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Glocalizing Community Heritage Tourism in Two African American Communities in Miami

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Abstract

The purpose of this study was to examine significant elements and aspects of community heritage tourism development activities using a scholar activist approach in two African American communities located in Miami-Dade Florida. Community heritage tourism was investigated to understand its relevance and to assess multiple factors that may influence its direction in relationship to economic sustainability, leadership, and change. This collaborative research included community involvement with key relevant stakeholders. The aim of the study was to achieve better knowledge of heritage tourism and understanding of growth and/or hindrance to the community's capacity to change and economically sustain itself. The study explored vignettes of both exogenous and endogenous tourism-related initiatives, comparing examples with varying levels of community engagement. This dissertation is available in open access at AURA: Antioch University Repository and Archive, http://aura.antioch.edu/, and OhioLINK ETD Center, https://etd.ohiolink.edu/.

Keywords: African-American Communities, Community-based Tourism, Heritage Tourism, Activist Scholarship, Glocalization, Globalization, Miami, Overtown, Coconut Grove, Tourism

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Chapter I: Introduction

During the past two decades, heritage and cultural travel combined with advanced technologies have fundamentally changed why and where people travel. The United Nations World Tourism Organization (2015) travel report suggested that more people, namely the "new travelers," are seeking authentic cultural and heritage experiences from the people and places they visit. Not surprisingly social networking websites such as Twitter and other Internet-based tools, therefore, are major catalysts exposing the two African-American communities in this study becoming tourist destinations of global interest (Mandala Research, 2011). Global tourism growth is both profound and significant in its impact on local community, national, and international economies. Worldwide, its monetary influence far exceeds and surpasses most growth industries. The UNWTO reports tourism in 2017 accounted for more than $1.322 trillion while, in 2015, it ranked fourth after fuels, chemicals, and foods (UNTWO, 2015, p. 1). Global travel growth is profound as it accounts for more than $10 trillion in today's global market and ranks "fourth after fuels, chemicals, and foods" (World Tourism Barometer, 2015, p. 1).

Yet African American communities, many of them rich in the kinds of special places and attributes that make a great heritage destination, have found themselves ill-equipped and unprepared to benefit from the throngs of global travelers mainly because of their long history of disconnect from mainstream tourism as well as from their history of negative racial practices and policies toward them as communities (Dunn, 1997; Jenkins Fields, 2002; Loury, 1998; Wilson, 2011). As has so often been the case economically and socially, they remain primarily on the outside looking in, as a global source of prosperity benefits others. I have acknowledged, along with other scholars, the significance of the impact of global travelers, whose numbers are estimated at one billion and growing.

This dissertation portrays the struggle and advances of two such communities in Greater Miami, Overtown and West Coconut Grove, as they aim to be a proactive part of the massive global tourism opportunities based on their heritage and culture.

Research Purpose

The purpose of this study was to examine the development of community heritage tourism as experienced in two African American communities located in Miami-Dade, Florida, using a scholar-activist approach. The purpose of activist research can be understood as advancing general ideas in the field of community-based development, here focused on tourism, but also as helping to make real-world changes happen.

Research Questions

The primary research question asks: "How can two African American communities become economically sustainable and culturally respectful community heritage tourism destinations?" Additional research questions arose here from my own professional experience about the diversity of communities' needs, interests, and readiness levels for tourism (Eisenhardt, 1989).

1. How can communities develop unique economic sustainable strategies specific to local assets?

2. Who initiates and participates in community heritage tourism development?

3. Where do tourism investments come from to help sustain destinations?

4. What are existing barriers that limit community tourism growth and sustainability?

5. What conditions are required and essential for heritage communities to benefit and sustain from tourism global growth?

6. Who and what must be confronted for heritage communities to benefit and sustain from tourism global growth?

7. Can glocalized leadership produce equity, empowerment, and social change in heritage communities?

8. How can community stakeholders identify, protect, and preserve cultural heritage assets?

9. How do community stakeholders, residents, and organizations acquire knowledge and information to control, organize, and make their own decisions about tourism production and development?

My approach has been to examine these questions through research that led to a sequence of illustrative vignettes (Chapter IV) based on my long-term work, first as a planner and more recently as an activist and scholar serving the communities.

The Miami Area: Context, Opportunities, and Challenges of a World Tourism Destination

This study involved two Miami communities—Historic Overtown and West Coconut Grove. These communities show how history, culture, artifacts, and planned activities have implications for the development of community heritage tourism. A brief look into the Greater Miami area may provide a perspective on the opportunities and limitations African American heritage communities face in becoming heritage destinations. With a population of approximately six million and an annual economic yield of more than $300 billion from tourism, Greater Miami is the center of Southern Florida that has forged a mega-tourism region and economy (Florida, Gulden, & Mellander, 2008). Mega tourism is travel exerted on an entire region involving its economy, human capital, and infrastructure (Florida, 2014). The Southern Florida mega-tourism region incorporates Miami, Fort Lauderdale, West Palm Beach, Tampa,

and Orlando. Combined, these cities represent 15 million people and generate more than $750 billion in economic output. Miami heritage and culture communities are enmeshed in this mega region's tourism influences and economic prowess (Florida, 2003, 2014). The extensive scope and scale of Greater Miami has positioned local heritage communities to be able to leverage their distinctiveness and build cross-cultural alliances and economic possibilities that may change these communities forever.

As a scholar engaged in heritage tourism development, I am concerned about the impact global travel will have on local culture, heritage community identity, and survivability. Several questions cannot be avoided: Will communities lose their authenticity? Will they suffer or benefit from globally-stimulated growth? How will they manage and gain control? Can they? These are among some of the major concerns that I consider.

Glocalization is a new and increasingly used way to respond to these concerns and to the impact brought about from global tourism impacts and to address some of the foreseen and unforeseen challenges to come (Shamsuddoha, 2008). A primary purpose of this dissertation is to examine the ways in which marginalized communities in Miami, Florida, can utilize a "glocalized" approach—described more fully later in this chapter—to derive as much benefit as possible from the tremendous and growing demands brought about from global travelers' interests in heritage and cultural destinations. Important to the study is to learn what it takes for local heritage community stakeholders to better engage, respond to, and design measures to benefit from community heritage tourism as a viable economic strategy. In the study, I also illustrate how glocal leadership as a perspective and tool may help community heritage tourism stakeholders understand how to take advantage of global growth to advance glocal tourism economics and change. The experiences of two communities—Overtown and West Coconut

Grove—have been examined, to understand if and how glocalization works to shape growth and development.

My direct involvement in the communities studied has brought me to the conclusion that local knowledge provides a different dimension for understanding cultural identity and the need for local empowerment. It seems to me that perspectives from those who experience tourism's positive and negative impacts are more likely than not to be capable of providing solutions to the issues that present challenges. Because of the long persistent history of poverty, racism, marginalization, power imbalances, and disconnect (Jenkins Fields, 1987, 2002; Loury, 1998; Wilson, 2011), these communities have not been totally included in mainstream tourism plans. Taking into account this history and viewing tourism from a social justice and equality perspective may help determine how to address these imbalances across communities. I believe we must insist that government and tourism public entities are held accountable and responsible for their influence over how goods and services are disbursed (Bolwell & Weinz, 2008). I also believe community stakeholders and residents must be better informed and use their influence to make sure fair representation exists, with all communities provided with access and representation on public tourism boards and agencies. Adopting these ideas in a specific community heritage tourism context may be difficult but is, nevertheless, necessary.

Moreover, there is a need for a more robust discussion about equity and fairness in community-based tourism, as well as a need for relevant discussion about social justice activism, and racial and economic marginalization policies that are critical to understandings of the evolution and future of community heritage tourism (Gallardo & Stein, 2007). In order to appreciate the role of heritage tourism in communities of color, it is essential to understand the history of racial bias and economic marginalization in these communities in order to successfully

implement tourism strategies that will promote social justice and economic equity. Although the current research focuses on two communities in Miami Florida, the dynamics that shape how heritage tourism functions in African American communities across the United States applies generally as well.

Critical Frames for This Dissertation

In this section the purpose is to provide an initial sketch of how the work was framed. Two principal frames were used throughout: glocalism and activist scholarship. The idea of glocalization as a step beyond mere recognition of and acquiescence to globalization, and the idea, noted several times above, of having people involved with a community-based heritage tourism activity was looked at through a dual lens I utilized while working in these communities with professionals. Both perspectives are given more detailed consideration in Chapters II and III, respectively.

Globalism/ glocalism. This search for an innovative way to find a balanced course of action has been approached in the last several decades with a philosophy and practice named glocalization. It is an increasingly popular way to respond to concerns at the local level with impacts brought about by globalization and its foreseen and unforeseen challenges (Shamsuddoha, 2008). In Chapter II, I look at the evolution of the idea and ideal of glocalization in some detail. Here, only a quick sketch and definition of glocalization is provided.

Robertson (1995) suggests that the term—obviously derived by mixing globalism and localism —first arose in Japan but for a time was actually a term of "business jargon . . . in the words of *The Oxford Dictionary of New Words* (1991: 134), 'one of the main marketing buzzwords of the beginning of the nineties'" (p. 28). While several quite different meanings persist for glocal or glocalization, I use it primarily in the normative sense of the word as a

globally-aware and proactive local community that holds onto its identity and values but does so not only aware of but embracing with critical consciousness of the new possibilities of a globalized world. Put very simply, "glocality . . .[is] being inside and outside at the same time" (Meyrowitz, 2005, p. 23). This also happens to describe the other main perspective here—activist scholarship.

Activist scholarship. Alongside glocalization as a core part of this dissertation, is the theory and practice of *activist scholarship.* This approach to thinking and learning challenges and, as needed, even confronts social inequities while acting to remedy them (Hale, 2008; Nabudere, 2008). Activist scholarship critically examines barriers and works with study participants to plan, advocate, and launch an attack on practices and systems that inhibit and prevent full participation of two local communities in tourism growth, funding, and resource distribution (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006). The rationale for this approach is well established in the community-capacity development literature. In this study it has meant assisting community stakeholders, including leaders, to enter a path leading to community-based heritage tourism leadership and change, utilizing their experiences and knowledge to work against biases and the economic marginalization they face when becoming viable tourist destinations.

The communities of this study, Overtown and West Coconut Grove, are both located within metropolitan Miami. First as a hired planner and advocate for the communities, later with the role including activist researcher, I sought to identify strategies that assisted communities in addressing problems, challenges, and lack of preparedness as they pursued tourism potential. I believe community stakeholders need to play an even larger and more active role in tourism decision-making processes. They may also need to create and validate heritage tourism strategies based on the challenges they face and, at the same time, be prepared to take action to do

something about changing the challenges they encounter. Both the normative use of glocalism and my activist scholarship are therefore appropriate frames for a dissertation that contributes to scholarship and the worlds of these communities.

Both Overtown and West Coconut Grove have rich oral history, cultural assets, and an invaluable legacy from the past. Each community is pursuing cultural and heritage tourism strategies to improve the chances that additional public and private support and tourism business will occur. Leaders and stakeholders express and realize the value and importance of their contribution to history, art, and culture and other intangible and tangible assets. There are museums in these communities that house relics of an era gone by; churches, for example, have historic designations and are more than one hundred years old. Overtown and West Coconut Grove have made significant contributions to the Miami area by the preservation of their rich heritage during an era when Jim Crow practices, laws, and systems were designed to subjugate these communities to the boundaries of "Colored Only" (Dunn, 1997; Jenkins Fields, 2002; Woodward, 1955). Each community was able to salvage pieces from the past that are living examples of how these communities were able to endure in spite of the challenges. If they are able to develop and market these heritage cultural assets as tourism products, they may be positioned to benefit from global travelers who are looking for authentic cultural-tourism experiences (Salazar, 2012a, 2012b).

Figure 1.1 shows the location of the two communities. Each is pursuing cultural and heritage tourism strategies to improve the chances that additional public and private support and tourism development occurs. For as long as I have been involved with these communities, their leaders and citizens have expressed and realized the value and importance of their contributions to history, art, culture, and other intangible and tangible assets.
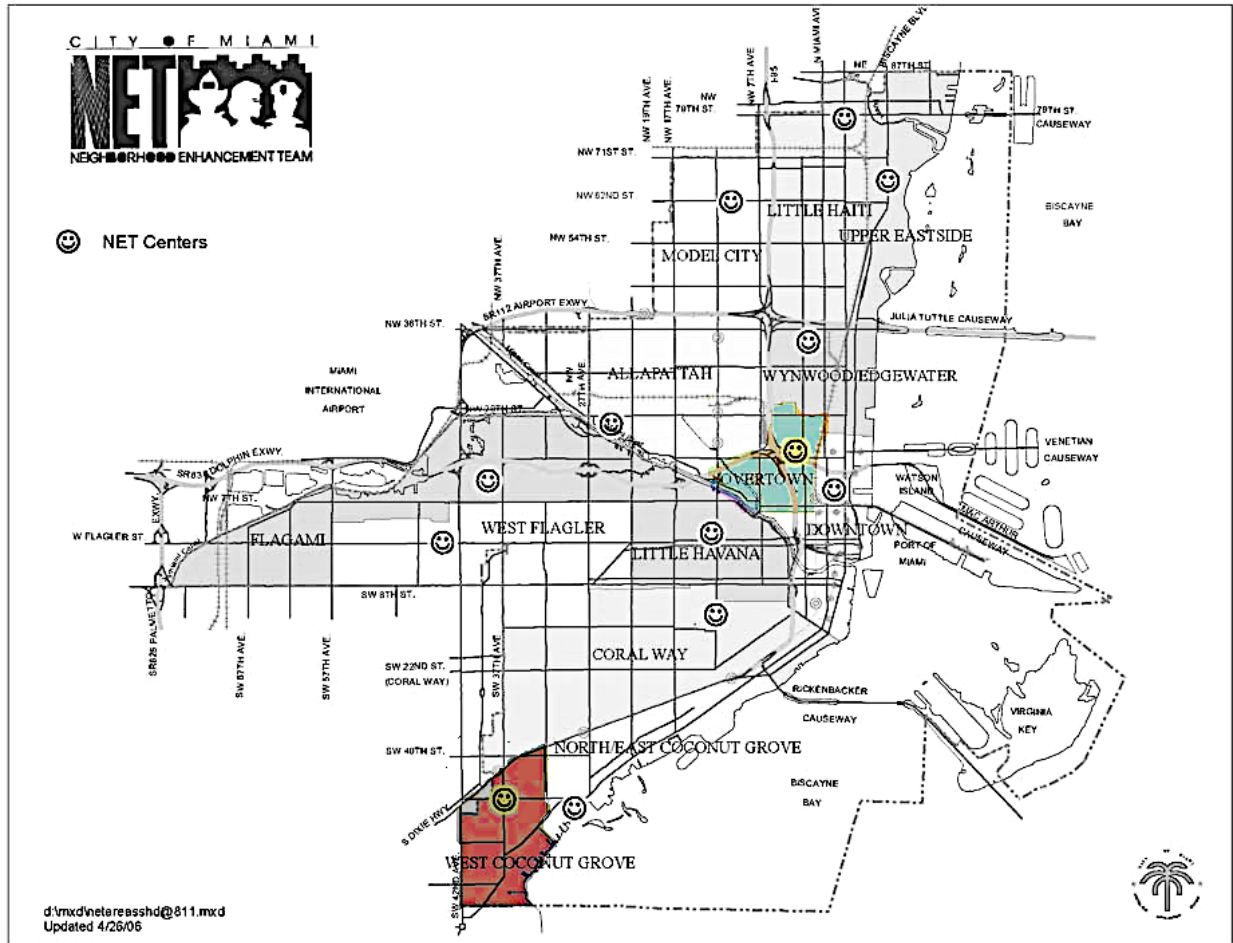
Figure 1.1. Map of location of the study communities within Greater Miami. Historic Overtown is in turquoise while West Grove is red-brown. The map is adapted from one prepared by the Miami Neighborhood Enhancement Team (NET) to depict the locations of the centers of city neighborhoods (represented by the smiley faces). Used and adapted with permission of NET. Copyright 2006.

Over the last century, residents of Overtown and West Coconut Grove have had little or no control over developments in their communities or how mainstream tourism leaders make their investments. Long-term racial prejudice of the Jim Crow era set the stage for the era of overbearing urban renewal. And the pattern, to no one's surprise, has stayed much the same in regard to the explosively growing tourism that has created today's Miami and South Florida. Communities, especially ones that are low income and disconnected from tourism's wide reach, have seldom benefited from the industry. While some communities have major heritage assets

and others fewer, they all face common challenges. This observation illustrates that the fissures that marginalize and isolate businesses and organizations and prevent or limit participation of communities of color in the "economics of tourism," are chronic, structural, and persistent.

Unlike many other tourism sectors, heritage tourism communities are driven by and meant to serve the community, utilizing its skills, resources, and the capacity of its people to create businesses through assets. As global travel increases, Honey (2008) suggested, people who make conscious decisions about where they lodge and what venues they patronize are usually aware of the economic, social, and ecological global problems that surround tourism. Honey suggested that these types of travelers are usually self-motivated by particular interests they seek, ranging from education to a quest for culture engagement, or a desire to improve society and the world. Travelers increasingly want to embrace the people and places they visit, and they are also shaping contemporary tourism.

Heritage tourism's opportunities and challenges. Since the mid-1990s keen public interest—including tourism demand—has rapidly grown in regard to heritage and cultural resources in the United States (Loukaitou-Sideris & Soureli, 2012), Europe (Coccossis, Parpairis, & Priestley, 1996), and more recently East Asia (L-J. Chen & Chen, 2011; Trau, 2012). Cultural tourism accounted for 40% of all international tourism in 2007 and is trending upward (World Tourism Barometer, 2015). This has provided both a huge opportunity and an array of concerns for poor and marginalized communities who happen to live where important historical and heritage features exist.

African American Communities and Cultural Heritage Tourism

Many African American urban communities in US cities are filled with rich heritage and culture traditions (D. G. Pearce, 2001). History, music, art, and cuisine are bedrocks in such

communities, transforming them quite suddenly into heritage communities of destination. Yet even in the face of a growing popularity for heritage and culture most African American communities continue to suffer from years of economic neglect and negative racial policies of disinvestment, poverty, and decline (Bennett, 2003). With a growing interest in heritage and cultural destinations, African American communities may be in a pinnacle position to be explored by travelers interested in heritage and culture. This growing interest and trend could promote economic opportunities for selected African American communities in this study. But it also carries risks that if community members and leaders do not take a primary role in telling the story of what is interesting about their heritage resources, others will. Visiting communities that are in economic trouble becomes attractive for all the wrong reasons. Weiner (2008) asks the tough question in the title of his *New York Times* article: "Slum Visits: Tourism or Voyeurism?" African American communities that I have worked with do not want that name applied nor do they seek visitors who come just for "ogling the poorest of the poor" (para. 6).

To frame the background and discourse on community heritage tourism and its significance, opportunities, and challenges, especially for African American communities, I surveyed historical records dating back to slavery and the Antebellum South to present a backdrop. I also reviewed racial policies and practices that played a role in shaping the challenges these communities face today as well as the opportunities the challenges create. I discovered that racial policies and issues are important but contentious as they relate to African American communities and tourism (Floyd & Johnson, 2002). I agree with Colocousis (2012) that tourism success at the community level is influenced directly by the extent and degree of discrimination and stigma it faces, as well as perceptions by residents, local stakeholders, and outsiders (Gallardo & Stein, 2007).

Race and power relationships play a direct role and affect how communities can benefit, engage, or take advantage of tourism opportunities. Racial history and the inequalities a community faces influence to a great extent their chances of success or failure as a tourism destination. It appears racial history is important and must be addressed through sustained and intensive dialogues, research, and activism to help remove racial inequality in tourism policies and practices (Floyd & Johnson, 2002).

Alderman and Modlin (2008) and Dann and Seaton (2001) suggest that African Americans have always stood out as a racial commodity and source of entertainment for mainstream White tourists. Dating back to minstrel shows, Black figurines and "blackface," and even back to the original African American arrival on the shores of the America, Blacks were viewed as exotic, intriguing, and, when not in the fields or serving the "massa," served mainly to amuse and entertain slave owners (Bennett, 2003). On demand, slaves would sing, dance, entertain guests, and make artifacts, pottery, as well as build Southern architectural edifices of splendor marveled at today.

Loukaitou-Sideris and Soureli (2012) presented an insightful overview of how cultural tourism can impact ethnic neighborhoods and what it takes for the benefits of "global" to be harnessed by local communities. Their main interest was in four ethnic inner-city neighborhoods in the Los Angeles area, one Latino, one Armenian, one Thai, and, most germane to my focus, the African American district of Leimert. Their study also comprises a review of experiences in seven other U.S. cities. They concluded that, so long as there is a strong role for local entrepreneurs and citizens, as community-based initiatives,

> (a) revalorize formerly neglected or underrepresented cultures and neighborhoods, (b) derive to some extent from the initiatives of those who produce and sustain these cultures, and (c) demonstrate that a high road to cultural tourism is indeed possible, as

crafted by limited-scale initiatives that have significantly fewer resources than most others. (Loukaitou-Sideris & Soureli, 2012, p.67)

Throughout the world, an increasing number of destinations are embracing heritage tourism as a means to rejuvenate community, provide employment, preserve place character, and be connected on a glocal and global levels. The case of Harlem in New York City (Hoffman, 2000, 2003) clearly reflects how heritage tourism is taking shape there and is another example of cultural and contemporary heritage tourism in African American communities.

African and African American heritage community destinations are not new, although there are differences between mainstream tourism and racial tourism of the past and now. Since slavery up to the 1920s when Black American was in "vogue" and today, Black communities were producers of culture, music, and art (Bennett, 2003) yet were unable and at this present time unable to benefit equitably from their organic culture and place in history because of persistent racial discrimination policies. This trend remains today and is foundational to contemporary community heritage tourism in African American communities because of its history of racial segregation that helped produce the rich culture, history, and ethos that heritage tourism is based on today. In order to attempt to level the playing field from heritage tourism, African Americans must deconstruct past and existing policies of racial exclusion while positioning themselves as producers of their cultural heritage past and futures if they are to profit and seize the opportunities tourism brings.

The importance of heritage communities as tourism destinations and attractions and their contribution to regional and national economies is significant (Enright & Newton, 2004; Keogh, 1990) and has provided opportunities for economic growth and diversification (Boyd & Singh, 2003). Findings from Nicholas, Nadia, Brijesh, Thapa, and Ko (2009), Shilling (2007), and Jamal and Getz (1995) suggest that heritage tourism has provided fresh opportunities for

economic sustainability, inspired new economic markets, and created jobs that otherwise may not have existed. Many urban and rural communities are rediscovering their significance; visitors are beginning to embrace this awakening, creating a demand for services and business (Ashley, De Brine, Lehr, & Wilde, 2007). How communities respond will depend on their human and infrastructure capacity as well as their ability to access and create financial resources.

The level of poverty and capacity in some heritage communities are major challenges along with lack of knowledge on how to lead, control, and benefit from their assets. This absence of knowledge, and the absence of leaders from tourism perspectives, may be responsible in part for the lack of control over the production of their culture products. This is worrisome and will need to be addressed if African American communities are to reap rewards from the rapidly growing glocal and global heritage tourism industry (Cawley, Gaffey, & Gilmore, 2002).

I believe that community stakeholders who are knowledgeable of glocal and global tourism impact may be able to take advantage of global travel data and trends, placing them in a better position to perhaps understand tourism influences as well as be able to consider choices, opportunities, and challenges that exist and lie ahead. Yet in my professional experience many community stakeholders do not have the knowledge or methodology on how to engage and benefit from tourism revenue streams and market sectors. The notion of "glocality" may offer the study an opportunity to position heritage communities in a place of strength "where locally enacted ideas and models influence the global" (Salazar, 2008, p. 630). The idea is to position residents and stakeholders who are invested and are advocates to stake claims in heritage tourism as a common good and a sustainable objective for the community.

Ongoing discussions and dialogues may be needed with residents and communities about the benefits and impact global tourism has on them about ways to benefit and grow.

Preview of Methodology

Chapter III is devoted to fully describing the study methodology. Here a brief preview is offered. I use a scholar activist research approach in my study. One reason I adopted this approach is because I wanted a research design that draws upon tensions and contradictions to improve and change public agendas around tourism in the African American communities studied. Activist scholarship paradigms provide me the platforms to advocate for power and social justice that might improve community circumstances within the tourism sectors.

I used qualitative research tools such as interviews, dialogues, observations, and interaction to collect impressions and input from participants in the study. To collect data for the study I used focus groups, interviews, and questions meant to aid in understanding certain activities in the tourism process and to arouse dialogues about the process. I compiled an inventory on existing assets in each they consider important. In addition, I closely observed and describe community participation past, present, and future issues and interests. This included examination of documents, in-depth interviews, and formal and informal dialogues with residents and stakeholders (Li, 2000, 2004; Park, 2010). These several distinct sets of data and information became the basis for presenting glocalizing heritage tourism in Overtown and West Grove as an array of vignettes, small focused stories of both exogenous (externally forced) and endogenous (locally driven) tourism-related initiatives.

Significance of the Study

Significance to theory. As will be discussed in Chapter II, this dissertation brings together ideas about long-marginalized local communities' responses to globalized tourism—analyzed here under the concept of glocalization—with ideas about managing community heritage tourism. The former topic, as will be seen, has arisen as part of the ever-widening

questioning of globalism as an automatic "good thing" for humankind. Neoliberalism relies on a seamless nearly automatic flow of benefits from the heights of the private sector, as unfettered as possible by the public sector, down to even the poorest and least powerful people and communities. These ideas have long been theorized by neoliberal economists but came forward most notably in the United States during the presidency of Ronald Reagan, whose name was incorporated into the name commonly used for these theories—Reaganomics. While largely discredited by experience, especially the ever-widening disparity between a tiny super-wealthy majority and the so-called "99%"[1] who have shrinking wealth, the theory has endured and is even seeing a comeback under the Trump presidency.

This dissertation, set in communities that have long been poor and disempowered, explores the existence of stimulating local economies whereby the benefits of globalism and free enterprise are harnessed for the good of everyday people, those who, in this study, have clearly not partaken of the benefits of laissez-faire "hidden hand" economics. Thus, the research will add to evidence that stark choices between macroeconomic corporate-driven growth and microeconomic suffering at the local level are not necessary.

A different way in which this work may contribute to theory relates to the rationale and demonstration of research that aims to change in the course of the work, what I refer to as activist scholarship (following Hale, 2016) but which is part of a broader family of approaches known by such names as action research (Susman, 1983), action science (Argyris, Putnam, & Smith, 1985), participatory action research or PAR (Whyte, 1991), practitioner-research (Jarvis, 1999), and community based research (Israel, Schulz, Parker, & Becker, 1998). These paradigms will be compared in more detail in Chapter II. It is my hope and expectation that this dissertation

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[1] The term "99%" started being used by Occupy Wall Street movement in 2011, in reference to the split between the world's 1% who have enormous wealth and the rest. See We Are the 99 Percent (2011).

will be a contribution to this genre of research, another solid exemplar of how it is possible to do research that simultaneously contributes to scholarship and communities in a manner where rigor and relevance can both be achieved.

Significance to practice. The significance of the study, in terms of practice, was to animate leadership and change in African-American communities around tourism. The study provides tools and insights on how to take advantage of community heritage tourism opportunities in a high amenity tourism region such as Miami, Florida. Moreover, the study is significant because it should provide community stakeholders and policymakers with the knowledge needed to determine suitable conditions for development and sustainability in communities that must find their way to the next level of their engagement with tourism (Coccossis et al. 1996). I am compelled to learn about conditions that can empower communities to define their limitations and to identify the opportunities for their sustainability. Given the limited empirical findings regarding community heritage tourism in African-American communities, the significance of this study may demonstrate ways in which communities take on challenges and seize opportunities to advance their local economies. This study is well positioned to explore such issues and opportunities and address barriers that limit progress.

Furthermore, the study is significant because it provides needed data, qualitative and quantitative, and a larger view of what tourism should be for, presently unavailable about these communities in regard to tourism. The findings and insights are intended to give community and industry stakeholders, tourism planners, and policymakers information and tools to expand or modify local plans and benchmark tensions that inform ways to help empower change (Akama & Kieti, 2007; Bailey & Richardson, 2010; Honey & Gilpin, 2008). Most importantly, because South Florida's Miami-Dade County is one of the world's most frequented tourism destinations,

the research demonstrates how communities might monetize and build revenue streams from visitors' spending. Understanding how visitors' spending patterns can benefit these communities' heritage tourism efforts is one of this study's primary aims.

