

THE BILINGUAL RESEARCH JOURNAL
Spring 1996, Vol. 20, No. 2, pp. 283-337

SPANISH AS AN ECONOMIC RESOURCE IN METROPOLITAN MIAMI

Sandra H. Fradd
University of Miami

Thomas D. Boswell
University of Miami and
The Cuban American National Council

Abstract

This article is a case study of Miami as a linguistic marketplace; its purpose is to inform educational policymakers of the economic and cultural advantage of developing a multilingual workforce. The growth of Metro-Miami's Spanish language economy is a result of recent demographics and increased international trade and commerce. Although global education and proficiency in languages in addition to English have been recognized as essential in preparing a competent future workforce, serious statewide deliberations about language proficiency development overlook Florida students who already speak those languages. Therefore, national, state, and local policy recommendations are made for promoting bilingualism and biliteracy, countering the current process of language shift in immigrant populations, and changing the attitudes that pose multilingualism as a threat.

Introduction

As the year 2000 approaches, Miami - an entrepreneurial two-million metropolis at Florida's southern tip - is striving to become both the Brussels (the headquarters of the European Economic Community or Common Market) and the Hong Kong (the materials and manufactured goods center of the Pacific Rim) of the Western Hemisphere (Westlund, 1995a, p. A4, parentheses added).

South Florida has become a center for Latin American business. A powerful force behind the current and anticipated growth is Miami's multilingual culture. "The one ingredient we have in Miami is that we understand the business culture in the United States and also the business culture in Latin America." (Deneen, 1995, p. 26A). The role of language, and by extension culture, in facilitating trade and commerce is often not considered in formulating policies to promote economic development. However, with the increasing globalization of trade and commerce, decisions impacting language use in business are receiving attention from policy makers as well as investors, within both the government and the business community. Because of sustained growth in its domestic and international markets, Metropolitan Miami is becoming an economic center where language use issues are increasingly important. The growth of Miami's domestic and international businesses, particularly Spanish-language markets, has rekindled interest in promoting the Spanish-language proficiency of business people.

The purpose of this paper is to describe the economic impact of Spanish-language use and to consider how decisions related to both English and Spanish proficiency may influence the future economic development of Metropolitan Miami. The article is divided into four sections. In the first section, the growth of Spanish as a business language in Greater Miami is reviewed. The second section presents 1990 US Census data and other research on the use of Spanish and English in Metropolitan Miami. In the third section, the results of a study of Spanish and English use in the Metropolitan Miami workforce sponsored by the Greater Miami Chamber of Commerce and the Cuban American National Council are reported and discussed. The final section offers policy recommendations related to the development of Spanish as a business language in Metropolitan Miami.

The Growth of Spanish as a Business Language in Greater Miami

Although the state of Florida was first colonized and settled by Spain, for the past two centuries the primary language of communication and commerce has been English (Chapman, 1991). While English remains the dominant language, during the past 35 years Metropolitan

Miami has experienced rapid demographic changes, such that Spanish has once again become an important language in commerce and trade (Boswell & Curtis, 1991; Chapman, 1991; Gaines, 1993). Because of the limited use of languages other than English in the United States nationally, the economic value of other languages, such as Spanish, has often not been given serious consideration (Cancela, 1995; Montaner, 1992). Increasing globalization of the nation's economy necessitates consideration of languages in which business is conducted and of the availability of professional personnel proficient in the languages of business.

This section is divided into two parts. In the first part the growth and importance of Spanish as a language of commerce is discussed. The second considers the potential economic role of the increasing numbers of school children who speak Spanish as their home language. Recognition of the demographic changes and the growth of Spanish language use is important in preparing for the increasing globalization of the national and local economy (Kanter, 1995). The implications of such growth are important in formulating policies to ensure the availability of the workforce required for the 21st century.

Growth of Metropolitan Miami's Spanish-Language Economy

No other major city in the United States has experienced the massive and sudden demographic changes that have occurred in Metropolitan Miami since the massive Cuban immigration following Cuba's 1959 revolution. In 1960, Hispanics constituted only 5% of Miami's population, while 65% were identified as non-Hispanic and non-Jewish White, 15% were Jewish, and 15% were Black. By 1990, the Hispanic population had reached 49%, and the non-Hispanic/non-Jewish White population had decreased to 22%. During this 30-year period, as the Hispanic population increased by almost one million, the non-Hispanic Whites and Jewish groups decreased significantly (Metropolitan Dade County Planning Department, 1993; Sheskin, 1992; US Bureau of Census, 1991). By 1990, 45% of Dade County's population was foreign born, far higher than for any other large city in the United States (Lapham, 1993). In 1995, Hispanics represent approximately 55% of Metropolitan Miami's population (Metropolitan Dade County Planning Department, 1995).

As a result of the increase in the Hispanic population, Metropolitan Miami has become more economically oriented towards Latin America and the Caribbean, so much so that it is often referred to as "America's Gateway City" to the southern region. Arrivals from Latin America come to Miami to conduct business, shop, and enjoy recreation. An increasing number maintain second residences in South Florida, where they can spend their vacations and perhaps retire. Miami is home to the leading Spanish-language media in the United States, including newspapers, television, and radio programs that every day reach tens of millions of homes in the United States and throughout Latin America (Oppenheimer, 1994).

Metropolitan Miami has more American-owned businesses operating in Latin America, and Latin American-owned businesses operating within it than any other US metropolitan area. Miami also engages in more Latin American trade than any other US city. For example, Miami controls 43% of all US trade with the Caribbean, 28% of all US trade with South America, and almost half of all trade with Central America. Approximately 129,000 Greater Miami businesses have ties with countries located south of Florida (Lawrence, 1994). Miami has more foreign-owned banks than any other city in the US except New York City. At least 130 international corporations, including Texaco, General Motors, Sony, Nabisco, Komatsu, Airbus, and AT&T, have established their Latin American headquarters in Dade County (Chiles, 1994).

One of the most important differences between Miami and other large US cities is the growing political and economic dominance of the Hispanic community and the speed with which it has gained this influence. Hispanic strength has developed for several reasons: (a) shared common languages (English and Spanish); (b) recognition of the need for collaboration and mutual support; (c) the presence of large cohorts of middle class immigrants; and (d) the development of an economic infrastructure on which to build a political power base. The rapidity with which groups of Latin American immigrants have been attracted to Miami and the speed with which they have become linked within the Hispanic enclave economy has also played a central role in this success. An additional factor has also contributed to the growing strength of the Hispanic community: the departure of large numbers of

non-Hispanic Whites who were uncomfortable with the increasing use of Spanish and the shift from a local to an international community (Boswell & Curtis, 1991; Boswell & Skop, 1995). The resulting transformation from a locally focused city into a cosmopolitan center has occurred in large part through the use of Spanish and other languages (Kanter, 1995; Portes & Stepick, 1993).

In the early stages of the recent immigration, the period between 1959 and 1970, the majority of the emigre's were Cubans who brought the human capital that forged the development of new ways of conducting business. This human capital included a critical mass of educated professionals with an entrepreneurial spirit and the skills to create a bilingual, cosmopolitan environment oriented toward economic development (Boswell & Curtis, 1991; Portes & Stepick, 1993). The growth of an economic enclave, with increasing ties to the international markets in Latin America and Europe, emerged from this enterprise nucleus. These strong international ties enabled the Hispanic community to promote tourism and trade with Latin America and Europe, and to encourage a positive identity between Miami and other nations (Florida International Affairs Commission, 1994). Within an infrastructure of shared languages and cultures, business is easily transacted in Spanish or in English (Castellanos, 1990; Kanter, 1995). The ambiance of the bilingual business environment has expanded to include other languages, such as Portuguese for Brazilians and French for both French Canadians and residents of France (Garcia, J., 1995). Spanish, nevertheless, dominates as the principal language, after English.

Business Indicators. The increasing vigor of the "English only" debate and the movement toward establishing English as the official national language (see Headden, 1995; Maxwell, 1995; Riley, 1995, for examples) often overshadow the economic contributions that occur through business conducted in languages other than English. While international trade and commerce is important to the general US economy, it is an essential part of South Florida development. A number of economic indicators illustrate the importance of non-English languages, especially Spanish, in the Miami economy. Of particular importance are the expansion of multinational corporations, increases in commerce, trade, and tourism, and the growth of Spanish-language

media. These are discussed next; in addition, an indicator of potential difficulty for further expansion is also highlighted.

1) *Multinational Corporations*: The presence of multinational corporations, firms that own at least one physical operation outside of their home country, is a barometer of a community's global desirability as well as its economic health (Beacon Council, 1994). Multinational companies have been a staple of Miami's economic landscape for many years. The growth of new multinational corporations is a highlight of South Florida's expanding economy. For the past 15 years, the primary growth of multinational corporations in Miami has occurred through the emergence of markets in Latin America (Beacon Council, 1994). Increases within these markets have provided an important boost to both the local and state economy.

2) *Commerce and Trade*: Just as Miamians are looking south to promote economic development, increasing numbers of Latin Americans are also looking north for economic opportunities. These exchanges have not only created enhanced commerce and trade, but also established the need to develop extended international banking services (Villano, 1994). While Miami ranks number two in the nation, after New York, in the number of international banks, its most important banking role is as a financial center for national, Latin American, and European companies trading with Latin America. Because of the availability of legal and financial services in Miami, Latin American businesses often come to Miami to finalize international agreements with businesses in other Latin American countries (Bamrud, 1995).

Universities are also experiencing increasing enrollments of local as well as Latin American Hispanics (Villano, 1994). Programs at both state and private universities are designed to encourage the development of international exchanges in a number of fields including marketing, banking and finance, as well as engineering, political science, public health, and education. Many of the programs have specializations in Latin American studies.

Latin American and European investors control approximately 8% to 10% of current real estate sales in Miami, a large portion in the upper price range (Westlund, 1995b). Much of the new commercial construction is financed and directed by Latin American investors, including Brazilians and Hispanics, as well as European investors from

Spain, Germany, France and Italy (Westlund, 1995c). Across Florida, non-bank foreign investment increased 27% between 1988 and 1992, illustrating the importance of international business throughout the state (Bureau of Economic Analysis, 1995a & b).

In addition to being the international "Gateway to the Americas," Miami also serves as the "Mall of the Americas" (López, 1995). Miami has more Hispanic-owned businesses than any other US metropolitan area (Valdés & Seoane, 1995). Retail shoppers, especially from Latin America spend a great deal of their time and money exploring South Florida malls and other shopping areas. South Florida ranks as the number one area in the nation in sales of apparel and accessories, jewelry, footwear, and health and beauty aids (López, 1995). Many of these items are purchased by international tourists.

International tourism represented 57% of Miami's total tourist revenues in 1994. During that year, Latin American tourists in Miami spent \$3,557,800, almost as much as the \$3,728,600 that came from US tourists (Beacon Council, 1995). Miami has two major areas of international trade: the Miami International Airport and the Port of Miami. The airport ranks number two, after New York's JFK, in the numbers of international visitors and number one in the nation in terms of the amount of cargo shipped each year (Westlund, 1995a). Although domestic and international passengers at the airport have remained constant for the past two years (1.46 and 1.65 million, respectively), the amount of international freight increased 29% during the same time period ("From South Florida to the World," 1995). While the Port of Miami is the cruise liner capital of the world, it also does a large cargo trade, surpassing 5.5 million tons in 1994 (Westlund, 1995a). Cargo trade with Latin America is projected to increase by 9% during the next year.

