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Asian Immigration to Florida

by RAYMOND A. MOHL

By the mid-1990s, few states could challenge Florida's Sunbelt growth image and megastate status. Now the fourth largest state, following California, Texas, and New York, Florida has had a dramatically rising demographic trajectory for most of the twentieth century. Indeed, the state's population growth rate has never fallen below 28 percent a decade since 1900; it was much higher than that during the boom years of the 1920s (52 percent), the 1950s (79 percent), and the 1970s (44 percent). Since 1960, however, a substantial portion of the state's new population has come as a consequence of immigration. Careful estimates in 1995 suggest that about 18 percent of Florida's almost 14 million residents are foreign born, including several hundred thousand undocumented or illegal immigrants.¹

The rapid rise of Florida's multicultural population has generally been attributed to the massive migrations of Cuban exiles to the Sunshine State since 1959. The heavy attention devoted to the outspoken and politically active Cuban exiles, who are mostly concentrated in South Florida, has diverted journalistic and scholarly focus from the state's many other nationality groups and immigrant communities. In fact, however, by 1990 Florida's Cubans were outnumbered collectively by other Hispanic groups—Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Central/South Americans— all of whose numbers are now growing more rapidly than the state's Cuban population. Many other immigrant newcomers have also contributed to Florida's twentieth-century ethnic transformations. Several hundred thousand Haitians have made South Florida home in the past

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1. Raymond A. Mohl, "Florida's Changing Demography: Population Growth, Urbanization, and Latinization," *Environmental and Urban Issues*, 17 (Winter 1990), 22-30; Raymond Arsenault and Gary R. Mormino, "From Dixie to Dreamland: Demographic and Cultural Change in Florida, 1880-1980," in Randall M. Miller and George E. Pozzetta, eds., *Shades of the Sunbelt: Essays on Ethnicity, Race, and the Urban South* (Westport, CT, 1988), 161-191. On illegal immigrants in Florida, see Rebecca L. Clark, et al., *Fiscal Impacts of Undocumented Aliens: Selected Estimates for Seven States* (Washington, D.C., 1994), 5-6; State of Florida, *The Unfair Burden: Immigration's Impact on Florida* (Tallahassee, 1994), 8-9.

two decades. South Florida has large concentrations of Jamaicans, French Canadians, and recently arrived Soviet Jews, as well as an aging cohort of East European Jewish retirees. Historically, Finns have concentrated in Lake Worth, Palestinians in Jacksonville, Bahamians in Key West and Miami, Greeks in Tarpon Springs, Italians and Spaniards in Tampa. More recently, Vietnamese exiles have settled in Pensacola, where they carry on traditional shrimping and fishing activities. Over 20,000 Maya Indians from Guatemala work as farm laborers and in nurseries and landscape jobs in the agricultural areas of southeast Florida. In the agricultural heart of central Florida, Mexicans of Aztec descent have come to dominate labor in the citrus and vegetable fields.²

Unknown to most observers, however, is that during the 1970s and 1980s Asian newcomers emerged as the fastest-growing foreign-born group in Florida. Of the 154,000 Asians who resided in Florida in 1990—triple the number in 1980—Filipinos, Chinese, and Asian Indians formed the largest groups, followed by Vietnamese, Koreans, Japanese, and Thais. This rising tide of Asian immigration to Florida drives home the point that Florida has become—like California—a new multicultural cauldron, a state of great ethnic diversity and cultural change. The heavy concentration of attention on recent Cuban and Haitian immigration has tended to mask other dramatic changes in Florida's demographic and cultural pattern. The diverse Asian immigration to Florida, especially after the immigration reform legislation of 1965, may in fact better reflect the migration trends and cultural patterns we might expect to see in the Sunshine State in the 21st century.³

2. Raymond A. Mohl and George E. Pozzetta, "From Migration to Multiculturalism: A History of Florida Immigration," in Michael Gannon, ed., *The New History of Florida* (Gainesville, 1995), 391-417.

3. Raymond A. Mohl, "Ethnic Transformations in Late-Twentieth-Century Florida," *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 15 (Winter 1996), forthcoming. Asians have also been the fastest-growing group nationally since the 1970s, and some analysts suggest that, if current immigration levels are maintained, Asians may outnumber African Americans by the middle of the next century. See Robert W. Gardner, et al., *Asian Americans: Growth, Change, and Diversity* (Washington, D.C., 1985); William O'Hare and Judy Felt, "Asian Americans: America's Fastest Growing Minority Group," *Population Trends and Public Policy*, No. 19 (Washington, D.C., 1991); Roger Daniels, "The Asian-American Experience: The View from the 1990s," in Hans Bak, ed., *Multiculturalism and the Canon of American Culture* (Amsterdam, 1993), 131-145; John J. Miller, "Asian Americans Head for U.S. Political Arena," *Chinatown News*, 42 (March 18, 1995), 12-13.

It may come as a surprise to learn that Florida's experience with Asian immigration is not entirely new or recent. Indeed, the recent surge of Asian immigrants to Florida has some fascinating late 19th and early 20th-century precedents. In the post-Civil War era, for example, state officials, business leaders, and large farming interests worried about the lack of an energetic and skilled labor force to move the state's economy forward. The promotion of immigration emerged as the major strategy pursued by the state government, railroads, and big farmers in the late 19th century. European immigrants, particularly Italians, gained special attention, since Florida was seen as the "American Italy" and Italian immigrants were perceived as experienced with citrus and vine culture. Similarly, Florida's growth advocates of the late 19th century singled out the importation of Chinese laborers as a solution for the perceived shortage of industrious agricultural laborers.⁴

Advocacy of Chinese immigration in post-Civil War Florida conformed to a wider pattern that prevailed in the South generally, as well as in the Pacific Coast region and in the British Caribbean. By the 1850s, for instance, British planters in British Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica, St. Lucia, and Barbados had responded to the end of slavery by importing Chinese immigrant laborers to work the sugar plantations. Such Spanish colonies as Cuba and Peru imported large numbers of Chinese indentured laborers as well, with as many as 125,000 Chinese brought to Cuba alone. By the 1860s the Chinese migration pattern had been extended to the United States. The 1870 census recorded some 63,000 Chinese in the U.S., a number that rose to over 105,000 by 1880. There was a high degree of "coming and going," however, as Roger Daniels has pointed out. Perhaps as many as 300,000 Chinese arrived in America prior to passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, although many ultimately returned to their homeland. Seeking better economic opportunities, most of the Chinese immigrants to the U.S. worked in the American west in California mines and agriculture and on the

4. George E. Pozzetta, "The Chinese Encounter with Florida, 1865-1920," *Chinese America: History and Perspectives*, 2 (1989), 43-58; George E. Pozzetta, "Foreigners in Florida: A Study of Immigration Promotion, 1865-1910," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 53 (October 1974), 164-180. On Florida as the "American Italy," see Edward King, *The Great South* (Hartford, CT, 1879; reprint edition, Baton Rouge, 1972), 378.

transcontinental railroads. But several thousand Chinese also filtered into agricultural and railroad work in the American South. Some came by way of Cuba, others from California or directly from China. A San Francisco labor contractor, Cornelius Koopmanscap, touted the advantages of Chinese labor at a southern planters convention in Memphis in 1869 and facilitated the importation of several hundred Chinese to Louisiana, Alabama, and Georgia.⁵