Study Limitations

The study acknowledges several limitations and considers their impact in the research process. First and foremost is disabling bias, a major concern as I have a deep intrinsic interest in the study population. Scholar/activist methodology helps to relieve some of this tension, as I am able to confront the bias head on. I selected a population in which I am interested and with whom I worked daily to center my study. Although not totally conscious of all biases I am acutely aware of the potential problem I may encounter reporting results and describing my outcomes. Social science research describes this as social desirability biases in which I may favor a desired outcome. The point of action research, however, is to work toward a certain outcome with concrete positive results. Scholar/activist methodology considers this as a form of purposeful bias "to address public issues and or help specific constituencies" to produce social impact and change (Hale, 2008, p. xxv).

Another concern is a lack of data on the study population in the areas of community heritage tourism. This situation may prove to be beneficial, however, by opening the doors to advance research opportunities that do not exist. In addition, gaining access to people, organizations, and documented data is of concern. Although I work in these communities I have observed a tendency to withhold information and to be suspicious of outsiders. For this reason, I am concerned that access could be limited in some way, which could affect reporting results and describing outcomes.

Finally, despite the limitations of the study I hope to provide enough details potentially transferable to other heritage tourism community to use as a model.

Researcher Positionality

As a professional practitioner who worked in the tourism industry for a major city-wide organization, I am well positioned to explore how the opportunity heritage community tourism has come to and been used by the communities. As the recent past Associate Vice President of the Greater Miami Convention and Visitors Bureau (GMCVB), Multicultural Tourism Development Department, Business and Education Division, I lead community heritage tourism initiatives in one of the leading tourism destinations organization in the world. Such positioning is fruitful in that it allowed me to observe tourism industry activity from a local as well as global perspective. More importantly, I actively lead and helped develop community heritage initiatives both from within the organization and with community and industry constituents outside of it. I had a front row seat both within the organization I worked and with community heritage constituents. I am well suited and positioned to undertake this study.

My research design and questions stem from having this position. Being accountable to both organization and external partners allows me to develop and implement tourism project that have had outstanding results and receive recognition from city officials and multiple agencies despite the challenges and stigmatization faced by these communities. However, having organized town meetings on heritage tourism, negotiated with funders, organized and worked hand–in-hand with local community tourism advocates and agencies, and having helped design marketing material and media campaigns, these accomplishments are still not enough to rest on. Where I feel confident is my role as a corporate/community leader and a scholar who may be able with this study to help shape a new paradigm and introduce new ideas on community

tourism leadership and social change. This paradigm of encouraging public policy makers and corporate entities to partner with community heritage tourism efforts is grounded firmly in economic rationalism as well as a growth from years of activism and agitation.

My fieldwork in both community and mainstream tourism has allowed me to view a wide range of subtleties and tensions that goes unnoticed in many communities where residents are mainly unaware or detached from understanding tourism proclivity to stimulate business and their connection to it. As a scholar-activist I am compelled to help produce research that engage residents to help them better understand and confronts the powerlessness and disconnectedness that prevents equity and their full engagement in tourism. My work in heritage community and business development allowed me to critique first hand some of the factors that maintain mainstream tourism status quo while at the same time minimizing local community strategies. I collected data that enabled me to contribute to genuine tourism changes and public policy reform (Hale, 2008; Pierre, 2010; Shannon, 2008).

Overview of Chapters

Chapter I introduces the dissertation framework. It presents a discussion on the approach and background to the study, and defines areas of interest, parameters of relevant research, the purpose, significance, methodology, and limitations of the study, as well as definitions and summary of each chapter.

Chapter II presents the literature review focusing on three subject areas of particular relevance: the advent of community heritage tourism; community mobilization or animation, as the means by which long-disempowered areas can become more empowered; and the relatively new concept of glocalization.

Chapter III describes the methodology used to examine the research question as a scholar activist approach using dialogues, focus groups, and questionnaires to provide input into data collection. This was heavily supplemented with documentary research including files I had accumulated over the years on the communities and their tourism-related activity.

Chapter IV describes the findings about the two heritage communities in the study on their road to heritage community tourism development. Background on the long history and recent history of Overtown and West Grove are presented leading into a set of vignettes about how the communities faced and, to an extent, repurposed external (exogenous) development and how, working with me, they became proactive in internally (endogenous) tourism-related development/

Chapter V concludes the study focusing on its contribution to the fields of glocalization (emphasizing within the tourism sector) and activist scholarship. The study's limitations and implication for further research are also described.

Chapter II: Review of the Literature

This chapter forms the basis of relating my proposed work to several distinct but inter-related areas. The advent of tourism within two African-American communities situated in the global tourism magnet of Greater Miami, can be situated in relation to several distinct though overlapping research topics. As noted, in Overtown and West Coconut Grove, the major assets that could draw in visitors relate community heritage, the rich if troubling history of marginalized and discriminated-against neighborhoods. Opportunities and threats arise from a long-booming economic sector, globalized tourism which, if left to its usual course would proceed in terms of neoliberalism not community needs and wants. While there is an understandable customary reaction among disadvantaged communities to look on such globalized outsider projects as to be resisted through community action, a different orientation—the one largely adopted in my work with Overtown and West Grove—is to draw positively on the momentum of such giants, repurposing globalization to local needs and control: this has recently come to be called *glocalization*.

From the foregoing condensed statement of this dissertation's focus, I have identified three principal subject areas of literature important to this work. As shown in Figure 2.1 these are:

- Forces of Globalization and Neoliberalism in Tourism

- Community Heritage Tourism (with emphasis on the specific challenges of African American communities whose heritage and history is entangled with tragedy and oppression.

- Community Participation.

- Glocalization.

Note that in addition to these topics displayed as overlapping images in Figure 2.1, there is a cross-cutting layer titled, "Leadership." IT is there to indicate that for these substantive topics, as much as possible, my review points to the way that the quality of leadership always influences the rest.
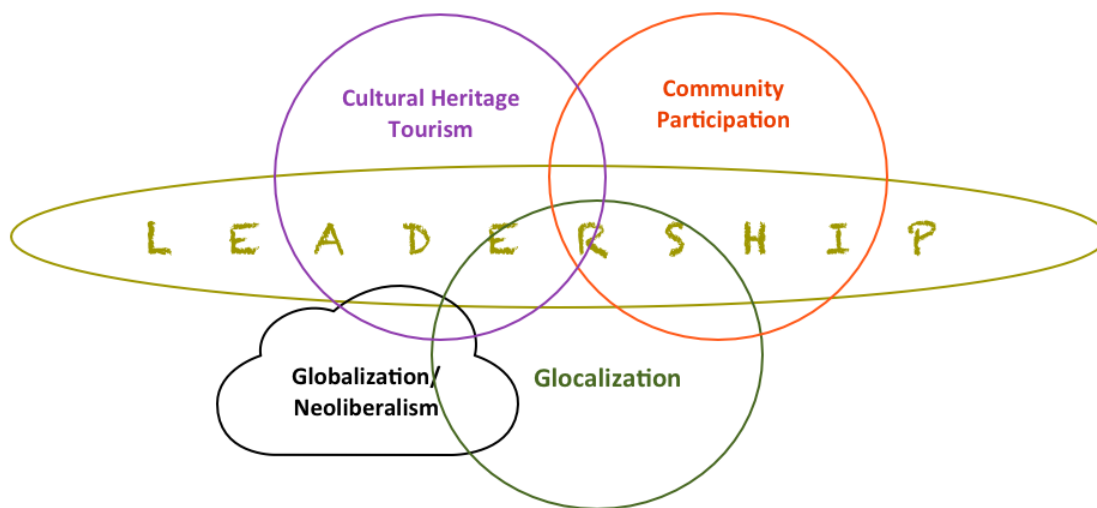
Figure 2.1. Main topics for literature review.

Globalization and Neoliberalism

I begin this review with globalization and neoliberalism because they are behind the enormous power of tourism and the way it is developed, which create both a threat and an opportunity for places like Overtown and West Coconut Grove. The forces of globalization and neoliberalism have overtaken people and places the world over, indifferent to the importance of local demographics and cultural diversity especially in developing communities. On the other hand they have also brought the world closer through economic systems of exchange, technology and communications. Yet they present growing concerns and produce pressing social and economic problems for localities around the world. One of the most definitive studies that examines the unintended outcomes of globalization and neoliberalism on developing African American communities was conducted by Wilson (2011) in "Being Poor, Black and American:

The Impact of Political, Economic and Cultural Forces." Wilson, along with other scholars (e.g., Alexander, 2012; Barlow, 2003), has shown how globalization and neoliberalism has a disproportionate negative effect on African-Americans in employment, housing, and education. Neoliberalism according to Wilson is a "policy model of social studies and economics that transfers control of economic factors from the public sector to the private sector" (Wilson, 2011, p. 107). Accordingly, neoliberalism in conjunction with globalization has had a disproportionate negative impact on African-Americans' inner-city enterprise (Alexander, 2012, Barlow, 2003).

The concepts globalization and neoliberalism are interwoven. Neoliberalism is about expanding national boundaries to commodify local products and increase capital exchange, usually for internal conglomerates. Globalization and neoliberalism have positioned private sectors to drive free market interests over the public good and state regulations. Their most impactful forms are realized through rapid growth of capitalization and financial directives that override and, in most cases, overlook local and nation-state governance (Stiglitz, 2002a, 2002b). In other words, it is about privatization of the economy while lessening of government's role in running and managing public goods and service, under the proposition that private interests are better suited than governments to regulate and mediate social goods and relations. From my professional view, this perspective opens new possibilities for scholar activist research and insuring that marginalized communities are not further adversely impacted as their cultural heritage attracts more tourism.

As a scholar activist, I am concerned about trends that foster and support tourism inequity and unfairness. Obviously, the impact of globalization and neoliberalism are front-runners in producing global inequality across sectors and industries (Floyd & Johnson, 2002). The literature thus in some cases reflects a narrow analysis about what tourism development is and

the methods African American residents and locals need to do to better control and share in the remunerations that emerge from tourism (Scheyvens, 1999). Moreover, less is revealed or known about what should be done to achieve equity and fairness in African American communities as it relates to tourism development and growth.

The importance of tourism development is recognized throughout the research but the policy priorities for achieving equity in distribution of resources is not consistently or soundly articulated (Floyd & Johnson, 2002). It is my aim for this study to help fill this gap on how African American communities may be able to take up scholarship actions to influence change around policy for achieving equity and social justice in tourism.

The concern for equity in the context of this literature review can be found and emerges from the United Nations Declaration on the ideas of moral tourism and the values tourism holds for the world. Article 4 in the United Nation Declaration Global Code of Ethics for Tourism, 1999, states, "tourism resources belong to the common heritage of mankind; the communities in whose territories they are situated have particular rights and obligations to them" (World Tourism Organization, 1999, Article 4).

Sadly, there is considerable inequity in tourism development between African American communities and mainstream communities. African American communities' access to and relationship with key institutions are shaped by their history of racism, power imbalances in the political, economic, and social domains, which has led to awkward mergers and resulted in social isolation or marginalization of these communities. Studies conducted by Byrne, Wolch, and Zhang (2009) and Floyd and Johnson (2002) demonstrate the challenges that African American communities face now and in the future, if these patterns are not interrupted.

In summary, neoliberal globalization has often undermined heritage tourism, which is

meant to enhance the common heritage of all people of the world in which they have rights and obligations to their inherent resources. It has also worked to weaken the potential ethical and political power of tourism, specifically among local people and communities of color. In many cases, as previously discussed neoliberal globalization has limited access and opportunity along class and racial lines including limiting community access to tourism resources through neglect and limited government support to organizations and individuals. Scholar activism helps researchers go beyond the pomposity of neoliberalism and free market approaches to examine the broader impacts on poor and marginalized communities. More importantly it allows us to develop initiatives and counter perspectives that can challenge neoliberal globalization from the bottom up as discussed in glocalization below.

Cultural Heritage Tourism

Running parallel and in response to the evermore globalized tourism sector has been, somewhat ironically, a sharp rise in the demand for tourism experiences rooted in the local and the past. Thus, the organization I worked for on tourism for Miami communities began several years ago to see cultural heritage tourism as the best bet for stimulating locally based engagement in the sector. In Chapter IV that evolution will be described.

Since the mid-1990s keen public interest—including tourism demand—has rapidly grown in regard to heritage and cultural resources in the United States (Loukaitou-Sideris & Soureli, 2012), Europe (Coccossis et al., 1996), and more recently East Asia (L-J. Chen & Chen, 2011; Trau, 2012). Cultural tourism accounted for 40% of all international tourism in 2007 and is trending upward (World Tourism Barometer, 2015). This has provided both a huge opportunity and an array of concerns for poor and marginalized communities who happen to live where important historical and heritage features exist.

There are many overlapping meanings of the term heritage as used in combination with tourism, but no single consensus definition exists (Garrod & Fyall, 2000; Gotham, 2005a; Häusler & Strasdas, 2002). The National Trust for Historic Preservation (2013), for example, defines cultural heritage tourism as a cross-cultural framework where people travel to experience the authenticity of people and their culture. Travelers are viewed as a connector to local history where they stop to share in a community's past, present, and future. This notion implies a voluntary and proactive engagement with people and destinations.

The National Association of Tribal Historic Preservation Officers' (2002) definition of heritage tourism "focuses on the story of people and places told through interpretation of cultural landscapes and preservation or restoration of historic structures" (p. 10). These definitions are aligned with this study's progressive notion of heritage tourism approaches. The definition focus is on narration, interpretation, preservation, and restoration of heritage assets.

Ballesteros and Ramírez (2007) observed that cultural heritage is what contemporary society chooses to inherit and pass on. Ashworth and Van Der Aa (2002) found some emerging consensus on definitional references among academics and practitioners overlapping social, economic, and environmental concepts to define cultural heritage tourism. Garrod and Fyall (2000) and Jamal and Kim (2005) argued that as a general rule the construct "cultural heritage" is defined as anything that is inherited from the past. Prentice (1993) contended, "cultural heritage is regarded as an inheritance or legacy, things of value which have passed from one generation to the next" (p. 56). Schouten (1995a) wrote that "cultural heritage is history processed through mythology, ideology, nationalism, local pride, romantic ideas or just plain marketing, into a commodity" (p. 21). Bowes (1989) suggested that heritage is more of a social construction than a discovery made by travelers or specialists:

Cultural heritage must be broadly defined to encompass not only major sites and institutions, but the entire landscape of the region with its geographic base, farms and field patterns, roads, harbors, industrial structures, villages and main streets, commercial establishment, and, of course, the people themselves and their traditions and activities (p. 36). Along the same vein but more critically, Hewison (1987) contended that "cultural heritage is bogus history and many of its products are fantasies of a world that never was" (p. 144). Johnson and Thomas (1995) argued "anything by which some kind of link, however tenuous or false may be forged with the past" (p. 170). Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998) asserted, "Cultural heritage is the trans-valuation of the obsolete, the mistaken, the outmoded, the dead, and the defunct." Lowenthal (2005) proposed that it signifies all that has been given down to society from the distant past. In these definitions, heritage tourism involves both the real and imagined social reality.

The historical importance of any heritage asset may be considered as social construction (Ashworth & Van Der Aa, 2002). According to Hampton (2005), "In other words, its particular meaning and significance are in fact created and then shared by a particular human society at a given time and place in world history" (p. 738). My analysis of heritage assets will be viewed within this perspective to argue for more control and balance for heritage communities' participation in tourism development. Who defines and give significance or "voice" to heritage host communities is important to the study because of my social activist approach. This includes both community stakeholders and resident participation.

Different conceptualization and usage suggest that heritage tourism has a range of interpretation, meaning, and application. Scholars such as Prentice (1993, 2001), Richards and

Hall (2000), and Schouten (1995b) argue that, nevertheless, heritage is defined as part of the past, which is selected in the present and commoditized for contemporary enjoyment.

Stevens (2003) suggested cultural heritage attractions contribute to tourism and regional development. Primarily because they are indigenous, distinct, and unique, they are a reflection of heritage. Poria and Ashworth (2009) take race into account and suggest heritage tourism as a process for "preserving, restoring and reconstructing racial history" (Poria & Ashworth, 2009; Poria, Butler & Airy, 2003). Countries around the world have recognized the importance of preservation, restoration, and racial history as part and parcel to defining heritage tourism and giving it meaning. In their seminal work, Timothy and Boyd (2003) stated:

> Heritage can be classified as tangible immovable resources (e.g. buildings, rivers, natural areas); tangible movable resources (e.g. objects in museums, documents in archives); or intangibles such as values, customs, ceremonies, lifestyles, and including experiences such as festivals, arts and cultural events. (p. 237)

Heritage tourism also means economic and product development. It can be a way to monetize place and location, culture, traditions, and history. Important to this study is looking at ways in which heritage tourism can be used to benefit community as well as to challenge tourism status quo practices and policies that have excluded African American heritage assets from mainstream tourism opportunities. This study recognizes the importance of including local people and participants in the production of their own knowledge and definitions of tourism. Accepting how communities perceive and define their environments is one of the requirements a scholar activist must embrace. Including community stakeholders and adding them to the literature review is a central goal for this study.

In sum, despite the fact there is no single meaning of heritage tourism, there are common threads that provide a foundation and offer opportunity from which to build relevant discussions and extract a consensus about the implications heritage tourism holds for community growth and

scholarly activist research (Boyd & Singh, 2003). Therefore, a broad overarching interpretation of community heritage tourism is applied in this study to understand the various ways it can be used to help advance heritage tourism communities as destinations.

Community Participation

Poorer and marginalized communities have always struggled against the unjust powerful forces that threaten their well-being and very existence. To delve into the noble and brave past of resistance to [as a?] superior force throughout history is well beyond the scope of this review. But it is important to acknowledge that the 1960s and the outburst of resistance to multiple forms of oppression—much of it arising from the same forces that would later be called globalization and neoliberalism—built on many precedents of courageous resistance in the early 20th century and long before (for discussion and analysis of historic and contemporary examples of such resistance, see Thalhammer et al., 2007).

The 1960s were an important watershed both because of the rise of state-encouraged community organizing as in Lyndon Johnson's War on Poverty, including the Model Cities Program, and the spontaneous outbursts of oppositional movements, including the ground-breaking Civil Rights Movement. The latter set the stage for poor communities across America, many of them African American, to learn to fight back against government initiatives that threatened to and often did end up destroying inner city neighborhoods. The massive nation-wide interstate highway construction program of the 1950s gave rise to what came to be known as the "freeway revolt" (Mohl, 2008).

The communities that are the focus of my work and study were examples of both the brute imposition of forced change and the evolving pushback of community members. Overtown was the resistant victim of freeway construction and West Coconut Grove faced monolithic

"urban renewal," (Mohl, 2001), otherwise known as "slum clearance" as well as siting of noxious city-wide facilities—the case of the "old Smoky" garbage incinerator will be discussed further in Chapter IV. Later, as will also be considered in Chapter IV, community organization to protest and organize against the City of Miami snubbing Nelson Mandela, showed what historically disadvantaged and disempowered Black communities could do, when leadership and organizing was effective. The Miami Boycott (sometimes referred to as the Quiet Riot) was a watershed moment in revealing African Americans' latent power. Those days of community participation most often was about *opposing something harmful*; but the same energies and skills, including the role of scholar activism, can be harnessed for proactivity.

Participation draws from a body of literature that delineates "community participation" as a critical strategy to solve problems among stakeholders and to implement effective decision making (Putman, 2000; Talbot & Verrinder, 2005). Pertinent to this study, Lacy et al. (2002), examined how community participation supports local tourism development. Community participation empowers people to take part and play a role in community tourism development. It is a fundamental concept in the scholar-activist paradigm. Increased community participation is a means to enhance community capacity and to resolve community problems and issues (Lasker et al., 2001). Several studies confirm that group participation fosters greater interest in local tourism growth (Cole, 2006; Gunn, 1988; Honey, 1999; Slee, Farr, & Snowdon, 1997a, 1997b; Wunder, 2000).

Cole (2006), Saarinen (2006), and Wall (1997) all have suggested community heritage tourism development plans often intersect the issue of increased stakeholder participation. Heritage tourism plans almost always seek to better engage communities on understanding their economic and environmental assets and how to manage them. Findings from these studies seem

to encourage some scholars and practitioners to place stock in community participation and remain steadfast to the proposition that heritage tourism progress and community participation are intrinsically linked (Okazaki, 2008; Roberts & Tribe, 2008). Community members are able to examine and act on problems of local or general concern to the community through participating in large or small groups, within organizations, or as individuals.

Community participation and its benefits are well documented and widely scrutinized as it relates to heritage tourism (Cole, 2006; Gunn, 1988; Honey, 1999; Slee et al., 1997b; Wunder, 2000), especially in regard to who benefits or control heritage tourism assets. Findings suggest community participation increases social engagement and business opportunities and services (Cole, 2007, Goodman et al., 1998). The role of stakeholder participation cannot be understated.

Ritchie (1993) and Bramwell and Sharman (2000) suggested community participation may be one of the most important indicators along with community attachment that provides a gauge for understanding the extent to which heritage tourism development takes place. Community participation allows locals to organize and become empowered to lead tourism activities. This is an important and integral part of any community development strategy as it provides a way for residents and stakeholders to help shape the direction heritage tourism will take. Communities that decide to engage with heritage tourism strategizing will have to address and involve local leadership and consider the pressures of change created by the desire to grow tourism from a local level. This factor is especially significant for high tourism destinations where the tourism industry is important and critical to the well-being of a community or region. As communities become more involved in decisions affecting their communities, community participation will likely become an important aspect of heritage development (P. L. Pearce, Moscardo, & Ross, 1996).

Glocalization—A Counter Perspective

In recent years, a growing body of literature (Salazar, 2010, 2012a, 2012b; Roudometoff, 2015a, 2015b) relating to the idea of glocalization has emerged, including an approach and philosophy for communities to position themselves to counter proactively the threats as well as the opportunities of globalization (Robertson, 1994). As is common with any new and important social construct, the meanings and usages of "glocalization" are many (Salazar, 2005).

For example, Salazar (2005) found that the term was used to frame the broadest elements of tourism from travelling to distant and unfamiliar destinations as well as uncovering the nuanced meaning of local sites of interest. Roudometoff (2015a) summarizes this diversity in his article, "Mapping the Glocal Turn: Literature Streams, Scholarship Clusters and Debates," but concludes: "There is a glocal turn in academic research. That turn has been somewhat muted or to be more precise it has been a *silent* one. But, as this discussion shows, glocalization has gained a prominent place within intellectual discussions in several disciplines or fields of study" (p. 2).

Khondker (2004) developed a comprehensive definition and clarification of how glocalization is conceptualized as a sociological concept. He wrote:

> In social sciences it is often difficult to trace the origin of concepts. Concepts, theories and ideas are often products of collective endeavors. It would be extremely difficult to identify who used the term 'globalization' for the first time" (p.188). According to Malcolm Waters (1995) whose book titled *Globalization* is a fine primer, Roland Robertson was one of the early users of the term. More recently, Roland Robertson and Kathleen White edited *Globalization: Critical Concepts* in six volumes, a *tour de force* work that presents some of the most important essays on this subject.

> No matter who coined it first, at the dawn of the 21st century globalization as a concept, and as a slogan, is a term used ever more frequently around the world. In Singapore, from the inflow of foreign capital, technology, workers or "foreign talents," music, movies, popular culture, almost everything has resonance with globalization. Globalization is a heroic process, globalization is a sinister process, depending on which side of the debate one stands. Some tend to see globalization as a brakeless train crushing everything in its path, others see benefit in getting on board the train towards economic growth and modernization. (Khondker, 2004, p. 12)

My work may eventually be a contribution to this debate but for now my interest is more in the relatively simple premise that the glocalization perspective can insert deep consideration of local culture and needs in the larger globalizing forces and economic sectors. While one might automatically assume that to glocalize in an otherwise globalizing context is all to the good, there are both pros and cons to glocalization.

Thornton (2000) suggests that those "political limits" are especially stark "where radical resistance is concerned" (p. 81). He refers to the cases of the 1994 Zapatistas' uprising in the Mexican state of Chiapas. This movement significantly reduced the region's attractiveness to visitors and this has happened in many other places combined with social unrest. Going local may sometimes do the opposite of creating tourism: It may isolate already marginalized people from one potential source of economic improvement and autonomy (Bauman, 1998).

I will re-emphasize here that the meanings of glocalization, found in diverse disciplines, have some functional validity with reference to local usage, and the term's relevance in an economic context, is context-specific as Khondker (2004) and Salazar (2005, 2012) have noted.

On another note, however, an increasing number of studies have shown that the idea of the glocal—being attentive to both local needs and global trends—can support development in local communities. Cawley et al. (2002) studied glocalization in the context of Irish rural tourism enterprises and specifically, food services, concluding,

> The evidence suggests that glocalization may be pursued with effect by small-scale tourism businesses, which provide quality services. It is particularly appropriate in the rural tourism sector because of its dependence on a combination of local resources with an international market. (p. 81)

Looking at the context of small owner-operated businesses in Sweden, Johanison (2009) observed that a "glocalized society . . . [meets] global challenges that call for regional/local tactics as much as national or super national strategies" (p. 2). He outlines how very small firms

that develop a glocalized capacity and perspective can tap into huge economies on the other side

of the world:

> Glocalization processes easily amplify and may well compensate for a marginal location in the home country. A rural business in Sweden doing business with a firm in China may in this way become linked to an urban setting with a population that exceeds that of Sweden. (p. 10)

Based on his own hands-on work with a locally based and owned tour group on the tiny

Pacific nation of Vanuatu, Trau (2012) described "what successful glocalization of Roi Mata

Cultural Tours can or should look like" (p. 157), something that he sees as a "middle path"

(p. 159) between doing whatever global tourism demands and staying small, inconspicuous in

that market. Another example of this perspective is the "Fair Trade" movement in East Africa

and elsewhere.

> Fair trade is a global movement that addresses the injustices of conventional trade. The Fair-Trade symbol is the first ethical label launched in Kenya. When you buy a product with the mark in your local supermarket or cafe, not only can you be assured that Kenyan and African farmers receive a fair price for their goods, you also help the environment as Fairtrade promotes sustainable agricultural practices in Africa (Fairtrade Eastern Africa, n.d., para. 2).

Salazar (2005) was especially persuasive in his presentation of the glocal approach within

the context of another tour guiding experience, this time in Indonesia. He began—as I do in

Chapter I—posing the enormous opportunity of global tourism and globalization, but also

indicating that too often "ideas of local cultures [exist] in some primordial and static form [and]

are often reiterated in the context of tourism" (p. 629). Salazar used "the theoretical 'lens' of

what has been described as 'glocalization'" (p. 629) to show how some tour guides bridge

strategies of globalization and localization. The setting is Yogyakjarta, which has two "World

heritage sites" as recognized by UNESCO: an eighth-century Buddhist *stupa* (a structure

containing relics) and a Hindu temple of the 10th century. The tour guides who Salazar observed,

walk a fine line between respectfully presenting the uniqueness of their locality while still

appealing to tourism's appetite for the strange and exotic. Such balancing of local needs and global demands is the essence of glocalization.

In their review of tourism as a potential economic boost to Los Angeles inner city ethnic communities, Loukaitou-Sideris and Soureli (2012) pose the problem in a way that is critical to the work I undertook in Miami:

> A key prerequisite of what could constitute a high road to cultural tourism is to ensure that proposed interventions are driven by, benefit, and empower the existing residents and their communities rather than promoting commodification of ethnic cultures, new divisions and hierarchies, exclusion, and displacement. (p. 52)

Glocalizing has come up in numerous other fields both as a research perspective and as an inspiration for community development (e.g., de Janvry, Alain, Craig McIntosh, & Elisabeth Sadoulet, 2015; Dragusanu, Giovannucci, & Nunn, 2014). For example, Francois (2015) studied glocal leadership in building global education within a local perspective. These scholars explained and defended economists, political theorists, and tourism scholars as well as the business and education sectors, all claiming the value of the glocal interlink to the global (Dragusanu et al., 2014).

Glocalization in this study is applied in the context of community heritage tourism development and glocal community leadership. I define glocalization within this context to outline some of the principles that can be built upon in communities undertaking tourism activities. Glocalization is about a conscious awareness of global forces and local governance driving this relationship in an effort to achieve balance between them. I feel that it is best to begin this process rooted in leadership, knowledge, and capacity building. Theses aspects will be explored in this research in order to assist communities with grasping and utilizing glocalization as an approach for change. .

The crucial goal and challenge is to address the effects of neoliberalism and globalization's positive or negative impacts that will lead to better balances. Glocalization may be able to help us better integrate and strengthen local leadership and governance, ultimately building a foundation for sustainable community tourism.

Why glocal community tourism leadership? A critical concern for this study is to underscore glocal needs within a global tourism framework and ways to develop glocal leadership competences in the context of local culture (Francois, 2015; Martins & Alvarez, 2007). Many scholars purport to not fully know the impact global tourism has on African American community infrastructure because of limited data on visitation and tourism in these communities (Chang, Milne, Fallon, & Pholmann, 1996; Suutari, 2002). However, scholars do acknowledge the impact of global forces on these communities. Additional evidence for these observations is found in studies conducted by Jokinen (2005), Isaksen (2002), and David and Gregory (2014).