Three of the world's 12 biggest emerging markets, Mexico, Brazil, and Argentina (U.S. International Trade Administration, 1995), already have strong trade relationships with Miami. Brazil, Colombia, Argentina, Venezuela, the Dominican Republic, and Chile are Miami's largest Latin American trade partners (Beacon Council, 1995). Latin American nations as a group are Florida's closest and best customers. The four top countries for Florida exports are all in Latin America, all with imports that far exceed exports to Florida (Bureau of Economic

Analysis, 1995 a), an important achievement considering the negative national trade balance.

3) *Spanish-Language Media*: Across the nation, during the past decade, the number of people using Spanish has increased from 11.1 to 17.3 million, making Spanish, after English, the most frequently used language in American homes (US Bureau of Census, 1994a). Spanish language media, newspapers, radio, and television impact the nation in at least four ways: (a) increased communication at both the national and international levels; (b) development and expansion of both domestic and international markets; (c) reinforcement of Spanish-language use and cultural solidarity; and (d) opportunities for learning Spanish as a new language.

There are more Spanish-language television channels, radio stations, and newspapers in Miami than in Los Angeles and New York combined (WLTN Marketing, 1995). *The Miami Herald/El Nuevo Herald* is considered the best bilingual daily newspaper in the United States with separate coverage of news, business, and social events in both languages (Kanter, 1995; Portes & Stepick, 1993). International Spanish-language television networks such as Univisión, Telemundo and MTV-Latin America, are headquartered in Miami (Soruco, 1995). With regard to gross expenditures for media advertising, the Spanish-language market in South Florida is second in the nation, after Los Angeles (Muto, 1995; Whitefield, 1995a & b). This is an especially important accomplishment, considering that Florida has the fourth largest Spanish-speaking population in the nation (Valdés & Seoane, 1995).

Often Spanish-language communication is overlooked in terms of its economic value and potential political influence (Cancela, 1995). Entertainment and commercial productions in Miami represent a growth area where ideas, as well as images and products, are disseminated throughout the nation, across the Americas, and to Europe. Hispanic music and personalities popular in Miami are also widely recognized throughout Latin America, supporting the growth of the Spanish-language entertainment industry and extending international cultural bonds. The availability of Spanish-language media brings together the music, entertainment, and political orientations of the Americas to create

a view of "lo nuestro" (our culture) encapsulated in Miami (Herald Staff Report, 1995).

4) *Limiting Factors in Spanish-Language Media*: While recognizing the opportunities within the Spanish-language market, it is also important to acknowledge the difficulties associated with its development. One of the most significant, the lack of a predictable market, is related to the development of a bilingual workforce and the sustained use of Spanish as a language of business. Even though Miami is the largest US center for Spanish-language media (Soruco, 1995), its primary appeal tends to be the newly-arrived and older immigrant audiences, especially those who learned Spanish well before English (Soruco, 1995). A recent study indicates that bilinguals who learned Spanish first watch Spanish-language television 70% of the time, compared with English-first bilinguals who watch Spanish-language television only 22% of the time (Freedman, 1995).

As Hispanics become more fluent in English and more participatory in the English-speaking mainstream, their tastes change (Whitefield, 1995b). An example of the shift from Spanish to English is found in the development of English-language magazines designed for the national US Hispanic market. Readership of Hispanic oriented English-language magazines is generally more affluent and established than the Spanish-speaking Hispanic population in general (Whitefield, 1995b). With changing preferences, previously established market niches disappear. While changes in audiences' preferences provide understanding about the acculturation process and offer insight for targeting specific Hispanic markets, preference changes also illustrate the difficulties in identifying stable Hispanic markets and of maintaining Spanish proficiency in the United States.

As the popularity of English-language magazines designed for a Hispanic market niche exemplifies, although Spanish may be the primary language of many Hispanics it is not the universal language for all US Hispanics. Differences in language proficiency and preferences are often not discussed with respect to the demographic changes leading to the current ranking of the United States as the fifth largest Hispanic nation and projections that it will become second largest during the early part of the 21st century (Bouvier & Davis, 1982; Cancela, 1995; Whitefield, 1995b). The statement of the US ranking as a Hispanic

nation fails to take into consideration that English is the language of preference of many acculturated Hispanics. Changing market niches and the shift from Spanish to English as the language of general communication and business point to the vulnerability of Spanish as a language for conducting business in the United States, and of the potential gulf between the culture of US Hispanics and their associates in other parts of the Hispanic world.

The Economic Importance of Spanish-Language Proficiency in Florida. Recent developments at the state and local levels highlight the growing recognition of Spanish and other international languages as commercially valued resources for promoting business growth. Activities in the Governor's Office and the Florida Legislature emphasize these efforts. The Florida Legislature, for example, established a number of organizations to promote international trade and commerce. Within the Executive Office of the Governor, these include: the Florida International Affairs Commission, the Florida International Affairs Foundation, and the Florida International Trade and Investment Council. These groups, along with the Department of Commerce, are responsible for promoting policies to encourage international trade and investment. In addition, the Florida Council on International Education has been formed to develop programs that meet the academic and vocational needs of expanded international commerce.

According to a study sponsored by the Florida Council on International Education (1994), nearly half of the labor force in Florida, approximately 1.3 million employees, requires some level of foreign-language preparation in order to meet the needs of international business. Also noteworthy is the finding that employers who hire persons proficient in languages other than English desire to have fully English-proficient employees who can communicate effectively with the larger public and adapt to life in the United States. In addition to encouraging proficiency in international languages, the Florida Council on International Education (1994) seeks to change the public's attitude toward bilingualism and the use of languages other than English. A particular focus of these efforts has been on students from kindergarten through high school (Florida International Affairs Commission, 1995; Florida Council on International Education, 1994). However, the 1995

Florida Department of Education budget eliminated previous allocations for institutes to promote foreign language instruction (Gale, 1995).

Also recognizing the need for increased use of international languages in South Florida, the Greater Miami Chamber of Commerce included in its 1995 annual survey to monitor Miami's business pulse two questions about the level of foreign language proficiency needed to conduct business. The great majority (80%) of respondents indicated that foreign-language proficiency was needed at varying levels, from basic to full proficiency in a second language (BDO Seidman, 1995).

The Dade County School Board is also aware of this growing need. In 1994 Superintendent Visiedo (1994), in a position paper prepared in response to a Board member's request, stated, "It is evident that Dade County must count on a bilingual or multilingual workforce that can provide services for these [multinational] companies and for the millions of visitors to the greater Miami area" (p. 4). The position paper concluded, "Foreign languages should be an integral part of the curriculum and full proficiency should be the goal of our teachers and students" (p.5). This intent is also reflected in the district's fourth goal, "Schools will maximize opportunities to increase the number of students who are bilingual and biliterate" (Office of Management and Accountability, 1995, p. A-5).

In summary, in Metro-Miami, rapid expansion in the use of Spanish in commerce, the media, and for general business has occurred as a result of demographic changes, in particular the growth of the Hispanic population. The demographic changes that created the need for Spanish coincided with international developments leading to the increased globalization of the economy. Spanish is used almost as easily as English when conducting both international and domestic business in Miami. Spanish is also used by the media as a vehicle for advertising, informing, and entertaining the public. As a result, Miami's expanded language resources have promoted a cosmopolitan environment in which to conduct business. These resources have also enhanced Miami's position as an international trade center.

Programs for Students from Non-English Language Backgrounds

At the state level leadership efforts to promote economic development have recognized the need for bilingual proficiency in international languages. As a result, programs and policies have been established to encourage K- 12 students and adults to study foreign languages. Recent efforts within the state have not yet considered an important group within the future workforce - students who are already proficient in languages other than English.

Recent US Census data show that during the past decade the nation's school-aged population of English-only students decreased by 8%, while students from non-English language backgrounds increased nearly 40% (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1993a). The decline in the percentage of Caucasian monolingual students and the increase in students from non-English language backgrounds in the state of Florida follows the national trend (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1993b). Hispanics represent the largest segment of the non-English language background student population in Florida and the nation (Office of Multicultural Student Language Education, 1995; Waggoner, 1993).

The Availability of Special Language Programs Statewide. Growth of the Hispanic population has occurred most notably in South Florida. Demographic changes have also been experienced statewide (Bureau of Economic and Business Research, 1987, 1994). Across the state, the percentage of Caucasian monolingual students is decreasing, while the percentages of Black and Hispanic students are increasing (Florida Education Information Services, 1994).

As the Florida Council on International Education (1994) has indicated, one of the most important places to begin the development of a global workforce is with the state's school children, kindergarten through grade twelve (K-12). Although global education and proficiency in languages in addition to English have been recognized as essential in preparing a competent future workforce, serious statewide deliberations about the development of proficiency in international languages have not included Florida students who already speak those languages. Within the state's public schools, enrollment of students learning English, often referred to as "limited English proficient" (LEP) students, continues to increase. Special English-language instruction, or "English for Speakers

of Other Languages" (ESOL), is provided to students who have not yet developed the English proficiency to effectively participate in regular classroom instruction. In schools with 15 or more students with the same non-English language, "Home Language Instruction" to promote learning English and academic content is to be provided in the students' native language. The purpose of Home Language Instruction is to enable students to learn to participate in English-only instruction, not to develop proficiency in other languages (Latin American Citizens et al. v. State Board of Education, 1990). This is the only statewide effort to provide students with instruction in their home language. As a result, students often lose proficiency in their other languages as they learn English (Flores, 1981; Seliger & Vargo, 1991).

Programs in South Florida. While Dade and Broward County Public Schools have approximately 22% of the total school enrollment in Florida's public schools, LEP students in these two districts represent more than 50% of the state total. During the period from 1989 to 1994, the state experienced an 85% increase in LEP students. In Broward County Public Schools the increase was 186%. In Dade County the increase was 23% (Florida Education Information Services, 1994). Examining the growth by real numbers reveals that, until recently, Dade had the majority of the state's LEP students (Florida Education Information Services, 1994). Currently 16% of Dade's school children are learning English as a new language.

Both Dade and Broward School Districts provide programs that go well beyond the Home Language Instruction offered by the state. These programs have the potential to promote the development of Spanish and other international languages at the level of full proficiency for business purposes. Unfortunately, recent enrollment statistics indicate the full potential for bilingual language development is not yet being realized (Office of Management and Accountability, 1995). At the conclusion of the 1994-95 school year, enrollment in Dade County Public Schools was 321,955. Of this population, 49% were identified as Hispanic (Bustos, 1995). Although Spanish language programs were available at every K-12 public school, limited numbers of students were enrolled in these programs. During the 1994-95 school year only 28% of all students (K-12) were enrolled in programs of Spanish for Spanish Speakers.

Considering that 49% of students are Hispanic, this portion is well below the potential for a bilingual, biliterate population. In addition, only 6% studied Spanish as a foreign language in the high schools (Office of Management and Accountability, 1995b).

