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Cultural Tourism in the "Tropical Playground" Issues of Exclusion and Development in Miami

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CULTURAL TOURISM IN THE "TROPICAL PLAYGROUND"
ISSUES OF EXCLUSION AND DEVELOPMENT IN MIAMI

By Tom Cairns Clery

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<u>Cultural Tourism in the "Tropical Playground"</u>
<u>Issues of Exclusion and Development in Miami</u>

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Miami's marketers have a long and successful history of creating and recreating imagery that draws visitors towards the 'magic city' or the 'tropical playground'. This thesis investigates Miami's marketing and its roots by analyzing the role and legacy of segregation in order to examine how tourism and its image relate to issues of exclusion and inequality. An inclusive rethinking of the definitions and usage of culture is then advocated as an important theoretical shift that could benefit development and revitalization in the city's economically poorest neighborhoods. Analysis (through case studies, semi-structured interviews and GIS analysis) then shows how historic patterns of exclusion and adverse incorporation, especially in regard to tourism, are reproduced in much of Miami's contemporary marketing, with the Greater Miami Convention and Visitors Bureau (GMCVB) playing an important role in this process. The Black community especially suffers greater levels of exclusion from Miami's tourism and marketing and therefore has the most to gain from a shift in policy and perception. Community-based cultural tourism has functioned in various US cities as a tool to assist urban revitalization however Miami has yet to implement such a program. The results of this research suggest a number of recommendations for cultural tourism's implementation in Miami, emphasizing the need for a community-based coalition of non-profit organizations utilizing governmental, marketing and creative/artistic partnerships.

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

Tourism in Miami takes many forms and is undoubtedly a central factor in the flows of people, capital, culture and ideas that are attracted into and out of the city. As Miami becomes increasingly influential in the globalized world, with ever more connections to Latin America, Europe, and the rest of the United States, the manner in which the city markets itself is central to the prolongation of any such success. Miami's various marketers have had a long (at least relative to the age of the city) and successful history of creating a desirable image(ry) for the city which has been central in its growth from little more than a swamp in the late nineteenth century (Miami Dade County's official population count in 1880 was 257) to, arguably, the most important economic and cultural hub of the Americas. (Nijman 2011) This imagery is crucial as what Miami portrays, who decides on this portrayal, and who stands to benefit from its portrayal are questions at the heart of this thesis.

Culture can be a broad and controversial term, however there is little doubt that it is becoming increasingly utilized as a driving force for urban development, potentially attaching new value to whole metropolitan areas, as cities such as Barcelona, Glasgow or Berlin have seen in recent years. As Jones (2000) describes,

> [c]ities are cultural entities. The texture of social and economic life in them is defined by their cultural energy or lack of it, and cities all over the world…have demonstrated that by changing the way their cultural life is perceived you can change everything about them. (p. 1)

Whilst Miami has, as we will see, employed culture to the benefit of much of the city, there still remain substantial portions of the population which are culturally excluded from much of Miami's image(ry) or perception and this exclusion, with a deep historical legacy, must be addressed if culture is truly to be seen as a means of development and regeneration for the city as a whole. Recent years have seen a boom in interest in using culture as a means of attracting tourism to areas with organizations from the United Nations to individual municipal governments outlining plans and recommendations for the implementation of what they call 'cultural tourism'. Several perspectives exist regarding culture-led regeneration schemes, modeling themselves on anything from the flagship model that worked so successfully with places like the Guggenheim in Bilbao, to community-based ecotourism villages in the Amazon. Miami's approach has been closer to the former with megaprojects playing an increasingly prominent role in recent years, highlighting a tendency toward spatial favoritism rather than a geographically equitable sharing of resources.

Spatial favoritism has a long and complex history in Miami in which its legacy is witnessed throughout the city. When George Neary, Vice President of Cultural Tourism at the Greater Miami Conventions and Visitors Bureau (GMCVB) stated in March 2010 that "Black people live in Black neighborhoods [and] White people live in White neighborhoods… Miami [like] the United States was, and still is, a segregated [place]",[1] he was expressing his belief that inclusion in the city was an unattainable dream. Miami's tourism industry brings billions of dollars into the local economy every year yet the benefits of this income, and indeed the industry itself in terms of tourist attractions and

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[1] Neary, G. (2010) from a personal interview. See appendix 6 for the transcribed interview.

infrastructure, are yet to arrive in many of the city's Latino[2] and, especially, Black[3] communities and can be seen as further reinforcing inequality in the city.

Richards and Hall (2000) state that an "analysis of power relationships is crucial to an understanding of the impact of tourism in the community" (p.303) whilst arguing that race is a factor within tourism power dimensions that has rarely been addressed. Therefore this thesis will seek to address Yudice's (2003) question, "what [is it] about city life, particularly its immigrant populations and their cultures, that can be transformed into value, and what kind of value" (p.196).

In order to address this wider question in relation to Miami, the historical effects and legacies of segregation will be spatially examined, together with a discourse analysis, in order to conclude the extent to which Miami's marketers, politicians and planners have hidden Miami's Black (and more recently Latino) population from the tourist's gaze. Current tourism imagery from the Greater Miami Convention and Visitor's Bureau (GMCVB) will also be discussed in order to illustrate the geographical extent of their marketing and to examine whether they continue to exclude large portions of the other(ed) Miami. Miami's cultural tourism organizations will then be examined and assessed as a potentially more inclusive form of tourism which highlights rather than ignores Miami's Black and Latino neighborhoods. Central to this thesis as well as to the notion of a more integrated and inclusive form of tourism in Miami is Rath's (2005) concept of an 'ethnic advantage', which refers to the ability to transform immigrant cultures into vehicles for social and economic development through an interest in their variety and their difference from the perceived societal 'norm'. This paper expands upon

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[2] This paper uses Latino and Hispanic interchangeably.
[3] This paper uses Black to refer to African Americans as well as Black Caribbean and Black Latinos.

the broadest definition of the term tourist as, "a person who is travelling or visiting a place for pleasure", by also incorporating the draw of education and experiences. In this context it is not necessary to define tourism according to the amount of time or the number of nights spent in a given place, and more important to examine where people in Miami are travelling to for pleasure, experiences and/or education, the relationship this spatial pattern has to power structures within the city and its marketing, and the potential that Miami's Black and Latino areas have to create or utilize an ethnic advantage.[4]

By analyzing specific case studies and selecting key interviewees from the public, private and non-profit sectors[5] this thesis will examine power relationships within Miami's tourism industry by looking predominantly at the GMCVB as the primary organization for tourism marketing and sales in the city and therefore a key player in the inclusion or exclusion of certain groups or areas from the image or brand of Miami. Complementing this will be the examination of the role of Miami-Dade Transit's *Black History Tours* as an example of a new broader conception of cultural tourism that both highlights and promotes Miami's Black population's heritage and culture. Next we will analyze one of Miami's only cultural tourism providers, *Miami's Cultural Community Tours*, before outlining some of the work that non-profits and artists are producing in order to use culture as an integrative strategy. Together the investigation into these case studies aims to provide potential links between Miami's current form(s) of cultural

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[4] Oxford English Dictionary's (2011)

[5] These include George Neary (Vice President of Cultural Tourism at GMCVB), Rolando Aedo (Vice President of the GMCVB), David Brown (Director of Miami's Cultural Community Tours), Amy Rosenberg (Overtown Music Project), Edouard Duval-Carrié (Renowned Haitian Artist and Miami resident) and complemented by informal interviews with Sylvia Pearson (Miami Dade Transit Events Manager), Reginald Tookes (Miami-Dade Transit Events Supervisor) and several anonymous passengers on Miami Dade Transit's Black History Tour.

tourism and a more inclusive and holistic approach that could assist in making certain areas of the city more inclusive, empowered and integrated.

Following this brief introduction we will begin with an initial exploration (chapter 2) into the complications of studying issues surrounding terms such as culture and tourism as well as introducing the specific methodology that will be utilized by presenting and discussing in greater depth theories relating to social exclusion, inclusion and adverse incorporation. Such an analysis is important in order to outline the rationale behind the multi-faceted approach that this study attempts which combines socio-historical spatial analysis with a contemporary examination of Miami's geographic demography in terms of race, wealth, tourism and marketing focus. This will be complemented by a number of semi-structured interviews with key players in the tourism, marketing and culture industries of Miami as well as case-studies outlining the present day context and extent of cultural tourism in the city. This chapter continues in the form of a literature review which discusses cultural tourism in a multi-scalar context in which the benefits and potential of culture as a means of development, and tourism as a central player within this process, will be considered. Cultural tourism has increased massively throughout the world over the last decade and a number of US cities have duly noted this progression and have therefore increased their marketing, interest and investment into the subject.

Chapter 3 features an examination of inequality in the city, achieved by looking at contemporary issues of spatial separation through a lens examining the historical influences of social development amongst Miami's different ethnicities. In order to study the modern geography of culture and cultural industries, specifically cultural tourism in

Miami, it is essential to investigate the multi-scalar processes, individual and collective, that have combined in their creation (or lack of). This chapter therefore examines the current spatial distribution of race in Miami before discussing the social, political and economic factors and events that have led to this current formulation in order to better understand the city's complex relationship with issues of exclusion, inclusion and adverse incorporation.

The following chapter (4) will look at a particular case study relating to cultural tourism and its marketing in Miami, specifically focusing upon the potentially key player within the fledgling industry, the Greater Miami Convention and Visitor Bureau (GMCVB). The role that the GMCVB play in the potential growth of cultural tourism in Miami will be analyzed using interviews with the Vice President of Cultural Tourism, George Neary, and the Vice President of the GMCVB, Rolando Aedo. These interviews will be complemented by a qualitative and quantitative analysis of the GMCVB's main publication *The Vacation Planner,* before moving on to use GIS to spatially compare the cultural representations offered by the *Vacation Planner* as opposed to *Miami: A Sense of Place*, a specifically commissioned publication written and designed by cultural experts from communities throughout Miami.

The penultimate chapter (5) applies a slightly different focus to examine the current state of cultural tourism in Miami through the examination of four very different organizations and perspectives. These case studies, one public, one private, one non-profit, and one artistic include, respectively, Miami-Dade Transits' *Black History Tours*, David Brown's *Miami Cultural Community Tours,* Amy Rosenberg's *Overtown Music Project* and Edouard Duval-Carrié's involvement with Little Haiti and the *Little Haiti*

Cultural Center. An analysis of these case studies will illustrate, in practical terms, the successes and difficulties facing cultural tourism and cultural producers in Miami today and will therefore permit a set of policy suggestions or recommendations for the city which will then be outlined, together with the findings from the previous chapters, in the final concluding chapter (6).

Chapter 2 – Cultural Tourism and Miami: Background, Methods and Theory

A particular form of cultural tourism has a strong connection to Miami as the city's image is indelibly linked to the architecture of the Art Deco district on Miami Beach that draws millions of tourists to it each year. Definitions of cultural tourism however, like those of culture itself, are highly contentious and open to interpretation. This thesis will use the terms culture and cultural tourism in a wide and social sense by referring to, and building upon, Williams' (1958) holistic approach to culture "as the expression of a particular way of life".[6] William's formulation of culture has been chosen, despite criticism that it incorporates too much within its definition (Hesmondhalgh, 2007), specifically because he sought to challenge elitism and what Smith (2009) called, the "tendency to focus on so-called 'high' or 'elite' culture in cultural policy making" (a common trend in Miami) to focus rather upon democratizing culture and "championing the culture of the masses". (p.5)

This thesis therefore defines culture in a multilayered sense as not only a way of life but also as a tool, acknowledging that there are multiple variations within each of these categories.[7] Firstly culture is considered a tool because it has tangible uses including an ability to be educational, to strengthen identities, to create a sense of place or to act as a catalyst for regeneration. Secondly culture is also considered a way of life as it is a deeply personal yet social term that may incorporate subtle aspects such as one's personal history, experiences or interests as well as one's sense of community, identity or tradition.

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[6] Horak and Seidl, (2010), p8.
[7] See Table 2 below.

CULTURE AS A TOOL	CULTURE AS A WAY OF LIFE
Culture is educational	Culture is about my family
Culture is experiential	Culture is who my friends are
Culture is therapeutic	Culture is where I live
Culture is inspiring	Culture is my nationality
Culture is transcendent	Culture is my religion
Culture is conservation	Culture is my language
Culture creates new opportunities for integration	Culture is my skin color
Culture is an expression of diversity	Culture is what I eat and drink
Culture strengthens identities	Culture is what I wear
Culture animates space	Culture is what music I listen to
Culture creates a sense of place and character	Culture is what I read
Culture creates uniqueness	Culture is where I shop
Culture enhances image	Culture is what I do on a daily basis
Culture is a catalyst for regeneration	Culture is where I go on Saturday night

Table 1 – Different Perceptions of Culture. Taken from Smith 2009. P3.

As we will see throughout this thesis, these aspects of culture, especially in relation to tourism, have largely been ignored by Miami's marketers and tourism organizations and therefore exclude much of Miami's population. A new conception of cultural tourism, incorporating this broader definition of culture, may therefore have an important role to play in introducing a more holistic, democratic form of tourism to the city.

It is also important to note that culture is in a constant state of flux and is therefore "not something fixed or frozen…but a process of constant struggle as cultures interact with each other and are affected by economic, political and social factors".

(Sarup 1996:140) Interpretations of what is included and excluded from culture have therefore become highly political subjects as, throughout the world, and particularly in Miami, culture is increasingly becoming, "a part of [city government's] business and economic development departments".[8] What culture means however is highly subjective and economically deprived and racialized communities are just as possessed with culture as economically affluent populations however the former are often forgotten in wider cultural discussions.

Within a wider social context, certain 'high cultural' interpretations have become normalized in the pubic psyche so that terms such as the adjective 'cultured', which the OED (2011) state is used to refer to a person "possessed or characterized by culture [with particular] reference to the arts", become accepted in everyday use with little thought as to what, or whom, they are excluding. This thesis therefore seeks to address the exclusion and politicization that can exist within (definitions of) culture and cultural tourism by using an approach that does not just cover 'arts tourism' (related to contemporary cultural production) or 'heritage tourism' (related to artifacts and practices of the past), but rather utilizes a combination of both, potentially including within that all aspects of the ways of life that exist amongst Miami's various communities, as well as culture's ability to act as a positive tool for social change. (Richards 2001; Smith 2007, 2009)

Exclusion is defined by the Oxford English Dictionary (2011) as "an act or instance of excluding; the state of being excluded; a keeping apart; blocking of an entrance", with the final two definitions clearly highlighting segregation and physicality respectively. Exclusion, particularly in the social context of Miami, has been closely linked to issues of housing, transportation, employment and poverty, all of which have a

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[8] Yudice (2003), p195.

disproportionately negative effect upon Miami's Black community. The term 'community' refers to "a group of people living in the same place or having a particular characteristic in common; a group of people living together and practicing common ownership" (Oxford English Dictionary 2011) and hence is, by definition, controversial and multi-layered. Issues relating to common ownership of places or culture are complex as differing groups within any given place compete for recognition, ownership and power and historically Miami's Black neighborhoods and communities have been excluded from much of the city by segregating laws, zoning regulations and marketing imagery. Despite the relative lack of material ownership that such exclusion caused, culture, including (hi)stories, traditions and creative expressions, amongst many other factors, could not be stopped.

This thesis examines Miami by looking at a variety of factors, however 'race', hereby categorized into Black, Latino and Non-Hispanic White,[9] will be a central issue throughout. The very nature of discussing a city's demographics based upon 'race' or racial classifications is, however, multifaceted and complex as categorizations are necessarily divisive and overlapping. Therefore this thesis will view 'race' as what Hall (1996) describes as, 'a discursive construct',[10] in which it is important to examine the systems of thought and language that created (and continue to create) such difference(s) and exclusion.

As 'race' has its roots in historical processes of power and knowledge, which created classificatory systems that later had such profound effects upon the world, it is important to acknowledge 'race' as both a social construct and a contemporary reality

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[9] Henceforth referred to as White.

[10] Hall, S. in Jally, S. (1997). *Race -- the Floating Signifier.* Media Education Foundation.

with wide-reaching effects, in order to begin an analysis. The very terms Latino, Black or White are controversial and raise further issues relating to inclusion and exclusion as they incorporate multiple different ethnicities, nationalities and classes which have hugely differing access to political and economic resources. In fact the segregating terminology of 'race' begins to blur enormously upon greater analysis as, for example, Latino neighborhoods in Miami are multiple and consist of numerous enclaves in which certain nationalities and/or classes may dominate (such as Nicaraguans in Little Havana/Managua, Venezuelans in Doral or Peruvians in Kendall). Within this context the tendency to group 'Latinos' together into homogenous cultures based upon national or even continental stereotypes becomes problematic as Brunner (1990, quoted in Yudice, 2003) describes,

> "[w]hen culture begins to deterritorialize, when it becomes more complex and varied, assumes all the heterogeneities of society, is industrialized and massified, loses its center and is filled with 'lite' and transitory expressions, is structured on the basis of the plurality of the modern; when all this takes place, the unifying desire becomes reductionist and dangerously totalitarian or simply rhetorical". (p.21)

It is therefore important to recognize the multiplicity of cultures and cultural expressions not only within 'Latino' cultures but also within any racial categorization, especially in a city as varied as Miami. Furthermore the hybridized nature of Miami's Latino and Black cultures blurs the constrictive differentiation between praising the intellectual, artistic, or musical qualities of a 'culture' on the one hand, and denouncing the inauthentic 'fakeness' of a 'culture' on the other. In the context of the latter, issues of representation (whether imposed by marketers or self imposed by personal classification) must also be considered as much of the demographic data in this study is derived from

the census and therefore based upon the classifications that individuals, in the social framework of Miami, choose for themselves according to their particular set of values and beliefs. Therefore the individual choice of, for example, an Afro-Cuban or third generation Nicaraguan, may be to classify themselves as Black, White or Latino depending upon a variety of wider social factors. Therefore the data quality, in terms of absolute categories, must be considered alongside wider social and historical issues of inclusion and exclusion.

The term social exclusion can be used as a tool to describe processes of marginalization and deprivation and will therefore be central to this thesis' analysis. Hickey and Du Toit (2007) describe how social exclusion can be considered as enriching prior conceptualizations of development analysis as "it can help contextualize poverty in social systems and structure… it contains an important focus on causality…[it] involves a clear awareness of the multidisciplinarity of deprivation…[it] focuses on politics…[and] highlights the importance of politics and history". (p.2-3) This form of analysis is essential in the case of Miami as not only is poverty in the city underrepresented in much of the mainstream media but contextualized, multifaceted analyses regarding the multi-scalar role of politics and history in poverty and inequality's creation in the city are rare, whilst the utilization of such an analysis in relation to (cultural) tourism in Miami has not yet been attempted and therefore this thesis hopes to address such a gap in the literature.

Social exclusion has been accused of vagueness due to the aforementioned breadth of analysis that can fall within its definition as such a catchall term. Questions surrounding where (or what) someone is being excluded from, and by whom, are therefore central in such an analysis. Similarly generalizations and value statements need

to be considered in order to avoid assumptions which presuppose what whole communities want to be included in, or of assuming that '*our*' '*normal*' society is that from which '*they*' are excluded and therefore that which '*they*' wish to be included within. This sense of '*normality*' is made explicit in the European Commission's definition of social exclusion that refers to what Percy-Smith (2000) outlines as, "the multiple and changing factors resulting in people being excluded from the *normal* exchanges, practices and rights of modern society" [emphasis mine]. The *norm* in Miami has changed dramatically over the past century as segregation gave way to desegregation and the terms of inclusion and exclusion were forcibly rearranged even before the waves of immigration that brought so many Cubans, Haitians, Jamaicans and many others to Miami and brought about another shift in the city's norms.

Social exclusion must therefore be questioned as to how it transfers its relevance from a system where minority groups are excluded from the mainstream to places in which poverty and exclusion *is* the mainstream. This differentiation is complex in relation to Miami as questions regarding what constitutes 'normal' or 'the mainstream' must be considered across multiple social and geographic contexts. Issues relating to demographics, political power and economic power may differ widely throughout the city and within each a different norm may apply. For example Latinos dominate the demography and hence constitute the majority of the population (57% in the 2000 Census) whilst Whites are demographically overrepresented in government and business sectors, whilst Blacks suffer by far the highest levels of poverty (42,3% of the Black population of Miami-Dade county were reported to be below the poverty line in 2000).

Another problematic issue of social exclusion is that poverty is often created by the terms and conditions of people's *inclusion* into an unequal and dictating political or economic system, rather than their *exclusion* from it and this was certainly the case at many points in Miami's history. Shell-Weiss (2009) describes how tourism and its marketing have played important roles in the continuation of this form of inclusion as "[k]eeping Miami's façade aglow required not just marketing, but regular scrubbing and polishing. Yet these jobs paid little more than a pittance, leaving almost half of Miami's people – and especially women – of color 'cleaning and caring in the shadows of affluence'". (p.236) It should therefore also be considered that, as Hickey and Du Toit (2007) argue, "inclusion can be problematic, disempowering or inequitable". In a similarly paradoxical manner exclusion and separation can also be useful strategies for many people given the exploitative conditions of inclusion. (Coplan 2009) This has given rise to the term 'ethnic enclave' which can be defined as "an area of spatial concentration in which members of a particular population group, self-defined by ethnicity…congregate as a means of protecting and enhancing their economic, social, political, and/or cultural development".[11] The internationally recognized Haitian artist Edouard Duval-Carrié, who has based himself in Little Haiti, believes Haitians "are best served being centralized in a place like Little Haiti where there are a few organized institutions [non-profits] that are tending to them" as well as a large percentage of Creole speakers in the vicinity.[12] By arguing this, Mr. Duval-Carrié was certainly not proposing greater levels of segregation or exclusion but rather stating that the terms of inclusion within ethnic enclaves are repositioned so as to provide greater (access to) opportunities

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[11] Marcuse in Varady (Eds), (2005), p.17.
[12] Duval-Carrié in a personal interview (2010). See appendix 9.

for those within their communities and thus help to facilitate a less unequal power relationship than that within a ghetto.

It is important here to recognize the difference between ethnic enclaves and ghettos whilst bearing in mind that there is a great deal of scope for overlap between the terms. Ethnic clustering is considered to be voluntary within ethnic enclaves and it is this voluntarism that separates an enclave from a racially segregated ghetto, defined by Marcuse (2005) as "a population group, treated as inferior (generally because of race), [which] is forced, that is, involuntarily, to cluster in a defined spatial area". (p.16) There should not be an over reliance on such terms however as certain elements of a population will involuntarily stay in enclaves whilst others will voluntarily choose to live in a ghetto. It is therefore paramount that this paper also consider the specifics of (adverse) inclusion and exclusion.

The realization that exclusion is often too limited a term to describe processes that are highly layered and complex led to the formulation of the term adverse incorporation that seeks to address some of the problems encountered by social exclusion. This concept seeks to capture "the ways in which localized livelihood strategies are enabled and constrained by economic, social and political relations over both time and space…driven by inequalities of power".[13] Therefore rather than analyzing exclusion using a residual approach that views poverty and related issues as a consequence of exclusion from development, adverse incorporation adopts a relational perspective that examines the manner in which development itself (often referred to historically as 'urban renewal' within Miami's poorest areas) can produce poverty.[14] As we will see in Chapter 3, Miami

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[13] Hickey and Du Toit (2007), p.4.
[14] See Du Toit 2004, 2008, 2009 for further information.

has a strong historical tendency towards adverse incorporation and this cyclical pattern will also be examined.

In order to investigate these issues in relation to Miami it is therefore imperative to look at what institutionalized social norms have been created historically as well as examining change using a holistic and inclusive lens that aims to minimize 'us' and 'them' divides. Given the need to progress beyond dualistic interpretations that solely consider inclusion or exclusion and normal or abnormal as counter positions and which oversimplify each of these issues and therefore undermine what Du Toit describes as "a responsive understanding of the consequences of the always specific and concrete ways in which people are included and excluded", (p.1005) this thesis will therefore utilize a multifaceted approach including socio-historical analysis, GIS and statistical analysis as well as specific case studies in an attempt to retain a 'specific and concrete' approach.

The geographical study area for this paper is broad-based and inclusive as the terms Miami, city and county will be used interchangeably in reference to a Greater Miami which we will define as Miami-Dade County.[15] Figure 1 below illustrates the geographical location of Miami-Dade County as well as highlighting the City of Miami (together with South Beach which is part of the separate City of Miami Beach) and a number of neighborhoods within the city that will be mentioned throughout this study.

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[15] See figure 1 below.
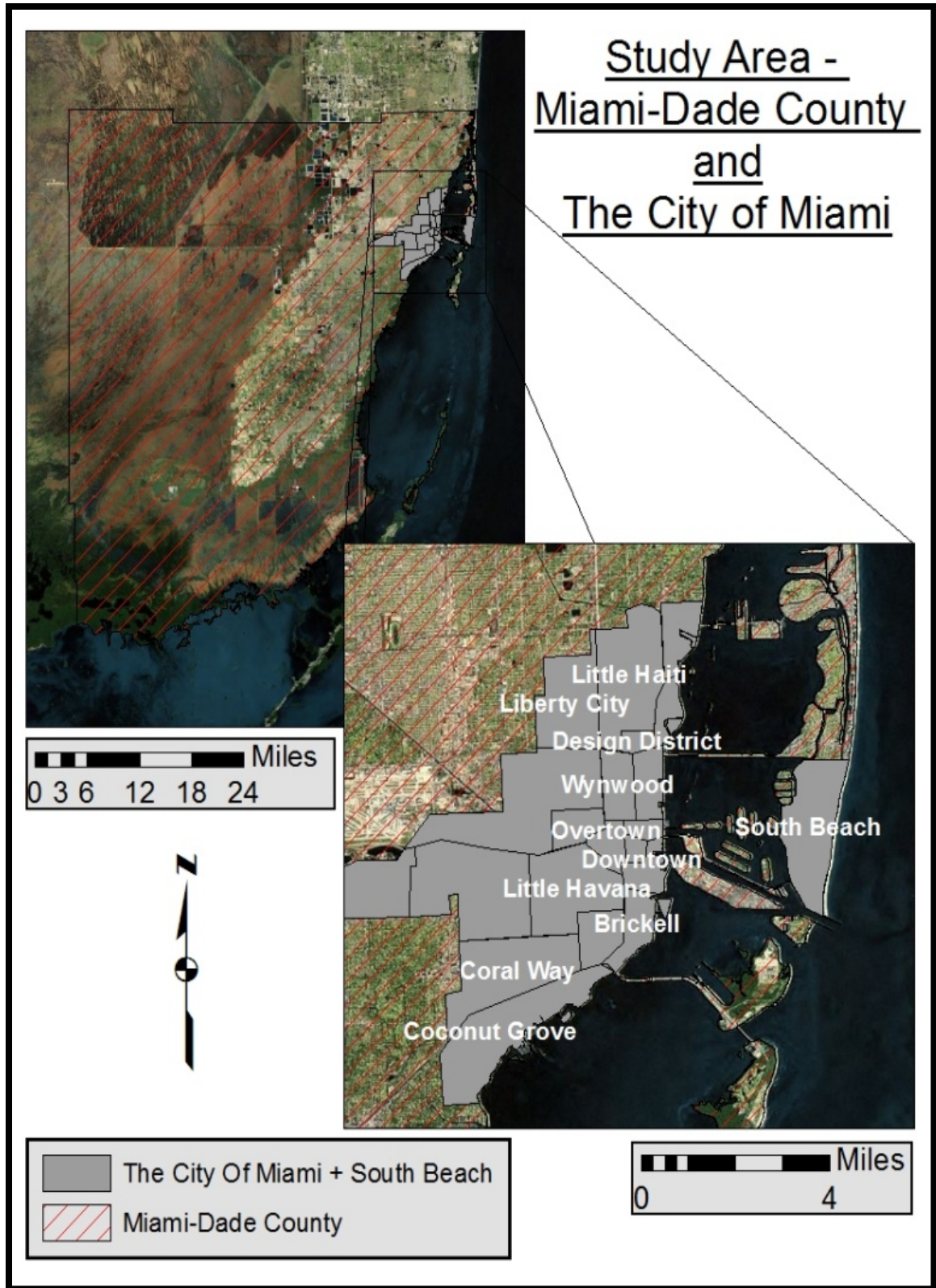
Figure 1 – Study Area of Miami-Dade County and the City of Miami (plus South Beach)

In order to utilize the most progressive aspects of both social exclusion and adverse incorporation, this thesis will focus primarily on the overlapping elements between the two theories including case study analysis and a relational approach (see table 2 below).

Analytical approach → Dimensions of comparison ⬇	Adverse incorporation	Overlap/shared characteristics	Social exclusion[4]
View on Poverty	Relational	Relational	Residual / relational
Key processes referred to	Exploitation, subordination	Abjection	Marginality, being 'left out'
Position on agency/structure	Agency and structure as entwined		Structure as more important, agency undertheorised
Key intellectual influences	Political economy research, Marx, dependency/uneven development, post-structuralism	Marx, Bourdieu, Tilly	Classic analyses of modernity; Weber, Durkheim, Marx, Rousseau
Exemplars in current poverty research	Bracking, Du Toit, Murray, Wood	Copestake, Ferguson, Figueroa, Kabeer, Silver	De Haan, Plagerson
Methodological approaches	Historical analysis; multi-levelled	Case-study (including sectoral) analyses	Qualitative and quantitative studies; integrated approaches; institutional analysis
'Policy' implications	Changes to structure and working of political economy and property regimes (e.g. global regulation of capital; asset redistribution)	Encourages contextualised and multi-sectoral approaches; involves a move from policy to politics; emphasis on transformative and strategic changes rather than ameliorative and technical responses	Public action; challenge divide between economic and social development; recognition and fulfilment of rights; equal access to public goods (e.g. anti-discrimination campaigns; inclusive forms of service delivery)

Table 2 – Framing Adverse Incorporation and Social Exclusion.
Taken from Hickey and Du Toit (2007), p.6

However, as there is potential for scenarios to occur which can be equally well explained by either theory, whilst others may be better analyzed using one or other, it is

important not to discard either and to utilize an approach which facilitates the most relevant focus of analysis. Moreover, by utilizing the shared aspects of both theories, I hope to gain, with specific reference to Miami tourism and marketing, "insights into long-term problems of how contemporary forms of modernity…are unfolding unevenly in ways that are both generating and perpetuating poverty".[16] Therefore, utilizing this overlapping theoretical position, this paper uses case study analysis and semi-structured interviews from various key players within Miami to discuss, from a relational perspective, the (in)ability to effect transformative and strategic changes within wider society with specific regard to the city's current and potential (cultural) tourism industry.