With limited data and information about visitation trends and impact on heritage communities in this study it is difficult to state exact global trends and their impacts. What is known and well documented is tourism's global impact as one of the world's largest industries. Tourism generates more than 10% of global economic output and employment, and the impact international travel will continue to exceed one billion well into the next two decades (United Nation World Travel & Tourism Organization, 2015). These trends indicate that global tourism exerts tremendous economic influence and consequences for individuals and communities worldwide.

Scholars such as Swyngedouw (1997, 2000) and Giddens (1990) suggested global forces have pushed local communities to the forefront of scholarly debates proving a pathway to

understand glocal leadership within this framework. Alon and Higgins (2005) argued, similarly to Swyngedouw (1997) and Giddens (1990), that global forces have pushed local communities toward leadership behaviors that can be moderated by cultural intelligence (CQ) and help communities to be culturally attuned and emotionally connected. He contends that local leaders should learn to adapt to particular foreign environments that must be managed from a community perspective. CQ provides a framework to help cultivate local leadership and help clarify possible adaptations that need to be implemented in multicultural settings. Alon posited that not only is CQ critical but emotional intelligence (EQ) and analytical intelligence (IQ) must also be combined as global forces reshape local landscapes.

Many residents and community stakeholders do not know the magnitude of global tourism's influence on their ways of life and the extent global tourism impacts them. Heritage community tourism is recognized as a prominent growing tourism sector, yet local residents often lack even a rough understanding of its global magnitude and economic significance. Heritage communities' linkage to global tourism is symbiotic in the sense that both markets are shaped by revenues generated from multi-national corporation profits and visitors' expendables (Haley, Snaith, & Miller, 2005; Reid, Mair, & George, 2004). Because hotel chains, food and beverage establishments, and parks and natural environmental resources, including local heritage communities, contribute to tourism revenue streams, taxes derived from international and local travelers or tourism consumption all link directly or indirectly to local economies, and thus can help alleviate poverty in some place or promote sustainability in others. It is therefore important that heritage communities make sense of their relationship to global intermediary markets (Haley et al., 2005). Heritage communities are emerging within the arena of globalization and may benefit from glocal leadership as they intersect and, in some cases, rely on an increasing

relationship with global forces; this is consistent with the definition of glocalization as previously outlined (Swyngdouw, 1997).

Glocal leadership is about centering capacity of local community stakeholders and advocates to impel, redirect, and direct global influences with the locals positioned to balance and benefit from involvement and exchange. Teo and Li (2003) suggested that there is and should be a dialectical process between local and global and much gained from the tourism experience, stating that it is "certain that universalism and particularism need to be conjoined in order to better comprehend how tourism as a complex phenomenon can influence specific national identities and in itself become influenced in a highly interconnect world" (p. 302). Rather than binary thinking such as global-local, empowerment at both scales is occurring. Salazar (2010) also critiques this binary opposition that pits global forces as inevitably and relentlessly working against local values:

> The global and the local should certainly not be treated as binary oppositions. The local global dichotomy is artificial . . . Globalization always takes place in some locality, while the local is (re) produced in the global circulation of products, discourses and imaginaries. In other words, the local does not oppose but constitutes the global, and vice versa. (pp. 189–190)

While Salazar (2010), as well as Teo and Li (2003), are all talking about the interplay of conceptual systems, and as a scholar activist my interest is more about action, I find it encouraging that they do not pose global and local as always having to be pitted against one other; it appears that harnessing the power of globalization in tourism to the specific needs and potentials of African American communities in the Miami region, is supportable and possible.

Glocalization or glocal leadership is used to explore ways for local residents, stakeholders, and businesses located in local heritage tourism communities to think about and decide how to enhance economic control of their heritage products. Those produced include but are not limited to culture, heritage assets such as museums, documents, archives, natural

resources, business, the arts, visitors services, and other related commodities (Buhalis & Cooper, 1998; Castells, 1989; Cawley et al., 2002; Featherstone, 1990; Murdoch, 2000; Timothy, 2002). The idea is for local heritage stakeholders to embrace a glocal leadership perspective that will position them in theory and hopefully practice to benefit from their heritage assets.

In the current research, I have argued, both theoretically and as an activist, that leadership stands for something and is a way to influence a process to achieve outcomes. Leadership is about engagement and requires no position of authority. Leadership is about seizing the opportunity to introduce as well as interrupt a process to proceed in a specific direction. Wergin (2007) suggested people must find ways to lead "from where they are" (p. 225). In this context, glocal leadership is about local community stakeholders, residents, as well as the study participants "leading from where they are"—taking charge of the local tourism process and engaging and guiding community heritage tourism in a direction that can be beneficial to them and their community, without, necessarily, official authority to do so. In this milieu, if glocalization is applied to leadership it may be effective for the development of tourism in the communities being studied.

Francois (2015) suggested glocal leadership in this context is an approach to influence the perception, motivation, and behavior of people toward glocal purposes based on an understanding of cultures' dimensions and among societies in the world and a focus on culturally specific ways of "nurturing followership" (p. 207). Glocal leadership may become a platform to help generate patterns of economic stability within community heritage ecology that is not visible. Glocal leadership it seems has self-interest in the preservation of local capacity and is, therefore, suggested as a concept to prepare communities to nurture local resource sustainability and partnerships.

Glocal tourism leadership is a perspective and strategy to help stakeholders foresee futurist global tourism trends while motivating them to transform the impacts of globalization to positive outcomes for local community. For example, glocal leaders can help local businesses understand their role as heritage tourism stakeholders operating in global tourism markets by providing knowledge and training on tourism economic impacts.

Chang et al. (1996) suggested that glocal and global are critical to understand "process and outcome of heritage tourism" products and development. They studied distinct glocal strategies in Montreal, Canada, and in Singapore, calling attention to the distinction between top-down and bottom-up leadership. Although the two cities had very different emphases on the role of local versus global tourism preferences, Chang et al. (1996) concluded that variation in the success of revitalization efforts show that "localities and local agencies are not 'meek recipients' of forces imposed from above" (p. 301) as the literature on Fair Trade shows and cited previously in this chapter.

The issues of power and control, and the case for economic parity, are vital to understanding heritage communities' long-term sustainability, and glocal leadership theory may offer solutions. I hope to elucidate how glocal leadership as a perspective and tool may help community heritage tourism stakeholders take advantage of global tourism growth. One salient feature identified from the review that may be pertinent to community tourism development and glocal leadership is community participation. This feature demonstrates how it might function to promote community heritage tourism glocal leadership development. A brief description is provided below to identify qualities that may contribute to building leadership and heritage community capacity in the study communities (Labonte & Laverack, 2001a).

Summary and Conclusion of the Literature Review

The literature review helps me lay the foundation to understand the changes that have occurred in Overtown and West Coconut Grove especially during the last decade or so when my involvement has afforded me both an opportunity to help and to see. Understanding globalization and neoliberalism set a baseline for what forces outside direct community control are at play; knowing about community heritage tourism assists in understanding how what we have relied on in Overtown and West Grove relates to a major growth worldwide in tourist interest in culture and its history; understanding community participation also provides a basis for comparison and gauging of the role of the people of Overtown and West Coconut Grove; and, perhaps most of all, glocalization is an emerging framework by which to grasp how massive external forces, so often perceived as threatening, can be repurposed to serve rather than harm or ignore localities.

I surmise from this review that a need exists which this study may help to fulfill. The study challenges the views of those who doubt the power and potential of local stakeholders, residents, and organizations and associations that work to make tourism positive. On the other hand, the study raises critical questions about equity, balance, and resources' capacity to enforce change. It may offer a way to advocate for stakeholders, workers, residents, and researchers to advance theories about tourism and community change, and to offer a deeper body of practical knowledge produced by the people who need it most. Moreover, I hope to discover how communities most affected by tourism challenges may be able to produce change, especially when they have sufficient sustainable resources for capacity building, execution, and knowledge development.

Chapter III: Methodology

Overview of Research Methodology

In this chapter, I describe the methods used to conduct the study and the relevance and function of a scholar activist research framework and paradigm. I used a scholar activist perspective with a variety of social science qualitative research tools to include dialogues, interviews, and focus groups designed to learn what is important for two heritage communities to become viable tourism destinations.

First, I discuss the epistemological and methodological positions that inform my positionality as a practitioner and scholar activist researcher. My work as a professional and scholar activist-researcher is to help facilitate social changes associated with tourism growth and to fill gaps in the research and practices. I selected specific communities in the study because of their diverse heritage assets, my years of working with them in Miami, Florida's urban core and the need to help advance tourism in these communities.

The goals of this research are three-fold: first, to explore how heritage communities organize and prioritize factors important to their becoming heritage tourism communities; second, to examine how heritage communities understand their needs and produce knowledge and actions to address them; third, and perhaps most important, to facilitate a scholar activist plan of action that will empower communities to gain fuller participation and control in the heritage tourism development process.

The sections to follow describe the epistemological and methodological framework, the methods for selecting participants, qualitative approaches to be used, data collection and findings, and the timetable to complete the study.

The Epistemological and Methodological Position

  This section describes the scholar activist research epistemology and how data will be collected and applied using this frame of reference. Scholar activist research is the philosophical as well as the practical tool I will use to engage participants. The research is a collective endeavor between the study groups and myself, the researcher, to discover, discuss and address some of the known, unknown, and new patterns and ideas existing or emerging about heritage tourism construction in each community (Goldman, 2010). The research process involves dialogues with relevant parties, including ongoing communication with key stakeholders and residents, and very important mutual and collaborative work with my study groups to gather data and build knowledge from this data about community tourism solutions and actions.

  I already have had opportunities to work with the study populations. Now I had another opportunity to work with them during my dissertation process. The social activist epistemology supports producing knowledge derived from individuals, groups, and social arrangements from those engaged in a study (Goldman, 2010). According to Goldman (2010), a social epistemology is the "transmission of knowledge or justification from one person to another" (p. 1) about their social reality. Goldman (2010) further stated that "such interpersonal epistemic relations legitimate" a social epistemology (p. 1) thereby giving credence, validity, and opening a door to this study's heritage activism epistemology. Howard (2015) suggested there are "unofficial epistemologies—philosophies of collecting, apprehending, and disseminating knowledge that are implicit in written works and exist independent of academic and professional philosophy" (p. vii). By focusing on the epistemology of heritage tourism scholar activism, I hope in this dissertation to fill a gap left open by traditional methodology and approaches to understanding tourism from this persuasion.

In this context, my study design aspired to stir my study groups to generate new ideas, question existing conditions, identify persistent problems and challenge beliefs that may hinder progress while at the same time seeking to create knowledge of understanding to improve tourism development in their community. We, meaning my stakeholders from the study communities, have believed from the beginning of our engagement leading up to this research, that the production of knowledge we generate would be organic, generic, and specific to these communities. Some of the top and most prevalent issues and challenges each community faces have been previously identified and will continue to be identified through a series of dialogues, interventions, and initiatives that took place over the past three to four years and will be further advanced in this study. Those initiatives are detailed later in this chapter to indicate what we have learned about the issues surrounding heritage tourism's growth in each community and the knowledge produced.

I work and worked closely with these communities and have developed particular affinities with them with respect to their beliefs and concerns. Activist research devotes special priority to ties between researcher/practitioner and community as a means of finding facts and planning (Getz & Jamal, 1994). The activist research epistemological framework allowed me to build on my own affinities toward the subject, compare and contrast what is being observed, rely on my insights, and pursue open dialogue with my research groups. Research data was generated by and with the study population and the knowledge gained is a result of their input, imprints, guidance, and direction.

In order to understand how knowledge was generated, produced and evaluated, the role it played in achieving results, I examined what stakeholders from each community believe are the factors that differentiate successful and unsuccessful heritage tourism development to begin

dialogues and discussions to get the process started (Green & Webb, 1999). I facilitated discussions to learn more about and explain variations in heritage tourism development in the two communities.

Rationale and Justification for a Scholar Activist Approach

Having lived in similar neighborhoods to those I am studying, I selected scholar activist research because it focuses on social justice issues, tensions, and contradictions to improve and change public space and policies (Hale, 2008; Nembhard, 1996). Activist scholarship provides me with the research tool to push for public policy reform and change as it relates to tourism development in these communities.

How community participants come to know or produce knowledge about the challenges they face guided the study findings (Kuhn, 1996). Thus, I wanted to learn how members of my study population use heritage tourism resources to achieve social and economic goals, including preserving and restoring heritage and understanding how they can take control of the process. This observation is supported by previous research from Poria et al. (2003) and Gotham (2005b) that suggests heritage tourism is a process that communities can have used to preserve, restore, or reconstruct racial heritage. This process has been called "Heritagization." These findings suggest community stakeholders can use "Heritagization" to achieve social and economic change by building effective heritage tourism businesses and support systems.

Situated within the scholar activist paradigm, this perspective enabled me to build a crosswalk between my professional work and my community centered scholar activism for change. I wanted to generate inquiries and innovative heritage tourism support solutions for participant-stakeholders to use to build a durable heritage tourism culture. I believe that my status as tourism professional and heritage tourism scholar-activist uniquely positioned me to

support my constituents to arrive at innovative approaches to think about what builds community

tourism. According to Kuhn (1996), this strain of research may be judgmental and rely on social

factors such as professional and political interest. In this context, the activist scholarship

approach was suitable to provide a nuanced approach to uncover "new types of knowledge" that

challenge traditional ideas of how heritage tourism resources are used to support emerging

heritage communities. One of the goals of the research was to encourage community leaders to

question why, where, and how tourism funds are distributed and how they impact intended

communities. In pursuing the goals of this study, I acknowledge that I may have been judgmental

and relied on social factors as well as professional and political interest and biases. An activist

scholarship framework helped me clarify my own professional and intellectual challenge in the

current study. I trust this perspective helped me demonstrate how the perceived or real factors of

activist advocacy, race and ethnicity, and researcher positionality impact the findings of the

current research.

In 2013, my organization, the Greater Miami Convention and Visitors Bureau (GMCVB),

which is the official marketing organization for Miami-Dade County, embraced heritage tourism

as a priority and as part of their multicultural mission to market and promote Miami as a heritage

and cultural location (Greater Miami Convention and Visitors Bureau, 2015). My organization

started to market and support heritage tourism in 2013 although a heritage committee had been

established prior to this time. One of the issues in the current research is to understand how

community participants can better utilize mainstream tourism organizations' marketing,

technical, or financial support, and if efforts to enhance heritage tourism work or fail in this goal.

Research Questions and Goals

The research began with the challenge: How can two African American communities become economically sustainable and culturally respectful community heritage tourism destinations? Additional research questions from my own professional experience about the diversity of communities' needs, interests, and readiness levels for tourism are listed below (Eisenhardt, 1989).

1. How can communities develop unique economic sustainable strategies specific to local assets?

2. Who initiates and participates in community heritage tourism development?

3. Where do tourism investments come from to help sustain destinations?

4. What are existing barriers that limit community tourism growth and sustainability?

5. What conditions are required and essential for heritage communities to benefit and sustain from tourism global growth?

6. Who and what must be confronted for heritage communities to benefit and sustain from tourism global growth?

7. Can glocalized leadership produce equity, empowerment and social change in heritage communities?

8. How can community stakeholders identify, protect and preserve cultural heritage assets?

9. How do community stakeholders, residents and organizations acquire knowledge and information to control, organize, and make their own decisions about tourism production and development?

I believe that community tourism can influence social change, while keeping in mind the inequality and power imbalances between local community and mainstream tourism sectors.

Study Communities Selection Criteria

Two communities have been selected based on the following criteria:

(1) Their involvement and active engagement in community tourism development;

(2) Diversity of tourism activities across the community;

(3) Opportunities to learn about the depth and complexity of tourism taking place;

(4) Willingness to participate in the study.

Participants

The study participants consisted of community stakeholders, community residents, and community businesses that operate heritage tourism businesses in the selected communities along with long-term workers that have worked more than five years in the selected communities under study. Community stakeholders are those, from the point of view of status as homeowner, job holder, business operator or aspiring entrepreneur has a vested interest in the success of community heritage tourism. Each of the three groups overlap and are not mutually exclusive.

Study Population Background

Historic Overtown heritage community is the more popular of the two communities and is further along in its tourism development process because of increased public and private development and investment. The population of Overtown was approximately 50,000 residents in the 1950's.

Since the 1950s, Overtown's population declined to 10,000 residents. The decline was accelerated by the construction of Interstate Highway I-95, which forced residents and businesses to relocate (Hirsch & Mohl, 1993). This single event, along with other environmental

and economic factors, continues to challenge Historic Overtown's' heritage tourism potential growth (Jenkins Fields, Dluhy, & Forbes, 1998; Jenkins Fields, 2008).

The second community is West Coconut Grove, which is the oldest heritage community in the study. Black Bahamian laborers settled the community in the 1880's. These laborers became the principal participants to sign the charter that established the city of Miami (Dunn, 1997).

Research Plan

I utilized several approaches to guide the data collection. These allowed me to engage my study populations with reflective activities; they also helped me to refine my inquiries about what is important to stakeholders; and informed a scholarship activities experience that allow me to reflect upon how my interaction with stakeholders was necessary to encourage new knowledge of how important differences and similarities exist in the two communities under study.

As a scholar activist, I am an advocate of "pushing" mainstream tourism organizations, such as local government, public and private organizations, and agencies, to do more to increase community heritage tourism development and support in the two communities in this study, while at the same time "pushing" for local community stakeholders, organizations, residents, and especially my study group to do the same. As stated earlier, I have deep-rooted interest in the study groups and therefore will encapsulate and examine the group process within a case study frame. The case study will capture the study data to understand specific variants of processes and desired outcomes, as well as barriers, to increase the viability of community heritage tourism (Stake, 1983, 1995). My methodology tools include interviewing participants; the examination of heritage tourism business places during scheduled on-on-on visits and interviews; and

recording my thoughts. The goal was to find out as much as possible from them about their needs and priorities, to listen to their stories and to empower their ideas and themselves as the producer of knowledge in the research process (Mendez, 2008).

Scholar-activist research allowed me to encourage and empower stakeholders, be introspective, and even subjective as I gathered and interpret the research data. This position was important to my role as an advocate. Scholar-activist research allowed for fluidity, bias, intuition, and conflict, as well as any tensions that may exist, in the research process as noted by: Napoli and Aslama (2010).

I sought to guide changes in tourism business support and funding in Greater Miami in a positive collaborative direction. This approach supports my general assumption that many heritage tourism businesses in Miami, Florida, have been marginalized. They have been depicted by mainstream establishment "insiders" as undeserving of significant support. As a function of my professional responsibilities, I have organized and implemented advocacy activities to enhance the development and support for heritage tourism in Miami, Florida.

These activities, nevertheless, are also a function of my advocacy for fundamental change in Miami's Tourism support organizations for heritage tourism. I believe that I must "lead" mainstream tourism organizations on a path to support heritage tourism business in communities of color, guiding action from the state of current research to Miami's mainstream tourism planning mechanisms (Bramwell & Sharman, 2000). Communities of color in the current research may be able to claim a fair market share of Miami's massive tourism revenue as a result of this study.

So How Did We Get Here?

Since 2013, the Greater Miami Convention and Visitors Bureau (GMCVB) has been a leader in transforming the communities of color considered in this study into internationally recognized visitor destinations—a strong, vibrant region for visitors and residents alike (Greater Miami Convention & Visitors Bureau, 2015). Working in conjunction with local communities, state and federal governments, and like-minded nonprofits and businesses, the GMCVB has not only helped to increase the number of visitors and enhanced their experiences but has helped to strengthen these communities' economies. This turnaround can be attributed, in part, to community involvement, my involvement as a executive leader at the GMCVB and, lastly, but no less important, my ten years of work in tourism with community stakeholders that included the following accomplishments:

- Built communities' tourism initiatives through major marketing, promoting, advertising, and media relations programs in collaboration with corporate and community stakeholders.

- Helped develop community heritage attractions and activities including tours, sponsorships, festivals, and events.

- Helped advocate for historic preservation and development efforts that enhanced community museums and historic sites.

- Helped build community tourism business and education efforts that have been important for not only attracting visitors but building a stronger economy, improving quality of life, and providing better places to live and work;

- Focused on sustainability that builds on the resources, culture and heritage, health and safety needs, and other positive components, without compromising the community's culture value;

- Engaged in strong networking and collaborative efforts between local, state, and federal government and nonprofit agencies and businesses;

- Implemented the Tourism Business Enhancements Program that identified more than 60 small-scale business located in Miami-Dade County and challenged communities to build service and infrastructure capacity with the goal of building capacity and offering economic solutions;

- Worked closely with more than fifty diverse key leaders and local government officials to enhance community pride and economic development outcomes in urban communities;

- Facilitated the established of the Greater Miami Convention and Visitors Bureau (GMCVB) Multicultural Tourism Department's Heritage Committee including more than 20 industry stakeholders to provide advisory support and strategic direction;

- Established the first GMCVB Art of Black Miami marketing platform and campaign to promote multicultural art and culture during Art Basel weekend with more than 100 artists participating, over 3,000 people in attendance, and an estimated 900,000 hits on social media platforms;

- Developed efforts to secure destination coverage featuring Greater Miami's Heritage neighborhoods in Black Enterprise (circulation 518,602) and Uptown (circulation: 250,000) magazines. The features showcased Greater Miami's unique history and culture, as well as tips on where to stay, eat, and visit during a vacation;

- Generated leads for Black meetings, conventions, and groups working in conjunction with GMCVB's Convention & Group Sales;

- In collaboration assisted with coordinating the first GMCVB Miami Heritage Food Tour with partners *Digest Miami* and BIG BUS Tours Miami. More than 50 participants sampled a variety of culinary tasting in heritage neighborhoods;

- Formed a partnership with Global Ties Miami (formerly Miami Council for International Visitors) to help expand heritage tourism to international visitors. Hosted international visitors from North Africa, Columbia, and Haiti;

- Held town meetings and focus groups to get input about heritage tourism needs and wants in Greater Miami;

- Coordinated meetings with political officials including the County Mayor, City Mayor, State Senators, County and City Commissioners to introduce the new GMCVB Multicultural Tourism Department and heritage tourism needs.

With no ocean fronts, the community heritage tourism activities listed above are developed on many of the existing assets prior to my and others' involvement: rich heritage, cultural assets and historic legacies, ethnic diversity, parks, historic trails, landmarks, recreational facilities, and existing attractions such as the Lyric Theater, Dorsey House, Stirrup House, Ace Theatres, Macedonia Historical Church, and a number of other historical attractions exist and are being developed. In addition, to the value of the current research, my activism is shaped by a philosophy that is not connected to various forms of self-interest and politics have influenced Patronage Politics in America.

Researcher Journal and Notes

I kept research journals and, more voluminously, reflective day to day notes to build a description of the findings. Huberman and Miles (2002) suggest several ways to approach field notes to keep pace with and structure my thoughts. First, to write impressions that are occurring to me, and then to ask: "What am I learning?" and "How does this case differ from the last?" (Huberman & Miles, 2002). I recorded dates, times, who, what, where, and why while collecting data, and used deep descriptive analysis to interpret. Finally, my notes were used for self-reflection and analyzing both subjective and objective interpretations of the data.

Data Collection and Synthesis into Vignettes

I organized my research to respond to the researcher initiatives, research questions, and challenges expressed by stakeholders taken from interviews, focus groups, reflections, feedback, self-reports, and journaling. This methodology facilitated learning about what strategies produce heritage tourism growth and knowledge production. The methodology led to identification of tourism projects and patterns that have worked in the past and, also, what has not worked in each community.

In synthesizing what I learned about the advent of glocalized tourism in the case communities of Overtown and West Grove, I reached a conclusion that the information and stories I had the honor to learn about could best be described to the reader as an array of vignettes.[2] That way I could synthesize what I experienced as an activist scholar, with the commentaries of a wide range of people who live and/or conduct business in Overtown and West Grove, and with information derived from extensive document search and analysis. It is

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[2] According to the online version of the Cambridge Dictionary, a vignette is "a short piece of writing, music, acting, etc. that clearly expresses the typical characteristics of something" (Vignette, n.d.). This well fits the nature of the short accounts presented in this dissertation.

important that I be clear that the selection of vignettes and the way they are sculpted into stories to describe glocalization of tourism in Miami, were choices I made, albeit based in many discussions with the people of Overtown and West Coconut Grove as well as—and with significant players in the tourism scene city-wide. This flow is depicted in Figure 3.1
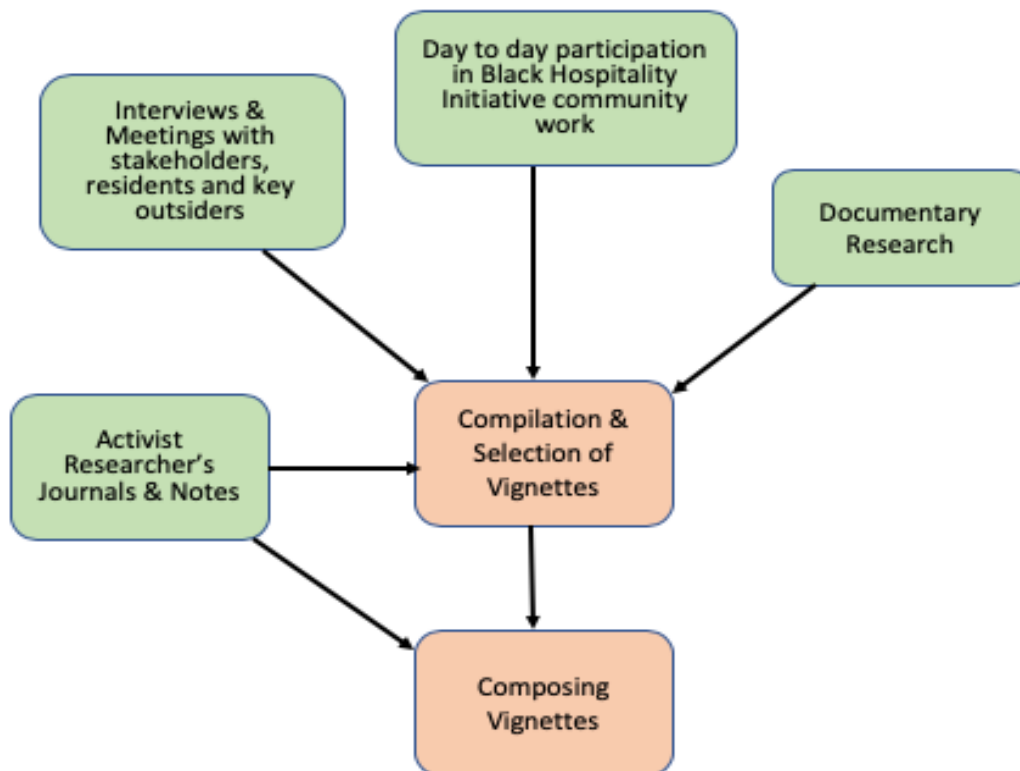
Figure 3.1. Research elements contributing to vignettes of glocalizing tourism.

Chapter IV: Findings

The main objective of the study was to probe the interactive work between two African American communities committed to culturally respectful community heritage tourism, and me as a professional organizer and tourism resource person. Thus, this is not just a case study prepared by an outsider about progress (and obstacles) for communities in their empowerment and development; and it is certainly not an autoethnography of an activist whose work evolved into scholar activism. But it combines aspects of both narratives. I wanted to understand the barriers the communities have striven to overcome—a work still much in progress. How, I asked, are they working to become sustainable communities, mindful of their history, using that legacy while overcoming Black disempowerment that was so rife, so intentional in America? The first part of this chapter, based mainly on historical and archival research, looks into that history.

Subsequently, I present a series of vignettes at recent episodes that provide a picture of this interaction between two urban communities and a mega-industry's prospects and problems. These vignettes are divided into two types: ones driven by the continuing outside, exogenous forces that come from Miami's world-class allure as a tourism destination and, increasingly, as a permanent place to live. The second set of vignettes, in contrast, focus on smaller but internally-driven (endogenous) tourism initiatives. The latter vignettes, far more than the former, reveal my work and role as a catalyst for the communities of Overtown and West Coconut Grove in self-driven, glocalized development. In sum and in order, the chapter will describe:

- The historical connection between the lives and work of Blacks and Miami becoming a world class tourism destination (but including the racism and discrimination that also is African American heritage);

- The 1991–1993 boycott, the so-called "Quiet Riot" that led to a renewed and asserted African-American presence in Miami tourism;

- Overtown and West Grove in the face of major outside (exogenous) projects in their neighborhoods;

- Glocal (endogenous) cultural heritage tourism initiatives (focusing on ones where I played a role as activist planner and, more recently, activist-scholar).