There are a number of explanations for the discrepancies between potential and real enrollments in Spanish-language programs. Spanish instruction may be viewed as unnecessary when Spanish is learned at home and widely used within the community. In contrast, most students spend at least 12 years in English classes, even when they are proficient in English. English proficient students also use English at home and also participate in communities where English is the medium of communication, yet few would suggest that students not study English as a subject. Opportunities to learn Spanish at home, even when combined with brief periods of instruction in Spanish at school, do not produce the level of proficiency required to conduct business in Spanish (Snow & Hakuta, 1992). In addition, subtle, and perhaps not so subtle, messages emphasizing English, not Spanish, as the important language are sometimes communicated in the community and at school (Hornblower, 1995). As the debate about the supremacy of English becomes more vocal, parents and children express reluctance to use Spanish and other languages at home. Even the most effective teachers have difficulties countering xenophobic fears related to the use of non-English languages (Thompson, 1995; Townsend, 1995; Yearwood, 1995).

Contributing to the difficulties of promoting Spanish-language proficiency is the reality that fully bilingual Spanish-English teachers for elementary school programs are not readily available. Many of the potential bilingual teachers, themselves second generation immigrants, are often not sufficiently proficient in Spanish to be able to participate in professional preparation courses in which Spanish is the language of instruction, or to teach academic subjects in Spanish (Rovira, 1995)

Summary of the Growth of Spanish as a Business Language

Miami is at an important point in its development. Because of its international potential, Miami must decide whether or not to develop its bilingual resources and achieve national visibility as an important international city. Even though some within the business community

have recognized the need for a bilingual workforce, many students and families, as well as the public in general, appear not to be aware of the growing economic importance of proficiency in languages other than English. Unless further consideration is given to the need for a bilingual workforce, the current advantages for conducting business that Miami has developed may not continue. The status of this important factor in Miami's development is discussed next.

Use of English and Spanish in Metro-Miami

In Miami, the use of Spanish as a language of commerce may be taken for granted. For example, former City of Miami Mayor Maurice Ferré has been quoted as saying that in Miami, Hispanics can be born, live, and die without ever having to speak English (Pearson & McGee, 1993). In recent discussions of economic development and planning for the 21st century, the presence of a bilingual, and perhaps even a multilingual workforce in Miami, appears to be assumed (Kanter, 1995; Portes & Stepick, 1993). Such an assumption exaggerates the capacity of the current labor force and obscures the need to plan for future workforce requirements.

An often misunderstood difference exists between the use of a language at the community or neighborhood level and an individual's ability to communicate effectively in that language with sophisticated business entrepreneurs (Seliger & Vago, 1991). Although Miami has the most recently arrived US Hispanic population in the nation (US Bureau of Census, 1994), not every person identified as Hispanic is proficient in Spanish. This section reports variations in English and Spanish use and proficiency and considers the implications of this information in the preparation of the future workforce. It illustrates the trend toward English-only proficiency that may also be happening with other language groups in South Florida.

Across the decades in the United States, families and students have faced pressure to communicate in English (Nicolau & Valdivieso, 1992; Thompson, 1995; Townsend, 1995) and to assimilate into the mainstream culture (Snow & Hakuta, 1992; Yearwood, 1995). Pressure to assimilate within the larger society accelerates the process of

language shift that occurs as immigrant families become incorporated into the language and culture of the nation (Seliger & Vago, 1991).

Controversy over language use policies has been the focus of heated national debates for more than a decade (Draper & Jiménez, 1994; Fiedler, 1995; Fishman, 1992; Fradd & Vega, 1987). Often such debates fail to consider the actual language use patterns of recently arrived and established immigrant groups. Research on language shift reveals that immigrants typically undergo a period of acculturation that leads away from the use of the language of their home and toward the exclusive use of English (Seliger & Vago, 1991).

In spite of their growing economic and political power, Miami's Hispanics, like other cohorts of immigrants, are experiencing the process of language shift. While the pace of the shift away from Spanish and toward English may be slower in Miami than in other parts of the nation (Boswell & Skop, 1995; Sole', 1990), there is strong evidence that new immigrants are learning English and losing proficiency in Spanish. Unfortunately, the consequence of the naturally occurring shift toward English is that while Miami currently has a critical mass of bilingual employees, limitations on future immigration could reduce the number and proficiency of bilingual workers. Such limitations appear possible, given the nation's growing anti-immigrant sentiment (Fitzgerald, 1993; Rosenberg, 1995).

Maintenance of proficiency in a non-English language depends on three important factors: (a) continuous contact between the established population and new immigrants (Nicolau & Valdivieso, 1992); (b) the economic value placed on the use of the non-English language (Sole', 1980); and (c) opportunities to use the language in business and within the larger society (Veltman, 1983). Models of language shift based on research in other settings predict that without the continuous immigrant stream, the level of Spanish used in Miami would become stable for approximately fifteen years, then move rapidly toward English (Nicolau & Valdivieso, 1992; Veltman, 1983). Even with a continued stream of Hispanic immigrants not proficient in English and the current numbers of Spanish-speakers, the language shift model predicts that most of the grandchildren of immigrants who came in the early 1950s and 1960s will not speak Spanish on a regular basis, if at all (Nicolau & Valdivieso, 1992; Pearson & McGee, 1993; Snow & Hakuta, 1992). The

purpose of this section is to consider language use data in understanding what is actually happening in Miami.

Methodology for Analysis of US Census Data

The majority of the data for this section derive from the 1990 US Census (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1993c). The Public Use Microdata Sample (PUMS) was the primary data source. This represents a 5% random sample of all Dade County households (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1993d), and contains more than 93,000 persons. The sampling error for these data is less than one percent. The specific 1990 US Census questions used for the material presented in this section include the following items (the numbers in parentheses refer to the numbers of the individual questions on the long-form questionnaire used in the 1990 Census of Population):

- Age and year of birth? (5)
- Is this person of Spanish/Hispanic origin? (7)
- When did this person come to the United States to stay? (10)
- How much school has this person completed? (12)
- Does this person speak a language other than English at home? (15a)
- How well does this person speak English? (1 Sc)
- Occupation? (29)
- What was this person's total income in 1989? (33)

Respondents' English language proficiency is a topic of interest in the census. There is no measure of respondents' ability to read or write in English. Nor were questions asked about their proficiency in languages other than English.

Language Acquisition and Decade of Arrival

Although measures of Spanish proficiency are not available in the US Census, self-reports of respondents' ratings of their English proficiency provide insight into the process of language acquisition. Responses by decade of arrival indicate that the longer immigrants remain in the United States, the more proficient they become in English. Combining the percentages of the ratings of "very well" and "well" reveals that only 48% of the persons arriving between 1982 and 1989 viewed themselves as proficient in English. In contrast, those arriving 20

years earlier, during the decade of the 1960s, 63% rated themselves similarly. Progressively across the decades, Hispanic immigrants in Miami view themselves as becoming English-proficient. By comparison, 95% of the US-born Miami Hispanics rated themselves English-proficient.

The Role of Education in Language Acquisition

Educational attainment, employment, and income are influential factors in the maintenance and acquisition of languages (Hart-Gonzalez & Feingold, 1990). Educational attainment and the use of English are strongly related; English proficiency increases with educational attainment. By the age of 25, most adults have completed their formal education (Boswell & Skop, 1995). Cohort percentages indicate that in Miami, 8% of Hispanics 25 years of age and older have less than a fifth grade education, more than 15% have less than a ninth grade education, and another 22% attended grades 9 through 12 but did not graduate from high school. In aggregate, these three groups represent a total of 45% of all Hispanics over the age of 25, a large portion of the labor force which has not graduated from high school. In interpreting the statistics, we must recognize that many workers may have had some type of technical training that did not result in a high school diploma, but provided them with valuable knowledge and skills. In addition, it should be recognized that equivalent educational programs do not exist in all of the countries of the Americas. Immigrants, especially from rural areas, may have received all of the education that was available to them in their countries of origin. Nevertheless, further training for a workforce in which almost half have less than a high school education requires serious consideration. Of additional importance is the clear link between level of educational attainment and English proficiency, with those having higher levels of English proficiency also attaining at least a high school diploma. By extension, the same relationship may exist for Spanish-language literacy.

Analyzing the educational preparation of the Hispanic labor force in Miami by decade of arrival provides additional insight into the educational needs and strengths for competing in a global economy. The 1990 Census presents information on both high school graduates and non-graduates by decade of arrival for two age cohorts, those young

people 17-24 years of age who should have completed high school but who may still be enrolled in high school courses and those 25 years and older, most of whom are no longer in high school programs. Several important observations can be made about these data. First, although English proficiency is an important factor in high school graduation, 29% of Hispanics born in the United States (most of whom indicated full English proficiency) have not completed high school. Second, during the period of 1982-90, the period after Mariel, a large cohort of young people currently residing in Miami entered the United States with less than a high school education. Third, the only other large cohort of Hispanics with less than a high school education entered the United States during the period between 1960-69. In comparison with the United States as a whole, as well as with other ethnolinguistic groups, Hispanic dropout rates have been high across the decades since such information was collected (Plisko, 1984; Puente & Sanchez, 1995). However, comparisons of educational attainment often fail to recognize that many Hispanics who immigrate as older youth and adults have not had the educational opportunities in their countries of origin that are available in the United States and cannot be considered as dropouts in the same way as US-born individuals. What may appear statistically as school dropouts may, in effect, also represent differences in educational opportunities and educational degrees available to Hispanics in their countries of origin prior to entrance in the United States.

Educational attainment has an impact on literacy development and preference for English language use. PUMS presents a comparison by decade of arrival or birth in the United States of Hispanic high school graduates and non-graduates who indicated in the US Census that they use only English. With 66% of high school graduates and 57% of non-graduates born in the US indicating that they use only English, it is apparent that for Hispanic youth, there is a strong switch to English. It is also apparent that English proficiency is not the only factor influencing high school completion, since a large proportion of the youthful Hispanics born in the US who use only English did not complete high school. While more than a third (37%) of the older Hispanics born in the United States with a high school education or more also indicate that they communicate only in English, only 11% without a high school diploma use English exclusively. These data indicate that currently

educational attainment hastens the process of learning English and decreases the probability that Hispanics will remain bilingual. Using only English, however, does not ensure educational success.

Consequences of Limited Educational Attainment. Workforce requirements indicate major differences in the skills and knowledge needed for success in the 1950s and in the 1990s. Increasingly, professional skills and the use of technology are required, while unskilled, manual labor is less valued (Commission on the Skills of the American Workforce, 1990). Considering current and projected workforce requirements, Hispanics with less than a high school education represent a challenge to future national economic development (Puente & Sanchez, 1995). The economic difficulties of limited educational attainment are important for two reasons: (a) persons with limited education are expensive because they experience more periods of unemployment and earn lower taxable wages; and (b) they are more likely to require additional social and medical services than higher wage employees (Rumberger, 1995). The presence of a large and growing group of Hispanics with limited education and limited proficiency in either English or Spanish is a concern not only of Miami, but for the nation as a whole (McMillen, Kaufman, Hausken, & Bradby, 1993). In spite of national efforts to encourage Hispanic students to complete high school, indicators of Hispanics' limited educational attainment has been consistently high and persistent (Plisko, 1984; Puente & Sanchez, 1995; U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1985).

Making local and national comparisons, the drop out rate nationally is estimated at 11% for all youth ages 16 to 24; for Hispanics it is 29% (McMillen et al., 1993). In Dade, the drop out rate for all students in grades 9-12 during the 1993-94 school year was 10.5%. For Hispanic students during the same time period and grade range the rate was comparable (10.4%). Locally, this rate represents a 3% increase for both groups (Office of Management and Accountability, 1995b).