To facilitate this discussion it is important to use the aforementioned broad approach to culture and cultural tourism. This is especially vital within the context of Miami as claims of elitism have often been aimed at cultural attractions such as museums, galleries and performing arts centers, for choosing themes unconnected to the wider audience in the city or for pricing consumers out of the market. Events and institutions including the Adrianne Arsht Center for the Performing Arts,[17] Art Basel,[18] the New World Symphony and the Greater Miami Convention and Visitors Bureau (GMCVB)[19] have met with just such criticism for their exclusion of certain elements of Miami's population. The success of these projects, in regard to the many 'high' cultural tourists that they attract, as well as the money that they make for certain parts and populations in the city, has however (re)ignited a new passion for a certain type of

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[16] Hickey and Du Toit (2007), p.7.
[17] See Miami Herald <http://www.miamiherald.com/459/story/730388.html> for more details (last accessed on 10th March 2011)
[18] See Miami New Times <http://www.miaminewtimes.com/content/printVersion/2010436> for more details (last accessed on 10th March 2011)
[19] See Alonso (2007) for more details

cultural tourism in the city. As Rolando Aedo, Vice President of the GMCVB explains, "cultural tourism for us is critical on many levels because it is highly lucrative as people who have a passion for cultural tourism tend to be a little better healed and they stay longer and spend more".[20]

As mentioned, culture and creativity have been increasingly seen as tools that cities can utilize in order to further economic and social development strategies.[21] In this manner, the expediency of culture and cultural expression is becoming acknowledged by theorists such as Newman and Smith (2000), "less as a socioeconomic practice that follows in the wake of urban life, but is regarded instead as the motor of the urban economy". (p.9) As globalized cities around the world compete for investment and tourism numbers, culture can serve as an important factor in the emergence of new nodes. Yudice (2003) explains how "[t]he role of culture in capital accumulation… is central to the processes of globalization", however which aspects of culture are included and excluded in these processes must be further examined. (p.192) Miami has taken advantage of its cultural background and geographical location to proclaim itself '*the gateway to the America's'*, or the '*capital of Latin America'*, in order to first attract and then maintain visitors and investment from throughout the Americas. Such successful marketing has helped shape tourism into Miami's largest industry, employing over 100,000 people in various sites including the city's 350 hotels which cater for the 12 million annual visitors (48% of which come from international destinations, with 66% of those coming from Latin America), who spend close to $17 billion per annum in the local

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[20] Taken from a personal interview with Rolando Aedo (2010). See appendix 5 for complete transcript.
[21] See Wood and Landry (2008), Landry (2008), Landry (2006), Florida (2002, 2005, 2008) Bianchini (1999 and 2000) Evans (2001, 2004)

economy.[22] Such success in terms of capital, human and cultural flows led *AmericaEconomia*, South America's top business magazine, to state that Miami was "the best city for doing business with Latin America", with tourism playing a central role in this process.[23]

Culture has been central in both Miami's emergence as a tourist haven and its growth into a 'world city'. The progression of Miami's entertainment industry provides an interesting illustration of the city's development from a regional node which connected the US to some specific parts of Latin America, notably Cuba, in the 1980s, to a true 'world city' which today hosts the headquarters of MTV Latin America and Sony Latin America.(Yudice 2003) The 1980s saw the creation of a Miami 'sound', spearheaded by Gloria and Emilio Estefan's *Miami Sound Machine,* who mixed pop and salsa from US and Cuban musical cultures respectively, to wide international renown. This new cultural hybrid combined the historical flows of (musical) cultures coming into Miami from the rest of the US as well as from Cuba and Latin America and, in so doing, helped endow the city (at least to the rest of the world) with a new image based upon multiculturalism and diversity. Following the success of the *Miami Sound Machine* in the 1980s, the subsequent growth in Miami's music industry took advantage of the city's favorable geographical location between North America, Latin America and Europe (predominantly Spain), as well as its high population of bilingual and bicultural residents in order to provide it with a comparative advantage over its urban competitors, to ensure that Miami is today a global center in the production and distribution of Latin Music. (Nijman 2011) Free from the political insecurity which blighted many Latin American

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[22] Visitor Profile and Economic Impact Study (January-December 2009), Synovate (2010)
[23] AmericaEconomia (2003) quoted in Nijman (2011) p.110.

countries during this period, Miami was able to offer a uniquely diverse location and culture that appealed to many Latin America's companies and individuals alike. This subsequently attracted further interest and investment in the region from around Latin America as Miami became "naturally seen as a haven of stability and opportunity, with its Latin culture as one of the city's greatest attractions".[24] This growth in Latin culture and cultural industries served a dual purpose as Yudice (2003) describes, "[o]n the one hand, they have a growing *market* value in Latin America, the United States, and elsewhere; on the other hand, they gain an extra political value as they are embraced by U.S. discourses of diversity and multiculturalism".(p.211)

Therefore, at the same time as Miami was booming with Latin American arrivals, it also utilized its culture (through exoticism and tropical*ized* multiculturalism discourses and imagery) to appeal to its North American and European visitors. However then, as now, "[t]he multiculturalism that is being showcased is not that of the poor or the working classes, but of the professionals and middle classes".[25] The 1980s boom in musical culture was accompanied by the South Beach Art Deco district's redevelopment which, importantly, was marketed to a global audience through the popular television show Miami Vice and therefore provides another example of the importance of culture in the city's growth. Whilst the glamour of South Beach's architecture provided an appealing backdrop to the show, it was also acting as a draw to millions of potential tourists who became intrigued by Miami's mix of cultures. Hoffman (2003) described how cultural tourism in the early 2000s had emerged as the fastest growing segment of the tourism industry and Miami's perceived cultural heart on Miami Beach was certainly

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[24] Nijman (2011), p. 106.
[25] Yudice (2003), p.210.

benefitting from this trend as tourism in the city, with tropical*ized* art deco buildings as a central feature, continued to boom.

In order to spread the gains of the tourism explosion, the City of Miami has chosen to focus considerably on the idea of flagship projects in the downtown area of Miami, through the creation of mega-structures such as the Adrienne Arsht Center for the Performing Arts, the American Airlines Arena, and the Miami Dade Cultural Center, a "fortresslike complex"[26] containing the Miami Art Museum [MAM] and the Historical Museum of Southern Florida as well as Miami-Dade Public Library. This trend toward flagship projects sees no end in sight as a new $220 million Museum Park is due to be completed in 2013 amid widespread criticism from prominent figures in Miami's art world, such as Martin Marguiles and Edouard Duval-Carrié (2010), who stated, "why are they building this massive museum [when]… the current museum [MAM] doesn't get 10% a day [of its capacity] to visit it. And this is the major cultural institution in this city!". This lack of visitation is related to the fact that Miami's flagship projects (such as MAM and Museum Park) are often considered detached from the wider community and therefore exclude large sections of the population. Nijman (2011) explains how these flagships are "not part of any larger design but stand alone, dispersed and disconnected from the surrounding landscape. Miami, especially the downtown area, has become a city of projects rather than of comprehensive planning". (p. 199)

This trend toward flagship projects also witnesses funds becoming spatially confined to one or two centralized locations rather than being distributed to the wider

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[26] Frommers (2011). Review of Miami Art Museum at the Miami-Dade Cultural Center. <http://www.frommers.com/destinations/miami/A25261.html#ixzz1Cd6fZrVg> (Last accessed 10th March 2011)

community so that although these sites are seen as catalysts for urban revitalization they may often serve to shift the poor further afield whilst attracting (or rather attempting to attract), what Mr. Aedo described as, 'better heeled' clientele. Such strategies are by no means unique to Miami as Loukaitou-Sideris (2009) explains, "US cities have mostly tended to invest in cultural development strategies that rely on blockbuster events and centrally located facilities rather than on cultural production and programs in diverse city neighborhoods". (p. 5) This focus is desirable for many politicians and planners as 'flagship projects' function well in concealing poverty behind a veil of isolated and centralized superstructures. By (re)locating these projects close together the hope is that they will act as "a catalyst for the transformation of the district", and therefore, in Miami's case, "strengthening Greater Miami's momentum as an emerging global capital".[27] The new centralized location of MAM also aims to lessen the negative reports that the Miami-Dade Cultural Center has received regarding its clientele. The Rough Guide to Miami (2008) claim that "local bums tend to hang out here during the day", (p.39) whilst Frommer's claims that the Center is "home to many of those in downtown Miami's homeless population, which makes it a bit off-putting".[28] Not only is the language of these comments crude at best but, if true, they also assume that homeless people, or 'bums', educating themselves in a Cultural Center's museums and libraries is somehow 'off-putting'. This type of marketing directly implies that culture and education should be limited to just the 'better heeled' who, in turn, are 'put off' by populations less

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[27] Miami Art Museum (2011) Museum Park 2013 <http://www.miamiartmuseum.org/museum_park.asp> (Last accessed 10th March 2011)

[28] Frommers (2011). Review of Miami Art Museum at the Miami-Dade Cultural Center. <http://www.frommers.com/destinations/miami/A25261.html#ixzz1Cd6fZrVg> (Last accessed 10th March 2011)

economically successful than themselves frequenting such establishments. This unequal perspective relating to cultural infrastructure and its use is another factor that must be challenged and addressed before culture in Miami is truly able to become the catalyst for urban revitalization.

For this to occur culture, like cultural tourism, should not be limited to the wealthy elite either in its design or its marketing, and therefore diversity must be sought in terms of both audiences and events. So called 'high' cultural pursuits such as art fairs or operatic performances should be no more favored than heritage sites, festivals and special events, religious sites, language, gastronomy, industry and commerce, modern popular culture and creative activities in terms of public marketing. (Smith, 2009) In this manner Loukaitou-Sideris (2009) believes that cultural tourism should focus "on the mosaic of neighborhoods and places, their traditions, art forms, celebrations and experiences that reflect the diversity of city space" (p.2) and therefore poor or homeless people utilizing cultural establishments should be encouraged rather than disparaged. Whilst there is substantial literature published regarding the potential, utility and limitations of flagship programs, there is significantly less related to decentralized and community-based cultural tourism in ethnic inner-city areas, especially related to Miami.[29]

A shift in conceptualization in regard to cultural tourism has begun to take place in many parts of the world in recent years, built around UNESCO's *Venice Charter* (1964), which outlined an inclusive approach to history and culture whereby importance

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[29] See Biancini 1992, 1993; Peck 2005; Swyngedouw et al 2002; Jones and Moreno-Carranco 2007 for more details.

should not be granted solely to "great works of art but also to more modest works of the past which have acquired cultural significance with the passing of time". This has since been expanded during UNESCO's *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity* (2001) to highlight the importance of equal access for all to culture and cultural institutions as a means of enhancing "harmonious interaction among people and groups with plural, varied and dynamic cultural identities as well as their willingness to live together", traits that we will see in chapter 4 are all too lacking between ethnic communities in much of today's Miami. Following this, UNESCO's *Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage* (2003) called for an expansion upon previous definitions of culture to include what they referred to as 'intangible cultural heritage' including "the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artifacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage".

This broad and inclusive approach and interpretation led to UNESCO (2007) later identifying cultural tourism as "a discerning type of tourism that takes account of other people's cultures". They go on to outline how cultural tourism is of utmost importance as, due to the scale of the contemporary tourism industry as the world's largest industry, managing the manner of tourism development is "vitally needed" in order to bring about "progressive strategies" for local, regional and international communities.[30] As Hoffman (2003) explains, "in a relatively small time, the concept of cultural tourism has broadened beyond the focus of museums and theatres to include an anthropological concern with

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[30]UNESCO, Cultural Tourism, (2008)
<http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/ev.phpURL_ID=36700&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html> (Last accessed 10th March 2011)

people and place. Ethnicity and diversity are central to this perception". (p. 291) Miami has certainly not kept pace with this shift to a more anthropological, holistic approach to culture and cultural tourism as the flagship model is still widely favored ahead of this shift toward a more diverse and cross-cultural understanding that could potentially offer more opportunities to Miami's neglected or marginalized ethnic communities. Ironically it was these same communities and their cultures that provided Miami with the cultural advantages to firstly create the city (African Americans and Bahamians provided the vast majority of the labor required to initially clear South Florida's mangroves, making up 40% of Miami's population in 1910) and later assist in its remodeling into the 'capital of the Americas'.

Miami today has only one private cultural tourism company, named *Miami's Cultural Community Tours* (discussed in Chapter 5), as well as a city tour offered by the Historical Museum of Southern Florida (which focus predominantly upon historical information). Despite the dozens of tourism providers in Miami however there is currently no public or non-profit community-based cultural tourism organization in the city. This lack contrasts markedly with other major US cities as New York (*Bronx Culture Trolley, Harlem One Stop* and *Harlem Heritage Tours*), Los Angeles (*Trekking LA*), Chicago (*Chicago Neighborhood Tours*), Washington (*Cultural Tourism DC*) and Baltimore (*Baltimore City Heritage Area Association*) have all invested in public and/or non-profit cultural tourism. These US cultural tourism organizations vary markedly in their scope and background as whilst *Trekking LA* are a combination of members from UCLA and a culture-based non-profit named LA Commons, *Cultural Tourism DC* is a combination of 230 heritage, cultural and community organizations from throughout the

city. Despite their differing formulations, the goals of all of these organizations remain fixed upon improving communities through redefining prior definitions of tourism. Whilst some (such as *Trekking LA* or *Harlem Heritage Tours*) focus exclusively on helping rejuvenate certain areas with below average incomes, others (*Cultural Tourism DC* and *Chicago Neighborhood Tours*) take a broader, city-wide approach. This differentiation tends to be based around non-profit versus public organizations respectively as tax payers money is redistributed to tours for the whole of the city whilst non-profits focus more on particular areas. *Trekking LA* for example has created two specific goals for their organization which they cite as,

> 1) [to] increase exposure of and visitor traffic to identified cultural resources through a combination of print and web-based marketing, PR, and neighborhood events; and 2) increase the stability of local cultural institutions by generating positive economic impact for merchants, their employees and the local residents who currently have income levels below area averages.[31]

Public organizations on the other hand tend to focus their goals on wider visions as shown by *Cultural Tourism DC's* aim to, "affirm the importance of culture and heritage to local neighborhoods and the city's economic prosperity by developing, delivering, and celebrating real experiences for area residents and visitors".[32] Similarly *Chicago Neighborhood Tours* aim to "empower ethnically and geographically diverse community cultural centers, organizations and museums, and increase the economic viability of neighborhood cultural organizations and businesses through tourism".[33]

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[31] Trekking LA (2011) <http://trekkingla.org/#/project/project/> (Last Accessed 10th March 2011)
[32] Cultural Tourism DC (2011) <http://www.culturaltourismdc.org/node/2190>(Last Accessed 10th March 2011)
[33] Sullivan interview (2008) in Loukaitou-Sideris et al (2009) p.13

The success that cultural tourism projects can achieve is illustrated by *Cultural Tourism DC* and the growth in demand for their services that they have received in recent years. For example their membership rose dramatically from 137 in 2006 to 231 in 2009 (a 68.6% increase) as cultural organizations in the city sought to join the program in order to benefit from the increased visitation, awareness and education that cultural tourism helps bring to their neighborhoods.[34] Financially the success of *Cultural Tourism DC* saw an exponential rise in donors from 27 in 2006 to 301 in 2009 (an over 1000% increase) as various sectors of the city became aware of the range and quality of work being done and the potential for cultural tourism to rejuvenate areas.[35] *Cultural Tourism DC* is certainly not alone as all these projects have brought benefits to communities, including an ability to highlight and promote the assets of diverse inner-city neighborhoods. *Trekking LA* founder, and chair of the UCLA urban planning department, Loukaitou-Sideris explains how "inner-city communities are often described as problems. [To counter this] we're trying to identify what's good in a community and market it".[36] By doing so cultural tourism organizations help attract a wider and more diverse audience of visitors and residents alike to neighborhoods and therefore help integrate cultural and economic development goals whilst lessening social or economic segregation. Such inclusive, integrated strategies are vital in order to break down segregated communities and sectors and therefore help build partnerships on multiple scales, from public to private, neighborhood to national, between local groups and other communities and

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[34] See Cultural Tourism DC Annual Report (2009) for details
<http://www.culturaltourismdc.org/sites/default/files/Web_annual%20report-09.pdf> (Last accessed 10th March 2011)
[35] Ibid.
[36] LA Times <http://articles.latimes.com/2007/jun/09/local/me-ethnic9> (Last accessed 10th March 2011)

organizations. So, given the potential that cultural tourism has to bring communities together and offer development assistance to more deprived neighborhoods, the question appears as to why it has yet to appear in Miami and what would need to change in order for its implementation to be successful?

The implementation of (cultural) tourism is not without its drawbacks and UNESCO warns that "careful attention should be paid to this many sided phenomenon with its global repercussions".[37] As the tourism industry conceives of culture in terms of a usable and marketable commodity, there is strong potential within cultural tourism for marginalized inner-city cultures to be exhibited to outsiders by outsiders and therefore providing little benefit to the host community in terms of civic pride and engagement as well as in economic terms. Neighborhoods such as Overtown in Miami provide an interesting example of such difficulties. Overtown has experienced huge population displacement since the 1960's (see chapter 3 for details) and today has a very small population (under 10,000, which makes up less than 5% of Miami's African American population) as much of the community was pushed north by a variety of factors including the building of major interstates through the area. Although possessed of a rich history, questions surrounding the ownership of the neighborhood and its culture, together with how to define the area's community/ies, are complex and highly politicized. Significant research therefore needs to be conducted in regard to which areas cultural tourism could function within in terms of identifying, engaging and empowering local communities. Such research could take the form of a pilot study and/or survey regarding the location and attitude of current and former residents, cultural infrastructure (be it a person, a

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[37] UNESCO, Cultural Tourism, (2008)
<http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/ev.phpURL_ID=36700&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html> Last accessed 10th March 2011)

location or an organization), business owners, and interested parties, regarding cultural tourism. Central to any such study is the need to place the community at the center of any new cultural tourism initiative. Such a project has precedents with *Trekking LA* and *Cultural Tourism DC,* who have conducted such investigations as a means of identifying attitudes towards complex issues relating to a variety of debates before beginning any cultural tourism initiatives. These debates include;

> Culture vs. tourism; endogenous local and regional community and economic development vs. increasingly globalized economic development; preservation of neighborhood identity/ies vs. diversity and cross-cultural, cross-neighborhood understanding; collaboration within and between spatially and socioeconomically fragmented and disempowered areas vs. resource-development strategies employed in sectors such as tourism and marketing. (Loukaitou-Sideris et al 2009 p.4)

An understanding of attitudes towards these debates is essential in order to locate neighborhoods which are keen to engage in cultural tourism and have the cultural infrastructure necessary to begin such a project.

Following such a study another potential difficulty is the complication of utilizing or creating tourism infrastructure whilst maintaining their 'authenticity' or, in the context of this thesis, their 'ethnic advantage'. Many cultures and communities have, following the increase of tourism, created somewhat caricatured versions of themselves in order to fit the perceived tourist's desire or demand and this has led to discussions surrounding the meaning and role of 'authenticity'. Robinson (2009) explains how a failure to consider tourist's desire for 'authenticity' runs the risk that,

> instead of getting rich and authentic cultural insights and experiences, tourists get staged authenticity; instead of getting culture, they get kitsch…Religious rituals, ethnic rites and festivals continue to be reduced and sanitized to conform with tourist expectations, resulting in what one scholar has dubbed reconstructed authenticity. (p.22)

Reconstructed authenticity is also liable to create what Judd (1999) termed, a 'tourist bubble', whereby certain areas are developed for a preconceived tourist taste and as such may benefit the tour providers and the businesses within the 'bubble' to the potential detriment of the larger community. This process can be seen in the development of Miami Beach as the 'authentic' Art Deco buildings were remodeled and redeveloped in the 1980s to appeal to a contemporary audience. The subsequent boom in the area led to claims of gentrification as local residents were forced out by soaring rent prices, whilst tourists consumed the 'reconstructed authenticity' of South Beach culture.

Such outlooks however may ignore the power and agency that local communities can possess as places such as Barcelona or London's Brick Lane have utilized (tourism) imagery in order to reinforce economic development. Gotham (2005) expands upon this when he argues that,

> Local forms of knowledge and culture are not necessarily corrupted or undermined by tourism. Rather local organizations and people are capable of resisting or incorporating tourism images and meanings into local aesthetics and culture. In the process local people transform and reconfigure tourism and accompanying trends of homogenization, standardization, and commodification. (p.311)

Pine and Gilmore (2007) go so far as to state that authenticity is entirely subjective and that there is no such thing as authentic or inauthentic experiences as they are all personal and internal reactions to events happening around us. Similarly Cohen (1988) argues that authenticity is a concept which is socially constructed and whose meaning is therefore negotiable, whilst Moore (2002) states that authenticity is entirely relative as "one person's fake is another's meaningful experience". (p.55)

Urry (1990) provides an important perspective at this point as he argues that 'authentic experiences' might well be important components behind what tourists are seeking, however this is "only because there is in some sense a *contrast* with everyday experience". (p.11, emphasis mine). Therefore this suggests that it is in fact difference (in the context of this thesis, the 'ethnic advantage') rather than the 'authentic' that draws visitors to a place. Smith (2007) expands upon this to argue that "[p]erhaps rather than framing what a city offers in terms of authentic or inauthentic, it may be more helpful to think of the distinctive and the over familiar". (p.27) Alonso (2007), argues that the sheer number of Latin Americans (tourists and residents) in Miami, and the subsequent cultural similarities, is one of the reasons why an ethnic advantage has yet to appear and is therefore one of the reasons for so little tourism (at least relative to the beaches) in places like Little Havana.

Generalizations and stereotyping regarding culture(s) can be highly profitable as tourists seek a tropical(ized) and exotic(ised) 'other' to consume or examine however this necessarily leads to divisive and exclusionary 'us' and 'them' ideologies which separate the cultural provider from the cultural consumer. Such factors, alongside the aforementioned role of 'authenticity', must be considered by communities and can be minimized through a focus on intercity or intercommunity tourism which targets cross-cultural education, relationships and expression ahead of profitability. In this sense culture can be seen as being "constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction… and their history",[38] and thus provide a dynamic and active role for both the community and the visitor in the creation and

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[38] UNESCO, Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003)
<http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=17716&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html>
(Last accessed 10th March 2011)

shaping of a multi-scalar and dynamic culture. This focus upon cross-cultural education, understanding and interaction is therefore a powerful means of alleviating the threat of cultural commoditization, generalization and stereotyping.

Potentially the most damaging aspect of a successful inner-city cultural tourism initiative would be the possibility for gentrification. Coined in 1964 by sociologist Ruth Glass when describing the changes she was witnessing around her in London, she outlined how;

> One by one, many of the working-class quarters of London have been invaded by the middle-classes - upper and lower. Shabby, modest mews and cottages - two rooms up and two down - have been taken over, when their leases have expired, and have become elegant, expensive residences....Once this process of 'gentrification' starts in a district it goes on rapidly until all or most of the original working-class occupiers are displaced and the whole social character of the district is change. (p. XVIII)

The process of gentrification in Miami has a number of historical roots as areas such as Miami Beach have changed remarkably since the early 1980s whilst, as we will see in chapter 4, Overtown's decimation by the building of interstates 95 and 395 had its roots in explicit governmental plans for gentrification. More recently the Wynwood district of Miami has seen claims that a new shopping mall development named Midtown, as well as the recent boom in art galleries and installations in the area, is beginning the process of gentrification.[39] Harvey (2000) argues that exclusivity and middle-class consumption are necessarily embedded within contemporary cultural planning and therefore gentrification and working-class displacement are the inevitable

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[39] Miami New Times, (2008)
<http://blogs.miaminewtimes.com/riptide/2008/02/wynwood_residents_fight_gentri.php>

consequences. Amy Rosenberg, a local activist and the creator of the Overtown Music Project,[40] agrees that "gentrification is inevitable as in Miami gentrification is progress". She also described her experiences of gentrification in Miami and in Wynwood in particular,

> If you look at an area like Wynwood and you look at the demographics of that community and you see how people [developers] have gone into the community – outsiders – and they've said to the residents who own their homes – 'let's create an agreement whereby when you die I will get your home'. That actually happens, frequently, where people have had their homes sold out from under them and they have had to move elsewhere. [41]

The seemingly inevitable nature of gentrification in Miami begs the question of how areas can develop and attract new businesses whilst also serving, not pushing out, the existing community/ies. Sustainability has been of utmost importance in recent environmental planning however cities have been slower in ensuring that they meet "the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs", especially in relation to issues of gentrification.[42] Smith (2007, 2009) has identified potential methodologies by which cultural tourism must be implemented if gentrification is to be minimized. Firstly local actors and community groups should be actively involved in all stages of a project's development including the identification and marketing of potential cultural assets as well as in the creation and delivery of the events and tours. By ensuring this step is followed a local community will be more likely to feel

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[40] See Chapter 5
[41] Taken from a personal interview with Amy Rosenberg (2010). See appendix 8
[42] United Nations. (1987)."Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development." <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/42/ares42-187.htm> (Last accessed 10th March 2011)

ownership of the project and will therefore be more willing to contribute greater levels of physical and emotional involvement.

This is certainly not the case in areas like Wynwood which, despite modeling and promoting itself on art and culture-based development initiatives, is doing so based upon outsiders bringing culture to an area rather than including or utilizing local culture. The developer Tony Goldman, a central figure in the development of New York's Soho in the 1970s and Miami's own South Beach in the 1980s, has a clear vision for his next project in Wynwood and has therefore bought up over 20 properties in the area as he explains, "if you are in it for the long term, then you have to make some adjustments… the big picture is, you maintain your Monopoly. That drives your vision".[43] The monopolization of real estate with the specific aim of renting it to what Richard Florida described as the 'creative class' diminishes local community ownership and participation whilst increasing transitory rental agreements with outsiders, a process which (if the examples of Miami Beach and Soho can be followed) will eventually raise the price of rent and push working class locals out. Although Goldman states that "the district *could* be redeveloped without displacing the surrounding Puerto Rican neighborhood" [emphasis mine], his current formulation of development is unlikely to do so as reports of Puerto Rican artists leaving are already beginning whilst the (potential displacement of the) Black community is very rarely mentioned.[44] Certainly priorities will differ markedly between developers like Goldman and the local population (who in Wynwood have a

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[43] Tony Goldman's Big Bet on Miami's Wynwood (2011)
<http://paolaiuspa.com/2010/07/24/tony-goldmans-big-bet-on-miamis-wynwood/> Last accessed 10th March 2011)
[44] The Miami Art Scene is Heating Up (2011)
<http://www.thestar.com/entertainment/article/928834--the-miami-art-scene-is-heating-up> Last accessed 10th March 2011)

median household income of $11,293.93) and therefore 'community' organizations such as Goldman's *Wynwood Arts District Association* (comprised of art dealers, artists and curators) prioritize the promotion of visual arts above all other issues such as housing, employment or education that will instantly cause a rupture between locals and developers.[45] The Association does state commitment to "providing a clean, safe and enriching environment for pedestrians, *occupants* and *visitors*"[46] [emphasis mine] using the words occupants and visitors, rather than residents or locals, to stress a high level of transience and emphasize a commitment to the newly arrived over the existing population, a trait that has a long legacy in Miami. (Nijman 2011)

A second recommendation regarding the implementation of cultural tourism is that community development should be the primary aim of any such project as Robinson (1999) suggests, "though culture(s) and economy are clearly interrelated we cannot deal with culture in conventional economic terms. Attempting to do so, even allowing for an increased degree of sensitivity, endorses the view that living culture is 'just another commodity,' tradable, substitutable and separate from the natural environment". (p.9) Therefore community-based non-profits should provide the model for the creation of cultural tourism as private enterprises will inevitably be swayed primarily by profit and self interest in order to maintain their company's existence.

If the right steps are taken in the preparation and planning of cultural tourism in Miami then the scheme has the potential to play a central role in the rejuvenation of previously neglected areas through the multiple benefits that it may bring. Alongside the creation of employment opportunities for local residents, visitors from both inside and

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[45] http://www.miamigov.com/Planning/pages/services/Census.asp
[46] http://main.wynwoodmiami.com/about-wada/

outside the community would bring greater levels of business to entrepreneurs in the neighborhoods whilst local infrastructure such as signage, roads, sanitation and crime levels would potentially be improved given heightened levels of civic pride and involvement. Nijman (2011) outlines the complications of increasing the prominence of the public sphere in Miami describing how the subtropical climate, and the subsequent reliance on air conditioning, "closes off spaces where there could have been open exchange, stifling the creation and use of public spaces".(p. 190) This lack of interaction also serves to create a vicious cycle in which, just as "dense networks of interaction probably broaden the participant's sense of self, developing the 'I' into the 'we'", the reverse may also be true as minimal interactions are likely to accentuate the private (I) over the public (we).[47] This in turn creates a generalized level of individualism, prioritizing 'my' right to the city over potential community benefits and thereby minimizing social capital and creating ever higher levels of segregation and inequality. Subsequently this lack of public spiritedness also effects culture and cultural development in Miami as, "confronted with a transient population and different expectations, South Florida cultural philanthropy faces unique obstacles…Foundations of financial support, community commitment and artistic tradition have yet to be created".[48]

Another central issue regarding the difficulty of creating public space(s) is the transitory nature of Miami's population. Nijman (2011) has argued for a reclassification of traditional social stratification and differentiation in Miami, based upon the transitory nature of the city rather than a purely class-based or ethnicity-based breakdown. Within this rethinking he calls for the population to be broken down into locals, exiles and

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[47] Putnam (2000), p67 in Nijman p123
[48] Miami Herald, July 6, 2006 quoted in Nijman (2011) p238

mobiles. Locals are defined as "people who consider Miami their hometown being either born here or raised in the area from a very young age" whilst exiles are "those who find themselves in Miami of political or economic necessity" and mobiles are people who "do not identify Miami as their hometown and, like exiles, do not consider their stay permanent. But unlike exiles they have come here by choice and they can leave by choice". (p.139-140) Given that locals only constitute around 20% of the city's demographics there is obviously a vast majority of people who consider, in one way or another, their stay in Miami to be temporary. In this manner exiles will consider the possibility of return 'home' to be an integral part of their identity whilst mobiles are free to create multiple 'homes' and will therefore hold this freedom of movement to be a central feature of their identity. Such levels of non-attachment, at least in relation to Miami, constitute a serious issue in the creation and maintenance of public spaces as the majority of the city's population are not emotionally invested in its future which they are then able to (rightly or wrongly) disassociate with their own. As Nijman (2011) explains "[t]he exilic preoccupation with the homeland tends to go in tandem with a certain neglect or indifference toward Miami". (p.157)

Miami's exiles draw from a wide variety of (inter)national backgrounds with Cubans, Haitians and Nicaraguans alone constituting around half of the county's population. Importantly, amongst the three aforementioned national groups, these populations continue to place considerable importance in their cultural roots and have inscribed Miami with multiple physical reminders of their homelands centered around appropriately named areas, buildings and monuments in places like Little Havana and Little Haiti such as the Bay of Pigs monument or Toussaint Louverture Elementary

School. In creating these spaces the exiles have served to endow Miami with a distinct sense of multi-scalar interactions as localized communities are continuing to change neighborhood identity/ies through the creation and maintenance of international cultural spaces. Unfortunately the difficulties that Miami faces in persuading individuals to think and act communally means that these cultural reference points are often kept separate from other(ed) communities and it is just such segregation that cultural tourism, if correctly implemented, could help break down.