In the last section I bring out the nature of my work, the role I came to play first as activist or advocacy planner and then as activist scholar, concluding by noting my shift to a different job and niche which, in Chapter V, I will argue illustrates essential dimensions of activist research in relation to glocalized tourism for Overtown and West Grove.

Data used in this chapter were generated from interviews, public meetings and events, one on one discussions with participants, residents, stakeholders, industry leaders, business owners, and data from secondary documents. Analysis of the data resulted in focusing on several activist strategies that ran through my involvement with these communities.

The African-American Role in Miami Becoming the "Playground of the USA"

In Chapters I and II, note was made of the history of the two African American communities of this study and how they were "pioneering" neighborhoods for Miami and its fledgling tourism. My research and growing familiarity with Overtown and West Grove lead to broad themes discussed further in this section:

The experience of a history of marginalization and oppression but courageous resistance to these, created a community pride in the historic struggle that makes heritage deeply valued to the present. As Miami emerged as the "Playground of the USA" (LaMonica, as cited in Bush, 1999, p. 163), the long established and poorly acknowledged dependence of American economic

growth on African-Americans (Baptist, 2016), was strongly in evidence. Just as today when the most marginalized populations in America are relied on for the hardest and dirtiest work (National Immigration Forum, 2018), in the early 20th century the boom in southern Florida tourism was underwritten to a significant degree by Black labor, both Bahamian and later African-Americans migrating from the harsher Jim Crow South (Mohl, 1987).

African-American communities have a commitment to their heritage and they remember and want to honor their collective legacy; the long story of community disempowerment entwined with racism and displacement make commitment to change all the more powerful. But leadership and resources must be nurtured to make this all work.

Throughout the history of Miami, communities have been discovering cultural heritage and viewing it as a valuable part of the community's overall identity and strategy for economic development. Since the incorporation of Miami in 1896, Bahamians (Black and White), African Americans, White Americans from "Dixie," Germans, and Italians (Dunn, 1997) arrived in waves. Societal customs and regulations warranted such arrangements. It is worth noting that the early Bahamian and then American South Blacks who settled in Miami in Overtown and West Coconut Grove came largely to fill jobs in the budding tourism industry. The first major hotel in the Miami area, the Bay View House, was built in West Grove in 1882 and staffed and serviced largely by Bahamians of African descent.

During the Jim Crow era, Henry Flagler, an American industrialist from Ohio, whose wealth helped established Miami, also helped form ethnic communities by ensuring that Black, African-American, and Bahamian residents and laborers, along with White Germans and Italian residents and laborers, lived in racially segregated communities (Dunn, 1997). This historical backdrop laid the foundation to the study and to the evolution of present-day community heritage

tourism in Coconut Grove and Historic Overtown. As stated above, one of the major reasons for

the in-migration of Bahamian and other Blacks historically was to cultivate the land and

contribute to the burgeoning tourism trade. The Peacock Inn for example was a major attraction

and opportunity for workers to settle in Coconut Grove.[3] The new settlers' knowledge of

agricultures and horticulture helped cultivate the land providing new sources of tourism

specifically around meeting the needs of travelers for leisure and, accommodations services.

> Now I come to an influence that had a marked effect on the Lower East Coast-that of the Bahaman [sic] negro. Through the 70's, 80's, and right through the 1890's, *they were practically the only available workers*-the Georgia negroes did not come in any volume until after 1900, after the coming of the Railroad. In this West Indian period, all of our heavy laborers were Bahaman negroes. I believe these Bahaman negroes had a most distinct and important influence, in that they brought inspiration to many of the first English, French, Northern and Southern planters; to all of those early settlers who at first were skeptical of the coral-rocky country, forbidding and desolate from the planting standpoint. In the Bahamas there is the same coral rock; and the Bahaman negroes knew how to plant on it; and how to use it: and they knew too that all kinds of tropical trees would grow and thrive on this rock. They, too, had a vital influence upon our civilization in bringing in their own commonly used trees, vegetables and fruits. (Merrick, 1941, p. 5)

These communities are homes to several historic landmarks, such as the Dorsey House

built in 1913 and Chapman House built in 1923; both still stand today. The Dorsey House is a

historic home built by Black pioneer Dana A. Dorsey, a millionaire who helped organize South

Florida's first Black bank. Dorsey accumulated a real estate empire while developing Overtown,

and Chapman was the first African-American physician in Miami. The Mariah Brown House is

another surviving home built in 1890 and is located in West Coconut Grove. The home was built

by Black Bahamian E.F. Stirrup, also a real-estate developer. Mariah Brown House sits among

more than 50 shotgun homes built in West Coconut Grove in the 1920s and 1930s. Presently,

there exist political debates as to whether the shotguns are historically valuable landmarks or

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[3] The Peacock Inn was closed and demolished in 1926 and the area where it stood is now a popular public recreation area called Peacock Park (Plascencia, 2011).

obstacles for developers to knock down for their advantage (Viglucci, 2018). Although some of

the shotgun homes have been designated as historic, too many other structures are gone, such as

the St. Elizabeth Hotel and the Zebra Lounge in Overtown. Shotgun houses and other landmarks

are under threat, which is in part why this study is important and the community's efforts

towards heritage tourism are presented.

In the 1920s, Overtown and West Grove emerged as major tourist destinations that drew

visitors from inside and outside of Miami as well as from across the region. Overtown became a

center for entertainment, jazz, and art, with numerous theaters, clubs, and hotels and a culture

rivaling Harlem's. The mural recently created by local Overtown artist Robert McKnight, on the

new transportation hub, MiamiCentral, includes sections that celebrate this legacy (see Figure

4.1).

Figure 4.1. Part of Robert McKnight's mural tribute to Historic Overtown on the MiamiCentral
transportation hub. Photograph by Michelle McCoy. Used with permission.

West Grove was also bustling with shops and businesses and was home to professionals including doctors, lawyers, educators, businessmen and women, architects, and educators. It is important to pause to emphasize that in the first half-century after the official founding of Miami, its rapid conversion into a major tourism focus, like so much else of America's growth, was underwritten by the labors of African Americans, who, all the while, continued to be marginalized and discriminated against. This history is a legacy that neither Overtown nor West Coconut Grove can or should ever forget; in a way, the work I have been involved in much more recently, has drawn on the dynamism of that legacy.

The growth and glamor of both areas lasted until the early 1960s and then began to decline when highway construction bisected Overtown and urban renewal severely disrupted the West Grove pedestrian streets that characterized the neighborhood and gave life to its thoroughfare. By 1969, both communities displayed widespread conditions of deterioration and blight as a result of disinvestment and neglect.

During the decline of the 1960s through the 1970s, the Black Archives History and Research Foundation, the repository for local history, and several local non-profit organizations helped lay plans and a solid foundation that created a vision to develop heritage tourism potential for the community. The Lyric Theater and the Dorsey House were included in the Historic Overtown Folk Life Village plans, which consist of the two blocks surrounding these landmarks. The Village plan proposed to celebrate the rich and varied history of the development of Overtown and for it to become a tourist destination.

The Black Tourism Boycott of 1990–1993: The "Quiet Riot"

As tourism in Miami continue to grow explosively into the 1990s, an unexpected event took place—this catalyzing event called a "quiet riot"[4] (Rowe, 1990) by one of its leading organizers saw Miamians Black and White learn how instrumental African Americans can be in the global mega industry of tourism. In many ways the leverage that African Americans suddenly experienced was awakened what would become affirmative ways that global tourism could be molded to the needs and values of Black neighborhoods.

In 1991 the Black Tourism Boycott added another chapter to the annals of heritage tourism development in Miami. Organized by African Americans and led by attorneys H.T. Smith, Marilyn Holyfield, and others, the 1991 boycott unfolded in response to Miami-Dade County elected officials' treatment of South African anti-apartheid leader Nelson Mandela, who scheduled a visit to Miami in June of 1990 during his global freedom tour.

The boycott took effect when Miami-Dade County's elected officials rescinded a proclamation welcoming Mandela based on disapproval for praise he had previously expressed for the Palestine Liberation Organization Chairman Yasser Arafat and for Cuban President Fidel Castro. It was probably inevitable that Mandela's visit would be an intercultural and highly political flashpoint (Grenier & Castro, 1999) given the large population of Cubans who had emigrated because of Castro's revolution and oppression of political opponents.

The high-handed and unilateral rescinding of the proclamation angered Black community leaders and prompted the call for a tourism boycott. To the Black communities and their leaders, this sudden action symbolized the disrespect and anti-Black sentiments exhibited by the

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[4] The phrase was coined by an African American lawyer, H. T. Smith who played a pivotal role in organizing the boycott and in the negotiation of a settlement of the conflict several years later. See also Walters and Smith (1999, pp. 174–179).

primarily White political establishment, a long-standing behavior in Miami. The boycott gave local attention to community tourism activism, which brought about negative global publicity to Miami as a tourist destination. In the context of glocalization in this study, local people and resources fought global tourism using the boycott. African American leaders proclaimed Miami racist calling it the Selma, Alabama, of the 1990s. Tourism officials estimate about 50 groups cancelled conventions in Miami-Dade County as a direct result of the boycott. Among them were the National Bar Association with 1,000 delegates; the National Medical Association with 3,000 delegates; and the Improved Benevolent Protective Order Elks of the World with 4,500 delegates. The boycott lasted 33 months and negatively impacted Miami-Dade's tourism industry by an estimated $75 million (Schmich, 1991). Local community residents, stakeholders, and leaders glocalized tourism by way of the boycott when they confronted tourism inequalities and pressure was brought to bear on international hotel chains to hire more African Americans to prevent loss of revenue due to local and national organizations cancellations of conferences and meetings [is this better not clear how?]

To bring an end to the tourism boycott, local community residents, stakeholders, and leaders insisted on meeting with Merritt Stierheim, the former president and CEO of the GMCVB, who helped negotiate a 20-point solution with the leaders of the Black community. Three of the points in the agreement, integral to engaging African Americans in the tourism industry in a significant way were:

- Training African Americans by awarding them scholarships to attend the Florida International University School of Hospitality Management;

- Working with local community leaders to promote economic advancement through business development opportunities; and

- Development of an African-American majority-owned convention hotel.

The first two of these became the centerpieces of the work of the agency that the boycott settlement agreement created: The Visitors Industry Human Resource Development Council. That entity and the initiatives will be examined below from the perspective of my participation and leadership. The hotel commitment underwent more twists and turns in events subsequent to 1993—the purchase of an existing older large hotel, the Royal Palm; the discovery that the facility could not be repaired and therefore had to be demolished to make way for a new construction; and the development of the new 150-suite Royal Palm Crowne Plaza resort, which opened in May 2002. The hotel, situated on Miami Beach, not in Overtown, has subsequently been bought out by international consortia and is now part of the Marriott chain, the Royal Palm Crowne Plaza Resort.

Thus, as a result of the boycott dispute and the ensuing negotiated agreement, local people were, at last, on the stage of shaping tourism activism and contributions to the evolution of heritage community tourism and African-American tourism history (Schmich, 1991). In this context, community stakeholders and residents took charge of the boycott reflecting a glocalized tourism approach; their cause was benefitted by bringing to heel a major international industry as it applied to Miami. The show of power was not lost on African American leaders who recognized the leverage that organized action could obtain to benefit their cause, demanding an apology and resolutions that would include providing scholarships to local African-American students to attend universities and colleges and major in hospitality and tourism. In other words, the conflict expressed the Black communities' capacity to negatively impact local tourism on a global scale. This study purports glocalization as a practical and theoretical perspective for local

people to impact global effects on their communities but do so by seizing constructively on grievance.

Vignettes for Understanding Exogenous and Endogenous Tourism Threats/Opportunities

The activist research that I will report on later in this chapter traces back to the boycott-ending agreement of 1993, and mainly is about positive initiatives whereby local Black stakeholders and residents have come to not only benefit from tourism, but play a leading and constructive role in tourism based in and about their historic communities. But before describing and reflecting on those *endogenous* tourism experiences—that is, ones where the drive came largely from the community, with my help—it is essential to recognize that *exogenous* (i.e. externally-driven) tourism and related development has not subsided. To a very significant degree, the people of Overtown and West Grove (and of other ethnic neighborhoods of Miami), remain "in the way" of globally driven development. This section, based on my documentary and archival research with some tangential but not leading role for me in the situations, illustrates the continuing play of global forces on Overtown and West Grove, which our endogenous initiatives are impacted by. Table 4.1 outlines the main exogenous developments and endogenous initiatives for which vignettes are now outlined.

Table 4.1

Exogenous and Endogenous Vignettes on Community Tourism Prepared for This Study.

Type of Vignette	Title	Nature of Development
Exogenous	"Build it like Beckham": The stadium proposal comes to Overtown	Proposed soccer stadium to be built within Overtown
	Brightline Pulls into Overtown: The Return of the MiamiCentral	Major transportation hub and new high speed railway with terminus partially within Overtown
	Coral Gables' trolleys, West Grove's garage, and the legacy of environmental injustice	Parking garage for adjacent community (Coral Gables) built in West Coconut Grove (includes background on garbage incinerator formerly located in West Grove).
	Gentrifying Overtown and West Grove.	Pressure on both communities from influx of non-African-American businesses and residential development
Endogenous	From VIC to BHI: What's in a Name?	The Greater Miami Convention and Visitors Bureau's shift to a focus on Black Hospitality Initiative.
	Re-envisioning what heritage tourism can be and do for African-American communities: To Harlem, the Bahamas, and Trinidad and Tobago	Planning, conduct and follow-up to study tours.
	GMCVB's Multicultural Tourism Department	The continuing evolution of the institutional setting for Greater Miami Convention & Vistors Bureau's programs with ethnic communities
	Black Art as a strategy for glocalized cultural tourism	Evolving focus on art as a lynchpin of cultural heritage tourism
	The Tourism Business Enhancement (TBE) Program	Experiences with courses designed to help African American tourism entrepreneurs upgrade business skills

Recent exogenous tourism and development threats/opportunities. The following four vignettes, while diverse superficially, all share the feature of having been motivated by the interests of outsiders and planned largely by those outsiders.

"Build it like Beckham"[5]*: The stadium proposal comes to Overtown, 2014–2018.* In 2014, the British soccer superstar, David Beckham, led a team of investors who sought and won approval to bring major professional soccer back to Miami (Arnold, 2014). The North American-based Major Soccer League (MSL), which formed in the early 1990s, had had a franchise named the Miami Fusion from 1998 to 2001, but it had never been able to locate in a stadium within Miami, instead using Fort Lauderdale. The Fusion folded and not until 2012 did MSL announce plans of league expansion back into Miami, contingent on attracting investors who could develop a suitable stadium within Greater Miami. Beckham's commitment seemed ideal, given his high global profile in the sport but since public announcement of his and his partners' plans, finding an acceptable location was elusive (Si Wire, 2014). After several false starts, in December 2015, the Beckham group committed to purchasing private land in Overtown, a site immediately endorsed by MSL (Bandell, 2015).

This announcement came as a surprise to me and to the Overtown people whom I was working with on other initiatives, to be discussed below. Typical of any private land transaction, no community discussion is required or, based on the history of core development in Miami, to be expected. But there were immediate misgivings in the community as the site was comparatively small and seemed unlikely to have any room for vehicle parking. It turned out

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[5] This phrase comes from Gordon (2017), who was alluding to a popular movie, *Bend It Like Beckham* (Chadha, 2002).

that, indeed, there was virtually no room for parking; the Beckham group optimistically argued

that public transit could be the major means

for fans coming to and from the location (ESPN Staff, 2017).

The advent of major league soccer with a stadium in the heart of Overtown could be seen,

superficially, as a possible plus for a community which was left with copious vacant land in the

previously discussed clearances related to the freeway construction in the 1960s. However, its

coming unfolded as had far too many previous developments (including the freeways

themselves): private, largely secret decisions made by well-to-do Whites who lived nowhere near

Overtown. Indeed, the attitude surrounding this proposal was captured in only a slightly

exaggerated form by tabloids in Beckham's homeland. For example,

> The *Daily Star* explained to readers that David Beckham has chosen to locate his new
> Major League Soccer franchise in a "Miami hellhole" and "bullet-riddled gang ghetto"
> where the streets are "lined with crack-addled prostitutes selling their wares in the dirty
> district." (Ianelli, 2017, para. 2)

As will be discussed below, this extreme negative stereotyping is something that

Overtown people have faced even from more local tourist enterprises, thereby potentially

depressing the efforts being made locally to upgrade and promote the historic neighborhood.

Moreover, the likely additional problems as seen by the people I work with and other residents of

Overtown were substantial. Figure 4.2 is an oblique view of the property location, visible as a

swath of concrete on NW 8th Street (which I have outlined with purple border), a few blocks

from the infamous freeway. Immediately adjacent to the proposed stadium site can be seen the

public and low-rise, low income housing, many of whose residents were appalled at the possible

neighborhood impacts of construction and operation of the facility. A block away (outlined in

green) is the low-cost affordable Culmer housing complex from which much opposition to the

stadium arose.

Figure 4.2. Aerial oblique view of environs of the proposed soccer stadium in Overtown. Map used and annotated in accordance with Google guidelines (https://www.google.com/intl/ALL/help/terms_maps/)

From the first announcement of the plan for a soccer statement and for several years thereafter, the Beckham group pursued both the private sale and acquisition of additional land requiring Miami Dade County Commission approval—all without meaningful engagement with the community in whose midst the stadium was to be built. Under such circumstances it is never surprising to see suspicion and opposition arise and, by mid-2017 both in Overtown and the adjacent higher-income small neighborhood area called Spring Garden, such opposition was evident. *Miami Herald* reporters Hanks and Vassolo (2017) relayed the tenor of comments that arose at a town hall meeting at the Overtown YWCA:

Leiweke [spokesperson for the Beckham group] faced the harshest questions from residents of Spring Garden, a more affluent neighborhood next to Overtown. Homeowners said the lack of garages at the Beckham facility promises to clog their neighborhood with cars and fans seeking a place to park. They argued Beckham wasn't bringing enough to Overtown to compensate for the disruption.

"A lot of times, stadiums overpromise and underdeliver," said Carlos Salas, a Spring Garden resident. "I don't think we should sell out for 50 jobs."

Among the scores of residents who expressed approval or dismay at the proposed stadium, none got applause as big as Rev. Clayton Harrell, who said he was not opposed to the stadium, but hoped members of the Beckham investor team focused their energy on helping the homeless and churches in the area.

"I say to the stockholders and people that are investing in this to make an investment in the house of God." (para. 11–14).

On February 1, 2018, a meeting was called in Overtown to address the soccer field's development. This came only days after the Beckham group had successfully presented to and won regulatory zoning approval from Miami City Council. This meant that, in a pattern that residents would be all too familiar with, the plans they were now being asked to look at were "done deals." At the session which I attended, a group of approximately 100 residents from Culmer Place/Culmer Gardens, a public housing community, along with several members of the media and representatives from Congresswoman Frederica Wilson's office, gathered in Reeves Park Recreation Center to hear a presentation about the potential effect of the impending Beckham Soccer Stadium. Many residents were upset because flyers for the event were disguised as fake eviction notices posted to the residents' doors to get them to come to the meeting. One young resident I spoke to after the meeting stated, "We are the last to know what is going to happen to us" (Anonymous, personal communication, May 17, 2017). The crowd was assured the event was for their benefit sponsored by the neighboring White affluent community Spring Garden Community Collective. The intent was to educate the crowd and encourage them to become active in opposing the new stadium. A community pastor apologized for the misleading

eviction notices while simultaneously emphasizing the importance that they get the community's attention about this situation.

Other recurring examples from my interview transcripts and meetings supported the statements by residents that they are the "last to know about what occurs in their community" as gentrification creeps in. Outside developers and local government, in most cases, control the direction taken by large-scale projects like the soccer stadium. A resident and young aspiring business owner I interviewed stated, "Simply put, we are left out of decision making and undervalued" and "what is going to happen to us has already happened in their board rooms."

From my perspective, the opposition was as much a reaction to the behind-closed-doors character of the Beckham Group's planning as it was to these substantive issues of community impact. To repeat, it is a community severely damaged by previous imposition of developments undertaken for the benefit only of outsiders and Miami's growth and not at all for residents. By this time, as will be seen, efforts by the agency I work for to enhance and restore the historical community were well underway and, if anything, community leaders were even less likely than their courageous forbears to be mere bystanders to actions impacting their community and well-being. Fuelled by the uncertainties around parking solutions, word spread in the low-income housing neighborhood that residents might face eviction so that their residences could be removed to provide a parking garage (Sutta, 2018). This became the focus of a community meeting on February 1, 2018, at which local community activist, Pastor James Adams admitted that his group had posted eviction notices to capture local attention. While the city's public housing director expressed outrage at this sleight-of-hand, the fear was, of course, easily evoked in an area that had so long and often suffered from actual evictions and conscious efforts to push African Americans away from downtown Miami.

After the meeting in February 2018, the Beckham group went back into deliberations and little was heard by the Overtown community until, to their surprise and, for some relief, an announcement was made in July that a new location had been found for the proposed stadium—a site near the Miami International Airport as part of a major mixed-use development known as Freedom Park. The motivation seems to have had less to do with the mounting opposition among Overtown and Spring Garden residents and more the insistence by new partners that a far larger site was needed (Koziarz, 2018). Miami City Council decided to hold a referendum on the latest Beckham group plan and in early November, this was approved with a majority of approximately 60% (Flechas & McPherson, 2018).

Obviously, the outcome cannot be seen as a clear-cut example of how glocally-informed leaders tamed a major exogenous development in the interests of their communities and their heritage. But it is reasonable to recognize in the "journey" of this huge exogenous project a proactive voice among Overtown stakeholders and citizens that is a good accompaniment to their constructive and more central role in glocal heritage-based tourism.

Brightline pulls into Overtown: The return of the MiamiCentral. The process whereby a major transportation hub was proposed and developed in Overtown is yet another story that could have been like the Beckham stadium story: a major facility that serves travel and "fun-seekers" in Miami, finding an African American community but a minor inconvenience in their headlong rush to locate close to the city core. In fact, the advent of the Brightline terminus which came to be the major but not only part of what is now MiamiCentral, a multimodal hub, began before the Beckham proposal and, in contrast, has culminated in "bricks and mortar," a real and major facility that opened in mid 2018 in Overtown. It is a development driven by Miami's (and Florida's) global tourism importance. But, as will be seen, despite raising serious issues and

opposition among the beleaguered African American neighborhood that hung on through the freeway building era of the 60s, the development has not been entirely insensitive to the cultural history of the people and community it impacts. In that sense, while far from being a model instance of "glocally-led" tourism planning, the coming of the station does illustrate positive (as well as not so positive) aspects of glocal tourism engagement.

Recall that railroads and stations have an historic place in the history of tourism in the Miami area and, therefore among Blacks who came to the budding tourism mecca of Miami in the late 19th century. South Florida had been steadily attracting vacationers well before major transportation links were constructed but it was the dreams and investments of Henry Flagler that led, in the 1880s, to "a flurry of railroad building, which accelerated in the following decade. By 1900, the state possessed more than 3,500 miles of track" (George, 1981, p. 36). As noted in above, early tourism in the Miami area was significantly on Black laborers who came, first, from the Bahamas and later in migration from the southern states. Overtown and West Grove were the two first "Colored towns" that grew as places where Blacks could live, given the segregation that was rampant in the area (and remains so in many ways to the present). So, there is some irony, after so many decades and the purposeful depopulation of Overtown post World War II, that it would be a very contemporary, ultra-modern high-speed trains linking Florida's two busiest tourism cities, which, again, would locate in and potentially affect Overtown.

In 2012, a company named All Aboard Florida made public their plan to develop a high-speed rail connection between Orlando and Miami (Raphelson, 2017). This high-speed rail service has made the Overtown community part of its 240-mile route (Raphelson, 2017), and the competition between developers is underway to create new housing and commercial

developments along it, all of which have contributed to the route's potential for increased heritage tourism development and gentrification.

One of the key necessary components of what came to be called *Brightline*, was a terminus in Miami. Siting of the proposed multimodal terminus was primarily determined by the land already owned by Florida East Coast Railway Industries in the vicinity of the old railway terminus for Miami, which had been demolished in 1963. As was the case in many American cities, such facilities were historically adjacent to lower income neighborhoods and this often meant Black communities (Cavanaugh & Finn, 2010). So it was that the location of the major terminus of the planned railway from Orlando to Miami was to be at Overtown' doorstep, located between Northwest Third and Eighth streets.

For several years subsequent to the 2012 announcement regulatory and financing arrangements were negotiated. During this time an environmental impact statement was prepared for All Aboard Florida by the U.S. Department of Transportation Federal Railroad Administration (2015), and while it included several subsections on cultural heritage and community impacts, no mention was made of the massive terminus being within a struggling historically Black neighborhood. In fact, the word "Overtown" does not appear anywhere in the massive volume. In a passing reference to the possibility that some neighbors of stations needed on the route could have concerns, the impact statement commented,

> The passenger rail and multi-modal stations proposed for the WPB-M Corridor project would affect land at the proposed station sites. However, station construction would have *only a minor change to surrounding land uses and would not effectuate change in land use and planning for adjacent areas*, though regionally additional infill development is expected as governed by local land use and zoning regulations and ongoing adjustments (U.S. Department of Transportation Federal Railroad Administration., 2015, p. 5-21, emphasis added)

The Brightline plan envisioned the terminus to be much more than just a station for the Brightline. This would become a development spanning six blocks and comprising a

transportation hub—for Metromover (a free automated downtown train), Metrorail, and the

Tri-Rail system, as well as Brightline—as well as office, residential and retail towers. The multi-

use complex was sited a block from Overtown's historic Lyric Theater, among the most well-

known landmarks of Overtown (see Figure 4.3).

Figure 4.3. The historic Lyric Theater of Overtown. Photograph by Michelle McCoy. Used with permission.

As the project was built, some Overtowners' concerns arose about the massive wall

erected during construction which residents saw as yet another instance of the African American

community being blocked from pedestrian access and views of Biscayne Bay (Ianelli, 2017).

Residents who attended an All Aboard Florida meeting in May 2017, that I also attended were

upset and confused about what was going on. The meeting zeroed in on a massive wall being

built. Residents were displeased with the construction of the platform rail that divided the east

side, which is the bay side waterfront commercial section, from the west side and that resulted in

the boxing in of Overtown. The train platform is called "the wall," a term coined by residents as

a way of describing how the platform bifurcates the community in the same way as the railway

does. For community residents, the platform was seen as just the latest way of separating the

wealthier more commercial and affluent side of the train station from the community it runs through. Some of the activist stakeholders felt the wall would become a barrier to community workers and restricted pedestrian access to work.

My observations indicated a large majority of the people in Overtown walk or use public transportation to get around the wall and that it appeared to be a barrier. Many saw the wall as inhibiting Overtowners' access to public transportation and their connection to the newly proposed developments such as the Marriott Mega Hotel's 800-rooms, scheduled for construction on the east side of the wall, and the Biscayne Bay commercial corridor, a tourist hub adjacent to Overtown. Residents perceived this gigantic wall as another attempt to, as one resident stated, "separate and lock us out." One resident was quoted in the Miami New Times: "It's crazy . . . They're destroying the community" (Edduard Prince as cited in Iannelli, 2017, para. 4). Elsewhere, the same resident-activist suggested, "They created a wall separating Overtown from Park West area. I guess they didn't realize what it would look like . . . You're creating the barrier that keeps the Black folks out" (Edduard Prince as cited in Robinson, 2017, para. 2). Coming only a few months after the unanticipated presidential victory of Donald Trump whose platform infamously included building a wall on the border with Mexico, the emergence of what seemed to be a barrier between Overtown and the downtown caused an understandable stir. Yet Clarence Woods, then-Executive Director of the Southeast Overtown/Park West (SEOPW) Community Redevelopment Agency, opined that appropriate prior contact had been made with the proponent providing for consultations with the community (Robinson, 2017). He further explained that the structure of concern had been explained and was not a wall but rather a necessary "platform." Prince responded:

It's not a wall; it's a platform? . . . That's not even a debate. He [Woods] should have said, "Oh, it's not a wall; it's a bunny rabbit," so we could at least have had something to talk about. But this is not even a debate (as cited in Ianelli, 2017, para. 17).