Educational Attainment and Literacy Development. Literacy is a social institution that amplifies and changes individuals' cognitive and linguistic functioning (Ferdman, 1990), and is essential for participation in a technological society (Commission on the Skills of the American

Workforce, 1990). In researching the role of bilingual literacy in Hispanic Miami immigrant elementary school children, Flores (1981) found that students who developed literacy in Spanish as they were becoming literate in English were more proficient in both languages when they graduated from high school than students who studied only English. Programs that encourage students to develop biliteracy along with technological skills before entering the workforce provide a sound educational foundation. Such an education is particularly important for students whose prior experiences would have predicted limited educational attainment (National Center for Education Statistics, 1992).

The process of developing literacy in a new language is closely related to the development of literacy in the first language (Bialystok & Hakuta, 1994). A study of Cuban teenagers who entered the United States in 1980, during the period of Mariel, revealed that one of the most important factors to influence their learning of English was their already developed literacy in Spanish (Fradd, 1983). For these students, like others who learn English as a new language, well developed literacy skills in their first language, Spanish, promoted English language learning. Thus, in addition to providing viable entry into the labor force, literacy development in Spanish has the potential to facilitate literacy development in English (Cummins, 1980).

Bilingual education in schools where students become fully bilingual is not simply a matter of using the home language to promote instruction. Bilingualism becomes a way of thinking and interacting in two languages that is appropriate for the cultural context of each language. In this context, Hispanic culture is conserved and promoted in tandem with the mainstream culture of the predominant English-speaking world.

While the federal government has declined to recognize the value and importance of bilingualism, within the community of professional educators, recognition of the benefits of bilingual learning has steadily grown over the past three decades (Crawford, 1992b; McGroarty, 1992). Not only is it supported by ethnic advocacy groups, but also by almost all mainstream professional education organizations. Because its value is so widely recognized in the field of education, debate over the advantages of dual-language instruction is no longer given serious consideration by most educators. However, the general public does not

appear to be aware of the advantages of bilingualism. When negative reports associated with bilingualism or bilingual education appear in the media, the public may not differentiate between attention-seeking efforts of politicians and accurately reported research findings (Fiedler, 1995; Herald Wire Service, 1995; McGroarty, 1992; Robles, 1995).

Recent longitudinal studies indicate the advantages of bilingual instruction may not be realized until students have been in programs for five or six years, long after most students are exited into English-only instruction (Anstrom, 1995; Collier & Thomas, 1989). Unfortunately, most research conducted with Hispanic students in South Florida indicates a rapid shift to English. For example, the research of Portes and Schaeffler (in press) with large numbers of Dade and Broward teenagers found that within a few years, most Hispanic teenagers not only became proficient in English, but English became their language of preference. Similarly, Pearson and McGee (1993) found that more than 80% of Hispanic teenagers, immigrants who entered the United States as children ages three to seven, reported hardly ever reading in Spanish, watching Spanish-language television, or talking with siblings in Spanish. Preferences for English reached 95%, suggesting that even in homes of first generation immigrants, the use of Spanish quickly erodes. Although students in the Pearson and McGee study gave no indication of feeling that Spanish was stigmatized, and most said they planned to teach their children Spanish, the majority appeared not to have maintained enough proficiency to do so.

In comparison with other large school districts, Dade County Public Schools are effective in developing fully literate bilinguals (Garcia & Otheguy, 1985; Portes & Schaeffler, in press). In addition to the public schools in Dade County, private schools have also contributed in promoting bilingualism (Garcia & Otheguy, 1987; Portes & Zhou, 1993). The success of the private schools occurs, in a great part, because Spanish is valued by the speech community within and outside the school (Garcia & Otheguy, 1985; Moll, 1992; Portes & Gran, 1991). However, whether they attend private or public schools, Hispanic students report their language of preference is English (Portes & Zhou, 1993).

The Influence of Economic Factors on Language Use and Development

Reinforcements for language use vary and are often related to community expectations as well as personal motivations (Solé, 1990; Veltman, 1983). Economic opportunities also play an important role in language learning (Solé, 1980). In urban centers, such as Miami, the need for verbal skills may make the expectations for learning English stronger than in rural, agricultural areas (Nicolau & Valdivieso, 1992). While they have not been studied widely, lifestyle and employment factors have been noted to promote a reverse trend among Hispanics who, under some conditions, change from having a preference for English as teenagers to developing Spanish fluency as adults (Pedraza, 1985). In South Florida, the wealthiest and the poorest first generation Hispanics tend to maintain and use Spanish as their medium of communication more than the middle class (Solé, 1980). For these two groups, the motivation for keeping Spanish may be similar, while the motivation and opportunities for learning English may be different. For the wealthiest Hispanics, typically lawyers, doctors, and international business people, Spanish is needed to conduct business and maintain social contacts. English is also necessary to participate in the US social and business communities. In contrast, the poorest, typically day laborers and service providers, maintain Spanish for work and social participation in environments often populated with newly arrived Spanish-speakers. The poorest workers have fewer opportunities to interact with English speakers or to use it in social or business contexts (Solé, 1980).

The middle class majority are aware of the importance of English and learn it as quickly as possible. The economic incentives as well as social and political reinforcements for using Spanish do not impact the middle class as they influence the more wealthy and less affluent members of Hispanic society. For the middle class, there are limited rewards for maintaining Spanish compared with the stronger incentives for becoming proficient in English. Relevant incentives may be required to promote Spanish in the middle class (Pedraza, 1985).

Bilingualism is not, however, a matter of social class, but a result of opportunities to use language meaningfully, especially in the context of doing business. Differences in English proficiency and employment categories, as reported in the 1990 US Census, illustrate the relationship

between employment and English proficiency (US Bureau of the Census, 1993c). In some blue collar categories, such as clerical, sales, service, farm work, crafts and repairs, operators, and laborers, the need to use English may not be as high as in white collar positions. The job skills required for service, labor, and farm work provide newly arrived immigrants entry level employment (Portes, Parker & Cobas, 1980; Portes & Stepick, 1993). The largest group of respondents who use English well or very well are executives, professionals, and technicians. It is noteworthy that within each category some respondents do not use English at all (US Bureau of the Census, 1993c).

Earnings are lower in general in the South Florida region, the area of Palm Beach, Broward, and Dade Counties, than national averages (Strong, 1991). A key factor for this is the region's economic dependence on the service industry. In addition to the depressed wages found in the service industry, per worker earnings are lower in all the major industries than national figures. Recently arrived large groups of poor Hispanics, combined with numbers of already established low-wage earners, create a persistent and growing need for enhanced educational opportunities and expanded economic opportunities (Boswell & Skop, 1995; Viglucci, 1995). In addition to attempting to attract high wage industries, the future requires investment in education to upgrade the labor force and to ensure that projected new immigrants do not overwhelm the schools and the low-wage labor market (Strong, 1991).

Economic projections indicate that in the future, low wage earners will have a more difficult time surviving economically (Commission on the Skills of the American Workforce, 1990). Referring to the 1990 US Census, comparisons of English language proficiency with income levels illustrate the relationship of economic levels and English language proficiency. Although at every income level there are persons who report no use of English, differences in the percentages of persons reporting "very well" and "not at all" are quite different at the highest and the lowest economic levels (US Bureau of the Census, 1993c). With the exception of individuals in the "less than \$3,999" category, English language proficiency is related to economic level. A more accurate picture of the relationship between English language proficiency and income can be seen in the lower income range, between \$4,000 and

\$19,999 a year, than in the lowest category. Within this range, ratings of English language proficiency are fairly evenly distributed among the four categories, "very well" to "not at all." For middle class wage earners, the \$20,000 to \$49,999 a year group, English proficiency is substantially higher than for wage earners below \$20,000. The highest levels of English proficiency are found above the \$49,999 level to \$150,000 range. The relationship between English and income illustrates the role of opportunities and incentives for English language proficiency and a literate workforce (US Bureau of the Census, 1993c).

The Influence of Citizenship on Language Use

The attainment of citizenship has been linked with the process of learning English (Diamond, 1980). Although citizenship may have an impact on acculturation, with regard to the use of English in Miami, citizenship status for persons not born in the United States does not appear to be a predictor of English proficiency. Both naturalized Hispanic US citizens and Hispanic non-US citizens reported using Spanish (87% and 88%, respectively) or only English (12% and 10%, respectively) with about the same frequency.

Bilingual Workforce Trends in Metro-Miami

As the two previous sections have emphasized, decades of sustained immigration have created a bilingual workforce. Currently little is known about this workforce's actual use of Spanish as a language of business in Miami. This section presents the findings of a survey of current use of Spanish and English in conducting business in Miami and suggests workforce trends that will affect the city's future economic development. Tables representing these data can be found in the Appendix.

Research Methods and Findings

In order to gain a clearer understanding of the importance of the use of Spanish and English in the Miami business community, we developed a survey in collaboration with the Cuban American National Council and the Greater Miami Chamber of Commerce. The survey was designed to provide information in several areas: (a) the location, type,

and size of Metro-Miami businesses; (b) Spanish and English language use in conducting business; (c) percentages of employees who use English and Spanish in conducting business; (d) the need for a bilingual workforce; and (e) use of incentives in promoting Spanish and English proficiency.

The 17-item survey requiring an estimated 10 minutes to complete was mailed to the 7,300 business members of the Greater Miami Chamber of Commerce during the second week of July, 1995, with an anticipated return date by the second week in August. The survey accompanied the regular Chamber newsletter to its membership. Although the survey questions were directed to those companies conducting business in Spanish as well as English, all businesses were invited to respond, whether or not they used Spanish in conducting business. By mid-August, 245 surveys were returned providing a response rate of a little more than 3%. While this response rate may seem low, it is not unusual for a survey conducted by mail (Sheskin, 1985). A random sample size of 245 persons yields a sampling error of approximately six percentage points with an accuracy level of 95 %. In interpreting the results, it is important to note that there was a close match between the characteristics of the sample of respondents and the Metro-Miami business community in three different areas:

- A majority of responses were from small companies with a few coming from large corporations, creating a sample representative of the proportionate distribution of small and large firms within the Greater Miami business community.
- The two dominant segments of the business community are the service industry and financial institutions. These were also the predominant areas for the sample's responses.
- Locally based, national, and multinational corporations were included in the sample responses, as they are in Metropolitan Miami. Because of these similarities, the sample results, despite the limited response rate, are likely to be representative of Miami's business community. The findings of the survey are discussed next.

Description of Responding Businesses

The first set of questions was designed to provide an understanding of the location, type, and size of the businesses in which Spanish is used to conduct business. A summary of this information is presented next.

Number of Employees. Consistent with other studies (Beacon Council, 1994; Boswell & Curtis, 1991), the majority (64%) of the companies in which Spanish is used to conduct business are small (50 employees or fewer), with the largest portion (43%) having 25 employees or fewer, as presented in Table 1. While the majority of respondents represented small businesses, there were also some (4.4%) large businesses with between 1,000 and 4,000 employees responding to the survey. The responses created a sample that resembles the previously described Hispanic enclave (Boswell & Curtis, 1991), as well as Metropolitan Miami as a whole (US Bureau of the Census, 1994b).

Types of Businesses. Eleven categories of businesses were developed by the Greater Miami Chamber of Commerce: Construction, finance, health, manufacturing, media and entertainment, retail, services, tourism, trade, transportation, and wholesale. The employment categories with the greatest number of responses were in finance (18%) and services (32%).