Similarly Miami's locals "tend to be highly concentrated in certain neighborhoods and this has much to do with their inability to move, which corresponds strongly with economics and with race".[49] By this Nijman is referring to the fact that most locals in Miami are African American (local neighborhoods are comprised of 94% African Americans) and that there is a strong correlation between race and poverty in the city (40% of households in local areas live below the poverty line) which will be discussed further in Chapter 4. Whilst locals are likely to be more invested in the future of the city and the public sphere (at least in 'their' areas) the lack of wealth and the segregated nature of South Florida municipalities and politics means that there is very little wealth, power and infrastructure invested into these neighborhoods. Accordingly local (or Black) areas of Miami are rarely visited and rather than being marketed and promoted in order to increase the number of visitors and therefore help attract economic investment into these neighborhoods they continue to be highlighted as areas for tourists and locals alike to avoid. In this sense mainstream culture, through shows such as *Miami Vice* and more recently *CSI:Miami*, may serve to accentuate a fear of crime, public spaces and the unknown and therefore discourage community interactions and relationships. Politically

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[49] Nijman (2011), p145

this trend is also prevalent as rather than implementing strategies to help alleviate some of the roots of crime (extremely high levels of poverty and inequality) by encouraging tourism in these areas and fostering a sense of civic pride and engagement, the focus in regards to tourism continues to be on flagship projects, as we will examine in chapter 5 with the example of the Little Haiti Cultural Center.

Nijman's reclassification of locals, exiles and mobiles is extremely useful in the context of Miami as it encourages an examination of the multiple and diverse flows and mobility's that exist in the globalized version of the city, highlighting the complexity of issues of race, place and identity. Whilst this classification permits an intriguing breakdown of the population there is substantial room for overlap and spatial clustering based upon other factors than the three categories, especially as time passes and Miami's unique form of acculturation continues to develop and change. Yudice (2003) highlights the case of two Cuban friends (one Black and one White), exiles, arriving in Miami however being "incorporated into separate communities based on their color", a process of racial separation/segregation which, as we will see in the following chapter, is common throughout the county. The case of Haitians in Miami provides another example of this as their exile status is often seemingly secondary to their race as "[g]iven that Haitians are overwhelmingly colored and are often mistaken for African Americans, it is likely that racial discrimination and racial segregation…push them to or near African American neighborhoods".[50] Therefore whilst it is useful to keep the classification of locals, exiles and mobiles in mind, it is also important to analyze the central role that race continues to play in Miami's social construction(s) and spatial layout(s).

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[50] Nijman (2011), p159

In order to promote tourism in these areas the communities should play the central role; however public/private actors such as the Greater Miami Convention and Visitors Bureau are also of paramount importance due to the national and international audiences that they can potentially reach with their marketing and promotion and their role in this process will be discussed further in chapter 5. Interactions are clearly a central tenant of any successful cultural tourism project in Miami and therefore events in which both the tourist and the community are actively involved in participatory activities such as dancing, music making, cooking or craft making, should be central in the implementation of cultural tourism strategies. (Smith 2009) In order for cultural tourism to assist in strategies of inclusion within Miami's Black and Latino neighborhoods, the entrepreneurial, interconnected and participatory nature of creative and cultural tourism must be encouraged and promoted in all of Miami's neighborhoods. This will not be easily achieved however as interclass/ethnic/cultural interactions have been historically strained in Miami. As previously mentioned flagship or stand alone projects tend to prevail over and above community-based integrated schemes and this segregated and displaced positioning of public spaces is difficult to overcome, especially as its roots lie in the perspective that "among [Miami's] elite…there is a powerful urge to keep the poor and the 'criminally inclined' at some distance".[51] An examination of the extreme historical inequalities in Miami is therefore essential in order to understand the current construction (imagined and physical) of the city and hence develop strategies to assist in the rejuvenation of the most economically deprived areas.

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[51] Nijman (2011) p191

Chapter 3 – Miami's Spatial Legacy

Harvey (1973) outlines that "we must relate social behavior to the way in which the city assumes a certain geography, a certain special form". (p.27) Within this context the highly divided nature of ethnicity and wealth in Miami must be considered in light of social behaviors within the city and at various scales.
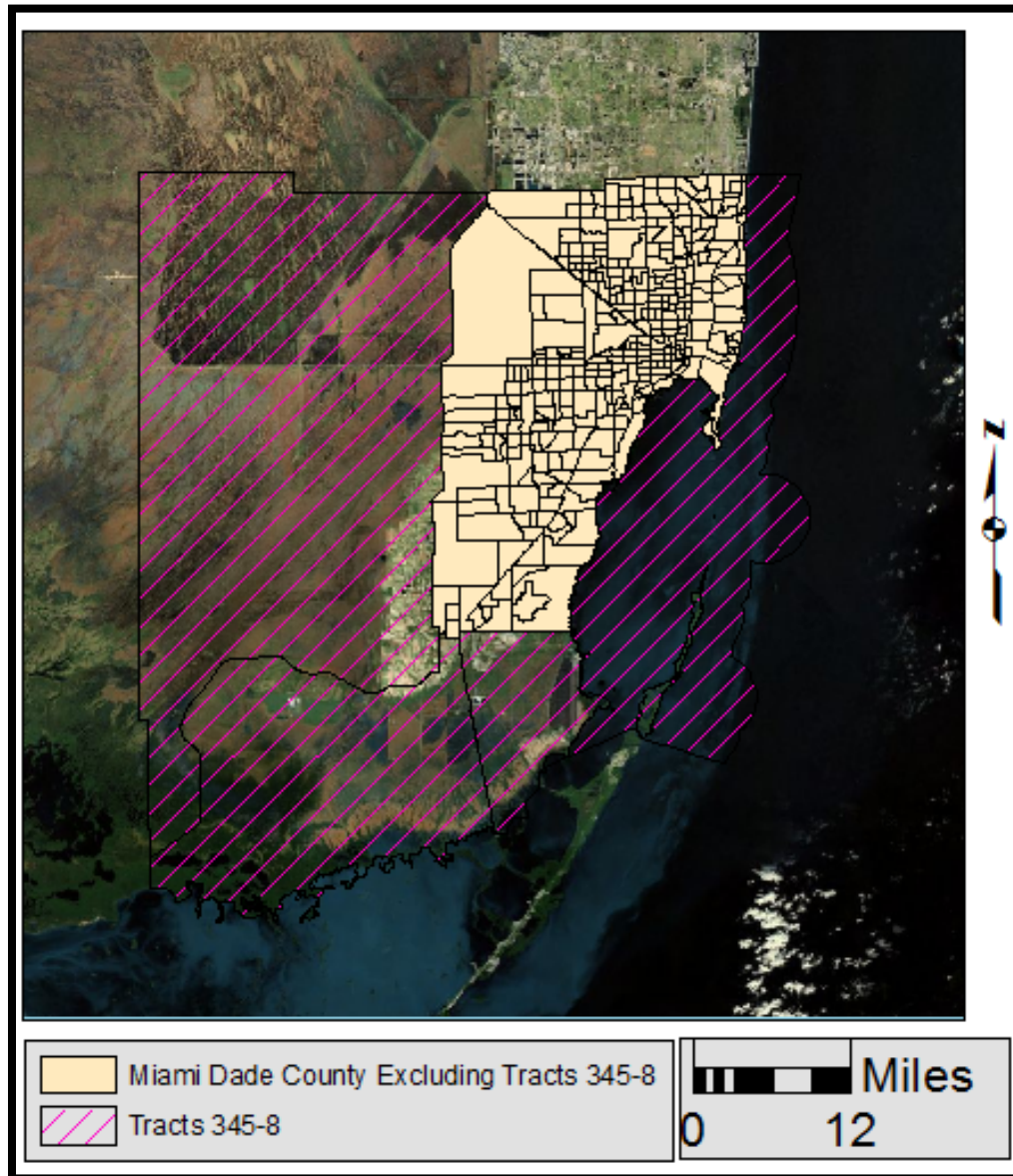
Figure 2 – Study Area of Miami-Dade County Census Tracts (Excluding tracts 345-8)

As figures 3, 4 and 5 (below) illustrate, Miami-Dade County (in this study excluding the four largest and most rural census tracts, 345-8, which fall mainly in the Everglades or Biscayne National Park and therefore have very low populations)[52] is deeply divided along lines of 'race' or 'ethnicity' in which the Black population (consisting mainly of African Americans and Black Caribbean immigrants) live in the northeast of the county on either side of the I-95 freeway. The Latino communities of the city however live far more to the west of the county inhabiting an approximately triangular area between US1 and Okeechobee Road. The White population of Miami however is clustered along the coastline in Kendall, Coral Gables, South Miami, the City of Miami and Miami Beach. The evidence of separation is clear given these observations however further analysis illustrates that the clustering of ethnicities within these specific areas is very high for all three of Miami's main ethnicities, however Blacks have a higher level of clustering than Whites and Hispanics. This result was the outcome of the running of three spatial autocorrelation (global Moran's I) tests in order to test whether the clustering seen on figures 3, 4 and 5 was statistically significant. The White, Hispanic and Black populations received Z-scores of 25.45, 27.84 and 39.97 respectively, illustrating that there was a less than 1% possibility that this clustering is formed by chance. Following this rejection of the null hypothesis the Global Moran's I results illustrated that the Black population was easily the most clustered (Moran's I index of 0.58) followed by Hispanics (0.4), with Whites illustrating the least dense clustering (0.13).

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[52] See Figure 2 above.
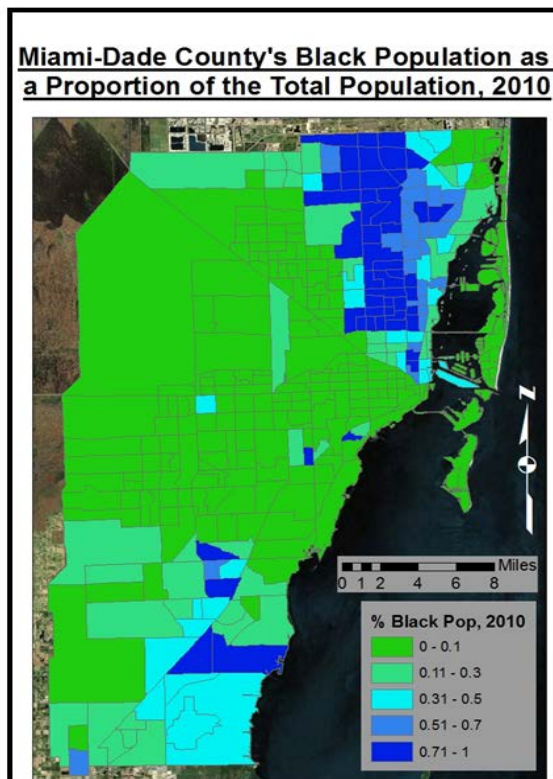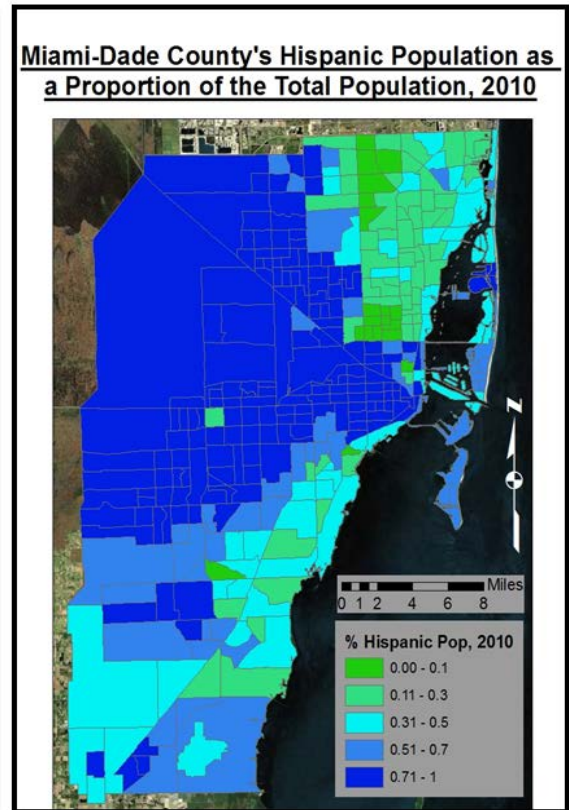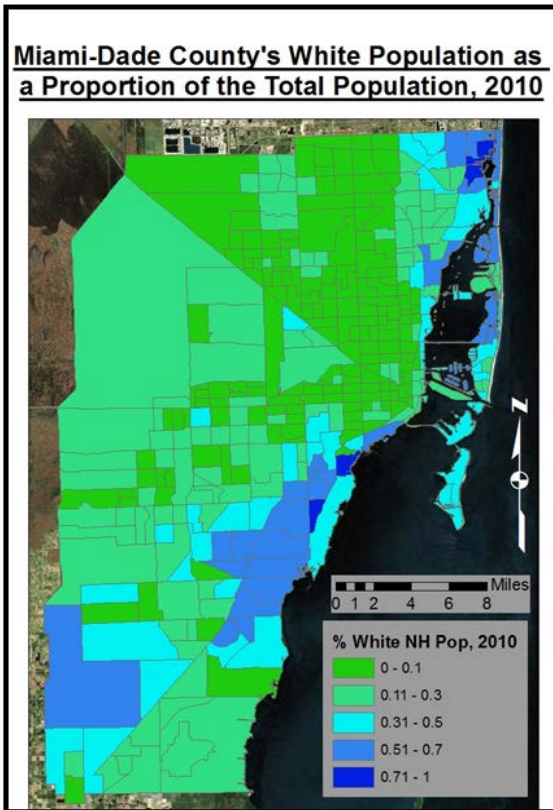
Figures 3, 4 and 5 – Hispanic, White and Black Populations of Miami-Dade County (as a proportion)

Having illustrated that this clustering, based on ethnicity, exists within the global population of the city it was next important to analyze the relationship on a more local scale (census tract in this case). An Anselin Local Moran's I test or LISA ('Local Indicators of Spatial Association') was then conducted in order to examine the relationship between individual census tracts.[53] Specifically, this test identifies clusters of features with values similar in magnitude (in this case population based on ethnicity), and illustrates the relationship of each census tract to those around it, producing a set of four results (high clustering next to high clustering, High clustering next to low, low next to high or low next to low).
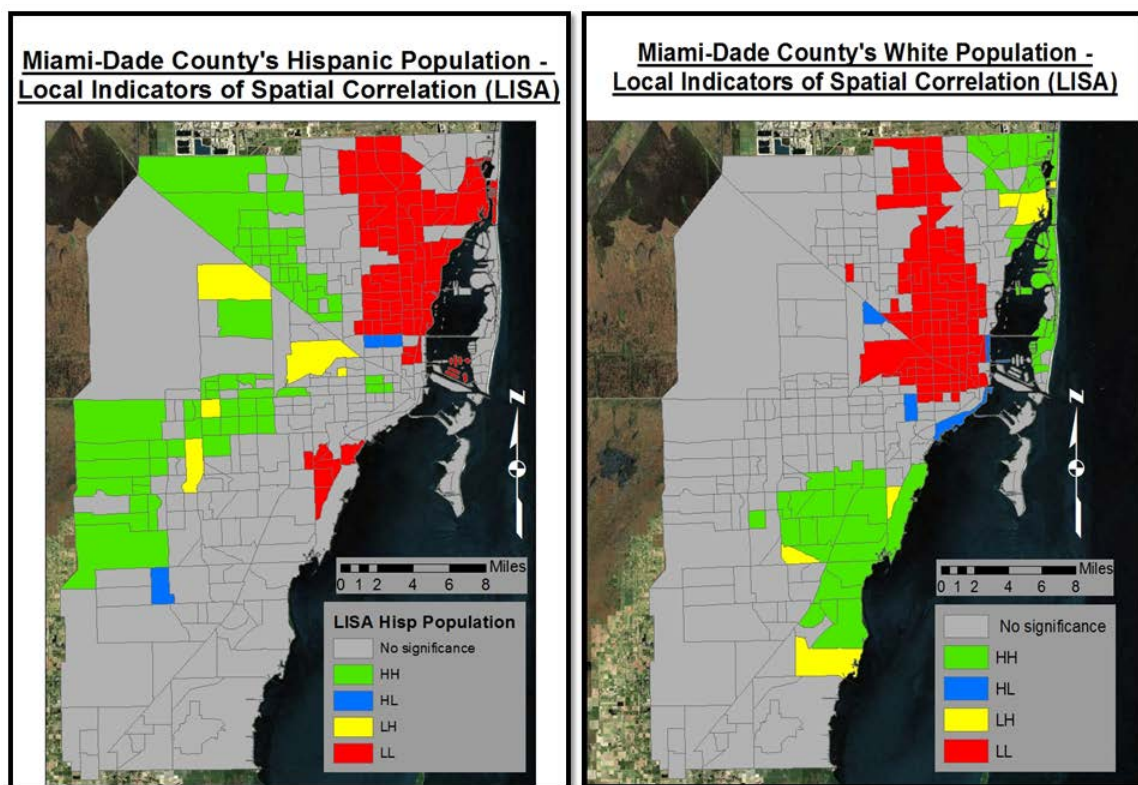
Figures 6 and 7 – Local Moran's I Results of Miami-Dade's Hispanic and White Populations.

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[53] See Figures 6, 7 and 8 below
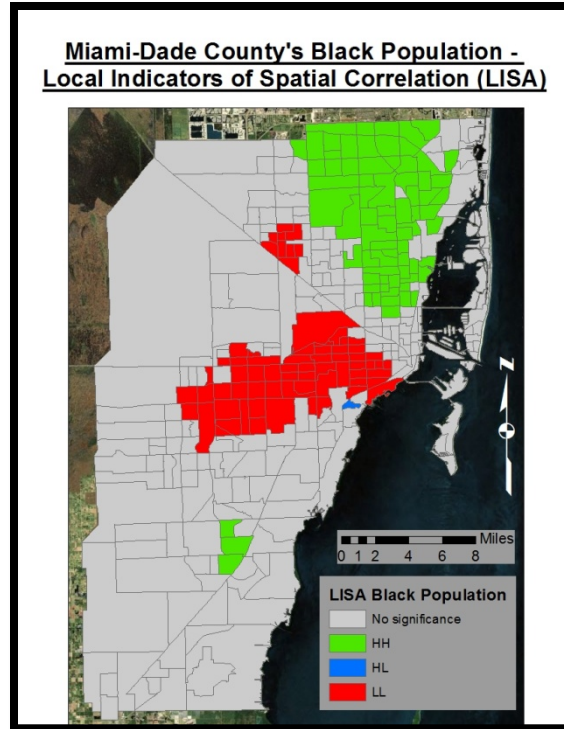
Figure 8 – Local Moran's I Results of Miami-Dade's Black Population.

The results of the Local Moran's I correlate well to the population maps with high-high results for Hispanics located in the west of the county whilst the northeast of the county saw the majority of low-low results. This was also the case for the White population which saw the majority of its low-low clusters in the north and northeast whilst its high-high population is located along the coastline running south from Broward county all the way to South Beach as well as on both sides of US1 in Kendall. Again the Black population illustrates highly differing trends whereby the areas in the north and northeast that are Hispanic and White low-low areas are the primary base for the Black population's high-high results. The Black population's low-low results can be seen approximately between the Dolphin Expressway and US1 which is one of the main locations for the Hispanic population.

Questions such as why this spatial differentiation continues to be the case, whether spatial separation is necessarily negative and, if it is negative, what potential means are there to lessen such segregation must be asked. The response to the first of these questions is addressed by Harvey (1973) when he argues that "we must recognize that once a particular spatial form is created it tends to institutionalize and, in some respects, to determine the future development of social processes". (p.27) With regard to Miami this future development becomes the normalization of segregation to which Mr. Neary was referring above. The institutionalization of segregation and/or differentiation can be seen as having become deeply ingrained into the city's collective psyche so that separate areas based upon ethnicity or skin color become conceived as the norm or somehow natural. At the turn of the last century, Florida was implementing "an increasing array of laws that separated White and Black persons"[54] including the prohibition of intermarriage (up to the fourth generation) in 1885, segregated interstate train travel in 1887, and residential segregation in which "Black residents, irrespective of class or nativity, lived along the northern and southern boundaries of the city" whilst "the city's wealthiest residents…lived closest to Biscayne Bay and the Atlantic Ocean, including Miami Beach and Coral Gables".[55]

These patterns, developed over a century ago at the beginning of Miami's formation as a city, are still clearly apparent based upon 2009's population maps, however the roots of this segregation are complex and multifaceted and provide numerous instances of social exclusion and adverse incorporation. For example in the 1920's Black and White families and businesses were locating in Overtown due to its

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[54] Shell-Weiss (2009:53)
[55] Ibid, 53

central location in the city, however both ethnic groups objected to the other's presence and began arguing in favor of stronger and more clearly defined segregation. In the case of the Black population they were worried that too much dispersal of the Black community would harm their sales income as well as damage downtown Miami due to the exodus of middle class Black residents. Segregation had therefore already been defined to such an extent that it was deeply institutionalized and as such led to social behaviors such as the Black population petitioning for a "more firm 'color line' to lessen the chance of friction between the city's White and Black communities" and safeguard Black businesses.[56] The White community was however the main driving force behind the increase in segregation, arguing that their property values were stagnating due to the proximity of Black neighborhoods (despite lots in this area increasing in price 400% between 1912 and 1920).[57]

Tourism has always been central to Miami's economy and industry yet it also played a historic role in increasing inequality in the city. By 1940 the growth of hotels and the effects of the Great Depression led to many Black, male hotel chefs being replaced by Whites whilst Black women employed in the hotel's service industry ended up working longer hours for less money than was previously the case, resulting in increased rates of economic segregation.[58]

This boom in tourism coincided with an explosion in the marketing of Miami in which the city, portrayed as the "Magic City" in the 1910s to attract developers willing to transform the swamp-like Miami Beach into the "playground of nations", began to form the city according to the myths of its marketing. In this manner the city advertised itself

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[56] Ibid, 81
[57] Ibid, 81
[58] Ibid, 112

as having "practically no poverty, slums or tenement"[59] and being both the aforementioned "playground of nations" as well as a "tropical playground". (Alonso in Rath 2007)

Figure 9 – Miami, Florida – The Magic City [60]

The reality was nothing of the sort however, as Dunn (1997) describes, appalling living standards characterized much of the Black communities of the city, as "ramshackle houses sprang up along…unpaved streets. There was little or no running water and no indoor plumbing. Electricity, fast becoming commonplace in White residential areas, was practically unknown in Colored Town. Children and young adults died…at a high rate. Crime…thrived". (p.164) This reality did nothing to discourage the advertisers who were significantly aided by the urban planners of the period who helped put in place the infrastructure that enabled vacationers and wealthy locals alike to bypass segregated areas in order to indulge in the "Magic City." Specifically, the urban planners denied Miami's Black community the zoning requirements of White areas such as indoor

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[59] Ibid, p.132
[60] Bramson (2007), Inside cover

plumbing (outdated wagons travelled Black areas collecting human waste from latrines), limited housing density (twice as high in Black neighborhoods), and the promise of basic services such as paved roads leading to the fact that by 1950 "Miami enjoyed the dubious honor of being the single most segregated city in the United States".[61]

Figure 10- Miami's city planning board ordered the construction of the segregating wall (foreground) in order to provide "suitable protection" for the white neighborhood from the black projects behind. Photo by author.

This particularly segregated geography, that had been institutionalized for decades already by 1950, took on guises throughout Black and White communities as the racial segregation in the city was accompanied by cultural segregation in both the tourism and entertainment industries whereby, according to Dunn (1997), not only were Blacks "not allowed in White hotels, nightclubs, or restaurants except as employees",(p. 144) but when performers such as Ella Fitzgerald, Cab Calloway, Billy Holiday, James Brown or Aretha Franklin came to Black neighborhoods to play, the Black club owners themselves

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[61] Shell-Weiss (2009), p.133.

"would put the Whites upstairs and the Blacks downstairs".(p. 149) Dunn (1997) goes on to describes how "we were segregated in our own community, but that's the way it was" (p.149) and in doing so illustrates the perceived inevitability and normality of segregation and, when viewed through Harvey's lens of societal institutionalization, an acceptance of the past as 'the way it was' shows a somewhat narrow perspective that ignores the multiple scales and behaviors involved in this type of behavior's creation.

Another issue of historical importance with regard to segregation in Miami is that of transportation in which roads, railway lines and zoning were used with the specific intention of maintaining segregation. An urban planner (Rose, 1962) outlined how to prevent further Black expansion when he explained how, "continued areal expansion might be hampered by the presence of physical obstacles to the north and west which might serve as effective racial boundaries". (p.225-6) In this case the 'physical obstacles' to which the planner is referring are roads and railway lines. When these obstacles do not provide a barrier they were quite capable of functioning like a knife. The building of interstates I-95 and I-375 through Overtown in the 1950s were a deliberate attempt to displace the Black population from the area in order to create more space for the downtown business district and was assisted by 'urban renewal' strategies that further pushed Black communities from their homes. In fact some tenants of Overtown were given less than a day's notice before their homes were repossessed and destroyed. Mohl (1989) explains how the strategy worked very effectively as "the new expressway ripped through the center of Overtown, wiping out massive amounts of housing as well as Overtown's main business district – the business and cultural heart of Black Miami. Some 40,000 Blacks made Overtown their home before the interstate came, but less than

10,000 now remain in an urban wasteland dominated by the expressway". (p.75) The legacy of the interstate lives on as Overtown today contains fewer than 8,000 residents with a per capita income of under $11,500 and only 41 business remain in the area compared to nearly 400 in 1950.[62] I-95 today forms the eastern parameter for much of Miami's most densely populated Black census tracts and therefore indicates the difficulty which the Black community has had removing these historical boundaries (see figure 5 above).

Expressways such as I-95 play an integral role in contemporary Miami's continuation of the "Magic City" imagery in which there is "practically no poverty, slums or tenement"[63] in the city, in this case perhaps omitting the conclusion to this sentence "as long as you stick to the freeways and expressways". The City of Miami recently stated its belief in the principle of equity which they define in relation to public space in the city as the need to ensure that "[e]very resident should be able to enjoy the same quality of public facilities and services regardless of income, age, race, ability or geographic location".[64] The particular landscape that the city are portraying here is far from the unequal realities of Miami hidden beneath the expressways and is based more on what Mitchell (1997) describes as "a particular way of seeing the world, one in which order and control over surroundings takes precedence over the messy realities of everyday life… [In this sense the] landscape is a "scene" in which the propertied classes express "possession" of the land, and their control over the social relations within it". (p.323) This historical control over the boundaries of racial communities, the design and location of expressways have combined to create a tunneling or confining effect that

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[62] See Dunn (1997) and Nijman (2011) for details.

[63] Dunn (1997), p.132.

[64] <http://www.miamidade.gov/greatparksummit/overview.asp>(Last Accessed 10th March 2011)

helps to promote an overly optimistic and misleading image of the city whilst also reducing, what Jiron (2010) describes as, "the possibilities of encounter and interaction, which are the essence of urban experience". (p.77) Nijman (2011) expands upon this to explain how "[s]ocioeconomic inequality often implies segregation and a fragmented social structure, especially where economic inequality intersects with race and ethnicity. Being one of the most unequal metropolitan regions in the United States, as well, Miami is thus doubly challenged in its capacity to generate and maintain social capital". (p.124)

Figure 11 - Chapman House, built in the 1920s, is perhaps the most elaborate residence remaining today in Overtown however today is fenced in by the adjacent massive expressway ramps of I-95 and SR-836. Much of the surrounding area is vacant or deteriorated. Photo by author.

Roads and railway lines were not alone in restricting or cutting Miami's Black population as zoning laws were another often used tool to maintain and increase effective levels of segregation. The Federal Housing Authority (1938) explained how "[o]ne of the best artificial means of providing protection from adverse influences is through the medium of appropriate and well-drawn zoning".[65] In contemporary Miami, protection from such 'adverse influences' is still being negotiated so that in 2002, Miami's Housing

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[65] The Federal Housing Authority quoted in Shell-Weiss (2009), p.136.

Agency, together with $35 million in government grants, set out to 'renew' a distressed part of Miami's predominantly Black Liberty City neighborhood, in a manner reminiscent of the 'urban renewal' of Overtown in the fifties, and ironically named Hope VI. The agency's initial aim, of demolishing public housing for 800 families in order to rebuild only 411 houses, seems somewhat illogical in numerical terms. This project's neglect for the very people it was designed to serve was accentuated further by the subsequent mismanagement of funds and overspending on architects, project managers, overheads and consultants and led to half the funds having been spent six years later, despite only three houses having been built in recompense for the 800 displaced families.[66]

The exclusion that Blacks faced in Miami was prevalent throughout society in that they were unable to use public parks, schools were segregated whilst colleges were White only, and Blacks were excluded from certain neighborhoods, multiple jobs and the majority of labor unions. Desegregation did not however bring about unanimously positive effects as shops and businesses that relied on a system which forced Blacks to spend money in Black retailers suffered from the change as Dunn (1997) describes how "after the social restrictions on Blacks began to ease, some Blacks were taking their money elsewhere". (p.156) The tourism industry was central to this shift as "Black visitors from other cities, who used to flock to Colored Town, now in increasing numbers went to the Eden Roc Hotel or the Fountainbleau Hotel on Miami Beach".[67] This legacy, combined with the aforementioned tunneling effect of Miami's specific landscaping and imagery, continues strongly in contemporary Miami. The location of the county's hotels

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[66] <http://www.miamiherald.com/multimedia/news/houseoflies/part3/index.html> (Last Accessed 10th March 2011)
[67]Shell-Weiss (2009) p.156

shows a distinct clustering on Miami Beach, illustrated through the location of the central feature in Figure 12 below. Figure 13 offers a comparison between hotel locations and the proportion of Black residents in Miami and clearly illustrates the lack, or complete absence, of tourism infrastructure, in terms of hotels, in mainly Black neighborhoods. The effects of desegregation, regarding the relocation of hotels away from Black areas, provide an example of adverse incorporation that continues to this day and chapter 4 will examine whether the lack of hotels correlates to a scarcity of cultural infrastructure or is more related to issues of (political) marketing.
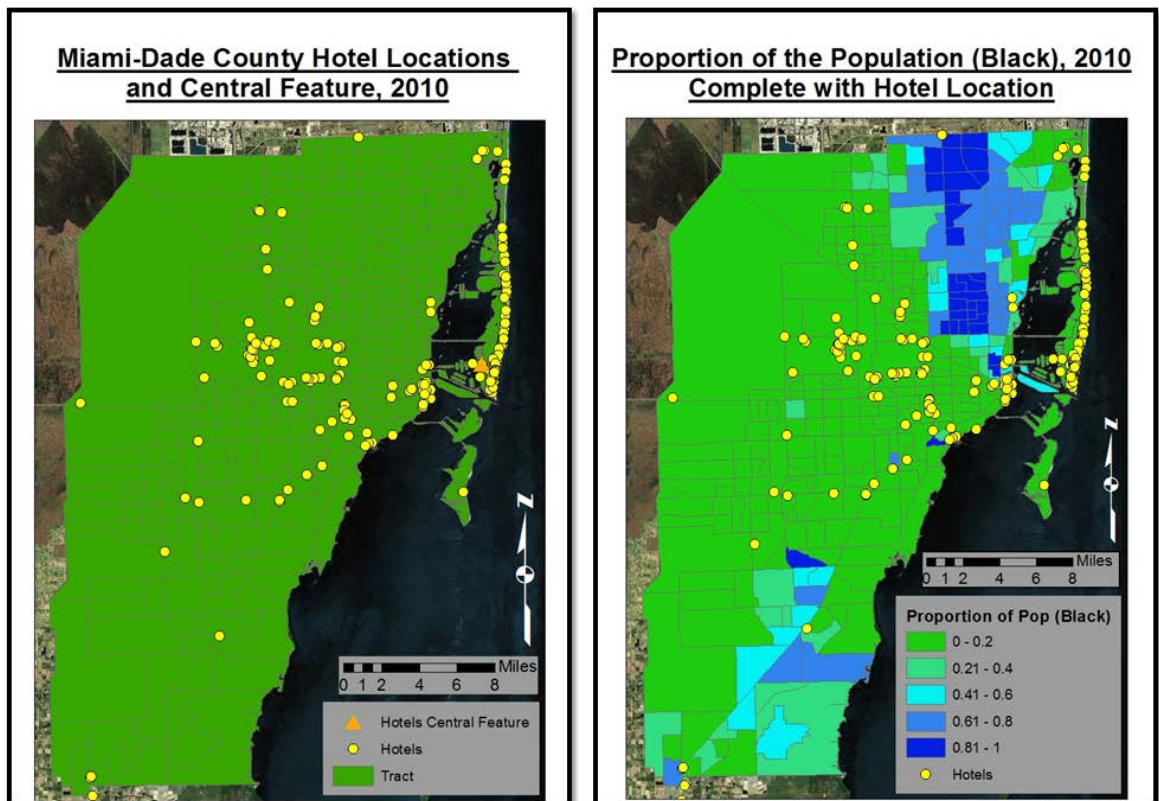
Figures 12 and 13 – Miami Dade County Hotel Locations and Central Feature and these Features in Relation to the Black Population

Miami's history has seen the city itself marketed in relation to issues far removed from the segregation and poverty that has existed for most of its past. Formal desegregation may have permitted the Black population political emancipation; however

economic freedom continues to be a far-off dream for many, whilst waves of immigration have brought 'ethnic diversity' to Miami although this has done little to reduce exclusion and adverse incorporation.