The story from the normative perspective of glocalize tourism remains mixed to this day. The MiamiCentral complex has now opened and the Brightline started operating as far as Fort Lauderdale in mid-2018. Plans to complete and open the line all the way to Orlando are slated for 2020. As will be further discussed below, Overtown continues to experience a slow but significant rebirth as a Black historical and cultural tourism centre with old and new attractions steadily being realized through local efforts including those that I was involved in with the BHI. Thus, the appearance of major art installations by local African American artist, Robert McKnight on the multi-use complex walls on NW Sixth Street are a striking feature, consistent with adjacent Overtown's quest for glocalized tourism (Jenkins Fields, 2018a). The murals (see Figures 4.4) depict images of African American cultural icons from the neighborhood. The current Executive Director of the Southeast Overtown CRA has stated:

Florida East Coast Industries and Brightline made the pre-development commitment to the Southeast Overtown/Park West Community Redevelopment Agency that their project would reflect and respect the rich culture of Overtown . . . I am proud of their decision on commissioning Robert McKnight and look forward to partnering with FECI on future collaborations. (as cited in Jenkins Fields, 2018a, para. 20)
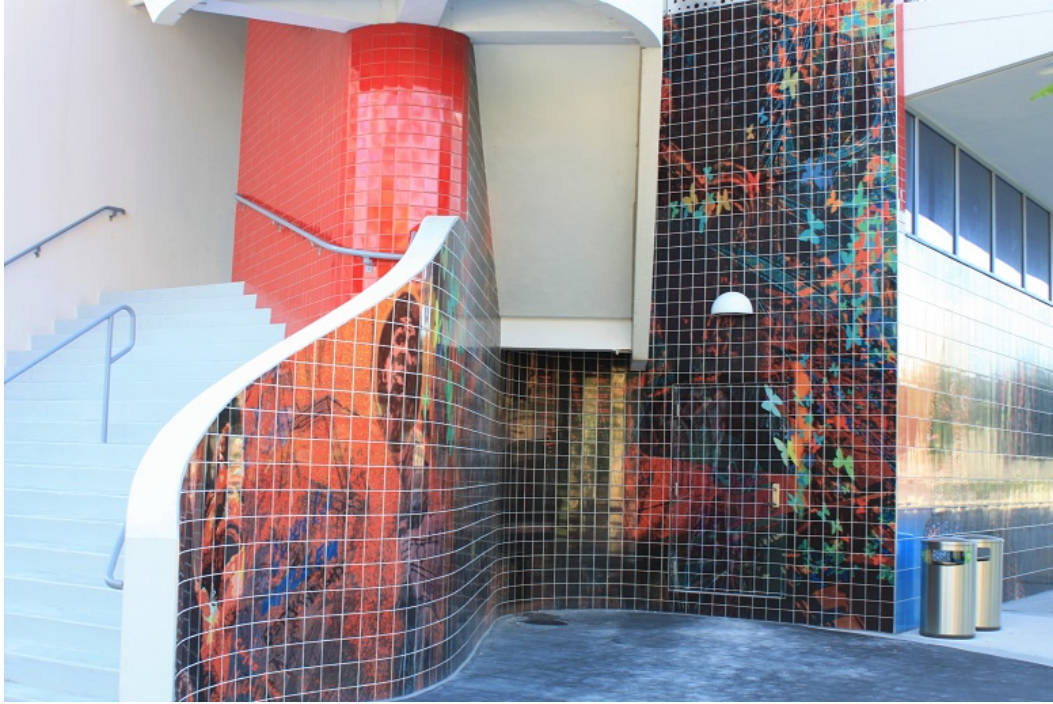
Figure 4.4. Part of Robert McKnight's mural depicting aspects of the history of Overtown, on the MiamiCentral station complex. Photograph by Michelle McCoy. Used with permission.

There seems little question that the proponents and regulators of this major project have undertaken significantly more consultative interactions with those who work from and for Overtown. Yet, there are anomalies that give pause before highest marks can be awarded to All Aboard Florida and its partners in the development of MiamiCentral. A look at the latter's promotional article describing and marketing the project, reveals that while Overtown is listed on a map of "Location" on the website (MiamiCentral, n.d.), a set of links providing readers a place to click "for more details on MiamiCentral's surrounding neighborhoods" (MiamiCentral, n.d., para. 3) omits Overtown while including all other adjacent neighborhoods. It is of some further concern that the map itself sets the south and eastern boundaries of Overtown several blocks away from MiamiCentral, when in fact, the complex falls partly within what are usually seen as the community's circumference. The web page also provides links for separate promotional descriptions of all the neighborhoods adjoining MiamiCentral—except Overtown for which no

description is provided. This omission is consistent with the low regard that outsiders so often have about Historic Overtown, a significant obstacle that efforts to grow local heritage tourism strive to counteract.

It is hard not to wonder about this misplacement of the boundaries and, given the stigma that has often attached to Overtown in the years after the freeways caused the razing of so much of the community, whether the drafters of this map wanted to imply that Overtown was further away than it was. As will be discussed in the description of my work with Overtown stakeholders to change this stigmatization, one of the community's major challenges in "growing" heritage tourism is to reduce potential visitors' fears and aversions. Such promotional material for the largest visitor-attracting development in decades, is troubling.

In conclusion while the advent of Brightline as an exogenously-developed tourism-related project illustrates both the positive and "opportunity" side that global tourism presents to the community, there are still lingering vestiges of a time when the main objective of Miami developers was to exclude and, if possible, remove African American neighborhoods from the scene. This underscores the need for redoubled efforts—as will be described below—to truly glocalize Miami's world-renowned tourism sector.

Coral Gables' trolleys, West Grove's garage, and the legacy of environmental injustice. The MiamiCentral terminus and the Brightline are among the largest capital projects ever seen in southern Florida; over in West Coconut Grove a very much smaller transportation facility, again stemming from tourism and related services outside the African American community, almost happened in the last two years. So different in scale from MiamiCentral, nonetheless the advent of this facility led to a community backlash with hardly less energy or anger. This, I would suggest, reflects both the sordid history of racial discrimination the people

of West Grove have faced, and their resurgent pride in their neighborhood—on which efforts at glocalized endogenous tourism are based. It may be useful to restate some of what was outlined in Chapters I and II about the history of the historic and contemporary Black community of West Coconut Grove. Like Overtown, the roots of the community are with African Americans who came to South Florida initially from the Bahamas and found employment on the budding tourism and transportation development that eventually would make Miami a globally significant destination. Thus, as noted earlier, the first major hotel in the Miami area, the Bay View House (that later became the Peacock Inn) needed the labors and the know-how of cultivating coral soils that Black Bahamians possessed. The first employee of the Bay View was Mariah Brown who convinced many other Bahamians, some directly, and some from Key West to settle in the Coconut Grove district (Mohl, 1987). A Black man from the Bahamas, Ebenezer Woodbury Franklin Stirrup, became a legendary success. His home is now a historically designated site (Figure 4.5), one of many recognized cultural historic features of West Grove. From farm worker to substantial developer of many of the houses of the Grove where African Americans, lived, his own home remains as a historic site but also as a daily reminder of the abilities of the people of the community to shape their world.

Figure 4.5. Plaque marking home of West Coconut Grove Black pioneer and businessman, Ebenezer Woodbury Franklin Stirrup, who emigrated from the Bahamas in the 1890s. Photograph by Michelle McCoy. Used with permission.

Despite this contribution, Blacks of Coconut Grove—eventually including people who had fled the overt and aggressive racism of Deep South Jim Crow era states—faced the discrimination and exclusion that haunted African Americans for many decades after the "Colored Town" settlements in Miami. The sequence of actions taken against them are well described in Dunn (1997). Again, as in Overtown to the north, the African American community of Overtown faced a steady barrage of hostile outsider-driven planning and development through the Jim Crow and into the current. In 1925, the community was annexed, against its will,[6] into the city of Miami (Livingston, 2000). Despite this expansion, West Coconut Grove residents were not put on water supply as were surrounding White neighborhoods and the adjacent planned city of Coral Gables. They had to rely on wells that were often contaminated, as there

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[6] It should be reiterated that Coconut Grove comprises two very different communities (Plasencia, 2011), with West Grove being primarily Black in contrast to the White (and increasingly Hispanic) majority in the northeast area. Significantly both parts of the community were opposed to the annexation (Livingston, 2000).

were also no sewers. This was only one of the many indignities born of racial discrimination that befell the neighborhood.

The year after annexation a garbage incinerator serving wide areas of Miami was built right in the midst of the West Grove. It came to be known as "Old Smokey." The pattern of locating noxious facilities in minority neighborhoods is widespread enough so that activists and scholars have come to study and create a field called environmental justice. Put simply, this field recognizes that for a very long time, "the existence of inequity in the distribution of environmental "bads" (annoyances or risks) . . . some communities receive more environmental risks than others" (Schlosberg, 2013, p 38)—and that these strongly tend to be poor communities, especially "communities of colour" (p. 38). Old Smokey was a classic case of environmental injustice whose legacy no doubt affected response to the much less noxious but still off-loaded transit garage for Coral Gables trolleys. One long-time resident summed up the harm and the unfairness of the incinerator, which served the whole of Miami-Dade County, being sited in West Grove:

> A run-down city incinerator, from which the Negro people had no service whatever, day and night spewed out its reeking smoke and sooty ash into all open windows, blowing, half consumed rubbish over the near-by frame houses constantly in danger of fire (Marjory Stoneman Douglas, as quoted in the documentary, *Old Smokey: A Community History*, Old Smokey Steering Committee, 2018).

Organized local opposition started not long after the facility opened, but this was to little avail and in the late 1950s, the incinerator was even enlarged to cope with the ever-growing solid waste of rapidly expanding Miami. All this was going on within a few hundred feet of the segregated schools that Blacks had no choice but to attend. Air pollution from the enlarged incinerator, however, began to impact the higher income White communities of Coral Gables and at that point, well-funded political and legal opposition emerged, leading by 1970 to closure of Old Smokey. The incinerator has been long gone for a long time, yet, in fact, issues from its

44 years of operation linger on; in 2012 a newly created "Environmental Justice Project" at the University of Miami began to research the story of Old Smokey and in the process found a recent technical report had shown major contamination of soils over a large circumference around the site of Old Smokey. Subsequent collaboration between the community, the schools, the University of Miami and others has led to further environmental assessments, political and legal action which, to repeat, have energized some strong reactions to (and action about) other instances where the community is potentially impacted by projects undertaken by and for outsiders.

West Grove's struggles for safe and decent housing are chronicled by Mohl (2001)and included resistance of mixed success to the imposition of the "concrete monsters" which threatened to exchange low standard housing in poor but vibrant neighborhoods for the kind of crime-breeding high rise projects that were infamously developed all across post World War II America as dumping grounds for the marginalized (Gans, 1972; Mohl, 2001). It was against this backdrop that, in 2012, a garage for holding and servicing trolley trains from Coral Gables—which adjoins West Grove to its south, appeared. The project was spurred by the aspirations of the City of Coral gables to facilitate private development in the light industrial area of their own community that would be aesthetically consistent with the City's founding self-image. Here it should be noted that Coral Gables, founded in the early 20th century by George Merrick, had (and still has) an idea of itself that implicitly sets it apart from West Grove:

> Coral Gables, the City Beautiful, stands out as a rare pearl in South Florida, a cohesive community built on a grand Mediterranean Revival architectural style to create an overall harmony with the environment. Early city planners and visionaries were influenced by the aesthetics of the City Beautiful Movement that swept across America in the early 1900's. Inspired by the works of landscape architect Frederick Law Olmstead, who designed New York's Central Park, The City Beautiful Movement encouraged the use of wide tree-lined avenues, monumental buildings, winding roadways, green space, ornate plazas and fountains

galore. All these elements of style have been and continue to be incorporated by Coral Gables city planners (Steig, n.d., para. 1)

Consistent with this self-image and as a result of the ongoing real estate boom in the city and region over many decades, by 2011 Coral Gables leaders and planners sought to relocate an old trolley garage from the downtown to make way for a high-end shopping center (what would become, the "Shops at Merrick Park") and an equally high-end condominium/retail development, Merrick Manor (n.d.). Together, these developments at the old trolley garage site, are known as the "Village of Merrick Park," user rated on the website, TripAdvisor (n.d.) as Coral Gables' number 2 visitor attraction.[7]

Coral Gables' quaint trolleys, for which a night-time and repair garage were essential, had been revived in 2003. Though the purpose was not explicitly for tourism (see David Plummer & Associates, 2006, p. 1), the retro-styled trolleys were an immediate hot and complemented the historic ambience that Coral Gables has continuously sought to protect and enhance. Over the years this intracity free transport system has been expanded several times though not into West Grove (David Plummer & Associates, 2006).

In order to more profitably use the site of the old trolley garage near downtown Coral Gables, the City agreed to have a private developer lead in finding a new and developing at a new location. Thus, this developer, Astor Development, purchased and, after receiving approval from the City of Miami—which held no hearings but okayed the development because its planners determined that there was no zoning issue—proceeded, over the Christmas season in 2012, to demolish several homes and a popular soul food restaurant (Bernice's) "on Douglas

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[7] In and of itself, the "Shops at Merrick Park" development is rated fourth among "things to do" in Coral Gables (TripAdvisor, n.d.).

Road between Frow and Oak Avenues in a historic residential neighborhood of the West Grove"

(Alfieri, 2013, pp. 133–134).

Although local opposition quickly arose, the construction of the facility went ahead and

was completed in early 2013. The developer, in a letter to the Miami Herald, even suggested that

the trolley garage beautified the West Grove neighborhood! (Garcia-Serra, 2013). He went on to

further claim that the architectural design of the building was "respectful of its surroundings and

nearby residents, including using a traditional Bahamian design that pays homage to the West

Grove's heritage" (Garcia-Serra, 2013, para.1). This did not quell local resentment, although an

opportunity was missed at an early stage for some resolution to be achieved. Initially, residents

and their local leadership, seeing the garage already completed, sought a compromise by

requesting that the trolley's routes be expanded to provide some amenity to West Grove. At the

time, a professional review of future routes and plans for the trolley system was underway

(Gannett-Fleming, 2013). But no serious consideration of this peace gesture followed.

> During preconstruction negotiations with the developer and municipal officials from
> Coral Gables and Miami, West Grove homeowner associations requested extension of the
> trolley service to the commercial corridor of the neighborhood and inclusion of "a small
> retail space or kiosk in the depot for a business that could serve the community;" they
> were rebuffed on both counts. (Alfieri, 2013, p.137)

Legal and political action ensued with the West Grove residents collaborating with

students and faculty of the University of Miami Law School, leading to eventual abandonment of

the garage site, with a pleasant new building (and less pleasant parking lot hard up against

neighboring residential properties) left empty. Legal actions included one resident filing a

complaint under Title VI of 1964 *Civil Rights Act*. This was persuasive to the U.S. Department

of Transportation[8] which

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[8] The Department of Transportation's involvement arose because the purchase of the trolleys had been
partly funded by the Federal Transit Administration (Staletovich, 2013).

found the county failed to ensure the cities followed the law. The cities, in turn, violated the law by not conducting a study during the garage's "planning stages" to ensure that race did not play a part in determining where it was built or whether the garage would have an "adverse impact" on the West Grove neighborhood, which has long struggled to attract business. (Staletovich, 2013, para. 2)

The legal and political pressure that West Grove was able to apply with the assistance of the University of Miami Law School's Center for Ethics and Public Service, forced the developer and Coral Gables to look elsewhere and within their own city, for a garage site. Although the suit brought by the West Grove residents lost at trial, it went to appeal at which time the litigants agreed to negotiate. The resulting settlement included abandonment of the trolley garage site and ultimately relocation of the unwanted facility within Coconut Grove (Alfieri, 2013, 2017; Calvo & Millas-Kaiman, 2015; Staletovich, 2014). The settlement also created a restrictive covenant and an opportunity to take a leading role in finding a use for the building more compatible with community wishes. Calvo and Millas-Kaiman suggest:

> The settlement and restrictive covenant was a tremendous achievement for the West Grove community . . . The community is seeking to purchase the trolley facility and hopes to transform it into a facility that will benefit the West Grove community. (p. 2)

West Grove community activist Jihad Rashid foresaw seizing the opportunity for community renewal, complementary to the smaller scale and endogenous tourism and business development:

> Residents are hoping to buy the building or negotiate a tenant over the next three months, when their option to buy expires, Rashid said. "What we want to do is make it easy to get the right kind of activity in there and fill the void that causes other problems," he said,

The trolley garage was a very small development in comparison to the soccer stadium and Brightline transportation hub, yet, the events that unfolded after the trolley garage location were hardly less dramatic. In Chapter V, I will examine the continuities between these

struggles—which, to repeat, I was not greatly involved in, and the endogenous tourism initiatives now to be described.

Gentrifying Overtown and West Grove.

> To me, the redevelopment of the Grove is inevitable and I'm not talking about the way the people who live there would want it. It's going to be the way that makes money. That means upscale and large and encroaching into the Black Grove.
>
> – Marvin Dunn (as cited in Staletovich & Borns, 2013, para. 54)

> Oh, yeah, I've seen it go full circle, yes. Yeah. I remember when we were relegated to live in the area where we were, which the east boundary was Plaza Street, and then I saw it spread out into the areas where whites had originally owned homes and then black people kinda came in with the usual migratory process that happens around the country, where we move in and whites move out, and now we're back into them moving back in, and we're being just crushed in, and then they're moving into the areas where we were before. That's what's going on now.
>
> —Clarice Cooper, lifelong resident of West Coconut Grove

The vignettes of change brought on by outside interests—the exogenous—discussed so far have been about developments at one site. But in both Overtown and the West Grove, a steadier and more widespread process is underway: gentrification. *Gentrification* has been defined as "the process by which central urban neighborhoods that have undergone disinvestments and economic decline experience a reversal, reinvestment, and the in-migration of a relatively well-off middle- and upper middle-class population" (N. Smith, 1996, p. 198). Often in the United States, there is a distinctly racial dimension to gentrification, for not only is it upper income people who move in, but the "target" neighborhood is frequently low income Black and Hispanic (Patillo, 2007).

The struggle of African American communities to deal with gentrification in Miami, like almost every change in the city, relates to tourism, to the fact that so many Americans and people from more distant countries want what Miamians have: warm winters, nearby beaches, and all the colorful ethnic neighborhoods. Tourism and gentrification can go in hand in hand and in fact,

a number of writers have used the term *tourism gentrification*. Cocola-Gant (2018) and Gotham

(2005b) each focus on how the demand for attractions and tourist services, notably

accommodation, can impinge on lower income neighborhoods while Gravari-Barbas and

Guinand (2017) recognize the circular cause-and-effect of tourism and gentrification, saying,

"tourism is understood both as a result of gentrification and as a precondition for gentrification"

(p. 17). In Overtown and West Grove we have had to be mindful of this connection every time an

initiative is undertaken to make the communities more attractive for cultural heritage tourism.

Furthermore, all of the three site specific developments discussed in this section have important

relationships with gentrification, for while the Beckham soccer stadium and the MiamiCentral

terminus may not be places anyone wants to live right next to, such facilities may raise property

values in adjacent areas that are a few blocks away. The trolley garage relocation was a direct

result of Coral Gables trying to maintain and restore high end residences and retail. Even with

the small victory of rebuffing Coral Gables' trolley garage, the broader threat of being a low-cost

property neighborhood right up against far more prosperous high cost properties in wealthy

communities is not going away. Even as the people of West Grove worked with me and with

others to foster endogenous tourism and development, the threat grew.

> Ned Murray is the associate director at Florida International University's Metropolitan
> Center, a think tank for urban planning. He says the West Grove's location puts it at risk
> of getting spillover development from Coral Gables or the significantly wealthier
> portions of Coconut Grove. "If you are in a location where you're abutting a high-
> demand real-estate development area, and your property values are lower, and your
> zoning is much more liberal, then obviously you may have more opportunity for
> something to happen in that location that may not be in the best interest of the
> community," says Murray. (Proethero, 2014, para. 12–13)

The changes coming to Overtown and West Grove through gentrification forces can be

recognized in two recent experiences: The Crosswinds project in Overtown and the controversy

over preserving what are called West Grove's "shotgun houses"—the traditional residences built

by and for Bahamian immigrants and workers in the first half of the 20th century (See Fig 4.6 for

an example). Andrews (n.d.) has outlined the historical and cultural significance of the shotgun

house, illustrating the connection between the form and the way it reflected the distinct family

ways maintained even through times of slavery, all the way from West Africa:

> The shotgun house involves more than a discreet building form. There is a philosophy of space, a culturally determined sense of dimension. The idea of a house form is closely associated with the way a people seek to order their world. The design of the house draws individual family members into prolonged daily contact. The two-room rectangular house – which became three rooms when indoor plumbing was added – provided an intimate setting. (para. 6)

> The shotgun house represents the slaves' reaction to adversity, making sense of their new environment by modifying familiar living patterns. Cultural contact did not necessitate massive change in architecture; but rather an intelligent modification of culture. The shotgun house form is the result of a kind of mental transposition. (para. 9)

Figure 4.6 Shotgun houses in West Grove. Photograph by Michelle McCoy. Used with permission.

Several years of planning and controversy about a major mixed-income development in

Overtown led by a development firm from Michigan, Crosswinds, were concluding about the

time that I moved to Miami to work with the Visitors Industry Human Resource Development

Council (VIC). The development was not purely from the outside as the local community

revitalization authority had a mandate to encourage a rebirth for the long-depressed community

that had so suffered (as discussed earlier) from the freeway developments in the 1960s. The

Southeast Overtown/Park West Community Redevelopment Agency, "was created in 1982 to

undertake activities and projects that would eradicate conditions of slum and blight. The main

objective of the CRA currently, is to spearhead new development and redevelopment efforts that

accomplish beneficial revitalization within its boundaries" (Southeast Overtown/Park West

Community Redevelopment Agency, n.d., para. 1). Yet, as things have turned out, an agency that

was set up and, no doubt, operates to advance the well-being of Overtowners, has, nevertheless,

moved to act to fulfill its mandate in a manner that at least some residents will see as no less

threatening than what complete outsiders push to develop. As the struggle continues, against the

historic backdrop of exogenous-driven development, yet Overtown and West Grove will

continue, to paraphrase Nebhrajani (2016), to make a comeback on their own terms. This is the

essence of the endogenous tourism to which the discussion now turns.

Towards Endogenous, Glocalized Heritage-Based Tourism for Overtown and West Grove

To this point, this chapter has assembled history and vignettes that reveal communities

that have a rich history, that have struggled against discrimination and disregard, that have

survived albeit with pain and devastation, and for whom tourism drawing on Miami's global

appeal but developed in ways that are glocal, is their greatest hope. The story at this point

becomes more personal, more *mine*, as a researcher-activist, but even more so *theirs*, the leaders,

stakeholders and citizens of the two communities. It will be helpful to the reader to briefly speak

of how I came to be in the midst of these issues and challenges and how activists and pro-

community work shifted eventually into the role of researcher from which this dissertation

emerges.

My entry into the study/practice context. I came to Miami and the GMVB from having

worked for many years in Ohio both with my own firm which dealt with public housing and

other community challenges, and as the director of the African American Community Extension

Center at Ohio State University. I also had concurrently worked at the Family Life Centre at Central State University in Ohio. I held a master's degree from OSU having completed a thesis looking at social conflicts in southern Africa (Angola and Mozambique) as well completing course work in rural sociology. The thread connecting all of my work had been communities and the well-being of their populations in the face of historic marginalization and other challenges. Perhaps somewhat distinct from activism of the post-war era in such communities, I brought a belief that development and even resistance could be constructive and win-win between community and the larger outside world. This has been thematic in my role in Miami from the very beginning. As will be discussed and exemplified in the overview of endogenous vignettes and my role in these, I have tried to fight for positive change, rather than fighting against people who may initially not have had the best interests of the communities as a priority.

From VIC to BHI: What's in a Name? My entry into what became the setting of this dissertation began in 2007 when I was hired by the Greater Miami Visitors Bureau to be Executive Director for the Visitors Industry Human Resource Development Council, known generally as the VIC. I came from many years of working with African American communities in Ohio and, so, activism was a natural part of development in my experience. As noted, the VIC had been established as part of the settlement of the boycott of the early 1990s. The boycott leaders had realized just what minimal participation African Americans had in the long-running boom of tourism in Miami. So, the settlement included several initiatives including these:

- A scholarship program for African-Americans to attend the Florida International University School of Hospitality Management[9];

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[9] As the program evolved, recipients of awards ended up in other area institutions of higher learning including Johnson & Wales University and Miami Dade College (Black Hospitality Initiative of Greater Miami, 2010).

- Promoting African American entrepreneurship and participation in tourism business development.

Uptake on the first of these had been even higher than expected despite some attitudes in the communities that this was training for menial low paid tourism sector jobs. In the first 20 years over 200 scholarships were awarded with funding in aggregate of about $1.2 million. Yet, the program depended entirely on donations, leading to staff and leadership time being preoccupied with a constant need to be fund raising and by 2008, I found that the program was in serious debt. The second part of the commitment, as of 2007, when I began work at VIC, was, in the words of one VIC Board member, "a near failure" (Al West, Personal Communication, July 6, 2018). It seemed that the objective was being pursued in a hit and miss way and needed more focus, more clarity that what was intended was enhanced African American ownership in the tourism sector. Not long after becoming the Executive Director, then, I saw that significant change and improvement was needed for the noble purposes of 1993 not to end up utterly obliterated.

Discussions with leaders led to a feeling that the commitment on which the boycott was ended was not being fully recognized and so, we convened a gathering of many of the principal signers of the 1993 boycott ending settlement. In short order, commitments were made to solidify the program with core annual funding. It was at this point that the decision was reached by the VIC board to alter the name, breathing new life into a non-profit that had been struggling and, at the same time, making the purpose and the population that was to be served crystal clear. The entity changed in name from the VIC to the Black Hospitality Initiative of Greater Miami (BHI).

The name change was a way to focus on the Black population it intended to reach. This change also gave the organization a new identity and purpose. The BHI mission was more expressly to enhance the economic participation of African Americans more fully in the visitors and tourism industry. Significantly, the new emphasis of such work was heritage tourism which, at the time, was only beginning to surface as a primary means and end for tourism in historic communities that had deep history but also historical marginalization. With this new mission, my staff and I initially began working with four heritage communities to engage them in heritage and cultural tourism development: Little Haiti, Overtown, West Grove and Little Havana. Historic Overtown and West Coconut Grove were among the first communities to receive attention from tourism agencies and the GMCVB in particular as target communities for community heritage tourism growth. These communities were the logical ones to start with from the perspective of the BHI staff both because of the rich histories they had and also the increasing outside pressures that threatened their very existence. Much of the work that followed and is described now in terms of vignettes, came directly from this change in name and orientation.

Re-envisioning what heritage tourism can be and do for African-American communities: To Harlem, the Bahamas, and Trinidad and Tobago. By 2010, it had become clear that enhancing African American tourism in the historic communities of Overtown and West Grove, would find its strongest basis and public support and understanding if it connected strongly to the heritage of these communities. Cultural heritage tourism was "in the air" at that time. The BHI undertook travel to places where people of African descent had already begun to build on their heritage for tourism purposes all in the midst of two other world-class travel destinations: New York City and the Bahamas.

Visiting Harlem. I organized a group of African American leaders and stakeholders from Miami to visit New York in 2012 and focus on Black business and heritage tourism. Our team travelled to heritage destinations to get an introduction to how this community was embracing heritage tourism and to help, after returning home, to activate and expand cultural and heritage tourism activities in Overtown and West Coconut Grove.

New York City almost inevitably makes the list of the most visited cities in the world. For example, Mastercard's (2018) annual Global Destination Cities Index reports that New York is 6th both in numbers of visitors (13.13 million annually) and in terms of tourist expenditure ($16.10 billion). Manhattan is a centerpiece for this tourism and, of course, in its northeast, is the historic and world-renowned large neighborhood of Harlem, famously home to African Americans as well as Puerto Ricans. While Harlem in the 1970s (like the overall city of New York itself) suffered from the reputation of being dangerous especially for naïve tourists (see Cross, 2018), actual crime and violent rates have dropped. At the same time, gentrification of Black Harlem is definitely a force and of concern to African American activists. Thus, the nurturing of tourism in Harlem amidst the same (only larger) contradictory trends of misperception and gentrification is obviously of relevance the BI's work in Black Miami. Hoffman (2003) well posed the challenges that lie ahead; though are trip was not in any way "social research," we wanted to be mindful of as we toured the changing environment of this iconic Black neighborhood.

> Harlem—in many respects a world unto itself over the past 60 years—is being rewoven into the urban fabric with a capitalist agenda. The entry of multinational capital, accompanied by public/private partnership programs that stress entrepreneurial skills, presages a transition from a `transfer' economy based upon publicly funded services. (Hoffman, 2003, p. 297)

In Harlem, we stayed at the Aloft Hotel, which was the newest hotel to be built in Harlem in 50 years. We learned about historic sites such as the Abyssinian Baptist Church, one of

Harlem's most famous African-American houses of worship. The church was well-known for having the best gospel choir in town, and we saw visitors lined up around the block to attend Sunday services. We dined at cultural restaurants including the Red Rooster, which is owned by the acclaimed Chef Marcus Samuel, who is also a famous Food Channel host, and we also had brunch and viewed entertainment at the Historic Cotton Club.