Location of Business. The majority (76%) of the companies are headquartered in South Florida. Another 20% have their headquarters in another part of the United States. Only 3% have headquarters outside the United States. While the largest number of companies (45%) did not have operations outside South Florida, 24% had some operations in other parts of the United States, and 31% had international operations, thus qualifying them as "multinationals." These findings are consistent with other recent research regarding the importance of Miami as a strategic location for international business (Beacon Council, 1994).

Language Proficiency of Respondents. The persons completing the survey were asked to indicate whether or not they were bilingual in English and Spanish. Most (68%) responded that they were bilingual. However, 32% were not bilingual. Recognition that nearly a third of the respondents were not bilingual is important in interpreting survey findings, as will be shown later. In addition, more than 90% of respondents indicated a willingness to be contacted for further information.

Use of Spanish and English As Languages of Commerce

Questions were designed to determine the frequency of Spanish and English language use in conducting business and to gain insight into the prevalence of Spanish/English bilingualism in the Miami workforce. This information is important in determining the economic value of bilingualism and the use of Spanish as a language of commerce and wider communication in Greater Miami.

Business Conducted in Spanish. There is great variation in the amount of Spanish used to conduct business, ranging from less than 10% to between 76% and 100% of business. The majority (75%) of companies reported that Spanish was used 50% of the time or less, with the distribution similar among the three categories, "less than 10%," "11% - 25%," and "26% - 50%," as displayed in Table 2. In a quarter of the companies, Spanish was used more than half the time, with 10% using it most of the time or exclusively. These findings of Spanish use indicate the significant economic importance of Spanish as a language of business communication in Miami.

Portion of the Workforce Conducting Business in Spanish. Determining the portion of the workforce that conducts business in Spanish is important in planning for future workforce development. Finding only a few bilingual employees conducting most Spanish-language business would provide a different picture than if most employees were bilingual. Consistent with the variation observed in the amount of Spanish used in conducting business, the percentage of the workforce using Spanish to conduct business spans the range of response categories shown in Table 3. Almost 30% of Miami's businesses have less than 10% of their workforce using Spanish. However, more than half have workforces that conduct more than one-fourth of their businesses in Spanish.

Fully Bilingual Workforce. While there is a relationship between the percentage of business conducted in Spanish and the percentage of the workforce who conduct business in Spanish, the relationship is not straightforward. In communicating in English or Spanish, employees are required to perform different types of tasks, some requiring reading and writing, others only oral skills. As Table 4 reveals, in more than a quarter of the companies conducting business in Spanish, 76% - 100% of employees are fully bilingual. In nearly half of Spanish-language

businesses, more than half the employees are fully bilingual. This is an important finding in planning for future workforce development.

Table 5 presents a cross tabulation of the distribution of fully bilingual employees with the percentage of Spanish used to conduct business. The column totals at the bottom indicate that while the distribution of bilingual employees may appear to be somewhat random, as the amount of business conducted in Spanish increases, so too does the presence of fully bilingual employees. As might be expected, the highest concentrations of bilingual employees are found in companies in which more than half of business is conducted in Spanish. In contrast, even in some companies conducting less than 10% of their business in Spanish, all, or nearly all, employees are bilingual. In some companies in which Spanish is the dominant business language not all employees are fully bilingual.

The relationship between the amount of business conducted in Spanish and the number of fully bilingual employees underscores the presence and need for a bilingual workforce. This finding also raises questions about the need and availability of fully bilingual employees. Is a larger bilingual workforce needed in order to meet the expanding economic developments with Latin America and Europe? Is the amount of business conducted in Spanish limited by the availability of employees who are sufficiently proficient to conduct business in Spanish? Further research is required to answer these questions.

Business Conducted in English. In order to compare English and Spanish language use, respondents were also asked to indicate the percentage of employees who conduct business in English. Responses to the English language use question, as indicated in Table 6, provide a much clearer pattern. The largest portion of companies (nearly 52%) have 76%-100% of their employees conducting business in English. At the same time, in at least 10% of the responding companies, less than a quarter of employees conduct business in English. These data underscore the need and importance of both English and Spanish in conducting business in Miami.

In summary, of the companies indicating that they conduct business in Spanish, Spanish is the dominant language of communication of only a relative few. English continues to predominate, with more than 50% of respondents indicating that most business is conducted in English and

most employees use English to conduct business. While Spanish language use varies from little to extensive, Spanish is used less than 50% of the time in the majority of responding businesses. While in some companies nearly all or all of the employees are bilingual, in most companies such is not the case. Although English predominates as Miami's business language, the importance of Spanish as a business language is also clear.

For persons who may be alarmed about the possibility of Spanish dominating the South Florida business world, these findings may be reassuring. However, for those seeking to expand economic opportunities in Latin America and elsewhere, the findings indicate that Spanish is an important language for businesses and suggest a need to increase the bilingual capacity of the workforce. The findings also raise additional questions. With the need for fully bilingual employees apparent from the findings, if only a small portion of the school-age population of Dade County is studying Spanish in school, and if immigration from Spanish-speaking countries were to decrease, could the current level of Spanish-language business continue? Can the projections of increased trade with Latin America and Europe be attained and maintained with the current workforce?

Current and Future Trends

Questions about the importance of a bilingual workforce for the future growth of the local economy were posed to survey participants. Respondents were asked about the general importance and availability of a bilingual workforce and about the language skills of employees in their own companies. The findings indicate a difference between general perceptions of the need for bilingual employees and the specific needs of the respondents' companies. The importance of further research in planning to meet growing economic demands is also emphasized.

Need for a Bilingual Workforce. Respondents overwhelmingly (96%) indicated the need and importance of a bilingual workforce. Responses of "strongly agree" (60%) far surpass "agree" (36%), as displayed in Table 7. This was the only survey item in which responses were so strongly consistent. The strength of this response is especially important considering that less than 70% of the respondents were themselves bilingual in English and Spanish. There can be no doubt that

a bilingual workforce is seen as a necessity by almost everyone who responded to the survey.

Economic Growth Requires A More Bilingual Workforce. The vast majority of respondents (85%) indicated that Miami's future economic growth requires more fully bilingual employees, with most respondents indicating either "strongly agree" (47%) or "agree" (38%), as displayed in Table 8. The emphasis here is on future economic development related to a more fully bilingual workforce. These findings (presented in Tables 7 and 8) are important in identifying the respondents' perceptions of the importance of bilingualism in the workforce.

Need for More Bilingual Employees in Their Own Company. With regard to the current availability of bilingual employees for their own companies, the majority of respondents (76%) indicated that bilingual employees are currently available for their own companies, as presented in Table 9. However, more than half of the responses (56%) were in the category of "agree," while only 20% were in "strongly agree." This finding suggests that while most respondents may believe that employees in their companies are prepared to meet the needs for future economic growth, they may have some doubts. Equally important is the finding that almost a quarter (22%) of respondents believe that there are not enough bilingual employees in their companies to meet future economic development needs.

Need for Spanish-Language Skills. When asked about the adequacy of Spanish-language skills of their employees in meeting future economic growth, most respondents (70%) indicated their employees' skills were sufficient (17% "strongly agree" and 52% "agree"). Similar to the responses regarding the current availability of bilingual employees in Table 9, most responses were in the "agree" rather than the "strongly agree" category. However, more than a quarter (28%) indicated that the Spanish-language skills of their employees were not sufficient to meet future economic growth, as Table 10 presents.

Future Need for English-Language Skills. The question regarding the adequacy of employees' English language skills in meeting the needs for future economic growth elicited similar responses to the question of the adequacy of Spanish language skills. Respondents were slightly more positive (74%) about employees' English-language skills for meeting future workforce needs. A quarter (25%) indicated that the

English-language skills of their employees were not sufficient to meet future economic growth, as Table 11 presents.

Language-Learning Incentives. Although most companies believe that a bilingual workforce is important, few companies (21%) provide incentives for employees to develop language proficiency in either English or Spanish. Incentives for improving language skills were evenly distributed between support for learning English and support for Spanish, as indicated in Table 12. Most of the companies offering incentives conduct their business in Spanish between 26% to 50% of the time.

Summary of Survey Findings

Overall, the survey findings illustrate the comprehensive use of Spanish as a language of business and the growing importance of a bilingual workforce to meet Miami's anticipated economic growth. While Spanish is not currently as widely used for business purposes as English, the survey results highlight the need to increase the workforce of fully bilingual employees and the importance of language planning to ensure future economic development.

Policy Recommendations

When measured in terms of the percentage of its population that speaks two languages, Metropolitan Miami is the most bilingual city in the nation (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1994). As a consequence of its cultural and linguistic diversity, Miami is often not considered to be part of the US mainstream, perhaps not even related to the rest of the nation. Miami has been likened to the famous bar scene in the Star Wars movie where non-human entities speak in diverse languages (Kanter, 1995).

While the Florida legislature and business leaders encourage the study of foreign languages, few beyond the South Florida area recognize the role that Spanish has played in transforming Miami into a global economic center. Even less is understood about the process of language shift occurring now as immigrant populations live in the United States for extended periods of time. What are the economic implications for international trade and development for a nation that values monolingualism? What may be the impact of national and local

perceptions of the need for bilingual proficiency in conducting business? In a city increasingly dependent on the services of a bilingual workforce, a general shift away from Spanish and toward English has important implications for future growth.

Nationally, during peak periods of immigration, such as the United States has experienced for the past several decades, the public attitude toward bilingualism has been less than positive. Miami suffers from a perspective of bilingualism thrust upon it by a monolingual citizenry that views the use of languages other than English as a threat to the nation. These perceptions are clearly different from the reality of the local business community, where the need for a bilingual workforce is evident. Can these two perceptions - one that views bilingualism as a threat and one that sees it as an important economic advantage - be reconciled? What can be done nationally, as well as locally, to promote recognition of the importance of communicating in multiple languages? What can be done at the local level to ensure the availability of a highly educated and technologically literate bilingual workforce?

The following suggestions are offered for consideration in planning for future economic growth. The suggestions are divided into two categories: (a) changing perceptions, and (b) changing realities. The perceptions section addresses the need to develop an appreciation of the economic value of proficiency in more than one language. The realities section addresses considerations for promoting biliteracy and bilingualism for the current and future workforce in Miami.

Changing Perceptions

In order to achieve substantive changes in the ability of the Metro-Miami workforce to function within a rapidly changing global economy, the leadership within the business community must change the way that bilingualism is viewed both locally and nationally. As long as middle class families move quickly from Spanish to English and young people continue to prefer English as their language of ordinary conversation, bilingual employees will tend to be first generation immigrants. If Miami wants fully bilingual workers, then it will need to create clear images of the important role that bilingualism plays in the South Florida economy.

With respect to the availability of a bilingual workforce, Miami's current situation is like a lake fed by a few internal springs and a large river of immigration. As long as the river continues to flow, the lake thrives. But, if the river were dammed, unless the lake's own springs begin to flow more abundantly, the lake will shrink to a pond. Like the river, the immigrants who have continued to flow into Miami have filled the workforce with fluent bilinguals. With the current national resistance to sustained immigration and an emphasis on English as the national official language, Miami may not continue to receive a fresh supply of educated bilingual immigrants. Unless Miami develops its own bilingual employees (as its own internal spring) the metropolitan area's economic opportunities may diminish.

