed these areas on Sundays in April. A substantially

different approach would be required to collect a representative sample of users, including consideration differences in season, days of the week, and time of day.

The content of the interviews addressed the reasons for visiting a particular site, knowledge of the area, species targeted, perceived changes in the fishery, and if users knew that they were fishing within BISC. Responses were recorded in written notes and then compiled by site as a basis to describe shoreline and canal fishing in BISC. The responses were organized into tables for frequency counts of responses to the topics addressed in the interviews. Given the nature of the sample and the exploratory purpose of the interviews, there was no reason to conduct any statistical analysis. The information presented in Chapter 5 is thus a descriptive summary that can be a basis for additional work, but it is by no means a definitive description of the extent of shoreline and canal fishing in BISC.

APPENDIX 2
GIS MAPS

Miramar
Hallandale
Aventura
Sunny Isles Beach
Opa-locka
North Miami
Hialeah Gardens
State Hwy 836
Hialeah
North Bay Village
Miami
Springs
Miami
Beach
State Hwy 836
Miami
Sweetwater
West Miami
41
1
South
Miami
Key
Biscayne
Coral Gables
Unincorporated
County
Biscayne National Park
Atlantic
Ocean
State Hwy 821
Biscayne Bay
Florida
City
Homestead
1
Key Largo
Sources: Florida Fish & Wildlife Conservation Commission, Biscayne National Park

6   0   6   Miles

35000   0   35000   Feet
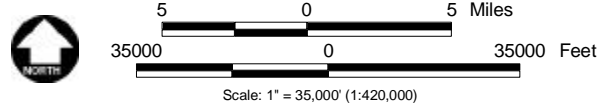
NORTH

Scale: 1" = 35,000' (1:420,000)
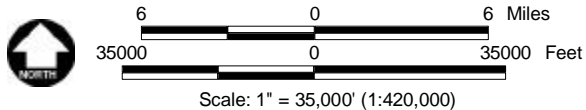
Miami-Dade County Jurisdictions
Near Biscayne National Park

Biscayne National Park Ethnographic Overview
00034 Biscayne/GIS/jurisdictions.apr   12/22/00

North Miami Beach

Opa-locka

North Miami

Hialeah

MIAMI-DADE COUNTY

Miami Springs

Miami Beach

State Hwy 835

State Hwy 836

MIAMI

41

Sweetwater

1

South Miami

State Hwy 874

Coral Gables

Key Biscayne

Everglades
National Park

Biscayne National Park

Biscayne Bay

State Hwy 821

Homestead

Florida City

1

Atlantic
Ocean

LEGEND

National Wetlands Inventory

- Estuarine,Intertidal
- Estuarine,Subtidal
- Lacustrine,Limnetic
- Marine,Intertidal
- Marine,Subtidal
- Palustrine,Unconsol. Bottom
- Palustrine,Aquatic Bed
- Palustrine,Emergent
- Palustrine,Forested
- Palustrine,Scrub Shrub
- Palustrine,Unconsol. Shore
- Riverine,Lower Perennial
- Upland

Biscayne National Park
National Park
Highway
Roads
Cities

5   0   5   Miles

35000   0   35000   Feet

NORTH

National Wetlands Inventory

Scale: 1" = 35,000' (1:420,000)

Biscayne National Park Ethnographic Overview
00034 Biscayne/GIS/national wetland.apr   12/22/00

LEGEND

Bottom Community Types
BARE BOTTOM
■ Carbonate Sand
■ Unknown Bottom
  Unknown Bottom-Banks
  Unknown Bottom-Dredged
  Unknown Bottom-Restoration
CORAL
■ Individual Patch Reef
■ Aggregated Patch Reefs
■ Patch Reef with Halo
HARDBOTTOM
■ Soft Corals, Sponges, Algae
■ Hardbottom with Perceptible Segrass
  Hardbottom with Perceptable Segrass-Banks
SEAGRASS
■ Dense Patches in Matrix of Hardbottom
■ Mod to Dense,Continuous Beds
  Mod to Dense,Continuous Beds-Banks
  Mod to Dense,Continuous Beds-Dredged
  Mod to Dense,Continuous Beds-Restoration
■ Mod to Dense,Contin Beds w/Blowouts
  Mod to Dense,Contin Beds w/Blowouts-Banks
■ Dominantly Sand/Mud w/ Small Scatt Seagrass Patches
  Dominantly Sand/Mud w/ Small Scattered Seagrass Patches-Banks
■ Dense Patches in Matrix of Sparse Seagrass
  Dense Patches in Matrix of Sparse Seagrass Patches-Banks
■ Sparse,Continuous Beds
  Sparse,Continuous Beds-Banks
OTHER
■ Tidal Creeks
■ Uninterpreted
▭ Biscayne National Park
■ National Park
/\/ Highway
/\/ Roads
○ Cities

