

Cultural Tourism in the 'Tropical Playground'
Issues of Exclusion and Development in Miami's Tourism Industry

Tom Cairns Clery

C07-43-7633

Geography (First Year Masters Student)

t.clery@umiami.edu

25th April 2010

Introduction

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]”, 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 industry, and indeed the industry itself in terms of tourist attractions and infrastructure, are yet to arrive in many of the city’s Black and Latino 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”¹ whilst arguing that race is a factor within tourism power dimensions that has rarely been addressed. Therefore this paper 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”², with specific reference to cultural tourism, analyzing the aspects that are preventing growth in the industry as well as potential means for growth, expansion and success. By analyzing the specific case studies and selecting key interviewees³ I will examine power relationships within Miami’s tourism industry by first looking at the GMCVB as the primary organization for tourism marketing and sales in the city and the role that they play in including or excluding certain groups from the image or

¹ Richards and Hall (2000) p303

² Yudice (2003) p196

³ These include George Neary (Vice President of Cultural Tourism at GMCVB), Rolando Aedo (Vice President of the GMCVB) and David Brown (Director of Miami’s Cultural Community Tours) 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.

brand of Miami. Following this I will examine 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. Finally, one of Miami's only cultural tourism providers, *Miami's Cultural Community Tours*, will be analyzed as a potential link between Miami's current forms of cultural tourism and a more inclusive and holistic approach that could assist in making certain areas of the city more inclusive, empowered and integrated.

Cultural Tourism

Cultural tourism is a term that has a unique 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, like those of culture itself, are highly contentious and open to interpretation. This study will use the term culture and cultural tourism in a wide and social sense by referring to Williams' (1958) holistic approach to culture "as the expression of a particular way of life".⁴ William's formulation of culture has been chosen, despite criticism that it incorporates too much within its definition⁵, specifically because he sought to challenge elitism and the "tendency to focus on so-called 'high' or 'elite' culture in cultural policy making" to focus rather upon "championing the culture of the masses."⁶

Interpretations of what is included and excluded from culture become highly political subjects as, throughout the world, and particularly in Miami, "culture increasingly becomes a part of [city government's] business and economic development departments".⁷ Within a wider social context

⁴ Horak and Seidl, 2010, p8

⁵ Hesmondhalgh, 2007

⁶ Smith (2009) p5

⁷ Yudice (2003) p195

certain ‘cultural’ interpretations have become normalized in the public psyche so that terms such as the adjective ‘cultured’, which is used to refer to a person “possessed or characterized by culture”, with culture in this context specifically defined and limited to “reference to the arts”, become accepted in everyday use with little thought as to what they are excluding.⁸ This paper 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 of the past), but also as a combination of both, potentially including within that all aspects of the ways of life that exist amongst Miami’s various communities.⁹

The use of this broad approach to culture and cultural tourism is especially important 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 Adrienne Arsht Center for the Performing Arts¹⁰, Art Basel¹¹ and the Greater Miami Convention and Visitors Bureau (GMCVB)¹² have been met with just such criticism for their exclusion of certain elements of Miami populations. 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 ignited a new passion for cultural tourism in the city. As Rolando Aedo, Vice President of the GMCVB explains, “cultural tourism for us is

⁸ Oxford English Dictionary

http://iiiprx.library.miami.edu:2160/cgi/entry/50055637?single=1&query_type=word&queryword=cultured&first=1&max_to_show=10 (last accessed on 04/13/10)

⁹ Richards (2001a: 7) quoted in Smith (2009) p16

¹⁰ See <http://www.miamiherald.com/459/story/730388.html> (last accessed 04/03/10)

¹¹ See <http://www.miaminewtimes.com/content/printVersion/2010436> (last accessed 04/03/10)

¹² See Alonso (2007)

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.”

Cultural tourism should not however be limited to so-called ‘high’ cultural pursuits such as art fairs or operatic performances but should also incorporate heritage sites, festivals and special events, religious sites, language, gastronomy, industry and commerce, modern popular culture and creative activities.¹³ Interactions between creative activities and cultural tourism have led to the creation of the term creative tourism which refers to events in which the tourist is actively involved in participatory activities that are often related to cultural tourism, such as dancing, music making, cooking or craft making.¹⁴ 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.