Dealing with xenophobic perceptions, the unreasonable fear of foreigners, that many in the United States display requires separating fantasies from realities. Fear of other languages and the desire that only English be spoken in the United States does not stand up to a calm analysis of reality. The United States spends millions of dollars every year promoting foreign language learning with few positive results, while expecting persons from non-English language backgrounds to abandon their native languages ("Additional Programs Authorized under Title VII," 1995; Diegmüller, 1995).

Faulty logic is often applied in analyzing issues of bilingual language development. Arguments that require "either - or" decisions and choices that lead youth to abandon their home languages to the exclusive use of English reduce workforce opportunities and long term economic development. Without recognition of the economic value of bilingualism, Miami may be viewed as a city no longer part of the nation (Castro, 1992), or the farthest outpost in the galaxy (Kanter, 1995).

While sentiments of national pride are important in maintaining unity and promoting the vision of the United States as an international leader, isolation and monolingualism are no longer viable choices for national policy. Miami has worked at changing its image in terms of crime and has achieved important outcomes in creating appeal in international markets (Arrarte, 1995; Reed, 1995). The positive "fun in the sun" mystique may be important in promoting tourism, but it undercuts the reality of what Miami offers as an international leader or as a place of economic expansion.

The time is right to exercise leadership in assisting the rest of the nation to understand what Miami offers in addition to tourism. As transportation and communication technology make the world a smaller and more competitive place in which to live, Miami offers essential resources for conducting business found nowhere else in the country. Rather than suffering from guilt for being different, Miami can showcase its image as a cosmopolitan center of international economic development (Portes & Stepick, 1993).

National Image Changes. At the national level, advertising that includes specifically designed press releases with statistics, clear statements of achievement, and images illustrating the advantages of communicating in multiple languages can promote an appreciation of the best that Miami has to offer. Banks of data and information resources linking economic achievements with effective communication can be made available for community leaders, corporate administrators, educators, and others influential in forming policies and implementing practices. Creating an understanding of how bilingualism promotes commerce and how languages are valuable resources for economic growth, rather than a source of fearful diversity, can assuage xenophobic fears.

With respect to the maintenance and development of Spanish as a language of business, the availability of a growing Spanish-language media provides an important advantage for Miami that is not available in other US metropolitan areas. However, unless there is a clear economic benefit and a market niche for Spanish-language media, future investment and development may be curtailed.

State and Local Images. English continues as the language of preference for immigrant teenagers and young adults. Creating positive images of bilingualism at the national level can impact state and local perceptions. Such mindset changes are needed to develop and extend the use of languages learned within the home and at school. Parents, educators, legislators and others who formulate and implement formal and informal policies need to recognize the economic value of proficiency in languages in addition to English. Such recognition would include the contributions immigrant families make in sharing and

maintaining not only their languages, but also their cultural heritages, their tastes and preferences, and the ways that they interact and conduct business. Positive images of bilingualism can encourage families to freely communicate in the languages they know and understand best - the same languages that monolingual families and school districts are trying to promote through foreign language instruction.

Important in the creation of positive images of bilingualism is the political, as well as the economic, support for educational policies that promote the maintenance of foreign languages. Important, too, is a recognition of the need to reduce dropout rates and to promote school attendance and achievement for Hispanic students. Positive images can encourage students at all socioeconomic levels to recognize the value of linguistic and cultural resources that are part of their natural heritage. A clear understanding of the economic value of their heritages can promote academic participation. As families and young people realize the potential economic value of knowing and using more than one language, they can promote bilingual language learning opportunities.

Changing Realities

Miami is in a vulnerable position with regard to continued economic development. With a growing percentage of low wage laborers, the tax base and the economic support for education in the state and local school districts necessitates that the leadership in Miami takes a careful look at assets and requirements for future development. While Latin American countries will probably continue to remain Miami's closest and best trading partners, many Latin American economies have not established the stable foundations needed for long term planning and development (Bussy, 1995; Lawrence, 1995). With the expansion of electronic communication, other cities could displace Miami's economic advantage (Kanter, 1995). As the use of Spanish increases in the United States, national markets present a growing potential for Miami. In addition, markets in Europe, Asia, and the Middle East provide opportunities for further expansion. Most, if not all, of these markets require proficiency in languages in addition to English.

Miami has comprehensive programs for developing bilingual language proficiency in both its private and public schools. However, current public school enrollments in foreign language and Spanish-

second-language programs to promote proficiency are not as high as they could be, given the linguistic resources within the community and future workforce requirements. Even in schools especially designed to prepare students for jobs in international business, the focus is primarily on communication in English. In spite of the Dade County School Board's recognition of the importance of promoting multilingual proficiency, information on specialized and magnet schools does not provide a comprehensive emphasis on the economic value of proficiency in languages other than English.

While oral and written proficiency in other languages is an important and realistic goal for the students in Miami's schools, full proficiency in English is an equally important outcome. High dropout rates and depressed standardized achievement scores below national and state norms for the students who stay in school indicate that perhaps neither the goal of literacy in other languages nor literacy in English is being achieved as well as they must for students who are to become the future technologically literate workforce. Enrollments in mathematics and science courses, while increasing over the past several years, are also important indicators of the limited awareness of the need for academic preparation required for successful economic participation (Office of Management and Accountability, 1995b).

Without specific short-term and long-term efforts to promote academic achievement, high school graduation, and vocational, or college preparation, large segments of the potential workforce will not be able to participate in the global economy. Suggestions are offered next for changing realities at the national, state, and local levels.

At the National Level. Communication with government officials is important in promoting national and international business development. Proposals to establish English as the "official" language of the nation easily divide rather than unite the nation in a common purpose. More important is the recognition of the role of language in promoting economic development, nationally and internationally, and the development of the capacity to use languages in addition to English in promoting economic development.

At the national level, it is important to ensure opportunities for economic growth through development of a literate workforce capable

of communicating in a global society. Making certain that policies and resources are available to ensure the development of the nation's most important resource, its labor force, is central to the economic development of Miami, as well as the nation as a whole.

At the State Level. Within the Department of Education, the Office of Multicultural Student Language Education has been established to ensure the effective education of students who are learning English as a new language. Schools with 15 or more students from the same language background learning English must be provided Home Language Instruction. The languages in which instruction is currently offered include Spanish, Haitian Creole, Portuguese, Vietnamese, and Greek (Office of Multicultural Student Language Education, 1995).

Programs established through the Governor's Office, the State Legislature, and the Florida Department of Education provide important opportunities for promoting language learning and academic achievement. Interfacing the support of these two areas can encourage effective educational opportunities for students learning English and for both students and adults seeking to gain proficiency in other international languages.

At the Local Level. The Greater Miami Chamber of Commerce and the Dade County Public Schools have indicated a strong awareness of the need to promote the learning of languages in addition to English. Recently, the Superintendent revealed the need to rethink the ways that instruction is provided and to increase the interface between schools and home through the use of electronic instruction (Visiedo, 1995). These plans indicate the school district's interest in seeking viable alternatives to enhance both effective instruction and academic achievement.

Need for Further Research. The international forces that have transformed Miami are still at work and continue to grow as travel and communication become faster and easier. Miami is a unique experiment where a new dynamic makes proficiency in more than one language an economic asset. While Spanish and English are important languages for conducting business in Metro-Miami, they are not the only languages

that contribute to the local economy. The availability and economic impact of Metro-Miami's other languages also require consideration.

Mass communication, in all of Metro-Miami's languages, is needed to make the public aware of the growing economic importance of multilingualism. While they are still fledgling endeavors, Metro-Miami's non-English and non-Spanish media (including television, radio, newspaper sections, and weekly publications) can be used to inform audiences about economic developments and to highlight the value of multiple language use. In addition, the powerful English and Spanish media provide important tools for influencing public opinion, and creating new images of the need for proficiency in more than one language. In addition to developing new markets, the media can also be used as valuable vehicles for promoting the expansion of the various business languages of Metro-Miami. The media can also be used locally, nationally, and internationally, for highlighting Miami's position as a city of great economic opportunities. What is required is the vision and willingness to harness the valuable resources that are already available to promote and ensure Miami's future.

With these thoughts in mind we recommend the following topics for further research:

- Determine the specific language skills Miami businesses require for conducting business.
- Examine the language skills being developed in language programs for students, K- 12, and adults to determine how programs meet workforce needs.
- Investigate ways to promote the learning and maintenance of Spanish and other languages important for Miami's economic growth.

Conclusion

Both nationally and locally, language use issues are directly related to economic globalization and workforce development. New and emerging differences, characteristics of centers of recent economic development, are related to the expanded use of technology and international communication. Development of Miami's economy is directly related to the broad-based ability to communicate nationally and internationally.

Considering the decline in real wages for the past several decades, efforts to build on the strengths of local resources are more than an exercise in good strategic planning; they are imperative for future economic growth (Cisneros, 1993; Díaz, 1980). The ability to effectively interact in diverse cultures and communicate in more than one language is part of a cosmopolitan orientation to economic opportunities. Central to this development is the unique resource that makes Miami an economic leader in international markets - the presence of a multilingual labor force. The importance of this resource requires further consideration and specific planned development, if current economic opportunities are to be sustained and increased.

Acknowledgments

Pauline Zijlstra, graduate student, Department of Liberal Arts and Sciences, University of Utrecht, the Netherlands, and Intern, Cuban American National Council assisted with the survey tabulations. Holly Merrill, graduate assistant in the Department of Teaching and Learning, University of Miami, assisted with table and manuscript layout.

Editor's Note

This study is a revised version of the report by the authors titled *The Economic Impact of Spanish-Language Proficiency in Metropolitan Miami*, published in 1996 by the Greater Miami Chamber of Commerce and The Policy Center of the Cuban American National Council, Inc.

References

- Anstrom, K. (1995). Second language acquisition for school. *Forum*, 18, pp. 1, 4-5 (Newsletter of the National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education).
- Additional Programs Authorized under Title VII. (1995, Summer). *Forum*, pp. 1, 5 (Newsletter of the National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education).
- Arrarte, A. M. (1995). Selling paradise. *The Miami Herald*, pp. 26, 28 Business Monday.
- Bamrud, J. (1995, December). The evolution of a financial center. *US/LatinTrade*, p.14.

- BDO Seidman. (1995). *1995 business pulse of Greater Miami*. Miami, FL: Author.
- Beacon Council. (1994). *Miami's multinational business community*. Miami, FL: Author.
- Beacon Council. (1995). *Miami business profile*. Miami, FL: Author.
- Bialystok, E., & Hakuta, K. (1994). *In other words: The science and psychology of second-language acquisition*. New York: Basic Books.
- Boswell, T. D., & Curtis, J. R. (1991). *The Hispanicization of Metropolitan Miami*. In T. D. Boswell (Ed.), South Florida: The winds of change (pp. 140-161). Publication prepared for the Annual Conference of the Association of American Geographers. Miami, FL: University of Miami.
- Boswell, T. D., & Skop, E. (1995). *Hispanic national groups in metropolitan Miami*. Miami, FL: Cuban American National Council.
- Bouvier, L. F., & Davis, C. B. (1982). *The future racial composition of the United States*. Washington, DC: Demographic Information Services Center of the Population Reference Bureau.
- Bureau of Economic Analysis. (1995a). *Trade facts* (International Trade data update for January, 1995). Tallahassee, FL: Florida Department of Commerce.
- Bureau of Economic Analysis. (1995b). *The impact of foreign trade on Florida's economy* (seventh annual report). Tallahassee, FL: Florida Department of Commerce.
- Bureau of Economic and Business Research. (1987). *1987 Florida statistical abstract* (21st ed.). Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida.
- Bureau of Economic and Business Research. (1994). *1994 Florida statistical abstract* (28th ed.). Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida.
- Bussy, J. (1995, November 5). Mexico's problems spread in Latin America. *The Miami Herald*, pp. K1, K2.
- Bustos, S. (1995, June 4). Language barrier. *Sun Sentinel*, pp. E1, E5.
- Cancela, J. C. (1995, October 8). US Hispanic market: Coming of age. *The Miami Herald*, p. M5.