Florida was still a raw, unsettled, and undeveloped state in 1880, with a population of about 269,000, mostly in the northern tier of the state. An emerging economy based on lumber, citrus, cotton plantations, phosphate mining, land drainage, and railroad construction all required a growing work force. By the 1870s some white Floridians turned enthusiastically toward imported Chinese workers as a sort of panacea for the state's labor needs. A fairly extensive literature, particularly in the *Florida Agriculturist*, ardently promoted Chinese immigration for plantation work and other labor needs. Reflecting the ethnic stereotypes common at the time, the editor of the *Florida Times-Union* predicted in 1869 that "pig-tails, almond eyes, and chop-sticks will soon be common" in Florida. Similarly, George M. Barbour, in his 1882 guidebook, *Florida for Tourists, Invalids, and Settlers*, noted that Chinese immigrants could satisfy the demand for a stable labor supply in the postwar era. The Chinese, Barbour wrote, were neat, quiet, thrifty, orderly, unobtrusive, and "in every way commendable." Although Florida had few Chinese at the time, Barbour expected that these Asian workers would soon be attracted to Florida: "Everywhere I found the peo-

5. Roger Daniels, *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life* (New York, 1990), 239-250; Shih-shan Henry Tsai, *The Chinese Experience in America* (Bloomington, 1986), 1-32; Ronald Takaki, *A Different Mirror: A History of Multicultural America* (Boston, 1993), 191-221; Lucy M. Cohen, *Chinese in the Post-Civil War South: A People Without a History* (Baton Rouge, 1984); Gunther Barth, *Bitter Strength: A History of the Chinese in the United States, 1850-1870* (Cambridge, 1964), 187-197; Stanford M. Lyman, ed., *Selected Writings of Henry Hughes* (Jackson, MI, 1985), 24-25, 51-53. On Chinese indentured workers in the Caribbean, see Walton Look Lai, *Indentured Labor, Caribbean Sugar: Chinese and Indian Migrants to the British West Indies, 1838-1918* (Baltimore, 1993); Duvon C. Corbitt, "Immigration in Cuba," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 22 (May 1942), 302-303; Bridget Brereton, "The Other Crossing: Asian Migrants in the Caribbean," *Journal of Caribbean History*, 28, No. 1 (1994), 99-122.

ple favoring Chinese immigration." He noted especially "a general desire to replace the colored labor with Chinese labor."⁶

For the most part, these optimistic assessments of the availability and usefulness of Chinese immigration were never fully transformed into reality in late-19th-century Florida. However, some Chinese workers did come to Florida during these years, some by way of California, others by way of Cuba. They worked initially on plantations, in lumber and turpentine camps, and in railroad construction. The U.S. Census reported 108 Chinese in Florida in 1890 and 120 in 1900—almost certainly a considerable undercount, since it is unlikely that census takers would have encountered or recorded transient Chinese work gangs. But the experiment with Chinese contract labor was plagued with difficulties. In one case in 1906, shortly after a Chinese work crew was contracted for labor at the Paradise Farms turpentine camp near Gainesville, the new workers went on strike in a dispute over hours, working conditions, and wages. By that time, many white Floridians had also become increasingly susceptible to the rising anti-immigration tide that had begun to sweep the nation by the turn of the 20th century. Nativism and racism soon terminated the contemporary discourse about the need for new immigrants of any background. Racial and religious differences, along with widely believed charges of immorality, gambling, and crime, raised concerns about the ability of the Chinese to assimilate to the American mainstream. The imposition of rigorous policies of racial segregation in the South by the 1890s created a dilemma for the non-white Chinese, as well as for white Floridians who sought to maintain the color line. Thus, by the beginning of the 20th century, exclusionary policies had become the rule and the panacea of large-scale Chinese immigration had run its course in Florida.⁷

6. "Chinese Cheap Labor," *Florida Agriculturist*, 1 (January 24, 1874), 30; "Chinese Cheap Labor," *ibid.*, 3 (March 9, 1881), 337; "Farm Laborers," *ibid.*, 31 (June 15, 1904), 376; "Chinese Labor," *ibid.*, 31 (September 28, 1904), 616; "Would Chinese Labor Solve the Harvest Problem?" *ibid.*, 32 (October 18, 1905), 664-665; "The Chinese and the Labor Problem," *ibid.*, 32 (October 18, 1905), 664; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, September 16, 1869, quoted in Pozzetta, "The Chinese Encounter with Florida," 45; George M. Barbour, *Florida for Tourists, Invalids, and Settlers* (Jacksonville, 1882), 227.

7. Cohen, *Chinese in the Post-Civil War South*; Pozzetta, "The Chinese Encounter with Florida," 43-54; "Chinese in Paradise," *Florida Agriculturist*, 33 (July 18, 1906), 457.

Despite the failure of ambitious plans for Chinese labor immigration, a permanent Chinese presence in Florida—albeit a very small presence—had been established by the early 20th century. Chinese immigrants gradually filtered into Florida's major cities, where they established entrepreneurial niches in laundries, truck farming, small grocery stores, and eventually restaurants. Some left the work gangs for better economic opportunities in Jacksonville, Tampa, Pensacola, and later Miami; others migrated to Florida from northern Chinatowns in New York or Boston, and still others came from Cuba, which had daily steamship service to Tampa beginning in the 1890s. Chain migration over time supplemented and sustained these small urban communities of overseas Chinese in Florida.⁸

The Chinese laundry tradition began in gold-rush-era San Francisco, where the disproportionate number of males created entrepreneurial opportunities in providing household and domestic service such as washing, ironing, cooking, cleaning, and the like. The laundry business required little capital or machinery, only the commitment to work hard and long. By the 1870s, according to Paul Siu's classic study *The Chinese Laundryman*, San Francisco had over 500 Chinese laundries. Some of Florida's urban Chinese newcomers adapted the laundry tradition to Florida circumstances. As early as 1889, for instance, Jacksonville had nine Chinese laundries. By the early 20th century, Jacksonville's Chinese laundries numbered 25, while Tampa had 15, Key West 12, and Pensacola 3. As in California and elsewhere, Chinese immigrants in Florida found economic opportunity in the urban economy through small family-run laundries.⁹

Chinese in early 20th-century Florida discovered other economic niches as well. A few Chinese established truck farms near Jacksonville, Tampa, Miami, and elsewhere, growing mostly Chinese vegetables for restaurants and groceries in the northeastern states. Some of these Chinese truck farmers had originally farmed in the northeastern United States, where they supplied groceries and restaurants in the Chinatowns of New York, Boston, and Phila-

8. Josephine Shih Gordy, "Chinese in Southeast Florida, 1890-1992" (M.A. Thesis, Florida Atlantic University, 1994), 53-58; Pozzetta, "The Chinese Encounter with Florida," 50-53.