The Greater Miami Convention and Visitors Bureau

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 tropicalized 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 the 26.9% of city residents, the vast majority of whom are Black (42.3%) or Latino (over 25%), reported to be living in

¹³ Smith (2009) p17

¹⁴ See Smith (2009) for details

poverty.¹⁵ Miami's 'playground' image is therefore problematic as segregation is rife and inequality is often considered the norm in the city. The United Nations 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"¹⁶. The report 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".¹⁷ Given that African Americans 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.

Gastón Alonso (2007) argues that the focus of Miami's contemporary marketing to the global tourist specifically excludes Miami's Black and Latin American populations 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".¹⁸ An examination of the Greater Miami Convention and Visitors Bureau's (GMCVB) *Vacation Planner* illustrates Alonso's point as photographs depicting shopping and/or architecture feature in nearly a third of the planner's photographs, making architecture and shopping the second and third most popular images behind scenes of Miami's beaches whilst the

¹⁵ See <http://www.miamitodaynews.com/news/070830/story7.shtml> and http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/rc/reports/2004/06cities_fixauthorname/20040607_miami.pdf

¹⁶ <http://www.unhabitat.org/downloads/docs/presskitsowc2008/PR%201.pdf>

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Alonso (2007) quoted in Rath (2007)

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.¹⁹

The importance of tropicalized 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"²⁰ 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.²¹ 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.²²

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"²³ however, of the 21 tour operators listed in the section, only one lists Black history as an option

¹⁹ See Appendix 1.

²⁰ Alonso (2007), p164

²¹ Based on 2000 US Census data

²² See Appendix 2

²³ GMCVB *Travel Planner* (2010), p158

and none mention Latino history, culture, or cultural tours in general. 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 events²⁴ (23) it’s categorical partner within much of the GMCVB literature.²⁵

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 Adrienne Arsht Center for the Performing Arts, 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 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

²⁴ This trend appears to be based upon the economic logic that gay men are relatively wealthy and therefore help attract greater revenues.

²⁵ http://www.miamiandbeaches.com/members/GLBTProgram_0910.pdf

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 prophecy 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”²⁶, 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

²⁶ http://www.miamiandbeaches.com/about/images/gmcbv_2009_annual_report.pdf

something for the community””. 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 majority of Miami’s tourism takes place on Miami Beach, (101 of the 165 GMCVB accommodation listings²⁷ are based there) 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

²⁷ See Appendix 3

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.²⁸ 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.

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

²⁸ Statistics taken from GMCVB

infrastructure in much of Miami's predominantly Latino and Black neighborhoods, alongside the aforementioned specifically un-ethicized 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 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."²⁹

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 London, following the implementation 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 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 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'.

²⁹ Rath, 2005 quoted by Alonso (2007) in Rath (2007)

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 culturally³⁰. 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 should involve 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.³¹

One way in which the City of Miami hopes to achieve this is through the 2009 CRA *Redevelopment Plan for the Overtown Area*, which includes as one of its goals, "to establish interest in the Afro-Caribbean heritage by encouraging tourism, trade and cultural exchanges."³² The *Black History Tour*, created by Miami-Dade Transit, provides 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.

³⁰ http://www.ci.miami.fl.us/cra/files/pdf/2009_SEOPW_Redevelopment_Plan.pdf

³¹ Bramwell et al. (1998) quoted in Richards and Hall (2000) p9

³² http://www.ci.miami.fl.us/cra/files/pdf/2009_SEOPW_Redevelopment_Plan.pdf

Miami's Black History Tour

“It’s like a sandcastle and the drizzle is just washing it away” - Reginald Tookes

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”³³ and famed for its “stunning nightlife...many parades and sporting events”³⁴, Overtown is widely considered “a shadow of the bustling community it was less than a generation ago.”³⁵ Previously named Colored Town prior to the 1950s, Overtown had been the site of Miami’s largest Black community for many years up until the 1960s. The construction of Interstate 95 (I-95) in the early 1960s was 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.”³⁶ 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.

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

³³ Fields (2010) Preface

³⁴ Dunn (1997) p151

³⁵ Ibid, p339

³⁶ Ibid, p157

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.³⁷ 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.

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

³⁷ Statistics taken from Miami-Dade County

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.³⁸ 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 17 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.

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 cause for anxiety and frustration from members of the crowd, 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

³⁸ Ibid.

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 should have been addressed prior to 2010, in order to maximize consumer satisfaction.

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.” 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”.