Figure 4.7. The historic Jackson Soul Food restaurant in Overtown. Photograph by Michelle McCoy. Used with permission.

We dined at these restaurants to reinforce and confirmed our belief that the Historic Jackson Soul Food located in Historic Overtown (see Figure 4.7) and other restaurants that catered African American cuisine could indeed reach the level of national and international acclaim these establishments experiences today. In addition, we met with the 125th street Business Improvement District (BID) Executive Director, whose organization's mission is to "Expand sustainable economic activity in the area, including the creation or expansion of businesses and the development of jobs for community residents." The director discussed with us what was happening in the areas of commercial development, culture, and arts, and how they use local residents, businesses, and institutions to grow and benefit from the opportunities created by tourism and commercial revitalization efforts in Harlem. Meetings with her team and

Commissioner Spence Jones included stakeholders from Overtown and West Coconut Grove

business owners or staff. We had meetings to discuss how the 125th street BID Executive

Director employed her team and how they went about making Harlem a cultural and heritage

tourist destination. The director shared with us an art project rendition of the "Chitlin Circuit"

which was a collection of performance sites throughout the southern, eastern and upper Midwest

regions of the United States that were innocuous, and safe for African American musicians,

comedians, and other entertainers to execute and demonstrate their talent during the "Jim Crow"

era of racial segregation in the United States, which reigned from at least the early 19th century

through the 1960s (Englehardt, 2015) . This art project showed the relationship Overtown and

Harlem shared as they both where venues during the era of "Chitlin Circuit" and "Jim Crow."

Overtown, during its pinnacle in the 1940s and 1950s, was known as the Harlem of the South

because of the prime entertainers who came from Harlem to play at the Lyric Theater, such as

Count Basie and Billie Holliday. Harlem is known as one of the centers for African-American

and Diaspora heritage, culture, and business, and so was Overtown.

Visiting Bahamas. In 2013, I organized a delegation to travel to the Bahamas, another

world-class tourism destination, one that is less than 200 miles from Miami. As discussed earlier,

the Bahamas bears considerable historic significance for Miami's Blacks in that many ancestors

came as among the first inhabitants of the city, settling in West grove and soon after in Overtown

where they played a pivotal role in tourism development. That Bahamian heritage alone makes

the islands' approach to cultural and heritage tourism significant. On the other hand, few places

on earth could exceed the Bahamas as sites of a very globalized form of tourism, one that seems

quite abstracted from the colonial history and key role of Blacks there. To this day mega resorts

where billions of dollars are invested continue to proliferate and expand. Globalized tourism is

likewise seen in vacation home purchases where a prominent marketing strategy is "Owning a Piece of Paradise" (Rolle, 2015, p. 173). Obviously, if you are going to look at how Black cultural heritage is seen in the Bahamas, it will be driven by a question of how community-based efforts of a marginalized people gets any visibility amidst such global forces.

We toured historic sites such Fort Charles and met with local vendors who set up cultural booths and entrainment locations that connected directly to growing tourism markets in their local areas. We visited local pop-up events designed by locals and we observed the ways in which locals used minimal resources to showcase their talent, culture, and art to visitors. We were convinced in discussions with each other in the group that Historic Overtown and the West Grove, if not totally ready for similar offerings, had enough cultural assets to begin the journey of community heritage tourism in a serious way. We learned how communities that were not part of a tourism plan became destinations with the resources they already had and with help from local government. In addition, it was easy for us to grasp the workings of tourism because we were in developing countries that were similar in many ways to Overtown and West Coconut Grove. Some of the communities we visited were very blighted and offered little to visitors in terms of shopping and nightlife when one left the tourist "traps." We learned how pop-up events that are designed as impromptu entertainment spots and require no permanent physical structure are used to entertain and provide cultural space for tourists to share and experience.

Our goal for the trip had been to learn and build upon our experiences in order to cultivate our own tourist markets back home in real and authentic ways. Black Bahamians are a vast majority of the islands' population—90.6% in 2010 according to the CIA World Factbook (CIA, n.d.), and so there is no surprise that they make up a large proportion of the workforce. Still, the mega development style of tourism that dominates is not locally or Black-owned and

the presentation of what is cultural heritage, is overwhelmed by what seems an uncritical colonial-style perspective (Palmer, 1994). All the while, poverty and unemployment in the Bahamas has actually increased during a time when large scale tourism development shows no sign of slowing down. As we returned to Miami, we realized that the positive knowledge we had gained in Bahamas about the small-scale initiatives by Blacks could be shared with residents and stakeholders in Overtown and West Coconut Grove but that the challenges of outside-dominated globalized development were persistent and would always dominate the sector.

Visiting Trinidad and Tobago. A third trip with the purpose of exploring other Black communities that have used their cultural heritage to try to develop glocalized tourism, was made to Trinidad and Tobago, also in 2013. Perhaps because of the larger size and longer status as an independent nation than Bahamas, and its greater distance from the United States, this destination is not quite so beset with massive global tourism developments. Once again, our delegation focused its time on visiting sites and talking to citizens there about cultural heritage tourism. It should be noted that the proportion of the population that is of African origin in Trinidad and Tobago is substantially lower than in the Bahamas. As of 2011, Blacks were a close second to descendants of immigrants from the Asian subcontinent (respectively 36.3% and 37.6% of the population). In fact, it became apparent that multicultural diversity is a major characteristic and selling point for tourists coming to Trinidad and Tobago. The heritage of successive waves of immigrants is stressed in tourism promotional materials. Our delegation was impressed by the inter-cultural cooperation and the way that festivals and attractions celebrating both Black and other cultures could help each other. In 2015, the Greater Miami Convention and Visitors Bureau created a new Multicultural Tourism Department (MTD) that showed a similar philosophy to what we learned about visiting in Trinidad and Tobago.

In our visits to these distant places, note was made of the use of "visitor reception centres" that served as starting points for tourists who might otherwise have felt disoriented, confused or even intimidated by finding their way in cultures wholly different from their ordinary experience. After the trips, GMCVB opened visitor centers at the Lyric Theater and at KROMA Gallery in the West Grove. The visitor centers and other programs emerged to contribute to the growth of heritage tourism in these communities.

It is difficult now to link this travel to all that would follow as that shared experience of what other people of African descent were doing to obtain a larger share of tourism and its benefits, commingled with other changes that were occurring in the communities. Lessons about adapting to Black cultural heritage tourism needs tended to be at a very micro-level; it would be in some relatively small detail of projects that we were to pursue in Overtown and West Grove that I, or others who had been on the trips, would remark, to the effect, "oh, remember how something like this came up when we were in Trinidad and Tobago!" It was not so much the details of how cultural heritage tourism went on in Harlem, the Bahamas and in Trinidad-Tobago but that we had such touchstones as initiatives got underway in the Miami area. And, bigger than day to day matters arising as BHI worked on subsequent projects, were the twofold contributions of this travel: an "showing it really can be done" that Black cultural heritage tourism is a strong possibility, and also the kind of solidarity and personal and professional relationships that travelling and learning together led to. The inspiration of how African American contemporary art dovetailed with valuing history and heritage resources had been especially powerful and stayed with us as we pursued arts-based initiatives back in Miami.

Creation of the GMCVB Multicultural Tourism Department. As noted, recognition of how collaboration among different ethnic groups could have a synergistic and beneficial effect to

many communities, was strengthened by the tours we made, especially from what we saw in Trinidad and Tobago. But also important was that the politics and ethnic character of Greater Miami had evolved significantly since the day of the boycott when Cuban-Americans and African Americans had some clashing views on the handling of Nelson Mandela's visit. It was helpful that by 2015, African American neighborhoods and I were increasingly engaged in cooperative publicity and other initiatives with Little Havana and Little Haiti.

In sum, the trips that were made to Bahamas, Harlem, and Trinidad and Tobago, were inspiring; I look back on these as research, knowledge-seeking that I both organized on behalf of members of the ethnic communities served by the BHI, but also a way for me to obtain community-relevant insights, in inquiry shaped mutually with the communities with a view to enacting change back home. This, I would assert, is activist scholarship, as prescribed by Hale (2001)—a claim that will be more fully examined in Chapter V.

In 2015, the values of cross-cultural interaction and cooperation in heritage tourism development became tangible in the creation of the Multicultural Tourism Department (MTD). The vision for the MTD emerged from the growing interest and enthusiasm local communities displayed around tourism. Those engaged in the establishment of the MTD included community stakeholders, business leaders, and GMCVB executives. As the Interim VP of the MTD, I wanted to get a better understanding of the type of resources each community had as well as to weigh in on their readiness to service tourism.

To inform and inspire our own work, we used a community-based tourism model developed by the Humanities Council of Washington, D.C., headed by Francine Carey, and the Historical Society of Washington, D.C., headed by Barbara Franco. The non-profit coalition came to include nearly 200 Washington-area "historical and performing and fine arts

organizations . . . creating strategic and replicable approaches that link cultural assets to

economic benefits for the city and its diverse neighbourhood" (Schneider-Smith, 2008, para. 1).

The rationale for this coalition broadly resembles the context for Black neighborhoods in Miami,

in that copious attractions (in D.C., many of them are free), create a huge opportunity but one

that many neighborhoods can only witness as benefits accrue elsewhere. Schneider-Smith (2008)

writes:

> Few of these travelers were discovering the rich historical and cultural attractions located downtown and in diverse neighborhoods across the city. Despite hundreds of other fascinating destinations scattered across Washington, when Cultural Tourism DC began there was almost no literature that alerted visitors to the presence of off-the-Mall attractions. The tourist maps of the city ended a short distance from the Mall, and only a handful of guides offered regular tours of the rest of the city. (para. 3)

In 1996, these two city-wide heritage organizations helped 10 of these "off-Mall" sites,

mostly in ethnic neighborhoods, such as art galleries, churches, and museums, to become

amenable to tourism and, thereby, begin to get their "piece of the action." The model was used to

help us map out assets and conduct research in both communities. The perception that nothing of

interest or value existed in these communities began to change as we worked with them to

identify their assets.

During the next two years, we produced, along with residents and stakeholders, an

inventory of known historical and cultural assets of the community that were included in maps,

collateral, a directory of local resources, and advertisement and promotion branding materials.

The MDT began a process to classify community heritage assets, which resulted in a publication

of the Multicultural Tourism Guide. Prior to this guide, the BHI had produced a Black Visitors

Guide that was published to identify museums, parks, historic sites, businesses, festivals, events,

and historic districts located across the county and specifically focused on resources in Historic

Overtown and West Coconut Grove. Other neighborhoods were identified as having potential for

new tourism experiences in the city and introduced to the planning process. Based on the D.C. model, MTD classified locations with reference to readiness. Sites that were considered "ready" needed only better packaging and marketing; sites considered as "almost ready" needed product development that "could be ready" but required a heavy investment of time and resources. From these classifications we developed a strategic plan, which offered communities an opportunity to prepare to sell their products and services to tourists.

Black Art as a strategy for glocalized cultural tourism. Cultural tourism and heritage are not only about the pride (and opportunities) communities have because of the past; contemporary creative art that reflects a community's ethos is not about respectful museums but about living culture. It is on this premise, that some of the most significant and exciting activity in my work with Overtown and West Grove, and, frequently, in collaboration with other ethnic Miami neighborhoods, has proceeded.

The GMCVB Art of Black Miami (AOB) was launched in December 2013 with selected community partners to highlight, uncover and market Miami's Black, diaspora and multicultural artists living, thriving, and contributing to the local and global art-scape. It was self-described as follows:

> A marketing platform and destination driver that showcases the diversity of the visual arts locally, nationally and internationally, celebrating the black diaspora . . . [highlighting] the artistic cultural landscape found in Miami's heritage neighborhoods and communities year-round throughout Greater Miami and the Beaches. (Art of Black Miami, n.d. para.1)

Note the very intentional co-featuring in this description with wider Miami and the Beaches tourism, a strong indicator of how glocalization is expressed. West Coconut Grove and Overtown were involved from the earliest days of AOB. The concept of AOB came from a key stakeholder I worked with, Barron Channer, a local entrepreneur land developer and past trustee on the BHI board. Barron approached me to suggest that I look into Miami's impressive list of

local, national, international and aspiring artists, many of whom were African American. He

suggested I call them to learn who they were and to provide tourism resources to them as needed.

I did this and thereby learned about the vibrant art scene that was going on in each community.

As I called and asked around, I discovered Neil Hall, founder and creator of "Art Africa,"

which became a major source and inspiration for the activation Art of Black Miami. Mr. Hall

created an organization called The Urban Collective which is an inner city cultural lifestyle

boutique housing creative enterprise that showcases African American and African diaspora art,

as well as, other unique artisan treasures from around the world. In 2010, Mr. Hall went about

doing his work that was seriously under staffed and resourced. From its inauguration he launched

art fairs, exhibitions, art talks and panel discussions in Overtown, the West Grove and other

neighborhoods throughout South Florida, highlighting the contributions of artists from the

diaspora. With his passion for community involvement in arts and culture, these efforts were

building the foundation for the art cultural explosion that was happening on the ground in

Overtown and the West Grove. I spoke with Mr. Hall on numerous occasions and he shared with

me his concerns about the meagre presents of Black art especially during premiere events such as

Art Basel. Neil commented that he was "alarmed by the lack of Black and diaspora artists and

galleries represented and featured at Art Basel Miami Beach," one of the world's largest and

most celebrated art fairs. The Urban Collective went on to produce the first edition of Art Africa

Miami Art Fair in an eight thousand (8,000) square foot tent located in Miami's historic

Overtown neighborhood. It was the first large scale art fair solely featuring artists from the

African diaspora in Miami. I recall on the day the Art Fair opened and the struggles Mr. Hall

faced paying for the trailer that housed the artist exhibitions. He worried about the appearance

and lights in the trailer required to render the art in ways that displayed the brilliance of the artists.

People came in large numbers to experience this first-time event in Overtown. All of the visitors I spoke with expressed excitement and disappointment. It was obvious to all that more funding was needed to make the event spectacular. Since 2010, Art Africa has spawned over 18 additional art fairs, exhibitions, art talks and panel discussions. Mr. Hall was curating the works of local artists and attracting people from inside and outside the neighborhood to share in the experiences before the Art of Black Miami took anchor. I recall young artists who had produced an exceptional piece of artwork depicting local workers from the past such as railway workers, farmers, blue-collar laborers as well as executives. I spoke with this artist on several occasions and attempted to get his work showcased in public government facilities to illustrate local heritage. It was clear that the suggestion from stakeholders to me were valid: Overtown and the Grove had plenty to show the world—but it would not happen automatically, and not unless "critical mass" could be achieved would Barron Channer, Neil Hall, and other stakeholders such as Carol Ann Taylor, a local entrepreneur and Chairperson of the BHI Board of trustees, see artists' potential to attract fresh opportunities and visitors to engage their work from across the globe. Thus, the AOB came from the energy field of local artists who were making waves and creating vibrancy in these neighborhoods using impromptu venues such as parks and open spaces.

An example: Before our initiatives to link local art to community managed heritage tourism began, the gallery, Art Africa in Overtown, was conducting art shows from the grass-roots levels in open spaces. I was there in this community during this time though the study had not formally begun. I was in a position to help market the art movement I was witnessing. I

was able to hire a consulting team and during a brainstorm we created the name, Art of Black Miami.

Community members and artists in our Overtown Artist Talks discussed the name in terms of inclusivity and the African Diaspora. "Art of Black" conceptually was meant to unite the varied Black ethnic groups locally—Afro Cuban, Afro Brazilian, African American, Haitian American, Afro Dominicans and others—to showcase the diversity of the visual arts locally, nationally and internationally celebrating the Black diaspora. Art of Black also included artists who were not from the African diaspora, but work expressed its motif.

A central premise of the arts initiatives was that Overtown and to a degree, West Grove had had glory days when, due to segregation, world class Black artists, especially famous performers like Duke Ellington, Ella Fitzgerald and Count Basie stayed in Overtown while performing at venues in Miami Beach. When they did this they also would perform in Overtown; Art Africa Miami sought "Each year . . . to bring alive venues that were once gems to the community in the 1950s and 60s" (ArtAfrica Miami Arts Fair, 2018, para.3).

AOB is a collaborative marketing framework that includes several tools to amplify both West Grove and Historic Overtown. AOB Social Media Activation created a unique experience to instantly engage these communities with art lovers from around the world thousands of miles away through Facebook, Tweeter, Instagram, Artofblackmiami.com website, video streaming and other media tools, placing these communities on a national stage. These communities hosted Art Talks with stakeholders in their communities for exhibitions, events and performances showcased in December during Art Basel season. Artists and community stakeholders brought together people to celebrate their unique artists and cultural exhibition. In addition to venues such as the Lyric Theatre, Black Police Museum and KROMA, local youth organizations

participated, and artists popped up their personal galleries at storefronts around the community.

Now five years old, the AOB has become part of the structure of the community, with

stakeholders using this platform to create catalytic effects for other organizations in these

communities. For example, Soul Basil originating in Overtown through the GMCVB Art of

Black Platform, has its own brand and attracts artist and people from across the country, and is

marketed worldwide.

Art competitions are used to offer artists the opportunities to engage their skills and

talents that create value to promote their art locally and across the world. Artists' works are

placed in international, national and local publications, with ads that promote and their work.

GMCVB Graphic Services developed ads that were placed in Art Basel Miami Magazine. A full-

page cost was $8,000. This amount illustrates the level of investment the AOB has garnered.

Each year research surveys are conducted to gauge the interest and awareness of

attendees who attended various Black art exhibits to gain insight into their perspectives of black

art exhibits in the community. The Research Division of the GMCVB, in-conjunction with the

Multicultural Tourism Department, designed the survey. Interviews were conducted for three

days to align with Art Basel. The   survey findings showed a great majority of those who

attended various art exhibits held in these communities had been to Miami-Dade before. A little

over half who attended AOB events were outside of Miami-Dade. An important result from the

survey showed over half spent the night, at either a Miami-Dade hotel, motel or with friends and

family. This suggests the AOB is contributing to the local tourism economy heads and beds taxes

by staying in hotels and motels as well as food and beverage taxes by eating at restaurants and

entertainment establishments. A summary of the main results of AOB's of 2017 Survey Reports

in 2017 is outlined below:

- Almost a third said they were in town for just one night, although quite a few also stayed from 2 to 6 nights. The median number of nights spent in the area by those from outside of Miami-Dade was 3 nights.

- More than half of those surveyed said they were in town specifically for the Art of Black event. A few also mentioned being in town for Art Basel, business, vacation or to visit friends/relatives.

- Black/African Americans comprised the majority of those in attendance, with other ethnicities representing much smaller proportions.

- Household income brackets were fairly distributed, with the majority of attendees having a household income of $105K or less.

Thus, AOB infrastructure has grown from previous years when there was virtually no significant budget and now operates with a range well over $77,000.00 to accommodate the new year-round 360 platform. The new platform required me to facilitate regular AOB conference calls to keep participating organizations updated on plans they presented to me and to make sure we had resources to complete some of the arts exhibits and performances. Community partners from Overtown and West Coconut Grove help to formulate the AOB 365 diagram below. Artists I worked with provided the comments to create a vision and approach for artists to participate in AOB year round platform.

The AOB newsletter that sprung from these calls highlights art exhibits occurring in Overtown and the West Grove as well as other heritage communities. Some of the exhibition locations and participants included from Overtown were the Lyric Theatre, the Black Police Precinct, Eye Urban TV, The Tribe, Urgent Inc. (a non-profit youth and community organization) and others. The art gallery, Kroma was the major art outlet from West Grove (

AOB 2017 hosted Jamaican artists, Nigerian artists, African American art writers such Julie Walker and Trinidadian Artists. AOB Art Talk invited local artists to discuss their lived experiences, migratory, ethnographic, and religious influences and ways these areas shaped the direction of their arts practices. Community stakeholders across both communities coordinated and worked an event with the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture, the Museums Association of the Caribbean (MAC) and the Association of African American Museums (AAAM). They held planetary sessions, sent emails to community stakeholders and received requested sponsorships awarded to them from the GMCVB.

AOB continues to grow because of the work of each community. The largest percentages of people who attended the event, according to survey conducted by the GMCVB were from Miami-Dade, followed by Broward and elsewhere in the US (principally New York, Washington, northern areas). Handfuls of attendees also came from other parts of Florida and outside of the US. AOB is a community inspired driven event that has received more than 1million social media impressions. This annual event now appears to be one that will endure. In November 2018, the fifth AOB event took place and comprised a strongly-attended array of events in Overtown, West Grove and numerous other Miami neighborhoods (Jenkins Fields, 2018b; Wooldridge, 2018).

The Tourism Business Enhancement Program. It should be recalled that the accord that ended the transformational event of the 1991–1993 boycott (described earlier in this chapter) included a commitment to significantly increase the numbers of African American entrepreneurs in Miami's tourism bonanza. The rationale, born of the anger that brought on and sustained the boycott, was that, as in so many other sectors of the mainstream economy, African Americans

had largely been kept on the sidelines of this global tourism opportunity. This was in spite of their having been the workforce that largely built glittering Miami from its earliest days.

By 2016, as BHI and other efforts had focused on cultural heritage as a key attractor for tourism in Overtown and West Grove, the need to ensure that that would increasingly benefit local people was now translated into a long overdue redoubling effort to make those provisions from 1993 a reality. During various meetings of the BHI and also in my day-to-day contacts with small locally-owned businesses in Overtown and West Grove, stories kept coming up about how the owners were often so hard working and focused on handling start-up and neighborhood needs, that their nitty-gritty business preparedness for meeting increased outside demand, was not kept in mind. A real eye-opener came when a delegation from the new National Museum of African American History and Culture (NMAAHC) in Washington visited in 2016. NMAAHC was in the process of establishing a network of links with local African American museums across the nation. After its officials toured Overtown's historic Black Police Precinct and Courthouse Museum, they reacted less than enthusiastically, commenting that it did not live up to professional standards of what a museum is. Even I was taken aback, for like other local people, I had enjoyed and respected the homespun offerings of this small destination attraction. But in subsequent conversations long after the visitors had gone, it was agreed that there could be a more general problem about the standards of local establishments. Local owners were hard workers who understood well the expectations within the community but not had experience, training, or knowledge of the criteria for quality facilities and travel experiences that outsiders might require. And, to repeat, lack of up-to-date business management skills, financial management, equipment and know-how for 21st century communications, were the rule, not the exception, among local home-grown establishments.

Following from these reflections including ample discussion that I encouraged and sometimes facilitated, within the Multicultural Tourism and Development Department where I was acting executive director, a new program was formulated:

> The Greater Miami Convention &Visitors Bureau (GMCVB) is pleased to announce our exciting new program, the Tourism Business Enhancement Program (TBE), designed to work with heritage community businesses, residents and stakeholders in tandem with our hospitality industry partners to enhance business capacity and tourism growth in our heritage communities. We understand the importance of having access to best practices and resources that can impact the bottom line of small businesses in our heritage communities. Through the TBE Program, we will provide access to workshops, one-on-one consulting, technical assistance, business resources to assist our community stakeholders in operating more profitable businesses and leveraging the vast promotional support of the GMCVB. (Greater Miami Convention & Visitors Bureau, 2016, p. 1)

> The goal of the TBE was aptly described as "to help businesses to become 'tourism ready'" (Greater Miami Convention & Visitors Bureau, 2017, p. 18) and emphasis was explicitly placed on enhancing the "tourism capacity of heritage and minority businesses" (Greater Miami Convention & Visitors Bureau, 2016, p. 2). It should be noted that the program was directed expressly at "Historic Overtown" and "West Coconut Grove" as well as two other inner-city ethnic communities, Little Haiti and Little Havana.

The description of the operations of the TBE Program here, focuses on work carried out in 2016–2017 to help sustain ongoing business efforts around heritage community tourism. Tourism business planning trainings were conducted throughout the year with stakeholders and residents of both communities who request assistance to help them become sustainable tourism enterprises. Requests usually were for marketing services by these communities. With cultural and heritage tourism interest growing among visitors, the demand for heritage tours and locations was increasing. I recall the Black Police Museum being asked to host a reception for an African American convention that was coming to town. It created a strain and the Executive realized the organization had to reduce its expectation of what could be accomplished and invite a small

group instead of a large one. At the time we considered this to be a good problem to have! It showed that a wide swath of entrepreneurs within the communities realized more business training was a necessity.

TBE was established to provide a platform to build capacity and provide technical assistance for the sustainability of heritage business engaged with tourism development and ways for them to endorse and assist them with becoming full partners. One of my first responsibilities was developing a brochure descriptive of TBE which described the intent to expand on the previous work and plainly explain the vision, mission, objectives, metric and answer a wide variety of questions with answer to the nature of the program. I developed this packet in cooperation with some of the local community businesses, working with them to understand their needs and secure their feedback on the information and the shape of the overall TBE initiative. Once the information packet was completed, I distributed it via email, drop off, and mailed to interested applicants.

The expected start up for training implementation was April 2016. The outcomes of the TBE included enhancing current tourism businesses and their products resulting in the creation of new jobs through the development of a tourism infrastructure, enhancing their products and entrepreneurialism. Businesses were selected using an application process that was modeled on several small business applications I had earlier helped develop. It was closely reviewed with both local business and consultants who we hired to work with on the project.

Businesses were selected to be in the first training cohort, based on an application recruiting and a set of criteria for eligibility. Leading up to those selections, we convened open information meetings that attracted over 60 businesses and non-profits. Our approach was to begin with introductory general sessions in the communities to which all applicants were

welcome and, subsequently, select a cohort of 25 to 30 businesses, who, after the general briefing were keen and met the eligibility criteria (see below). After this general open session, letters of invitation were sent out to those selected based on meeting the first section eligibility requirements. These criteria reflected our focus on "going concerns" who, however, had become aware that to join in a world-class economic sector, Miami tourism, they needed skill and knowledge-building beyond the specific "daily grinds" of what they did at their fruit stand, hair salon, or entertainment agency.

The basic eligibility requirements to apply to the TBE program included that the business/non-profit currently operated within one of the following heritage communities: Historic Overtown, Little Haiti, Little Havana or West Coconut Grove, because they are a multicultural minority business that directly or indirectly provides tourism-related services. It was important to me to include heritage tourism communities other than just Overtown and West Grove to create critical mass, meaning a sufficient number of communities to provide greater impact with this innovative tourism approach I and others were adopting. I knew with limited resources in Overtown, self-sustaining tourism glocally or from an endogenous strategy alone would not be long standing.

I was very aware of the scarcity of tourism resources located both in the four targeted communities and therefore included other heritage communities in the tourism strategy especially for special events such as tours, the Art of Black Miami. As noted above, one of the criteria to be TBE participants was to demonstrate continuous operations for at least the past 12 months, along with having filed an annual report with the State of Florida which was verified by staff and consultants. Because of the nature of the nature of the business ecosystem in both communities, non-profit, home-based or virtual businesses were eligible to apply and participate.

I knew that to truly glocalize Miami tourism into these neighborhoods, extra effort was needed to reach even the lowest profile start-ups affordable to lower income households.

Once participants were selected, I made calls to each prospective participant and sent emails to those who needed any further clarification. I also sent them the press release announcing the program (Tourism Business Enhancement Program to Stimulate, 2017).

The actual program comprised both a curriculum of group sessions on matters that most every small-scale business would need and more direct contact individually. We actually ran two parallel streams of workshops, one for two cohorts who were deemed to need extra support to enhance their capacity, and one for more advanced businesses who had operated for some time and were now most interested in new business opportunities for growth. Table 4.2 shows the kinds of topics that were covered in each stream. All sessions were scheduled for 3 hours.

Table 4.2

Topics Covered in Initial TBE Curriculum for Beginning and Advanced Streams of Businesses

Session	Topics Addressed in TBE Workshops, (May-August, 2017)	
	Beginner Stream (Cohorts 2 & 3)	Advanced Stream (Cohort 1)
1	Business assessment: Where are we? Where do we want to go? How do we get there?	How to Leverage GMCVB Resources to Access New Business Opportunities
2	Your Business Model: How Do You Make Money?	Accessing & Connecting with Partner Business Opportunities
3	What's Your Plan? Fail to Plan, Plan to Fail!	Partner Matchmaking Breakfast
4	Defining & Understanding Your Target Market & Untapped Markets	
5	Developing Your Marketing Strategy	
6	The Right Team? Hiring & Handling Employees	
7	Show Me the Money! Financing Your Start-up or Business Growth	
8	Business & Marketing Strategy Presentations by Participants	

A staff member of BHI was selected to take the lead in presenting sessions, with considerable participation by others including me. Interestingly, that staff facilitator has gone on to open her own separate business planning and delivering major tourism events and conferences.