Miami's Cuban influx of the late 1950s, which introduced favorable immigration laws that continue to the present day, saw the political immigrants granted federal aid, in the form of low-interest loans, aid and education schemes which resulted in Cuban immigrants settling in Miami with great ease. As we have seen the Latino influx into Miami was spatially clustered to the west of the city where the population continues to be well over 70% Latino today. The main clusters were located around Little Havana and Hialeah which quickly became 'ethnic enclaves'. Such enclaves serve(d) as sites of increased social capital in which certain ethnicities (mainly Cubans in this case) may benefit from a sense of shared language, culture and background. Despite the short term localized advantages that this may bring, there is a widespread belief that immigration into Miami is/was a hindering factor in the development of African Americans. Dunn (1997) explains the inaccuracy of such a belief by stating that, "in fact, no other group in Dade did as well as Blacks in terms of improving its income level during the immigration tumult of the 1970s and 1980s". (p.344) The question then is why does the belief that immigration has harmed African Americans linger, and the answer perhaps lies, not only in the fact that Blacks remained the poorest ethnic group throughout this period, but also in the isolationism of the ethnic enclaves. Such isolationism, added to the legacy of continued segregation amongst the African American community, did little to help intercommunity education or encourage intercommunity visits or cultural interactions and

rather acted to "poorly serve interethnic communications and understanding…[and hence negatively] affecting even the conduct of local matters".[68]

If the lack of cultural integration was apparent between Latinos and African Americans, it was perhaps enhanced even further by the influx of Haitian immigrants. As Stepick (2003) argues, "being a Black immigrant profoundly affects the nature of relations and the available assimilation paths" as they face a difficult and segregating choice from a young age regarding whether to "remain Haitians or… become Black Americans". (p.115) Haitians immigrants have been, and continue to be, "disproportionately singled out for deportation and detention"[69] and this historical distrust at a larger scale translates on a more localized scale to "rampant intraracial and interethnic conflict between American born Blacks and Haitians". (p.223) From a relational perspective the differentiation between the 'political' immigrants from Cuba and the 'economic' immigrants from Haiti appears to be highly unclear due to the tumultuous historical political framework in Haiti. Such arbitrary differentiation at an international level can also be an influencing and furthering factor relating to inequality on a more local scale. This illogical political differentiation creates a type of immigration hierarchy or class system in Miami which, in general terms, favors Cubans whilst discriminating against Haitians and hence introduces further tension between these two groups. The results of such tension, together with the historical legacy of Black and White segregation, in which Haitians become incorporated into 'belonging' in Black neighborhoods due to their skin color, means that Haitians are largely pushed away from

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[68] Grenier and Perez (2003) quoted in Nijman (2011), p124
[69] Dunn (1997), p373

Latino and White areas and toward African American neighborhoods despite the conflicts that this can cause.

Just as Blacks had been forced to do for over a century, Stepick (2003) explains how,

> "[Miami's] immigrants struggled and negotiated with Americans over cultural forms of expression and control of their lives. The outcome depends on a shifting equilibrium of power affected by the larger society (for example, the perception that Blacks are inferior) and the more immediate contexts (the dominance of a particular group in a specific setting). (p.136)

As we will see in the following chapter a large part of this struggle 'over cultural forms of expression', lies in Miami's landscaped image(ry) which continues to exude a specific discourse that favors the status quo and thus excludes much of the city's Black and Latino populations.

Chapter 4 – Marketing (and) Inequality - The Greater Miami Convention and Visitors Bureau (GMCVB)

Miami's image as a 'tropical playground' has been manufactured, much like the city itself, to attract tourists from throughout the United States and the world. When Alonso (2007) argues that the tropical*ized* ideal of Miami is less marketed than in the past he is not referring to the palm trees, the heat (neither the temperature nor the utilization of Miami's tropical image in naming it's basketball team the *Miami Heat*) or the beaches, but rather that "the working-class immigrants who give the city its contemporary 'tropical rhythm' – and on whose labour the tourism industry depends – are mostly left out of the image marketed to tourists". (p.164) Miami's immigrants are not alone in their exclusion from the city's imagery however as African Americans are another major demographic that are highly underrepresented. This chapter will therefore analyze how marketing and imagery play a role in accentuating the varying forms inclusion, exclusion and adverse incorporation in Miami in order to examine Alonso's claim and see whether the 26.9% of Miami residents reported to be living in poverty, the vast majority of whom are Black (42.3%) or Latino (over 25%), are amongst the most excluded.[70]

As figure 14 demonstrates, the percentage of the population below the poverty line is markedly higher in downtown Miami and especially toward the north of downtown with many tracts showing between 20% and 40% of the population to be living below the poverty line. This clustering of poverty along a corridor from downtown toward the north of the county is also highly correlated, as we saw in chapter 4, with race,

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[70] See <http://www.miamitodaynews.com/news/070830/story7.shtml> and <http://www.brookings.edu/~/media/Files/rc/reports/2004/06cities_fixauthorname/20040607_miami.pdf > (Last accessed 10th March 2011)

as the Black population make up the vast majority of the population in these areas. Miami's 'playground' image is therefore problematic due to the fact that segregation is rife and inequality is often considered the norm in the city.
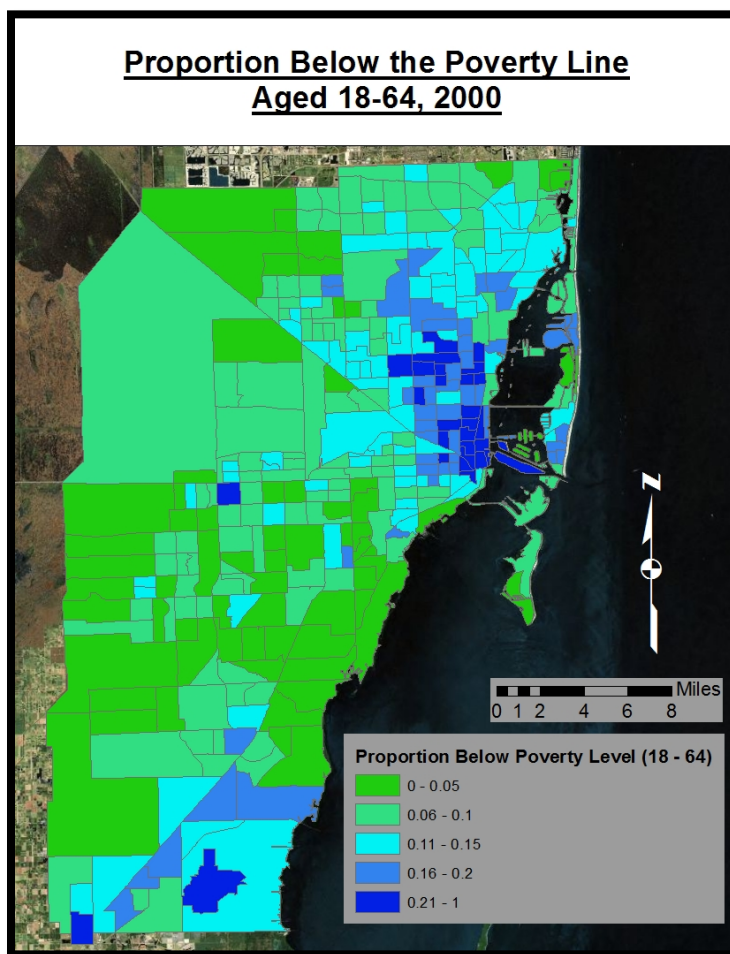
Figure 14 - Percentage of Miami-Dade County (Age 19-64) Below the Poverty Level, 2000

The United Nation's *State of the World's Cities Report 2008/9* concludes that Miami, along with four other US cities "have the highest levels of inequality in the country, similar to those of Abidjan, Nairobi, Buenos Aires and Santiago".[71] The report

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[71] United Nation's *State of the World's Cities Report 2008/9*
<http://www.unhabitat.org/downloads/docs/presskitsowc2008/PR%201.pdf> (Last accessed 10th March 2011)

concludes that this inequality in Miami, as elsewhere in the United States, is predominantly determined by race, whereby "the life expectancy of African Americans in the United States is about the same as that of people living in China and some states of India, despite the fact that the United States is far richer than the other two countries".[72] Figure 16 below provides an illustration of the vast inequalities that exist in Miami as census tracts around downtown with per capita incomes of less than $15,000 are often neighboring coastline tracts with income per capita at over $70,000. This income inequality is strongly correlated to race with poverty clearly equating to the areas with the highest percentage of Blacks whilst, correspondingly, the wealthiest tracts have the lowest percentages of Blacks. Given that African Americans, Haitians and other Blacks appear to suffer most from Miami's inequality, they therefore have the most to gain from strategies of social and economic inclusion; processes which, if properly implemented, cultural tourism has the potential to facilitate. Therefore the remainder of this thesis will concentrate primarily on cultural tourism amongst the Black population of Miami (who also make up the vast majority of Miami's 'locals'), however consideration must be given to the rest of Miami's population which would provide a useful and necessary line of research for future studies.

Gastón Alonso (2007) argues that the focus of Miami's contemporary marketing to the global tourist specifically excludes Miami's Black and Latino neighborhoods and concentrates instead upon shopping and architecture; "Rather than highlighting Miami's Caribbean and Latino neighborhoods and cultures, they [Miami's marketers] emphasize its 'cosmopolitan sophistication', modern downtown skyline, restored Art Deco hotels and world-class shopping centers". (p.164) In order to examine this further we will now

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[72] Ibid.

turn our attention to the Greater Miami Convention and Visitors Bureau's (GMCVB), Miami's largest and most influential marketing organization.
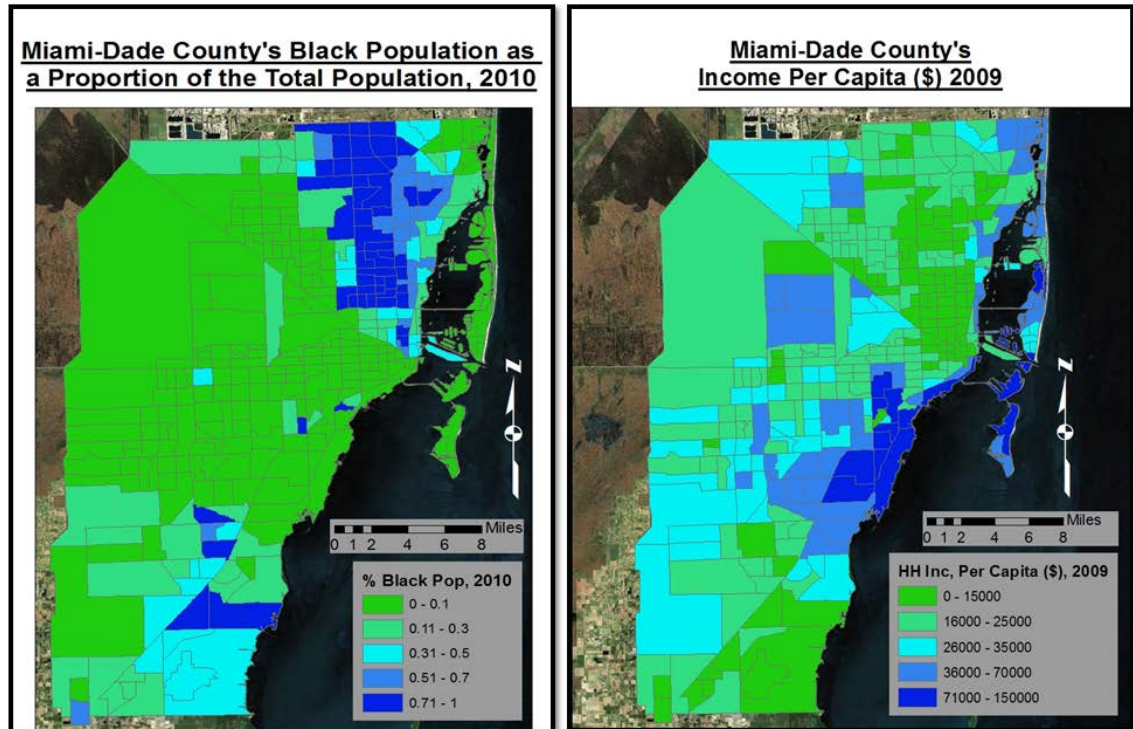
Figures 15 and 16- Miami-Dade County's Black Population as a Proportion of the Total Population, 2009 and Miami-Dade County's Income Per Capita ($), 2009, respectively

The Greater Miami Convention and Visitors Bureau's describe themselves as "a private, not-for-profit sales and marketing organization" who work with over 1,000 private businesses and four local governments (Miami-Dade County, The City of Miami Beach, The City of Miami and the Village of Bal Harbour) with a mission of "attracting and encouraging individuals and organizations to visit Greater Miami and the Beaches". They go on to reveal that they are in fact a "private-public partnership" who claim to support "all community activities that enhance Greater Miami and the Beaches *as an*

attractive and desirable place" [emphasis mine].[73] As we have seen Miami has a history of spatial favoritism in terms of what is considered 'attractive' or 'desirable'. The GMCVB state that they "market and promote all segments of the community" in their four main publications which include the *Vacation Planner* (for consumers); the *Meeting Planner* (for meeting planners); the *Travel Planner* (for tour operators and travel agents); and the *Delegates & Arrival Guide* (also for consumers) and their multiple smaller publications, one of which, *Miami: A Sense of Place,* will be particularly relevant to this study.

GMCVB's Vacation Planner

GMCVB's A Sense of Place

Figures 17 and 18 – GMCVB's Vacation Planner and Miami: A Sense of Place Publications Respectively.

An examination of the GMCVB's *Vacation Planner,* as the main publication aimed at non-specialized tourists and hence the most widely distributed and relevant to this thesis, illustrates Alonso's point as photographs depicting shopping and/or architecture feature in nearly a third of the planner's photographs, making architecture

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[73] About Greater Miami Convention & Visitors Bureau
<http://www.miamiandbeaches.com/about/about.asp> (Last accessed 10th March 2011)

and shopping the second and third most popular images, behind scenes of Miami's beaches, whilst the only one photo in the whole 208 page publication related to Black and/or Latino culture in the city shows children dressed in bright tropical carnival attire.[74]

The importance of tropical*ized* Miami for sales and marketing is also evident in the *Vacation Planner*'s section on accommodation, which they entitle 'Tropical Retreats'. The lack of imagery regarding Miami's "working class immigrants"[75] of multiple ethnicities may be surprising considering that over 57% of the city are of Latin American descent whilst 20.3% are Black, (a figure that includes many people of Caribbean descent) however this rich multiculturalism that exists in the city appears to be considered by the GMCVB much more troublesome to market and sell.[76] Further examples of this include how Little Havana, Little Haiti, Liberty City and Overtown are completely omitted from the *Vacation Planner's* 'Tropical Retreats' section. In the same publication, Miami's neighborhoods are split into South Miami-Dade, Coral Gables, Coconut Grove, Downtown, South Beach, Lincoln Road and Aventura, meaning that Miami's predominantly Black and Latino neighborhoods were not considered important or attractive enough to warrant their own section and so are placed into a final section entitled 'Around Greater Miami'. Similarly the 'Sightseeing and Tours' section of the planner is assigned, alongside Spas and health clubs, the least number of pages (four) for any section within the planner.[77]

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[74] See Appendix 1.
[75] Alonso (2007), p164
[76] Based on 2000 US Census data
[77] See Appendix 2

Within the 'Sightseeing and Tours' section of the planner they explain that "local touring services explore the culture, history, architecture and ecology of this fascinating region" however, of the 21 tour operators listed in the section, only one lists Black history as an option and none mention Latino history, culture, or cultural tours in general.[78] African American culture is the most obvious omission from this section as the GMCVB chose to include "Little Havana, the center of Cuban culture; Wynwood, reflective of Puerto Rican heritage; and Homestead, with a large Mexican community" to which they add South Beach, Coconut Grove and the Design District, however areas such as Little Haiti, Overtown and Liberty City are excluded. The relative importance that cultural tourism currently holds, both for Miami in general as well as for the GMCVB, is further illustrated by the annual number of listings for cultural tourism events (9) compared to gay and lesbian events[79] (23) it's categorical partner within much of the GMCVB literature.

This evidence contradicts the idea that interest in a new broad form of cultural tourism in Miami has been growing in recent years, despite Rolando Aedo, the Senior Vice-President of GMCVB, claiming in April 2010 that "we define cultural tourism in the broadest sense…[and it] is something that we've been interested in for upwards of ten years now and it's something that is part of our DNA". Cultural tourism, in terms of fine art, performing arts and visual arts, has certainly seen an increase in recent years with the construction of the Adrianne Arsht Center for the Performing Arts, the New World Center, the annual Art Basel program and Miami International Film Festival, just a few of the many events and infrastructure improvements that have been created to bring more

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[78] GMCVB *Travel Planner* (2010), p158
[79] This trend appears to be based upon the economic logic that gay men are relatively wealthy and therefore help attract greater revenues.

tourists to the city. However, as Mr. Aedo remarked, "you can't have successful cultural tourism if you don't have the infrastructure to service it." Therefore, despite significant investment into improving tourism infrastructure in Downtown Miami and Miami Beach, there is very little trickle down to Miami's poorest areas. When asked if there was any way to counter this process and make Miami more inclusive, George Neary, the GMCVB's associate Vice President of Cultural Tourism, stated "well no, because Black people live in Black neighborhoods [and] White people live in White neighborhoods… Miami and the United States was, and still is, a segregated country". He went on to claim that this segregation was inevitable as "they [Black people] have never felt welcome in other parts of the community and that history is hard to break so they don't leave…[whilst] White people in those [Black] areas are petrified so they don't go." These generalizations based around race and ethnicity, accompanied by the pessimism surrounding inclusion strategies, coming directly from the Vice President of Cultural Tourism, is illustrative of the problems that cultural tourism in Miami faces, especially in terms of improving the reputation and attractiveness of the Black communities. Mr. Neary's acceptance that the vicious cycle of historical segregation cannot be broken becomes in turn a self fulfilling prophesy as, if he believes nothing can change the situation then this is likely to inhibit his willingness to try to increase inclusive strategies toward tourism in the city. Mr. Neary's assertions however were based upon his belief that "what's happening to the most underserved and underused areas is that, because they are so unsafe and difficult they are not attracting development…The other problem is that so much [infrastructure] has been demolished." Mr. Aedo expanded upon Mr. Neary's worry about crime levels and safety in some of Miami's Black and Latino neighborhoods

by expressing his belief that tourists and investors cannot be attracted to areas of high crime as there are few consumers, whilst crime will not be lessened without investments into improving living standards, employment levels and infrastructure, by explaining that "it is the chicken and the egg, you're not going to get that first customer to show up if there is nothing there to offer".

There is however, according to Mr. Aedo, reason for optimism, as he has been witnessing certain changes in both Miami and globally that could bring about a profound shift in Miami and the type of cultural tourism that takes there. He explained that, on a local scale, areas such as Overtown could develop based around a particular hub, in this case the Lyric theatre; "The Lyric Theatre is three blocks from downtown and I think that the people who are moving into downtown Miami tend to be younger and are willing to be a bit more on the risk taking side…[so] if a little café opens up near the Lyric…[it] has a potentially new customer base to draw on."

On a wider scale Mr. Aedo has seen a change in perspective from the journalists and invitees that come from around the world to take part in the GMCVB's familiarization tours; "every tour that we do incorporates some of the more organic parts of our community like Little Haiti, Overtown and Little Havana and it's not like we have to push this because it's what they are asking for. They are the consumers and that's what they want to write about because they know that their consumers want to read about it." In order to facilitate processes like these the GMCVB state that they will "Implement a Cultural Tourism and Heritage travel program including hosting and facilitating familiarization tours, industry presentations and collateral support [as well as helping to] expand heritage tourism areas such as Little Havana, Overtown, Little Haiti and others",

however there is no time frame available and these processes alone will not be able to change the lack of infrastructure in these areas nor the substandard level of planning and programming that often occurs. Mr. Aedo describes how Miami's government has "been pretty good at building things but we haven't been so good at programming things…there was some degree of appeasement where people thought 'let's throw some money … [so] we can say we did something for the community'".[80] Sustainable and community focused governmental support, at a federal, state and local level, is therefore an essential feature of urban redevelopment however competing political goals further complicate the process. Issues such as zoning rules and regulations have considerably slowed potential development in many parts of the city such as the Design District and Wynwood which have both seen recent rezoning legislation to bring about an increase in restaurants and bars in areas in which they were previously prohibited.

The political nature of tourism and ethnicity, to which Mr. Aedo alludes, and concerning which Alonso (2007) critiques the GMCVB for their un-ethnicized portrayal of Miami, becomes clearer upon Mr. Aedo's admission that, "we [the GMCVB] have a challenging political environment. Even though we're a sales and marketing organization as it says on our mission statement, we are political. We are [political] because we receive funding from these governmental channels." The GMCVB serve 35 different cities in greater Miami and each city has a different Mayor, commissioners and councilmen that will be necessarily be looking to further their own area's agenda. The GMCVB receives most of its income through a resort tax that is added to sales tax on tourism expenditure bills such as in hotels and car rental companies. Given that the vast

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[80] Greater Miami Convention and Visitors Bureau, Anuual Report (2009) <http://www.miamiandbeaches.com/about/images/gmcvb_2009_annual_report.pdf> (Last Accessed 10th March 2011).

majority of Miami's tourism takes place on Miami Beach, (101 of the 165 GMCVB accommodation listings are based there)[81] it is clear that the GMCVB receive the majority of their income from this area, and therefore it would be remiss for the Bureau's own growth and survival not to focus their marketing upon maintaining and expanding this area primarily. Given these statistics it is little surprise that the beach is the image of Miami most widely sold to the global consumer. However, Mr. Aedo believes that "the consumer is very interested in, not just the beach, but Miami's history and ethnic mix as well". The extent to which Miami's communities can harness this interest in history and ethnicity is therefore of utmost importance.

Miami attracts tourists from all over the world however Latin Americans comprise close to two thirds of international arrivals. As mentioned in chapter 2, Alonso (2007) argues that the lack of tourism in Little Havana is due to the neighborhood's lack of an 'ethnic advantage', that is, aspects of the population's ethnicity that vary from the norm in order to produce curiosity and a marketable form of difference for the consumer. Such an 'ethnic advantage' or 'diversity dividend' is seen by Rath (2005) as a driving force for cities to develop previously neglected areas which are populated by ethnic groups. For Alonso, the relative similarities that exist between Little Havana and other Latino areas in South Florida detract from the (Latin American) visitor's curiosity to visit Little Havana as they can encounter many such areas elsewhere. Alonso also contends that Latin American tourists come seeking a distinctly US landscape in Miami, complete with skyscrapers, sea-views and an American population, and are therefore less interested in tourism in areas with high levels of Latinos and more interested in encountering their preconceived stereotype of an American city.

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[81] See Appendix 3.

It is not simply Little Havana that suffers from the lack of 'ethnic advantage' in Miami however, as African American and Afro Caribbean neighborhoods can be considered to be equally lacking. According to the theory of 'ethnic advantage' this would be due to the overall similarity of Black neighborhoods throughout South Florida. However, like Little Havana, this does not necessarily illustrate a lack of distinct ethnicity or culture but rather the deficit of infrastructure and marketing illustrating each location's unique and attractive qualities. The lack of basic tourist infrastructure in much of Miami's predominantly Latino and Black neighborhoods, alongside the aforementioned specifically un-ethnicized focus of Miami's tourism marketing and lack of publicity surrounding cultural events within Miami's Black and Latino communities, means that very few tourists will be aware of any reason to visit these neighborhoods and on top of this will find little infrastructure in place to assist them were they to visit.

The low level of emphasis that the GMCVB places upon creating an 'ethnic advantage' in these neighborhoods, and therefore of promoting a broad conception of cultural tourism, ignores Rath's (2005) assertion that "expressions of immigrant culture can be transformed into vehicles for socioeconomic development to the advantage of both immigrants and the city at large".[82] Culture, with tourism functioning within it, is a model that has been able to assist in urban redevelopment and revitalization through empowering community members and assisting economic stimulation, which has been successful in cities such as Barcelona and London, following the implementation in the UK of integration strategies for culture within community planning by the Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS). Miami has been much slower to implement such

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[82] Rath, 2005 quoted by Alonso (2007) in Rath (Eds).(2007), p.165.

policies despite the potential for 'ethnic advantage' that neighborhoods such as Little Havana or Little Haiti possess, (albeit to a particular tourist demographic) such as the curiosity that their names will place in the tourist's imagination given the fame of their namesakes, as well as local, national and international interest in US/Cuban and US/Haitian relations. Similarly Overtown's historical legacy that once saw it labeled 'Little Broadway', and the 'Harlem of the South', prior to the construction of the surrounding expressways, has the potential to provide its own form of 'ethnic advantage'.

We will now move forward to examine whether Miami's ethnic neighborhoods lack of an 'ethnic advantage' is rooted in a deficiency in sites or rather in their promotion. For a variety of socio-historical reasons discussed in chapter 4, Miami Beach contains the majority of the county's hotels whilst Black neighborhoods especially witness a distinct lack; however, it is important to examine whether this corresponds to a lack of localized cultural sites in Black neighborhoods or a vast majority of sites in Miami Beach.

Although Miami's accommodations are based primarily on Miami Beach, this is certainly not the case for Miami's cultural sites[83] which are scattered throughout the county, as we can see in Figures 20 and, especially, 21 below, however issues relating to what is included or excluded in a list of cultural sites is also important to consider. Mapping the sites within the 'A Taste of the Arts' section of the *Vacation* and *Travel Planners*[84] (see figure 20 below) illustrates a high clustering of locations in Downtown Miami and Miami Beach with the central feature positioned in the center of downtown Miami. A directional distribution or standard deviational ellipse was created to analyze

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[83] 18 of 101 listings in the Vacation Planner and 24 of the 208 listings in Miami: A Sense of Place.
[84] Which contain identical listings.

whether the distribution of cultural sites exhibited a directional trend so as to see how far the sites lie from a specific point (the central feature). As figure 20 (below) shows the directional distribution (standard ellipse) encircles the city center fairly closely, illustrating a high centralization of marketing focus. This ellipse demonstrated an area of 115 square miles stretching along a northeast to southwest axis with a perimeter length of 45 miles illustrating a fairly high centralization of marketing focus.

The GMCVB are capable of a far more inclusive and encompassing approach to culture however as they demonstrated in the creation of their award-winning 2004 publication 'Miami: A Sense of Place'. In order to create this publication the GMCVB hired renowned Miami historian Arva Moore Parks as editor and then brought together leading experts in Miami-Dade's history, culture, architecture and heritage to create a compilation of cultural sites throughout the county. The results of this 'labor of love'[85] illustrate a far more diverse vision of the county's culture than that seen in the Planner despite being six years older. Figure 21 (below) shows the visualization of the 'Sense of Place' publication in which the central feature is located closer to the geographic center of the county (to the west of Downtown) whilst the directional distribution demonstrates a more geographically holistic approach as it stretches far further to the northeast and southwest of the county although along a similar axis to that of the planners. The ellipse in this instance illustrated an area of 157 square miles (a 37% increase from the Vacation Planner) and a perimeter of 65.9 square miles (a 46% increase) clearly outlining a much wider and more encompassing vision of culture in the area.

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[85] Arva Moore Parks (2004), p.117.
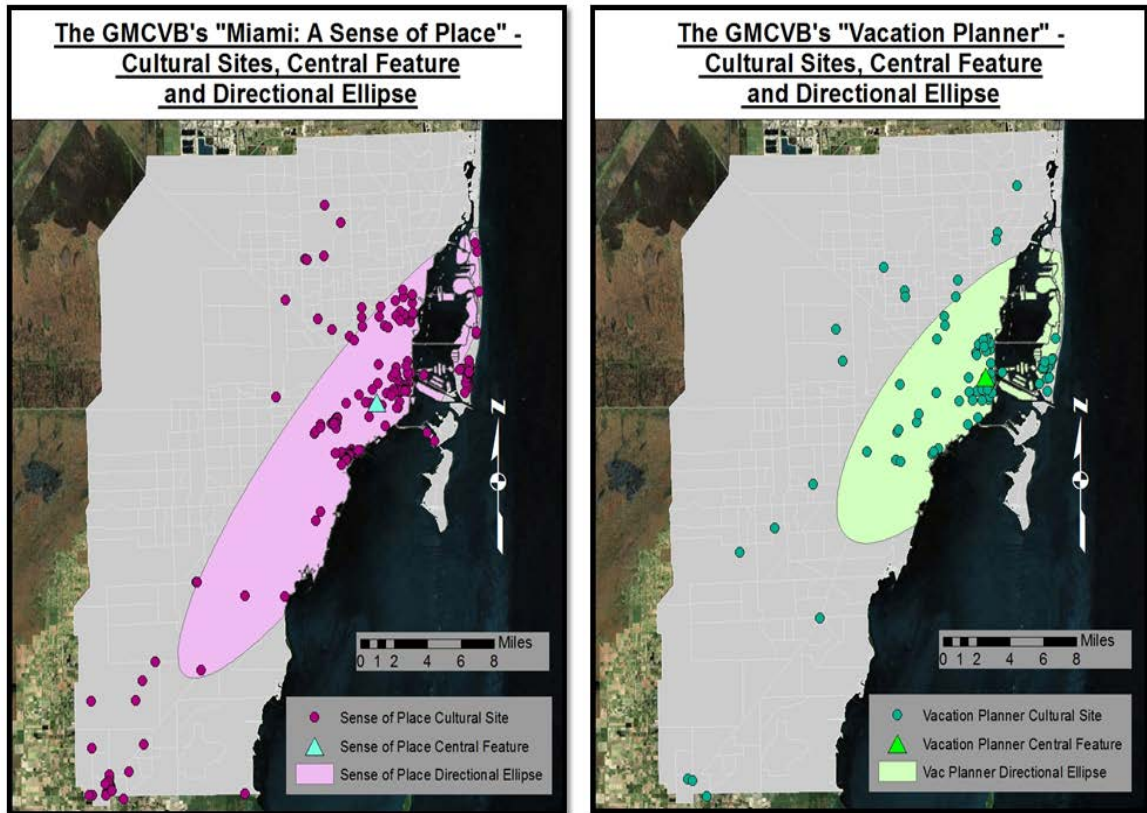
Figures 19 and 20 – Locations of Cultural Sites Listed in the GMCVB's 'Miami: A Sense of Place' and 'Vacation Planner' Publications respectively, together with Central Features and Directional Distributions.