The lack of specific tour guide training was clearly evident as the script was delivered on board the bus over the sound of the engine and surrounding traffic and therefore, with the bus' microphone having broken, the guide was often inaudible. 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* guide lacked in terms of content knowledge and delivery however, he compensated for with humor and amiability. The atmosphere on the bus 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.” This observation highlighted the importance that human capital has in the process of urban regeneration, without which the input of new infrastructure will fail due to the lack of clientele and community support. Smith (2009) compiles the varied roles that culture can play in urban regeneration,³⁹ 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.

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 policies 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”.⁴⁰ 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

³⁹ See Appendix 4

⁴⁰ Harris (1999) p65

activate them then all that goes for nothing”. This correlates with Bramwell *et al.*’s first principle behind the approach to sustainable tourism management that states “policy, planning and management as appropriate and indeed, essential responses to the problems of natural and human resource misuse in tourism”.⁴¹

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.

Miami’s Cultural Community Tours

David Brown, the founder of Miami’s Cultural Community Tours (MCCT), has been working with various communities in South Florida since the 1980s. Prior to his creation of MCCT he spent over five years building relationships in different communities and learning about the various different cultures that exist throughout the city. He describes that his aim was “to show people the neighborhoods in Miami and all their diversity... [in order to facilitate] cross cultural experiential learning... [and to create] a total emersion 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.” A key element within these tours is also participation as he stresses the

⁴¹ Bramwell et al. (1998) quoted in Richards and Hall (2000) p9

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.”⁴²

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”.⁴³ 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

⁴² Brown (2010)

⁴³ Ibid

means with which to participate in tourism and a lack of awareness in which people are simply unaware of the cultural 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”⁴⁴. 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”⁴⁵. Awareness and accessibility are thus primary concerns in the growth of cultural tourism in Miami and in order to address these issues Mr. Brown describes the potential of tourist information kiosks and improved signage as a means to address these issues as well as raising 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, unfortunately Little Havana’s kiosks remain unopened whilst although signage in some areas has improved areas like Little Haiti are lagging far behind.

⁴⁴ Brown (2010)

⁴⁵ Ibid

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."⁴⁶ 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.

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 providing 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.

Conclusion

Miami is a city which has been particularly successful at transforming many aspects of itself into value. From the Art Deco led reconstruction of South Beach, which helped facilitate the stylized

⁴⁶ Brown (2010)

images of *Miami Vice* or, more recently, *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 image of the city that appeals to tourists the world over and is only helped by the fact that musicians and television shows base themselves there. The tropical image that has been created is based upon multiculturalism and a cosmopolitan lifestyle that conceals 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."⁴⁷ In fact visitors to 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. 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, could assist in the facilitation of greater inclusion within the city were they to break this exclusionary trend.

The lack of marketing for Miami's Black and Latino neighborhoods has seen them lag behind other ethnic areas around the United States in creating an 'ethnic advantage' and this begins a vicious cycle in which tourists will not travel to an area that has no attractions whilst no attractions will be created without clients to consume the product. In this respect cultural tourism can serve an important purpose as it can facilitate a cross cultural exchange, even within the city itself, whilst bringing people into areas to consume not just physical attractions but what David

⁴⁷ Yudice (2003) p198

Brown describes as “the greatest asset of a community... [namely] the human resource”. The success of tours such as Miami’s Black History Tours and companies such as Miami’s Cultural Community Tours demonstrates the potential demand that exists for cultural tourism within the local, national and international community already due to the high turnout and interest that each has received over the past few years with the support of very little advertising. With an increase in marketing and an improvement in the product itself, in terms of tour guide training, scheduling and increased participation the potential for success increases still further. MCCT has taken these issues into account and spent many years building relationships within the community which has enabled them to offer a higher quality product than Miami Dade Transit’s tour. Despite this the economic aspects of cultural tourism are one of the largest hurdles to overcome as a balance must be found between the product’s quality and professionalism (severely lacking from aspects of the Black History Tour) and its price (free in the example of the Black History Tour).

Without adequate backing from local governments and city marketers for these ventures there remains little chance of continued and sustainable success, however, the potential benefits of increased cultural tourism for Miami’s Black and Latino communities illustrate the importance that cultural tourism could hold within community development. These benefits include job and income creation as well as a lowering of crime rates and an increase in community integration and pride both within the local communities and greater Miami as a whole. Given the potential benefits it is important that political elements within the city embrace a new 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.