South Miami

Coral Gables

Homestead

Florida City
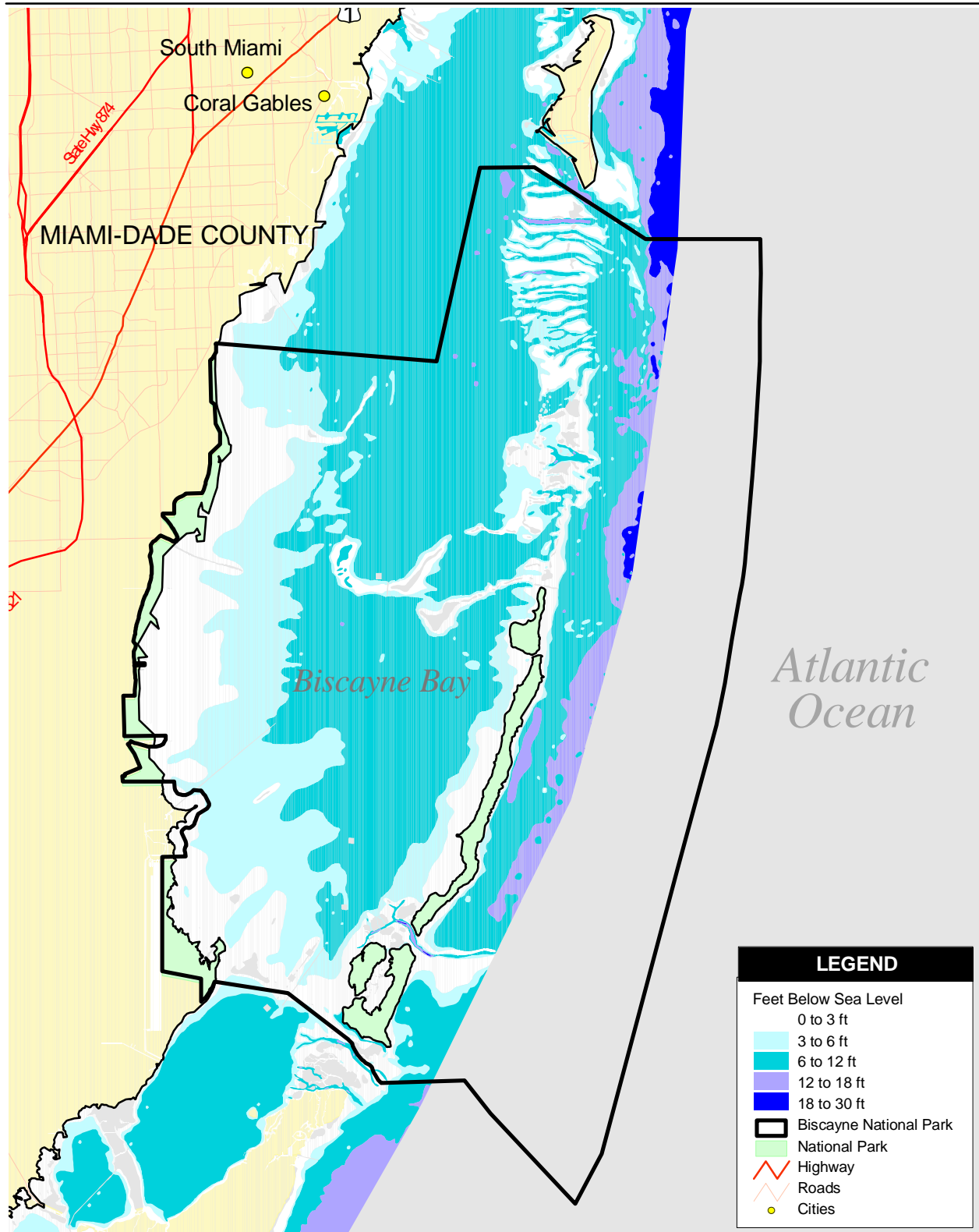
State Hwy 821

Atlantic Ocean

Sources: Florida Fish & Wildlife Conservation Commission, Biscayne National Park

4   0   4 Miles

20000   0   20000 Feet

NORTH

Scale: 1" = 35,000' (1:420,000)

Bottom Community Types in the Biscayne National Park Area

Biscayne National Park Ethnographic Overview

00034 Biscayne/GIS/bottom communities.apr   12/22/00

South Miami

Coral Gables

MIAMI-DADE COUNTY

State Hwy 874

Biscayne Bay

Atlantic Ocean

LEGEND

Feet Below Sea Level
- 0 to 3 ft
- 3 to 6 ft
- 6 to 12 ft
- 12 to 18 ft
- 18 to 30 ft
- Biscayne National Park
- National Park
- Highway
- Roads
- Cities

Sources: Florida Fish & Wildlife Conservation Commission, Biscayne National Park

4   0   4   Miles

20000   0   20000   Feet

NORTH

Scale: 1" = 20,000' (1:240,000)

Bathymetry

Biscayne National Park Ethnographic Overview

00034 Biscayne/GIS/bathymetry.apr   12/22/00