The difference in terms of marketing is clearly visible in figures 20 and 21, and such results were further proved through Kernel Density analysis that permits a spatial visualization of the density of cultural sites within Miami-Dade County for each publication. This visualization (see figures 22 and 23 below) shows the more geographically inclusive approach of the 'Sense of Place' publication as the high density of cultural listings stretches further to the north and south as well as illustrating the importance of the south of the county in terms of cultural sites with a higher density illustrated in the far southwest of the county.
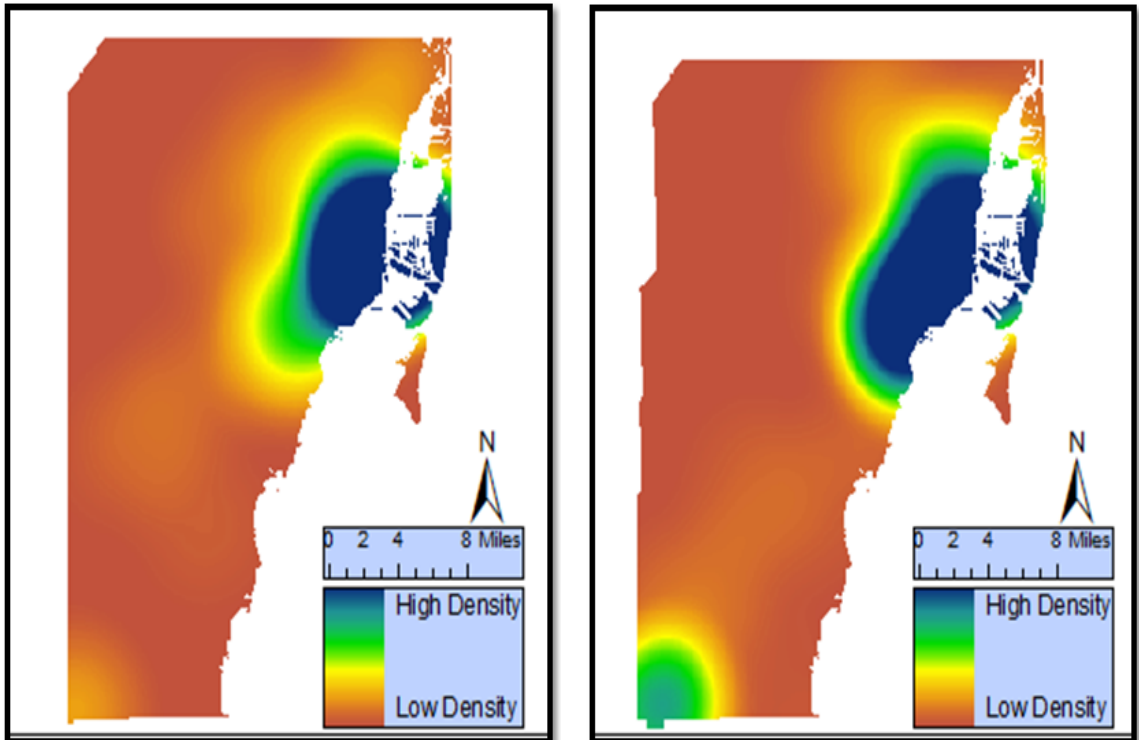
Figures 21 and 22 – Kernel Density Analysis based upon locations of cultural sites listed in the GMCVB's 'Vacation Planner' and 'Miami: A Sense of Place' publications respectively.

The use of this broad approach to culture and cultural tourism is important not only as a means to help break the vicious cycle of Miami's tourism marketing by creating a more inclusive focus, but also as claims of elitism have often been aimed at Miami's cultural attractions (museums, galleries and performing arts centers) for issues such as choosing themes unconnected to the wider audience in the city or pricing consumers out of the market. Events and institutions including the Adrianne Arsht Center for the Performing Arts[86], Art Basel[87] and the GMCVB[88] have met with just such criticism for their exclusion of certain elements of Miami populations. Indeed the tourism industry in

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[86] See http://www.miamiherald.com/459/story/730388.html for details (Last accessed 10th March 2011)

[87] See http://www.miaminewtimes.com/content/printVersion/2010436 for details. (Last accessed 10th March 2011).

[88] See Alonso in Rath (2007) for details.

the city as a whole "lags behind almost every major convention area in the nation in employing Black professionals".[89]

The success of the aforementioned projects, in regard to the many 'high' cultural tourists they attract, as well as the money they make for certain parts and populations in the city, has however ignited a new passion for cultural tourism in the city. The GMCVB's Rolando Aedo (2010) explains that "cultural tourism for us is critical on many levels because it is highly lucrative as people who have a passion for cultural tourism tend to be a little better healed and they stay longer and spend more." The rewards of cultural tourism therefore appear to be obvious, however, and as can be seen in figure 20, the primary marketing publications are advertising culture in the city in a highly limited and limiting manner. The *Miami: A Sense of Place* publication, despite illustrating a far greater cross-section of the county, is no longer in print and therefore gaining access to the depth of information within it is difficult especially as the GMCVB website returns no results when searching for either the document or cultural and heritage sites in general.

By focusing upon so-called 'high' cultural pursuits such as the art fairs or operatic performances advertised in the *Vacation* and *Travel Planners,* and not including aspects of culture such as heritage sites, festivals and special events, religious sites, language, gastronomy, industry and commerce, modern popular culture, and creative activities, the GMCVB are ignoring large swathes of the county in terms of both population and space.[90] Interactions between creative activities and cultural tourism have led to the birth of the term 'creative tourism' which refers to events in which the tourist is actively

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[89] Dunn (1997), p.347.
[90] Smith (2009), p.17.

involved in participatory activities that are often related to cultural tourism, such as dancing, music making, cooking or craft making.(Smith 2009) In order for cultural tourism to assist in strategies of inclusion within Miami's Black and Latino neighborhoods, the entrepreneurial, interconnected and participatory nature of creative and cultural tourism must be encouraged and promoted in all of Miami's neighborhoods with actors such as the GMCVB playing an important role in helping to achieve this goal.

Chapter 5 – Cultural Tourism in Miami;
Public, Private and Non-Profit Case Studies

As we saw in chapter 4 The City of Miami has taken various steps over the past century to 'develop' or 'modernize' Miami's ethnic neighborhoods, the most recent of these being the creation of Community Redevelopment Association's (CRAs). As we saw with the Wynwood Art District Association, organizations such as these immediately beg the question of who is being 'associated' with and consequently, who is being excluded. The geographical designations of Miami's CRAs and the politicized nature of public bodies such as this will be discussed later in this chapter however the CRA's *Redevelopment Plan for the Overtown Area* (2009) includes as one of its goals, "to establish interest in the Afro-Caribbean heritage by encouraging tourism, trade and cultural exchanges",[91] and therefore the *Black History Tour*, created by Miami-Dade Transit, will provide us with our first case study and an interesting example of a process that could potentially harness all three areas as it has drawn hundreds of people to its annual tours for nearly two decades and in so doing has encouraged tourism, trade and cultural interaction and exchange. It is not just public entities that have played a part in "encouraging tourism, trade and cultural exchanges" in Miami however and in fact the political motives behind publically funded cultural tourism can also be a drawback to the tours authenticity and engagement with communities. Therefore our second case study will look at the work of David Brown and his cultural tourism organization as an example (arguably the only example) of Miami's private cultural tourism organizations. Issues regarding potential, funding and design will be analyzed in both case studies before

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[91] South East Overtown and Park West Redevelopment Plan (2009)
<http://www.ci.miami.fl.us/cra/files/pdf/2009_SEOPW_Redevelopment_Plan.pdf> (Last accessed 10th March 2011)

looking at the role that artists and musicians within Miami's neighborhoods can play in the process of implementing cultural tourism and attracting people to other(ed) parts of the city.

Cultural Tourism in the Public Sphere –
Miami Dade Transit Authority's *Black History Tour*

It's like a sandcastle and the drizzle is just washing it away - Reginald Tookes
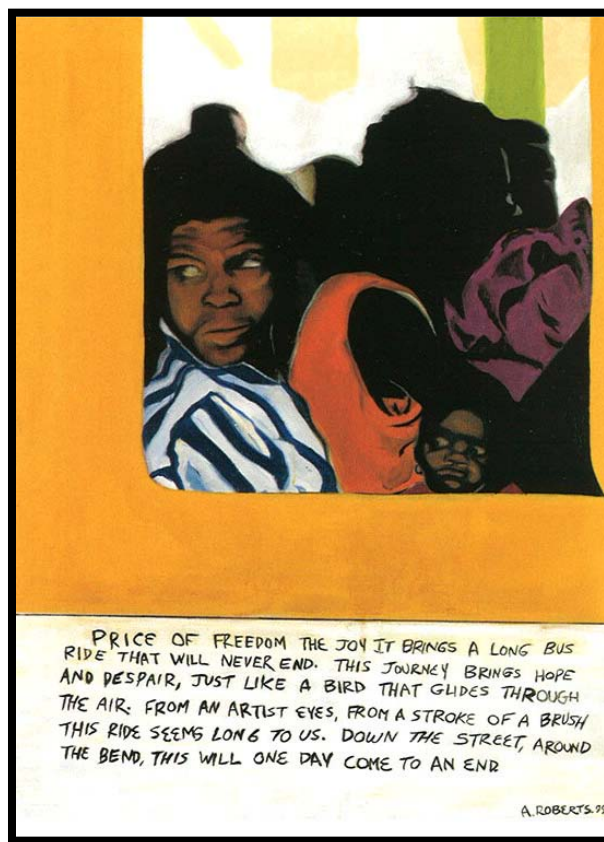
Figure 23 – Bus Ride by Antonio Roberts whose gallery provided a spontaneous stop along the Black History Tour

This case study examines the role of publicly funded cultural tourism in Miami through the Miami Dade Transit Authority's *Black History Tours.* This tour is one of the only publically funded cultural tourism initiatives in Miami and will be analyzed, looking

at the tour's structure, planning and effectiveness, over a two year period in 2010 and 2011, in order to illustrate the current formulation and future potential of cultural tourism in Miami.

The departure point for Miami's Black History Tour was located just outside downtown Miami's Government Center Metrorail stop, where the glitz of the surrounding skyscrapers, museums and office buildings provide a poignant contrast to the seemingly abandoned plots of land that serve as the entry point into Overtown just a few hundred meters away. Once considered "the center of business and culture for the minority residents of South Florida"[92] and famed for its "stunning nightlife…many parades and sporting events",[93] Overtown is widely considered "a shadow of the bustling community it was less than a generation ago".[94] As previously discussed Overtown, previously named Colored Town prior to the 1950s, had been the site of Miami's largest Black community for many years up until the 1960s and the construction of the interstate highways which were deliberately planned "to displace a large segment of the Black population so that the valuable land on which Colored Town sat could be used to expand the downtown business district".[95] Miami's Black History Tour in many ways mirrored the historical migration of Miami's Black community, taking participants from Coconut Grove, home to some of South Florida's first Black settlers, through Overtown and north to Liberty City, one of Miami's largest African American communities today and the final destination for many of those displaced from Overtown by I-95.

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[92] Fields (2010), Preface
[93] Dunn (1997), p.151.
[94] Ibid, p.339.
[95] Ibid, p.157.

The organizer of this event, a woman named Sylvia Pearson, welcomed people to the Black History Tours by explaining the tour's primary aim was to "expose things that people may or may not know about the community that they live in. We try to carry out traditional Black history because if you don't know your community you don't feel sufficiently attracted to it. A lot of people know snippets about their areas but they don't know [much] about other areas." Ms Pearson was just as adamant about the importance of the tour as she was about the reason why the tours had not expanded their schedule beyond February (Black History Month), following an excellent reception by the community in 1994; "budget cuts" she explained, "with the fuel costs rising we just don't have the money to put it on as much as in the past". By this she was referring to the tour's previous years which, at their height in 1995, saw 16 buses filled to capacity after 680 people had made telephone reservations following the success of the debut year. The 'we' to which she referred was Miami-Dade Transit (MDT), the organizers of the tours since their conception, who provided the buses used to transport the tour as well as the guides who were taking a break from their regular positions working for the transport authority as bus drivers.

Ms Pearson continued by explaining why no other businesses had seemed to take advantage of the demand that appeared to exist considering such high annual turnouts. She commented that "it's hard when you're visiting people in some parts of the community. Getting people to show up and work and attend punctually is difficult. Sometimes we couldn't get in touch with people and the tour would show up and nobody would be there." Beside management logistics and the lack of professionalism, there was also a clear correlation to economics as she continued; "They [Miami's communities]

want it - but do they want to pay for it? I think why our tours are so successful is because they're free". This interpretation was echoed by Reginald Tookes, an event supervisor, who explained "it's federally funded. No-one's got any money to spare at the moment. It [cultural tourism] could do a lot for the Black community... At the moment it's just sad man, it's [the Black community] like a sandcastle and the drizzle is just washing it away!"

Budget cuts had caused significant changes to the structure of the tours so that, far from the 16 buses that carried close to 700 people around Miami's areas of historic interest to the Black community on the last Saturday of February 1995, by 2010 there were only four buses leaving on each of the last two Saturdays of the month. Budget increases led to this number being raised to 5 in 2011. The demand for this event did not appear to have lessened too dramatically, as the community responded to Miami-Dade Transit's instructions to get there early, as "seats on the tour are available on a first-come, first-served basis", by arriving in some instances over two hours early in order to ensure their place. This turnout, in spite of the lack of advertising for the event (MDT only issued a one-time news release), and the continued success of the tour over the last 18 years, illustrates the importance that cultural education and tourism can hold in Miami's Black communities and neighborhoods. The desire for cultural tourism, illustrated by the tour's success, is also illustrated by the continued attendance despite the lack of professionalism in some aspects of the tour's organization. This attendance grew to such an extent in fact that on February 19th 2011 the intense demand for places on the tour led to the transit authority petitioning, successfully, for another bus in order to fulfill

spectator need. Consequently the following week tours were reconsidered and seven buses were utilized, each of them, at least initially, full at the point of departure.

The tour's departure structure was that one bus would leave downtown every thirty minutes between 9.30am and 11.00am. Such time-based competition regarding who would be admitted onto the tours was a distinct cause for anxiety and frustration from members of the crowd in 2010, some of whom became increasingly disgruntled by missing the departure of the first bus after having failed to push their way to the front of the crowd. Comments such as "we've been waiting for hours" and "we were here before all the people who got on that last bus" were common as the crowd discussed the organizational failings of the tour. Ideas were mentioned as to the need to introduce a ticket allocation scheme whereby those who arrived first would be given priority over the later arrivals whilst others thought that a queuing structure could have averted the free-for-all surrounding entry onto the buses. When confronted with these suggestions Ms Pearson and her colleagues replied, "that's a real good idea. We'll have to do those things next time." Considering the number of years that the tour has been running, such logistical questions could have been addressed prior to 2010, in order to maximize consumer satisfaction however in 2011 changes were implemented. Although 2011's first tour saw a similar quality of organization to 2010 in terms of first-come first-serve, by the second tour volunteers had been brought in from the Transport Workers Union who allocated each tourist a number and wristband ensuring that, at least initially, everything functioned much more smoothly and professionally.

The tour audience mainly consisted of African American women, predominantly from South Florida, who possessed a strong sense of the importance of the event. Many

of the participants had become annual attendees; as one woman explained, "I've been doing this tour for 17 years and I'm back again! I'm coming along next week too, and I'm gonna bring my son with me that time. I think it was better in previous years though as we used to get out and meet people."

Figure 24 – A crumbling, poorly maintained sign surrounded by fences, trash and vacant lots in Coconut Grove describing the prominent role that Black Communities played in creating Miami as well as the wealth of cultural infrastructure in the area. Photo by author.

Another lady explained; "It's so important to remember your roots. The community is changing. It's not like it used to be. When I was growing up Overtown used to be a community. Real strong. We had stores, a post office, a real tight community… [this tour] tells you about Overtown - or at least what's left of Overtown."

When asked what she thought of the tour's slogan "Historic Preservation is the Key" she shrugged and said, "well that depends. What are they trying to preserve? We need to know our history but what about money and funding. They aren't keeping it all together. Things are getting worse and places are shutting down." The sense that a more participatory tour would have been more attractive was evident from the first woman's recounting of the tour's previous years whilst the second woman's feeling of governmental and societal neglect for many of the city's Black historic landmarks echoed George Neary's observation that "the other problem [for Overtown] is that so much has been demolished". Whilst both the 2010 and 2011 tours did involve occasionally leaving the bus to interact with community members, this was the exception rather than the rule and led tourists to feel a subsequent lack of participatory involvement, an essential trait in successful cultural tourism initiatives.

Figure 25 – Black History Tour bus parked under I-95 in Overtown opposite the *Black Police* Precinct and Courthouse Museum with no infrastructure (such as sidewalks) apparent in the vicinity. Photo by author.

The lack of specific tour guide training was clearly evident as, in both 2010 and 2011, the script was delivered on board the bus over the sound of the engine, air conditioning and surrounding traffic and therefore, with the bus' microphone either being broken (2010) or faulty (2011), the guide was often inaudible. Added to this in 2011 was the fact that the driver was unaware of the tour route and therefore the tour guide was forced to take over both driving and narrating the tour, leading many tourists dissatisfied as they struggled to hear. Whilst the content of the script, written by Miami's Black Archives Foundation, was interesting and informative, it was hard to be captivated when the stories were being read directly from paper with no expansion of the facts, little eye-contact with the audience, and an overall lack of creativity and clarity in delivery, illustrating the evident need for training. The GMCVB have recently partnered with Miami-Dade College in order to create a tour guide certification course in order to improve the level of professionalism amongst Miami's tour guides. As Mr. Aedo expressed "there is a movement afoot to have more consistency … [because whilst] everything is subject to personalization and style there needs to be some core facts that are in order".

What the *Black History Tour* guides lacked in terms of professionalism regarding content knowledge and delivery, they compensated for with humor and amiability. The atmosphere on the bus in 2010 and 2011 was initially excellent, which in turn led to a relaxed, open and participatory environment. This resulted in participants exchanging stories amongst themselves about their heritage and the Black community in general. One elderly lady explained how she had felt forced from her home by the construction of I-95; "It's never been the same since they built the expressway. The biggest change is the loss

of community values. You used to be able to rely on your neighbors." This was especially poignant as the tour passed the Greater Bethel Church in Overtown, home to the oldest all Black congregation in Miami, which was closed and the surrounding streets deserted except for a man sleeping in the church's doorway. Another African American woman remarked, "It's bad when there's not even a McDonalds".

The importance of cultural tourism as an enabler of societal remembrance which in turn could assist in the facilitation of community pride, education and hence a reshaping of collective imagination of the area, is another aspect of such tours that could have benefits for the wider community. Throughout Overtown there were numerous signs advertising the Overtown Community Redevelopment Agency (CRA) and their Redevelopment Plan, however when asked about the organization, one tourist replied, "What are they going to develop? There's no one here, everybody's left."

Figure 26 - Overtown Community Redevelopment Agency (CRA) sign urging the visitor to shop, dine and explore. The GMCVB do not include a single Overtown shop or restaurant in any of their literature. Photo by author.

This observation highlighted the importance that community, social capital and human capital has in the process of urban regeneration, without which the input of new

infrastructure will be more likely to fail due to the lack of clientele and community support. Smith (2009) compiles the varied roles that culture can play in urban regeneration,[96] citing cities such as Liverpool, London (Brick Lane) and Barcelona as examples of the successful introduction and promotion of culture which functioned as a source for social good and a panacea for economic decline, thereby attracting visitors and investment however, as discussed in chapters 3 and 4, Miami's segregated historical legacy has led to a distinct lack of human and social capital, especially in Black neighborhoods.

In 2010 a stop at the African Heritage Cultural Arts Center in Liberty City gave the participants the chance to eat lunch and shop at a number of stalls which sold a variety of goods such as jewelry, clothing, and music, whilst local children illustrated their musical talents with performances both inside and out. The center has been used for various activities and classes for both children and adults since it was built in 1966 in an attempt to help reverse urban deterioration in the neighborhood. These attempts had a negative effect however as the U.S commission on Civil Rights stated that "urban renewal…produced much of the poor housing conditions that characterized many of the county's Black neighborhoods".[97] Some of the tourists claimed that the center was still being underutilized, illustrating Mr. Aedo's observation that, "we need to do a better job of strategically thinking when we are building these things, [because] if you don't activate them then all that goes for nothing". This correlates with Bramwell *et al.*'s (1998) first principle behind the approach to sustainable tourism management that states

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[96] See Appendix 4
[97] Harris (1999), p.65.

"policy, planning and management as appropriate and indeed, essential responses to the problems of natural and human resource misuse in tourism". (p.9)

Following the stop the guide told the tourists that "not everything went according to plan" at the Cultural Arts Center as a miscommunication between the Arts Center and the tour's organizers had left many people without lunch which resulted in an unscheduled stop to allow some members of the tour to purchase lunch. The delay meant that one woman was forced to abandon the tour and get the city bus back to downtown in order to pick up her child on time. The lack of professionalism demonstrated by the unscheduled stop and subsequent lack of communication led to a breakdown in the positive atmosphere on the bus and left many tourists ultimately disappointed with the tour, given that it had run three hours over the advertised time. Rather than rectifying these issues in 2011 the tourists were instead informed that the scheduled three hour tour would in fact take much longer and that they could leave if this was inconvenient. The majority of the tourists having already travelled into the center of the city to begin the tour were unlikely to take up such an offer however the poor coordination and the lack of adequate time management had clearly not been addressed following the previous year's problems.

Next the tourists were informed that there would be three stops throughout the tour at McDonalds, Burger King and Popeyes (this was also proved inaccurate as only one of these stops took place) in order for tourists (with "things like diabetes", according to the guide) to use the bathroom facilities and purchase items prior to the scheduled lunch stop at a local 'soul food' restaurant named *Carolina Joe's Barbeque*. The stop at McDonalds, as well as doing nothing to stimulate local Black community restaurants

business, took well over half an hour whilst the wait to order food at *Joe's* took nearly an hour due to a lack of planning and the lack of infrastructure available to adequately serve seven bus-loads of tourists. Given the extent of unnecessary delays that occurred in both 2010 and 2011 it seemed somewhat ironic that 'delays' was given as the reason behind the cancelling of the segment of the tour that visited one of Miami's most important Black historical landmarks, Virginia Key.[98] This stop had been removed from the tour in 2010 due to the "delays that it [the beach] causes with all the children" however delays caused by the lack of preparation and planning meant that the 2011 tour was again three hours delayed and led to the vast majority of the deeply dissatisfied tourists leaving the tour bus and making their own travel arrangements following the food stop. Those that remained on the bus chose to be taken back to the tour's starting place and to cancel the remainder of the tour.

The Black History Tours offer a service that is clearly in great demand from the community, illustrated by the consistently high annual turnout despite a relative lack of marketing and professionalism. A major factor in the success of these tours is certainly related to the monetary factor as many of the participants of the tour came from economically deprived backgrounds and therefore would not have been able to attend had the tour not been free. The high turnout shows the desire in the community to gain access to cultural education and such high demand could provide a potential source of increased marketing and revenue through and for associated businesses as stops at a local Black artist's gallery (Faba art gallery), the Black Police Precinct and Courthouse Museum, and Carolina Joe's restaurant illustrates. The flexibility of the tours is another potentially

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[98] An important historical site due to it being the first Blacks only beach in Miami from 1945 until the 1960s.

positive factor as the local communities are free to interact and request involvement in the tour as was the case when the Antonio Roberts petitioned the tour to come and take a look around his gallery having seen them stop to have a bathroom break at a Popeye's across the street. The following week the tour stopped at his gallery and, in so doing, provided his business with much needed publicity and exposure whilst illustrating to the tourists the cultural work that goes on in deprived Black inner-city neighborhoods and thereby reinforcing a sense of pride and opportunity for gallery owner and tourist alike.

Unfortunately these positives are offset by a number of negatives influences which damage the quality, sustainability and utility of the tour. The use of public money led, especially in the 2010 tour, to repeated promotions of Miami-Dade Transit which took up a large proportion of the information being delivered to the audience and thereby detracting from the cultural knowledge being delivered. This subsequently did little to engage the tourists or assist in the transit authority's marketing as the poorly planned, coordinated and managed nature of the tour reflected the authority, and potentially the neighborhoods as a whole, in a negative light. One of the main factors behind the lack of professionalism is economic in nature, as infrastructural problems such as faulty bus microphones or a lack of staff (and consequently staff time) to coordinate bus lines and tour logistics, led to issues such as the heavy delays and tour interruptions which damaged the tourist's enjoyment and experience. Community integration was another factor that was not utilized ideally as stops at places like McDonalds offered little space for participation with local communities and therefore did little to aid cross-cultural education or benefit local businesses in need of increasing awareness and income regarding their place of work. The poorly delivered scripts, which also saw large sections

of information omitted, did little to increase community pride and, due to few stops and interactions that took place, also diminished the potential utility of the tour as participation was minimal.

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The Role of Private Organizations –
David Brown's *Miami's Cultural Community Tours*

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We will now turn to an example of a private enterprise that engages in cultural tourism to analyze which of the positive and negative factors facing the Black History Tours remain and to examine what can be learned from an alternative vision of cultural tourism.

David Brown, the founder of Miami's Cultural Community Tours (MCCT), has been working with various communities in South Florida since the 1980s. He describes that his aim is, "to show people the neighborhoods in Miami and all their diversity… [in order to facilitate] cross cultural experiential learning… [and to create] a total immersion experience… [in which the] style is off the bus, off the sidewalk, and into all the different venues whether it's an art gallery, a souvenir shop, or a church".[99] A key element within these tours is therefore participation (creative tourism) as he stresses the importance of the creative aspect of cultural tourism through visitors being able to meet various members of the community including "vendors, pastors, pioneers, and community leaders". In this manner MCCT have brought around 10,000 people into Miami's cultural communities over the past ten years and in so doing have actively contributed "toward the economic development of our communities using the vehicle of tourism."

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[99] Brown (2010), Personal Interview. See appendix 7 for complete transcript.

Mr. Brown's opinion that, "people want more than the beach and people want deeper experiences in their travels - they want to see things and meet people and make a connection with the community", mirrors that of Mr. Aedo. Evidence of this comes from the widespread interest in MCCT's particular form of cultural tourism from the national and international media, which has seen MCCT work with companies such as The Travel Channel and American Airlines as well as journalists from numerous countries.

Cultural tourism, through companies such as MCCT, does not just aim their tours at visitors from elsewhere but also aims to provide community education and empowerment by promoting movement from one neighborhood to another and, in so doing, provides for the tourist "an appreciation of cultures other than their own, to formulate more tolerance, understanding and unity in [their] overall community". In this manner issues such as segregation can be lessened through the interactions that cultural tourism facilitates, whilst crime also has the potential to be lessened through an increase in cultural tourism as, to Mr. Brown, events play an important role as "if you have events then that leads to more [community] pride, and more pride [brings] more tourism [which can] eventually reduce crime". Mr. Brown agrees with both Mr. Neary and Mr. Aedo that crime is one of the primary drawbacks to tourism development in Miami's Black and Latino neighborhoods, coupled with a lack of economic means with which to participate in tourism and a lack of awareness in which people are simply unaware of the cultural sites and activities that are taking place around the city.

In order to address the problem of crime in these areas, Mr. Brown has submitted proposals to the City of Miami to introduce an ambassador program into Little Haiti and Overtown in which local community members would be hired during events to represent

the community and act as a 'street concierge' providing information and directions to visitors. Another proposal that has already been piloted is to partner the MCCT with the city government in order to "bring people to special events and to pick them up from location hubs within the community". Just as Mr. Aedo warned of the dangers of a lack of planning and programming following the construction of new infrastructure, Mr. Brown continued the theme whilst listing transport and awareness as two issues of fundamental importance in order to create greater levels of integration. He explained "there is a saying 'build it and they will come' but that doesn't always happen and it should say 'build it and they will come – *if* you let them know about it and *if* you take them there'". Awareness and accessibility are thus primary concerns in the growth of cultural tourism in Miami and Mr. Brown cites tourist information kiosks and improved signage as two potentially simple means by which to address these issues as well as raise community pride and visitor comfort. Prior efforts have been made to implement these schemes as kiosks have already been built in Little Havana whilst signage has been improved in Coconut Grove and Overtown, unfortunately Little Havana's kiosks remain unopened whilst although signage in some areas has improved areas like Little Haiti are lagging far behind.

The potential for redevelopment in these areas has seen the creation of a number of Community Redevelopment Agencies (CRA) in Miami-Dade county with remits to provide better employment opportunities, attract new businesses, replace dilapidated housing, preserve historic buildings and sites and to restore a sense of community and

unify the area culturally.[100] How successful Miami's CRAs have been in meeting these goals is questionable. However, the economic inputs that they provide are important to many areas and are at least a step toward reconciling the historical lack of investments that many areas of the city have seen. According to Bramwell et al. (1998), in order for these programs to be sustainable and successful they will require a combination of the right marketing, investment (public and private) and community focused planning that involves, and raises awareness amongst, many different elements from the community and which proves that the aim is long term sustainable growth rather than another form of tokenism to facilitate community appeasement (as occurs in the gentrification process in places like Wynwood or Overtown as discussed in chapters 2 and 3).

The issue of awareness in regard to cultural tourism in Miami is central to its development and Mr. Brown echoed Gaston Alonso's claims that the GMCVB's marketing was not representative of the cultural diversity that exists in Miami; "the GMCVB also need to project Miami as the multicultural Mecca of neighborhoods it really is and right now that is not being done as much as it should be". In order to help achieve this, greater levels of accessibility are also important as "there still has to be something to connect the dots – there needs to be more connectivity between the attractions… so it can be marketed as a whole." As discussed above the GMCVB market certain areas of Miami far more than others and this continued emphasis on some areas at the expense of others leaves Miami's Black and Latino areas further adrift and therefore continues to increase the city's inequality.