9. Paul C. P. Siu, *The Chinese Laundryman: A Study of Social Isolation* (New York, 1987), 47; Pozzetta, "The Chinese Encounter with Florida," 52-53.

delphia. As early as 1907, for instance, a Chinese “agricultural colony” was established on the rural fringes of Jacksonville. By the 1940s, numerous small Chinese truck farmers persisted in the Jacksonville area; the 1940 census reported 86 Chinese in the Jacksonville metropolitan area. Similarly, in the years prior to 1950, three Chinese families opened Chinese vegetable farms in the Sarasota/Bradenton area in southwest Florida, initially to provide winter vegetables to the Chinese market in the northeast. Later, as the number of Chinese restaurants grew in Florida, the market for Chinese farm produce was much closer.¹⁰

At least one Chinese immigrant, Lue Gim Gong, achieved success in Florida citrus. Departing from a South China village in 1872 at age 12, Lue had been recruited to work in a shoe factory in North Adams, Massachusetts. He was later adopted by a local merchant family related to Anson Burlingame, the American Minister to China in the late 19th century. Lue later inherited the family’s citrus grove in DeLand, Florida, where he experimented with new varieties of oranges, grapefruit, and tomatoes and by the early 20th century became a horticulturist of some note, renowned as the “Chinese Burbank,” a reference to the famous horticulturist Luther Burbank.¹¹

Chinese immigrants in Florida also found an economic niche in small grocery stores, especially in black neighborhoods that were ignored by white retail merchants. Research on ethnic groups in Mississippi and Georgia, where the Chinese communities were larger than in Florida, demonstrate that “the Chinese filled a strategic position between the white and black population by providing goods and services to blacks.” The Chinese grocery store tradition also became common in Florida, where the Chinese served a “middleman” function in the black community. City direc-

10. Pozzetta, “The Chinese Encounter with Florida,” 50-53; Kathleen Cohen, “Immigrant Jacksonville: A Profile of Immigrant Groups in Jacksonville, Florida, 1890-1920” (M.A. Thesis, University of Florida, 1986), 91-100; Cindy H. Wong, “Chinese Outside Chinatown: A Chinese Community in South Florida,” *Chinese America: History and Perspectives*, 4 (1991), 49-65.

11. Ruthanne Lum McCunn, “Lue Gim Gong: A Life Reclaimed,” *Chinese America: History and Perspectives*, 2 (1989), 117-135; Gordy, “Chinese in Southeast Florida,” 7-9; Gene M. Burnett, “Florida’s Forgotten ‘Chinese Burbank,’” in Burnett, *Florida’s Past: People and Events that Shaped the State*, vol. 2 (Sarasota, 1988); Fredrick Rudolph, “Chinamen in Yankeeedom: Anti-Unionism in Massachusetts in 1870,” *American Historical Review*, 53 (October 1947), 1-29.

tories reveal that by 1906 Jacksonville, Tampa, Miami, and Key West all had a couple of Chinese groceries.¹²

The grocery story tradition in Florida took on new dimensions during the 1920s when two Chinese pioneers, Joe Wing and Joe Fred Gong, settled in Miami and opened a small grocery store, Joe's Market, in the city's African-American community. The partners named Joe had both immigrated from China as teenagers to join fathers who had already set up laundry businesses in America— one in Boston and one in Georgia. Both arrived in Miami in the mid-1920s intending to set up laundries in the midst of the South Florida real estate and economic boom. But laundry work in Miami was already dominated by Bahamian immigrants, so the two Joes found an alternative economic niche in the grocery business in black Miami. Later, through chain migration, sons, uncles, nephews, and other kin arrived in Miami, almost all from a few villages in South China. New groceries under the same name were established for the newcomers, often using loans from Chinese trade or kinship organizations. By the mid-1960s some 38 Joe's Market groceries served Miami's black community. However, these Chinese groceries eventually suffered from rising crime and civil disturbances after the mid-1960s as well as from price competition from the large supermarket chains. Some stores were burned out in Miami's 1968 ghetto riot; others eventually were closed or sold to various merchants. Although the Chinese grocery store tradition has died out now in Miami, over some 40 years the entrepreneurial Chinese of the first immigrant generation found an effective path to economic opportunity through these neighborhood institutions.¹³

The numbers of Chinese in early 20th century Florida remained relatively small. Indeed, there were only about 5,000 Chinese in the entire South in 1940, and a little over 10,000 in 1950. Florida had a disproportionately small number of the southern to-

12. James W. Loewen, *The Mississippi Chinese: Between Black and White* (Cambridge, 1971), 32-57; Cohen, "Immigrant Jacksonville," 94; Pozzetta, "The Chinese Encounter with Florida," 53; Gordy, "Chinese in Southeast Florida," 57-58.

13. Gordy, "Chinese in Southeast Florida," 57-65; Transcript of interview with Helen Chin, January 24, 1993 (interview conducted by Josephine Shih Gordy); Transcript of interview with Gow Low, June 23, 1991 (interview conducted by Josephine Shih Gordy).

tal; the U.S. census reported 214 Chinese in Florida in 1940 and 429 in 1950. The number of early Japanese immigrants was even smaller—about 1,000 in the southern states in 1940 and about 3,000 in 1950. In Florida, the Japanese numbered only 154 in 1940 and 238 in 1950. Yet, curiously, Florida was the site of an unusual Japanese agricultural colony, established in 1904 near present-day Boca Raton.¹⁴

Most turn-of-the-century Japanese immigrants to the United States came as contract laborers, working in Hawaii or in the Pacific West, although a few Japanese agricultural colonies had been established in Texas. Still other Japanese went in substantial numbers to Brazil and Peru as contract laborers on coffee, cotton, and sugar plantations. However, the Florida agricultural frontier seemed attractive to Kamosu Jo Sakai, an enterprising young man who had received a western education in Japan and converted to Christianity. Many western-educated Japanese of the late-19th century, men like Sakai, experienced the rapid modernization of Japan and looked to the United States as a model of western reform. As in Europe and China, many young and ambitious men sought better economic opportunities through emigration. For those reasons, Sakai came to the U.S., initially to study business at New York University. In 1903 he arrived in Jacksonville with ambitious plans for a Japanese agricultural colony in Florida. Surprisingly, Jacksonville businessmen and even Florida's governor looked favorably upon the plan, apparently hoping thereby to stimulate Florida's agricultural development. Declining the offer from three North Florida counties of 1,000 acres of free land, Sakai instead purchased on credit land in South Florida owned by the Model Land Company, the land-development arm of Henry Flagler's Florida East Coast Railway. Sakai returned to Japan in early 1904 to recruit colonists for the planned settlement. The Russo-Japanese War interfered with recruitment efforts, and problems with American immigration authorities created other delays, but ultimately about 20 Japa-

14. Roger Daniels, "Asian Groups," in Charles Reagan Wilson and William Ferris, eds., *Encyclopedia of Southern Culture* (Chapel Hill, 1989), 418-421; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940. Population*, Vol. II, *Characteristics of the Population*, Part 2, *Florida-Iowa* (Washington, D.C., 1943), 16; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population: 1950*, Vol. II, *Characteristics of the Population*, Part 10, *Florida* (Washington, D.C., 1952), 10-31.

nese settlers arrived in South Florida by the end of 1904. These were not typical Japanese immigrants with farming backgrounds, single men who came as temporary contract laborers—by contrast, most were well educated, some businessmen and college students, many graduates of the Doshisha College in Kyoto.¹⁵