- Castellanos, I. (1990). The use of English and Spanish among Cubans in Miami. *Cuban Studies*, 20, 49-63.
- Castro, M. J. (1992). On the curious question of language in Miami. In J. Crawford (Ed.), *Language loyalties: A source book on the official English controversy* (pp. 178-i 86). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Chapman, A. E. (1991). History of South Florida. In T. D. Boswell (Ed.), *South Florida: The winds of change* (pp. 31-42). Publication prepared for the Annual Conference of the Association of American Geographers. Miami, FL: University of Miami.
- Chiles, L. (1994, March 11). Chiles lands historic Summit for Miami. *Press Release*. Tallahassee, FL: Office of the Governor.
- Cisneros, H. G. (1993). Interwoven destinies: Cities and the nation. In H. G. Cisneros (Ed.), *Interwoven destinies* (pp. 1-29). New York: W. W. Norton.
- Collier, V. P., & Thomas, W. P. (1989). How quickly can immigrants become proficient in school English? *The Journal of Educational Issues of Language Minority Students*, 5, 26-38.
- Commission on the Skills of the American Workforce. (1990). *America's choice: High skills or low wages!* Rochester, NY: National Center on Education and the Economy.
- Crawford, J. (1992). *Hold your tongue: Bilingualism and the politics of "English Only."* Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Cummins, J. (1980). Psychological assessment of immigrant children: Logic or intuition? *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 1, 97-111.
- Diamond, S. (1980). *Historical aspects of bilingualism in the United States*. New York: Center for Social Sciences, Columbia University.
- Díaz, G. (1980). *Evaluation and identification of policy issues in the Cuban community*. Miami, FL: Cuban American National Planning Council.
- Diegmüller, K. (1995, January 11). Draft of foreign-language standards released. *Education Week*, p. 5.
- Draper, J. B., & Jiménez, M. (1994). Language debates in the United States. In B. Gallegos (Ed.), *English: Our official language?* (pp. 10-15). New York: H. W. Wilson.

- Ferdman, B. M. (1990). Literacy and cultural identity. *Harvard Educational Review*, 60, 181-204.
- Fiedler, T. (1995, September 10). Dole's speech startling to South Florida Republicans. *The Miami Herald*, p. M4.
- Fishman, J. (1992). The displaced anxieties of Anglo-Americans. In J. Crawford (Ed.), *Language loyalties: A source book on the official English controversy* (pp. 165-170). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Fitzgerald, J. (1993). Views of bilingualism in the United States: A selective historical review. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 17, 35-56.
- Flores, D. J. (1981). *An investigation of the long-term effects of bilingual education upon achievement, language maintenance and attitudes*. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation. Gainesville, FL: University of Florida. Florida Council on International Education. (1994). *Foreign languages institute report*. Tallahassee, FL: Office of the Governor, Florida International Affairs Commission.
- Florida Education Information Services. (1994). *LEP populations as part of the total Florida school population, 1989 and 1994*. Tallahassee, FL: Florida Department of Education. Florida International Affairs Commission. (1994). Language institute to help businesses. (1994, fall). *Florida World Links*, p. 9.
- Fradd, S. H. (1983). *Language acquisition of 1980 Cuban immigrant junior high school students*. Doctoral Dissertation. Gainesville, FL: University of Florida.
- Fradd, S. H., & Vega, J. E. (1987). Legal considerations. In S. H. Fradd & W. J. Tikunoff (Eds.), *Bilingual education and bilingual special education* (pp. 45-74). Boston: Little, Brown.
- Freedman, M. (1995, March). What is a key predictor of Spanish media? *Inside Strategy*, 9, p. 1.
- From South Florida to the world. (1995, September 18). *The Miami Herald*, p. 15, Business Monday.
- Gaines, J. R. (fall, 1993). America's immigrant challenge. *Time*, 142 (Special Issue).
- Gale, L. (1995, November). *Personal conversation*. Tallahassee, FL: Florida Department of Education, Office of Multicultural Student Language Education.

- García, J. (1995). *El Nuevo Herald*, (document prepared from the publisher's files for this paper). Miami, FL: Author.
- García, O., & Otheguy, R. (1985). The masters of survival send their children to school: Bilingual education in the ethnic schools of Miami. *Bilingual Review/Revista bilingüe*, 12, 3-9.
- García, O., & Otheguy, R. (1987). The bilingual education of Cuban American children in Dade County's ethnic schools. *Language and Education*, 1, 83-95.
- Hart-Gonzalez, L., & Feingold, M. (1990). Retention of Spanish in the home., one language? *US International Journal of Social Language*, 84, 5-34.
- Headden, S. (1995, September 25). One nation, one language? *US News and World Report*. p. 38-42 (special issue on immigration and English as the official national language).
- Herald Staff Report. (1995, October 5). Survey profiles Hispanic buyer. *The Miami Herald*, p. C1.
- Herald Wire Services. (1995, September 5). Dole: End multilingual education. *The Miami Herald*, pp. A1, A5.
- Hornblower, M. (1995, October 9). Putting tongues in cheek. *Time*, pp. 40-42, 49-50.
- Kanter, R. M. (1995). *World class: Thriving locally in the global economy*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Lapham, S. J. (1993). *The foreign born population in the United States: 1990*, CPH-L-98. Washington, DC: US Bureau of the Census, US Department of Commerce.
- Lawrence, D. (1994, November 11). Summit here? Perfect, Mr. President! *The Miami Herald*, p. B2.
- Lawrence, D. (1995, November 5). Economics: The talk of Latin America. *The Miami Herald*, pp. M 1, M4.
- League of United Latin American Citizens v. Florida Board of Education. case no. 90-1913 (USD.C. FL. 1990).
- López, R. (1995, Fall). *Miami: The mall of the Americas. Saludos!* (a report of the Hispanic Business Group of the Greater Miami Chamber of Commerce, supplement to the CEO Report).
- Market Segment Research. (1993). *The 1993 MSR minority market report A portrait of the new America*. Coral Gables, FL: Author.

- Maxwell, D. (1995, October 16). Talking languages. *US News & World Report*, p. 6 (letter to the editor in response the special issue on immigration and English as the official national language).
- McGroarty, M. (1992). The societal context of bilingual education. *Educational Researcher*, 21, 7-9.
- McMillen, M. M., Kaufman, P., Hausken, F., & Bradby, D. (1993). *Dropout rates in the United States: 1992*. Washington, DC: National Center for Education Statistics.
- Metropolitan Dade County Planning Department. (1993). *Population estimates and projections, post-Hurricane Andrew*. Dade County, FL: Miami, Research Division.
- Metropolitan Dade County Planning Department. (1995). *Population Estimates and Projections, 1995-2015*. Dade County, FL: Miami, Research Division.
- Moll, L. C. (1992). Bilingual classroom studies and community analysis. *Educational Researcher*, 21, 20-24.
- Montaner, C. A. (1992). "Talk English - You are in the United States." In J. Crawford (Ed.), *Language loyalties: A source book on the official English controversy* (pp. 163-164). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Muto, H. (1995, September). Programming pioneers. *Hispanic*, 28, 30-31.
- National Center for Education Statistics. (1992). *Are Hispanic dropout rates related to migration?* (Issue Brief). Washington, DC: Author.
- Nicolau, S., & Valdivieso, R. (1992). Spanish language shift: Educational implications. In J. Crawford (Ed.), *Language loyalties: A source book on the official English controversy* (pp. 317-322). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Office of Management and Accountability (1995 a). *District strategic plan, 1995-2000*. Miami: Dade County Public Schools.
- Office of Management and Accountability. (1995b). *Statistical abstract, 1994-95*. Miami: Dade County Public Schools.
- Office of Multicultural Student Language Education. (1995). *1993-94 annual status report on the implementation of the 1990 League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) et al vs. State Board of Education Consent Decree*. Tallahassee, FL: Florida Department of Education, Division of Public Schools.

- Oppenheimer, A. (1994, March 14). Summit can aid, or ruin, our image. *The Miami Herald*, p. A6.
- Pearson, B. Z., & McGee, A. (1993). Language choice in Hispanic-background junior high school students in Miami: A 1988 update. In A. Roca & J. M. Lipski (Eds.), *Spanish in the United States: Linguistic contact and diversity* (pp. 91-102). New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Pedraza, P. (1985). Language maintenance among New York Puerto Ricans. In L. Elias-Olivares, E. A. Leone, R. Cisneros, & J. Gutierrez (Eds.), *Spanish language use in public life in the USA* (pp. 59-71). The Hague: Mouton.
- Plisko, V. (Ed.), (1984). *The condition of education*. Washington, DC: National Center for Educational Statistics, US Department of Education.
- Portes, A., & Gran, D. E. (1991). *Characteristics and performance of high school students in Dade County (Miami SMSA) Schools*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, Center for Research on Effective Schooling for Disadvantaged Children.
- Portes, A., Parker, R., & Cobas, J. (1980). Assimilation or consciousness: Perceptions of US society among recent Latin American immigrants to the United States. *Social Forces*, 59, 200-223.
- Portes, A., & Schaeffler, R. (in press). Language and the second generation. In R. G. Rumbaut & S. Pedraza (Eds.), *Origins and destinies: Migration, race, and ethnicity in America*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- Portes, A., & Stepick, A. (1993). *City on the edge: The transformation of Miami*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Portes, A., & Zhou, M. (1993). The new second generation. *Annals AAPSS*, 530, 74-96.
- Puente, M., & Sanchez, S. (1995, September 6). Experts call educational gap national threat. *USA Today*, p. A1.
- Reed, T. (1995, October 16). Europeans fly back to Miami. *The Miami Herald*, p. 13, Business Monday.
- Riley, R. W. (1995, October 16). Talking languages. *US News & World Report*, p. 6 (letter to the editor in response the special issue on immigration and English as the official national language).