In addition to these two streams, we also undertook a sequence of workshops specifically on marketing whose titles and more detailed description of topics are in Table 4.3. Sessions were approximately 3.5 hours each.

Table 4.3

Topics and Content of Marketing Training Workshops of TBE (2016 and 2017)

TOPIC	CONTENT DESCRIPTION
SESSION I: WHY SHOULD THEY COME?	This workshop will provide an introduction to Tourism Marketing and help destinations determine their value proposition as well as assess their strengths and weaknesses as a destination. Do they meet the criteria to generate revenue as a destination? What steps must they take to improve their viability, visibility, and longevity as a destination? An assessment of their current marketing tools (including website, marketing collateral, and social media) will be conducted to determine areas for improvement.
SESSION II: THEY'RE HERE, NOW WHAT?	This workshop will help destinations assess the tourist experience once on-site. Is there adequate staff/volunteers to manage tourists? Are staff/volunteer roles clearly defined? Are there written customer service policies and procedures to ensure tourists leave the site with a favorable impression that will generate "word-of-mouth" and repeat business?

TOPIC	CONTENT DESCRIPTION
SESSION III: HOW DO I GET THEM TO COME BACK?	This workshop introduces both online and offline marketing tactics such as customer reviews and others that destinations can implement to engage tourists after their 1st visit and to cultivate relationships using technology to obtain repeat business and to attract new visitors.
SESSION IV: HOW DO I GET MORE LOCAL BUSINESS?	This workshop discusses how to leverage GMCVB's Multicultural Tourism Department's promotions and media to strengthen its local presence and to attract local business.

This TBE platform provided one-on-one sessions with each of the businesses who were accepted into the first cohort. This aimed to help them gain further insight regarding their ability and limitations, essentially a facilitated self-diagnosis. The sessions and willingness to apply what they learned during the TBE intensive business training that consisted of eight weeks to sixteen weeks training. This year two sessions where held one in the spring and summer due to demand. Table 4.4 is a compilation of the kinds of businesses that went through the TBE training, illustrating the small scale but large diversity of the program's assistance:

Table 4.4

Businesses and Non-Profits Who Completed the TBE Training in 2016/2017[10]

NATURE OF BUSINESS	LOCATION (NEIGHBORHOOD)
Bookstore, religious items sales	West Coconut Grove
Barbecue restaurant	Overtown/mobile
Caterers	Overtown
Hair salon, aesthetics	Overtown

[10] It should be noted that several of these firms did not stay in business up to the time this dissertation was written. That, can, of course, be the case, for any businesses, large and small, local and multinational. Following up on the reasons and whether some left business because of needs that were not met by TBE would be another, intriguing study.

NATURE OF BUSINESS	LOCATION (NEIGHBORHOOD)
Desserts	Overtown
Haitian-American Restaurant	Little Haiti
Tourist attraction/tours	West Coconut Grove
Art production	Overtown
Refreshment stand	Overtown/serving multiple locations
Bakery & sweets	Coral Gables/ orig. in West Grove?
Custom multimedia events, digital storytelling etc.	Overtown
Entertainment recording & marketing	Overtown
Tour company	Overtown/Little Haiti
Arts & culture festival	Little Havana
Record/Event producer	Overtown

At the same time, as I and others were delivering these workshops, we got to know the participants individually from individual firms and organizations who were taking the training, and were able to reach out with more specific, targeted assistance. An example was my working with Macedonia Church in the West Coconut Grove, which was interested in offering walking tours. That this institution had great potential to attract, interest and educate visitors was clear. Figure 4.8 shows the church as it is today. Here is a self-description that the Church provides on its current website, emphasizing its special significance:

> The history of this great religious institution is as varied and complex as a well-defined tapestry that has been woven with many designs and colors. Its survival is like that of a red wood tree—the roots are . . . strong and will survive no matter how strong the wind may blow . . . this church began on a strong foundation with fifty-six (56) dissatisfied black worshipers who were members of Union Chapel, an integrated church. Desirous of worshipping in the traditions of their African ancestors, the . . . [they] left Union Chapel . . . [to] became the first Black church in Miami-Dade County. *The organization of this church is significant in South Florida's history because it was the first Black church on the South Florida mainland to be organized by Blacks*. (Macedonia Missionary Baptist Church, n.d., para 1–2)

Figure 4.8.. Macedonia Missionary Baptist Church present day. Located in West Coconut Grove (Miami), Florida. Photograph by Michelle McCoy. Used with permission.Carolyn Donaldson and Dorothy Wallace, two of the leaders of the Church congregation, had for some time an idea of starting walking tours of the Church and had made small attempts with church groups to get these going. But the congregation was clearly having trouble reaching a significant proportion of tourists and was not really able to diagnose why. Carolyn and Dorothy and other participants collaborated on strategizing for how a "mom-and-pop" scale tour company could work complementarily with major players like Big Bus. The operation remains small but viable as of the writing of the dissertation.

Overall, most of the participants were open to receiving monthly consulting meetings and receptive to working on one or more goals identified in their business and market strategies to achieve tangible outcomes. Some more than others followed through on deliverables they had identified at the outset (see Table 4.5). Although we were working within a 90-day timeframe to achieve some of their specific goals, the slow follow through, missed/cancelled meetings, and non-responsiveness of some of the businesses did not allow them to achieve or wrap-up certain goals within the three-month period.

Table 4.5

Businesses and Outcomes Sought by Some TBE participants (2016-2017).

GENRE OF FIRM	OUTCOMES PROPOSED (AND ACHIEVED)
G__ beauty salon	• New computer system and knowledge of its usage • Launching a website
M___church	• Coordinating a Community Tourism Planning Workshop with key Coconut Grove Village West stakeholders • Developing framework for a tour experience in Coconut Grove Village West • Prepare application for funding through Miami-Dade County Cultural Affairs and Commissioner Suarez to support development of Black Church Experience Tour
N __beverage kiosk	• Develop and submitted proposal for the Vendor Collaborative to secure sponsorship for Jazz in the Gardens and future major events. • Joined the trade association to gain industry training and network to attract support and assistance with formulation and packaging. • Attending business networking events to position and increase awareness of brand.
M __art event planners	• Launching an outreach strategy to identify potential targeted corporations and institutions to hire vendors . . . _to curate customized pop-up exhibits (in progress) • Redesign website
T __entertainment events	• Business restructuring to define specific roles of leadership team • Revised pitch package targeting major tourism-related events and pitching for specific subcontracting opportunities

Among the participants, some businesses were under-resourced and had difficulty providing financial data such as tax statements and financial statements. They were keen to allow me, as well as other trainers, to understand their needs in detail and to assist in securing loans after the training. One beverage company who sold lemonade was initially unable to provide this kind of financial information because of poor record keeping. Like so many other small

entrepreneurs (and would-be entrepreneurs), the company was great at doing what they knew how to do in making and selling a product. Record-keeping that, in the end determines company viability, had not been of comparable interest or skill level. Another company that made delicious flavored ice drinks was unable to stay open because of not being able to pay for a person to work the store while she went to work to pay for the business. It eventually closed as did one of the participating retailers who had a clothing business in Overtown. This was a common pattern in which several businesses stumbled and could not meet the program's requirements nor, eventually, the demands of the tourism business world.

To address this one major challenge of financial management and financing, I searched for funding that would allow us to conduct business competitions. The GMCVB Finance Department gave additional funding to the TBE for the final competition. We learned first-hand these businesses needed an array of support to reach the next level to pay for some of the items they needed such as computers, marketing plans and other material. Additionally, I learned it would take more than training and technical assistance to get these businesses moving forward and sustainable; it needed investors to collaborate with the TBE trainers finding ways to scale up in order to survive and thrive.

I was pleased that we were able to move the needle forward with one company in particular that made rum cakes. As of early 2019 this company has their rum cakes on the shelves in one of Whole Food stores, a huge accomplishment. In working with the company, I once again learned that business growth is a process and requires continual engagement and support to help under-resourced businesses achieve bigger and more consistent wins. One business, Gals On Da Run, a catering company from West Grove, purchased a new computer system and paid for their website development and social media marketing. Funds from the

business pitch were used to curate a tour experience and develop marketing collaterals. The idea

of a tour was used to promote West Coconut Grove. The tour initiative was led by Carolyn

Donaldson and Dorothy Wallace, the previously mentioned congregation members from

Macedonia Missionary Baptist Church in West Coconut Grove. The technical assistance from

the TBE provided them with maps, educational, resources, a business plan and consultation to

present their strategy to the church board. This proposal was another example of a business idea

that was under resourced and as of today is not fully achieved. Nemo's Uoo Wow Lemonade, a

beverage stand company for Overtown, was awarded funds to redesign his business website and

logo. This company has made modest progress. The company continues to sell beverages at

special events such as festivals. A positive set for this company made is a new product which is a

cocktail mix that can be shelved in super markets. Still I did have a chance to see this product in

the early stage of development.

The TBE Program Presentations Tally Score Sheet and Commentary (Appendix B)

illustrates the diverse array of prospective/improving entrepreneurs who received training and

professional support to help them enter the tourist economy that flows right past their front doors

each day. The goal was for the TBE to support and sustain their efforts as well as enhance their

business capacity. The TBE addressed the issues of heritage and tourism sustainability at the

glocal local or neighborhood level to give tourists an option to experience these cultural heritage-

rich communities.

I coordinated and made sure participants attended each workshop. I was in direct contact

with all participants and mentored them through systems such as StartUP Florida International

University incubator program for food entrepreneurs, where I assisted the Rum Cake Factory and

Nemo Lemonade to secure seats for training and access to larger retail markets such as Whole

Foods. I was able to negotiate and link participants to help them develop their business plan as an in-kind donation. TBE workshops and services delivered to Overtown and West Coconut included one-on-one consultations for businesses, mentorship matchmaking, business roundtables for new businesses, intensive eight-week business training, access to financial resources, access to technical assistance for all participants, and business and marketing strategy. These connections underscore an essential element of facilitating glocalized tourism: working as an advocate to scan opportunities that would fit busy people immersed in making their businesses substantively excellent. I had the knowledge (and the time) to spot opportunities and chart the path of local entrepreneurs to take advantage of those. I will return in Chapter V, to further discussion of this linking role, one I think is vital in all forms of glocalization.

In contrast to bringing in a large-scale attraction or facility, the work undertaken through a program like TBE operates at a much smaller scale of investment, amenable to engaging local people who nevertheless become connected to the tourism opportunities of a world-class destination like Miami. The TBE helped instil a wide variety of marketing tools to help promote heritage business to do this. In so doing, Overtown and West Grove entrepreneurs relied on and developed heritage-related tourism opportunities, the essence of glocalizing tourism. And, in essence, they were fulfilling what had been but dreams at the time of the boycott of African Americans against Miami tourism nearly three decades before.

General Overview of Findings Presented in Chapter IV

On the surface, the vignettes that make up most of this chapter, the study's findings, present the stark contrast that underlies the need to "think glocally" when struggling with the challenges of having communities like Overtown and West Grove be proactive about, and benefit from the enormous Miami tourism market. We have seen what I've labeled exogenous

tourism that began with all too familiar patterns of having the communities be nothing more than sites someone else wanted for their purposes and profits—the Beckham Soccer stadium, the Brightline rapid rail terminal, at a much smaller but symbolic scale, the trolley depot sited in West Coconut Grove, to serve the Coral Gables trolley line's needs; and, more diffusely, the gentrification trend, exemplified by the CrossWinds initiative in Overtown. Though the onset of these projects followed roughly the historic pattern, to differing extents, without much regard or initial involvement by Overtown and West Grove, the local reaction showed quite empowered people able to resist and—this is key to glocalism—adapt projects to local needs and expectations. There is perhaps no more tangible evidence of this change than the wall painted by local African American artist, Robert McKnight, as "a canvas to tell the history of Overtown" (Benn, 2018; see Figure 4.9). A surface that had initially struck Overtown residents as symbolic of yet one more barrier to their being full and active participants in Miami's prosperity, now bears the art and imagery of the community's cultural heritage!

Figure 4.9. Robert McKnight's mural showing history of Overtown on walls at MiamiCentral station. Photograph by Michelle McCoy. Used with permission. Robert McKnight shared with

me how he came to be the premier artist for the Brightline mural. Several local artists submitted proposals to Brightline who had called for artists to present concepts to the mural committee. Although selected from a group of esteemed artist he states, "the first mural I presented to the committee was rejected and had to go through several reworks because they insisted on authenticity and rendering real factual places germane and specific to Overtown." Other murals of his work are on the 4th and 5th floors inside the wall parking garage and loading dock. The themes of his work throughout depict historic architects, people, places and time from the pages of history merged with the current changing trend depicted through the symbolic butterflies emerging from throughout the mural. He shared with me his meaning of the butterflies and wanted them to "illustrate power and embody the beauty and change Overtown was undergoing." He stated, "the butterflies symbolize the resurrection and represent strength, transformation, and new life in Overtown." There was a mixture of themes throughout the mural covering local historic places such as the St. John Hotel that was demolished to make room for highway I-95, peoples and images of the young and elder. McKnight stated his goal was to capture the "history and spirit of Overtown to make sure it will always be there." In other words, he etched history and culture on the walls of the Brightline Station for all to experience, touch and feel the history and narrative of Overtown.

It would be difficult to demonstrate empirically that this greater exercise of empowerment in the communities towards exogenous projects, was causally related to the subsequently described endogenous smaller scale initiatives that comprise the second half of this chapter. Discussions with people I have worked with on this do not point to assertions of a connection so I am left to speculate and comment that there is something I'd call a "habit of glocalism," forming a more glocalized mindset by which people of long-marginalized

communities whose culture and history become of interest and therefore become a possible

tourist attractant, come to see all changes in their community as dually threat and opportunity

(categories in so-called SWOT analyses widely undertaken in strategic community planning,

including at times in various workshops for and in Overtown and West Grove). I will discuss

more in Chapter V of how the cases I worked in as an advocacy planner for these and other

ethnic neighborhoods of Miami, evolved towards finding the difficult balance between tourism

as threat and tourism as opportunity for historically disadvantaged communities.

Epilogue: Glocalizing My Practice

In late 2016, I left my position with the Greater Miami Convention and Visitors Bureau

after approximately 10 years with the agency. In 2017 I stayed on as a Heritage Consultant for

the agency. Subsequently, I took on a new role for an entirely separate and community-based

organization, the Overtown Children and Youth Coalition (OCYC). This organization had been

formed in 2012 as an umbrella organization,

> anchoring community based non-profit organizations in the Overtown Community:
> Urgent, Inc., Overtown Youth Center, Touching Miami With Love, Lotus House and
> Dress for Success with the support of the Southeast Overtown/Park West Community
> Redevelopment Agency and City of Miami District 5 City Commissioner Michelle
> Spence-Jones. (Overtown Children &Youth Coalition, 2019, para.1)

Like the BHI, my former agency, this non-profit organization works for the betterment of

the community, but its mandate and mode of operation is decidedly different. It is not just about

who the agencies are responsible to, although, ultimately, BHI and the Multicultural Tourism

Department report to a large city-wide agency with many responsibilities and priorities other

than helping communities. In contrast, OCYC is responsible only to and for the people of

Overtown yet also, has a much wider mandate than just tourism.

> The Coalition charged itself with three distinct responsibilities:
> 1. Create a shared vision for community-wide action that promotes excellence,
> empowerment, economic growth and success for all Overtown children and youth

2. Prepare an application to become Florida's fourth Children's Initiative; and
3. Develop a pipeline of integrated high-quality pathways for youth to succeed from birth through college. (Overtown Children & Youth Coalition, 2015, p. 3)

BHI and Multicultural Tourism have played a catalytic role in glocalizing tourism, but are not there to see the process of local cultural tourism development through to its ends; although we stretched the role as much as possible, in the end GMVBC is mainly focused on having local tourism identify its needs and strategies rather than assist in the nitty gritty of implementation.

My move reflects another limitation that became clear only as progress was made in glocalized tourism: for local people who might venture into cultural heritage tourism or its spin-offs, there are a host of other pressing matters in their lives that fall outside the purview of tourism development. They worry about their families and especially their children as they struggle with the problems abounding in any historically marginalized Black neighborhood in the United States. Unless and until such challenges can be met, many a would-be tourism entrepreneur is not going to be able to focus on tourism in the way that is needed to make a success. In my years at GMCVB, it was impossible not to be aware that for the citizens and business and social entrepreneurs of Overtown and West Grove, their children's lives and futures overarched any and all initiatives we worked on. When in early 2018, the opportunity arose for me to work for OCYC, it felt as if I would now have a more direct opportunity to help in efforts that had this paramount focus for people I had worked with for years. In making that job change, I believe now, that in an important way, and like the tourism we had worked on for a decade, I also was glocalizing, repurposing my efforts to more directly and relevantly serve one of the communities on matters central to their heart and existence. In Chapter V, in discussing this dissertation's implications for future practice, I will expand on my present role at OC & YC and how it builds on and extends the findings reported in the present chapter.

Chapter V: Conclusions–Reflection on Glocalizing Tourism and Activist Scholarship

This dissertation is a story of communities both struggling and making progress on a mission I have referred to as glocalization, and of an exploration of my relationship with those communities as a scholar activist. In this closing chapter I will try to reach some generalizations and conclusions about both glocalization of global tourism and the role of a scholar activist in this transformation. In the next section, I reflect on what glocalization involves based on what has been learned in Chapter IV. The subsequent section is about scholar activism and what my experiences say about it. This segues into discussing the implications of this study for practice and leadership. After that, the remainder of the chapter reflects on the study's limitations and on some possible directions for future research in relation to the main subject areas of the Chapter II literature review.

Glocalization and What This Study Contributes to Understanding It

> I'm part of the original crowd. My paternal grandparents settled here in the early part of the last century. . . . Like, some people here would probably think that's [tourism development] supposed to happen somewhere else, but no, we should be in on that, too. We live here, and all these young people, just like I was, we were born into this being a tourist town. Well, let's take part of that. Let's benefit from that as well. . . . we probably have more to offer than people realize.
>
> —Clarice Cooper, lifelong resident of West Coconut Grove

In Chapter II, I reviewed studies that introduced and discussed the odd looking, easily confusing word, *glocalization* which takes the familiar term *globalization* and merges it with the word *local*. In the discussion in Chapter II it became apparent that despite being a relatively new and still rare word to encounter, there were already several quite different interpretations and definitions. A discussion that aims to determine what is the right or best usage is not going to go anywhere because, obviously, several streams of writing and scholarship have gone off in entirely different directions using the same word to describe almost unrelated circumstances.

The stories here that have come from looking into my work with Overtown and West Grove on cultural heritage tourism, point to one very useful and important application of the idea of glocalization. They are consistent with Teo and Li's call for a dialectical process, in which "universalism and particularism . . . [are] conjoined" (p. 302). The perspective emerging from the exogenous and endogenous vignettes of Chapter IV supports Salazar's insistence that "the global and the local should certainly not be treated as binary oppositions" (p. 189), and Chang et al.'s (1996) call to approach the "global-local nexus" in urban heritage tourism, so that "localities . . . are not [just] 'meek recipients' of forces imposed from above" (p. 301).

This usage brings to the fore a neglected though not unique perspective on community development. Often, historically marginalized communities feel empowered primarily by trying to stop something from happening to them, holding back mega forces that threaten them. It would be so understandable for this to be the main stance towards any change for Overtown and West Grove. After all, large sections of Overtown were physically razed to build freeways, which also tore the social fabric of the community, it seemed, beyond repair. West Coconut Grove's nemesis was not so much freeways as the "concrete monsters" (Mohl, 2001) of imposed housing redevelopment along with the disrespect and pollution that the "Old Smokey" incinerator represented (see Chapter IV). To repeat, it would have been understandable if community action in both Overtown and West Grove to Miami's global attraction of tourism was nothing more than reaction, trying to put a stop to imposing further community-disrupting exogenous developments. But, as seen in Chapter IV, both communities have become effective in defending their interests in the face of impositions from the outside, whether that be a stadium promoted by a world-famous athlete or a relatively small parking garage for a neighboring and primarily White community's quaint street trolleys.

What Chapter IV revealed was that bending and, if necessary, disallowing exogenous development is necessary but not enough if communities are to benefit from economic opportunity. Instead, even in response to a development as large as the MiamiCentral Station for the Brightline and other regional transportation megaprojects, and, more significantly I believe, in much more neighborhood level tourism initiatives, local communities can take varying levels of control, shaping the world class global opportunity of tourism that Miami has, into projects and activity that are attractive to visitors and beneficial in a range of ways for the communities themselves. That, to my mind is glocalization, which I would define as local leadership bending and reshaping globally significant change, so as to reflect the community as it wishes to be and providing substantial local social and economic gains.

I must reiterate, as noted at the end of Chapter IV, that my professional engagement seems to have paralleled the transition to glocalization, as I shifted from being in an outside agency that tried to help Overtown and West Coconut Grove on tourism development, to working within, for a community-based organization with a wider purview of the community's needs and wants. In my position now as the Executive Director of the Overtown Children and Youth Coalition, instead of my previously required stance of promoting and providing help in response to community requests, I spend much of my time convening and organizing from the inside. Later in this chapter I will come back to some of the ways in which my work for the coalition follows from how glocalized tourism initiatives functioned. In particular, I see our use at OCYC of an approach known as "Collective Impact" (following Kania & Kramer, 2013, p. 1) as the logical next step for strengthening community capacity to deal with externally and internally generated challenges. Below, I will briefly summarize the way that thinking about the necessary conditions for Collective Impact to work, sheds new light on the glocalizing activities

I worked on with Overtown and West Coconut Grove. Here, I would just stress that in moving from a well-intentioned city-wide initiative to serving the Overtown community, I see my practice and my perspective as having also been glocalized.

Scholar Activism as a Catalyst for Glocalization

I now reflect on solid reasons why my study holds lessons about the worth of, challenges for, and the role an activist scholar can play not only in helping communities glocalize tourism, but in become active and able to deal with the many other challenges that beset communities, especially ones that have gone through historic discrimination and oppression. I have served as a political ally who stands alongside them to make glocalization community-wide but part of broader collective impact strategy. As mentioned in Chapter IV, I brought out the nature of my work within the endogenous vignettes showing the role I played as an activist or advocacy planner and then as activist scholar. At the chapter's end, I provided an epilogue that includes the story of my changing to a different position no longer working for Greater Miami but directly for the community of Overtown, concluding by noting my shift to a different job and niche which, I argue, illustrates essential dimensions of activist research in relation to glocalized tourism for Overtown and West Grove in a broader and more comprehensive approach.

Although partnerships and collaboration are not new, the vignettes in Chapter IV illustrate the interaction and other mutual efforts such as the Art of Black Miami, town meetings with community groups, and collaboration with key agencies such as the GMCVB and government agencies such as the CRA. The work I am currently engaged in is a collective impact initiative that is distinct from the collaborative activist scholar work I engaged in while building tourism initiatives in Overtown and West Coconut Grove. Collective impact initiatives involve a "centralized infrastructure, a dedicated staff, and a structured process that leads to a

common agenda, shared measurement, continuous communication, and mutually reinforcing activities among all participants" (Kania & Kramer, 2011, pp. 36-37).

The present study was focused on both the communities of Overtown and West Coconut Grove within the Miami metropolitan area, and on my work in helping these communities to glocalize the massive tourism sector of that region. Collective impact is about adaptive leadership, focusing on issues with urgency, applying pressures in ways that build unity and decisive actions. I had worked for a number of years on local tourism development before recasting this as doctoral research and when I did, my plan had been to closely explore my role as a scholar activist. As I pursued interviews and informal discussion with the key players from the communities, a role conflict became apparent in approaching the study in that fashion. My help for the communities had come to depend—as any community organizing role does—on rapport and trust, and most importantly the "Big Brother"[11] approach. For example, my role as a professional with the GMCVB brought resources to community tourism such as stronger marketing and business skills training, but this at times collided with my activist role to make change. Simply put, my role as an activist scholar brought me closer to the belief that no one agency or no one person, especially someone who is not an "insider" on communities, can hope to get far in assisting with development. But, especially in historically marginalized settings, outside researchers (as opposed to community organizers) are often the objects of mistrust. This has been well-described in writings about indigenous people in New Zealand (L. T. Smith, 1999) and in North America (Deloria, 1995), but is no less relevant to suspicions that surround researchers who come from outside and go into other ethnic and marginalized areas.

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[11] It almost goes without saying that this analogy is to the national and international non-profit that connects young people to role models (Big Brothers and Sisters of America) and not to the ominous fictional character in Orwell's novel, *1984*!

The results, as laid out in Chapter IV, make up a composite picture, in a way, a collage a bit like Robert McKnight's mural on the walls of the MiamiCentral transportation hub—a collage yet one with thematic unity. His mural is about Overtown's history; my "mural" is about the glocalization of tourism in both Overtown and West Grove. Very very nice metaphor and comparison

My involvement with community tourism was based on multiple overlapping factors: social justice, personal and professional interest, as well as my belief in paying it forward. As with many researchers, I have gained insights and fortitude from my work and relationship with these communities. In seeking this partnership with my study participants, I mainly pursued research that could help prioritize and critically demand and articulate the need for more equitable allocation of resources within the context of tourism in these communities. This flowed directly from what was said in interviews and commonly, in day-to-day interactions such as, for example, the Tourism Business Enhancement Program training experiences (described in Chapter IV). These interactions and my subsequent efforts to help the entrepreneurs deal with the resource shortfall issues they had identified is consistent with Hale's (2001, 2004) prescriptions for active scholarship. Hale specified that in true activist scholarship, research questions must "coincide at least in part with what the actors in the processes under study think it important to know and understand" (p. 14). By designing, implementing and then using the exchange of ideas in the Tourism Business Enhancement Program as a way of connecting to both identification and meeting the needs, Hale's criterion was more than met.

In response to community change alongside the impacts of heritage tourism development, individuals, businesses, and community organizations in both Overtown and West Grove became involved in numerous kinds of tourism activities, including developing programs designed to

attract tourists such as art exhibitions, music festivals, and tours, and discussing tourism-related issues among themselves and with others. I believe these heritage tourism initiatives played a vital role in spurring tourism growth, because they provided a platform that enabled local groups to come together to share their views via discussion, meetings, and events. That is, these early heritage tourism activities provided individuals and communities in the study with an opportunity not only to imagine their communities becoming heritage destinations, but also to discuss current issues with others who have similar as well as dissenting opinions about tourism. What took place was genuine community mobilization or, what Moxley and Jacobs (1995) called, "animation" (p. 1), stirred by engagement in tourism—including the realization that they could overcome challenging hurdles—that has renewed the sense of community potency, a "yes we can" spirit.

Thus, I was able to work with the two communities to map out the trajectories of how they could become more involved in tourism and developed this study through the lens of an activist scholar, focusing particularly on the ways in which these communities' stakeholders engaged in the work of organization and community tourism.

Social activism and glocal tourism can converge as a powerful social strategy to address changes in historically disempowered and marginalized communities. The analysis is meant to find solutions that can surface to confront a wider meaning of tourism's function as a social good. It argues for more scholarship, diversity of approaches among tourism planners, and for business and community leaders to advocate more to influence conventional tourism and make a paradigm shift in how they address the needs of local community tourism. The discourse about tourism as a community and its social justice strategy calls for the questioning of status quo approaches. Community stakeholders and residents, as well as private and public partners, are

necessary in order to introduce new ways to communicate community heritage tourism as a strategy that recognizes the importance of community wide involvement and collective impact. Such impact comes not from how many come to help but rather who comes to help and the way each interacts to reach a common goal. Without dedicated staff and an internal organization guiding and leading, tourism change in both communities will remain interesting yet minimal.

Although the initial research question was fundamental to the inquiry, more questions emerged about barriers to growth and how to confront some of the contradictions and complexities for poor and marginalized communities. These assumptions underpinned the study's overall concerns and its methodological direction. During the research, I confirmed that locally-based stakeholders and residents had a long history of mistrust of outsiders and they worried that their communities might end up as mere commodities to be exploited in attracting visitors with few if any economic benefits locally. This shared problem-setting was a major achievement of our earliest interactions, again consistent with Hale's (2001) insistence that activist scholarship must be rooted in a collaborative definition of what the problem and research agenda are. To be clear, it was not that the communities had felt differently and that their minds were radically changed as I worked with them, although they relayed that through our interactions. However, unless they developed their own strategic actions to firmly integrate in a larger collective impact community based driven tourism plan of action, the trends of the past— seen most dramatically in impositions such as the Interstate highway building through Overtown and the polluting operation of a garbage incinerator in West Coconut Grove, would continue: they would be at best bystanders or worse, casualties of other peoples' tourism developments, people and communities to be pushed around and out of the way at the behest of others. By working with me on small but impressive community-driven projects, the people of Overtown

and West Grove redefined what they could be in relation to globalized industry. Sensing their own capacity, there is no going back. Although both communities currently experience gentrification, Overtown is moving at a much faster pace; I was fully aware that Miami, as a mega-tourism empire, could easily swallow up and exploit these communities' shortcomings. This is the quintessential threat of global tourism that demands glocal leadership.