The new Japanese colony— called Yamato (the ancient name for Japan)— had initial difficulties. Sakai sought to build a settlement with families committed to a permanent future in Florida. Yet the first colonists were bachelor college students and businessmen, not the family pioneers Sakai hoped to recruit. The land chosen needed extensive, back-breaking clearing before any planting could begin. The summer heat and rains were discouraging. Sakai at first planned to cultivate rice, tea, and silk, but soil and climate conditions forced a switch to planting pineapples, along with tomatoes and green peppers. But by 1906, the Yamato Colony's fortunes took a turn for the better. Returns from the pineapple crop exceeded all expectations. The FEC Railway built a station near Yamato, permitting the Japanese farmers to ship their produce easily and quickly to northern markets. News of the colony's early success spread to Japan, encouraging others to join Sakai and his colleagues, although these newcomers were mostly farmers rather than college-educated Japanese with families. By 1908, over 40 settlers resided at Yamato, and by the 1920s that number had risen to over 60. A pineapple blight that struck in 1908, along with competition from Cuban pineapple growers, set the colony back temporarily. But Yamato's growers adapted to changing circumstances by planting more vegetables, which over time provided a lucrative income. By the 1920s, in the midst of the Florida real estate boom, several of the Japanese farmers also went into the real estate business. Although Jo Sakai died in 1923 and many settlers returned to Japan, the Yamato colony quietly persisted into the 1930s. Much of the Yamato land was acquired during World War II for an air training base. A few of the Japanese remained in the area until the

15. Joanne M. Lloyd, "'Yankees of the Orient': Yamato and Japanese Immigration to America," (MA. Thesis, Florida Atlantic University, 1990), 57-75; George E. Pozzetta and Harry A. Kersey, Jr., "Yamato Colony: A Japanese Presence in South Florida," *Tequesta: The Journal of the Historical Association of Southern Florida* 36 (1976), 66-77; George E. Pozzetta, "Foreign Colonies in South Florida, 1865-1910," *Tequesta: The Journal of the Historical Association of Southern Florida*, 34 (1974), 51-52.

1970s but the old Yamato farmland has given way to modern sub divisions and commercial development.¹⁶

The Chinese and Japanese immigrations to late-19th and early 20th-century Florida represent distinct and discrete episodes in U.S. immigration history. Those early experiences— both in their origins and in their outcomes— seem distinctly different from the pattern of Asian immigration to Florida in the late 20th century. More recent Asian immigration to the Sunshine State stems primarily from three separate sources. First, U.S. military involvement in Asia and the Pacific region generally has brought a new stream of Asian newcomers to Florida: war-brides, military employees, and refugees. Second, federal immigration legislation in 1965 abolished the national origins quota system, which had heavily favored European immigrants. Under provisions of the new legislation, training, skills, and family reunification became the new standards for admission to the U.S.— a policy which over time dramatically shifted the base of American immigration from Europe to Latin America, the Caribbean, and especially Asia and the nations of the Pacific Rim. Finally, a secondary, internal migration of newcomers searching for better economic opportunities has been reflected in a rapid increase in the numbers of Asians in Florida, and in the Sunbelt states generally, since 1970. All three of these factors help explain why Florida has become a new immigrant destination in the last decades of the 20th century.¹⁷

Census returns since 1960 have recorded the rising number of Asians in Florida, with the largest increases coming in the 1970s and 1980s. In 1960, the total Asian population in Florida, including

16. Lloyd, "Yankees of the Orient," 85-124; Pozzetta and Kersey, "Yamato Colony"; "Japanese at Yanaiato [sic], Fla., A Recent Settlement," in *Reports of the U.S. Commission on Immigration: Immigrants in Industries, Part 24: Recent Immigrants in Agriculture* (Washington, D.C., 1911), 483-485; Larry Rosensweig, *Yamato, Florida: A Colony of Japanese Farmers in Florida* (Delray Beach, FL, n.d.).

17. Daniels, "Asian Groups," 420; Ronald Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans* (Boston, 1989), 406-471; David M. Reimers, *Still the Golden Door: The Third World Comes to America* (2nd ed.; New York, 1992), 92-99; Lawrence H. Fuchs, *American Kaleidoscope: Race, Ethnicity, and the Civic Culture* (Hanover, NH, 1991), 289-293; and, for an excellent summary of U.S. immigration policy toward Asians, Roger Daniels, "U.S. Policy Towards Asian Immigrants: Contemporary Developments in Historical Perspective," *International Journal*, 48 (Spring 1993), 310-334.

Table 1. Most Numerous Asian Groups in Florida, 1950-1990

Group	1950	1960	1970	1980		1990	
				% Inc.	% Inc.	% Inc.	% Inc.
Filipino	-	2,530	5,092	15,252	199.5	31,945	109.4
Asian Indian	-	524	-	11,039	-	31,457	185.0
Chinese	429	1,501	3,133	12,930	312.7	30,737	137.7
Vietnamese	-	-	-	7,077	-	16,346	131.0
Korean	-	193	-	4,948	-	12,404	150.7
Japanese	238	1,591	4,090	5,667	38.6	8,505	50.1
Thai	-	-	-	-	-	4,457	-
Pacific Islander	-	-	-	2,148	-	4,446	107.0
Pakistani	-	19	-	-	-	2,800	-
Laotian	-	-	-	-	-	2,423	-
Cambodian	-	-	-	-	-	1,617	-
Total Asians in Florida	1,142	6,801	21,772	62,514	187.1	154,302	146.8

Source: U.S. Census, 1950-1990.

both foreign born and native born of foreign or mixed parentage, stood at 6,801 (see Table 1). This number included 1,501 Chinese, 1,591 Japanese, and 2,530 Filipinos.¹⁸

By 1970, Florida's Asian foreign stock population had more than tripled to 21,772, including 3,133 Chinese, 4,090 Japanese, and 5,092 Filipinos. The census reportage was not detailed enough in 1960 and 1970 to provide comparable statistics on other, smaller Asian groups such as Asian Indians, Koreans, or Vietnamese.¹⁹

The Asian population of Florida surged by 187.1 percent during the 1970s to 62,515 (see Table 1). By 1980 Filipinos constituted the most numerous Asian group, with over 15,000 islanders in Florida, followed by Chinese and Asian Indians. Vietnamese, Japanese, Koreans, and Pacific Islanders made up most of the remainder (see Table 1). The advancing trend of Asian immigration continued during the 1980s rising by 146.8 percent to 154,302 (see Table 1). Once again, the dominant groups were Filipinos, Asian Indians, and Chinese, with over 30,000 of each group, followed by smaller

18. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Population: 1960. Detailed Characteristics, Florida*, PC(1)-11D (Washington, D.C., 1962), Table 99, p. 303.

19. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *1970 Census of Population, Characteristics of the Population, Part 11, Florida*, Section 1 (Washington, D.C., 1973), Table 17, p. 74.

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Table 2. Asians in Florida, by County, 1970-1990*

County	1970	1980	Percent Increase	
			1970-80	1980-90
Alachua	488	1,917	292.8	137.7
Brevard	793	2,212	178.9	143.2
Broward	1,355	4,923	263.3	248.0
Dade	5,379	14,069	161.6	87.0
Duval	2,555	6,107	139.0	111.9
Escambia	1,474	3,347	127.4	50.8
Hillsborough	1,040	3,876	272.7	193.6
Okaloosa	508	1,841	262.4	98.7
Orange	824	3,624	340.0	286.1
Palm Beach	1,011	2,905	187.3	210.5
Pinellas	1,168	3,385	190.0	189.2
Seminole	120	1,463	1,119.2	231.0
Florida	21,772	62,514	187.1	146.8

*Data provided for twelve counties with the largest Asian population in 1990.

Source: U.S. Census, 1970-1990.

but still substantial numbers of Vietnamese, Koreans, and Japanese (see Table 1).