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

<u>Accommodation Location and Quantity</u>	
Based on GMCVB <i>Vacation Planner</i> 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 [Adrienne 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 or 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 and 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 Gehry 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 statistics 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 it's 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 it's 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. We're 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 trending 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's 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 it's 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 hand 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 though 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'm going to 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 we 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 we're 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's 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 consumer's 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 we 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 it's sustaining itself, and Overtown isn't there yet but we 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 or 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 from 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 they 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 Adrienne 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. It's 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 fcst 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.

Bibliography

- M. Dunn (1997) “Black Miami in the Twentieth Century”, University Press of Florida
- D. Edgell, (2006) “Managing Sustainable Tourism A Legacy for the Future”, The Haworth Hospitality Press
- D. Fields (2010) “Linkages and Legacies”, Linkages and Legacies, Incorporated
- D. Hall and G. Richards, (2000) “Tourism and Sustainable Community Development”, Routledge
- D. Harris, (1999) “The Logic of Black Urban Rebellions: Challenging the Dynamics of White Domination in Miami”, Praeger
- D. Hesmondhalgh, (2007) “The cultural Industries” , 2nd Edition, Sage
- J. Rath, (2007) “Tourism, ethnic diversity and the city”, Routledge
- M. Seidl, R.Horak and L. Grossberg, (2010) “About Raymond Williams”, Routledge
- M. Smith, (2009) “Issues in Cultural Tourism Studies”, Routledge
- G. Yudice, (2004) “The Expediency of Culture: Uses of Culture in the Global Era (Post Contemporary Interventions)”, Duke University Press
- Brookings Institution Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy
<http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/rc/reports/2004/06cities_fixauthorname/20040607_miami.pdf> (last accessed 04/23/10)
- Community Redevelopment Agency
<http://www.ci.miami.fl.us/cra/files/pdf/2009_SEOPW_Redevelopment_Plan.pdf> (last accessed 04/03/10)
- Greater Miami Conventions and Visitors Bureau, “Travel Planner” 2010
- Greater Miami Conventions and Visitors Bureau
- <http://www.miamiandbeaches.com/members/GLBTProgram_0910.pdf> (last accessed 04/03/10)
 - <http://www.miamiandbeaches.com/about/images/gmcvb_2009_annual_report.pdf> (last accessed 04/03/10)

Oxford English Dictionary

<http://iiiprxy.library.miami.edu:2160/cgi/entry/50055637?single=1&query_type=word&queryword=cultured&first=1&max_to_show=10> (last accessed on 04/13/10)

Miami Herald

<<http://www.miamiherald.com/459/story/730388.html>> (last accessed 04/03/10)

Miami New Times

<<http://www.miaminewtimes.com/content/printVersion/2010436>> (last accessed 04/03/10)

Miami Today News

<<http://www.miamitodaynews.com/news/070830/story7.shtml>> (last accessed 04/03/10)

Miami-Dade County

<http://www.miamidade.gov/transit/news_tours_Black_history.asp> (last accessed 4/8/10)

United Nations

<<http://www.unhabitat.org/downloads/docs/presskitsowc2008/PR%201.pdf>> (last accessed 04/03/10)

The tourism industry helps to diversify Miami's investment portfolio, employing a significant number of people in the county, with 11.9% of all employees in Miami-Dade working in hospitality and leisure. Changing the economy and the culture. "I think we all agree that tourism is Greater Miami's No. 1 industry." While tourism undoubtedly impacts the region's economy, it also changes the political and cultural landscape of a city, according to tourism anthropologist, Dr. Kathleen Adams, a professor at Loyola University Chicago. "Tourism can transform the way in which a local resident views their surroundings" by marking off spaces as "special" through crafting narratives about those places, locals can appreciate those surroundings with new eyes," she said. High above the Miami suburb of Sunny Isles Beach, buying a Porsche is taking on new meaning, CBS News' Vicente Arenas reports. When Juan Pablo Verdiquio comes home, he'll park his car in an elevator that carries cars and people to their condos on any of the 60 floors in the Porsche Design Tower. It's the first elevator of its kind. "It's unique, that's for sure." Shari Olefson studies the real estate market for industry regulators. "We are experiencing more and more in Miami what I would call almost a real estate apartheid," said Olefson. "But as long as Miami remains the tropical playground of the rich and famous, developers will keep catering to them and high-end realtors like Nancy Batchelor will keep busy. "Yes, I think this is a new trend.