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[100] South East Overtown and Park West Redevelopment Plan (2009) <http://www.ci.miami.fl.us/cra/files/pdf/2009_SEOPW_Redevelopment_Plan.pdf> (Last accessed 10th March 2011)

This inequality amongst different neighborhoods in Miami is an inherently political problem in Mr. Brown's opinion; "even though the city should be upgrading [the whole of] the city anyway, because people live there and pay taxes, it seems like Overtown got a major facelift and Little Haiti didn't". Mr. Brown puts this down to city commissioners having vested interests and therefore applying political pressure to create a Community Redevelopment Agency in areas such as Overtown and North Miami that provides financial benefits to these areas as well as offering assistance at grant writing, community networking, planning and development that facilitates the entry of these areas into schemes such as the federal government's Empowerment Zone Initiative, a title that Little Haiti for example does not possess.

Miami's Cultural Community Tours offers a number of improvements from the Black History Tours as Mr. Brown ensures that participation and interaction are central tenets of the tour structure and the customizable nature of his tours allows tourists to gain information and access to those issues with which they can directly engage. There are however a number of pitfalls, illustrated through MCCT, regarding private ownership of cultural tourism initiatives. Economic difficulty is again central as irregularity, in terms of tour demand and other outside funding, results in major infrastructural drawbacks. The cost of MCCT's tours (around $35 per person per tour) detracts from the demand within the community and means that profitability is therefore compromised, resulting in limited opportunities for growth or expansion. A lack of funds with which to market an organization, and an outdated website design with functionality issues (the audio file on the home page does not work and there is no way of booking a tour directly online) are two issues which MCCT face and therefore mean that the organization struggles to gain

the exposure that it requires to increase revenue. Another major factor is that although Mr. Brown utilizes the community and places a strong emphasis upon participation and cultural tourism as a means of assisting in community development, the uncertain nature of the business means that the tours do not provide consistent, regular income for anybody in the community and the company consists of only Mr. Brown.

The tailored nature of MCCT's tours does not maximize community involvement in terms of designing and delivering the tours and therefore Mr. Brown leaves himself open to claims of exclusion and of commodifying or stereotyping culture. By allowing the tourist (rather than the community) to choose the aspects of culture that they would most like to 'consume', MCCT accentuate 'us and them' perspectives as an outsider (Mr. Brown) "educates" other outsiders (the tourists) about the life and "culture" of insiders. This system does not empower local communities to democratically choose the aspects of their culture which they wish to share but rather dictates the structure of tourism upon them and thereby can be seen as accentuating unequal power relationships and exploiting and stereotyping culture for personal gain. These issues of exclusion and authenticity are almost inevitable within the structure of a private cultural tourism organization as profit takes priority over community development and empowerment in order to ensure the survival of the business.

As we have seen both public and private cultural tourism operators face major issues both practically and philosophically and these factors lead commentators such as Hoffman (2003) to explain how "cultural tourism requires substantial *civic* as well as public/private participation…[in which] community groups must agree on what to preserve and how to mark it". (p.296) Loukaitou-Sideris et al (2009) expand upon this to

recommend that, rather than a public or private organization, "[t]he most effective agency to carry on cultural tourism programs in ethic neighborhoods is a nonprofit that has strong relations with the neighborhoods". (p.39) Therefore we will now turn to the role of non-profits, as well as independent creative community members, whose formation by, and work within, communities provides a valuable progression from Miami's current cultural tourism entities.

The Role of Non-Profits and Creative Community Actors

Despite a lack of marketing, creativity in certain areas of Miami has been the spur behind an increase in tourist numbers both from the local communities as well as on a larger scale. Duval-Carrié notes how the influx of Haitian artists, writers and intellectuals into Little Haiti has helped as "[b]y creating a buzz around this place we're definitely bringing in more people to this area".[101] He then goes on to explain how important multi-scalar inclusion is for the area when he outlines how, "I'm always trying to be inclusive and that's why I jumped at the chance to join with the French [Government] for the Global Caribbean Program[102] as, by creating in Little Haiti a platform in which not only Haiti but the whole of the Caribbean was celebrated, we bring different people into the area and educate them as well". This inclusive approach is fundamental, not only to start addressing the exclusion of Miami's spatial legacy, but also to widen potential sources of funding. By creating broad networks within communities, the contacts and specializations

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[101] Duval-Carrié (2010) from personal interview. See Appendix 9 for complete transcript.
[102] Global Caribbean is a Caribbean contemporary art exhibit curated by Edouard Duval-Carrié with the support of Culturesfrance, the Haitian Cultural Arts Alliance, and the City of Miami.

of certain members may then become a fundamental resource in terms of creating 'vertical' networks involving the public and private sector.

Whilst the Global Caribbean Program itself has been well received, and begun its second season in December 2010, the physical location for the program, the Little Haiti Cultural Center, provides an interesting example of how culture-based development is often misconceived or mismanaged in Miami. The director of Miami-Dade County's office of cultural affairs, Michael Spring, describes the center as "a spectacular facility", whilst the Miami Herald state that "[w]ith its sumptuous murals, light-filled gallery, spacious dance studios and state-of-the-art theater, the gleaming new cultural center…might be the envy of many". Despite such praise the center was still omitted from the Vacation and Travel Planners cultural listings section.[103] This lack of marketing coincides with a lack of programming that has resulted in a neglectful waste of a facility that could act as a catalyst for development in an economically poor but culturally rich part of the city. Rolando Aedo explains the mismanagement of the center; "[i]t's a gorgeous but underutilized building. The city of Miami spent a lot of money building this and now they have the structure but it's not programmed. I think we need to do a better job of strategically thinking when we're building these things that if you don't activate them then all that goes for nothing".

The strategic thinking to which Mr. Aedo is referring is a reference to the total absence of local signage assisting visitors in finding the center, no website highlighting the current classes or exhibitions being offered there, as well as the fact that "when it opened in January 2009, the center had no director, no operating plan and no dedicated

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[103] 'Miami: A Sense of Place', written in 2004 before the center was built, includes Duval-Carrie's adjacent studio and the neighboring Caribbean Marketplace.

budget. Thirteen months later, it still [didn't]".[104] All this despite the center costing Miami taxpayers $20 million. The bringing in of people into different areas of Miami is central to the idea of cultural tourism, however methods to do this cannot be the sole responsibility of the city or county governments or of the private sector, and therefore public-private partnerships must be sought by cultural (tourism) organizations. The Little Haiti Cultural Center provides an excellent example of this process as the public mismanagement of the facility was offset through the independent involvement of creative community actors such as Duval-Carrié who, alongside curating and providing works for the Center's gallery and setting up the international public-private partnership including the French government, was also fundamental in its creation as;

> I looked at the plan for the Center and I said 'where is the gallery?' We [Haitians] are a very visual culture but still there was no gallery and I told them to put one in and they did and it's been put to great use. That's what makes it a very different place to other venues that they build around the city because this one having a gallery of that scale and scope makes it a very attractive proposition for many different groups and people.[105]

The role of the Cultural Center as a public creation has therefore only been successful due to the input of the community and the fact that Duval-Carrié had his own studio as well as his non-profit The Haitian Cultural Arts Alliance next door. He describes how, "[m]y living here is like a self fulfilling prophesy as they thought at least he'll do something about it [the center] as he won't want it to become…derelict". In fact the potential that creative community based non-profits, combining with public and private organizations, can have on the cultural and social infrastructure of a neighborhood is

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[104] Miami Herald, (2010) Little Haiti Cultural Center remains underused, underfunded. <http://www.miamiherald.com/2010/02/13/v-fullstory/1479498/a-year-after-opening-miamis-little.html> (Last accessed 10th March 2011)

[105]Duval-Carrié (2010), personal interview.

immense. Through Duval-Carrié's network of horizontal and vertical connections, he has been fundamental to the creation of a variety of public/private partnerships in order to create exhibits and performances whilst also regularly helping to promote the area through interviews with the press and also involving the local community in a number of ways. One such scheme was the introduction of French language classes at the cultural center which he describes as a "total success. People from all over the neighborhood, hundreds of them, are coming to attend French classes. Of course they only come when you don't have to pay as when you have to pay people switch gears. But if it's offered why wouldn't they want to learn it?" The involvement of local community non-profits in culture-led development expanded still further in March 2011 when Little Haiti saw the first in a monthly series of cultural events named *Big Night in Little Haiti*. This event is the creation of the Miami non-profit *The Rhythm Foundation,* partnered with the Little Haiti Cultural Center, with the aim of getting visitors from Miami and further afield "to come, listen to music, buy arts and crafts, go to Haitian art galleries and eat in the local restaurants".[106] Central to the creation of this new cultural initiative is the grant writing knowledge and experience of Rhythm Foundation directors Laura and Jim Quinlan who applied for and received a grant of $125,000 from the Knight Foundation in order to create the event. This type of event, based around the creative and cultural industries, is exactly the type of broad, participatory and community-based approach that is currently underrepresented in the city and which can offer potentially useful models for other communities.

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[106] Rasha Cameau in Miami Herald <http://www.miamiherald.com/2011/03/16/2115918/a-big-dream-for-little-haiti.html#ixzz1JPb3twab> (Last accessed 14th April 2011)

An increase in cultural and creative tourism in Miami enables areas which have historically been economically deprived to attract people from within both the local community and further afield. This increase in awareness and education regarding different aspects of the city can also help perpetuate itself through a cultural model. Amy Rosenberg, a Miami native and activist, attributes the inspiration for her new not-for-profit organization, the Overtown Music Project, to a cultural tour that she took in 2008. She describes how;

> we were standing in front of the Lyric theatre, which is this majestic theatre built in 1912, and I was listening to the tour director talk about how Count Basie, Ella Fitzgerald and even the Beatles had performed in that building and I was struck by the fact that I was in this historically rich community that seemingly very few people had any understanding of and I was looking to the left and to the right and seeing nothing but naked lots and this idea crystallized.[107]

The aim of the project is to showcase musicians from Overtown's past and to give them a platform to perform their music and tell their stories as well as bringing people together from within Overtown and Miami's other communities. The inaugural event in July 2010 was described by one participant as "the most diverse event I've ever been to", and Ms Rosenberg illustrates this further when she recounts seeing "residents of Overtown dancing with residents of Fisher Island".[108]

The inclusive nature of organizations like the Overtown Music Project or the Global Caribbean Project highlight the creative and diverse nature of Miami's communities in an integrated manner that is far removed from the segregated differentiation of Miami's past. The ability of cultural events to benefit local

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[107] Amy Rosenberg (2010) personal interview. See appendix 9 for complete transcript.

[108] The U.S. Census Bureau stated that Fisher Island had the highest per capita income in the United States in 2000.

communities is substantial however issues relating to ownership, power and representation must be considered. As discussed in chapter 2, the case of culture-based development in Miami Beach, and more recently in Wynwood, is often considered a highly successful model worthy of replication, however has been accused by others of gentrifying and forcing much of the community out of these neighborhoods. The major issue within both of these cases can be seen as the lack of community involvement that dictated the terms of development rather than facilitating a wider community discussion regarding the manner of change. The control of cultural tourism or development is thus a central and pressing issue.

Community-based non-profits potentially offer a more democratic and integrated model of cultural development due to their roots within the community as well as the networks which they possess. Such networks function both horizontally (to attract participation from the local communities) and vertically (to create public and private partnerships) and thus encourage inclusion, discussion and relationship building throughout the region. Importantly, such integrated and community-based relationships place control in the hands of the local communities themselves and hence function as a means of empowerment which allows communities greater choice over the manner of cultural representation and development.

Chapter 6 - Conclusion

Miami's marketers and publicists have been particularly successful at transforming many aspects (real and imagined) of the city into value as tourists from outside Miami bring over $17 billion into the local economy each year. This thesis has examined the terms of inclusion and exclusion within these transformations to assess the role which race, tourism and culture have played in this process, concluding that Black and Latino populations and cultures are largely ignored by both city marketers and the tourism industry as a whole.

Chapter 3 examined how the historical legacy of segregation continues to hang heavy over the city as lines drawn a century ago, based upon race or ethnicity, continue to hold strong. The physical and mental exclusion of Blacks during segregation was prolonged by the terms of desegregation and hence led, through a lens of adverse incorporation, to the continuation of racial isolationism and distrust. One potential reason for this is that the physical formulations of segregation have been continually accompanied by the psychological institutionalization of differentiation. This process of institutionalization is related to the city's image(ry) in which Blacks were (and to a great extent still are) very much excluded. The creation of a city's image(ry) is a complex and multifaceted process that includes not only physical buildings, roads, parks, zoning and planning but also the city's marketing and publicity which, in Miami's case, is centered around a particular notion of the tourist's gaze.

Miami's tourism industry focuses heavily upon an idea of a 'tropical paradise' in which issues of poverty, segregation and race are deliberately hidden beneath a façade of affluence and glamour so as not to unsettle outside tourism. Through their silence, the

tourism and marketing industries have been central actors in the construction of Miami's inequality as the denial of 'poverty, slums or tenement' during segregation can be seen as being reproduced in Miami's contemporary marketing which largely ignores many of the Black and Latino areas of the city, preferring to focus on an elite formulation of culture within a narrow geographical section. As we have seen, the historical exclusion of Miami's Black (and to a lesser extent Latino) communities from the city's marketing is coupled with their adverse incorporation into the industry whereby the legacy of desegregation's negative impact on Black neighborhood's tourism lingers on. Evidence of this continues in the lack of hotels in predominantly Black neighborhoods as well as the disproportionate number of Black's continuing to be employed in tourism's lowest paying jobs. This thesis has therefore sought to examine how culture is, and has been, utilized in Miami's tourism industry in order to examine the terms of inclusion.

From the Art Deco led reconstruction of South Beach, which helped facilitate the stylized images of *Miami Vice* or *CSI: Miami*, to the geographical location of the city as a crossroads between Europe, the United States and Latin America, that led numerous musicians to base themselves there, Miami has used culture as an integral part of its development. The construction of such culture-led development has seen tourism rocket as Miami's marketers have created a tropical*ized* image of the city that appeals to tourists the world over and is only helped by the fact that musicians, television shows, and other cultural industries base themselves there. The tropical*ized* image that has been created is based upon multiculturalism and a cosmopolitan lifestyle that unfortunately serves to conceal the reality of Miami's neighborhood relations and the poverty of much of Miami's Black and Latino populations. Rather, "the discourse of multiculturalism, which

can be found in the local government promotional documents and reports as well as those of the initiatives of new industries, is a means to put a positive spin on the unequally distributed new prosperity".[109] In fact visitors to (and often residents of) Miami find very little information regarding Miami's other[ed] cultures, as areas such as Overtown, Little Haiti, Little Havana and Liberty City are excluded from most of the advertising literature. This thesis has therefore called for a new interpretation of not only culture but also tourism in the sense that a tourist can be conceived of as any visitor to a place seeking pleasure and/or education. In this context cultural tourism can focus to a greater extent upon inter and intra-community education and experiences within Miami and hence help in the breaking down of the (physical and psychological) segregating barriers between cultural communities.

As we have seen the Greater Miami Conventions and Visitors Bureau, as the primary organizer of marketing and sales for the tourist industry of Miami, play a central role in describing and promoting Miami and its cultures to both local residents and outside visitors. The GMCVB proved their ability to market the city's cultures in a holistic and inclusive manner through the creation of their 2002 publication 'Miami: A Sense of Place', however this has yet to be updated and recent cultural listings such as those within the 2010 'Vacation Planner' are much less inclusive and tend to focus more upon 'high culture'.

The historical lack of marketing for Miami's Black and Latino neighborhoods is one of the factors behind these areas lagging behind other parts of the United States in creating what Alonso (2007) and Rath (2005) called an 'ethnic advantage'. Despite there being an array of historical and cultural sites and landmarks there is a lack of awareness

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[109] Yudice (2003), p.198.

surrounding their existence and therefore many of Miami's other(ed) areas receive a distinct lack of visitation and income. The lack of focus upon culture in a broad sense has culminated in a vicious cycle in which tourists will not travel to an area that is not marketed whilst few attractions capable of being marketed will be created without clients to consume the product. In this respect, cultural tourism may offer a way to facilitate a cross cultural exchange, even within the city itself, by bringing people into areas and fostering new forms of interaction in order to promote what David Brown describes as "the greatest asset of a community…, the human resource". Miami's tourism structure at present is some way off such uses and its limited spatial marketing, together with the majority of public funding, continues to focus on centralized flagship projects ahead of local initiatives. Such findings correlate well with Rosenstein's (2009) assertion that "cultural development tends to concentrate cultural resources into downtown business and cultural districts and away from neighborhoods. The cultural assets of neighborhoods are under-recognized and insufficiently supported". (p.2) Rosenstein continues to describe how "neighborhood cultural assets and needs are poorly incorporated into the existing cultural policy infrastructure" (p.3) and the lack of cultural tourism in Miami does little to alter such trends.

The longevity of Miami's *Black History Tours* and the range of interest in *Miami's Cultural Community Tours* demonstrates the potential demand that exists for cultural tourism within the local, national and international community despite a relative lack of funding, advertising and promotion. Issues of funding impact heavily on both the public and private examples of cultural tourism that we examined as Mr. Brown's business cannot afford marketing improvements and subsequently fails to attract

sufficient amounts of tourists to increase revenue and hence employ and benefit more of the community. Individuals leading cultural tours into communities will necessarily face questions surrounding authenticity and cultural commodification and there is a strong risk of stereotyping, objectifying and simplifying cultures. This emanates from the lack of community involvement in the decision making process regarding questions such as *if* they wish their culture to be taught or sold to others, and if so *how* they would like it represented. It is therefore essential that further research is conducted regarding community attitudes towards cultural tourism and development in order to assess areas and infrastructure where the communities would wish to implement such a project, and how they would want to represent themselves.

Therefore perhaps the biggest issue facing cultural tours is the fact that they are not completely community-based in regard to design, delivery and results. The consequences of this mean that relationships and network opportunities (both horizontally and vertically) are minimized whilst issues relating to authenticity and exclusion also become apparent. Subsequently the most effective form of cultural tourism would appear to be based in a shift away from public or private models towards partnerships of entrepreneurial individuals and community organizations who utilize, and build upon, pre-existing horizontal and vertical relationships and skills within the city.[110]

The work of organizations such as the Overtown Music Project or the Global Caribbean Project is illustrative of a new form of culture-based development in Miami in which inclusion and education are emphasized rather than exclusion and segregation. Similarly the recent creation of 'Big Nights in Little Haiti' has the potential to act as a facilitator for cross-cultural learning and education and as a means for culture-based

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[110] See figure 28 below.

development in Little Haiti provided it maintains community organization and management. In this context it is important to consider that competing socio-economic groups may often lay claim to areas (as in the case of Wynwood or South Beach) and therefore it is important that communities place themselves as the central actors in any such process as Kanai and Ortega Alcázar (2009) remind us that, "culture-led regeneration and physical upgrading easily translate into residential and commercial gentrification, and then the displacement of both residents and city-users." (p.496)
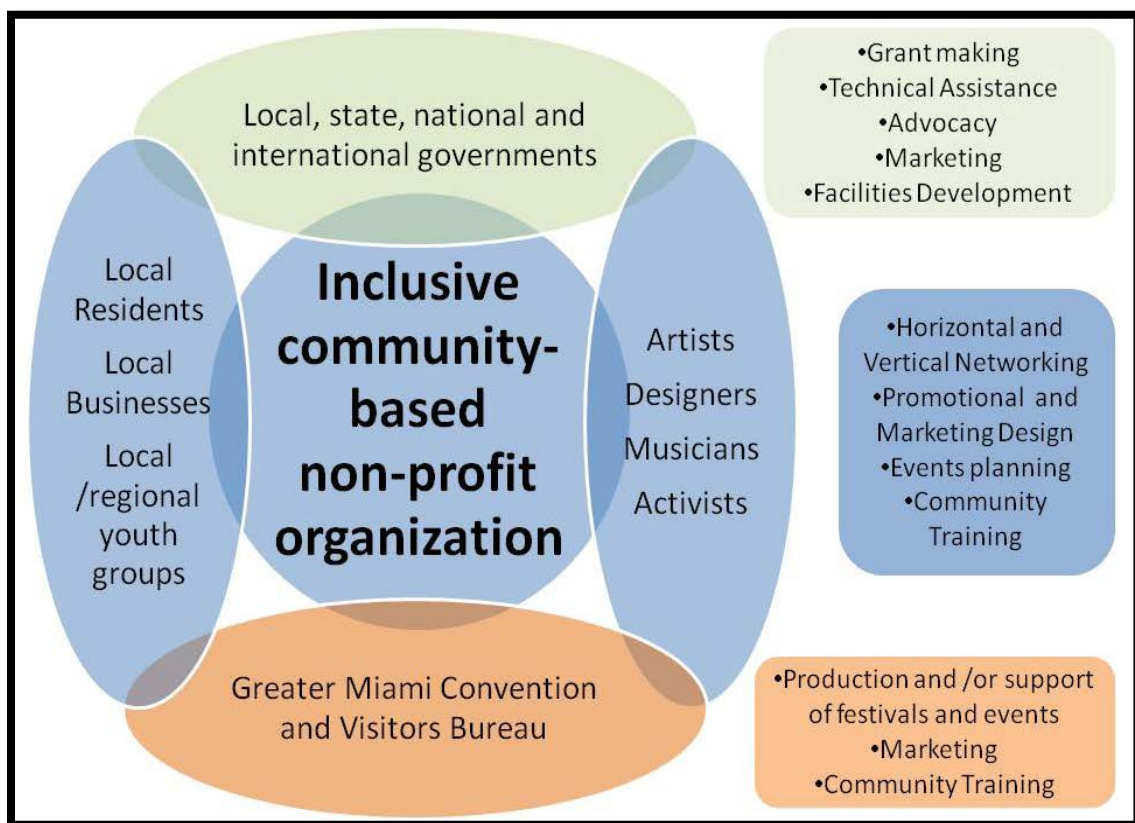
Figure 27 – Proposed cultural tourism model including potential linkages and roles.

Without continued backing from the communities themselves as well as city marketers and (local, national and international) governments, these ventures stand little chance of continued and sustainable success. Therefore as "[t]he deployment of culture as

a mechanism for economic, social and urban development is highly dependent on the intricacies of local configurations of power and the negotiation of policy agendas", the most effective manner of bridging the power gap is through the creation and expansion of horizontal relationships between creative community actors and government.[111] Additionally, rather than simply seeking profit (as in the case of MCCT), publicity (Miami-Dade Transit Authority), or social inclusion, "cultural initiatives offer the potential to 'join up' goals of economic development and social inclusion with less uneven forms of territorial development."[112] Specifically these community objectives may include; increased employment opportunities (through job creation in roles such as tour guides, event planners/organizers or administrative positions); greater income levels for pre-existing and new local businesses (due to higher levels of access, awareness and visitation); infrastructural enhancements (including signs, maps, roads, lighting and maintenance); capacity building and training for the local community (for example education programs regarding website design, language learning or event planning); and heightened inter and intra-community relationships (heightened levels of social capital, community pride, support, awareness and mobility).

The incorporation of an inclusive and broad definition of culture into Miami's marketing has the potential to add recognition and value to previously othered parts of the city. Cultural tourism is other US cities has provided a democratic and inclusive means of community development that Miami has previously lacked. In order to create such a program issues related to power relationships, authenticity and ownership must be considered to help mitigate potential dangers. However, given the potential benefits for

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[111] Ibid, p.495.
[112] Ibid.

culture-based urban redevelopment it is important that Miami's civic, private and political elements alike embrace a broad definition of cultural tourism that promotes the entire city regardless of race, class or ethnicity in order for Miami to become a truly integrated and cultural city.

Appendices

Appendix 1- 2010 Greater Miami Convention and Visitors Bureau *Vacation Planner* - Analysis of Photographic Images

Type of Scene Primarily Depicted	Number of Pages Featuring Image (excluding private advertisements)
Beach	15
Architecture	14
Shopping	10
Entertainment	10
Food	6
Family	6
Luxury	5
Culture	4
Business	3
Nature	3
Various	2
Boating/Cruises	2
Total	80

Source: GMCVB Travel Planner 2010

Appendix 2 - Pages Assigned to Themes in GMCVB's 2010 *Travel Planner*

Category	Number of Pages Dedicated to Theme
Neighborhoods	52
Accommodation	26
Food	22
Attractions	16
Shopping	14
Visitor Information	10
Arts	8
Sports	8
Transportation	8
Ecology	6
Nightlife	6
Water related activities	6
Spas and Health Clubs	4
Sightseeing and tours	4

Source: GMCVB Travel Planner 2010

Appendix 3 – GMCVB's *Vacation Planner* - Accommodation Location and Quantity

Accommodation Location and Quantity	
Based on GMCVB *Vacation Planner* 2010	
Airport	16
Aventura	1
Bal Harbor Area	2
Coconut Grove	8
Coral Gables	4
Doral	5
Downtown	17
Kendall	2
Key Biscayne	1
Miami Beach	101
Miami Lakes	2
Morningside	1
South Miami	1
Southwest Miami-Dade	1
Sunny Isles Beach	3
Total	165

Source: GMCVB Travel Planner 2010

Appendix 4 – Roles of Culture in Urban Regeneration

Culture as a panacea for economic decline	Cultural industries can create jobs	Culture attracts investment and funding	Spending on culture boosts the (local) economy
Culture as political	Culture as an expression of diversity	Culture gives voice to marginalized peoples	Culture helps to create more accessible and safer spaces
Culture as a source for social good	Cultural activities can improve quality of life	Culture supports social integration and cohesion	Cultural activities can be educational
Culture as environmental enhancement	Culture supports conservation	Culture aestheticizes space	Culture animates space
Culture as commercial or business opportunity	Culture as tourism product	Culture creates brands	Culture as entertainment
Culture as symbolic and prestige	Cultural flagship projects and events	Culture gives a sense of place and identity	Culture enhances internal and external image
Culture as everyday life	Culture as personal histories and heritage	Culture as everyday activities and practices	Culture as leisure and relaxation

Source: M. Smith (2009) "Issues in Cultural Tourism Studies", Routledge

Appendix 5 – Transcript of Interview with Rolando Aedo.

1) Could you tell me a little bit about your position and your organization?

We made a commitment to cultural tourism about 10 years ago when we hired George Neary as our director of cultural tourism and at the time I think there was only one other cultural tourism director based in a US tourism office so that was bold at the time and I can comfortably say we have been the most consistent at it and George in particular deals with the very specific line up of cultural activities or shows and initiatives that we do on an annual basis. We make a significant investment in staff time, resources and advertising and one of the things that we do is have a publication that we call '*Miami A Sense of Place*' which is a showcase of a lot of the cultural heritage sites of our community and you'd be amazed that a lot of the people in this community don't know a lot of things about Miami. This publication has been in place for about 8 years now and is segmented by a geo-cultural boundary with a Latin section including Little Havana and it's got Little Haiti and some of the interesting things that happen in the southern part of our community in the South Dade region which is another part that doesn't get a lot of attention.

2) How has tourism changed over the past ten years in Miami?

Cultural tourism is interesting because the way we define cultural tourism is in the broadest sense so obviously there is culture that a lot of people identify with - like the classics like the fine arts, the performing arts and the visual arts and Miami has matured dramatically in the last 8-9 years and you can almost trace it back to a particular art event Art Basel that I think just went through its 8th year and really put the cultural scene on fast forward and a lot of things blossomed because of Art Basel and the cultural scene before that was moving along and expanding but that was a game changer for this destination and another game changer was the [Adrianne Arsht] Performing Arts Center which has been around for 3 years now and that facility transcends the bricks and the mortar as Miami-Dade County made a commitment to create a world class performing arts center and with everything that happens inside the structure with the programming [done correctly] and there has been a true renaissance of the past 5 years when you talk about culture in that respect.

But moving out on a more macro level Miami is such a multicultural community with I think 60% of the community, 2.2-2.3million are Caribbean influenced or from Latin America in general and it's not just Cuban - it's literally the whole gambit. That's something that we promote heavily by saying that Miami is a cultural destination and saying that we've always had this multiculturalness that for a lot of people is very attractive, not for everyone but the good thing is a lot of people like this interesting mixture of sights and sounds and smells and languages whilst for some folks it can be a little intimidating but the good news is that more people than not find it interesting and stimulating and that's why we are very successful as a tourism destination. The good news is that in the last 8, 9, 10 years we now can also offer the more traditional view of culture with the museums and the arts scene so it really has rounded us out. Miami has really, if you look at heritage as part of this cultural umbrella in a rather young city, just over 110 years old, but we do have history even though we haven't embraced it as much

as we should and I sense that's changing as well and we do have history in our own right and there are some great historical sites throughout our community that we really feel is part of our story. Unfortunately the outsiders sometimes see that even more than the residents do. It ranges from people traipsing along little Havana and seeing memorial like the Bay of Pigs fighters back in the sixties to farm houses that were build around the turn of the century to the Lyric Theatre in Overtown. Cultural tourism is something that we've been interested for upwards of ten years now and it's something that is part of our DNA.

I think what's happened is that Miami as a community has matured not just structurally but in promoting Miami as a destination and then the cultural communities within that. What has worked to our advantage is that Miami was dominated from a cultural perspective by the Cuban culture that was so readily identified and it had such a strong imprimatur on Miami for such a long time after starting in the early 60s and obviously it carried through and the result of that has been mostly positive but by negative I mean that the Cuban community that came over in the sixties was a very unique immigration experience. This group was for the most part middle and upper class and very entrepreneurial and very professional and they came over here and they immediately established themselves and opened businesses and were very politically active and politically powerful. So I think people viewed Miami as this Cuban enclave which was in America but was dominated by Cuban so from a tourism perspective this was both good and bad. What's happened in the last 10 years that is important to note is that Miami has become this combination of multiple cultures and it's not just with Latin Americans but with Europeans, Eastern Europeans although we don't have a lot of Asian folk.

3) **How do you see Miami's tourism changing over the next 5-10 years? What will be the next big pull?**

Miami has evolved beyond its location so that it's a great taste of Cuba without having to go there. So the fact that we've got an amazing influence of people from South America, Brazil, Italy, France and the UK has really rounded out Miami to give it a truly cosmopolitan feel. So Miami is a city that has been talking about being a world class city for 10-15 years and I think that was a lot of grandstanding as I don't think a lot of people said it with a straight face, especially in comparison to some of the great cities of the world like the London's, Rome's and New York's. But I think Miami in the last 10 years especially because of its commitment to culture and investment in infrastructure now can start being discussed in the same breath and I think that makes us very attractive to tourists and to congresses and conventions that look at Miami as a microcosm of the US. It's been generally accepted that Miami is what the US is evolving towards in the next 15, 20, 30 years and I'm very interested to see what the results of the census are. So moving forward I think that were on this path and there are so many things that are happening as we speak that speak directly to tourism infrastructure. You can't have successful cultural tourism if you don't have the infrastructure to service it. Our airport next year will be finalizing a 6 billion dollar capital improvement program with new terminals opening up which will allow us to better service our international locations. Miami is geographically blessed and that has allowed Miami to retain its leadership position in tourism. The fact that we have so many flights coming from around the world and going to other parts of the world and the country. Miami over the last 2 or 3 year

during the crisis whilst other destinations were losing significant amount of airline seats Miami actually expanded which was diametrically opposed to what was happening elsewhere. There wasn't the growth of the past but the fact that we weren't loosing carriers and flights really spoke about the strength of the destination and its geographic positioning. The other critical component that will be opening up in a few months which indirectly will allow people to take better advantage of cultural tourism in Miami is a new Centralized Transportation Facility right across from the airport and it's called the MIC the Multi Intramodal Center. MIC is going to be our grand central station so all the forms of ground transportation will be going into this facility and you'll be able to take a little elevated train across the road from the airport and you'll have train and car rental facilities and Metromover which is a very limited system but for the first time you'll be able to take rail from the airport to downtown Miami. That's a watershed moment for us even though other cities have had that in place for quite some time. That infrastructure improvement is critically important for people in our business and I think eventually word will get out and I think in July the first rental car component of that MIC will be opening up and I think the balance of all those facilities, the Metromover etc, the train already goes there is going to be coming online in the next couple of months.