Since the 1960s the new Asians have tended to concentrate heavily in Florida's major metropolitan counties: Dade, Broward, Duval, Palm Beach, Orange, Hillsborough, Pinellas, and Escambia. Big cities such as Miami, Jacksonville, Orlando, Tampa/St. Petersburg, Fort Lauderdale, West Palm Beach, and Pensacola obviously provided the kind of economic opportunities, kinship communities, and cultural connections that attracted the newcomers from the Pacific Rim (see Table 2). In 1990, about two-thirds of Florida's Asians resided in the state's seven major metropolitan areas.

Recent censuses have also revealed notable variations in group settlement patterns. As early as the 1950s for instance, Filipinos had begun to concentrate in Jacksonville and Pensacola. Chinese have been the dominant Asian group in the Miami metropolitan area for over 40 years. Asian Indians, whose group strength increased dramatically over the past 25 years, are heavily concentrated in Dade and Broward Counties. Surprisingly, Vietnamese have settled in larger numbers in Orlando, St. Petersburg, and Tampa than in Pensacola, where they have a more visible presence in the fishing and shrimping industry. And Florida's Japanese, who were more dominant than the Chinese or Filipinos in many urban

Table 3. Major Asian Groups in Florida, by Urban County, 1960-1990

County	Asian					Japanese
	Chinese	Filipino	Indian	Korean	Vietnamese	
Broward						
1960	54	75	-	-	-	56
1970	280	189	-	-	-	343
1980	1,579	807	1,242	263	395	366
1990	4,739	1,787	5,737	1,065	1,190	643
Dade						
1960	441	290	-	-	-	271
1970	1,271	677	-	-	-	809
1980	5,247	1,834	3,649	880	567	931
1990	8,847	3,846	6,147	1,403	1,014	1,310
Duval						
1960	134	259	-	-	-	127
1970	252	1,375	-	-	-	297
1980	538	4,207	346	203	255	367
1990	946	7,302	1,050	709	773	470
Escambia						
1960	7	249	-	-	-	29
1970	52	996	-	-	-	135
1980	258	1,501	198	85	703	259
1990	419	2,142	202	197	1,246	339
Hillsborough						
1960	42	31	-	-	-	111
1970	112	133	-	-	-	318
1980	543	545	594	724	588	522
1990	1,647	1,816	2,316	1,705	1,687	681
Orange						
1960	60	35	-	-	-	102
1970	102	156	-	-	-	259
1980	482	1,039	382	399	812	310
1990	2,133	2,450	3,244	1,046	2,686	697
Palm Beach						
1960	21	43	-	-	-	46
1970	88	88	-	-	-	238
1980	779	432	845	256	163	241
1990	2,398	1,073	2,395	441	1,019	364
Pinellas						
1960	19	28	-	-	-	73
1970	142	166	-	-	-	402
1980	495	528	617	289	683	303
1990	1,321	1,300	1,248	777	2,185	547

Source: U.S. Census, 1960-1990.

counties in the early post-war era, have not increased in numbers very substantially since 1960 (see Table 3).

Although the census statistics provide the best measure we have over time of the changing Asian immigration pattern, we must be sensitive to the probability of substantial undercounts of Asians as well as of other immigrants to Florida in recent decades. It is quite clear to many researchers that large numbers of illegal and/or uncounted Asian immigrants have slipped unobserved and uncounted through the gates of entry and through the enumeration procedures of the census takers. A south Dade County farming colony of several hundred Sikhs from India was somehow missed entirely by the 1990 census, as were several thousand Bangladeshis in Palm Beach County. Consequently, the actual number of Asians in Florida may be considerably higher than the totals provided in the 1980 or 1990 census. Similarly, the self-identification procedure of the census may have skewed reality in cases such as Chinese or Indians from Cuba, Jamaica, Trinidad, or elsewhere in the Caribbean. Such newcomers may have identified themselves on census forms not by their racial/ethnic designation but by the nation from which they emigrated (some Chinese and Indian families have been in the Caribbean for many generations dating back to the mid-19th century). Moreover, there has been little updating of immigration statistics for the years since 1990, so even normal immigration has certainly boosted the Asian totals still higher than those officially reported in 1990. Thus, census statistics must be used carefully, but they nevertheless provide measurable evidence of demographic change over time.

In retrospect, World War II set the United States on a new path in the Pacific Rim region, ultimately with major consequences for Asians already in the U.S. and for future Asian immigration. As ethnic historian Ronald Takaki has noted in his study *Strangers from a Different Shore* (1989), the war was "a crucial dividing line," as various Asian American groups were pulled "into a whirlpool of chaos and change." Japanese Americans were incarcerated in detention camps while Chinese, Filipinos, and Koreans provided strong support for the war effort. Subsequently, Congress repealed the Chinese exclusion law, opened immigration under the quota system for Filipinos, Chinese, Koreans, and Asian Indians, and permitted the naturalization of Asian immigrants. In California, where many Asians had settled, restrictions on alien land ownership were ended. The war and the subsequent occupation of Japan also

brought American servicemen into contact with Asian populations for the first time since the turn-of-the century conflict in the Philippines. Later wars in Korea and Vietnam had similar consequences.²⁰

The new role of the U.S. in Asia and the long-term military presence in the region began to reshape post-war immigration patterns to the United States. Thousands of U.S. servicemen brought home Asian spouses from Japan, China, Korea, and the Philippines. The War Brides Act of 1945 permitted alien wives (although not Japanese wives) to immigrate outside the quota system, while the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952 repealed the anti-Japanese Oriental Exclusion Act of 1924, thus facilitating the immigration of Japanese spouses of American military personnel. The numbers arriving were substantial: during the 1950s for instance, about 46,000 Japanese immigrated to the U.S. but over 39,000, or about 86 percent, of them were women, mostly military spouses. One study suggests that World War II war brides may have numbered as many as 100,000. Tens of thousands followed in the wake of subsequent wars in Korea and Vietnam. Over the entire period from 1947 to 1975, war brides and military spouses from Japan totaled 66,681, from Korea 28,205, from the Philippines 51,747, from Thailand 11,166, and from Vietnam 8,040.²¹

American military presence in the Pacific had other consequences as well. Filipinos had begun working in the U.S. Navy, mostly as mess stewards and attendants, after World War I; by 1930, over 4,000 Filipinos were serving in the U.S. Navy or on U.S. merchant marine ships, while other thousands were working in Navy yards in the U.S. or as longshoremen in U.S. ports. After World War II and the achievement of Philippine independence in 1945, the Navy continued to recruit Filipinos for domestic work on ships and for shore duty at naval bases. By 1970, some 14,000 Filipinos were at work on U.S. Navy ships and in American naval ports.²²

20. Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 357-405, quotation on p. 357.

21. Elfrieda Berthiaume Shukert and Barbara Smith Scibetta, *War Brides of World War II* (Novato, CA, 1988), 185-218; Roger Daniels, *Asian America: Chinese and Japanese in the United States since 1850* (Seattle, 1988), 306-307; Reimers, *Still the Golden Door*, 21-26.

22. Bruno Lasker, *Filipino Immigration to Continental United States and to Hawaii* (Chicago, 1931), 61-63; H. Brett Melendy, *Asians in America: Filipinos, Koreans, and East Indians* (Boston, 1977), 83-84; Daniels, *Coming to America*, 358-359.