- Robles, F. (1995, September 6). Multilingual classes pass the Dole test. *The Miami Herald*, pp. B2, B3.
- Rosenberg, C. (1995, October 29). Congress wrestles with growing anti-immigrant sentiment. *The Miami Herald*, p. A 10.
- Rovira, L. (1995). *Personal communication*. (Department of Bilingual and Foreign Language Training, Dade County Public Schools, Miami, FL).
- Rumberger, R. (1995). Dropping out of middle school: A multilevel analysis of students and schools. *American Educational Research Journal*, 32, 583-625.
- Seliger, H. W., & Vago, R. M. (1991). *First language attrition*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Sheskin, I. M. (1985). *Survey research for geographers*. Washington, DC: Association of American Geographers. Sheskin, I. M. (1992). The Miami ethnic archipelago, *The Florida Geographer*, 26, 40-57.
- Snow, C. E., & Hakuta, K. (1992). The costs of monolingualism. In J. Crawford (Ed.), *Language loyalties: A source book on the official English controversy* (pp. 384-394). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Solé, C. (1980). Language usage patterns among a young generation of Cuban Americans. In E. L. Blansitt & R. V. Teschner (Eds.), *A festschrift for Jacob Ornstein*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Solé, Y. R. (1990). Bilingualism: Stable or transitional? The case of Spanish in the United States. *International Journal of Social Language*, 84, 35-80.
- Soruco, G. (1995). *The turbulent voyage of Spanish-language television in the United States*. Coral Gables, FL: University of Miami, School of Communication.
- Strong, W. (1991). The Southeast Florida economy. In T. D. Boswell (Ed.), *South Florida: The winds of change* (pp. 70-86). Publication prepared for the Annual Conference of the Association of American Geographers. Miami, FL: University of Miami.
- Thompson, R. E. (1995, September 10). Immigrants under attack. *The Miami Herald*, pp.M3.
- Townsend, R. (1995, September 10). Madre apelará fallo que le coarta hablar en español a su hija (Mother will appeal court order that

- prohibits her from speaking to her daughter in Spanish). *El Nuevo Herald*, p. A1.
- US Bureau of the Census. (1985). *Persons of Spanish origin in the United States: March 1982*. (population Characteristics, Series P-20, No. 369). Washington, DC: US Department of Commerce.
- US Bureau of the Census. (1991). *1990 Census of population*, Summary Tape File STF 1A, Florida. Washington, DC: US Department of Commerce.
- US Bureau of the Census. (1993a). *1990 profiles of the foreign-born population*, selected characteristics by place of birth (CPA-L-148). Washington, DC: US Department of Commerce.
- US Bureau of the Census. (1993b). *Statistical abstract of the United States: 1992* (112th ed.). Washington, DC: US Department of Commerce.
- US Bureau of the Census. (1993c). *1990 Census of population and housing*. (Public Use Microdata Samples), Washington, DC: US Department of Commerce.
- US Bureau of the Census. (1993d). Public use microdata samples, US Technical Documentation. *1990 census of population and housing*. Washington, DC: US Department of Commerce.
- US Bureau of the Census. (1994a). *We asked... You told us. Language spoken at home* (Census Questionnaire Content, 1990 CQC-16). Washington, DC: US Department of Commerce.
- US Bureau of the Census. (1994b). *County business patterns, 1992: Florida*. Washington, DC: US Department of Commerce.
- US International Trade Administration. (1995). *Big emerging markets at a glance*. Washington, DC: US Department of Commerce.
- Valdés, M. I., & Seoane, M. H. (1995). *Hispanic market handbook*. New York: International Thomson Publishing.
- Veltman, C. (1983). *Language shift in the United States*. New York: Mouton.
- Viglucchi, A. (1995, October 2). Study of ethnicity, success reveals surprises. *The Miami Herald*, pp. B1, B8.
- Villano, D. (1994, December). Professional services: Speaking two languages. *US/Latin Trade*, A28, A30.

- Visiedo. O. V. (1994). *Follow-up to item B-i, March 23, 1994 Board meeting - Position paper relative to the expansion of the foreign language program*. Miami: Dade County Public Schools.
- Visiedo. O. V. (1995, October 1). Brand new classroom: Cyberspace. *The Miami Herald*, pp. M1, M5.
- Waggoner, D. (1993). The growth of multilingualism and the need for bilingual education: What do we know so far? *Bilingual Research Journal*, 17, 1-12.
- Westlund, R. (1995a, December). City report. *US/Latin Trade*, pp. A4-A6, A10.
- Westlund, R. (1995b, February 12). When your native country is in Latin America, but much of your business is in Miami, there is a need for a condo away from home. *The Miami Herald*, pp. G 1, G 15.
- Westlund, R. (1995c). The new Latin buyer: Younger, more careful. *US/Latin Trade*. pp. A16, A22.
- Whitefield, M. (1995a, October 30). Catering to Latin tastes. *The Miami Herald*, pp. 24-26 (Business Monday).
- Whitefield, M. (1995b, October 6). 1 in 10 in US is Hispanic, survey shows. *The Miami Herald*, pp. C1, C3.
- WLTV Marketing. (1995). *Market information*. Miami, FL: Author.
- Yearwood, L. T. (1995, September 19). Families facing pressure to use only English. *The Miami Herald*, pp. A1, A7.

Appendix

Table 1: *Number of Employees in Companies Conducting Business in Spanish that Were Included in the Survey*

# of Employees	# of Businesses (Frequencies)	Percentages	Cumulative Percentages
1-25	99	43.2	43.2
26-50	47	20.5	63.7
51-100	30	13.1	76.8
101-250	19	8.3	85.1
251-500	18	7.9	93.0
501-1,000	6	2.6	95.6
1,001-4,000	10	4.4	100.0
TOTALS	229	100.0	

Source: Survey conducted by author with the Greater Miami Chamber of Commerce and the Cuban American National Council, 1995.

Table 2: *Business Conducted In Spanish*

% of Business in Spanish	# of Businesses (Frequencies)	Percentages	Cumulative Percentages
Less than 10%	59	25.7	25.7
11-25%	47	20.4	46.1
26-50%	66	28.7	74.8
51-75%	33	14.3	89.1
76-100%	23	10.0	99.1
TOTALS	2	.9	100.0
TOTALS	230	100.0	

Source: Survey conducted by author with the Greater Miami Chamber of Commerce and the Cuban American National Council, 1995.

Table 3: <i>Employees Conducting Business in Spanish</i>			
% of Employees Using Spanish	# of Businesses (Frequencies)	Percentage of Employees	Cumulative Percentages
Less than 10%	67	29.4	29.4
11-25%	33	14.4	43.8
26-50%	64	27.9	71.7
51-75%	28	12.2	83.9
76-100%	36	15.7	99.6
Don't Know	1	.4	100.0
TOTALS	229	100.0	

Source: Survey conducted by author with the Greater Miami Chamber of Commerce and the Cuban American National Council, 1995.

Table 4: <i>Fully Bilingual Employees</i>			
% of Employees Fully Bilingual	# of Businesses (Frequencies)	% of Businesses	Cumulative Percentages
Less than 10%	23	10.2	10.2
11-25%	31	13.7	23.9
26-50%	57	25.2	49.1
51-75%	49	21.7	70.8
76-100%	64	28.3	99.1
Don't Know	2	.9	100.0
TOTALS	226	100.0	

Source: Survey conducted by author with the Greater Miami Chamber of Commerce and the Cuban American National Council, 1995.

Table 5: *Comparison of % of Business Conducted in Spanish and % of Employees Fully Bilingual (Numbers of Companies in Cells)*

% of Business Conducted in Spanish	Percent of Employees That Are Fully Bilingual				
	Less than 10%	11% to 25%	26% to 50%	51% to 75%	76% to 100%
Less than 10%	15	18	15	7	2
11% to 25%	4	4	20	10	8
26% to 50%	3	3	9	23	25
51% to 75%	1	3	5	5	18
76% to 100%	0	1	7	4	11
Don't Know	0	2	0	0	0
TOTALS	23	31	56	49	64

Source: Survey conducted by author with the Greater Miami Chamber of Commerce and the Cuban American National Council, 1995.

Table 6: *Percent of Employees who Conduct Business in English*

% of Employees Using Spanish	# of Businesses (Frequencies)	Percentages	Cumulative Percentages
Less than 10%	9	4.0	4.0
11-25%	13	5.7	9.7
26-50%	48	21.1	30.8
51-75%	40	17.6	48.4
76-100%	117	51.6	100.0
Don't Know	0	0.0	100.0
TOTALS	227	100.0	

Source: Survey conducted by author with the Greater Miami Chamber of Commerce and the Cuban American National Council, 1995.

Table 7: <i>There Is A Need for Bilingual Workforce in Dade County?</i>			
Importance of a Bilingual Workforce	# of Businesses (Frequencies)	Percentages	Cumulative Percentages
Strongly Agree	138	60.0	60.0
Agree	82	35.7	95.7
Disagree	4	1.7	97.4
Strongly Disagree	2	.9	98.3
Don't Know	4	1.7	100.0
TOTALS	230	100.0	
Source: Survey conducted by author with the Greater Miami Chamber of Commerce and the Cuban American National Council, 1995.			

Table 8: <i>Miami's Economic Growth Requires More Fully Bilingual Employees?</i>			
Importance of a Bilingual Workforce	# of Businesses (Frequencies)	Percentages	Cumulative Percentages
Strongly Agree	108	46.5	46.5
Agree	89	38.4	84.9
Disagree	21	9.1	94.0
Strongly Disagree	6	2.6	96.6
Don't Know	8	3.4	100.0
TOTALS	232	100.0	
Source: Survey conducted by author with the Greater Miami Chamber of Commerce and the Cuban American National Council, 1995.			

Table 9: <i>Availability of Bilingual Employees within Own Company Is Sufficient to Meet <u>Current</u> Needs?</i>			
Importance of a Bilingual Workforce	# of Businesses (Frequencies)	Percentages	Cumulative Percentages
Strongly Agree	45	19.5	19.5
Agree	130	56.2	75.7
Disagree	43	18.6	94.3
Strongly Disagree	8	3.5	97.8
Don't Know	5	2.2	100.0
TOTALS	231	100.0	

Source: Survey conducted by author with the Greater Miami Chamber of Commerce and the Cuban American National Council, 1995.

Table 10: <i>Availability of Spanish-language Employees within Own Company Is Sufficient to Meet <u>Current</u> Needs?</i>			
Importance of a Bilingual Workforce	# of Businesses (Frequencies)	Percentages	Cumulative Percentages
Strongly Agree	40	17.3	17.3
Agree	121	52.4	69.7
Disagree	54	23.4	93.1
Strongly Disagree	10	4.3	97.4
Don't Know	6	2.6	100.0
TOTALS	231	100.0	

Source: Survey conducted by author with the Greater Miami Chamber of Commerce and the Cuban American National Council, 1995.

Table 11: *Availability of English-language Employees within Own Company Is Sufficient to Meet Current Needs?*

Importance of a Bilingual Workforce	# of Businesses (Frequencies)	Percentages	Cumulative Percentages
Strongly Agree	61	26.5	26.5
Agree	109	47.4	73.9
Disagree	49	21.3	95.2
Strongly Disagree	9	3.9	99.1
Don't Know	2	.9	100.0
TOTALS	230	100.0	

Source: Survey conducted by author with the Greater Miami Chamber of Commerce and the Cuban American National Council, 1995.

Table 12: *Percent of Business Conducted in Spanish with #'s Providing on the Job Training or Incentives to Promote language Proficiency in Either English or Spanish*

% of Business Conducted in Spanish	Numbers of Companies Offering Training Or Incentives to Promote Language Proficiency in Either English or Spanish	
	Yes	No
Less Than 10%	8	47
11%-25%	8	38
26%-50%	20	44
51%-75%	6	26
76%-100%	4	18
Don't Know	0	2
TOTALS	46	175
Total Percents	20.8%	79.2%

Source: Survey conducted by author with the Greater Miami Chamber of Commerce and the Cuban American National Council, 1995.