The other critical infrastructure is a new port tunnel which is a billion dollar project and will provide a new tunnel connecting the port of Miami toward the highway directly. Right now whether you're a cruise passenger of one of the 18 wheel trucks you're going to have to go through downtown Miami and because the port has been successful the volume of trucks that are rolling in an out of downtown Miami competing with car carrying cruise passengers and on top of that you have people that are moving into downtown Miami so you have some life safety issues that are coming to a head the last year or so. That port tunnel will be another dramatic infrastructure improvement that will allow increased growth in cruise passengers and cargo coming in and out of Miami and will alleviate the commerce flowing through the streets of downtown Miami where more and more people are and where many of our cultural tourism sites are located. I think that's going to indirectly benefit our promotion of cultural tourism because it will enhance the downtown Miami tourist experience which is where a lot of our cultural tourism is based. Speaking of downtown Miami and tying it into culture in a more traditional sense is the Museum Park Project at Bi-centennial park which means they are moving the Miami Art Museum and the Science Museum which is a very small museum to two spectacular plots of land that right now are underutilized and will be reconfigured to see the water and it will have an aquarium as part of it which doesn't exist and the buildings are signature buildings designed by Herzog de Muron. By relocating that to the bay front to reengage the water and reengage downtown Miami Museum Park is going to be a major asset especially when it comes to some of our more traditional cultural tourism and will be location about 100 meters from the Performing Arts center and opposite Freedom Tower which has a lot of history both as a headquarters of a newspaper and from a cultural tourism perspective where during the sixties a lot of folks would go there and register when they arrived from Cuba and was where the immigrant families would go to receive their initial food to help in the transition so that facility has a strong and passionate connection with the Cuban exile community that's why it's called the Freedom Tower. In fact I think the Freedom Tower in 10 years should evolve into the hub of a cultural tourism experience for Miami as it's centrally located and it's such an

iconic building. The other major facility coming online later this year is the new world symphony and they are building there new headquarters which is a Frank Gary designed building who built the Guggenheim in Bilbao and the Disney in Los Angeles and while this building is not a dramatic per se it definitely will be a signature building. That facility is going to be an amazing home for the symphony and will allow the public who may not be inside to engage with the music as it has a 100ft screen that will be projecting in the side of the building the performances that are happening inside and there will be a park in front of it which will become a space that will be activated and people can take advantage of it.

4) How could tourism become more inclusive?

Cultural tourism for us is critical on many levels because it's highly lucrative as people who have a passion for cultural tourism tend to be a little better healed and they stay longer and spend more. Tourism is so critical to Miami. Our statistic show that 1 in 5 people in Miami are employed in the hospitality industry so in hard times the jobs and generating revenue from tourism as when you stay in a hotel in Miami who notice that the taxes are a lot higher than sales tax as a sales tax in Miami is 7% but when you stay in a hotel its actually closer to 13% which is what we call resort taxes and in the US that is the common model of how companies such as our own are funded is through these taxes so the industry taxes itself, or its patrons quite frankly, and that money is reinvested into companies like ours. We are a private not for profit organization to promote the area for more tourism and more meetings and conventions and another portion of those dollars is what helps build those buildings I just mentioned.

Marlins stadium will be another amenity and because its located in Little Havana it will become an economic engine for the surrounding area and Little Havana being one of our cultural tourism centers and there's a lot of disparities in that there are areas doing much better and then you can go over a block or two and there it that dichotomy of wealth and poverty. In Miami it happens a lot. Coconut Grove is a perfect example where you can literally have the same block with million dollar homes and 100 yards away homes that are $50,000. It is interesting.

So looking forward is this destination's name. The Miami name in the 80s was probably at a low point for many reasons. That was when we had the Mariel boatlift then in 1981 we had the Haitian immigrant influx and we also had some riots in our community so there was a famous cover of Time magazine that was entitled Miami: Paradise Lost and it was like a difficult time from 1980-1983 so in 1984 some community leaders got together and said we need to do something. Were losing this incredibly important industry and the jobs that come along with it so they established the Convention and Visitor Bureau in 1984 and our tourism figures were going down and ever since 1984 they are trended in a positive way. 9/11 we had a little hiccup but generally it has been a positive trend. The success of Miami's tourism since that time can be attributed to cultural tourism as it was driven by what happened on South Beach with the Art Deco district which was a lot of dilapidated buildings in the 1980s. Truly we owe a lot to cultural and heritage tourism and to our historical sites. From the late 80s Miami has been on a surge and when you look at what people feel about Miami and the Miami brand it riding high as it attracts not just tourists but investors and in February we had a 34% growth in resort taxes so we

have come out of this pretty strongly and with so of the infrastructure I mentioned earlier Miami is in a good position. The next 5-10 years will be equally strong.

We are the official sales and marketing organization for all of greater Miami and greater Miami as you probably know there are a lot of different communities. There are 35 different cities in greater Miami. Every city comes with its own Mayor, commissioners, councilmen etc its interesting. Then you have the county government – the supracity government so inherently we have a challenging political environment and even through we're a sales and marketing organization as it says in our mission statement we are political. We are because we receive funding from these governmental channels so to separate the two would be naive at best. There's always had been an argument and a discussion that we do more for one community than another. It's been around for as long as I've been around here so the people on Miami beach feel that they are at the epicenter of everything and say that we should only promote the beach whilst people in the grove feel that we don't do enough for Coconut Grove but that is geographical but ethnically is something that we don't hear a lot about and it ties back to cultural tourism because we feel so strongly that whether its Latino, African American , Afro-Caribbean this is what makes Miami unique and yes our surveys show us that the most popular thing about Miami is the beach and the weather but not too far behind is the fact that we are so different and we offer this cultural blend is critical for us. We have over the years showcased that whether it's things like the heritage guide. We have to be generalists and promote all of Greater Miami and we are as agnostic as possible and it's mainly geopolitically driven, we try to be as apolitical as possible but we try and we also have to bear in mind what the consumer wants. We are serving the consumer and sometimes you have to remind yourself that. We are not our audience. Not even the commissioners are our audience. The consumer is very interested in not just the beach but Miami's history and Miami's ethnic mix and so we have a heritage committee on our executive committee board and that's all they do. They developed Overtown and Little Havana as two book ends to a complete Miami experience as it's not just about the clubs and the beaches because there are a lot of folks including myself who like that more. We try to cast out a laundry list of things that Miami has to offer and of course the beaches and the weather, hotels, restaurants and then we look at particular areas that we feel we should go deeper into because the customer would be interested.

What we constantly remind ourselves is that if I'm advertising in the New York Times for example I'm aiming a white, black, Latino, Gay, Straight and sometimes people fall into the trap that you need to create all of these categorical approaches to marketing and if you have $500 million you can do that but we don't so we cast the broadest net possible recognizing that when you do this you are capturing everyone but with that said we go deeper into some of these categories.

Miami is such an event driven destination whether you're a culture or a sports fan. One of the great ways to experience an areas culture is through its events so that's a big part of what we do – event marketing and developing new events and bring new events to our community so were proud of what we've done on a segmented basis but I think that we bring marketing and advertising in its more traditional sense as well as constantly bringing in journalists and writers because I could never buy enough advertising to get

the word out so public relations, media relations is a huge deal for us. When we bring in these journalists we do familiarization tours and every tour that we do incorporates some of these more organic parts of our community like Little Haiti, Overtown and Little Havana and it's not like we have to push it because it's what they are asking for and again they are the consumer and that's what they want to write about because they know that their consumers want to read about it. I think it's generally know that Miami has great beaches and a great club scene and that will be written about but the more sophisticated traveler like those interested in cultural and heritage tourism want to know that the best barbeque in town is in Overtown or to go to Little Havana and get some food but also watch someone rolling some cigars or watch a Haitian Art exposition. That is the organicness and that is where in the 80 and 90's society was known for its excess and you almost sense in the last few years a scene change and people are looking for more genuine experience and there's some research that speaks to that. Miami definitely has excess and we have amazing 5 star hotels and the club scene but it also has a lot of organicness to it and I think that as you look back that hasn't been fully appreciated and hasn't been fully leveraged by the community as a whole. I think we've done a decent job at showcasing that but I think that's our growth area and that is what will sustain our tourism moving forward. The organic nature of Miami. You can only build so many hotels and the beach is static so we constantly looking for a new product and we won't get any new hotels for quite some time but what will allow me to be more successful from a marketing perspective is this infill in these areas.

5) **Could you discuss why certain areas of Miami have developed so much whilst others remain economically marginalized and how does tourism affects this process?**

The fact that the Lyric theatre in Overtown are going through remodeling and will be opening up soon and through our live music promotion I want to be promoting that Overtown facility with some great live music. The history of Overtown was is the 20 and 30s little Broadway and the Harlem of the south and was the place for all the major entertainers would come and stay and there is a tragic history with the highways and what it did to the community but I sense that there is a genuine commitment on behalf of the community – not just this company- which recognizes the power of all the different segments of this community whether its Latino, African America or something else so that's really where we are going to benefit so Miami while it has some fantasy can also offer a genuine organic experience whether its ethnic in nature or cultural or heritage or the everglades and ecotourism. Something we are expecting to see significant growth in is agro tourism which will allow the farmers in the South of our community to operate Bed and Breakfasts and sell their produce so were anticipating that this will become another new product that we can help promote.

This community has been challenged and we've been pretty good at building things but we haven't been so good at programming things so yes you can have a spectacular theatre or museum and I do think that there was some degree of appeasement where people thought let's throw some money or let's build something that way we can say we did something for that community whether it be Latino or African American and it seems going back historically this is common. Take the Little Haiti Cultural Art Centre as a

perfect example as its gorgeous but underutilized so the city of Miami spent a lot of money building this and now they have the structure but it's not programmed so I think we need to do a better job of strategically thinking when we're building these things that if you don't activate them then all that goes for nothing. What we're doing through our marketing efforts is that were in the sales and marketing side of the equation currently, I mean were less involved in the actual product development although that's changing because were the custodians of the tourism industry and when you look at that value chain we've traditionally been on the other end selling a market that other people have built but the reality is, and were already started this over the last couple of years, were now developing some of the products and helping it was our resources are limited but where we have a lot of power is in our relationships. We are very good at bringing people together and breaking the barriers of communication. We work very closely with the Black Archives you are the folks who manage the Lyric Theatre and right now there isn't a lot of programming there as they're going through remodeling until the end of the summer but then we are going to be a very strong marketer of that facility when they get their programming online. We've also partnered with major cultural events like the book fair, like the film festival and we will typically bring in journalist during the time of those events to experience it first hard and get the publicity. So we see ourselves as taking a more active role than simply sales and marketing. We're looking at and are willing to do even more, to sit down with our partners out there and see how see can showcase some of these new facets of our community.

There's always a balance between the free market and supply and demand and Adam Smith's invisible hand and I think that plays a strong part in that so market economics has to be in place. There needs to be a consumer who wants a product but with that said there is also a role that we play and that the government can play to expedite certain developments but at the end of the day there has to have an entrepreneur, a capitalistic business person who pushes the ball as government is not the most efficient at doing those things even thought they do play an important role. Little Havana is perhaps the best example and it's the whole chicken and egg thing because if you go to Little Havana today you will see tourists walking up and down the street and so people see tourists there and they think I going t open up a gallery or a cigar shop and I think the critical mass is starting to develop in Little Havana and definitely less so in other parts. That's why were working with the little Havana merchants association because we think that Little Havana could be a good platform to showcase some of the other rich areas like Overtown that might be a little less far along in that process but Little Havana has critical mass there from the supply side through the businesses that are showcasing their wares, you know the restaurants, cigar shops, museums etc and there's also enough critical mass there from the demand side as you are seeing companies taking tourists and dropping them off there as there are tour companies and Little Havana is part of the itinerary when people are doing city tours or tours to Little Havana and there's a specific location where they disembark and embark and they experience on a limited basis the community but you see this as well as people walking kilometers up and down the area and that gets me really excited. People who are willing to travel a little further afield and not just take what has been packaged for them. A lot of that is being economically driven because people feel there is a profit to be made and that's not a bad thing. I think with what the city has done and the schools have done, Paul George for example, and things like that have

reawakened an interest in these areas and one of the things were doing is we're partnered with Miami Dade college on their tour guide certification courses because there wasn't any formal certification and so people would take a lot of liberties. There's a movement afoot to have more consistency and if we're talking about Overtown or Liberty City or Little Havana everything is subject to personalization and style but there needs to be some core facts that are in order. So I think the evolution of these cultural destinations is driven first by economics and by entrepreneurs and by people who are going to take a risk. It's always that first one, it the chicken and egg , you're not going to get that first customer to show up if there is nothing there to offer and I think what's going on now in Overtown is that there are some locations and sights but the interpretation isn't there. I think that's what needs to happen. You know one thing is to stand in front of a building and think this is where Cab Calaway played in Overtown in the 30s but the experience from a consumers perspective is to get a rendition of what he performed back in the 30s or do it right and create a mini Cab Calaway experience and make that happen at the Lyric theatre. So that's where our role just through ideation sessions with the right people can really start making a difference. We can direct people and reminisce about what happened in a place but that will only take you so far but what will make a difference is the intellectual investment in terms of what will get people excited about going there. In the case of Overtown in particular I feel that the Lyric theatre can be that hub so were anxious to see that come online and we'll be there to help and when you have that it becomes easier. As I said we started a program over a year ago using Overtown and Little Havana as two very different communities but very rewarding in their own right, because I think if that combination, and one of those two has enough momentum that its sustaining itself, and Overtown isn't there yet but were hopeful that the Lyric theatre especially from a cultural tourism perspective will really be the engine that gets it going. The other thing that's happening is the people moving into the area and the Lyric theatre is 3 blocks from downtown and I think the people that are moving into downtown Miami which tend to be younger and willing to be a bit more of the risk taking side and I think that bodes well as if a little café opens up near the Lyric theatre that historically was serving just that African American community has a potential new customer base to draw on. Peoples barbeque is in the center of Overtown and if you go there during lunch you see every color, conversation and language going on and it's an amazing thing to watch and to have all these cultures together and hopefully that's the type of thing that can happen more often whether it's the Lyric theatre of across the street.

Were committed for selfish reasons because we feel that's where the growth of the tourism industry is going to come from – the cultural, heritage, organic side of the tourism spectrum.

Appendix 6 – Transcript of Interview with George Neary

1) How has tourism changed over the past 5-10 years in Miami?

You have to understand that the entire city was depressed, Miami Beach included. You have to understand that America is a cyclical country not a horizontal country – England is a horizontal country – It got to some place at some period of time and it stayed that way, Trafalgar Square doesn't change whilst in America those buildings could come down tomorrow and a new high-rise goes up. We don't have the same value of history and culture as the UK. So Miami beach and Miami were way down and you have to imagine all of Miami Beach completely empty, all the buildings boarded up, old people in their 80s and 90s sitting on the front porch and that's all that was here in the 70s through 80s and it didn't start to turn around until the early nineties and a woman came here named Barbara Kapitman and she was writing a book called discovering Art Deco that had fallen out of favor was big at one period and now America had forgotten about it but there were many buildings and there was much culture and art that had taken place during that period and she was rediscovering it and was travelling to Boston and Chicago and New York and other places and when she came here in 1974 she couldn't believe there were 800 buildings in this district, there's a lot more but 800 just in this district. She formed an organization called the Miami Design Preservation League and that organization created what is now known as the historic world famous Art Deco district in which South Beach is the most important part. So that took fighting and I was executive director of that organization for 7 years from 1991-1998 so you are catching someone who knows very well the hard work and bootstrap that goes into preservation in the United States as we don't value our history. So that organization set the future for all of Miami then some of the men who made money and success in the Art Deco district turned around and moved to the Design District. The very people who were successful here took it over there and that's all changed. Now that area had been the number one design area of South Florida and keep in mind it's now surrounded by Haitians and a whole situation and so people left in that period and they formed the DECOTA, the Design Centre of the Americas in Fort Lauderdale. This is very American. Everything dilapidated boarded up junk, nothing and these men moved in and set up shop by buying up a number of the buildings and began bringing in form Chicago and New York Design people shops stores and that whole neighborhood now and now restaurants are there and cultural tourism and history culture and the arts turned that around and they turned this [Miami Beach] around. So now with Art Basel you have an area that was just full of warehouses like Soho in New York and different people like Moco moved there first and set up and out post and then Tony Goldman, one of the guys from here, moved there and then little by little because of Art Basel people began looking for spaces to exhibit their work now that has changed dramatically and finally the restaurants and coffee shops are moving in because the zoning of 50 years ago prevented restaurants and coffee shops from opening at night and from using the streets and so they had to change the rule so now restaurants and coffee shops are moving into that neighborhood. Overtown is another area that has taken longer to get going but the Lyric theatre which has already got an addition is gonna get another addition and that's gonna change that neighborhood but its gonna be longer tougher and harder. You have to turn that off…

2) How can private investors be attracted to Miami's poorer areas?

Well what's happening to the most underserved and underused areas it that because there so unsafe and difficult they are not attracting development because a person is not going to put a high-rise [in an area like that]. The other problem is that so much has been demolished. To me how a neighborhood first starts to change is that it first attracts gay people and gay men because gay men see the beauty underneath the surface so they see the stained glass windows and the see the hand tooled work and this gives them the opportunity to move into a neighborhood and throw a party and people see the beautiful house and buy one down the street and push out the, so to speak, minorities like the Asians, the Haitians the Black Americans or whatever it is because those are the bottom level of society and they have to go somewhere else and then the neighborhood starts to change with people with more money [moving in] and it gets safer and safer until the single woman moves in the gay guy goes "I've got this new neighborhood I have to check out" so that's how the cycle starts.

The neighborhood doesn't have a lot going for it because so much has been demolished, so much of the housing stock, so much of what was valuable. Just the other day they knocked some buildings down in Overtown as well. With these buildings disappearing it is difficult and there are people working there are things happening but not on a grand scale.

3) Is there any way to make Miami more inclusive?

Well no because Black people live in Black neighborhoods, White people live in White neighborhoods. The history you have to understand is that Miami and the United States was, and still is, a segregated country and were in the South even though you don't think about it when you're in Miami. Now if you were in Mississippi or Alabama you'd be more conscious of this but here the rule is the further north you go the further south you are and the further south you go the further north you are. So you have this swath up to Palm Beach in the North and the rest of Florida is crackers conservative people. We don't wanna go north, we collectively, because we don't wanna enter difficult areas.

They [black people] have never felt welcome in other parts of the community and that history is hard to break so they don't leave. When you see this book [the GMCVB Heritage guide] well that's one thing and you see our map and things like marketing and promotion and that's why we're here [at the Arte Americas Exhibition] and that's why we're at all the different events that take place showcasing Miami as a cultural destination. We have come light years in 10 years in 20 years it's been astounding but we do showcase all of those areas but the area that's on the low end of it is Overtown and they need to really restructure and that's what has to happen. They're strength is in churches and I've been with people who started to do a church tour and it never went anywhere someone has to do that because we just promote what others do so if they don't put something together then we can't promote it. I sit on 1200 boards and I'm encouraging people to develop the cultural tourism assets but they need to do it and little by little that happens but someone has to be responsible for putting the tour together to Little Haiti, Little Havana. We live in communities and I'm one of the only white people you'll see any place [i.e. an ethnic minority neighborhood]. White people in those areas

are petrified so they don't go to Overtown. We've had events at the Lyric and they [white people] go in and then they go straight out to their cars. And there are rules and regulations and zoning and it's not easy and now they have changed the zoning you'll be seeing more restaurants. The Design District never had restaurants and has 6 now in the late three years which are extremely well known. It's all helping groups to promote themselves so that we can promote them as well.

4) **Is the more potential for revitalization projects in Latino areas such as Little Havana?**

I'll tell you if you go on a little Havana tour you would experience more that's there but if you just walk up and down 8th Avenue then it's limited. They're streets that have amazing memorials and other kinds of things but there not as visible but they are there. When you read the GMCVB heritage book you'll see a lot more about little Havana but if someone doesn't take you your not gonna find some of the avenues and streets that exist.

5) **Why are there so few cultural tourism companies in Miami?**

The problem is they don't [exist]. You need to go on Grayline Miami and you need to go on that tour but everybody else does tours for groups not running and individual tour so finding them means nothing because they are not for you but Grayline is what you're looking for. We have other bus companies that people hire and say to them "I wanna go here and here and they put the tour together for them". Grayline are throughout the United States and have just arrived here and it shows you that for example I've been waiting for them for twenty years and finally they've come through. There are lots of other cultural destination groups but they are only available when you have a group and not a single person except for them [Greyline].

6) **The GMCVB are proposing to "expand heritage tourism areas such as Little Havana, Overtown, Little Haiti and others". How do you foresee this occurring?**

We have a committee, the human resources committee and someone else chairs that – a woman from Little Havana, an African American woman, and we have another staff member and they are looking to develop heritage tours of that neighborhood and that area and they've had meeting and brought in a lot of community partners and the hope it that they will work with them to develop that area as well as Little Havana and Overtown. Those are the areas they are looking to develop for tourism. It's easy for us to market but it's getting something for us to market and we don't have that so the point is to work with existing areas. Little Havana is huge but it's just setting up a way to highlight that and for example the Little Haiti Cultural Centre – that's new so there are things developing but it's being able to highlight and showcase them.

7) **How have these changes seen new forms of tourism appear and in what manner have they appeared?**

Another area is the MIMo district which is from 50th to 70th and that's changed enormously in 4 years. We did the brochure that helped start it all and once we did it that showed people that the bureaus involved and so other people like banks got involved and

that areas changed enormously in 4 years with more shops and more restaurants and it was set up for that. So now it's just people are organizations moving into existing structures. Wynwood was not set up for that so it had to be rezoned and recalibrated to have certain things in that neighborhood that had never existed so this neighborhood has developed amazingly fast.

8) What are the recent trends in the gay population of Miami?

That's because people have been priced out of the community. The rent is now 4500 a month and that's when the chains come in and who can afford it and so the entrepreneurs who got it all started are pushed out. That's the cycle of gentrification in America. So I think there's still a huge gay population but it's not as visible because everywhere I go there are gay people but the shops that were visible are gone because they don't make enough money to pay the rent.

How can they stay they just can't afford it. That's what happened here the old Jewish people lived here and then people bought the buildings renovated them and they couldn't come back because they couldn't afford it. The thing is to solve some of that problem, like the CRA, we have the Miami Beach Community Redevelopment Organization and they bought over 25 years 30 buildings and they've been able to renovate them and bring in work force housing, lower housing [prices], aids patients and older people and that's the only way because the other buildings they can't afford. It's the natural cycle. People even tried to buy the buildings but the price of renovating was so high that they raised the rent so they couldn't afford it and everybody left and moved to other areas.

9) How successful has the GMCVB Heritage guide been?

It's in its second printing and we'll just keep continuing. It's been hugely successful and has won two awards so it's an award winning publication and you'll never see another tourism bureau that has anything as scholarly and dedicated. Arva Parks is the historian for this and she's the one who is the editor of this and she's an amazing historian from Miami.

10) How can you see the scope for Cultural Tourism in Miami changing?

Well Miami becomes more and more a cultural destination now when I came here nobody would have imagined that we'd have the Adrianne Arsht Centre nobody would've imagined we'd have Wynwood and the list goes on and on. You have this fair and other art fairs so Miami is becoming more and more cultural as people know how important it is to the life bread of the community. It makes money. The apartments are there downtown but nobodies living there because they overbuild but in time those neighborhood will develop and downtown will have its own life. They're ready to go. The Beach will always be the Beach but now you have the new Miami Art Museum a $200million building.

11) If you were able to change one aspect of Miami and its image what would you change?

It's a very tourist centered destination and I'd like to see it become more professional and I don't think it's possible so much of Miami has developed in such an amazing way but the infrastructure still needs to develop as well.

Appendix 7 – Transcript of Interview with David Brown

1) Could you tell me a little bit about your position and your organization?

Ok sure. Of course my name is David Brown and they call me the urban tour host. I have a background in education from 1980-1992 I was a teacher and then I started doing community work in our communities in Miami. I started off in the environmental education field because that was my teaching field and between 1994 and 2000 I met a lot of people in the community, especially in Little Haiti and then branched out to Overtown, Liberty City and all our historic cultural communities in Miami that [combine to] make Miami such a diverse melting pot for all of its neighborhoods. With my education background and the deep roots I had in the community and my interest in showcasing those to people (as I also enjoy going to cultural destinations on my own trips) I thought it would be an interesting concept to begin to show people the neighborhoods in Miami and all there diversity such as Little Haiti, Little Havana, Overtown, Liberty City. That right there encompasses the Caribbean, African American and Latin heritage of a place and a lot of stories and culture involved with those communities over the years.

Community based tourism is just that. We have very deep roots in all the communities. Prior to the opening up of the company we made our relationships with all different aspects of the community and [its] human resources as I like to call them, as the greatest asset of a community is the human resource. We've been working with people in the hospitality field - people who own small restaurants, art galleries, gift shops, art galleries, and gardens right along since 1994 so I say that the preparations for the tourism come from my work in the community since 1994 up to 2000.

I sit on different committees in the community and this is how deeply involved we are. We consider ourselves a community developer through tourism, because tourism is such a common denominator when it comes to economic development and we sit at the table and actively contribute toward the economic development of our communities using the vehicle of tourism which is our expertise.

The other tenant in our company is cross cultural experiential learning. When we bring people from one community to the other they get a total emersion experience and we even take students from Liberty City to Little Havana [as well as] students from Little Haiti into Liberty City in order to give them learning at a formative age that brings more unity to our overall community.

All of our tours are customized and it's hard to deliver the same tour twice. We use a lot of common elements of course but we take a lot of pride in that we customize our tours for our clients and we have private tours and we also have group tours. A lot of the groups that we get are academic study tours. [We provide tours to] Students who are local - from elementary school, middle school, high school and college as well as people visiting Miami. We have a large local market and we call that local tourism and most of the local tourism is with academic groups but we also have family reunions and tours for any kind of group as an activity. Our style is off the bus, off the sidewalk, and into all the

various different venues whether it's an art gallery, a souvenir shop, or a church. To give you a sample about two Sundays ago I provided a tour for a youth ministry and they requested Little Haiti and Overtown and we did a walking tour in each community. We started in Little Haiti and ended up in Overtown. We always point out and bring people to the attractions of cultural and historic interest and encourage a lot of questions and in some cases the youth participate by reading placards and signs along the way. We involve the pastors in our program and contribute toward the community financially by donating to churches and by compensating people from the community for their time and providing honorariums to those people and we make them feel an integral part of the process.

2) **How has tourism changed over the past ten years in Miami?**

It's been about 10 years since we've been in business and we've taken about 10,000 people plus to cultural communities in Miami over the past ten years. So that's a change right there because there hadn't been a lot of that before we came on the scene. There might have been a couple of things like Miami Dade Transit has a black history tour in February and a Latin history tour in October but we do it all year long.

We try to offer the visitor more of an immersion into the community so it's definitely off the bus, off the sidewalk, and into all the different attractions. We also try to bring in meeting the community by meeting the vendors, pastors, pioneers, and community leaders so it's a different approach. Its more community based in the classic sense of community tourism and it's also a form of sustainable tourism for the community as we encourage people to spend money in the community and our company gives back to the community.

Since we came onto the scene we see people taking an interest in seeing parts of Miami that haven't been showcased in the past. Overall I think that the visitor of today is interested in seeing more than the beach. Mind you on our city tour we also take people to Miami Beach to discuss the history of the Art Deco district alongside Downtown Miami, Coconut Grove and Coral Gables. Having a source and an opportunity to go beyond that has opened up doors in our community and opened up tourists and made it easier for tourists to connect with the community. Generally speaking people want to make those kinds of connections in the community these days. People want more than the beach and people want deeper experience in their travels. They want to see things and meet people and make a connection with the community. Cultural tourism in many ways offers that opportunity and that's why I started the company and we have found all this to be true.

We've gotten a lot of interest from the media and the global media. I remember a while back doing an interview for a Middle Eastern news station who came to be with me for the day. We've had journalists from a lot of countries and we did get a call from the Travel Channel to provide a tour in April 09 to prepare for their filming in Little Haiti. They requested for me to organize a voodoo ceremony which I did and that was filmed in August and aired in October. They brought with them American Airlines with the in-flight magazine [editors] so we have been getting these communities on the map for tourism and that's been a significant benchmark and I don't know of any other means by

which these communities have been marketed to the world other than our website. We have made a lot of investment and a lot of effort to showcase what we called the other Miami and now we've seen everything being woven together over the years even though some of these neighborhoods are distinctly different to others. We're promoting a movement from one neighborhood to another [whilst] seeing different culture and history and we don't use boundaries.

3) How do you see Miami's tourism changing over the next 5-10 years? What will be the next big pull?

I think Miami is becoming more and more of a world class city. I live downtown and my office is downtown and there have been a lot of changes. A lot of time cities are characterized by the vitality of their downtowns and there's been a positive growth and a lot of new restaurants and the Arsht Center and the American Airlines Arena and we do have a downtown Miami interactive walking tour where guests receive info about the old and new Miami and we have had a lot of new buildings that have come up over the last 4 years and the population of downtown Miami has increased based upon all the new condos that have come on the market. There's still room for more occupancy but the downtown population is on the move. The restaurants show a great deal of diversity in their ethnic cuisine and they also are venues for activities for events that can take place at night. Downtown Miami used to be a 9-5 city and that's a big change as several venues are keeping people down here longer and getting people down here on the weekends in some of these new venues.

The interest in cultural tourism continues to grow. It's always been there but it continues to grow and the interest from the governmental and quasi-governmental bodies that are present here in Miami [is shown by the fact they] are seeking additional interest in this concept as it is a form of economic development. Countries in the Caribbean like Jamaica for example have almost their entire gross national product coming from tourism and there are other things, but tourism is the leader in many Caribbean countries. Even Haiti was once called the 'Pearl of the Antilles' and was very popular.

4) Do you think that every Miamian benefits from tourism?

I don't think every Miami benefits from tourism because of a lot of reasons. Some of the reasons are economic whereby people just don't have the money to leave their own neighborhood and another reason is awareness – a lot of people don't get the newspaper and don't understand the full spectrum of cultural activities that do go on in Miami - which are very extensive. In other cases people are concerned about security in certain communities and that does preclude certain people from going out at night when a lot of the activities are taking place.

5) How could tourism become more inclusive?