Finally, the fallout from World War II and subsequent American involvement in Asian wars has produced new refugee communities in the United States. After the “fall” of China to Communist forces in 1949, up to 2,000 Chinese “refugees” were admitted to the U.S. annually; during the 1950s, about 32,500 Chinese legally entered the U.S. The Vietnam War had much larger consequences for American immigration, as large numbers of Vietnamese, Cambodians, Laotians, and Hmong, entered the U.S. under a special refugee status. By 1985, for instance, some 634,000 Vietnamese refugees had settled in the U.S., along with 218,000 Laotians, 161,000 Cambodians, and over 60,000 Hmong. In a variety of ways, then, U.S. military action in the Pacific region had long-term consequences for Asian immigration to the U.S. As immigration historian David M. Reimers has noted, “the presence of American troops in Asia during and after World War II, especially in Japan, China, and Korea, was a key factor in explaining South and East Asian immigration from 1945 to 1965.”²³

The national immigration patterns flowing from American military activities in the Pacific region were mirrored directly in Florida. With the exception of the Yamato Colony, the Japanese population in Florida had always been quite small. As late as 1950, there were only 238 Japanese in the entire state. During the 1950s, however, the state’s Japanese population shot up more than sixfold to 1,591 (see Table 1). Moreover, almost two-thirds of the Japanese immigrants in Florida were women, clearly suggesting the impact of arriving Japanese war brides and military spouses. The imbalance in the Japanese sex ratio continued over the next several decades. By 1980, some 70 percent of the 5,667 Japanese in Florida were women. The pattern apparently was less common among Florida’s Chinese and Filipinos in the post-war era, since the sex ratio favored males in both cases by 1960, the first census in which the large number of military spouses from the 1950s would have been recorded.²⁴

23. Reimers, *Still the Golden Door*, 25; Daniels, *Asian America*, 306-307; Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 461; Fuchs, *The American Kaleidoscope*, 353.

24. Raymond J. Mohl, “Women, War Brides, and Japanese Immigration to the United States and Florida,” Undergraduate Research Paper, Florida Atlantic University, 1988; U.S. Census, 1960, Table 99, p. 303.

The new military role of the United States in the Pacific has had other consequences for Florida. Two large U.S. naval bases— in Jacksonville and in Pensacola— essentially serve as way stations for Filipino immigrants to Florida. At least since 1960, the Filipinos have been the largest single Asian group in the Sunshine State, although their dominance in relation to other groups began tapering off in the 1980s. By 1990, some 32,000 Filipinos called Florida home (see Table 1): Duval County, home of the naval base in Jacksonville, had the largest single concentrations of Filipinos in Florida— 7,300. The three-county Pensacola metropolitan area (Escambia County, Santa Rosa County, and Okaloosa County) had another 3,600 Filipinos in 1990. Sizable numbers of Filipinos have also found their way to Miami, Orlando, Tampa/St. Petersburg, and other metropolitan areas (see Table 3). Many of the Filipino newcomers since 1970 have come as a consequence of the 1965 immigration reform, which permitted family reunification as well as entry of people with desirable skills, such as nurses, doctors, and engineers.²⁵

The immigration of Asian wartime or post-war refugees provides still another explanation of the changing racial makeup of the Florida population in the second half of the 20th century. The number of Chinese in Florida more than tripled during the 1950s to almost 1,600, some of whom were war brides. It was the Vietnam War, however, that brought the greatest number of Asian war refugees to Florida. There were over 7,000 Vietnamese in Florida in 1980, and more than 16,000 in 1990 (see Table 3). The Vietnamese fishermen and shrimpers in the Pensacola area, numbering about 1,650 in 1990, have given these Southeast Asian refugees a presence on Florida's Gulf Coast. However, even more Vietnamese have settled in Orlando, Tampa, and St. Petersburg. Laotians, Cambodians, and Thais, as well as Amerasian children of Vietnam-era GIs, are also beginning to demonstrate a presence in Florida— all

25. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *1980 Census of Population: General Social and Economic Characteristics, Florida*, Section 1, PC80-1-C11 (Washington, D.C., 1983), Table 58, 27-48; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *1990 Census of Population: General Population Characteristics, Florida*, Section 2, 1990 CP-1-11 (Washington, D.C., 1992), 988-996; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, February 28, 1986, September 10, 1990.

consequences of American military action in Southeast Asia in the 1960s and 1970s.²⁶

New Asian immigration to Florida has other sources, as well. The Immigration Act of 1965 abolished the restrictive immigration legislation of the 1920s and tossed out the discriminatory quota system. Instead, the new immigration reform substituted family reunification and desired training, skills, and professions as new requisities for admission to the U.S. Because of pressure from American labor unions, about 80 percent of new admissions initially stemmed from family reunification, while less than 20 percent of admissions went to those with employable skills. At the time of this new legislation, few political leaders or immigration reformers anticipated that the new immigration policy ultimately would open the gates to large numbers of Asian or Latin immigrants. But that is exactly what happened, as the family reunification provisions began to kick in during the 1970s and after.²⁷

"Second wave" Asian immigrants who arrived in the postwar years, or those who came singly after 1965, once they became citizens, were eligible to bring close relatives to the U.S. And once those newcomers became naturalized after five years or more, additional relatives became eligible for entry. The provision permitting entry of professionals and skilled technicians also had an impact. By 1980, more than 9,000 Filipino physicians and an even larger number of Filipino nurses had come to the U.S. Similarly, Asian Indians made up one of the fastest growing new immigrant groups by the mid-1970s when about 20,000 were arriving each year; about 75 percent of the Asian Indians were engineers, scientists, professors, and other highly skilled technicians. Thus, although it clearly was not intended or anticipated, the Immigration Act of 1965 made possible a dramatic expansion of Asian immigration by the 1970s. In the 1970s and 1980s, three-fourths of all new

26. U.S. Census, 1960, Table 99, pp. 11-303; U.S. Census, 1980, Table 58, p. 27; U.S. Census, 1990, Table 79, p. 988; Paul D. Starr, "Troubled Waters: Vietnamese Fisherfolk on America's Gulf Coast," *International Migration Review*, 15 (Spring-Summer 1981), 226-238. By the mid-1990s some 2,000 Amerasian children arrived in Florida under the 1987 Amerasian Homecoming Act. See Fort Lauderdale *Sun-Sentinel*, April 3, 1994.