I gained and learned more from the participants, residents, stakeholders, and activists with whom I worked with than from any other source. They were carrying the knowledge of how to change their communities. I had the opportunity to work with them to articulate and methodically study ways to carry out their ideas (Calhoun, 2008). Although a concrete plan to act was limited by the constraints of the time it would take to implement it, some of the community stakeholders continue to engage in training programs to grow their businesses, such as with the Urban Philanthropist Business Boot Camp, a private non-profit initiative that paralleled some of the training described in Chapter IV.

In Chapters I and II, I argued, in step with other scholars (e.g. Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006), that the neoliberal era has helped to industrialize and commodify tourism and thwart the real essence of community of tourism—to protect and share, in a sustainable manner, communities' heritage and resources with cultural travelers. The stereotype of "typical" tourists has changed significantly from what P. L. Pearce et al. (1996) described: "Tourists are seen as indulgent and exploitative, lacking civility and having a restricted appreciation of cultures and places . . . They are often seen as overweight, badly dressed and less than attractive" (p. 19). It is obvious these older more conventional tourism concepts which, I believe, still are implicit in many corporate-driven concepts of tourism development, collide with the World Tourism Organization's principles, which espoused it to be for the common good and a contributor to "economic

development, international understanding, peace, prosperity and universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all'' (World Tourism Organization, 1999). This is opposite to serving big business and commercial consumption that cater to the needs of conventional tourism business sectors. Tourism is meant to serve all communities, especially those that are core to this dissertation.

While the communities have major and well-known attractions, such as the Lyric Theater in Overtown and the KROMA Gallery and the historic shotgun houses in West Grove, they continue to face common challenges important to heritage development. In each community, these include the following:

- There is no overall heritage tourism plan, which could provide direction and also give the communities more faith that change is happening according to some pattern that holds promise;

- Most of the participants, especially those who are just considering or at early stages of business development still have limited knowledge and skills about tourism; and

- Each community has limited infrastructure, funding, and needed more capacity to grow and attract tourism and resources.

Loukaitou-Sideris and Soureli (2012) suggest that findings such as these and others call into question conventional tourism policies and practices that must be overcome if heritage communities are to be sustained. Key challenges are:

- That ongoing negative perceptions and stereotypes these communities continue to face—recall the awful things said about Overtown in foreign newspapers (Sun Reporter, 2018) when Beckham first proposed a stadium in the neighborhood; recall too that there still are tours run from outside the community that either disparage the

very areas they take tourists through or avoid Overtown altogether.

- Narrowly defined concepts of heritage as culture must also be challenged and conceptualized as a social force and change agent;

- Unfair distributions of resources from mainstream tourism such as who gets what be strategically redressed; and

- Impacts of tourism in these communities need to be better quantified.

Another common area of concern revealed in this study is insufficient economic support for heritage communities from local government and tourism agencies, public-private partners, and state agencies. Each case reviewed had a clear need for additional financial support for heritage tourism projects and again called into question government supported mainstream tourism projects, usually funded in the millions (Loukaitou-Sideris & Soureli, 2012).

Many African-American communities have limited connections to their adjoining communities and operate largely as closed economies. This suggested the need for new forms of collaboration and cooperative organizations and rethinking on how to connect to adjoining communities such Little Havana and Little Haiti—and even, eventually, Downtown and the Miami Beaches areas—to better realize some benefits of cooperation, such as cooperative marketing of ethnic cultural experiences, sharing of planning expertise, and other activities.

Implications for Future Action

As noted above, my new position includes extensive use of a relatively new approach for multi-party collaboration known as "Collective Impact." Just as it is proving a valuable way to convene the diverse stakeholders and agencies who affect and are affected by policies and programs on health, education, youth well-being etcetera, it resonates with the development of glocalized tourism in Overtown and West Coconut Grove that has been the focus of the present

dissertation. During my work at GMCVB, there was frequently a need and even a shortfall of collaboration among communities and with those major exogenous forces who are always coming forward with plans that impact and could benefit the communities. The main conditions that are suggested for Collective Impact processes match up well with the needs that I and community members I worked with sensed strongly during our years of planning for tourism in Overtown and West Grove. Let me explain, referring to the description of the conditions as outlined by Kania and Kramer (2013).

First, they suggest that in Collective Impact interactions, there needs to be a "Common agenda [by which] all participants [come to] have a shared vision for change including a common understanding of the problem and a joint approach to solving it" (Kania and Kramer, 2013, p. 1). In essence, this was what we always had to do in community heritage planning, but it was pieced together with many a setback and hesitation, mainly because it is not what all the relevant parties realized they were doing!

Kania and Kramer (2013) set a second condition for Collective Impact processes, of "shared measurement" (p. 1). Again, we strove for that especially within the community as we assessed the nature of heritage tourism resources. Our travels to other places when Black communities had moved further along in tourism—Harlem, the Bahamas and Trinidad and Tobago—was measurement, although qualitative, assessment of possibilities as well as pitfalls in going this route.

The third of Kania and Kramer's (2013) conditions is "mutually reinforcing activities"), which refers to the need for "participant activities [to be] differentiated while still being coordinated through a mutually reinforcing plan of action" (p. 1). In working on heritage tourism in the previously marginalized communities like Overtown and West Coconut Grove, I

found that a great deal of my time was spent on this, striving to make the energetic individual

initiatives of diverse "actors" pull in the same direction, that is be "mutually reinforcing." It is all

too easy for the enthusiasm formerly disempowered individuals and groups to end up pushing

against each other in disagreements that can easily turn into conflict.

Kania and Kramer's (2013) fourth condition for using Collective Impact is "continuous

communication" (p. 1) which sounds both obvious and impossible. But the point learned over my

years with GMCVB and the communities, was indeed to create the conditions that reduced

misunderstanding of motives and jealousy that naturally arises when people who have had very

little begin with test out cooperation. People who are not used to positive change through

collaboration must, at a minimum, develop a habit of keeping in touch with each other. In my

role at GMCVB, this was a large part of what I did on a daily basis. After I left the GMCVB,

tourism businesses continue to receive training and capacity building in the areas of marketing

and promotion as well as efforts to engage the arts continues to expand and grow. Yet extending

sufficient tourism resources to the community remains a challenge while major gaps and

disparities widens.

The final condition Kania and Kranmer (2013) argued for was what they call "backbone

support . . . [having] a separate organization with staff and a specific set of skills to serve as the

backbone" (p. 1). This describes well the institutions that I managed while at GMCVB for a

decade—the Visitors Industry Human Resource Development Council that morphed into the

Black Hospitality Initiative and then led to the Multicultural Tourism Department. All along, the

purpose was to provide that backbone while the communities steadily grew in their capacity to

take over the role. In now working for the Overtown community's own backbone agency, I see

my own professional orientation as well as the community's evolution to this critical networking role.

In sum, reflecting now on the conditions of an approach we never knew we were doing in my years at GMCVB, I see how haltingly, painfully, and experimentally, we were working towards meeting conditions that can be called Collective Impact—which turn out to be key components of glocalizing as well.

Possible Future Studies

While my study has been on glocal leadership as seen and exercised by members of the African American communities, it was seen in chapter II that the term is also applicable to outsiders who play a part in collaborative tourism development in such communities. It would be a worthwhile companion to the work here to investigate the extent to which such leaders—who may be in roles such as working for the City of Miami or developers who become partners with local people in tourism development—have awareness and values that can contribute to empowered local engagement in tourism. Possibly a scale along the lines of that developed by Erçetin, Potas, Açıkalın, and Kısa (2011)—what they called a "Multidimensional Glocal Leadership Scale" (p. 314) could be created to look at such non-local leaders so as to understand what and how well they do as collaborators with places like Overtown and West Coconut Grove.

The other major, perhaps even more essential aspect of research that could improve the background needed for furthering glocalized cultural heritage tourism, is on the visitors themselves. What is the range of responses tourists who come to Overtown and/or West Coconut Grove have? Do they rate the experience positively? Or are some of the fears that we were very much aware of in planning tourism for communities who have so often been maligned because of street crime, drugs and the like, still there, unchanged from the actual tourism experience?

Survey work could help to reveal dimensions of the tourists' experience (as for example, in work by C-F. Chen & Chen, 2010) answer but even more so, ethnographic approaches to understanding tourists and their experiences (Frohlick & Harrison, 2008) could provide insights to guide Overtown and West Coconut Grove as they continue on their paths to success in cultural heritage tourism.

Limitations of This Study

One of the common criticisms that any study where the author/researcher is part of the events being explored, is bias to put a positive spin on accomplishments while playing down the many setbacks sure to happen when historically marginalized communities try to create change. There is no easy fix for this as I can certainly agree that my attitude in the actual activist planning is no different from the positive approach I had to take when recounting and interpreting events. I can only say that the control that works against this is that any one working to help communities through research, will never want to misrepresent what has gone on because the cost of doing so—community self-deception and eventually failure and disillusion – is far too high to risk. Honesty and self-criticism go hand in hand with activist planning; improvement in the real-world situation will not happen if only (self)flattering stories are told. Greenwood (2008) evokes the ideas of John Dewey to give a helpful summary of how and, more important why, activist research strives for validity and truth:

> Action research, unlike conventional social science, to use John Dewey's term, issues "warrants for action" where the interested and at-risk parties gain sufficient confidence in the validity of their research results to risk harm to themselves by putting them into action. In my view, this is a "real" significance test. I very much doubt that conventional social scientists would be willing to risk their own health, homes, or domestic economies on the "validity" of work they have done . . . work that has never confronted a test of action. (p. 331)

Another common issue that any qualitative case study approach faces is lack of replicability, based on the idea that unlike in quantitative studies where the sample includes

dozens or more of individuals, studies like this one look at a very few cases often chosen because they are special to begin with. The usual answer that does apply here is that generalizing to what may have happened or should happen elsewhere was never the purpose. The main aim was to help make change happen in those places only. This does not mean that lessons from Overtown and West Coconut Grove cannot be useful when other comparable communities seek to use their heritage cultural resources to grow tourism that is locally beneficial. But each such community will have to find its own way to a vision that is unique to their history, culture and hopes.

Implications for Leadership

Much of what I have to conclude about the implications of my work for leadership has been foreshadowed in the discussion of the role of activist researchers, earlier in this chapter. Activist researchers usually do not want to be seen as "the leader" in the old hierarchical sense, as that undermines the accomplishments of the community people they work with. However, there are now quite a few paradigms of leadership that are distinct from that older model and which apply to the work that I have done won glocalizing tourism and that I continue to do now for the Overtown Child and Youth Coalition. Two that seem especially apt to these roles are:

- Greenleaf's (1977) *servant leader*, who works as inconspicuously as possible within a group facing major change, nudging the people they work for and with to "become healthier, wiser, freer, more autonomous" (p. xx).

- Heifetz's (1994) *adaptive leadership*, especially the part of what he suggested called "leading without authority" and "creative deviance on the frontline." Much of what Heifetz lays out about the ways that leaders who have little or no formal authority to direct others in complex and uncertain (i.e. adaptive) challenges resonates with my experiences. I felt this especially when reading his words: "Operating with little or no

authority places one closer to the detailed experiences of [the stakeholders] . . . One

may lose larger perspective but gain the fine grain of people's hopes, pains, values,

habits, and history" (p. 188).

Both Greenleaf (1977) and Heifetz (1994) turn the old hierarchical view of what leading

means upside down—and doing so was a daily part and constant core of the leadership that I was

privileged to contribute to in Overtown and West Coconut Grove.

A further aspect of leadership that I found to be central to working with the communities

on one hand, and the global forces of tourism of Miami, on the other, has been discussed above,

namely, the leadership role of harmonizing otherwise very different interests and world-views.

Several works about leadership have emphasized the role of facilitating collaboration and

conflict-resolving. For example, Chrislip and Larson wrote of Collaborative Leadership (the title

of their book), arguing that "if you bring the appropriate people together in constructive ways

with good information, they will create authentic visions and strategies for addressing the shared

concerns of the organization or community" (p. 14).

I acknowledge the work of generations of activists, including scholar activists like

Shannon Speed (2008), an anthropologist who went to Chiapas, Mexico and applied her analytic

skills in support of a small indigenous community fighting to protect their land rights, or João H.

Costa Vargas (2008), also an anthropologist, who joined forces with two Los Angeles grassroots

organizations in their struggle against rampant police brutality. These and many other scholar

activist interventions are beacons of courage for essential confrontation with entrenched and

brutal authority.

However, my work confirms that contexts exist where the path to empowerment and

better conditions is not confrontational but collaborative. In fact, that is often the only feasible

path for communities like Overtown and West Grove, in relation to the massive and global threat/opportunity that is tourism. Yes, there will be times that the only good strategy is to fight but, even then, glocalized leadership will soon reach the point where convening with the adversary is necessary and, just as important, seeing the rich outside corporation or government as an adversary must be transformed into seeing an outside corporation as a possible ally in the community struggle for social and economic improvement. Robert McKnight's mural, again, is symbolic of a way forward for Overtown: when life passes you a lemon, make lemonade, an old saying goes; when life passes you a massive, intimidating concrete wall (reminiscent for many of the freeway ramps and pillars foisted on Overtown in the 1960s—see Figure 5.x), *make a mural*, depict your community's history in a way that attracts visitors and states implicitly: "we're still here!"

Overall, the thrust of my activism and the activism of people in Overtown and West Grove, has been like that mural. This puts considerable responsibility on the activists and scholar activist to be an example for those in the community who have come to depend and trust you as a facilitator of their engagement with global tourism. It would not be hard at all to stir community members up, build on their rightful anger about all the past injustices, and confront the outside forces. But the scholar activist can just as readily sense the positive determination of community entrepreneurs and leaders to convert the power and energy of a globalized and global-wide economic sector, to further improvements that work for everyone in and out of the community.

As said, someone who works primarily in the interests of historically marginalized groups could see their role primarily as "rallying the troops," helping to equip the disadvantaged with means of fighting "the establishment." I respect that but my path was deliberately different. I am a Buddhist and in that belief system is the idea of *Changing Poison Into Medicine*. Applied

to this study, this means that even the worst circumstances and conditions can be transformed by using the difficulty that exists to change the environment or challenge the problem presented. In the context of globalization, the process of changing poison into medicine is to use the challenges brought from global tourism impacts such as gentrification, loss of community control, under-resourced to summon up new resources by working in partnership with the forces aligned against us. In that way, we both win. I believe this way we change our community environment and our deluded and outdated responses used in the past. Thus, we were able to reinforce our internal or self-drive, glocalized (or endogenous) development process and approach.

Final Thoughts

I have moved on to a context that is more community-based and not primarily about tourism. I have, to an extent, begun to live the changes that I—and the communities—wanted to see: deeper roots in the community itself and consciousness that to glocalize any sector, there needs as well to be attention to the full spectrum of social needs. Local tourism that values and sensitively uses the past will not fully succeed while community members are stressed with their priority concerns for their children and youth. There will, of course, be individual entrepreneurs who success was helped by programs such as the ones I worked on at the Greater Miami Convention and Business Bureau; but there will also be community residents simply too burdened by worried about education, employment, safety, health and the like, to attend fully to the advancement of cultural heritage tourism opportunities.

The following recommendations were extracted from my notes, interviews, and meetings with the awareness that each community had its own historical specificity, assets, power relations, and political economy.

First, community stakeholders, local tourism leaders, tourism agencies, and local authorities must talk and listen to local heritage communities and respect them. A fundamental need is that community stakeholders must have a "stake in the game" and a high level of organized involvement. Challenging conventional views about tourism ownership is essential. The Overtown example raises some hope that dialogue can occur even in top-down systems: when local residents and small businesses objected in 2017 to the building of the Beckham soccer stadium, this prompted the developer to ask local people to draw up an alternative plan, which was a radical change from what usually takes place as outsiders work out all the details without community engagement. Eventually, for reasons that were mainly not about community response and involvement, the stadium site shifted away from Overtown; a more fully-realized case was the MiamiCentral station which, while initially of concern to Overtown residents, evolved in its approach to a point where its proponents were insisting that artist Robert McKnight fully embrace the community's history and story.

As well as listening to the views expressed by the participants, planners and decision makers needed to recognize the legitimate existence of small-scale businesses and the informal sector in plans for community tourism. Small businesses must see themselves as part of the tourist sections and facilitate fusion with tourism planning and management opportunities. During my fieldwork, I initiated a Tourism Business Enhancement Program that included local businesses from these communities in business training. The education and training of key businesses was important to build their capacity and for sustainability. Training included artisan production, such the work of one of the small businesspersons I interviewed who made soap from her home and another who made special beverages that were distributed and sold at festivals and events. In addition to marketing, distribution and packaging, learning appropriate

sales techniques and customer service skills were also part of the training. The Urban

Philanthropist, an organization that offered free business basic training to assist many small-scale

businesses, and Florida International University's Food Incubator Program also worked with

some of my study participants. These were types of initiatives I introduced to the GMCVB on

behalf of small businesses operating in these neighborhoods. Increasing access to capital for

small businesses was a major challenge that has been worked on. Research demonstrated that the

capital needs of small tourism businesses are minimal, but to obtain loans for start-up capital or

improvements is a challenge. Other small businesses spoke of not being qualified for loans

because of low credit scores or being disadvantaged because of a lack of collateral that lessens

their chance to access capital from the banks and other lenders. Private partnerships and special

types of investors such as philanthropist trends in venture capital, angel investments, and crowd

funding are growing to help these types of businesses succeed by investing in them in the form

of micro-partnerships. I helped organized investment incentives such as business challenges to

create sustainability for some of the businesses. Along with partnership, professional training

also helped sustain and grow businesses alongside the development of new hotels and

transportations systems we see springing up in Overtown. These efforts are the glocalization

process by which local small-scale businesses can take control of the tourism process by

partnering with larger global developments.

Therefore, glocal leadership was used in this applied research both to understand and to

develop local community leadership competences and help heritage communities gain capacity

in local and global tourism perspectives and opportunities. The impact of global tourism on the

African-American communities in this study had been limited mainly due to the lack of data on

visitation and tourism influence in these communities. As shown in the data from this study, the

communities mostly had limited engagement in tourism mainstream activities because of marginalization. There are approximately 12 million visitors who arrive in Miami annually. This indicates that global tourism potential for these communities is huge and potential economic possibilities unmeasured. If Overtown and West Grove can steadily increase their participation in this vast market, the benefits would be locally enormous even if they receive but a small fraction of the overall incoming revenues. Neoliberal trends as well as the "new traveler" have pushed these communities toward the need to adopt a glocal leadership model.

Overtown and West Grove have been on a long journey since the days of founding history, discrimination, attempted eradication, then through the boycott and, slowly, the glocalizing shift to confronting the threats and opportunities of being within a global tourism destination. And, in addition to the work I did with them, as described in this dissertation, I have dined at restaurants, organized and then partaken from food trucks, helped organize gatherings, and attended monthly events held to attract locals and visitors alike. I supported the planning and delivery of tourist events and attended many annual festivals and art shows. I tested public and private transportation to these communities, visited surrounding hotels, attended shows and openings at museums and theaters, and appeared at all types of occasions, including town hall meetings, political debates about community issues, and school events. Although the two communities are atypical tourist destinations – as every place is they represented the potential to become heritage tourist destinations that are capable of enhancing the businesses and social well-being of the communities.

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Appendix

Appendix A: Brochure Describing GMCVB Tourism Business Enhancement Program

MULTICULTURAL TOURISM & DEVELOPMENT DEPARTMENT
TOURISM BUSINESS ENHANCEMENT PROGRAM

The Greater Miami Convention &Visitors Bureau (GMCVB) is pleased to announce our exciting new program, the Tourism Business Enhancement Program (TBE), designed to work with heritage community businesses, residents and stakeholders in tandem with our hospitality industry partners to enhance business capacity and tourism growth in our heritage communities.

We, at the GMCVB, understand the importance of business development. In addition, we understand the importance of having access to best practices and resources that can impact the bottom line of small businesses in our heritage communities. Through the TBE Program, we will provide access to workshops, one-on-one consulting, technical assistance, business resources to assist our community stakeholders in operating more profitable businesses and leveraging the vast promotional support of the GMCVB.

Our diverse partners and stakeholders are the core of our business. Through the TBE Program, we will strive to provide the support and resources required to develop and sustain your positioning as local tourist attractions. Working together, we will create stronger and more sustainable tourism-related businesses and attractions.

Milestones Marketing/MicroMentors is our business development consultant and will provide program facilitation and evaluation of the Tourism Business Enhancement Program.

To apply for the program, please go to http://tinyurl.com/TBE2016. For more information about the TBE program, please contact Graylyn Swilley-Wood, AVP, Business Education and Development at ███████████████ or ████████████.

TOURISM BUSINESS ENHANCEMENT (TBE) PROGRAM

HERITAGE COMMUNITIES

MISSION

The Greater Miami Convention & Visitors Bureau's (GMCVB) Multicultural Tourism & Development Department's (MTDD) Tourism Business Enhancement Program (TBE) is a new pilot program designed to enhance business and tourism capacity of heritage and minority businesses.

OBJECTIVES

Through the TBE Program, the MTDD will strive to provide the support and resources required to develop and sustain businesses as tourist destinations, consulting with businesses within and outside heritage communities to enhance business capacity and tourism readiness. Program objectives include:

- Recruit 25-30 businesses to participate in an intensive business enhancement training program
- Provide one-on-one business consulting, workshops, technical assistance, business resources and funding opportunities to TBE participants
- Assist the TBE participants with developing a written business and marketing strategy based on SWOT analyses to become better positioned as tourist destinations
- Assist partners who provide tourism support services within heritage communities to develop new business opportunities

METRICS

While there may be many measures of success working with heritage stakeholders, the TBE Program will look specifically at metrics such as:

- Number of applicants and retention rates
- Number of participants attending business development activities
- Customer service tools/training utilized
- SWOT analysis
- A target of 75%-80% program completion
- Number of participants becoming partners
- Results of pre- and post workshop surveys

MULTICULTURAL TOURISM & DEVELOPMENT DEPARTMENT
TOURISM BUSINESS ENHANCEMENT PROGRAM
FREQUENTLY ASKED QUESTIONS

1. **What is the Tourism Business Enhancement Program?** The Greater Miami Convention & Visitors Bureau's (GMCVB) Multicultural Tourism & Development Department's (MTDD) Tourism Business Enhancement Program (TBE) is a new pilot program designed to enhance the business and tourism capacity of heritage and multicultural-focused businesses that directly or indirectly provide tourism-related services.
As a business owner or vendor, the TBE program will increase your knowledge of business operations, tourism marketing and customer service to better position your business as a tourist destination.

2. **Who can participate in the Tourism Business Enhancement Program?** The TBE Program will work with business stakeholders from Historic Overtown, Little Haiti, Little Havana and West Coconut Grove, as well as with multicultural and minority businesses that directly or indirectly provide tourism-related services.

3. **How is the program structured?** There are two pathways to participate in the program.

    Path one: There will be general sessions that all applicants are welcomed and invited to attend.

    Path two: A limited number of applicants will be selected to participate in the intensive business training including workshops and one-on-one consulting based on their business profile, assessment, and meeting required criteria.

4. **What is the criteria to participate in the program?** The basic eligibility requirements to apply to the TBE program includes the following:

- Business currently operates within one of the following heritage communities: Historic Overtown, Little Haiti, Little Havana or West Coconut Grove, or is a multicultural minority business that directly or indirectly provides tourism-related services
- Business has been consistently in operation for at least the past 12 months
- Business is currently active and has filed an annual report with the State of Florida
- Non-profit, home-based or virtual businesses are eligible to apply

**Businesses participating may be required to submit documentation to verify eligibility upon request.

5. **When does the program begin?** The workshops will begin on May 12th. Specific dates will be provided on the training schedules.

6. **What is the duration of the program?** The TBE program will be presented in May 2017 for a duration of four months and cohorts (participants) will meet during various timeframes over the four-month period.

7. **Where will the program take place?** Workshops will take place at designated locations in Little Haiti, Little Havana, Historic Overtown, West Coconut Grove and at the GMCVB office. This will allow participants to become familiar with other heritage communities as well as the GMCVB's facilities.

8. **How much does it cost to participate?** The TBE program is made possible through the Greater Miami Convention Visitors Bureau and there is no cost to participate.

   **Please note: A structured business training program of this kind could easily cost each stakeholder several thousand dollars for the level of enhancement and one-on-one consulting they will receive.

9. **Who are the workshop facilitators?**
   GMCVB, Milestones Marketing/MicroMentors, guest experts, and resource partners will provide facilitation and support.

10. **Are there funding opportunities available for participants? If so, how can I apply?** Our goal is to connect the participants with resource opportunities for which they can apply. There also may be supplemental resources for selected businesses based upon needs for those that have completed the program to include certifications, training or other business enhancement resources.

11. **Can more than one person from my business participate?**

    Path one: For general sessions, up to 2 representatives from your business may attend.

    Path two: Only one person, preferably the owner, president, founder, CEO or senior manager, from the business can participate due to space limitations.

12. **How do I register?** To apply electronically by completing the business profile. You may request a hard copy of the business profile and assessment form from Graylyn Swilley-Wood, AVP Business Education & Development at ████████████████. Submit completed applications to the GMCVB online or in person by the **application dealine**.

13. **When will the participants be selected for the program be notified?** Stakeholders selected to participate in the TBE program will be notified **no later than April 15, 2017**.

14. **Who do I contact for more information?** For more information about applying for the program, contact Graylyn Swilley-Wood, AVP Business Education & Development at ████████████████ or at ██████████.

Appendix B: Tourism Business Enhancement Program Tally Sheet

MIAMI GREATER MIAMI CONVENTION & VISITORS BUREAU

TOURISM BUSINESS ENHANCEMENT PROGRAM PRESENTATIONS | TALLY SCORE SHEET & COMMENTS

TBE BUSINESS	PRESENTERS	SCORE 1	SCORE 2	SCORE 3		TOTAL SCORE	AVG. SCORE	TOP 5 SCORES
Macedonia Missionary Baptist Church	Dorothy Wallace & Carolyn Donaldson	45	42			87	43.5	3RD
Branches Bible Bookstore	Barbara Mills	38	44			82	41	4TH
Girls On Da Run	Alice Eason & Ollie Taylor	48	43			91	45.5	1ST
Goddess Natural Hair	Michelle McKoy	N/A	N/A			N/A	N/A	
GROUP 2								
Da Munchies	Cale Virgil	24	30	42		96	32	
Italian Ice by Denise	Bridgett & Denise Daniels	29	24	27		80	27	
Tune Vox Entertainment	Nicola Charles & Sunny Crosby	28	35	32		95	32	
V Records	Vincent Beasley	27	21	33		81	26	
GROUP 3								
Nemo's Uoo Wow Lemonade	Kenemo Williams	39	39			78	39	
Miami to Go	Jasmine Johnson	36	40			76	38	
Stephanie Creates	Stephanie van Vark	38	40			78	39	
Viernes Culturales	Patricia Manrique	36	38			74	37	
GROUP 4								
Leela's Restaurant	Christine Lubin	35	35	32		102	34	
Miami Urban Contemporary Experience	Ashlee Thomas & Bart Mervil	43	49	44		136	45	2ND
Rum Cake Factory	Elena Robinson	37	39	43		119	40	5TH
Urban Tour Hosts	David Brown	40	35	38		113	38	

Appendix C: Copyright Permissions

The following email exchange confirms permission to use and adapt map from the Miami Neighborhood Enhancement Team (NET) to create Figure 1.1

The following email relates to the use of pictures used here as Figures 4.1 and 4.3 to 4.9.

Re: Pictures of Mural and Permission to use – Michelle McKoy 📤 Inbox ✕

Michelle McKoy ▬▬▬▬▬ Sep 28, 2019, 5:54 PM (12 hours ago) ☆ ↩ ⋮
to Graylyn.

To Whom It May Concern:

I acknowledge and give my permission for Dr. Graylyn Swilley-Woods to use any and all photographs I have taken in collaboration with her in Overtown and West Coconut Grove in her dissertation.

Sincerely,
Michelle McKoy
▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬
Miami, Fl, 33137
(▬▬▬▬▬▬
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Kind Regards,
Michelle McKoy M.S.
Business Development Consultant
Global Flow ~PR and more
Offering services in Event Planning, Social Media, Marketing, Design, Virtual Assistance, Media Production
Film I Art I Music I Culture I Technology
T:▬▬▬▬▬
C:▬▬▬▬▬
E:▬▬▬▬▬▬