This is where we [Miami Cultural Tours] come in directly, by helping to market the product so the awareness gets out there and is compatible with events that are going on already. By bringing people to the venues - you if you have a service such as a trolley [which is] nice and fun and bright and cheerful, and offer to pick people up at certain

venues and bring them to events like Veranese Cultural Alliance in Little Havana, like the Wynwood Gallery walk, and like something that used to take place in Liberty City called Soul on Seventh Avenue we did provide these tours on Miami's trolleys pro bono as well as the hospitality and that worked to some degree by getting locals out to see their local neighborhood and you have two populations the local population and the receptive population and the receptive population is less inclined to go into a poorer neighborhood. Local people are beginning to get it and understand it and there have been programs in the past similar to the Miami Dade Transit Black and Latin History Tours and a program called discover Miami and we provide this service every day and are trying to collaborate with the city to offer programs to bring people to special events and pick them up for location hubs within the community. Last June we partnered with the city of Miami and CRA to do a program with the American Black Film festival attendees. This is the kind of thing im talking about but we need to also offer this to our local communities. So those people had the chance to go onto a beautiful trolley from South Beach all the way over to Overtown [whilst] learning the history of Overtown and Downtown also and getting a tour and a meal at Jacksons Soul Food which is a very cultural restaurant in the heart of Overtown. Once you provide a qualified guide and transportation and provide this to the public for free then it's a no-brainer and more and younger people are settling into Miami and it's a crowd that's game for adventure. We definitely have a way to go but we have what it takes to make it happen.

6) Could you discuss why certain areas of Miami have developed so much whilst others remain economically marginalized and how does tourism affects this process?

It's very interesting how things get done in the city and for anything to get done there needs to be a commissioner behind it in terms of any large initiative in any district. We've seen the progress that is getting done in Overtown [with] a lot of new sidewalks and streetscapes and new buildings along with the old. A lot of care is going into the development of Overtown and rightly so and I think in the downtown it's because commissioners were behind it and hearing feedback from people like myself allow a lot of improvements to be made by a critical mass of people [who create] an energy behind an issue. Downtown is a very important site for tourism and it hasn't been treated that way up until very recently. A lot of the infrastructure was for many years there and now we're seeing improvements with the streetscape, sidewalk and beautification, and those things make a difference. I'd like to see park benches come downtown but there's always an excuse about the homeless and I don't feel that's valid as park benches should be put there for the greater good and if homeless people sleep on them at night then so what? At least you have benches there for people during the day and if you look at other cities across the country and the world you see that.

…we also cherish our park spaces and green spaces and we don't have that much of it in Miami left and from time to time a new park opens and there are a lot of people behind that issue. When it comes to Liberty City they have received the least amount of attention from the city in terms of infrastructure development and I'm not sure why. Little Haiti has recently had the Cultural Center and a new soccer park and those combined are over 30-40 million dollars and those are wonderful facilities that also encourage tourism. I've

taken quite a few people into the Art Gallery and we've attended many events there and some of them have been excellent. I remember a fashion show that was fabulous, a jazz show and a dance program, and a lot of times these require outside funding and foundations like the knight foundations are some of the contributors to these cultural arts program like these in Little Haiti. I just wrote a piece for someone to submit to the city for a seminar series in Little Haiti and to bring people on a trolley to cultural events at the Little Haiti Cultural Centre. It does often require outside funding as long as someone writes the grant to the foundation for them to understand what you do there's a lot of potential to fund a lot of these things outside government money. In regard to Little Havana, with the Cuban presence having been here a little longer than the Haitian presence the community had a head start and the city has put in some infrastructure there. The streetscape is nice but could use more flowers like everywhere in Miami and there are some kiosks that has been intended to be staffed that has not been since it's been built and nor is it open. I think having a staffed kiosk to answer questions and provide directions if very important, alongside the ambassador program that I hope to implement in Little Haiti and Overtown. I created an ambassador program to hire local pioneers in the community, who really know the community, to represent the community. To be the eyes and ears and be a street concierge and to create a positive image in uniform, especially during special events and when tourism comes into the community. I think this lends enormous value to how people feel when they come into a place knowing that people are on staff watching over them representing the community who can answer questions and provide directions.

The other component is marketing. There is a saying 'build it and they will come' but that doesn't always happen and it should be 'build it and they will come - **if** you let them know about it and **if** you take them there'. That's where we come in as a tour operator so entrenched in the communities, and this is where we help to fill the gap and I'm waiting for a meeting with the Mayor to discuss these initiatives that can make a big difference as if you build it people don't necessarily come. People like to go on a tour with qualified people to guide them and know they're safe and know that the information is accurate. The revitalization includes affordable housing which is so important in these communities (most of what has driven people out is a lack of affordable housing) so once you have that component and you have an upturn in the optimism in regard to economic development there's all the more reason to go back into your community.

7) **How have these changes seen new forms of tourism appear and in what manner have they appeared?**

I think the key is for the right people to come together. I am putting together an advisory committee for cultural tourism in Miami having people from the private, public and non-profit sectors come together to be supportive of grants. It does take a lot of relationship building. When we started our program we spent years developing our relationships on the ground [with] community leaders, pioneers restaurant owners and restaurateurs.

8) **How has the economic crisis influenced tourism?**

We have not been doing tours every day and our tours are on demand and are either private or group tours and we don't run them on a schedule that is every day. [Even so]

we notice certain trends but in general business has been down over the last couple of years even though our tours have not been lucrative up to this point. We are looking to ramp up the Downtown Walking Tour and I'm hoping other marketing initiatives will help to bring more tours in the family reunion sector and with academic groups. We did a lot more when there wasn't the fcat and the economic crisis, so both are a consideration when a teacher has to think if they will be allowed to take students from the school [on a field trip] and if the school has enough money, or if the parents have enough money to pay for the field trip. Having no dollars for marketing [means that] the most creative and effective form of marketing is through our website and with email blasts to teachers encouraging them to go to Little Haiti or Little Havana and we believe that providing these tours to children gives them an appreciation of cultures other than their own [as well as] to formulate more tolerance, understanding and unity in the overall community.

9) **What types of schemes to you believe could assist in the redevelopment of Miami's poorer areas?**

The thing is when you're dealing with a neighborhood and you are a city or county you need a holistic approach and to have good enforcement of your codes and good security and good economic development initiatives (tourism being one of those). You also need events in the community and if you have events then that leads to more pride, and more pride and more tourism eventually reduce crime and once they [local residents] feel a specialness about their neighborhoods then these things change people's perceptions about their neighborhoods. [They then ask themselves] Why is that artist painting that mural across from my apartment? The power of place [is important] and to maximize this you need a holistic approach, including the youth and the elderly, that includes affordable housing, beautification and other benefits encouraging small entrepreneurs to set up shop to sell whatever they sell including food, drinks or even coconut. There's an article about a gentleman who makes jewelry out of coconut and these are the products that are affordable and wearable and which tourists like to take home and show to their friends.

In Overtown they have an event called *First Fridays* which includes local vendors going out to sell their wares and sell their goods. They have a garden called the *Roots in the City* Community Gardens and I have a project on the table right now with the CRA and the commissioner's office in order to do a community development project that would be an attraction as well as providing jobs. It is modeled after a scheme from California that I've studied called *Food from the Hood* by the San Francisco League of Urban Gardeners whereby local produce that is grown in a local lot in a local environment is then packaged under this label - in this case it's called *Uniquely Overtown* and selling the produce to the tourists and online for the community to make money. This would provide around 40 jobs and we would also like to provide mini-grants to people who want to make things in their house as there's a lot of talent in these communities which is untapped and dormant.

10) **The GMCVB are proposing to "expand heritage tourism areas such as Little Havana, Overtown, Little Haiti and others". How do you foresee this occurring and do you think it will be successful economically, socially and culturally?**

First I'd like to know exactly what they are planning to do to expand it and the only thing they really can do as an agency is to market those communities more and that is really what's missing. They developed a heritage guide a few years ago that talks about every community in Miami and there are different attractions pictured there with very good information. People want more than the beach these days, especially return visitors to Miami and they want to drill down and they want to go deeper into learning more and going off the beaten track. The GMCVB also need to project Miami as the multicultural Mecca of neighborhoods it really is and right now that is not being done as much as it should be. I do believe that that kind of marketing is the only thing they really can do, so by devoting more dollars towards marketing our neighborhoods the better off they will be. From the cities standpoint we need to brand the cities. Coconut Grove has beautiful signs and they have lifted their image with signage and way finding and we need that in every community as the signage does lift up the community and lifts up the pride in many ways and shows we have our act together for tourism. So more marketing dollars going into our historic ethnic, cultural communities is what we need from the GMCVB at this time.

11) **The CRA lists heritage tourism as a means for revitalizing poorer elements of the city. Could you talk about how they have been involved in the process and how successful do you believe their work to have been?**

They may have that on the website and they've done a little bit of it but there a lot more that needs to be done. They have restored some buildings and that's very important and very expensive and they have done that. I think they're trying to do more of that. There still has to be something to connect the dots - there needs to be more connectivity between the attractions in one community so it can be marketed as a whole. They can also provide signage in Overtown where they have jurisdiction and I believe that with the right vision and the right people on the team that a lot more can be done in a positive direction to make our communities more tourist friendly and ready. [Cultural tourism] is economic development at its best and the CRA should embrace this more and work a little but faster to make that happen, especially in Overtown.

12) **The CRA also discusses increasing public visitation and accessibility to areas such as Overtown as well as improving the areas infrastructure. How do you believe this could be achieved and do you think this is being achieved?**

I believe in Overtown it's being achieved to a small degree by the new sidewalks and streetscapes and new plants. I think the more new buildings they fund [as well as implementing] new projects for housing and retail (as long as everyone's on the same page as the community as lots of people are very attached to Overtown because of how historic is it) [the better it will be]. There's people wanting to come in and build anything they want so there has to be a balance for the community that takes account of economic development so it's good for the community to restore historic buildings but they have to

be user friendly. It's good for the community to have new housing units but they have to be affordable. Overtown is on its way. A lot of money has been put into the Lyric theatre and it has a beautiful lobby now and they are expanding the stage to vary the acts that can perform on the stage. Government moves slow but it seems slower than normal in Overtown and there are reasons for that. You need to make sure the community is heard and that a strategic plan includes those things that the community wants. The Overtown community oversight board have meetings every month and have subcommittees and I am on the business and economic development committee which is open to the public and we have good energy and the public has the opportunity to voice concerns before strategic plans are drawn up to prioritize issues. People realize that economic development initiatives bring in jobs and people need to be trained in the jobs as well so it has potential for human development and community development that should be one part of the holistic approach but we're far behind [than we should be]. We should be further ahead in 2010. We don't have signs on all the streets, no maps and there no excuse for this – these are basics. Sometimes as much as I feel we are moving ahead [I also feel] in many ways we are going backward. The things we need are no-brainers and we need to get the right people together at the table to move forward and fund it.

Even though the city should be upgrading [the whole of] the city anyway because people live in the city and pay tax, it seems like Overtown got a major facelift and Little Haiti didn't. Little Haiti is lacking in many things – places with no sidewalk, no trees, few signs and this is to do with having a CRA or not. By virtue of the fact they are both in Miami they should be treated the same. This is due to three things. There has to be a commissioner behind it for things to move in this city and number two there has to be money involved and Overtown has had the benefit of the CRA whilst Little Haiti has not, and Overtown and Liberty City are part of an empowerment zone that has federal dollars whilst Little Haiti does not. There's a lot of inequity about how things have evolved in our cultural communities but the overwhelming common denominator and umbrella with regard to each one [is it's] uniqueness [that allows] each one to have a lot to offer for tourism.

13) **If you were able to change one aspect of Miami and its image what would you change?**

I would change the outside perception of Miami. I would wave my magic wand to the world saying that Miami is a beautiful place and a safe place and a place where you can find every cultural food and see an ecology unlike any other in the world and wave away the stigmas of the past that come from different issues in the communities and political issues. I would invite people to come to a beautiful safe and cultural paradise with paradise reflecting the local ecology and the beautiful flowers and trees that we have blooming all year long.

Appendix 8 – Transcript of Interview with Amy Rosenberg

Could you tell me a little about your project?

I think people think there is no historical narrative in Miami and there no reason to think that but were a culture of immigrants and everyone brings their own collective historical memory from their own country and they might not pay attention to what's going on here but there's motivation to get better and to make it rather than to pay specific attention to the architecture and the culture and its sad.

The Overtown Music project is my fifth nonprofit and thankfully all of them are sustainable and working. The first nonprofit was a volunteer lawyers for the arts foundation that reached out to artists and particularly visual artists who needed help with contracts or immigration and help them and nurture them and then there's Dream in Green which is an environmental project that still runs today and the idea behind that is to take the environmental movement to schools and to administrators and principles and parents and teach them basic information that it's easy to live a greener life and through Dream in Green we've seen schools save hundreds of thousands of dollars so it has an effect. The Adrian Arsht Center across the street, I started their young patrons group about five years ago and it still exists and the idea behind that is that a lot of times you get (3.13) older demographics going to a performing arts center and the idea is to make that building more than an edifice and to bring in younger diverse audiences and to help them understand what's going on in that world. I was a little annoying as the first director of the center before it open I met casually at an event and I said it would be great if you started a program for younger people and then I saw him again and I said the same think but with more details and then I got to the point where he couldn't take anymore and he said if you really want to do it just start it. It was basically programming and what we did was two-fold. The first things was we took a performance that we thought would be interesting to a demographic in their twenties to their forties and we captured their attention by saying come to this event and there will be a discount because prices can be steep and then there will be a party where we can all talk about it and have a drink afterwards. It was wonderful because it attracted a diverse group and it still does. I'm not involved as the chair anymore and what I normally do if five years and if something is sustainable I leave it.

What background do you have with the community in Overtown?

I spent some time tutoring in Overtown over the years and I was in Overtown about a year and a half ago and I had a small legal magazine. I was in Overtown and I had wanted to do a walking tour to learn more about the musical history as I only knew snippets and I invited friends and as we walked through the area we were standing in front of the Lyric theatre, which is this majestic theatre built in 1912, and I was listening to the tour director talk about how Count Basie, Ella Fitzgerald and even the Beatles had performed in that building and I was struck by the fact that I was in this historically rich community that seemingly very few people had any understanding of and I was looking to the left and to

the right and seeing nothing but naked lots and this idea crystallized and so I sold my business and decided that I had to figure out if there were musicians who were still living from the heyday of Overtown and that it was time to figure out a way to bring people together and that music could be the best vehicle for that.

It was a rollercoaster as I'm not from Overtown and I wanted to do this right and not be a carpetbagger and so I literally knocked on doors and introduced myself to business owners, church leaders to the government there and the reception by and large was either welcoming, extremely confused or hostile. Few people were hostile but they made it a very difficult process. There was one in particular as when I started the project I was up for a Knight Foundation Arts Award and my initial thought was to do a one day festival that would bring tourists and revenue and the community to the area and so I was a finalist. There was a government official who had never met me and I had called him and he had never called me back and suddenly I had a message on my answering machine with expletives saying "who are you, you're not from here, I'm going to call the foundation and make sure you don't get this grant" and I had not earned a penny in several months and I was crushed and I called him and said before you do anything meet me and see that I'm sincere and part of how I structure this is that I have had 501©3's which are legally non-profits and I have that now in order to be completely transparent and so people know I'm hands off. I went to meet with him and he was ugly and we ended up hugging at the end of the meeting and I thought everything was ok and I later found out that he had launched a personal campaign against me and was calling the foundation. Ironically he was not himself from Overtown, he was from the North East and it was tough and there have been some roadblock along the way.

I ended up not getting the grant and it was probably the best thing that could have happened as a window closes and a door opens and I ended up realizing that a one day event was the wrong thing to do because it's a hit and run. Where we are right now is we do a series of events and we did our first event on the 17th July and someone wrote about it afterwards and said it was the most diverse event they had ever been to. Residents of Overtown were dancing with residents of Fisher Island. My mother was dancing with Bobby Stringer and it was that kind of feeling. People are eating and drinking and talking together and it was wonderful. We showcased a performer who playing in Overtown in its heyday and from that event we found out the saxophone player Charlie Austin wasn't allowed to play in the Fountainbleau in the 60s which hosted every marquee act but if they were black they weren't allowed to stay there and that would make them go to Overtown that was then called Colored Town and they would perform in the wee hours in these packed integrated clubs but Charlie lamented the fact that he was never able to play the Fountainbleau and it turned out the general council and the attorney who is in charge of everything at the Fountainbleau is now this beautiful, brilliant black woman and they met and there were a lot of tears and we decided that the final event to our season is going to be at the Fountainbleau. It will be a big bank event with guys who weren't allowed to perform back then. The goal is to showcase these musicians and to give them a platform but also to bring people together and the way we do that is through music and

food which are the two most powerful connectors and so we always have food and our next event is in January which will be a gospel brunch in which you have an hour or two of gospel and then you go and split bread and hopefully people will meet people they have never spoken to before from different economic groups, different races, different religions. That's the goal.

What are your plans to make this sustainable?

There are going to be four big events this year. The gospel will be the first then there will be a barbeque and blues event, an Afro-Cuban orchestra and then the Fountainbleau event and then we'll go from there. The church Gospel event is in Overtown, the blues will be in Overtown, the Fountainbleau is in Miami Beach and the Afro-Cuban orchestra will be on the border of Overtown. One of the goals is to reach into different communities and to bring people from different communities together and there are some people who are afraid of Overtown and I think it's important to do the events in different places but always with an eye to Overtown and bringing that community.

We have ticket prices to our events but if someone can't afford it they don't have to pay and musicians never have to pay and we are looking at trying to get buses to take the community from Overtown to the Fountainbleau. The hope is to start a music scholarship that will give an Overtown student a music scholarship to UM, FMU or FIU. We'd like to have a building that was bulldozed in Overtown, there are so few buildings now and just a handful of the historic ones, and we have a developer that we're speaking to now and he's interested in helping us rebuild one of the buildings and then we would have an office there and my hope is that we would have a jazz or a blues residency where we would partner with a local university to bring youth and the arts back into that area. One of the reasons I'm doing this is because my grandparents are holocaust survivors who moved to Detroit in the 50s with the whole Motown scene and Diana Ross and my grandfather had a black business partner which wasn't the thing to do in the 60s and they were close friends and ended up working with Diana Ross so growing up we had a dinner table of Blacks and Latin's and we would have jam sessions after dinner so for me standing in front of that theatre I had that image of my grandfather and it's an opportunity to make my dinner table bigger.

Why do you think Miami is so segregated?

It's part of being such a new city and an immigrant city. A lot of the segregation is unfortunately self segregation. You go to Collins in the 70s and it's Argentinean. You go to Westin and its Venezuelan and there are certain areas that are Colombian or Puerto Rican and these enclaves are wonderful as they have great restaurants and there's are real interesting feeling when you go into them but at the same time there's such dramatic separation. I think when you move to a country you are more interested in making a dollar and feeding your family and paying your bills so people of first generation and second generation aren't really becoming part of a more cohesive community. I think that happens maybe in the third generation.

Have you come across any similar organizations to your own in Overtown?

I'm certainly not the only organization. I think there are organizations like Danialla Levine's Human Services Coalition which really attempts to bring different groups and different people together. There a gentleman called Marvin Dunn who works out of FIU who has an Urban Garden called Roots in the City and he does some interesting work. I'd have to think about that a little bit.

Do you think that your projects focus is applicable to other parts of Miami?

Absolutely. In five years I'd like the organization not to exist. I like it to not have to exist as I hope Overtown will be filled with restaurants and commerce and is bustling again and vibrant. I don't know if that will happen but ideally our organization will cease to exist and there will be a building and a residency program and more people from outside Overtown going in and more people from Overtown leaving as well and mixing with the community at large. In some ways it's like an island and outsiders think that intellectually even though its sandwiched between downtown Miami and Wynwood.

There a very sad and murky history in Overtown and there have been people who have come in and seduced the political leader and the community and they've offered to make these grand investments but nothing has come to fruition and the community have been promised a great deal and because of shady business people and frankly political leaders who weren't leaders things didn't happen. It's also a community in which Overtown doesn't want to be Overtown where the people who built Viscaya and the railroads were forced to live there and it happened to become this enclave of doctors and lawyers. There were fifteen clubs on one block and elegant boulevards and it was a beautiful place if you see pictures of the architecture, of the Mediterranean revival buildings, the deco buildings with people dressed to the nines and you go there now and it's a little lost and empty. When the highways dissected Overtown they went into a central artery and they also ripped the heartbeat out of that area and people started to move to Liberty City and Opalocka and there was an exodus and understandably so. Also desegregation had an impact on that area as there were people who were forced to live in this area and suddenly they have options. If there's a highway going through your area and you're a doctor or a lawyer and can afford more then you don't want to stay there anymore. So its kind of the story of Harlem in some ways but Harlem is experiencing a renaissance and that's what I hope for Overtown. The other thing is I don't want to be the person from Overtown who moves in and gentrifies. I don't want to be that person. I'd love to see business people from Harlem, black-owned businesses open a satellite, a restaurant down here and open a studio museum of Harlem in Overtown that acknowledges that there is a very rich arts culture there. Langston Hughes wrote there, Neil Hurston and other wonderful writers worked there but going through now you can tell that they left a mark.

The Lyric Theatre is undergoing its third renovation. What's always so interesting to me is that Calle Ocho is so near and Little Havana is so near to Overtown and socio-economically they are so similar but if you go into Little Havana at any time so see these bustling streets, you see cars, you see people wandering. You go into Overtown and you could be there for an hour and not see a single person and there are only two or three restaurants in Overtown and it's such a difference.

How have you seen gentrification occur in Miami? Are there any examples of it not occurring?

Even where we're sitting now (north Downtown Miami) is an example of gentrification. Were sitting in an area where there are beautiful Spanish mission sat homes from the 1920s and 1930s and then you see these monstrosities (sky-scrapers) everywhere that I think destroy the character and integrity of this area. I think absolutely yes gentrification is inevitable as in Miami gentrification is progress. If you look at an area like Wynwood and you look at the demographics of that community and you see how people have gone into the community – outsiders – and they've said to the residents who own their homes – "lets create an agreement whereby when you die I will get your home" and that actually happens frequently where people have had their homes sold out from under them and they have to go elsewhere so it's interesting.

It begs the question how do you do service to an existing community and also bring in new business and I don't know the answer to that and it keeps me up at night. I don't think that developers like Tony Goldman, who have gone into Wynwood and have done amazing things and Tony Goldman is a visionary and he has bought up a lot of the property there and he's even made an epicenter for bicyclists who do bicycle tours of the area as there's so much great graffiti. Then you see the primarily black residents who are agonizingly poor and have got seemingly nothing from being surrounded by galleries. If you go there on Tuesday at two o'clock and it's like Overtown.

Miami is a tabloid town. It's a strange combination of being this sophisticated, worldly international community and then we have a lot of growing to do at the same time. Miami culturally we're on the verge, intellectually we're on the verge but were still a small city with 1.2 million people and a few years ago I tried to bring Time Out to Miami and it's a very difficult process and it ended up failing. People think Miami is a lot bigger than it is with more business centers. We don't have a lot. We've got some Latin America headquarters here but were lacking in what a New York or Chicago has. We really need more of a creative class, more business as we have these incubators like the chamber of commerce that try to bring more business to Miami but that is kind of lacking. How to help us get to major world class city status just doesn't seem to be happening at this stage.

It's like a Latin American country in its inequality. How to you foster interaction? The Arsht center does a gospel series quarterly and it's free and I think that they actually bring people to the center. There's something called MUT who are people who get together and have a talk about what is going right and wrong in Miami. I've become much more action oriented in the last few years and I have a problem sitting through a lot of talk.

Appendix 9 – Transcript of Interview with Edouard Duval-Carrié

Do you think culture is a useful tool in helping to develop neighborhoods?

It's a very complex problem. There are people thinking and wishing to integrate more of these communities into a larger scheme of things and proof is the Haitian market that they are building and have been for many years as sometimes they were badly run or misguided at first or not really well thought-out ideas and they just impose these sorts of things and sometimes they work and sometimes they don't. I think the Little Haiti Cultural Center is too nice not to be properly occupied eventually. It's been intelligently built and already it has created enough focus that they are fixing the façade however what will ensue from it is another ball game. The problem also is, are the Haitians staying enough in this neighborhood for it to warrant this appellation of becoming Little Haiti. There are so many layers to the problem. I myself am based here and I do my thing and survive trying to promote myself and I try to promote Haitian culture in one way or more ways than none. What this does or doesn't do for the community or for Miami I don't know but I can say I've had some form or success in some few things that I've done. For example the French government was interested in participating with me in the Global Caribbean exhibition last year and this year they are doing it again. I like to create things at a certain level and hope that they create enough interest at an international level. To me I've always known that you never profit in your own land. It takes someone else to come and say you are great because they are so submerged in their daily lives that they don't see what's good or bad and they can't get above and see the larger picture of things.

What movement in the Haitian community have you seen in the past few years?

The Haitian community are attracted to other places I've heard and this is what I seem to perceive as once they get established they move out as competition with their fellow Cubans is so steep that they prefer going to Broward now. That's a big problem for Little Haiti. Yes there is a core that has kept the appellation of Little Haiti and the influx of newly arrived due to the Christian church or some other organizations so there might be a welcoming path for the new arrivals but how long will that stay in place. Now with this debacle in Haiti there has been another influx but how they are going to be served or located is difficult to say. I think they are best served being centralized in a place like Little Haiti where there are a few organized institutions that are tending to them in one way or another. Now I know that there are willing individuals at a political level that have built for example the Little Haiti Cultural Center but unfortunately it opened during the economic collapse and the whole tightening of belts so it's been very difficult for the center to play much of a role in the community. But they are busy. It's used quite a bit. It might not be as vibrant as one might want but the sad case is that which exists for all museums and institutions here. I was at a discussion the other day about why they are building this massive museum and Mr. Margulles was saying that the current museum doesn't get 10% a day to visit and this is the major cultural institution in this city so you cannot complain about this one. You have to put it in context but it's rented out and organizations use it. We keep trying to fill it up and it's fabulous. My living here is like a self fulfilling prophesy as they thought at least he'll do something about it [the center] as he won't want it to become a haven for derelicts so I hope my presence does something.

Things are changing and things are in flux both here and in the world generally and so assume that some models that worked in other places will work is difficult as people have to really have their antennas out and reevaluate on a daily basis as no one knows where it's going.

There has been an influx of kids from Haiti recently that were sent as Haitians that come to work here have a tendency to leave their kids back home with their grandparents and all that group of kids that were supposedly safe in Haiti had to be shipped out and they are legal immigrants as they are displaced and they count in the thousands.

A lot of new kids at schools usually come to this neighborhood. I'm going to do a tedex talk about how creativity has changed Miami. They should really look at artists as catalysts for change as one way or another we bring different visions to the table that nobody sees. Me, by just being here and doing that has seen me scream and yell at the architects when I looked at the plan for the Center and I said where is the gallery? We are a very visual culture but still there was no gallery and I told them to put one in and they did and it's been put to use and that's what makes it a very different place to these other venues that they build around the city because this one having a gallery of that scale and scope makes it a very attractive proposition for many different groups and people. Art can and has put Miami on the map. I mean Basel and all of its extravaganza, even though it might only last two weeks has really created a buss around the city. Just look at the rows of artists that have moved to town – it's unbelievable. I know also that art can be a breaker of barriers in so many ways but institutions are often caught up in their own perceptions and so they often leave it to the artists to do their thing. I had a photographer come to take my picture as a member of the community and then she says oh were not going to use it because you don't fit in. I was so shocked and taken aback.

Is development possible without gentrification?

It's a very difficult proposal. There are groups around here that want to change the appellation of Little Haiti back to what it was. It's a problem – there is no other way around it. The trick would be to invite the middle class and lower middle class Haitians to invest in the area but they are worse than the foreigners and they want to run away from it. I'm like the brave soul from that group as I feel that I should be here and it was an interesting proposal so here I am. A lot of influence from the Cuban population also as when they get money they run to Coral Gables or somewhere else – they don't stay in traditional areas like Little Havana. But it's always replenished with new comrades which is the same case here so were not that different from anybody else. What are the mechanisms that could prevent gentrification? I don't think this neighborhood is being gentrified. There are a few other intellectuals who are moving into the area like Edwidge Danticat lives down the street and I hope there are people like her and me who invest in this neighborhood the little bit of notoriety we might have and plant a seed for there to be a permanence of what Haitian might mean to anybody else. Also Haiti floods also so it's a big problem.

How has Little Haiti changed in the past few years?

A lot of artists have moved in – there's about 10 artists that I know who have bought places and are very stable here. As far as the Haitian population the schools – which is how you gauge neighborhoods- Edison is becoming more and more a problem meanwhile Toussaint Loverture is becoming more of a success and the only apparent reason is that we have a principle who is a Haitian at one and a total foreigner to Haitian culture at the other one. We've done a few little things here that have dispelled some of the prejudices about Haitians to people who should know about us like the French government and French people like the idea that Haitians will never want to know how to speak French. Why wouldn't they want to? It's the closest thing they have to a real international language so I started a program and we had total success. People from all over the neighborhood, hundreds of them, coming to attend classes. Of course only when you don't have to pay as when you have to pay people switch gears. But if it's offered why wouldn't they want to learn it? The director there thought it wouldn't be a necessity and I said well they don't need to know how to speak Creole as they already speak Creole.

When you create an exhibition about Haitians you shouldn't perpetuate nonsense. I was shocked by the photographer. It doesn't portray enough poverty or what? I was left perplexed. It's about challenging perceptions and not constantly reiterating lies like that they don't speak French and the lies go on and on. We have quite a sizable population of Haitians here and a lot more should be defending themselves in a better way as that's another problem – representations of Haitians. They are not very well served by their politicians and the laws. Haitians are not considered political immigrants but economic and what is the difference? What kind of rhetoric is that?

By creating a buzz around this place we're definitely bringing in more people to this area. They are fixing up the front of the street also and we'll see. There has definitely been more of an influx. I mean me I always tell people who tell me 'oh you live with the Haitians' well who do you think I am? People are so racist.

How do you think integration can be achieved in Miami?

I'm always trying to be inclusive and that's why I jumped at the chance to join with the French for the Global Caribbean program as by creating, in Little Haiti, a platform in which not only Haiti but the whole of the Caribbean was celebrated we bring different people into the area and educate them as well. I have friends from everywhere and artists are peculiar in that sense as if you're a creator then you're a creator wherever you come from and it's something that exists in my work as people ask is he contemporary? I say so what he's alive – leave me alone he's good. If he was bad he would be sent packing. People have to follow the example of artists with their ideas of equality and good taste and try to give these ideas credence one way or another. Elitism is a big problem here as they build this visual side to the city but they will have to expand into all sorts of areas. That's why I'm doing this excerpt of an opera that was commissioned by the performing arts center and was dropped and picked up – The Harlem Stage Theatre so we presented it here at the same time this year as the Global Caribbean so yes my wife took me to the Colony to see La Fabiata and it was very nice and things like that should be supported and there were four Haitians in the troop. In the arts equality can happen and it's

wonderful to see it. I try in my work to spell out the history Haiti has as I understand it. The complexity of it. That's why my work is unreadable because it is complex and I try to explain it one way or another or in many ways. History informs my work in many ways but I'm an artist too as the aesthetics is important.

I'm trying to do my best here to keep at least the word Haiti at the forefront. I got an exhibition at the airport at the moment and the millions of tourists that come to this town can see it and think of Haiti. That's my aim – I'm very conscious of where I come from and the life that's going on there and trying to help in an intelligent way. In this show it will be there for six months and 8 million people go through there so a lot of people will see my work.

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