27. Reimers, *Still the Golden Door*, 61-91.

immigration to the U.S. came from Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean.²⁸

Much of the Asian immigration to Florida since 1965 is a direct consequence of the Immigration Act of 1965. Florida's Asian population surged during the 1970s and 1980s. In the large urban counties and metropolitan areas, the Asian population doubled and tripled or more during those two decades (see Tables 2 and 3). In the three-county Orlando metropolitan area (Orange County, Seminole County, and Osceola County), for instance, the Asian population grew from under 1,000 in 1970 to well over 20,000 in 1990. In Alachua County, home of the University of Florida, the Asian population rose dramatically from under 500 in 1970 to over 4,500 in 1990—much of this increase stemming from the arrival of Asian professors, students, and medical personnel at the university's medical school and large teaching hospital (see Table 2). Census counts from 1970 to 1990 demonstrate similar demographic growth profiles for the Asian population in virtually every one of Florida's large metropolitan areas.²⁹

Many of Florida's new Asian residents arrived directly from their homeland. But clearly not all, or perhaps not even most, of the post-1965, second wave Asian newcomers to Florida are direct immigrants to the Sunshine State. A large portion of the new Asians are "secondary migrants"—those who have migrated internally within the U.S. in search of better business or professional opportunities, or for some other reason. Florida is the fourth largest state, with an expanding population and a growing job market in service industries, tourism, technology, health care, and entrepreneurial businesses. The state has been on the receiving end of a massive internal Sunbelt migration since the end of World War II. It is not surprising that energetic and entrepreneurial Asian immigrants were attracted by the growth prospects of one of the largest Sunbelt states. Many of the Vietnamese, for instance, came to Flor-

28. Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 419-471; Reimers, *Still the Golden Door*, 91-122; Gary R. Hess, "The Forgotten Asian Americans: The East Indian Community in the United States," *Pacific Historical Review*, 43 (November 1974), 576-577, 595-596; Roger Daniels, *History of Indian Immigration to the United States: An Interpretive Essay* (New York, 1989); Marcia Mogelonsky, "Asian-Indian Americans," *American Demographics*, 17 (August 1995), 32-39.

29. U.S. Census, 1980, Table 58, pp. 2747; U.S. Census, 1990, Table 79, pp. 988-996.

ida by way of California or Texas. Similarly, many Asian Indians first arrived in California, where (among other things) they found an economic niche in the business of running small motels. Later, they spread out into other parts of the country including Florida and the South; by 1994, almost 400 Florida motels were run by Indians. Thus, the tremendous magnetic attraction of the Sunbelt has affected both native-born Americans and the new Asian Americans.³⁰

Florida may be thought of as a center of Hispanic life and culture, but a considerable Asian immigration during the 1970s and 1980s brought a diversity of new ethnic cultures to the Sunshine State. In Dade County, Hialeah may be 88 percent Hispanic, but it has also become home to more than 1,000 Asians, many of whom shop at the Saigon Supermarket, run small businesses and restaurants, and attend cultural events sponsored by the South Florida Buddhist Association and the Vietnamese Veterans Association. In Orlando, the Florida Vietnamese Buddhist Association operates the Long Van temple for the city's small Vietnamese community. More than 17,000 Asians now reside in Broward County, many of them clustered in a Lauderdale Lakes neighborhood called "Little Asia," where Vietnamese and Chinese signs outnumber English on storefronts and strip shopping centers. Groceries, restaurants, video stores, beauty shops, insurance agencies, and doctors' offices all provide a sense of ethnic and cultural identity. A weekly Korean newspaper, the bilingual *Korean American Journal* published in Miami, and with news bureaus in Jacksonville, Tampa, and Orlando, gets mailed to more than 3,000 Korean households in Florida. Chinese, Korean, and Japanese language schools serve immigrant children in Jacksonville, Coral Gables, Miami, Fort Lauderdale, and Boca Baton. In Jacksonville, an institutionally well-developed Fili-

30. Elliott Barkan, "New Origins, New Homeland, New Region: American Immigration and the Emergence of the Sunbelt, 1955-1985," in Raymond A. Mohl, ed., *Searching for the Sunbelt: Historical Perspectives on a Region* (Knoxville, 1990), 124-148. On Asian Indians as hoteliers in Florida, see "Equal Opportunity," *Florida Trend*, 37 (May 1994), 61-63. For evidence of extensive economic entrepreneurialism among Asians in Florida, see U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1987 *Economic Censuses. Survey of Minority-Owned Business Enterprises: Asian Americans, American Indians, and Other Minorities* (Washington, D.C., 1991), especially Tables 5, 6, and 7. See also Reed Ueda, *Postwar Immigrant America: A Social History* (Boston, 1994), 64-67, 91-92.

pino community supports a variety of cultural activities, including a popular Rizal Day parade.³¹

The Chinese in Florida have created an especially vibrant ethnic cultural life in their new home. For instance, ten separate Chinese organizations in Miami sponsor an annual Chinese New Year Festival. The *Florida Chinese News*, published in Miami, has a circulation of 10,000, but it competes with several other Chinese-language papers in South Florida, including the *Miami Chinese Times*, the *Chinese Community News*, and the *Overseas Chinese News*. The latter paper has a weekly circulation of over 10,000, mostly distributed free at Chinese restaurants and grocery stores. All of the Chinese papers combine local and Florida coverage with news from China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. The *Miami Chinese Times* offers a match-making service, printing profiles of marriage-minded single men and women in China. In Miami, Chinese from Jamaica publish their own monthly magazine, *The Dragon*, which offers both community news and discussion of cultural issues. As the largest group in Dade and Palm Beach counties and the second largest in Broward County, the South Florida Chinese have a wide institutional network, both to aid in adjustment to American society and to retain Chinese culture, especially across generations. As a spokesman for the Chinese School of Boca Raton noted, "we want the second generation to experience the Chinese culture and learn about our heritage."³²

Among the Asian immigrants, no group had a faster growth rate during the 1970s and 1980s than Asian Indians. More than one-third, or about 12,000, of Florida's Asian Indians lived in Dade and Broward counties in 1990. Most are professionals or small business proprietors who have found economic success in America, but cling to old country cultural ways. In Sunrise, for instance, a "Little India" has emerged centered on a shopping plaza with a variety of Indian shops and restaurants. In Lauderhill, Indians from Trinidad run grocery stores providing traditional foods and video tapes of Indian movies. In Hollywood, a refurbished downtown movie the-

31. *Miami Herald*, January 1, 1991, April 21, 1991, April 6, 1993, September 13, 1993; Fort Lauderdale *Sun-Sentinel*, January 5, 1993, December 19, 1993; *Florida Times-Union*, June 24, 1989, June 7, 1992.

32. *Miami Herald*, July 31, 1991, February 10, 1995; *Sun-Sentinel*, December 19, 1993; Gordy, "Chinese in Southeast Florida," 118-126. See also Gary Tie-Shue, "The Chinese Jamaican Experience: Adjustment and Advancement," *The Dragon*, 10 (May-June 1994), 8, 10; (July-September 1994), 8.

ater— now renamed the Bombay Hollywood Cinema— shows Indian films and attracts viewers from all over South Florida. The Indian Popular Culture Forum, a South Florida organization, promotes better economic and political ties between the U.S. and India. The Florida Hindu Parishad in Oakland Park provides religious services and cultural activities for over 300 Hindu families. In Fort Lauderdale in March 1994, over 1,200 people attended the Festival of Holi, an annual Hindu religious celebration sponsored by the Florida Hindu Organization. In Boca Raton, the South Florida Association of Indians regularly celebrates India's Independence Day.³³

Muslims from South Asia are also represented in Florida's new cultural mix. The Florida Muslim Alliance, based in Orlando, and a weekly newspaper, *The Muslim Chronicle*, published in Broward County, provide a cultural focus for Pakistanis in Florida. The Islamic School of South Dade offers classes in the Muslim religion and Urdu, the language of Pakistan. Palm Beach County Muslims, many from India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh, established a mosque in West Palm Beach in 1994, other mosques are located in Cooper City, Pompano Beach, Belle Glade, and Fort Pierce. In 1993, the Bangladesh Association of Florida sponsored the first Bengali Cultural Festival in Pompano Beach in celebration of the Bengali New Year.³⁴

As all these group activities suggest, Asian identity and culture in Florida have been maintained and nurtured through a myriad of Asian cultural organizations. When the Asian-American Federation of Florida, based in Broward County, published a *Community Directory* in 1992, some 46 separate Asian organizations were listed as sponsors. These included the Asian-American Civic Alliance, the Association of Indians in South Florida, the Burmese-American Association of Florida, the Chinese Cultural Association, the Filipino Community Association of Florida, the Korean Association of Greater Miami, the Pakistan Cultural Society, the South Florida Formosa Association, the Thai-American Association of South Flor-

33. *Miami Herald*, June 24, 1991, March 2, 1994, March 30, 1994, April 13, 1994, May 23, 1994, October 1, 1994, July 19, 1995; *Sun-Sentinel*, August 16, 1993.

34. *Miami Herald*, February 7, 1993, May 16, 1993, September 13, 1993, April 13, 1995; *Palm Beach Post*, February 11, 1994.

ida, the Florida Hindu Organization, the Malaysian Club, and the Foundation for Better Living of Laotians in Florida. These groups, and many others, provide a sense of group identity and cultural cohesion not unlike the ethnic organizations of European immigrants to the U.S. in the industrial era.³⁵

Some recent studies, such as William Wei's *The Asian American Movement* (1993), have suggested that a "pan-Asian" movement marked by a distinct Asian ethnic consciousness has emerged in the United States in recent decades. Some efforts along these lines have been successful in Florida. For instance, during the 1980s, a small newspaper aimed at the Asian-American community, the *Florida Asian American*, was published in Fort Lauderdale. That paper eventually folded, but it was succeeded in 1990 by the monthly *International Asian-American*, also published in Fort Lauderdale and sponsored by the Asian-American Federation of Florida. The editor noted when the first issue was published that the new paper would provide "a forum for the individual communities to read news about their own communities," while at the same time it would speak in "a united voice for all of the Asians-because alone each community is not very large." As one editorial put it, "it is time for Asians to assert their identity, their heritage and their rights to fullest participation and sharing in all responsibilities and duties in American society." Each issue of the *International Asian-American* has a separate page for the various Asian groups— "Pakistani News," "Indian News," "Vietnamese News," "Korean News," "Filipino News," and so on— both in English and in the language of the group.³⁶

Also appealing to the broader Asian community in South Florida is the weekly *Asian Spectrum* covering international, national, and local news of interest to Asians, mostly in English but with some pages in Chinese. This paper has also been interested in defending the Asian community against hate crimes and anti-Asian ethnic violence, such as the 1992 mass beating incident in Coral

35. Florence Allbaugh, ed., *Asian American Federation Community Directory* (Davie, FL, 1992), 32-38.

36. William Wei, *The Asian American Movement* (Philadelphia, 1993); Yen Le Espiritu, *Asian American Panethnicity: Bridging Institutions and Identities* (Philadelphia, 1992); *Miami Herald*, February 5, 1990; *International Asian American* (March 1990), 2.

Springs, Florida that resulted in the death of a young Vietnamese college student, Luyen Phan Nyugen.³⁷

Other efforts to provide Florida's Asian Americans with a sense of community or common cause can be found in the activities of the Asian-American Federation of Florida. This organization, founded in Hollywood in 1984, holds annual Asian art and film festivals in Dade and Broward counties, sponsors many other cultural events, raises funds for Asian-American scholarships, engages in political lobbying on behalf of Asian Americans, participates in cultural awareness programs in public schools, and generally represents the interests of the Asian communities, especially in South Florida. Similarly, the successful 1994 legislative campaign of Korean-American Mimi McAndrews not only made her the first Asian woman in the Florida legislature, but drew upon solidified Asian political support in her Palm Beach County district. McAndrews's supporters contended that she would speak for all Asians throughout the state of Florida. In a variety of ways, then, the Asian-American "movement" has come to life in Florida.³⁸

At the same time that an Asian-American pan-ethnic consciousness has been developing, some Asian groups have been undergoing an internal consolidation of their own. This pattern is especially evident among Florida's Chinese, who have had to create their own group identity and solidity. The Chinese in Florida have come not only from China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong, but from Vietnam, Cuba, Jamaica, Panama, Suriname, Peru, Honduras, and Mexico. These differences in background have often made it difficult to unite the Chinese, as do language differences among them. In Miami, according to one writer, "Chinese speak a mish-mash of languages, including Cantonese, Mandarin, Spanish and Hakka, spoken by Chinese in Jamaica." Like earlier European immigrant groups, who forged an ethnic or national identity only after arrival in the United States, the Florida Chinese are in the process of de-

37. *Asian Spectrum* (February 14, 1993), 1-3; *Miami Herald*, September 14, 1992; Allbaugh, ed., *Asian American Federation Community Directory*, 16-19; Michael McLeod, "Death of an American Dream: The Inside Story of the Life and Murder of Lu Nyugen," *Sunshine: The Magazine of South Florida* (December 13, 1994), 6-15.

38. Asian-American Federation of Florida, *The Fourth Annual Asian Arts Festival, 1994* (Fort Lauderdale, 1994); Allbaugh, ed., *Asian American Federation Community Directory*, 10-15; *Miami Herald*, February 25, 1992, September 24, 1994; *Asian Week* (March 11, 1994), 1, 14.

veloping a sense of their common heritage. There are no Chinatowns in Miami or other Florida cities, so the cultural organizations and newspapers mentioned earlier serve to break down the barriers of language and background and bring the Chinese community together. A similar function has been served by the Organization of Chinese Americans, a national association founded in 1973, which has 40 chapters in the United States and many active members in Florida; the organization's national convention was held in Miami in July 1995.³⁹

This essay has sought to demonstrate the degree to which new Asian immigration and secondary internal migration has diversified the ethnic and racial base of Florida's rapidly growing population. Florida has "Latinized" dramatically since the Cuban Revolution in 1959, but we must also recognize the growing presence of an active and energetic Asian population in the Sunshine State, especially in the large metropolitan areas. Both the rise of Fidel Castro and the shift in U.S. immigration policy in 1965 have had major consequences for Florida, as the state has become a magnet for Hispanic and Asian newcomers. Not all Floridians are happy or comfortable with the way Florida has been changing. Mirroring national trends, several anti-immigration organizations are currently supporting a petition drive to curb benefits to non-citizens, a movement similar to the one in California that led to passage of Proposition 187. These organizations—Floridians for Immigration Control, the Florida-187 Committee, and the Save Our State Committee—are in the vanguard of the anti-immigration movement, and they have found fertile ground. The "immigration wars" have come to Florida. Whatever the outcome of these current debates over immigration policy, the Asian immigration of the past thirty years has contributed immutably to Florida's ethnic and racial diversity, as well as to the multiculturalism of future decades.⁴⁰

39. *Miami Herald*, May 28, 1991, July 29, 1995; Gordy, "Chinese in Southeast Florida," 72-101; *Chinese in the Americas Project* (Miami, 1994), brochure; Organization of Chinese Americans, *17th Annual National Convention Program* (Washington, D.C., 1995).

40. *Sun-Sentinel*, September 15, 1995. For a sampling of current debate over immigration policy, see Peter Brimelow, *Alien Nation: Common Sense About America's Immigration Disaster* (New York, 1995); Nicolaus Mills, ed., *Arguing Immigration: The Debate Over the Changing Face of America* (New York, 1994).